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Individualized multidisciplinary diagnostic-therapeutic-rehabilitative and care paths in the Italian residential forensic psychiatric system (REMS)

Percorsi diagnostico-terapeutico-riabilitativi e assistenziali multidisciplinari individualizzati in REMS

Livia Sanna | Edi Da Rugna | Artur Obexer | Silvia Bridi | Martina Degasperì | Andreas Conca

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Abstract

The Residence for the Execution of Safety Measures (RESM) is a psychiatric-forensic health facility housing who has been found not criminally responsible for a violent crime because of a mental illness, but also declared dangerous so that the treatment and rehabilitation in the community-based mental system are not possible.

Given the dual mission of the facility of reducing social danger while supporting community integration, the authors suggest creating user-centered diagnostic-therapeutic care programs, with both rehabilitative and forensic nature, carried out by multidisciplinary teams who work in an integrated and flexible way in a three-phase project, with the purpose for the patient to take responsibility and to develop alternative strategies to violence.

Keywords: REMS, forensic, social dangerousness, social reintegration, multidisciplinary

Riassunto

La Residenza per l'esecuzione di misure di sicurezza (REMS) è una struttura sanitaria psichiatrico-forense che accoglie pazienti psichiatrici autori di reato con una pericolosità sociale tale per cui non è possibile un percorso alternativo sul territorio.

Alla luce della duplice mission della struttura di ridurre la pericolosità sociale del paziente e sostenerne il reintegro nel tessuto sociale di provenienza, gli autori propongono la formulazione di percorsi diagnostico-terapeutici assistenziali incentrati sul paziente, con carattere sia riabilitativo che forense, ad opera di équipes multidisciplinari in grado di intervenire in modo integrato e flessibile in un progetto articolato in tre fasi, diagnostica, terapeutico-riabilitativa intensiva e di licenza finale di esperimento, finalizzato all'assunzione di responsabilità e allo sviluppo di strategie alternative alla violenza.

Parole chiave: REMS, forense, pericolosità sociale, reinserimento sociale, multidisciplinare

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Individualized multidisciplinary diagnostic-therapeutic-rehabilitative and care paths in the Italian residential forensic psychiatric system (REMS)

Introduzione

La relazione tra malattia mentale ed aggressività è da decenni oggetto di studio (Bychowski, 1967; Häfner & Böker, 1973). La recente letteratura conferma un aumento da 2 a 4 volte del rischio relativo di comportamenti violenti in un'ampia gamma di disturbi psichiatrici (Whiting, Lichtenstein & Fazel, 2021), in particolare spettro schizofrenico (Fazel, Gulati, Linsell, Geddes & Grann, 2009), disturbi dell'umore (Webb, Lichtenstein, Larsson, Geddes, & Fazel, 2014) e disturbi di personalità (Yu, Geddes & Fazel, 2012). Tuttavia, diversi autori sottolineano come tale rischio sia mediato da altri fattori sia clinici che sociodemografici (Carpiniello, Vita & Menciacci, 2020; Fazel, Smith, Chang & Geddes, 2018; Whiting et al., 2021). I principali fattori di rischio di violenza in soggetti affetti da patologia psichiatrica sono rappresentati dal consumo di sostanze psicoattive e dalla presenza di precedenti penali; altri fattori predittivi sembrano essere il genere maschile, il basso livello socioeconomico, la storia di violenza assistita e la familiarità per uso di sostanze o comportamenti violenti (Carpiniello et al., 2020; Fazel et al., 2018; Whiting et al., 2021). Come dimostrato in diversi studi, anche fattori familiari sembrano risultare confondenti in tale associazione tanto che fratelli e sorelle sani di soggetti con schizofrenia o disturbo bipolare mostrano un rischio relativo di violenza inferiore rispetto a questi ultimi, ma comunque superiore rispetto alla popolazione generale (Fazel, Wolf, Palm & Lichtenstein, 2014; Webb et al., 2014).

Negli ultimi anni l'Italia ha visto evolversi il concetto di gestione dei pazienti psichiatrici autori di reato nel tentativo di andare oltre gli aspetti custodialistici e ridefinire gli interventi terapeutici e riabilitativi adeguati a tale utenza. In quest'ottica, a partire dalla Legge 9/2012 in materia di sovraffollamento delle carceri, passando per la Legge 57/2013 che già legiferava in merito alla dimissione dei pazienti dagli ospedali psichiatrici giudiziari (OPG) e definitivamente con la Legge 81/2014 recante disposizioni urgenti in materia di superamento degli OPG, sono state istituite le Residenze per l'Esecuzione delle Misure di Sicurezza (REMS).

Le REMS sono strutture sanitarie destinate all'accoglienza e alla cura degli autori di reato affetti da disturbi mentali ritenuti socialmente pericolosi alla luce dei criteri delineati dall'art. 133 c.p. e connotate da una esclusiva gestione sanitaria e da un numero limitato di posti letto (Secchi & Calcaterra, 2018). Detti soggetti vengono inviati dalla Magistratura in custodia cautelare e in misura di sicurezza detentiva e la loro ammissione e dimissione da detta struttura è di esclusiva competenza della Magistra-

tura così come il controllo perimetrale che spetta alle Prefetture; per quanto concerne invece i progetti diagnostico-terapeutici assistenziali (PDTA) individualizzati, essi sono di esclusiva competenza della sanità pubblica (D.P.C.M. 1 aprile 2008; art. 3-ter decreto-legge 22.12.2011 n. 211 convertito in Legge 17 febbraio 2012 n. 9).

La legge ha infatti stabilito che ogni paziente autore di reato, in cui si riscontri un vizio di mente, totale o parziale (artt. 88 e 89 C. p.), e una elevata pericolosità sociale (art. 203 C. p.), abbia la possibilità di aderire ad un progetto terapeutico-riabilitativo individualizzato formulato e gestito dal Dipartimento di Salute Mentale e trasmesso al Ministero della Salute e all'Autorità Giudiziaria entro 45 giorni dall'ingresso del paziente in struttura, volto a consentirgli il recupero di un ruolo sociale gratificante per la persona e allo stesso tempo adattivo e funzionale per la comunità (Scarpa, Castelletti & Lega, 2017).

Ad oggi sono 30 le REMS che insistono sul territorio italiano con un totale di circa 600 posti letto per una popolazione in gran parte di sesso maschile e nazionalità italiana, con un'età media di 40 anni, un basso livello d'istruzione ed un elevato tasso di disoccupazione (Lombardi et al., 2019). Ad un anno dall'apertura delle REMS, Catanesi e colleghi (2019) riportavano come la maggior parte dei pazienti (82,2%) risultasse già nota ai servizi di salute mentale al momento dell'ingresso in REMS con una durata media di malattia di 11,5 anni; più del 70% dei soggetti era già stato ricoverato in ambiente psichiatrico in precedenza e più della metà (54,8%) era stato sottoposto almeno una volta a trattamento sanitario obbligatorio. Come confermato da pubblicazioni successive, gli autori riportavano come i quadri psicopatologici più frequentemente riscontrati rientrassero nello spettro schizofrenico seguiti dai disturbi di personalità, soprattutto di tipo borderline ed antisociale, e dai disturbi affettivi; elevato era anche il tasso di comorbidità psichiatrica data soprattutto dalla presenza di disturbi da uso di sostanze nel 27,5% dei soggetti (Catanesi, Mandarelli, Ferracuti, Valerio & Carabellese, 2019; Lombardi et al., 2019; Maiorca et al., 2020; Vorstenbosch & Castelletti, 2020).

I pazienti afferiscono alle REMS soprattutto per reati violenti contro la persona, ed in particolare per omicidio e tentato omicidio e in quasi la metà dei casi riportano precedenti penali per lo più a carattere violento (Catanesi et al., 2019; Lombardi et al., 2019; Vorstenbosch & Castelletti, 2020) per i quali viene loro riconosciuta nella maggior parte dei casi (46,2%) la completa incapacità di intendere e volere e pertanto la non imputabilità, mentre solo nel 14,8% dei casi viene attribuito un vizio parziale di mente; il restante 34% verrebbe inserito in REMS in misura di sicurezza provvisoria nel caso in cui, a procedimento non an-

cora concluso, sussistessero forti indizi di commissione del fatto nonché un'elevata pericolosità sociale (Catanesi et al., 2019; Lombardi et al., 2019; Maiorca et al., 2020).

È dunque evidente come il contesto forense possieda un suo profilo di specificità relativo a metodi, trattamenti, motivazioni, obiettivi e setting di cura (Carabellese, Urbano, Coluccia, Mandarelli, 2018) e come nelle REMS si concentri una popolazione altamente complessa a causa di caratteristiche sociodemografiche, cliniche e comportamentali tali da richiedere interventi specifici che integrino diversi aspetti fondamentali quali la cura, la riabilitazione psichiatrica e la riabilitazione forense, la quale diviene indispensabile nell'ambito di un intervento volto ad evitare che gli agiti aggressivi e violenti commessi siano reiterati, così da ridurre per quanto possibile la pericolosità sociale psichiatrica dell'individuo.

Nonostante il grande passo avanti segnato dai recenti provvedimenti normativi, la cura dei pazienti psichiatrici autori di reato incontra tuttora notevoli difficoltà ed appare ad oggi estremamente eterogenea nelle diverse realtà. Nonostante la normativa (D.M. 1 ottobre 2012) preveda per l'assistenza e la gestione di un nucleo di 20 pazienti un team multidisciplinare costituito da 12 infermieri, 6 operatori sociosanitari, 2 psichiatri, 1 educatore o tecnico della riabilitazione psichiatrica, 1 psicologo, 1 assistente sociale e 1 amministrativo, si rilevano differenze significative tra le varie strutture (Rivellini, 2019).

Inoltre, come osservato nella nostra esperienza e nel regolare scambio con altri professionisti dello stesso settore, mentre alcune strutture prediligono la riabilitazione psichiatrica in senso stretto, altre hanno scelto un orientamento prettamente forense focalizzato su responsabilizzazione e riduzione della pericolosità. Laddove molte strutture hanno incentrato i propri programmi sul lavoro intramurario, meno hanno ricercato offerte sociooccupazionali esterne. Inoltre, la scarsa disponibilità di risorse, in termini di personale e spazi, ha ostacolato spesso un intervento assertivo e multidimensionale sui pazienti. Infine, in alcune strutture, la persistente attribuzione agli operatori psichiatrici di un ruolo custodialistico ha fatto sì che essi si siano trovati molto spesso a dover agire compiti di controllo e gestione della sicurezza interna piuttosto che di cura e protezione dei pazienti, compromettendo così la piena realizzazione degli obiettivi terapeutici prefissati.

In un'ottica di specificità dell'intervento e multidisciplinarietà dell'approccio quindi, gli autori ritengono indispensabili protocolli standardizzati per l'assessment e la gestione del rischio di violenza nei pazienti psichiatrici e propongono a tal fine un percorso che integri le diverse attitudini che si sono andate evidenziando, definendo delle linee guida che riconoscano alla REMS l'obiettivo di cura, intesa nel più ampio senso del termine.

Ispirandosi ad altre esperienze europee, tale protocollo si delinea in più fasi tra loro distinte per contenuti, obiettivi ed interventi, ma allo stesso tempo dinamiche, così che il paziente possa accedere a moduli a diverso livello di sicurezza ed assistenza, sulla base dell'evoluzione del quadro psicopatologico, delle capacità personali, della com-

pliance e della motivazione, nonché del mutarsi delle proprie esigenze (Kolb, 2008). In particolare, il progetto prevede tre fasi articolate su due strutture, una detentiva ed un'altra riservata alle licenze finali di esperimento. Il percorso proposto si articola secondo tre fasi distinte a partire dall'assessment clinico, psicologico, forense, funzionale e sociale così da delineare il quadro completo delle competenze e delle disabilità nonché delle risorse territoriali e personali che il soggetto porta con sé. A tal fine gli autori propongono l'integrazione nell'equipe multidisciplinare della figura del terapeuta occupazionale che già la letteratura internazionale coinvolge nei protocolli di valutazione del rischio (Cordingley & Ryan, 2009) e di intervento in contesto forense (Chui et al., 2016; O Connell & Farnworth, 2007). Seguiranno dunque il lavoro terapeutico-riabilitativo e gli interventi sociali, prima all'interno della struttura poi sempre più orientati al reinserimento sul territorio, così da consentire al paziente di realizzare una vita integrata nel contesto sociale di appartenenza.

A tal fine, ruolo fondamentale avranno azioni di sensibilizzazione nonché la creazione di una rete di collaborazione con altri enti e associazioni che insistono sullo stesso territorio. All'interno della struttura, al fine di poter portare avanti i percorsi descritti, diviene indispensabile la collaborazione di diverse figure professionali: psichiatra, psicologo con competenze sia di neuropsicologia che di psicoterapia, nonché di psicologia forense, infermiere, tecnico della riabilitazione psichiatrica, terapeuta occupazionale, assistente sociale, criminologo.

I principali obiettivi del progetto risultano pertanto essere: clinici, ovvero il trattamento della patologia psichiatrica di base, la riduzione della sofferenza determinata dalla sintomatologia, la gestione degli aspetti di impulsività e discontrollo e lo sviluppo della consapevolezza della malattia; forensi, relativi quindi a riduzione del rischio di violenza, aumento delle capacità personali e sociali, sviluppo dell'insight e della capacità di confrontarsi, comprendere e modificare i propri comportamenti disfunzionali aggressivi; sociogiudiziari, quali la riduzione della pericolosità sociale, l'aumento del livello funzionale e lavorativo, e un miglioramento della capacità di integrarsi socialmente.

In conclusione, gli autori sostengono la necessità di implementare nelle REMS programmi dove l'integrazione di più saperi professionali divenga una ricchezza atta a far sì che il trattamento sia orientato alla persona nel suo insieme, con il fine di sostenerne, mediante interventi multidisciplinari, la cura, la riabilitazione e la reintegrazione sociale nell'interesse del paziente e della comunità.

Fase I

La prima fase di accoglienza è da svolgersi in REMS. Qui, mentre si pianifica la quotidianità all'interno della struttura, si attuano una valutazione multidisciplinare (medica, psicologica, forense, sociale e funzionale) e uno studio della documentazione clinica e peritale al fine di formulare una diagnosi multidimensionale (Fig.1).

All'ingresso è prevista l'apertura della cartella clinica sul Sistema di Monitoraggio per superamento OPG (SMOP), un sistema informatizzato implementato nel 2016 dal Laboratorio territoriale sperimentale per la sanità penitenziaria "Eleonora Amato" della ASL di Caserta con cui si sono successivamente convenzionate diverse regioni italiane, mediante il quale è possibile raccogliere le informazioni e gli interventi relativi allo specifico paziente con aggiornamenti continui da parte degli operatori coinvolti e monitoraggio costante della correttezza e completezza dei dati da parte del case manager. Quindi si procederà con l'approfondimento anamnestico, l'acquisizione di informazioni dai servizi che hanno precedentemente seguito il paziente, l'osservazione clinica e la somministrazione di scale standardizzate di psicopatologia, nonché con eventuali indagini di laboratorio e neuroimaging. Al contempo si avvierà la valutazione psicologica tramite colloqui individuali e test per l'assessment di personalità, capacità cognitive, relazionali e psicosociali, comportamento, risorse, motivazione e aspetti più specifici quali impulsività, cognizione sociale, Alessitimia e teoria della mente. In particolar modo la valutazione del funzionamento della personalità, come viene proposto nell'Alternative Model of Personality Disorders (AMPD) del DSM5 viene ritenuto funzionale in quanto esplicita delle compromissioni su dimensioni rilevanti come la capacità di regolazione delle emozioni ed impulsi o l'empatia, in collegamento con comportamenti aggressivi violenti e, pertanto indicativi per interventi mirati psicoterapeutici (Berberich G. 2015). Questo approccio sostiene interventi riguardanti le diverse skills (Yoon D. 2018). Opportuna si ritiene la proposta del costrutto di "Psicopatia" come specificatore del disturbo antisociale di personalità. Può essere valutato con la PCL-R di Haare (Hare, 2003), non solo a fini puramente diagnostici, ma anche e soprattutto a fini prognostici e di intervento.

Contemporaneamente è prevista la valutazione forense mediante colloqui non strutturati e assessment sistematici. I colloqui individuali saranno incentrati sulla storia biografica delinquenziale e sulla ricostruzione del reato in termini di meccanismo del delitto, ricostruzione del delitto e vittimologia (Urbaniok, 2012).

Sulla base dello Structured Professional Judgment Approach (Hart & Logan, 2011) saranno invece utilizzati strumenti standardizzati di assessment del rischio di violenza quali il Dynamic Assessment of Situational Aggression (DASA, Ogloff & Daffern, 2006) per la valutazione di fattori dinamici del comportamento aggressivo situazionale e la terza edizione dell'Historical Clinical Risk-20 (HCR-20v3, Caretti et al, 2019; Castelletti, Rivellini & Stratico, 2014) per la valutazione del rischio di recidiva di comportamenti violenti. Quest'ultimo è stato validato in strutture carcerarie e REMS italiane riportando una buona attendibilità e una correlazione con aspetti quali l'ostilità e il dominio dell'antagonismo rilevati da altri strumenti valutativi (Caretti et al, 2019). Invece il DASA, originariamente sviluppato per valutare la violenza imminente all'interno degli ospedali psichiatrici, ha mostrato

una buona validità predittiva (Vojt, Thomson & 2010), una correlazione con minori tassi di violenza da parte dei pazienti e un minor ricorso ad interventi coercitivi da parte degli operatori (Kennedy et al. 2020) e, non meno importante, una validità ecologica che lo rende utile nella quotidianità all'interno di contesti istituzionalizzati (Chu, Daffern & Ogloff, 2013). Ad esso può essere associato il Dundrum restriction, intrusion and liberty ladders (DRILL, Kennedy et al. 2020) sviluppato dai colleghi irlandesi, che consta di una sezione relativa ai comportamenti violenti ed una riguardante gli interventi da attuare in caso di violenza, inclusi de-escalation, restrizione degli spazi, contenzione meccanica e farmacoterapia.

Il medesimo gruppo di lavoro ha inoltre sviluppato due strumenti di assessment specifici per i contesti forensi. Il DUNDRUM 1 permette, sulla base della gravità della violenza perpetrata, la valutazione del livello di sicurezza necessario per un determinato paziente, il DUNDRUM 2 invece si dimostrerebbe utile nel periodo precedente all'inserimento in REMS, per la valutazione strutturata della priorità di ammissione e dell'eventuale possibilità di porre il paziente in una lista d'attesa (Kennedy, Carabellese & Carabellese, 2021).

Per la formulazione di un intervento integrato risulta in questa stessa fase indispensabile eseguire un assessment del funzionamento psicosociale con particolare attenzione alle potenzialità ed alle risorse del soggetto, oltre ad una valutazione dell'impatto della patologia psichiatrica sull'esecuzione delle attività della vita quotidiana (ADL - Activities of Daily Living e IADL - Instrumental Activities of Daily Living). A tal fine si può eseguire un'analisi delle autonomie, attraverso l'esecuzione di training individualizzati basati su ADL e IADL, e delle competenze, mediante attività artigianali, strutturate e non, sulla base della Classificazione internazionale del funzionamento, della disabilità e della salute (W.H.O., 2001)2001). Allo stesso scopo sarà inoltre utile l'utilizzo della Dynamic Performance Analysis (Polatajko, Mandich, & Martini, 2000) e di interviste semistrutturate quali il Canadian Occupational Performance Measure (COPM, Carswell et al., 2004).

Il sopracitato D.M. 1 ottobre 2012 all'allegato A prevede poi l'integrazione nell'equipe sanitaria che opera in REMS anche della figura dell'assistente sociale responsabile di chiarire la condizione civile-penale e amministrativa in cui versa il paziente ricoverato, attivare tutte le risorse utili a consentire la costruzione di un progetto riabilitativo e ridurre il rischio di recidiva come le procedure per i permessi di soggiorno, l'iscrizione al sistema sanitario nazionale e la possibilità di accedere alle prestazioni previste dai livelli essenziali di assistenza.

Dal punto di vista sociale sarà poi necessaria la verifica delle condizioni anagrafiche e della storia personale dell'individuo, l'anamnesi sociale, ossia la presenza di reti formali e informali, nonché di risorse abitative, oltre all'individuazione delle risorse familiari, in termini di carico e di benessere, e personali.

Si sottolinea come all'obbligo di ingresso in REMS disposto dalla Magistratura non corrisponda un'altrettanto

obbligatoria adesione al trattamento sanitario: anche per i pazienti forensi, infatti, l'evenienza del TSO ospedaliero è da limitarsi a situazione di urgenza ed acuzie tali da soddisfarne tutti i noti presupposti di legge (Legge 180/78) mentre il TSO extra-ospedaliero, seppur legalmente consentito, è un'evenienza estremamente rara anche perché la normativa e le procedure in merito risultano alquanto lacunose (Carabellese, Urbano, Coluccia & Mandarelli, 2018). Per tale ragione il paziente sarà invitato ad esprimere il proprio consenso informato al percorso di cura e a stipulare un contratto terapeutico con l'equipe REMS e con l'equipe territoriale, che formalizzi gli obiettivi di cura

e le reciproche responsabilità. Quanto concordato in tale contratto sarà dunque oggetto del PDTA integrato individualizzato formulato dall'equipe REMS in accordo con il servizio territoriale e con il paziente. In esso, sulla base di aspetti psicopatologici e forensi, integrando strumenti terapeutico-riabilitativi e strategie compensative, saranno specificati tempistiche ed interventi che mirino al recupero e allo sviluppo della persona, con particolare attenzione al coinvolgimento del soggetto stesso, dell'equipe curante e, laddove possibile, dei familiari. Il medesimo PDTA sarà reso noto all'Autorità Giudiziaria competente in forma di relazione clinica preliminare.



Figura 1. Assessment multidimensionale del paziente autore di reato

Fase II

Nella fase due ci si concentra sugli interventi intensivi multidisciplinari e multidimensionali in merito al disturbo psichiatrico di base e agli aspetti psicologici correlati al reato e alla situazione socio-familiare del soggetto.

Nei pazienti autori di reato si osservano una serie di variabili (comorbidità con dipendenze patologiche, diversità etnico-culturali, condotte autolesive, rischio suicidario) che, unite ai trascorsi giudiziari, conferiscono loro una

maggior complessità nella presa in carico e nel trattamento (Vita, Dell'Osso, & Mucci, 2019). Tuttavia, i metodi e i principi della cura psichiatrica sono applicabili a tutti gli individui con disturbi psichici, ivi compresi i pazienti autori di reato, con un corretto adeguamento all'individuo e all'ambiente.

Nello specifico è possibile intervenire farmacologicamente sulla patologia psichiatrica di base e sugli aspetti personali disfunzionali, quali ad esempio impulsività e discontrollo comportamentale, ed attuare regolarmente il

TDM (therapeutic drug monitoring), ossia il dosaggio plasmatico dei farmaci mediante semplice prelievo ematico al fine di verificarne il rispetto dei limiti di tossicità anche in relazione ad eventuali disfunzioni epatiche e/o renali, la corretta compliance da parte del paziente, l'eventuale correlazione con disturbi riconducibili ad effetti avversi o la necessità di un adeguamento del dosaggio alla luce di una mancata risposta clinica (Hiemke et al., 2018).

Essendo l'autonomia personale e l'autodeterminazione cruciali nel percorso di cura di una persona, saranno proposti colloqui motivazionali e di psicoeducazione mirati allo sviluppo di insight, per potenziare la partecipazione attiva al progetto terapeutico-riabilitativo ed una completa aderenza al trattamento (Miller e Rollnick, 2012; Swanson, Pantalon & Cohen, 1999).

Tuttavia, negli ultimi anni si è andata ampliando la letteratura a supporto dell'efficacia di interventi terapeutici obbligatori, in particolare laddove la patologia psichiatrica viene ritenuta determinante nella messa in atto di violenze e reati e rappresenta quindi essa stessa una forma di coercizione ai danni del paziente, la cui capacità di intendere e volere viene a scemare.

In una recente review, Hachtel e colleghi (2019) riportano come la percezione di costrizione nel contesto terapeutico sembri dipendere da diversi fattori, non necessariamente correlati allo status giudiziario, ma piuttosto legati alla relazione con il servizio sanitario che eroga il trattamento, al mancato coinvolgimento attivo del paziente nel progetto e ad una sensazione di mancanza di rispetto. Gli stessi autori concludono che un intervento terapeutico attento, corretto e che evochi fiducia, unito ad un controllo fermo ma non autoritario o punitivo ("firm but fair"), forti della durata prolungata e della continuità imposte dalla cornice legale, possono portare il paziente ad una maggiore motivazione e ad un impegno attivo nel percorso di cura tali da indurre una volontà di cambiamento, un miglioramento dei sintomi e una riduzione del rischio di recidiva. Alla luce di tali evidenze, in questa seconda fase del progetto, saranno attivati interventi psicoterapeutici mediante colloqui settimanali individuali e sessioni di gruppo sul disturbo psichiatrico e sul funzionamento personologico di base e si individueranno obiettivi e strategie di intervento forense specifici per il singolo paziente. In particolare, ci si focalizzerà sull'elaborazione della psicodinamica del reato in base alla ricostruzione del delitto e dei fattori di rischio secondo il principio del trattamento orientato al reato (Borchard, 2020) e sulla gestione dell'aggressività e dei comportamenti violenti mediante la partecipazione ad un training anti violenza (Morran & Wilson, 1997) (Fig. 2). Costante durante il PDTA sarà il monitoraggio di aspetti specifici quali consapevolezza e assunzione di responsabilità.

Sarà avviato poi un lavoro mirato al potenziamento del funzionamento globale mediante interventi riabilitativi in loco (Fig. 3), sessioni di gruppo settimanali incentrate su training cognitivo, problem solving (D'Zurilla & Nezu, 2007), social skills training (Jones & Harvey 2020; Turner et al., 2018) e regolazione di impulsi ed emozioni

(Lanciano, Barile, & Curci, 2011). A tal proposito, Ahmed e colleghi (2015) hanno dimostrato come nei soggetti affetti da schizofrenia, i deficit nella memoria di lavoro e nell'apprendimento verbale appaiano più gravi negli autori di reato rispetto a chi non aveva mai commesso un crimine, mentre una review sistematica qualche anno dopo, mostrava un impatto positivo di cognitive remediation e social cognitive therapy sui comportamenti aggressivi di pazienti schizofrenici, suggerendo quindi come lo sviluppo di interventi di questo genere, migliorando le competenze funzionali, possano contribuire a ridurre non solo i sintomi core del disturbo, ma anche l'aggressività in generale e la violenza fisica in particolare (Darmedru et al., 2017).

A causa delle restrizioni, i pazienti forensi hanno spesso limitazioni di accesso alle tipiche attività di vita quotidiana, percependo così una perdita di controllo e di autonomia e trovandosi a dover gestire molto tempo non strutturato (Chui et al., 2016). Infatti, alcuni studi relativi ai contesti detentivi hanno dimostrato come la prolungata deprivazione occupazionale (Whiteford, 1995) e l'impossibilità a mantenere una propria routine quotidiana (Molineux & Witheford, 1999) inducano un disorientamento temporale e una contrazione dei ruoli occupazionali. In aggiunta, uno studio canadese (Chui et al., 2016) riporta come gli obiettivi che i pazienti forensi richiedono con maggior frequenza includano produttività, regolazione delle emozioni, acquisizione di strumenti ed abilità per le attività della vita quotidiana e sviluppo di capacità atte alla gestione autonoma della casa. Alla luce di ciò, anche nell'ambito della REMS possono essere proposti interventi di terapia occupazionale che integrino strumenti riabilitativi e strategie compensative, secondo obiettivi individualizzati sulla base di necessità, desideri e competenze del singolo paziente (Chui et al., 2016). Mediante interventi di gruppo (Duncan, Munro, Nicol, 2003; Freeman, 1982; Chacksfield & Forshaw 1997) e individuali (Chui et al., 2016) dunque, si potrà supportare il paziente nel confronto con situazioni tipiche della vita quotidiana al fine di migliorare la capacità d'azione e potenziare l'autonomia, così da favorire il reinserimento dell'individuo nella comunità di appartenenza (Chacksfield, 1997; Lloyd & Guerra, 1988; Whiteford 1995; Forward, Lloyd, Trevan-Hawke, 1999).

Al fine di garantire un intervento mirato sulla base delle competenze e delle necessità della persona, ruolo dell'assistente sociale in questa fase è quello di mappare i servizi e le associazioni del territorio mediante un'analisi delle risorse presenti in termini di interventi riabilitativi esterni e offerte occupazionali e lavorative.

L'intervento sociale prevede inoltre l'eventuale domanda al Giudice Tutelare di nomina di un amministratore di sostegno (AdS) che tuteli gli interessi del paziente, così come, ove opportuno, di invalidità civile INPS-INAIL, nonché la verifica, con l'ausilio del Dipartimento di Amministrazione Penitenziaria (DAP) e dell'Ufficio per l'Esecuzione Penale Esterna (UEPE), del permesso di soggiorno o altra documentazione analoga.

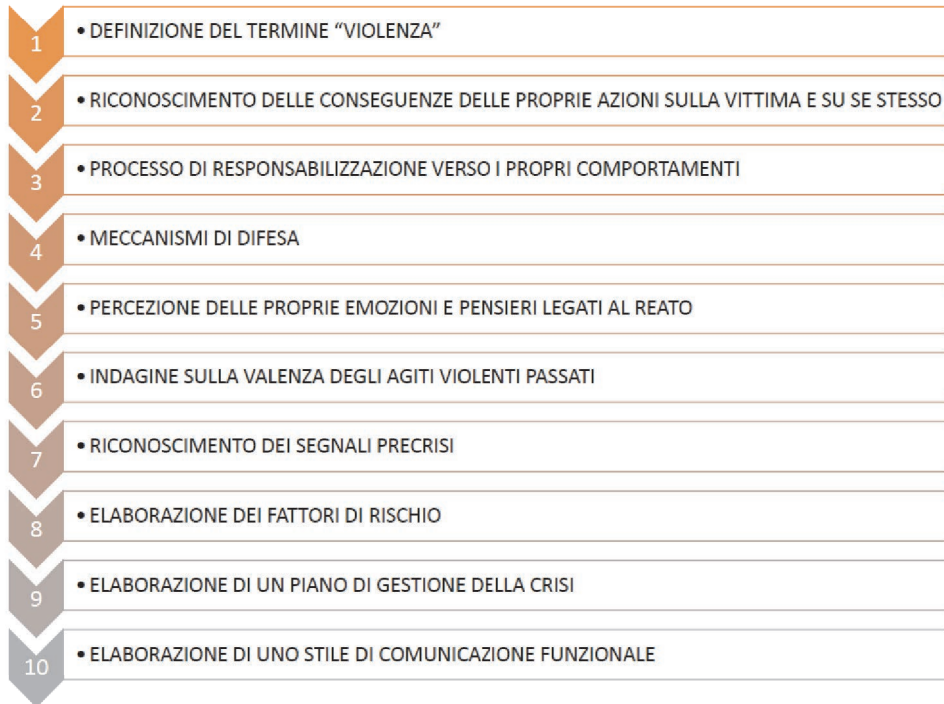


Figura 2. Temi chiave del Training antiviolenza



Figura 3. Focus degli interventi riabilitativi interni.

Al fine di sostenere la partecipazione attiva del paziente al proprio percorso, in questa fase saranno previsti anche incontri informativi con avvocati e UEPE sulla posizione giudiziaria e sulle conseguenze degli atti compiuti. Si avranno inoltre contatti regolari con l'AdS e si sosterranno la collaborazione, il confronto e lo scambio di informazioni con altri servizi sanitari, sociali e del settore giudiziario come avvocati, UEPE, Magistratura Ordinaria e di Sorveglianza.

Si ritiene, inoltre, indispensabile il coinvolgimento di familiari e caregivers sia nel fornire informazioni circa la storia del paziente, sia per un vero e proprio intervento focalizzato sulla gestione dell'emozione espressa, sul potenziamento di competenze comunicative e sullo sviluppo, mediante un lavoro psicoeducativo, di strategie di gestione dei sintomi e dei comportamenti caratteristici del paziente, in vista di un rientro a domicilio.

Di fondamentale importanza per tutta la durata del PDTA sarà il monitoraggio del progetto riabilitativo mediante strumenti standardizzati come la già citata COPM (Carswell et al., 2004) che, somministrata a distanza dall'avvio degli interventi, permette una valutazione degli esiti e, conseguentemente, l'adeguamento dei trattamenti. Si procederà, inoltre, alla redazione di relazioni cliniche periodiche sull'andamento del percorso di cura del soggetto sottoposto a misura di sicurezza nella REMS all'Autorità Giudiziaria.

Fase III

La terza fase del percorso in REMS prevede l'inserimento in una struttura a minore intensità assistenziale e di controllo con formula equiparabile alla licenza finale di esperimento, con l'obiettivo di una progressiva autonomizzazione e reintegrazione sociale mediante interventi di prevenzione delle ricadute psicopatologiche e reiterazione di comportamenti disfunzionali, aggressivi e violenti.

A questo punto del percorso sarà utile, a supporto della valutazione clinica di idoneità del paziente al passaggio dalla fase II alla fase III a minore contenimento, la ripetizione del DUNDRUM 1 (Flynn, O'Neill, McInerney & Kennedy, 2011).

Essenziale in questa fase è lo svolgimento di colloqui psicologici individuali secondo il Good Lives Model of Offender Rehabilitation (GLM; Ward & Stewart, 2003), con l'obiettivo di elaborare e sostenere i fattori protettivi e di resilienza, sviluppare strategie di prevenzione e coping, coinvolgere la rete sociale disponibile, elaborare schemi e comportamenti interpersonali disfunzionali e definire gli obiettivi di vita.

Parallelamente proseguono i colloqui individuali e di gruppo incentrati su motivazione, autoregolazione, problem solving e competenze sociali, in particolar modo alla luce delle sollecitazioni legate all'uscita dalla struttura.

In vista di ciò, sulla base di collaborazioni con associazioni di volontariato e cooperative sociali, vengono quindi realizzati progetti occupazionali in strutture esterne ed in-

terventi terapeutico-riabilitativi sul territorio che prevedano l'attivazione di borse lavoro, l'attuazione e l'agevolazione di una rete territoriale di supporto, l'individuazione di opportunità socializzanti, la promozione e l'implementazione di inserimenti lavorativi e sociali post-dimissione ed interventi volti a favorire la continuità delle cure.

Vengono incoraggiati ed implementati colloqui presso il servizio territoriale competente e programmata una intensificazione degli scambi con familiari, AdS e figure del settore giudiziario (Avvocati, UEPE, Magistratura Ordinaria e di Sorveglianza). Risulta di estremo rilievo in questa fase mantenere regolari contatti e massima collaborazione con il centro di salute mentale per definire il progetto di dimissione, avviare ed accompagnare paziente, familiari e territorio verso il percorso di dimissioni.

In ultimo, viene elaborata una relazione di dimissione multidisciplinare per i servizi che accoglieranno il paziente e per l'Autorità Giudiziaria competente.

Conclusioni

Sebbene il processo di chiusura degli OPG fosse doveroso alla luce delle innumerevoli criticità evidenziate negli anni, anche le nuove residenze per l'esecuzione delle misure di sicurezza presentano ad oggi alcune lacune e sono ancora diversi gli unmet needs nel trattamento integrato dei pazienti accolti in struttura.

Le evidenze del parziale potere predittivo dell'osservazione clinica in termini di previsione del rischio di violenza hanno sottolineato l'esigenza di strumenti di assessment standardizzati ad integrazione del giudizio clinico (Monahan, 1981) per favorire una valutazione accurata ed oggettiva del rischio di aggressività, l'individuazione dei fattori di rischio individuali per la stessa ed il monitoraggio periodico degli outcomes.

In merito agli interventi, pur essendo prematuro parlare di chiare prove di efficacia, dal momento che la letteratura risulta ancora esigua e metodologicamente acerba (Vita et al., 2019), vengono descritti diversi approcci terapeutico-riabilitativi forensi orientati a fattori di rischio statici, dinamici e situazionali (Zara, 2016), di cui sono stati riconosciuti benefici e criticità (Castelletti et al., 2014).

Alla luce di ciò, in tempi recenti si sono iniziate a proporre valutazioni sempre più strutturate e standardizzate (Zara, 2016) ed interventi che, integrando le variabili statiche e dinamiche, permettano di agire sulle diverse dimensioni psicopatologiche, comportamentali, funzionali, forensi e socioambientali del paziente (Hogan & Mark, 2019).

Sulla base di tali presupposti, il presente lavoro suggerisce un modello di intervento dinamico e multidisciplinare che consenta, attraverso un percorso strutturato, ma al contempo individualizzato, non solo di lavorare sulla diagnosi psicopatologica di base, ma anche di prevenire il rischio di reiterazione di agiti aggressivi e/o violenti.

La dinamicità del PDTA è definita dalla strutturazione del progetto in fasi consecutive, da quella di accoglienza con fine maggiormente diagnostico-valutativo a quella di licenza finale di esperimento propedeutica al reinserimento sociale, caratterizzate ognuna da obiettivi ed interventi specifici, che possano però essere adeguati, in itinere, tenendo conto dell'evoluzione delle capacità personali e delle esigenze della persona (Stück, Briken & Brunner, 2022), secondo quanto emerge dall'assessment formale e informale da parte del team e dal feedback da parte del paziente e della rete sociofamiliare.

La multidisciplinarietà prevede la collaborazione di diverse figure professionali al fine di valutare il paziente nella sua complessità così da poter formulare un progetto integrato che prenda in considerazione risorse e problematiche di carattere fisico, psichico, forense, funzionale e relazionale/ambientale della persona.

A tale scopo, nonostante l'attuale normativa non lo preveda, si ritiene utile l'inserimento della figura del terapeuta occupazionale all'interno del team multidisciplinare forense. Infatti, mentre interventi propri della terapia occupazionale sono ormai di comprovata efficacia nel trattamento di pazienti psichiatriche (Sarsak, 2018; Kim et al., 2018) e alcuni autori ne riportano la validità anche in termini di riduzione dell'aggressività (Trapp, Heid, Röder, Wimmer & Hajak, 2022), in più occasioni se ne è sottolineata l'assenza in ambito forense, tanto da proporre l'implementazione di tale figura in questo setting (Couldrick & Aldred, 2003; Taylor, Brintnell, Shim & Wilson, 1997; Forward, Lloyd & Trevan-Hawke, 1999) per potenziare il coinvolgimento attivo dei pazienti, aspetto spesso marginalizzato a causa di protocolli di sicurezza che impattano direttamente sull'interazione sociale e sul funzionamento lavorativo, provocando un'alienazione occupazionale e un depauperamento delle risorse e delle capacità (Cronin-David, Lang & Molineux, 2004; Dressler & Snively, 1998).

Sarà poi l'assistente sociale a coordinare gli interventi interni ed esterni alla REMS in vista della dimissione sia in strutture residenziali e/o semi-residenziali sociosanitarie accreditate, collaborando con i servizi specialistici del territorio per la costruzione e conduzione del percorso di reinserimento sociale della persona sottoposta a misura di sicurezza garantendone la continuità della presa in carico sociale, sempre interfacciandosi con la magistratura civile-penale e di sorveglianza (CNOAS, 2020).

Verranno dunque sfruttate le risorse sociali e dei servizi territoriali, sulla base delle potenzialità del soggetto e della sua famiglia, che divengono il fulcro del presente protocollo a fondamento di un percorso di uscita del paziente, in collaborazione con la rete di supporto informale e dei Dipartimenti di Salute Mentale, che tenga in considerazione le difficoltà dell'individuo così da integrarle nel progetto, prevedendone i risvolti e limitandone gli effetti mediante adeguate strategie di supporto, con il fine ultimo di incoraggiare la piena consapevolezza del paziente rispetto ai disturbi di base e ai problemi comportamentali e sostenerne il miglior reintegro sociale possibile.

In un'ottica di comunicazione e collaborazione, il team di lavoro è dunque sollecitato in più occasioni a confrontarsi con il paziente e sul paziente, valutando ad ogni step competenze acquisite o da implementare e disabilità persistenti, siano esse fisiche, psichiche o intellettive, così da poter adattare tempistiche ed interventi all'individuo, dall'accoglienza alla dimissione.

Limite del presente lavoro è il fatto di non essere stato ad oggi ancora applicato in maniera sistematica e strutturata in una REMS, e dunque, seppur basato su evidenze scientifiche ed esperienze cliniche in altri contesti, manca di quegli adeguamenti ed integrazioni conseguenti alla realizzazione nella pratica clinica di protocolli operativi. Il carattere ad oggi prettamente speculativo preclude la disponibilità di dati di effectiveness su una popolazione residenziale forense, sarà dunque necessario attuare tali procedure per verificarne la piena validità in termini di recovery e reintegrazione sociale, nonché di prevenzione di recidive violente nel medio e lungo termine. Sarà allora indispensabile un monitoraggio degli esiti a breve, medio e lungo termine, mediante verifiche in itinere che ne permettano variazioni e correzioni in un'ottica di prevenzione delle recidive e recovery, sempre però nel rispetto di quello che è il suo mandato.

Infine, vi sono diverse tematiche che esulano dagli obiettivi prettamente clinici di tale lavoro e non sono pertanto state approfondite, come quelle relative alla sicurezza interna e al consenso informato in un contesto particolare come quello forense. Tali criticità richiederanno ulteriori approfondimenti, sia in termini legislativi che di risvolti clinici, al fine di definire linee guida e procedure che tutelino pazienti e operatori.

Rorschach Factors (*)	GROUP A (N = 47) (Perdue, 1961)		GROUP B (N = 53) (Perdue, 1964)	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Total R	15.37	3.90	17.40	7.00
W	6.27	2.60	5.71	2.70
D	8.40	0.43	10.33	5.09
Dd	0.60	1.40	1.13	1.21
S	1.06	1.20	1.23	1.50
M	0.75	0.91	0.73	1.22
FM	1.09	0.94	1.18	1.40
m	0.69	1.20	0.35	0.86
F	1.25	1.20	3.20	3.10
F+	8.15	2.60	7.44	3.40
F-	1.25	1.20	1.04	3.90
FC	1.64	1.40	1.58	1.62
CF	0.97	1.00	1.24	1.90
C	0.13	0.45	0.30	0.68
SumC	2.52	2.70	2.43	4.10
FV	0.50	0.66	0.84	1.60

FY	0.28	0.83	0.70	1.10
H	1.36	1.30	1.29	1.70
Hd	0.60	0.92	1.90	1.58
A	7.34	2.10	7.15	2.70
Ad	1.89	1.80	1.91	6.70
P	4.92	1.50	4.19	2.20
R (plates I-VII)	11.49	3.00	10.41	4.40
R (plates VIII-X)	5.66	2.90	6.56	3.30
T/ 1 st R (sec.)	12.97	2.50	11.80	4.90

(**): according to Beck (1949, 1950, 1952) and Piotrowski (1957)
 Table 1. Rorschach responses in 100 murderers

Rorschach Variable (*)	Mean	Range	Notes
R	21.3	10-35	< 20 in 8/21
G	5.2	1-13	//
D	13.1	3-20	//
Dd	1.8	1-5	//
Dbl (Space)	0.7	0-3	Present in 14/21
Do	0.33	0-2	Present in 6/21
F%	80.0	60-92	//
F+%	76.0	47-97	//
K	1.4	0-4	Present in 16/21
FC	0.3	0-2	Present in 7/21
CF	1.0	0-4	Present in 11/21
C	0.52	0-4	Present in 5/21
CF+C	1.5	1/7	//
FClob	0.8	0-3	Present in 14/21
A%	44.5	23-85	//
H%	10.2	3-33	Present in 18/21
Anat%	8.4	3-45	Present in 14/21
V%	29.5	10-72	Present in 18/21
Orig%	1.6	3-5	Present in 9/21
Card Rejection	//	//	Present in 7/21, once or more; Card II: 2; V: 1; VI: 2; VII: 3; X: 2
Rotation of the cards	18.3	4-11	Present in 16/21
Responses in para-standard position	30.2	11-58	Present in 17/21

(*): Not Specified Rorschach Method
 Table 2. Rorschach Variables in 21 Male Murderers
 (Schachter & Cotte, 1972)

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Application of Hayward and Young's Cultural Criminology Framework to the Film, Joker

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Abstract

This article explores the film, Joker according to Hayward and Young's five motifs of cultural criminology by thematic analysis. Based on signs, symbols and significations, we analyze how structural and emotional variables affect on crime. In the film, the Joker, as a villainous character, kills seven people as part of his transgressive comedy act. Feelings such as anger and excitement in the Joker's character represent a lens of adrenaline and psychological violence to challenges the rational choice. In the final shots, killing the therapist and bloody footprints confirms the Joker's anarchic jester as an attentive gaze. Due to crisis of rats as a symbol of inequality, the Gotham Carnival was created. This political carnival not only shows the under life of city, but also represents the lower class riot, violent clowns and systemic violence. While Joker is introduced as a superhero and symbol of this carnival, the heroism project of Joker is a dangerous knowledge. However, transition from fictional events to real- life events illustrates that Jihadi terrorist activities are consistent with Hayward and Young's five motifs of cultural criminology.

Keywords: cultural criminology, Joker, the five motifs, humiliation, resistance, inequality

Application of Hayward and Young's Cultural Criminology Framework to the Film, Joker

Introduction

Cultural criminology represents a perspective developed by Ferrell and Sanders, and likewise employed by Redhead and others that interweaves particular intellectual threads to explore the convergence of cultural and criminal processes in contemporary social life (Ferrell, 1999). Critical approaches dominated by poorly developed theory, deterministic methods and statistical testing, cultural criminology has sought to recreate a sociologically inspired criminology that exposes the structures, representations and power relations that underpin crime, inequality and criminal justice (Banks and Moxon, 2013). Cultural criminology's theoretical frames have developed from its foundations in culture, critical theory, and interactionism and its methods have emerged from its roots in naturalistic case study (Ferrell, 1999).

Cultural criminology understands "culture" to be the stuff of collective meaning and collective identity; through culture, the government claims authority and the consumer considers brands of bread, while 'the criminal,' as both a person and a perception, comes alive» to improve clarity and flow. So, this discipline explores the many ways in which cultural forces interweave with the practice of crime and crime control in contemporary society and emphasizes the centrality of meaning, representation, and power in the contested construction of crime (Ferrell et al., 2015). Therefore, cultural criminology considers crime and its control as products of meanings (Ilan, 2019).

This line of thought references the increasing analytic attention that many criminologists now give to popular culture constructions, and especially mass media constructions of crime and crime control. In late modernity communication media morph and proliferate, creating and servicing a diversity of audiences, replacing weakened traditional communities with communities of virtual meaning and emotion. Given this, cultural criminology highlights the emergence of this general area of media and cultural inquiry as a relatively distinct domain within criminology (Ferrell, 1999). So, cultural criminology is a subfield in the study of crime that focuses on the importance of image, meaning, and representation, which indirectly lead to crime.

Insofar as cultural criminology is concerned with the multiple intersections between crime, deviance, control and symbolic representation, then the study of film would appear to be a necessary element of any such product (Hayward, 2010). Cinema serves as a popular source for articulating, modeling, and critiquing theories in ways of academic criminology. In other words, cinema provides

a cultural space that allows criminologists to study and interrogate key dilemmas surrounding the nature and shape of justice (Kohm and Greenhill, 2011). Attention to these possibilities initiates interdisciplinary alliances and promises a more democratic, less exclusionary view than that of academia of what it means to do criminology and be a criminologist (Rafter and Brown, 2011).

Despite the cultural criminological studies that focus on the televisual and filmic depictions of crime and criminality (Cheatwood, 1998; Niesel 1998; Fishman and Cavender, 1998; Schofield, 2004; Rafter, 2007; Landwehr, 2008; Yar, 2010; Rafter and Brown, 2011; Kohm and Greenhill, 2011; Kohm and Gasek, 2016), this article analyzes the 2019 film, "Joker" based on theoretical framework of Keith J. Hayward and Jock Young by thematic analysis method. Hayward and Young published their pioneering research "CULTURAL CRIMINOLOGY: SOME NOTES ON THE SCRIPT" in the especial issue on cultural criminology for *Theoretical Criminology Journal*. They suggest that these motifs are general orientations to cultural criminological analysis, that the motifs often overlap, and that they should be taken up in ways that are creative, and certainly not as a rigid template for analysis (Hayward and Young, 2004). We apply their "five motifs of cultural criminology" framework to further extend cultural criminology's potential for the visual analysis of the film. Accordingly, the main questions of this article are: how the five motifs of Hayward and Young consist of the transgressive subject, the soft city, the lens of adrenaline, the attentive Gaze and dangerous knowledge can be adapted to the dialogues, scenes and the concepts of the film? Is there a relationship between the five motifs and the main events in the film such as Joker's "fucking comedy life", the Gotham carnival and emotional needs? While, realist cinema is based on social reality, in order to explain Hayward and Young's model in the real life, we attempt to analyze the criminal patterns of jihadi terrorists in this model to match a visual product with a real case. In the current era, terrorism has become a concern of many countries in the world. However, after 9/11, war on terrorism policy has become the main basis of international relations and political, military and economic arrangements. Because of that, war on terrorism is extended round the world. However, the focus of penal systems on counter-terrorism policy has led to the neglect of some criminological approaches in this context. Thus, the purpose of this article is to analyze the film, Joker in the light of the Hayward and Young's model and at the same time, we try to examine the practical insights of this model among jihadi terrorists. The article opens with research methodology. In this part, the thematic analysis is briefly introduced

and then, the process of obtaining the findings is analyzed. The second part is focused on the findings of the article. In this section, by emphasizing the five motifs and the thematic analysis, the most important findings are obtained. This part shows the relationship between the five motifs and important film events. Finally, in conclusion, the step-by-step process of applying Hayward and Young's Framework to the film is examined by a thematic map.

Research Methodology

The current article is based on thematic analysis. Thematic analysis as an analytic tool draws on core features that are common to many approaches in qualitative analysis and aims to explore the understanding of an issue or the signification of an idea, rather than to reconcile conflicting definitions of a problem (Attride-stirling, 2001). So, thematic analysis is an accessible, flexible, and increasingly popular method of qualitative data analysis and a method for systematically identifying, organizing, and offering insight into, patterns of meaning (themes) across a dataset (Braun and Clarke, 2012).

Applying thematic networks is simply a way of organizing a thematic analysis of qualitative data. Thematic analyses seek to unearth the themes salient in a text at different levels, and thematic networks aim to facilitate the structuring and depiction of these themes. Clearly, the process of deriving themes from textual data and illustrating these with some representational tool is well established in qualitative research. As such, thematic networks analysis is not in any way a new method, but one that shares the key features of any hermeneutic analysis. Thematic networks systematize the extraction of: (i) lowest-order premises evident in the text (Basic Themes); (ii) categories of basic themes grouped together to summarize more abstract principles (Organizing Themes); and (iii) super-ordinate themes encapsulating the principal metaphors in the text as a whole (Global Themes). These are then represented as web-like maps depicting the salient themes at each of the three levels, and illustrating the relationships between them. So, a thematic network is developed starting from the Basic Themes and working inwards toward a Global Theme. Once a collection of Basic Themes has been derived, they are then classified according to the underlying story they are telling and these become the Organizing Themes. Organizing Themes are then reinterpreted in light of their Basic Themes, and are brought together to illustrate a single conclusion or super-ordinate theme that becomes the Global Theme (Attride-Stirling, 2001). In this article, the step by step process of thematic networks consists of coding the material, identifying themes, constructing the networks, describe and explore the thematic networks, summarize the thematic network, and interpret patterns has been used (Attride-Stirling, 2001). Since, the five motifs of cultural criminology are the basis of the article, it must be noted that the identification of segments has been

done by deductive qualitative analysis. Deductive analysis is a theory testing process which commences with an established theory or generalization, and seeks to see if the theory applies to specific instances (Hyde, 2000). This approach uses a pre-existing theory, framework, or other researcher driven focus to identify themes of interest (Braun and Clarke 2012). So, deductive analysis is useful for honing in on a particular aspect of the data or a specific finding that could be best illuminated or understood in the context of a pre-existing theory or frame (Kiger and Varpio, 2020). To assess the validity of a qualitative study, various methods are used during which the process takes place. For this purpose, the findings were evaluated by cinema experts and specialists as well as criminologists and their approval was obtained. In this article, the MAXQDA 18 software has been used to categorize and facilitate the analysis. The film was viewed many times and according to the five motifs of cultural criminology, the examples were searched in the film. Coding was subsequently performed according to the primary data in the film consist of scenes, dialogues, characters, episodes, signs etc. Then the segments of each category were created.

Findings

This section presents the thematic analysis of the film based on the five motifs of cultural criminology. Accordingly, the concepts of transgressive subject, soft city, lens of adrenaline, attentive gaze and dangerous knowledge are explored in the film, Joker.

The Transgressive Subject

According to Hayward and Young, Crime is an act of rule breaking. It involves an attitude to rules, an assessment of their justness and appropriateness, and a motivation to break them whether by outright transgression or by neutralization (Hayward and Young, 2004). Contrary to the sociological positivism and the rational choice theory, Cultural criminology would point to the way poverty, for example, is perceived in an affluent society as an act of exclusion in a consumer society. It is an intense experience, not merely of material deprivation, but of a sense of injustice and of ontological insecurity (Hayward and Young, 2004). Therefore, Cultural criminology states that the nature of emotions needs to be investigated as they play a key role in the explanation of crime (Hayward, 2011). However, the crucial component in cultural criminology argumentation is the inclusion of irrationality and emotions in the explanation of crime. (Hayward, 2007).

While there is some variation of theme and emphasis in the development of cultural criminology, there is one element that united all concerned: an abiding interest in existential motivation as expressed primarily through the phenomenological accounts of crime and risk-taking associated with Jack Katz's (Katz, 1988) imperious Seduc-

tions of Crime and Stephen Lyng's (Lyng, 1990) concept of "edgework." In particular, Young and Hayward started to blend "a phenomenology of transgression" with a sociological and structural analysis of late modern culture to create what O'Malley and Mugford (O'Malley and Mugford, 1994) had earlier referred to as a "historically contextualised phenomenology" (Hayward, 2004; Young, 2003). This allowed cultural criminologists to open up questions of etiology to include the wider contexts in which individual experience takes place (Hayward, 2015).

Rafter and Brown argue that a growing number of contemporary films about crime stem from the angst of late modernity and are characterized by "byzantine narratives" and characters whose "lives are marked by a sense of futility, moral ambiguity, and doubts about the possibility of justice." Late modernity – characterized by "a rapid global tempo that is often atomizing and isolating in its effects on the individual" (Rafter and Brown, 2011) drives characters in late modern crime films to search for meaning and justice by engaging in transgressive behaviors that may only further dislocate them from mainstream society (Kohm and Gasek, 2016).

At the start of the film, after hearing the radio interview and the protest voices in Gotham City, Arthur Fleck is forcing his face into a smile. In the second scene, we see Arthur dressed in his clown attire dancing with an advertising sign – which written on it "Everything Must Go"-. The Gotham youth beat Arthur after they steal his sign. As he is beaten, he feels like a child who finds himself unable to retaliate. Therefore, he prefers to lie on the ground for a few moments. By the end of the first major scene, it is understood that Arthur is not respected by the society he lives in, which sets the stage for the ontological deprivation. Arthur lives in the city of Gotham with his mother, Penny Fleck, who refers to him by the nickname, "Happy".

Arthur has dreams of becoming a stand-up comedian, but instead has a job working as an entertainment clown. Despite contradictory emotions, Arthur is sometimes kind, loves children, takes his mother to the bathroom, and kisses his friend Gary after Randall's murder. Arthur is a symbol of the underprivileged class with emotional malaise and delusion; he laughs hysterically in the sad moments of his life. These laughs take him to the point of nausea, and if Arthur's laughter is not the body's natural reaction, he may even go to the point of suffocation. That's why Arthur opens his joke journal, staring often at the phrase, "I just hope my death makes more cents than my life." Nevertheless, a piece of paper with a description of his mental illness helps others to understand his conditions: "Forgive my laughter. I have a condition." However, the initial scenes of the film show that Arthur is a normal human with a degree of self-control under normal circumstances.

Arthur's explanation of the murder of three Wall Street men in the subway shows that he did not initially react to the violence of the three men. But when the three men are mocking Arthur's laughter, he kills them. In other words, Arthur's humiliation in the form of a madman, not a sick

man, incites him to commit a crime. Explaining his past and discovering Penny's relationship with Thomas Wayne, Arthur finds that she was institutionalized at Arkham Asylum for personality disorder. After stealing her medical files, he reads that he was adopted by his mother and faced severe neglect while her boyfriend repeatedly physically abused Arthur in his youth. Also included in the file are adoption papers which indicate that Arthur was indeed adopted, as suggested earlier by Thomas Wayne (Reed and Boppre, 2021). What afflicts Arthur is the deception of Penny; because while Arthur is in love with his mother, but Penny's true love was not Arthur. Understanding this old relationship, Arthur goes back to his mother's hospital room and suffocates her with a pillow.¹ While painting his face in preparation for attendance in the talk show of Murray Franklin, two of his former coworkers, Randall and Gary, show up at his apartment. In this scene, Randall who gave Arthur the gun tells him about his accusation. Due to this accusation and their past relationship, He takes a pair of scissors from his mother's makeup stand and brutally murders Randall with them. He kisses Gary goodbye and lets him go unharmed, as Gary had always been kind to him at work. The murder of Murray on the talk show is justified in the same way; Because Murray plays Arthur's stand-up comedy on his show and mocks him. Given this, after confessing to the murder of three men, he tells Murray, "You are like everyone else. You play the video. You're inviting me to your program to making fun of me ... What do you get when you cross a mentally-ill loner with a society that abandons him and treats him like trash?" and then proceeds to kill him.

Social psychology suggests that people who have been humiliated may respond with social harassment (Femenia, 2008). As a result, people who have been humiliated may seek social revenge (Muenster and Lotto, 2010). In such situations, the desire for revenge can be so intense that a person may act impulsively and disregard the consequences of their actions. In this context, if Arthur's crime is justified based on revenge for social humiliation, he can still not be controlled by increasing the severity of the punishment as deterrence. If Arthur committed seven murders, it would be necessary to investigate the role that social humiliations played in motivating his actions. Perhaps this is why the scene in which Arthur murders Randall shows him with half of his face and body covered in blood and the other half clean. This image may suggest that good and evil coexist within all humans, and that no one is entirely good or entirely evil. This scene, which resembles a similar scene in the film, *The Dark Knight*, may serve as a reminder that all humans are flawed, and that good and evil coexist within everyone

1 However, Arthur is in a hurry to kill his mother; because by looking at a photo of Penny's youth and reading the romantic phrase behind it – Love Your Smile- written by Thomas Wayne, he realizes that Wayne was his real father. However, the status of Penny's medical record and its change by Wayne demonstrates the power of wealthy groups in capitalist societies.

Category	Concepts	Signs
The Transgressive Subject	The Joker's Fucking Comedy Life	Hysterical laughter and Mental illness Broken family Closure of the social service center Thomas Wayne as his father Getting fired from his job Arthur's joke journal
	Poverty	Living in the suburb Old apartment Poor family Awful elevator Dirty and high stairs
	Humiliation/ Revenge	The murder of the three men The murder of Penny The murder of Randall The murder of Murray

Table 1. Thematic Analysis Based on the Transgressive Subject

Findings of researches mainly address the role of negative emotions such as humiliation, fear, hate, anger, guilt, contempt, and disgust in committing terrorist operations. Such jihadi groups provide their recruits with a well-developed structure and system, which generate negative feelings such as hate, anger, and disgust toward an out group (Haq et al., 2020). People usually hate those they are afraid of (Gaylin, 2003). Hatred is coupled with anger as a way to feel safe from a threatening situation (Freyd, 2002). The feeling of hatred is described by Beck (2002) as a result of feeling threatened in certain situations or by the image of an evil person. Radical young people act out of anger and hate. In most cases, such hatred even lasts a lifetime (Ljamai, 2020). Leaders of jihadi movements also recognize the importance of emotion in mobilizing the sometimes latent political agency of their members. So, jihadi literature is replete with narratives that use emotion to trigger direct political action. In the case of neojihadi terrorism, filmatic montages such as those of the Baghdad Sniper, still images, websites, and sermons designed to motivate and inspire young men to accept violent forms of neojihadist ideology all illustrate the strong emphasis given to emotive narratives. Emotive writing is combined with pictures showing Muslim people being mistreated or humiliated in an attempt to provoke or escalate outrage and anger within the wider Muslim community. These emotional appeals are often then juxtaposed against pictures of Muslims actively fighting American troops in Iraq and Afghanistan, or resisting forces in other conflict zones such as Chechnya and Kashmir, in an attempt to ignite emotional responses and transform them into political action (Wright-Neville and Smith, 2009). Those who have sought to ground terrorist behavior in broadly psychopathological traits (as opposed to mental illness) have tended to draw unproblematically on the passions to emphasize the role of emotions such as anger, frustration, aggression, humiliation and hatred. As such, Peters claims

to have found evidence of “the madness of a civilization” in the political passions of terrorist activists (Peters, 2002). Therefore, jihadi terrorists are criminals who have their own criminal processes and commit crimes based on anger, aggression and hatred.

The Soft City

Jonathan Raban, in his book “Soft City” contrasts two cities. On the one hand, he notes the conventional depiction of the city as the site of mass planning, rationalization, consumption and production - the urban grid of neighbourhoods and zones, an iron cage where humanity is channeled and pummeled. On the other hand, there is the “soft city”, an alternate “space” where all sorts of possibilities are on offer, a theatre of dreams, an encyclopaedia of subculture and style (Raban, 1974). This “dual” analysis of urban space, not of spatial segregation and division within the city – although these, of course, inevitably occur – but in the sense of the under life of the city, runs throughout cultural criminology and should be considered a key organizational concept. This is the world where transgression occurs, where rigidity is fudged, where rules are bent, and lives are lived (Hayward and Young, 2004).

One of the most important methods for recognizing city is a critical system of material/spatial phenomenology known as “the morphology of the cultural landscape”. Hence, the cultural geography which is fashioned from a natural landscape by a culture group is a good discipline to understand real culture (Hayward, 2012). Hayward and Young’s second motif draws our attention to the way crime films open up the strange spaces or the under life of society to view. We argue that the imagery and narratives in crime films allow audiences to discover and vicariously experience these strange cinematic spaces that represent the city’s under life. (Kohm and Gasek, 2016).

While, the city is a composite of everyday round of urban life like the practicalities, prosaic routines, anxieties and changeable moods (Hayward, 2004), the carnival shows the criminal face of cities. In fact, the carnival causes the under life of the city to emerge from isolation and show themselves in public. Carnival mediates the order and disorder (Bakhtin, 1984) and is a place to enjoy moving within the boundaries of social and personal restrictions (Bakhtin, 1986). Accordingly, the carnival is an extraordinary event in which the pleasure and revolt against the prevailing and static norms play the most important role (Bakhtin, 1973). Therefore, the structure and image of the carnival legitimize unacceptable and even criminal behaviors (Bristol, 1985). Thus, Carnival legitimizes violation, challenges the hegemony of powerful hierarchies, and ridicules it. Therefore, the language of parody and humor is used to oppose the existing conditions instead of scientific discussion and exchange of views.

The awful situation of Gotham consists of crisis of rats and massive garbage leads to the formation of a carnival. So, due to poverty, conflicts and unjust opportunities, people take to the streets and form a protest movement. The Carnival of Gotham is a protest movement against the capitalist system and an opportunity to express the concerns and needs of the lower class. However, the carnival is associated with the clown symbol; because the lan-

guage of the carnival is a language of humor and irony, and the clown is a symbol of laughter and ridicule. So, the protest of Gotham lower class is not through ideology, but the language of chaotic protest along with expressing disapproval of the law and uncontrolled emotions manifested in the form of breaking windows and arson. On the night of the carnival, Arthur's appearance on Murray's talk show and his confession to the murder of the three Wall Street men makes Arthur, or the new Joker, the main character of the carnival. The simultaneous appearance of Arthur in Murray's talk show, his confession to the murder, and the carnival of Gotham illustrate the conflict between those who disrupt the capitalist order and the owners of power and wealth. This is why Arthur, who feels upset when he arrested by the police, smiles when he sees the power of the carnival and describes it as a beautiful event. In this scene, following a car accident caused by one of the protestors, Joker is taken unconscious out of the back of the police car and placed on the car's hood. Upon awakening, Joker stands on top of the police car like a hero, and shows the non-verbal approach of the carnival through his body language and rhythmic movements. For the same reason, Joker even uses his fingers to create a bloody smile on his face and he begins to dance to show that the suffering and humiliation inflicted on him has brought him to the pinnacle of victory.

Category	Concepts	Signs
The Soft City	Civil Protest	Protest interview Protest voices on the radio Clown Masks Support for the killer of three men Protest against economic inequality
	The Crisis of Rats	Rebellion of rats in lower areas Heap of garbage on the streets The crisis of rats as economic inequality
	The Gotham Carnival	Rebellion of Gotham people The murder of Thomas Wayne Arson and vandalism Down with Wayne Weakening of the police force Strengthening the lower class

Table 2. Thematic Analysis Based on the Soft City

The concept of soft city is well seen in jihadi terrorist groups; because jihadi terrorists secretly organize terrorist activities. In this context, the complex networks of terrorist groups show the underground life of society. Jihadi groups are explicitly illegal organizations that operate clandestinely to avoid direct exposure to officials and the public. Because of that, Terrorist groups can have at least three dimensions of complexity or differentiation consists of

vertical, horizontal, and spatial to hide their illegal activities (Dugan and Gibbs, 2009). So, terrorist acts are carried out by a loosely integrated web of violent actors, aptly described by experts as an "armed underground" that is comprised of diffuse and fractured networks linking together militants, members of organized crime, and corrupt state officials. These networks also tend to be permeated by different ethnic, religious, and local ties (Omelicheva, 2018).

Due to the underground activities of terrorist groups, the penal systems have used pre-emptive criminalization and surveillance programs against people suspected of committing terrorist crimes.

The Lens of Adrenaline

Against the two analysis of criminality – the rational calculator and the mechanistic actor –, Hayward and Young consider cultural criminology as counterpose to naturalism. The actual experience of committing crime, the actual outcome of the criminal act, bears little relationship to these narrow essentialisms. Rather, the adrenaline rush of crime, that takes place, as Jeff Ferrell puts it, between “pleasure and panic”, the various feelings of anger, excitement, exuberance, excitement, fear, do not fit these abstractions. Crime is seldom mundane and frequently not miserable. The central idea defended by Hayward, Ferrell, Young among others, is that individuals get involved in crime; because it enables them to experience emotions. Crime offers an exciting liberation from an alienated and mundane reality and the opportunity to obtain sense and transcendence. Nor does it have the instrumental payoffs that rational choice theory would suggest; nor for that matter the adjustments for the deficit of inequality that sociological positivism would point as the major mechanism. Furthermore, such feelings of intensity extend throughout the whole process of crime and its depiction: from the offender, to the intense gutted feelings of the victim, to the thrill of the car chase, to the drama of the dock, to the trauma of imprisonment. And behind this, the outrage of the citizen, the moral panics of the media, and the fears of urban dwellers, whether in the streets or at home (Hayward and Young, 2004). In sum, while the transgressive subject focuses on emotional needs in the etiology of crime, the lens of adrenaline shows feelings that come from crime. In films about crime and justice, intense feelings of desire link the audience to representations of crime and (in) justice and oscillate between pleasure and revulsion. The visual elements of the film including what images are seen and left unseen further align audiences viscerally and emotionally with the experience of crime and loss (Kohm and Gasek, 2016).

After killing three Wall Street men, Arthur enters an abandoned house and dances. These rhythmic movements can be the symbol of satisfaction and pride. Arthur also takes a deep breath accompanied by satisfaction after Penny’s murder. After Randall’s murder, the combination of makeup and blood on Arthur’s face is accompanied by a smile of satisfaction. In the same scene, drinking Randall’s blood by Arthur represents anger in committing a crime. So, these violations can be also perceived as a pleasure, anger and excitement. Such feelings are important parts of social life and are transferred to cultural forms or originated from them in some cases. Accordingly, the immediate delight of any kind of feelings is at the center of individual decisions, regardless of concepts such as de-

viance and crime. Hence, contemporary human seeks to satisfy his needs and restrictions through risk, pleasure, and excitement (Forster, 1995). The second shot fired at Murray in the talk show is another indication that Arthur commits crime according to lens of adrenaline. After killing the psychiatrist, the character of Joker changes in a way that crime becomes a part of his daily activities, and because of this, he feels more pleasure in this murder.

The final shots of the film show Arthur walking down the hallway of the asylum, leaving bloody footprints as he goes, inferring that he killed or at least severely injured his therapist. In particular, committing a crime satisfies emotional needs, strengthens the sense of self-confidence of Arthur, and improves his mental state; in a way that he quits his medication and his hysterical laughter decreases significantly. All of these suggest that committing a crime turns Joker’s weak personality into a strong one. So, committing crime and gaining confidence after the subsequent murders, causes Arthur to enter Murray’s show with high self-confidence and impress everyone. That is why, unlike the initial scenes, where tired and miserable, Arthur stares up the outskirts of Gotham City and has no hope or haste to reach his destination, and in the present scenes he never reaches the end of the stairs, in the final scenes, he is not even trying to climb up, but he comes down the stairs triumphantly.

The killing of three Wall Street men, Murray Franklin on the live talk show and the therapist, is a symbol of lens of adrenaline in the Joker. However, the Joker’s murders contradict the rational choice theory; because committing a crime in the subway, live TV and hospital causes the offender to be arrested. According to the theory of rational choice, an offender is a person who commits a crime based on a cost-benefit approach. Therefore, mathematical and calculating logic is very important in the personality of the offender. For this reason, the Joker’s murders violate the classical principles of rational choice theory. But we must point out that the classical reading of rational choice bases the benefits of crime on the basis of material matters and the costs of crime in the form of punishment. Accordingly, the Joker’s murders are not consistent with rational choice theories. But crime in late modernity has changed the manifestations of delinquency. For this reason, emotions and the fulfillment of psychological needs also form an important part of modern rational choice. In this context, a person commits a crime due to psychological needs. Thus, it must be said that the Joker commits murders in order to satisfy his psychological needs on the one hand and to show that punishment does not lead to deterrence, on the other hand.

Category	Concepts	Signs
The Lens of Adrenaline	Anger	Hitting the trash after being fired Randall murder with scissors Take a deep breath after killing Penny Murder of Penny while she had a stroke
	Excitement	The murder of Murray in the live show The second shot fired at Murray Loud Laughter after watching the sabotage at the carnival Gain confidence after committing a crime
	Pleasure	Dancing after the murder The second shot fired at Murray Killing a psychiatrist with his hands tied Quit psychiatric medication Joining the Gotham Carnival

Table 3. Thematic Analysis Based on the Lens of Adrenaline

The concept of lens of adrenaline offers a new approach to crime. Accordingly, crime in the postmodern period is different from classical approaches. So, the commission of a crime by jihadi terrorists violates the classical principles of rational choice theory. For example, consider suicide bombers. The suicide bombers carry out terrorist operations realizing that they will die. Suicidal terrorists tend to die, but not to death that does not benefit them. Perhaps it can be said that this issue reflects the logic and accountability of suicide terrorists, which has gradually become a culture among perpetrators of terrorist crimes (Weinberg and Pedahzur, 2010). In other words, suicide bombing should never be considered unwise; because in the ideology of terrorists, the concept of rationality is derived from ideological approaches, and therefore, the spiritual rationality considered by terrorists is not compatible with the material rationality of the theory of rational choice. Thus, it can be said that the specific nature of terrorist crimes and the role of ideology in committing these crime have changed the concept of rationality. The difference is that the promise of heaven and religious motives are the most important basis for cost-benefit analysis. More precisely, the commission of a crime in the light of religious ideology gives rise to a particular reading of the concept of rationality. This reading of the concept of rationality corresponds to the hereafter. Therefore, rationality in the light of religious ideology does not include only the formal penal system. In other words, a person who commits a crime based on religious ideology prefers the approval and reward of the Shari'a to the punishment of the political system and, therefore, is not afraid of formal punishment.

The Attentive Gaze

A primary goal of cultural criminology is to understand how mediated processes of cultural reproduction constitute the experience of crime, self, and society under conditions of late modernity (Kidd-Hewitt and Osborne, 1995; Manning, 1999). According to Hayward and Young cultural criminology stresses the mediated nature of reality in late modernity; subcultures cannot be studied apart from their representation and ethnography and textual analysis cannot be separated (Hayward and Young, 2004). Because of this, the orthodox sequence of first the mass media and then its effects cannot be maintained: "Criminal events, identities take life within a media-saturated environment and thus exist from the start as a moment in a mediated spiral of presentation and representation ... Criminal subcultures reinvent mediated images as situated styles, but are at the same time themselves reinvented time and time again as they are displayed within the daily swarm of mediated presentations. In every case, as cultural criminologists we study not only images but images of images, an infinite hall of mediated mirrors" (Ferrell and Sanders, 1995). However, late/postmodern crime can draw attention to this hall of mirrors in an infinite gallery of representations of (in) justice and raise questions about our ability to see the truth. The very best of critical or alternative crime films (Rafter, 2006) do this in ways that subvert or disrupt widespread assumptions or societal "myths" about crime and justice (Kohm and Gasek, 2016).

At the first episode of the movie, Arthur has a normal life as an interested person to stand-up comedy. When Randall gives Arthur a gun after him being beaten by a group of young men and then a bullet is accidentally shot,

Arthur's fear is a good evidence of his low criminal capacity. However, killing the three men in the subway changes the course of Arthur's life. After killing them and in Arthur's mental imagination, going to Sophie's apartment, playing the song and slow dancing illustrates Arthur's insistence on committing a crime very well. After getting fired from his job, Arthur destroys the clock and changes the sign "Don't Forget to Smile" to "Don't Smile". From this scene we understand the crime has become a part of Arthur's life. Stealing the hospital file, taking revenge from the police force, killing Penny, Randall, Murray and finally psychiatrist all indicate that crime is an integral part of Joker's life. To speak of crime as culture is to acknowledge at a minimum that much of what we label criminal behavior is at the same time subcultural behavior, collectively organized around networks of symbols, ritual, and shared meaning. Put simply, it is to adopt the subcul-

ture as a basic unit of criminological analysis. While this general insight is hardly a new one, cultural criminology develops it in a number of directions. Bringing a postmodern sensibility to their understanding of deviant and criminal subcultures, cultural criminologists argue that such subcultures incorporate - indeed, are defined by - elaborate conventions of argot, appearance, aesthetics, and stylized presentation of self and thus operate as repositories of collective meaning and representation for their members. Within these subcultures as in other arenas of crime, form shapes content, image frames identity (Ferrell, 1999). However, after getting arrested, the killing of the psychiatrist marks the culmination of crime as culture in Arthur's character. Handcuffed and laughing nervously, he kills psychiatrist. Therefore, crime in this field refers to a situation in which Joker considers the commission of a crime as an integral part of his life.

Category	Concepts	Signs
The Attentive Gaze	Arthur as a law-abiding citizen	Trying for self-control Inability to use a gun The sudden shooting and Arthur's fear Kindness to his mother and children Inability to retaliate Gotham youth
	Joker as a persistent offender	Destroying the clock after being fired The theft of medical file Serial killings

Table 4. Thematic Analysis Based on the Attentive Gaze

The criminal subcultures in jihadi terrorist groups can be examined on the basis of attentive gaze. Sageman (2008) stated that "Terrorism emerges out of a political subculture ... Just as these terrorists emerge from a neo-jihadi subculture rejecting the values of the West". The ethnography of terrorist groups shows that members of terrorist groups have specific subcultures due to their particular religious ideology. These subcultures which consider committing a crime as an everyday culture can explain crime as culture in cultural criminology. In addition, the recruitment of jihadi groups is analyzed in the same context. The representation of terrorist activities by the leaders of terrorist groups is such that it provides an ideal picture of terrorist activities. According to Sunde et al. (2020) "analyzing the complex cultural architecture of jihadi propaganda and motivation makes sense of what might otherwise seem senseless. It can help by stressing the importance of human experience and agency in the conduct of war, insurgency and counter insurgency, and show how trivial matters such as storytelling, clothes, music, rituals and adrenaline are in fact powerful forces within a subculture".

Dangerous Knowledge

According to Hayward and Young, the traditional positivism of sociologists and psychologists, or the new "crime science" of Marcus Felson and the rational choice/routine activity theorists, have exceptional interest in maintaining rigid definitions and demarcations between science and non-science, between crime and "normality", between the expert and the criminal, between criminology and more humanistic academic disciplines - and even between the individuals studied themselves as isolated atoms incapable of collective activity. It is the nature of cultural criminology that it questions all these distinctions and is thus an anathema to the project of criminology as a "science" of crime. As such its "intellectual lawlessness" serves as a direct challenge to such an orthodoxy. If, by questioning established definitions, focusing on subjective emotions, countering the heartless numeric abstractions of positivistic criminology, and generally adding a human dimension to the late modern crime problem we "make a mess of the field" of criminological "knowledge", then let it be stated here without reservation; we make no apology for our action. These, then, are some of the ways in which cultural criminology seeks to counter mainstream criminology's

modern (allegedly) “scientific methods”. Whether we can achieve our goal of derailing contemporary criminology from the abstractions of administrative rationalization and statistical complexity remains to be seen. In the meantime, however, we will continue our work at the margins; for it is here, in these forgotten spaces that the story of crime so often unfolds (Hayward and Young, 2004). Lastly, crime films have the potential to produce subjugated, dangerous knowledge that disrupts notions of ontology, identity, sexuality and desire. Reading cinema as a type of popular criminology (Rafter, 2007), we argue that crime films constitute popular cultural efforts to understand the causes and consequences of crime in society. While conventional Hollywood crime films buttress and lend ideological support to conventional ideas about society and the justice system, alternative and critical crime films have subversive potential. In particular, the visual and cinematographic nature of film presents unique opportunities to disrupt our ontological assumptions about justice and truth. (Kohm and Gasek, 2016).

Crime in cultural criminology should be understood as creative motivated behavior expressing issues of identity, lifestyle and resistance and is embedded in particular sub-cultures (Hayward and Young, 2007). Deviant subjects attempt to make sense involve a political “rebellion”, a capacity to resist, defy and distort meanings and images assigned by dominant power groups (Presdee 2000; Ferrell, 2007). However, Joker as the protagonist of the film becomes the symbol of the protest movement and the hero of the clown carnival. Yet, the important question is whether Joker is a political figure and an anti-capitalist in this film or not?

Examination of the character of Joker and his dialogues shows that Joker is a narcissistic and non-political character. He frequently emphasizes in his dialogues that he is not a political figure or concerned with fighting against capitalism. In the first scene of the film, he tries to show his indifference. Therefore, although Arthur is from the lower class and faces economic pressure, he tries his best to hide this fact. Even, Joker doesn't approach Thomas Wayne because of financial issues, but he is trying

to find his father. Now, a more important question is why Joker becomes a symbol of the protest movement against capitalism? It seems that the murder of three Wall Street men by Joker means that he has a political character. However, he did not kill them for anti-capitalist motives, and he did not even know at the time of the murder that they belonged to the upper class. Thus, it is clear that Joker is not a political figure fighting against capitalism, while the director considers him a symbol of the protest movement and a carnival hero. So, Joker's heroism is a social construction of reality. The Joker is not introduced as the murderer of seven people in this film but as a symbol of the protest movement and the carnival of the underprivileged. This is why he stands heroically among people, although the process of the film could have introduced him as the antagonist.

However, there are some images and symbols artistically and intelligently that perform this heroization process successfully. For example, the clocks show 11:11 in three different scenes of the film. The time 11:11 can be a symbol of verse 11 of Psalm 11 of the King James Bible, according to which God says He would bring evil upon them, and they would not be able to flee. Although they cry for Him, He would not listen to them. Ultimately, the silent image of the clock culminates the heroization project using this interpretation. The director introduces Joker as the “savior” and the “promised” and capitalism as the symbol of “cruelty” on the one hand and associates the “Christian ideology” with the “negation of the capitalism” on the other hand. Meantime, when the carnival of the clown comes to power, the entrance to the Gotham movie theater is shown, in which the movie “Zorro: The Gay Blade” is on the screen. This film, which was on the screen in 1981, features the famous character “Zorro” who fights against villains. The director seeks to show his work real through this image along with placing a film in another. He warns the people of Gotham that the “real Zorro” is the Joker who has rebelled against the dominant capitalism, and therefore there is no need for them to watch the movie “Zorro”.

According to the concept of dangerous knowledge,

Category	Concepts	Signs
Dangerous Knowledge	Joker as a hero	Joker as a symbol of carnival Joker as a symbol of anti-capitalism movement Being encouraged by the people at the carnival being saved by the people at the carnival
	The social construction of reality	11:11. Zorro: The Gay Blade movie at the box office of Gotham cinema Emotionalization of the crime People's sympathy with the Joker

Table 5. Thematic Analysis Based on the Dangerous Knowledge

terrorist groups try to justify the crime by neutralization techniques like denial of responsibility, denial of injury, denial of victim, condemnation of the condemners, and the appeal to higher loyalties. This is especially done through radicalization. Radicalization is a process of relative change in which the individual or a group undergoes an ideological transformation in order to achieve political goals. The pursuit of profound radical changes in society can lead to the rejection of democratic principles, and possibly to the use of violence (Ashour, 2009; Kundnani, 2014; Wilner and Dubouloz, 2009). It is a process whereby confidence in the political system diminishes and people become increasingly isolated (Ljamaï, 2020). So, radicalization not only encompasses the prejudiced thoughts and negative feelings of members of terrorist groups, but also refers to a process in which individuals are at risk of committing terrorist crimes. According to the findings, what leads to the commission of terrorist crimes with prejudice and hatred is derived from ideological extremism and fundamentalism (Borum, 2017). In this case, the sacred values play a major role in carrying out terrorist events (Webber and Arie, 2017). In other words, radicalization as a complex process in jihadi terrorist groups leads to the formation of dangerous knowledge in the first step and after that religious fundamentalism causes

the creation of transgressive subject, lens of adrenaline, and attentive gaze.

Conclusion

Criminological analysis of the film suggests that Joker as the main character of the film suffers from a neurological disorder. The trajectory of crime committed by Joker can be evaluated by the lens of adrenaline and transgressive subject. In this spirit, Joker kills someone who is awful; as he says: "I killed them; because they were awful". This reflects the Joker's crime in the light of feelings such as humiliation, revenge, excitement and anger. New forms of crime in late modernity are an exact response to unequal structures and challenge rational choice. Hence, Joker kills Murray in the live talk show without considering the cost-benefit analysis. The unequal structures in Gotham city turn from personal levels to social levels; because of that the soft face of Gotham shifts to a criminal manner. The people of Gotham take to the streets and create a carnival. The Gotham carnival is a response to capitalism and a riot against powerful. In this spirit, Joker is introduced as a symbol of resistance and protest movements.

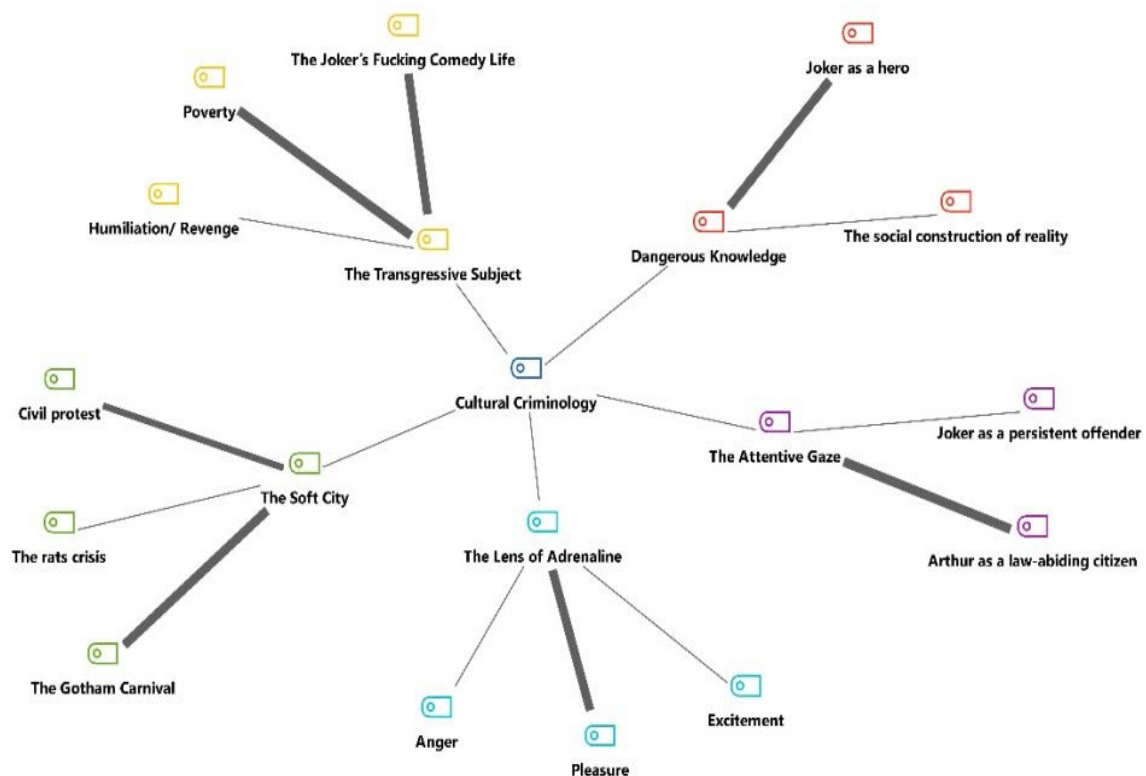


Figure 1. Thematic Networks of Hayward and Young's Framework in the Film²

2 It must be noted that line width indicates the frequency of data in that category.

This thematic map as an output of thematic analysis based on deductive qualitative analysis approves the relationship between the five motifs and the film events such as Joker's "fucking comedy life", the Gotham carnival and emotional needs. Also, the film uses signs, symbols and significations to represent the inclusion of irrationality and emotions in the explanation of crime. Therefore, the proposed model accurately confirmed the relationship between the five motifs and the main events of the film.

Cultural criminology encourages us to analyze crime films as effort for better understanding of crimes in real life. Thus, the film reflects some structural challenges in the Gotham society. We see the lack of community services, class distance, inequality, and poverty as cinematic signs that prove some political problems. Through a criminological examination of the Joker as a visual product, we conclude that the Joker is a symbolic character who can play a criminal role in social life. Because of that, we can consider jihadi terrorists as real-life jokers in social life. ISIL terrorist attacks in Paris, Brussels, Berlin, Manchester, Barcelona, and Ankara can be well analyzed based on five motifs of cultural criminology.

Despite the above, based on visual criminology, it seems that the Hayward and Young's model has some challenges. Visual criminology emerges from a call to rethink the manner in which images are reshaping the world and criminology as a project. Visual criminologists pursue a refinement of concepts and tools as well as innovative new ones to tackle questions of crime, harm, culture, and control. They push crime and media scholars to investigate more deeply the role of the image itself, beyond conventional studies of crime and media (Brown, 2017). Visual criminology invites the development of alternative objectives and methodologies but with an astute understanding of its place within criminology and within broader historical visual knowledges, such as art history, visual culture, cultural studies, media studies, and critical theory (Carrabine, 2015). So, visual criminology, by focusing on the variables of knowledge about crime, can develop criminological theories. Based on visual criminology, significant events in the film illustrate some challenges in Hayward and Young's model. For example, this model lacks a clear idea about crime control in the context of culture. Because of killing seven people by Joker, cultural control of crime is a fundamental issue. However, the model has no idea about cultural policy and its role in crime control, cultural preventive measures, and appropriate cultural responses to the offender. Another important issue that has been neglected in this model is the cultural causes of crime. While the Hayward and Young model is the essence of cultural criminology in late modernity, it does not pay attention to the etiology of crime in the context of culture. Moreover, this model does not explain the process in which a criminal becomes a hero. While Joker kills the seven people, he is represented as a hero. In the final shots, he is encouraged by

the people of Gotham as a hero, when he stands on the top of police car. Because of that, some libertarian movements in the Middle East have taken the Joker as a symbol. Thus, cultural criminology studies must also consider the process by which the offender becomes a hero. Moreover, some other film events such as collective criminality, cultural-criminal policy, and cultural victims are also ignored in the model. Hence, it seems that attention to the above issues can improve the model of Hayward and Young.

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Preventing danger? No vax on social media

Prevenire il pericolo? I no vax nei social

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Abstract

As criminology is also focused on prevention, it begs the question of whether thoughts that could lead to harmful consequences are within its jurisdiction and if they can be restricted as a result. This query is prompted by an analysis of 100 social media posts by individuals who oppose the Covid-19 vaccine. Non-vaccination opinions were categorized based on expressions of freedom, health concern, pseudo-scientific opinions, and conspiracy beliefs. Additionally, the views of vaccine proponents who utilized scientific reasoning were examined. The debate centers around the conflict between freedom of thought expression and the potential danger of expressed opinions. Two principles collide: the right to freedom of thought expression protected by the Constitution's Article 21 and the safeguarding of public interests as possible limitations to freedom of speech.

Keywords: prevention, freedom of opinion, No vax, social media

Riassunto

Premesso che la criminologia si occupa anche di prevenzione, ci si pone la domanda se le manifestazioni di pensiero che potrebbero portare ad esiti deleteri siano oggetto della materia e addirittura se possano per questo essere limitate.

La domanda viene rivolta considerando le opinioni che emergono dall'analisi di 100 post su un social media frequentato soprattutto da persone avverse al vaccino contro il Covid-19.

Le opinioni dei No vax sono state distinte in quelle espresse in nome della libertà, della attenzione alla salute, di opinioni pseudoscientifiche e di credenze cospirative. Sono anche state prese in esame le opinioni di chi si dichiara a favore del vaccino in base a considerazioni scientifiche.

Sull'argomento del possibile conflitto fra libertà di manifestazione del pensiero e pericolo suscitato dalle opinioni espresse si scontrano due valori: quello appunto della libertà della manifestazione del proprio pensiero, anche sancita dall'art. 21 della Costituzione, e quello della tutela degli interessi collettivi o pubblici quale potenziali limiti alla libertà di espressione.

Parole chiave: prevenzione, libertà di opinione, No vax, social media

Preventing danger? No vax on social media

*“Tutto quello che vi dico tre volte è vero”
(Lewis Carrol, La caccia allo Snark)*

Se la criminologia ha fra i suoi oggetti la prevenzione, non dovrebbe essere *scandaloso* che si occupi di comportamenti eventualmente dannosi. Fin qui potremmo essere d'accordo in molti, ma se i “comportamenti” sono opinioni?

La faccenda diventa spinosa, intanto perché è di immediata evidenza da parte del potere – in questo caso leggi “legislatore” - il rischio di punire gli oppositori.

Sul valore, ma anche sui limiti, della libertà di parola sono state scritte tante pagine da chiedersi se ciò non sia uno dei motivi del disboscamento delle foreste amazzoniche, ma, per dirlo brevemente, una delle domande potrebbe essere: quali espressioni di opinione sono pericolose e, se ce ne sono, quali sarebbero in qualche modo da limitare?

In materia di diffusione di opinioni i media, tra cui i social in particolare, hanno innegabili vantaggi. La trasmissione di informazioni attraverso il web ha caratteristiche che la rendono fruibile e conveniente: è poco dispendiosa e utilizzabile da chi ha mezzi economici limitati che invece servono a chi voglia creare un giornale o una rete televisiva; dà l'illusione della possibilità di agire direttamente sul sistema politico e di essere libera da condizionamenti; dà anche un'illusione di impunità; ha il privilegio della rapidità di confezionamento e di propagazione; ha la prerogativa dell'ampiezza di diffusione anche transnazionale e non abbisogna di prossimità territoriale; ha una permanenza praticamente infinita con la possibilità di periodici ritorni di interesse.

Noi però, per statuto professionale di criminologi, ci concentreremo sui demeriti del web: se dà l'illusione di impunità dà anche un senso di deresponsabilizzazione; lo schermo del computer diviene schermo anche in senso metaforico favorendo la disinibizione; a differenza di quel che accade in una conversazione *vis-à-vis*, nella comunicazione attraverso la rete l'altro non è presente, né come interlocutore né come vittima di eventuali attacchi, e ciò può condurre a un distanziamento sia emotivo che etico. Infine, nei social network si è particolarmente inclini ad aderire ad opinioni che ci piacciono -bias di desiderabilità- e a quelle di persone che la pensano come noi – bias di conferma (Lazer et al., 2018; Sgobba, 2020) - il che può significare aderire ai messaggi che condividono i nostri pregiudizi.

Così i messaggi dei social media possono trovare cassa di risonanza nelle più bizzarre *fake news*: “La nostra è una democrazia dei creduloni”, dice dei fruitori Del Lago (Del

Lago, 2017) e, circa i propagatori, per Umberto Eco: “I social media danno diritto di parola a legioni di imbecilli” (Discorso tenuto all'Università di Torino in occasione del conferimento della laurea honoris causa, 11 giugno 2015). Da un punto di vista politico-giuridico si scrive della “*apparente democrazia informativa, che mette 'sullo stesso piano' operatori dell'informazione autorevoli e di consolidata reputazione, dotati di una struttura editoriale e il quisque de populo che si improvvisi creatore di informazione [...]. Nella dimensione del web, il rischio, in altri termini, è che 'uno valga uno' (Vigevani, 2023).*

Le *fake news* sarebbero particolarmente diffuse proprio riguardo al tema dei vaccini (Lazer et al., 2018), e il web, avverte Pedemonte, mette carburante nel motore dei No vax (Pedemonte, 2022).

Vale la pena di riportare le parole di Gianni Canova, Rettore dell'Università IULM, e di Marco Montorsi, Rettore della Humanitas University, pubblicate sul Corriere della Sera del 6 maggio 2023 a proposito dei meriti e dei demeriti dei social network in epoca e in materia di pandemia: “*Bisogna sapere che ci sono opportunità straordinarie: se qualcuno ha qualcosa da dire, se ha competenze e le capacità di comunicarle in modo semplice ed efficace [...]. Ma ci sono anche pericoli altrettanto straordinari. Questo è tanto più vero quanto più ci avviciniamo a temi e questioni di immediato interesse della persona. La salute, per esempio [...] Nel momento in cui apre un account social, uno vale uno [...] L'esperienza della pandemia non va dimenticata*” (Canova & Montorsi, 2023). Gli Autori aggiungono che informazioni non filtrate e non selezionate, quelle *fake news* che talora compaiono nei social media, sarebbero da definirsi pittoresche quando si tratta di terrapiattismo o di cospirazioni rettiliane, ma diventano problemi sociali se riguardano la salute.

Dunque, cosa si dice nei social media italiani a proposito del vaccino contro il Covid-19?

Abbiamo raccolto 182 post da un canale sul social media *You Tube* dal nome “La verità sui Vaccini”, commenti attribuibili a 100 persone perché ci sono frequenti battibecchi e alcuni partecipanti sono particolarmente fecondi, così i post sono più numerosi delle persone. Poiché le persone talora ribadiscono le loro argomentazioni, tali argomentazioni risultano essere 158.

Fin troppo ovvio che queste 100 persone non pretendono di avere rappresentatività statistica. Secondo l'aspettativa, comunque, e anche dato il nome del canale, i No vax sono superiori (n=64) ai favorevoli al vaccino *ed ai* contrari ai No vax (Pro vax n=36).

Non abbiamo potuto appurare il genere dei partecipanti perché la maggior parte ha usato dei nickname.

Considerando le 158 argomentazioni totali esaminate, per i **No vax** le argomentazioni (n=115) si distribuiscono come segue:

in nome della libertà	7
sulla salute e sulla scienza	71
sul complottismo	37

Per i **Pro vax** le argomentazioni (n=43) sono sostanzialmente di due tipi:

spiegazioni scientifiche per efficacia e non dannosità	29
spiegazioni scientifiche del danno per chi non si vaccina	14

Più precisamente, per i **NO VAX**:

In nome della libertà

Fra i 7 che sentono minacciata la loro libertà dalle norme per contenere il contagio c'è chi parla di "legge fascista", una persona paragona le restrizioni al Trattamento Sanitario Obbligatorio, o con assoluta chiarezza: "la salute è mia e decido io [...] Se non mi voglio vaccinare sono fatti miei e nessuno me lo può imporre".

Queste persone non sono sole: *"i nostri governanti hanno arruolato il popolo contro il popolo, diviso fra chi si è accorto dell'inganno e chi no. [...] La Propaganda lavora con la censura, le epurazioni, la diffamazione becera di chi dissente e l'opera bugiarda di convincimento. Quest'ultimo si basa soprattutto sulla diffusione di statistiche suggestive, fonte di false paure o aspettative. [...] A causa dello stato di emergenza il governo e pure il Parlamento hanno scavalcato la costituzione dello Stato"* (Camuso, 2022).

I nostri connazionali, per il vero, sembrano più disponibili. Una ricerca è stata effettuata dalla Università Statale di Milano, dall'Università Vita e Salute di Milano e dall'Università di Trento con la collaborazione di AstraRicerca: è stato intervistato un campione formato da 1.000 persone, rappresentativo per genere, età, collocazione sociale, etc. dei nostri connazionali. Si è chiesto loro se avessero rispettato le misure "anti Covid" e ben il 98% degli intervistati ha risposto di averle rispettate; quelli che non lo hanno fatto, nella maggior parte dei casi hanno risposto che le misure "violavano i miei diritti"; questa è però la percentuale all'interno di chi non ha seguito le norme, del 2% scarso del campione, non è il pensiero di tutti i nostri connazionali (Merzagora et al., 2020).

La convinzione secondo cui le restrizioni imposte dal Covid minano la libertà è diffusa anche a livelli intellettualmente prestigiosi. Il filosofo Giorgio Agamben accusa il governo di voler "militarizzare" il paese e imporre uno "stato di eccezione" che sospende la democrazia (Pedemonte, 2022).

Sulla salute e sulla scienza

I post che si rifanno all'idea che vaccinarsi nuoccia alla salute, e pertanto che da questo punto di vista non farlo sia una tutela, di solito uniti a quelli che si esprimono sulla (o forse "contro) la scienza, sono quelli più numerosi.

Per la salute, alcuni argomentano secondo il criterio post hoc ergo propter hoc, in una sorta di bias temporale, altri riportano aneddoti, esperienze personali o per sentito dire. Poiché uno dei partecipanti al social proclama che "il metodo scientifico non esiste", non ci si stupisce.

Commuovono comunque coloro i quali, in buona fede crediamo, scrivono dei loro figli che hanno contratto le più varie malattie dopo la somministrazione del vaccino. Commuove di meno chi ha scritto "mio figlio non si tocca" perché temiamo non lo faccia vaccinare in generale.

Sulla scienza Pedemonte scrive: *"Non si tratta di un problema marginale. Lo scetticismo verso la scienza è una malattia seria che può provocare gravi danni: seminare dubbi sui vaccini provoca morti"* (Pedemonte, 2022).

Nei nostri soggetti all'interno di questa categoria si trovano coloro che ritengono di essere esperti, in genere per essersi documentati attraverso la rete, anche se in realtà si tratta di doxa piuttosto che di episteme. Un Pro vax li definirà i "laureati su Facebook".

Ovvero anche, ironizza Asimov: *"la mia ignoranza vale quanto il tuo sapere"* (Asimov, 1980); invece noi daremo voce niente meno che a Socrate: *"la saggezza consisterebbe nell'occuparsi ciascuno delle cose sue [...] Esser saggi e conoscere se stessi consistono dunque nel saper che cosa si sappia e cosa non si sappia [...] Se dunque si vuole esaminare il valore della scienza medica, necessariamente s'ha da guardare ciò di cui essa consiste [...] Dunque si esaminerà, nelle parole e negli atti relativi a questo oggetto, ciò che dice, per vedere se dice la verità, e ciò che fa, per vedere se è fatto bene. -Per forza!- Ma si potrebbe dunque condurre questo esame e distinzione se non si possiede la medicina? -Certamente no.- Nessun altro, dunque, lo potrebbe tranne un medico"* (Platone, 1984).

Venendo a tempi più prossimi rispetto al quinto secolo avanti Cristo, si parla dell'effetto Dunning-Krueger che si verifica *"quando persone incompetenti non solo abbracciano opinioni erronee, e fanno quindi scelte sbagliate, ma la loro incompetenza fa in modo che, ritenendo di aver pensato e fatto la cosa giusta, ne ricavano la convinzione di aver fatto del bene e più sono incompetenti, più ritengono di far bene"* (Corbellini, 2019). E' l'idealismo pervertito (Merzagora, 2022; Merzagora & Caruso 2022), il fare il male per quella che si ritiene essere una giusta causa, o, per dirla con un proverbio: di buone intenzioni sono lastricate le vie dell'inferno.

Tornando ai nostri soggetti, taluni si pronunciano contrari alla medicina "allopatrica" e una persona chiede se esistono vaccini omeopatici dichiarandosi vegana e mai vaccinata in vita sua.

All'interno di questa categoria di scettici della scienza ci sono coloro che a dimostrazione della posizione contro il vaccino citano il disaccordo di alcuni medici. Per forza di cose gli scienziati non sono perfettamente e sempre d'ac-

cordo su tutto, ma i “mercanti di dubbi” creano incertezza, scetticismo, incredulità, disorientamento (Pedemonte, 2022) che fanno gioco per chi cerca di screditare i vaccini. “*L’incertezza è l’anima della scienza*” (Pedemonte, 2022), i cittadini però vogliono certezze, e se si dimostra o anche solo si dice loro che la scienza intanto progredisce quindi cambia e può fornire verità non certezze (Merzagora, 2006), finiscono per non credere più a nulla. La fiducia nella scienza invece è importante, anche perché le persone vi si affidano non sempre perché la capiscano, quanto perché le concedono una cambiale di fiducia.

C’è poi la “cattiva scienza” in cui Larson individua l’elemento più dannoso, poiché sono proprio coloro con credenziali mediche che alimentano paure esagerate o infondate (Larson, 2018). Nel nostro Paese quante sono le persone che non si sono vaccinate contro il Covid grazie a quegli “esperti”, magari microbiologi e professori universitari, che hanno dichiarato pubblicamente che il Covid era poco più di un raffreddore e che non si sarebbero vaccinati?

Infine, non siamo sicuri di definire con indulgenza “pseudoscienza” l’opinione dei due soggetti del nostro campione che indicano Satana come responsabile del Covid-19 e di quello che invece incolpa il Leviatano, ma forse scherzavano.

O forse no: secondo gli Evangelici ogni intervento sulla natura così come creata e dunque anche contro le malattie è da evitarsi (come fanno gli Evangelici miopi?), e utilizzano l’Apocalisse là dove dice che alla fine dei giorni la Bestia marchierà gli esseri umani con un segno, che guarda caso è il vaccino (Pedemonte, 2022).

Benchè non ispirati alla Bibbia, sui siti dei *Proud Boys*, gruppo di estrema destra statunitense, i vaccini sono definiti “strumenti per spazzare via la razza umana”, “armi di distruzione di massa”, “strumenti di controllo al servizio del governo usati per modificare il DNA umano e la razza umana” (Pedemonte, 2022).

Fra i nostri soggetti che forse scherzano, per sconfiggere il virus uno spera nell’intervento degli extraterrestri.

Sul complottismo

All’indomani della comparsa del Covid-19 un portavoce del ministero degli Esteri cinese ha pubblicato su Twitter un articolo dal titolo “Le prove che il virus è nato negli USA”, poco dopo i sostenitori di Trump hanno dichiarato che le affermazioni dell’Organizzazione Mondiale della Sanità in materia di pandemia fossero state ispirate dal partito comunista cinese (Sgobba, 2020). Non stupisce dunque che pure i partecipanti al social di cui ci stiamo occupando, persone qualsiasi, esprimano convinzioni complottiste.

Gli ideali della difesa della salute e della libertà talora si uniscono nell’attacco anche veemente al potere e agli scienziati che sarebbero ad esso asserviti, e nella convinzione del complotto. Il complottismo, in particolare nei confronti delle diverse agenzie del farmaco e nei confronti di Big Pharma, l’unione internazionale delle industrie farmaceutiche, viene sostenuto secondo una teoria diffusa

in rete e non solo (Jamieson Hall, 2021; Blaskiewicz, 2013).

Per Corbellini: la “pervasività culturale della pseudoscienza” -in cui appunto ricomprende le idee antivacciniste- “conduce volentieri a idee complottiste [...], quasi tutte le teorie pseudoscientifiche sulle cause delle malattie, sulla natura della salute o su come è fatto il mondo si fondano su qualche idea complottista, cioè su una teoria cospirativa. Si tratta di un insieme di false credenze per cui si accusano una o più persone o un’intera organizzazione ritenute responsabili di aver causato o nascosto un evento o un fatto, attraverso inganni o macchinazioni, e con un preciso scopo malevolo, dannoso o illegale” (Corbellini, 2019).

L’accusa fatta ai medici anche dal social network da noi esaminato è quella che essi siano una lobby impegnata in difesa dei propri interessi. Anche Donald Trump, d’altra parte, affermò che il Covid non solo fosse una malattia innocua ma pure che fossero i medici e le case farmaceutiche a diffondere gli allarmismi a fini di lucro (Pedemonte, 2022). Nei post da noi considerati si parla di medici asserviti o addirittura “venduti”, e di riviste scientifiche che pubblicano falsi e che sono anch’esse pagate dai “soliti noti” (a noi non sono noti, ma ciò sarà dovuto alla nostra ignoranza o alla nostra ingenuità).

Fra i medici o comunque gli scienziati “dichiarati coltusi” il più citato è Burioni, secondo solo nelle citazioni ingiuriose alla ministra Lorenzin (“venduta al diavolo”) perché il complotto è pure dei politici anch’essi prezzolati da Big Pharma.

In questo gruppo No vax appare con particolare chiarezza il “noi contro loro”, la “divisione esterna molto rigida per cui l’interno diventa buono e l’esterno diventa cattivo e minaccioso” (Colucci, 2022), e questo legato alla necessità dell’appartenenza ad un gruppo e a un’identificazione talmente determinata da portare all’estremo sacrificio, per esempio di quei negazionisti che giungono in ospedale in condizioni estreme ma rifiutano le cure: “Il sacrificio della vita quasi sempre lo vediamo legato a ideologie del ‘noi’ sempre molto potenti, dove c’è una tale identificazione con il gruppo [...]. Siamo talmente ‘noi’ che si muore piuttosto che uscire da quel gruppo. [...] una volontà a non voler rinunciare ad una appartenenza ideologica, una sorta di bandiera in cui mi avvolgo e mi lascio bruciare: come i kamikaze o gli aderenti ad una setta. E’ talmente forte l’identificazione con l’ideologia e con il ‘noi’, con il gruppo, che, se il gruppo decide così, si muore con il gruppo” (Favole, 2022).

Queste persone, aggiunge De Caro, formano “*micro-comunità identitarie*” (De Caro, 2022), e: “*Essere contrari ai vaccini fornisce un’identità forte. Le persone si riconoscono in questa identità, hanno la sensazione di far parte di un club esclusivo che si oppone alle élite, e questa negazione dà loro una sensazione di potere*” (Pedemonte, 2022).

La coesione è particolarmente facile per gruppi relativamente piccoli di “credenti anticonformisti”.

PER I PRO VAX

Spiegazioni scientifiche sull'efficacia e non dannosità dei vaccini; spiegazioni circa la dannosità di chi non si vaccina

Ci sono analogie, o almeno atteggiamenti uguali e contrari fra i No vax e i loro "oppositori".

Entrambi si basano sulle opinioni degli esperti, o atoproclamatisi tali, e sulla opinione della scienza.

Non sempre, da entrambe le parti, i toni sono pacati, altre volte, anzi, sono piccati, e non mancano gli insulti.

I "botta e risposta" si rifanno anche agli stessi argomenti, considerati da opposti punti di vista. I Pro vax richiamano i dati del calo o della scomparsa delle malattie infettive (che i No vax attribuiscono ad altre cause), si scagliano contro i "laureati su Facebook", quanto alla *presunta* causa dei vaccini per l'autismo, ripresa da alcuni No vax, ricordano Andrew Wakefield che nel 1998 pubblicò su una prestigiosa rivista scientifica un articolo che, in base allo studio di dodici casi, ipotizzava una correlazione tra vaccinazioni (contro il morbillo, la parotite e la rosolia) e autismo. La ricerca si dimostrò falsa, ma intanto il caso era scoppiato, anche grazie a una sapiente orchestrazione mediatica da parte dello "scienziato". Dietro la sua campagna c'erano interessi tutt'altro che ideali: per cominciare era stato pagato profumatamente da un avvocato per effettuare ricerche che andassero nella direzione voluta perché il legale contava di ottenere risarcimenti a favore di alcune famiglie di bambini autistici, poi Wakefield depositò una domanda di brevetto per la somministrazione singola dei vaccini e fondò una società che avrebbe dovuto produrli. In seguito la truffa, quella scientifica in primo luogo, venne alla luce, Wakefield fu anche radiato dall'ordine dei medici, ma intanto: "*Nel Regno Unito [...] La copertura vaccinale crollò a poco più del 75% e in alcune zone metropolitane della nazione scese fino a toccare il 50%. Le conseguenze di questo calo furono terribili*" (Burioni, 2019b; Pedemonte, 2022).

Un'altra analogia fra i nostri No vax e i nostri Pro vax è che tutti e due gli opposti schieramenti mostrano di usare i bias di conferma.

Conclusioni

La libertà di espressione è una grande conquista della democrazia. Lo sanno bene i dittatori che la temono più delle manifestazioni di piazza, perché in fondo a mandare qualche carro armato in piazza Tienanmen ci si mette di meno che a oscurare tutti i canali di informazione.

S'è detto in esordio che uno dei punti da considerare -forse "il" punto da considerare anche rispetto ai social media- è quello sancito dall'art.21 della Costituzione della libertà di manifestazione del proprio pensiero con la parola, lo scritto, "e ogni altro mezzo di diffusione". Diritto definito dalla Corte Costituzionale (168/1971) come "il più alto, forse" tra i "diritti primari e fondamentali", e se-

condo la Dottrina la "garanzia delle garanzie" (Vigevani, 2021).

Sempre secondo la Dottrina, inoltre, la garanzia fornita dall'art. 21 non si limita al "mero pensiero" ma anche all'attività che si traduce in "incitamento all'azione" (Barile, 1984).

Dopo di che le restrizioni a tale pure fondamentale libertà possono essere quelle che trovano fondamento nella salvaguardia di altri diritti, beni, interessi o valori oggetto di tutela costituzionale; fra gli interessi collettivi o pubblici che la Giurisprudenza costituzionale ha individuato quali potenziali limiti alla libertà di espressione vi è la tutela dei minori (Vigevani, 2021).

Il diritto di manifestare il proprio pensiero era stato sancito quando i Costituenti avevano in mente la stampa, per l'ovvia ragione che altri mezzi di diffusione non c'erano, poi venne discusso e confermato per la televisione e più tardi per "le" televisioni, quelle, per intenderci, non "di Stato", anche perché la formula costituzionale era ampia, tanto che il Legislatore costituzionale è stato definito "lungimirante" (Vigevani, 2023). Per lungimirante che fosse, però, i social media non li poteva prevedere, così: "le incessanti trasformazioni dei mezzi e delle modalità di comunicazione impongono di riconsiderare continuamente la portata e i limiti di tale diritto [di libertà di espressione] e di ritenere spesso precarie le soluzioni legislative alle nuove questioni che la realtà propone" (Vigevani, 2022).

Oggi la parte del leone delle comunicazioni la fa il web. Valgono per il web gli stessi principi per la libertà di manifestare il proprio pensiero?

I social media, per esempio, possono influenzare le opinioni politiche: ci sono più "navigatori" che scienziati di cui contare i voti. A proposito di diritti e di democrazia, qualcuno auspica addirittura l'epistemocrazia: "*per giustificare la democrazia abbiamo bisogno di spiegare perché e legittimo imporre su persone innocenti decisioni prese in modo incompetente*" (Brennan, 2018); "*quando alcuni cittadini sono moralmente irragionevoli, ignoranti o politicamente incompetenti, è lecito non consentire loro di esercitare autorità politica sugli altri. O impedendo loro di detenere il potere o riducendo il potere che hanno al fine di proteggere persone innocenti dalla loro incompetenza*" (Brennan, 2018).

Per la dannosità delle opinioni poi, chi nega l'esistenza del Covid o la sua gravità, chi si oppone al vaccino, non solo "*insulta l'intelligenza degli altri*" afferma Riccardo Illy, ma anche "*la memoria di quelli che sono morti, e dopo grandi sofferenze*" (Illy, 2022). Larson, che dirige il *Vaccine Confidence Index* inglese che monitora le notizie e i social media, ha indicato la disinformazione e la manipolazione delle informazioni sui social media circa i vaccini la più importante minaccia per la salute pubblica globale, e ha identificato l'Europa come il continente con il più alto grado di scetticismo sulla sicurezza del vaccino (Larson, 2018).

Le persone e le opinioni espresse dai No vax sono pericolose? Mettono a repentaglio quella tutela di diritti, beni, interessi o valori oggetto di fondamento costituzio-

nale che la Giurisprudenza costituzionale ha individuato quali potenziali limiti alla libertà di espressione, compresa la tutela dei minori?

Gli antivaccinisti non vogliono farci del male, anzi, vogliono salvarci. Questo è il guaio. Non agiscono per il male, tutt'altro, ma fra le dichiarazioni, che non si trovano solo in rete: "La guerra al virus è diventata il fine nobile che giustifica ogni mezzo, anche ignobile: una guerra sporca, ma necessaria" (Camuso, 2022). Il male per una "giusta causa" fa parte di ciò per il quale abbiamo citato "idealismo perverso", perché i No vax il male rischiano di farlo.

Nell'Ottocento gli antivaccinisti fondarono vere e proprie *anti-vaccination societies* diffondendo la paura nei confronti del vaccino contro il vaiolo benché in passato le epidemie di vaiolo avessero ucciso milioni di persone. Grazie al vaccino l'ultima morte per vaiolo si ebbe nel 1977, dopodiché il virus "semplicemente scomparve dalla faccia della terra" (Burioni, 2019a).

Nel 1952 negli Stati Uniti morirono per poliomielite 3.000 persone, molte delle quali erano bambini, e 21.000 rimasero parzialmente o totalmente paralizzate. E' grazie al vaccino che il numero dei casi è diminuito del 99% (Quammen, 2014). Del rimanente sarebbero stati responsabili (anche) gli antivaccinisti.

La somministrazione del vaccino contro lo *Haemophilus influenzae* di tipo *b* ha fatto diminuire del 99% il numero dei casi; nei soli Stati Uniti è stato calcolato che ciò ha evitato la morte di 20.000 bambini e lesioni neurologiche permanenti in 80.000 (Burioni, 2019a).

Nel 2000 ancora negli Stati Uniti si era raggiunta l'immunità di gregge contro il morbillo -che non è così indulgente come talora si è portati a credere-, ma fu poi persa "grazie" alla diffusione degli allarmi degli antivaccinisti.

A proposito di immunità di gregge, si ricordi che chi non si vaccina permette che i virus si diffondano e dunque mette in pericolo gli altri, a cominciare dai bambini. Il vaccino è "un rilevante atto di responsabilità sociale" (Burioni, 2019a).

Per chi è stato contrario alla vaccinazione contro la rosolia, Burioni osserva che vi sono stati casi di bambini "che in questo momento starebbero frequentando felici le scuole dando gioia ai loro genitori, ai parenti, agli amici, e che invece o sono al cimitero oppure sono irrimediabilmente menomati. Tutto questo solo perché le mamme non erano vaccinate contro la rosolia" (Burioni, 2019a).

Soprattutto sono i dati relativi alle vite risparmiate grazie al vaccino contro il Covid-19 a meritare riflessione: più studi riportano numeri molto rilevanti di vite salvate, sia negli Stati Uniti che altrove (Shoukat et al., 2022; Moghadas et al., 2021; Haas et al., 2021). In particolare negli USA è stato calcolato che nei primi sei mesi della campagna vaccinale e grazie ad essa ci sono stati 120.000 morti in meno di quelli che ci sarebbero stati senza il vaccino (Yamana et al., 2023). Tenendo conto che nel nostro Paese il vaccino è arrivato un paio di mesi dopo ma abbiamo poi vaccinato di più, questi numeri se applicati all'Italia permettono di stimare in circa 20.000 le persone salvate

dal vaccino (con un intervallo di incertezza da 15 a 40.000) (La Vecchia, 2023).

Gli esempi di vite risparmiate potrebbero continuare, ma anche questi dati non erano evidentemente presi in considerazione da coloro che hanno affermato di non vaccinare i propri figli per "salvarli".

Dunque: che fare? (Lenin, 1902).

Le strategie di controllo e di autocontrollo dei social media corrono anch'esse il pericolo di essere liberticide, e si sono rivelate di difficile esecuzione e di modesti risultati pure in altri ambiti. In Danimarca piuttosto è stata creata, da parte istituzionale, una pagina Facebook per rispondere alle domande sui vaccini, in particolare alle domande dei genitori (Larson, 2018). Questa potrebbe essere una via percorribile per navigare fra Scilla della libertà di manifestazione delle opinioni e Cariddi del rischio per la salute pubblica.

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The importance of school as a protective factor against deviant behavior and victimization of young adolescents in Italy: the results of the International Self Report Delinquency Study-3 (ISR-3)

L'importanza della scuola come fattore di protezione rispetto ai comportamenti devianti e alla vittimizzazione dei giovani adolescenti in Italia: i risultati dell'International Self Report Delinquency Study-3 (ISR-3)

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Abstract

Objective: The aim of this study is to observe whether the pleasure of the chosen school and having a favorite teacher are protective factors with respect to the quality of the relationship with one's parents, juvenile deviance, and victimization.

Methods: The study analyzes the data collected by a questionnaire "ISR-3", administered to an Italian sample of 3508 young students from 7th to 9th grade. The students live in Brescia, Florence, Genoa, Lecce, Messina, Naples, Siena, and Milan. Specifically, the authors analyze the association among the answers about the relationship with parents, the importance of school, and self-reported delinquency behaviors concerning the presence of the favorite teacher.

Results: The pleasure of the chosen school, the lack of a favorite teacher in the event of a transfer, and the fact that what the pupil's favorite teacher thinks is important are protective factors with respect to the commission of deviant acts, respect to the use of drugs, especially the so-called "Soft drugs" (ecstasy, LSD, speed, amphetamines) and "hard drugs" (heroin, cocaine, crack). Those who like their chosen school and have a favorite teacher have a better relationship with their parents, they feel emotionally supported by them to a greater extent than their peers who do not like the chosen school and do not have a favorite teacher. There is no significant relevance with regard to victimization except for cyberbullying: those who have a favorite teacher who misses them in case of transfer and care about their opinion appear to be more victims of cyberbullying.

Conclusions: Having a favorite teacher, the opinion of which is important for the pupil constitutes a protective factor against any deviant paths that the pupil may undertake and facilitates relations with parents.

Keywords: school, parental presence, juvenile delinquency, victimization, Italy

Riassunto

Obiettivo: Scopo di questo studio è osservare se il piacere la scuola scelta e avere un insegnante preferito siano fattori protettivi rispetto alla qualità della relazione con i propri genitori, alla devianza giovanile e alla vittimizzazione.

Metodi: Lo studio analizza i dati raccolti dal questionario "ISR-3", somministrato ad un campione di 3508 studenti italiani di età compresa tra i 12 ed i 16 anni. Gli studenti sono residenti nelle città di Brescia, Firenze, Genova, Lecce, Messina, Napoli, Siena e Milano. Nello specifico, gli Autori analizzano l'associazione esistente tra le risposte relative alla relazione con i genitori, all'importanza della scuola, alla commissione di comportamenti devianti, rispetto alla presenza di un insegnante preferito.

Risultati: Il piacere la scuola scelta, sentire la mancanza del professore preferito in caso di trasferimento e l'essere importante ciò che pensa l'insegnante preferito dell'alunno risultano essere fattori di protezione rispetto alla commissione di atti devianti, rispetto all'uso di sostanze stupefacenti soprattutto le c.d. "soft drugs" (ecstasy, LSD, speed, anfetamine) e "hard drugs" (eroina, cocaina, crack). Coloro cui piace la scuola scelta ed hanno un insegnante preferito hanno un miglior rapporto con i propri genitori, si sentono supportati emotivamente da loro in misura maggiore rispetto ai coetanei a cui non piace la scuola scelta e non hanno un insegnante preferito. Non ci sono rilevanze degne di nota per quanto concerne la vittimizzazione eccetto che per il cyberbullismo: coloro che hanno un insegnante preferito tale da sentirne la mancanza in caso di trasferimento a cui importa l'opinione di questi, appaiono essere maggiormente vittime di cyberbullismo.

Conclusioni: Avere un insegnante preferito, l'opinione del quale è importante per l'alunno costituisce un fattore di protezione rispetto ad eventuali percorsi devianti che può intraprendere l'alunno e facilita le relazioni con i genitori.

Parole chiave: scuola, presenza genitoriale, delinquenza giovanile, vittimizzazione, Italia

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The importance of school as a protective factor against deviant behavior and victimization of young adolescents in Italy: the results of the International Self Report Delinquency Study-3 (ISRD-3)

Introduzione

La scuola è la prima arena che il ragazzo affronta al di fuori dell'ambiente domestico, si presenta come un centro di socializzazione molto importante, secondo solo alla famiglia; laddove l'ambiente familiare manca di stabilità, non è funzionale ad una corretta crescita del bambino, il ruolo della scuola diventa essenziale, quasi insostituibile (Glueck & Glueck, 1930, 1934, 1953; Rodney, Johnson & Srivastava, 2005; Bonini, 2012).

Melita Cavallo (2002), giudice presso il Tribunale per i Minorenni di Roma, sostiene che non siano i ragazzi ad abbandonare la scuola quanto la scuola ad allontanarli; non è capace di aiutarli, di decifrare i loro messaggi di aiuto. Il sistema non è adeguato a dare sostegno ai ragazzi provenienti da aree di povertà economica, sociale e culturale, provocandone così l'allontanamento, uno scarso livello di autostima e maggiore probabilità che i ragazzi si inseriscano in percorsi devianti assieme al gruppo dei pari all'interno del quale ogni membro si sente accolto e con un'identità (Tian *et al.*, 2019; Lin *et al.*, 2020).

La socializzazione prevede diversi processi, uno di questi riguarda l'acquisizione di norme, di una disciplina e di valori attraverso l'interazione del minore con i vari ambienti con cui entra in contatto nel corso della crescita. Numerose sono le ricerche che mostrano come la famiglia e la scuola siano i due ambienti strettamente legati con la devianza dei giovani: un clima familiare accogliente, "sicuro" ed una scuola i cui insegnanti entrano in contatto con i bisogni dei propri alunni sono fattori di protezione rispetto alla devianza minorile (Miranda, Oriol & Amutio, 2019; Cores & Molina, 2022; Gualco *et al.* 2021; Dewangan & Verghese, 2022; Fine *et al.*, 2022). Di contro, un ambiente familiare caratterizzato da alta conflittualità tra i genitori, da violenza fisica e/o psicologica ed una scuola non attenta ai bisogni degli studenti, in cui avvengono numerosi episodi di bullismo o cyberbullismo, costituiscono forti fattori di rischio (Chang, 2016; Miranda, Oriol, Amutio, 2019; Dewangan & Verghese, 2022; Gualco *et al.* 2022). Interessante è la revisione sistematica della letteratura effettuata da Marracini e colleghi (2022) che ha preso in considerazione 33 studi che vedono come campione gruppi di studenti Indiani d'America e Nativi dell'Alaska, Ispanici e Latini, Neri e Afroamericani, Asiatici Americani e delle Isole del Pacifico, allo scopo di indagare l'ambiente scolastico come fattore di protezione rispetto alla devianza e al suicidio. I risultati hanno mostrato l'importanza che rivestono per gli studenti la costruzione di relazioni solide con il personale della scuola e la promozione da parte della scuola di

un senso di sicurezza ed autoefficacia negli studenti. Inoltre si è evidenziato come interventi che coinvolgono la scuola, le famiglie e la comunità dove sia la scuola a fare da ponte riducano la probabilità che i giovani commettano atti devianti ed esperiscano un senso di vuoto emotivo che può condurre ad atti di autolesionismo fino al suicidio nei casi più gravi.

Già nel 2002, Crosnoe, Erickson e Dornbush, attraverso uno studio longitudinale a cui hanno partecipato 3046 studenti americani di età compresa tra i 13 ed i 17 anni, avevano rilevato come proprio i fattori legati all'ambiente scolastico quali il supporto degli insegnanti, il coinvolgimento in attività di gruppo, relazioni con gli insegnanti basate sul rispetto e fiducia reciproca, avessero un ruolo importante nel proteggere i giovani dal commettere atti devianti, maggiore rispetto ai fattori di protezione legati al contesto familiare.

In Italia, Solo recentemente la scuola è risultata essere sensibile all'ascolto dei suoi studenti per cercare di aiutarli nel risolvere i loro conflitti. I giovani infatti esprimono il proprio disagio interiore proprio all'interno della scuola attraverso per esempio atti di vandalismo, di bullismo e cyberbullismo (Miranda, Oriol & Amutio, 2019).

Altre forme di espressione di tale disagio sono la chiusura in sé stessi, il mutismo, il rifiuto ad applicarsi nelle attività di apprendimento o di relazionarsi con i compagni o con l'insegnante, tutta una serie di comportamenti a cui spesso segue l'abbandono scolastico. Questi atti devono essere letti come azioni a carattere dimostrativo/comunicativo e liberatorio, che traggono la loro origine nel conflitto tra studente e famiglia, tra studente ed istituzione scolastica, tra adolescente ed autorità in generale alla luce della consapevolezza del fatto che l'adolescente è alla ricerca di una propria identità (Milani, 1995; Pears, Kim & Fisher, 2016; Wilson, Allen & Cavallucci, 2017).

Durante gli ultimi decenni la scuola è diventata uno dei luoghi più idonei alla prevenzione della devianza; studenti provenienti da etnie diverse interagiscono tra di loro ogni giorno esprimendo i propri conflitti interpersonali. La scuola è quindi diventata un posto in cui è più semplice attuare politiche di prevenzione della devianza (Maggiolini & Riva, 2003; Theimann, 2016).

Sul tema, di fondamentale importanza è il ruolo ricoperto dagli insegnanti, la loro funzione di essere buoni educatori, buoni modelli cui tendere, esempi da seguire, in grado di porsi al servizio del bisogno e delle motivazioni del singolo. Spesso manca una comunicazione educativa che abbia al centro la persona come valore, che guardi all'altro e lo solleciti all'autoeducazione, che sia fondata su un rapporto personale e profondo con l'alunno senza che

questo si senta confuso circa i ruoli. La vita scolastica è caratterizzata da stimoli, da occasioni di esercizio della volontà, dell'autonomia morale e della responsabilità; tali obiettivi sono in contrasto con le esigenze di libertà del soggetto, proprio quest'ultima va affrontata nell'ottica della dialettica libertà-responsabilità. Tutti questi problemi, questi limiti, sono certamente degli ostacoli all'educazione, ma gli educatori non devono assolutamente abbandonare il loro ruolo, devono imparare a rafforzare la capacità dell'Io nei soggetti più deboli. La scuola, nonostante le difficoltà evidenziate, ha le potenzialità per aiutare l'alunno, ha risorse che possono essere attivate sia per la prevenzione che per il trattamento della devianza (Milani, 1995; Bandini, Gualco, Carrieri & Catanesi, 2003; Havermans, Vanassche & Matthijs, 2017; Bao, Jiang, Zhu & Zhang, 2020).

Sulla base del panorama appena visto, gli Autori ritengono opportuno offrire il loro contributo finalizzato ad una maggiore conoscenza dei fattori di rischio e di protezione connessi ai comportamenti devianti dei giovani. In particolare, si vuole vedere se trovarsi a proprio agio nella scuola ed avere un "insegnante preferito" risultino essere elementi associati o no a minori comportamenti devianti dei giovani, a minore vittimizzazione degli stessi e se tali

elementi favoriscano una migliore qualità del rapporto dei figli con i propri genitori. La ricerca presentata è stata svolta attraverso l'analisi dei dati italiani raccolti mediante l'indagine *International Self-Report Delinquency Study- 3* (ISR3D-3), studio internazionale, iniziato negli anni Novanta del Novecento e che attualmente è giunto alla terza edizione, che approfondisce aspetti della delinquenza e vittimizzazione giovanile (Enzmann *et al.*, 2010; Gatti *et al.*, 2010; Gatti *et al.*, 2015; Binik *et al.*, 2021).

Materiali e metodo di indagine

Dati

Il campione è composto da 3508 studenti delle classi seconde e terze della scuola media inferiore e delle classi prime della scuola media superiore, con età compresa tra i 12 e i 16 anni. Le città campionate per lo studio sono state scelte con un metodo non probabilistico, in base alla collocazione geografica (Nord, Centro, Sud) tenendo in considerazione le differenze sociali, economiche, culturali delle diverse aree del territorio, ed al numero di abitanti (Tabella 1).

Città			
Tipo	n. di abitanti	Campione	n. abitanti città campione
Città metropolitane	>600.000	2	Milano (1.352.000) Napoli (921.145)
Città di grandi dimensioni	400.000 – 600.000	1	Genova (561.203)
Città di medie dimensioni	100.000 – 400.000	3	Firenze (361.619) Messina (221.246) Brescia (195.906)
Città di piccole dimensioni	<100.000	2	Lecce (94.783) Siena (53.062)

Tabella 1

In ogni città sono state scelte casualmente le scuole, sulla base della tipologia di istruzione fornita: media inferiore, liceo, istituto tecnico e professionale. In ogni scuola selezionata sono state casualmente individuate le classi partecipanti allo studio. Per ogni classe, gli studenti sono stati scelti col metodo del campionamento casuale sistematico: sulla base dell'elenco fornito da ciascun Istituto, è stato individuato casualmente il primo nominativo e poi sono stati selezionati gli altri per intervallo fisso. A seguito di un incontro informativo con i Dirigenti Scolastici delle scuole, nel quale è stato spiegato l'obiettivo dello studio e lo strumento utilizzato, sono stati informati i genitori/tutori degli studenti delle classi campionate. Gli studenti sono stati ammessi a partecipare alla ricerca esclusivamente su base volontaria previa firma dei genitori dello studente

o di chi ne faceva le veci, di una lettera redatta appositamente concernente il consenso informato. Lo strumento utilizzato è stato un questionario self-report frutto della collaborazione di tutti i paesi partecipanti allo studio e opportunamente tradotto dall'inglese all'italiano. Sono state sviluppate due versioni del questionario identiche per rendere i dati comparabili: una cartacea ed una online. Il questionario è articolato in tre parti principali e contiene domande a risposta chiusa:

- la prima parte contiene domande relative alle caratteristiche sociodemografiche dello studente (sesso, età, grado di istruzione, posizione socioeconomica dei genitori ecc.);
- la seconda parte riguarda l'eventuale vittimizzazione

dello studente nel corso della propria vita e nell'ultimo anno;

- la terza parte consiste nella descrizione di alcuni atti devianti come per esempio atti di vandalismo, furti, spaccio di sostanza stupefacenti ecc., per i quali allo studente viene chiesto se ne è mai stato autore nel corso della propria vita e nell'ultimo anno.

All'interno del questionario sono inserite alcune domande di controllo che permettono attraverso l'elaborazione di un algoritmo di verificare la validità delle risposte date dal partecipante.

Tutti i questionari ottenuti sono stati compilati dagli studenti che hanno partecipato allo studio in forma anonima.

La percentuale di studenti che effettivamente ha compilato il questionario è stata dell'86%. Il rimanente 14% non ha compilato il questionario perché assente o si è rifiutato.

Per quanto concerne il campione italiano di cui si tratta, la raccolta dei dati e la creazione del database nazionale è stata effettuata a dicembre 2015. Lo studio a livello internazionale, invece, si è concluso nel 2019 quando tutti i paesi coinvolti hanno terminato la raccolta dei dati.

Misure

Gli item presi in considerazione sulla base dei quali sono state effettuate le analisi statistiche sono stati: -"Mi piace la mia scuola" con opzioni di risposta "Molto d'accordo", "Abbastanza d'accordo", "In disaccordo", "Molto in disaccordo"; -"Se dovessi trasferirti in un'altra città quanto ti mancherebbe il tuo insegnante preferito" con opzioni di risposta "Per niente", "Non molto", "Poco", "Un po'", "Molto", "Moltissimo"; "Quanto è importante per te quello che il tuo insegnante preferito pensa di te" con opzioni di risposta "Per niente importante", "Non molto importante", "Poco importante", "Piuttosto importante", "Molto importante", "Importantissimo".

Gli items descritti sopra sono stati incrociati con altri items relativi a:

- a) Rapporto con i propri genitori/caregivers
- Ho un buon rapporto con mio padre/patrigno;
 - Ho un buon rapporto con mi madre/matrigna;
 - I miei genitori mi danno facilmente supporto emotivo ed aiuto;
 - Sto molto male quando deludo i miei genitori.

Le opzioni di risposta sono:

"Molto d'accordo", "Abbastanza d'accordo", "Né d'accordo né in disaccordo", "In disaccordo", "Molto in disaccordo".

- b) Comportamenti devianti posti in essere nel corso della vita
- Hai mai disegnato su un muro, su un treno, sulla metropolitana, sul bus (graffiti o murali);
 - Hai mai danneggiato qualche cosa di proposito,

come ad esempio le pensiline alla fermata dei bus/tram, una finestra, una macchina, oppure i seggiolini di un bus o di un treno (atti vandalici);

- Hai mai rubato qualcosa in un negozio od in un grande magazzino;
- Hai mai scassinato un edificio per entrare a rubare qualcosa;
- Hai mai rubato una bicicletta;
- Hai mai rubato una moto od un'auto;
- Hai mai rubato qualcosa da un'auto;
- Hai mai usato un'arma, la forza o minacciato qualcuno per costringerlo a darti dei soldi o altre cose (estorsione);
- Hai mai rubato qualcosa a qualcuno senza l'uso della forza o della minaccia;
- Hai mai portato con te un'arma, come un bastone, un coltello, una pistola o una catena (detenzione di un'arma);
- Hai mai preso parte ad una rissa in uno stadio, in strada o in un altro spazio pubblico;
- Hai mai picchiato o ferito qualcuno seriamente con un bastone o con un coltello;
- Hai mai «scaricato» illegalmente musica o film da internet (download illegale);
- Hai mai venduto droga o aiutato qualcuno a vendere droga (spaccio);
- Hai mai fatto del male ad un animale di proposito (maltrattamenti di animali);
- Hai mai bevuto alcolici;
- Hai mai fatto uso di cannabis, marijuana o hashish;
- Hai mai fatto uso di ecstasy, LSD, speed, anfetamine o droghe simili (soft drugs);
- Hai mai fatto uso di eroina, cocaina o crack (hard drugs).

La risposta è dicotomica "sì" "no".

c) Vittimizzazione

- Qualcuno ha mai preteso da te del denaro o qualcos'altro (orologio, scarpe, cellulare ecc.) o ti ha mai minacciato quando ti sei rifiutato di farlo (Estorsione);
- Qualcuno ti ha mai colpito con violenza o ferito al punto che sei dovuto andare da un medico (Violenza fisica);
- Qualcuno ti ha mai rubato qualcosa (libri, denaro, cellulare, equipaggiamento sportivo, bicicletta, etc.) (Furto);
- Qualcuno ti ha mai minacciato di violenza oppure ha commesso atti violenti nei tuoi confronti a causa della tua religione, della lingua che parli, del colore della tua pelle, delle tue origini sociali o etniche, o per alte ragioni simili (Discriminazione);
- Qualcuno ti ha mai preso in giro oppure molestato od offeso tramite e-mail, sistemi di messaggistica istantanea (Facebook, Messenger, etc.), in chat, su un sito internet o tramite SMS (Cyberbullismo);
- Tua madre o tuo padre (oppure la tua matrigna o

il tuo patrigno) ti hanno mai picchiato, schiaffeggiato o spinto (Percosse)¹;

- Tua madre o tuo padre (oppure la tua matrigna o il tuo patrigno) ti hanno mai colpito con un oggetto, preso a pugni o calci, oppure picchiato violentemente (“Lesioni”).

La risposta è dicotomica “sì”, “no”.

Analisi statistiche

Lo studio è osservazionale, cross-sectional. Il campione è stato suddiviso in 3 gruppi: 1. coloro a cui piace la scuola scelta vs coloro a cui non piace la scuola scelta; 2. coloro a cui mancherebbe l'insegnante “preferito” se dovessero trasferirsi altrove vs coloro che non sentirebbero tale mancanza; 3. coloro a cui importa l'opinione che l'insegnante “preferito” ha di loro vs coloro a cui non importa. Tali gruppi sono stati confrontati in base al rapporto che hanno con i genitori, alla commissione di comportamenti devianti e alla vittimizzazione subita, calcolando il χ^2 in modo da vedere l'associazione tra variabili misurate su scale categoriali e di ottenere una misura di probabilità della relazione individuata.

Nell'analisi dei dati il valore del *p-value* assunto quale livello di significatività è stato 0,05.

E' importante sottolineare che il test statistico del Chi-quadrato reca in sé dei limiti determinati dal fatto che la sola verifica della significatività della relazione con l'applicazione di un test di verifica delle ipotesi non consente di descrivere la forza della relazione; un altro aspetto da segnalare è che tale analisi statistica nell'interpretazione dei risultati non permette di valutare l'effetto di altre variabili intervenienti.

L'analisi delle risposte al questionario ISRD3 è stata condotta con finalità meramente descrittive, cercando di far risaltare quelle caratteristiche che meglio di altre potrebbero rivelarsi utili a spiegare la relazione tra il piacere la scuola scelta, avere un insegnante preferito e l'importanza che il pensiero di questo riveste per i ragazzi e la qualità dei rapporti figli genitori, la commissione di atti devianti e la vittimizzazione.

Per rendere più snella la lettura dei risultati, le variabili con più opzioni di risposta, elencate precedentemente, sono state trasformate in variabili con risposta dicotomica “sì/no”.

Nello specifico le risposte “Molto d'accordo”, “Abbastanza d'accordo”, “Né d'accordo né in disaccordo”, “In disaccordo”, “Molto in disaccordo” sono state ricodificate come “No” (In disaccordo e Molto in disaccordo) e “Sì” (Molto d'accordo e Abbastanza d'accordo). L'opzione “né in accordo né in disaccordo” non è stata inclusa nella variabile dicotomica poiché, non indicando alcuna presa di posizione all'interno del continuum «Molto d'accordo»/«Molto in disaccordo», risulta essere una risposta neutra e quindi in alcun modo influente nelle analisi.

Le risposte “Moltissimo”, “Molto”, “Un po'", “Poco”, “Non molto” e “Per niente” sono state ricodificate in “Sì” (Moltissimo, Molto e Un po') e “No” (Poco, Non molto e per niente).

Le risposte “Importantissimo”, “Molto importante”, “Piuttosto importante”, “Poco importante”, “Non molto importante”, “Per niente importante” sono state ricodificate in “Sì” (Importantissimo, Molto importante, Piuttosto importante) e “No” (Per niente importante, Non molto importante, Poco importante).

I dati sono stati inseriti nel computer utilizzando il software EPIDATA. Per le analisi è stato utilizzato il programma SPSS 21.

Risultati

Vediamo come il campione si distribuisce rispetto alla mancanza dell'insegnante preferito in caso di un trasferimento di città, a quanto piace la scuola scelta e a quanto è importante ciò che pensa l'insegnante di un proprio alunno (Tabella 2).

Il 66,9% ha espresso gradimento verso la propria scuola. La stragrande maggioranza di esso ha dimostrato di percepire la mancanza del proprio insegnante preferito in caso di trasferimento (69,3%) rispetto al 30,7% che ha dichiarato il contrario, e di ritenere importante ciò che il proprio insegnante preferito pensa (77,4%), rispetto al 22,6% che ha dichiarato di non avere alcun interesse verso il giudizio dell'insegnante.

1 Il grado di vittimizzazione dei giovani dovuto ai comportamenti violenti dei genitori è stato misurato nel questionario con due domande: una tesa a registrare un tipo di violenza manifestata con lo schiaffo o con la spinta e più facilmente assimilabile alle *percosse*; l'altra dove compaiono oggetti di offesa, pugni e calci, a rappresentare una violenza maggiore che, qualora giunga a lasciare dei segni sul corpo tali da richiedere il ricorso a cure mediche, è associabile alle *lesioni*. Poiché manca la rilevazione di tale eventualità il termine “*lesioni*” viene lasciato tra virgolette, a significare che per quella categoria di violenze il ricorso alle cure mediche può esserci o non esserci stato.

	Mi piace la mia scuola	Mancanza dell'insegnate preferito in caso di trasferimento	Importanza di ciò che pensa il tuo insegnate preferito di te
SI	2324	2409	2693
	66,9%	69,3%	77,4%
NO	1152	1065	788
	33,1%	30,7%	22,6%

N=3508 Missing=29
 Tabella 2

Rapporto con i genitori

Vediamo come si distribuisce il campione rispetto alla presenza genitoriale.

Dalla Tabella 3 notiamo come la maggioranza degli studenti risulti inserita in un contesto familiare in cui la figura materna e quella paterna appaiono essere ben rappresentate.

La maggior parte degli studenti (87,5%) ha come punto di riferimento entrambi i genitori, anche acquisiti. Seguono con il 9,5% coloro che vivono con un solo genitore, solitamente la madre, e con il 3% gli studenti con "Nessun genitore". In quest'ultima categoria rientrano po-

chissimi casi comprendenti situazioni diverse, in cui i punti di riferimento sono i nonni, altri parenti oppure persone incontrate in altre soluzioni offerte dal servizio sociale.

Nella lettura ed interpretazione dei dati relativi al contesto familiare monogenitoriale, occorre tenere presente che questo può essere dovuto a causa del decesso di uno dei coniugi, oppure all'abbandono da parte di un coniuge del tetto coniugale, oppure alla separazione o divorzio dei coniugi. Quest'ultima componente è quella che influenza maggiormente lo sviluppo della prole in senso negativo a causa delle tensioni di coppia (Gualco, Rensi & Fossa, 2015, 2017; Gualco *et al.*, 2019).

	n	Frequenza relativa
Entrambi i genitori (anche acquisiti)	3032	87,5
Un genitore (madre o padre)	328	9,5
Nessun genitore (altri)	105	3
Totale	3.463	100,0
Non rilevati	43	
Totale	3508	

Tabella 3

Analizziamo adesso se il piacere della scuola scelta ed avere un insegnate "preferito" tanto da sentirne la mancanza in caso di trasferimento di città e essere importante

il suo pensiero rispetto all'alunno, siano associati significativamente all'avere un buon rapporto con le figure genitoriali ed al sentirsi supportati emotivamente da questi.

		Mi pace la mia scuola		Mancanza dell'insegnate preferito in caso di trasferimento		Importanza di ciò che pensa il tuo insegnate preferito di te	
		SI	NO	SI	NO	SI	NO
Ho un buon rapporto con mio padre/ patrigno	SI	1980	902	2049	835	2273	612
		96%	93,8%	96,2%	93,4%	95,8%	93,6%
	NO	82	60	82	59	100	42
		4%	6,2%	3,8%	6,6%	4,3%	6,4%
Ho un buon rapporto con mia madre/ matrigna	SI	2103	980	2200	883	2437	649
		97,4%	95%	97,6%	94,3%	97,2%	94,5%
	NO	57	52	55	53	71	38
		2,6	5%	2,4%	5,7%	2,8%	5,5%
I miei genitori mi danno facilmente supporto emotivo ed aiuto	SI	2036	814	2108	837	2338	614
		97,3%	91,9%	96,9%	92,4%	96,5%	92,2%
	NO	56	81	67	69	84	52
		2,7%	8,1%	3,1%	7,6%	3,5%	7,8%
Sto molto male quando deludo i miei genitori	SI	1803	820	1914	709	2142	484
		93,1%	86,4%	93,7%	84,3%	93,5%	80,9%
	NO	134	129	129	132	148	114
		6,9%	13,6%	6,3%	15,7%	6,5%	19,1%

N=3508
 Tabella 4

La Tabella 4 mostra come coloro che hanno risposto “sì” alle tre variabili relative al contesto scolastico prese in considerazione abbiano anche un miglior rapporto con i propri genitori, maggiore percezione di essere supportati emotivamente da loro e di stare male quando deludono i propri genitori. Maggior divario percentuale lo abbiamo per le variabili “Importanza di ciò che pensa il tuo inse-

gnante preferito” e “Sto molto male quando deludo i miei genitori: il 93,5% del campione ha dichiarato di importargli cosa pensa l'insegnate preferito e di stare molto male se delude i propri genitori mentre l'80,9% ha dichiarato di non importargli cosa pensa l'insegnate preferito ma di sentirsi molto male quando delude i propri genitori.

		Mi pace la mia scuola	Mancanza dell'insegnate preferito in caso di trasferimento	Importanza di ciò che pensa il tuo insegnate preferito di te
Ho un buon rapporto con mio padre/ patrigno	χ^2	7,488	10,703	5,590
	p-value	,006	,001	,018
Ho un buon rapporto con mia madre/ matrigna	χ^2	12,195	21,017	11,934
	p-value	< ,001	< ,001	< ,001
I miei genitori mi danno facilmente supporto emotivo ed aiuto	χ^2	47,465	31,181	23,365
	p-value	< ,001	< ,001	< ,001
Sto molto male quando deludo i miei genitori	χ^2	34,268	63,702	11,269
	p-value	< ,001	< ,001	< ,001

Tabella 5

La Tabella 5 mostra come le variabili indipendenti “mi piace la scuola”, “mancanza dell’insegnante preferito in caso di trasferimento” e “importanza di ciò che pensa il tuo insegnante preferito di te”, siano associate con le variabili dipendenti “ho un buon rapporto con mia madre/matrigna”, “i miei genitori mi danno facilmente supporto emotivo ed aiuto” e “sto molto male quando deludo i miei genitori”. Maggiore forza dell’associazione (Chi-quadrato maggiore) la riscontriamo per gli incroci delle variabili “mi piace la scuola” e “i miei genitori mi

danno facilmente supporto emotivo ed aiuto” e “mancanza dell’insegnante preferito” e “sto molto male quando deludo i miei genitori”.

Comportamenti devianti

Osserviamo adesso se il piacere la propria scuola, avere un insegnante “preferito” tanto da sentirne la mancanza in caso di trasferimento di città e l’essere importante il suo pensiero rispetto all’alunno, siano dei fattori protettivi oppure no rispetto alla commissione di atti devianti.

		Mi piace la mia scuola		Mancanza dell’insegnante preferito in caso di trasferimento		Importanza di ciò che pensa il tuo insegnante preferito di te	
		SI	NO	SI	NO	SI	NO
Graffiti/Murales	SI	462	289	392	274	457	210
		17,2%	25,4%	16,4%	25,9%	17,1%	27%
	NO	2219	850	2001	782	2222	567
		82,8%	74,6%	83,6%	74,1%	82,9%	73%
Atti vandalici	SI	180	158	174	162	212	124
		7,8%	13,9%	7,3%	15,3%	7,9%	16
	NO	2131	981	2217	894	2465	653
		92,2%	86,1%	92,7%	84,7%	92,1%	84%
Rubare in negozi o grandi magazzini	SI	208	162	204	165	241	131
		9%	14,2%	8,5%	15,7%	9%	16,9%
	NO	2104	976	2188	889	2436	645
		91%	85,8%	91,5%	84,3%	91%	83,1%
Scassinare un edificio per rubare	SI	25	17	23	18	26	15
		1,1%	1,5%	1%	1,7%	1%	1,9%
	NO	2284	1121	2367	1036	2650	760
		98,9%	98,5%	99%	98,3%	99%	98,1%
Rubare una bicicletta	SI	77	67	64	78	90	52
		3,3%	5,9%	2,7%	7,4%	3,4%	6,7%
	NO	2233	1069	2324	977	2584	724
		96,7%	94,1%	97,3%	92,6%	96,6%	93,3%
Rubare una moto o un’auto	SI	18	20	8	29	17	20
		0,8%	1,8%	0,3%	2,8%	0,6%	2,6%
	NO	2289	1119	2381	1025	2656	757
		99,2%	98,2%	99,7%	97,2%	99,4%	97,4%
Rubare qualcosa da un’auto	SI	46	62	52	55	63	45
		2%	5,5%	2,2%	5,2%	2,4%	5,8%
	NO	2265	1074	2336	1000	2610	732
		98%	97,5%	97,8%	94,8%	97,6%	94,2%
Estorsione	SI	28	23	15	34	21	30
		1,2%	2%	0,6%	3,2%	0,8%	3,9%
	NO	2284	1118	2376	1024	2657	748
		98,8%	98%	99,4%	96,8%	99,2%	96,1%
Rubato qualcosa a qualcuno senza l’uso della forza o della minaccia	SI	200	158	204	151	239	116
		8,7%	13,9%	8,5%	14,3%	8,9%	14,9%
	NO	2109	980	2182	905	2433	661
		91,3%	86,1%	91,5%	85,7%	91,1%	85,1%
Aver preso parte ad una rissa	SI	227	192	239	174	283	133
		9,8%	16,9%	10%	16,5%	10,6%	17,1%
	NO	2085	945	2152	879	2392	643
		90,2%	83,1%	90%	83,5%	89,4%	82,9%

Picchiato o ferito qualcuno seriamente con bastone o coltello	SI	44	39	2354	48	47	35
		1,9%	3,4%	98,6%	4,5%	1,8%	4,5%
	NO	2263	1100	33	1008	2625	742
		98,1%	96,6%	1,4%	95,5%	98,2%	95,5%
Download illegale	SI	1065	660	1108	616	97	440
		46,2%	57,9%	46,4%	58,5%	3,6%	56,7%
	NO	1240	479	1280	437	1383	336
		53,8%	42,1%	53,6%	41,5%	51,8%	43,3%
Detenzione di un'arma	SI	128	102	107	120	134	96
		5,5%	9%	4,5%	11,4%	5%	12,4%
	NO	2179	1034	2277	935	2536	680
		94,5%	91%	95,5%	88,6%	95%	87,6%
Spaccio	SI	90	71	61	99	87	73
		3,9%	6,3%	2,6%	9,4%	3,3%	9,4%
	NO	2219	1062	2323	956	2582	703
		96,1%	93,7%	97,4%	90,6%	96,7%	90,6%
Maltrattamenti di animali	SI	128	125	150	103	178	75
		5,6%	11,1%	6,3%	9,9%	6,7%	9,8%
	NO	2169	1001	2225	941	2478	694
		94,4%	88,9%	93,7%	90,1%	93,3%	90,2%

N=3508
 Tabella 6

La Tabella 6 mostra come coloro che hanno dichiarato di non piacerli la scuola, di non sentire la mancanza del professore preferito in caso di trasferimento e di non importargli l'opinione del professore su di loro, hanno per-

centuali maggiori di commissione di atti devianti rispetto ai coetanei che hanno risposto "sì" alle variabili di cui sopra. Questo è verificato per tutti i comportamenti devianti presi in considerazione.

		Mi piace la mia scuola	Mancanza dell'insegnante preferito in caso di trasferimento	Importanza di ciò che pensa il tuo insegnante preferito di te
Graffiti/Murales	χ^2	38,656	43,029	38,428
	p-value	< ,001	< ,001	< ,001
Atti vandalici	χ^2	31,946	54,138	44,324
	p-value	< ,001	< ,001	< ,001
Rubare in negozi o grandi magazzini	χ^2	21,862	38,858	38,850
	p-value	< ,001	< ,001	< ,001
Scassinare un edificio per rubare	χ^2	1,371	3,455	4,756
	p-value	,301	,063	,029
Rubare una bicicletta	χ^2	12,508	41,109	16,953
	p-value	< ,001	< ,001	< ,001
Rubare una moto o un'auto	χ^2	6,656	40,174	21,312
	p-value	,010	< ,001	< ,001
Rubare qualcosa da un'auto	χ^2	30,169	22,394	23,419
	p-value	< ,001	< ,001	< ,001
Estorsione	χ^2	3,400	35,029	39,128
	p-value	,065	< ,001	< ,001
Rubato qualcosa a qualcuno senza l'uso della forza o della minaccia	χ^2	22,337	26,159	23,343
	p-value	< ,001	< ,001	< ,001
Aver preso parte ad una rissa	χ^2	35,678	29,522	24,415
	p-value	< ,001	< ,001	< ,001
Picchiato o ferito qualcuno seriamente con bastone o coltello	χ^2	7,464	31,883	19,550
	p-value	,006	< ,001	< ,001

Download illegale	χ^2	42,039	42,803	17,371
	p-value	< ,001	< ,001	< ,001
Detenzione di un'arma	χ^2	14,370	56,253	52,180
	p-value	< ,001	< ,001	< ,001
Spaccio	χ^2	9,565	76,799	51,304
	p-value	,002	< ,001	< ,001
Maltrattamenti di animali	χ^2	33,743	13,339	8,115
	p-value	< ,001	< ,001	,004

Tabella 7

Dalla tabella 7 notiamo come vi sia un'associazione statisticamente significativa tra le variabili indipendenti "mi piace la mia scuola", "mancanza dell'insegnante preferito in caso di trasferimento", "importanza di ciò che pensa l'insegnante preferito di te" e la grande maggioranza degli atti devianti presi in considerazione. Costituiscono eccezione gli incroci tra la variabile "mi piace la mia scuola" e le variabili "rubare qualcosa da una moto o da un'auto", "estorsione", "picchiato o ferito qualcuno con un bastone o un coltello" e "spaccio".

Uso di alcool o sostanze stupefacenti

La Tabella 8 mostra come gli studenti che non hanno alcun interesse nei confronti della scuola e del corpo insegnante, fanno uso di alcolici o sostanze stupefacenti in misura maggiore rispetto agli studenti cui piace la scuola frequentata e che manifestano interesse nei confronti del proprio insegnante preferito. Il consumo di alcol, però, sembra essere molto ricercato indipendentemente dal fatto che ci sia o meno un interesse verso la scuola: la metà di coloro che frequenta piacevolmente la scuola beve, così come beve la metà di coloro che invece non provano alcun piacere verso l'istituzione scolastica, confermando l'ampio consumo di alcool emerso nella distribuzione delle frequenze del campione generale.

		Mi piace la mia scuola		Mancanza dell'insegnante preferito in caso di trasferimento		Importanza di ciò che pensa il tuo insegnante preferito di te	
		SI	NO	SI	NO	SI	NO
Hai mai bevuto alcolici	SI	1037	662	1060	630	1218	478
		44,9%	58,2%	44,3%	59,9%	45,6%	61,4%
	NO	1272	476	1331	422	1452	301
		55,1%	41,8%	55,7%	40,1%	54,4%	38,6%
Hai mai fatto uso di cannabis, marijuana o hashish	SI	179	144	151	172	182	141
		7,8%	12,7%	6,3%	16,4%	6,8%	18,2%
	NO	2120	987	2228	877	2480	632
		92,2%	87,3%	93,7%	83,6%	93,2%	81,8%
Soft drugs	SI	28	32	18	40	28	31
		1,2%	2,8%	0,8%	3,8%	1,1%	4
	NO	2270	1100	2357	1011	2630	744
		98,8%	97,2%	99,2%	96,2%	98,9%	96%
Hard drugs	SI	19	27	12	33	23	22
		0,8%	2,4%	0,5%	3,1%	0,9%	2,8%
	NO	2276	1108	2364	1017	2637	751
		99,2%	97,6%	99,5%	96,9%	99,1%	97,2%

N=3508
 Tabella 8

		Mi piace la mia scuola	Mancanza dell'insegnante preferito in caso di trasferimento	Importanza di ciò che pensa il tuo insegnante preferito di te
Hai mai bevuto alcolici	χ^2	53,632	70,712	59,799
	p-value	< ,001	< ,001	< ,001
Hai mai fatto uso di cannabis, marijuana o hashish	χ^2	21,741	86,144	91,445
	p-value	< ,001	< ,001	< ,001
Soft drugs	χ^2	11,416	40,671	30,844
	p-value	< ,001	< ,001	< ,001
Hard drugs	χ^2	13,807	39,089	18,177
	p-value	< ,001	< ,001	< ,001

Tabella 9

La tabella 9 mostra come vi sia un'associazione tra le variabili relative alla scuola e l'uso di alcol o sostanze stupefacenti. Le associazioni più forti le troviamo rispetto alla mancanza del professore preferito in caso di trasferimento e all'importanza per l'alunno di ciò che l'insegnante preferito pensa di lui.

La Vittimizzazione

La Tabella 10 mostra come a coloro cui piace la scuola, a cui mancherebbe l'insegnante preferito in caso di trasferimento e a cui interessa l'opinione di questi, siano vittimizzati in misura leggermente inferiore rispetto ai coetanei eccetto che per il cyberbullismo per cui appaiono essere maggiormente vittimizzati.

		Mi piace la mia scuola		Mancanza dell'insegnante preferito in caso di trasferimento		Importanza di ciò che pensa il tuo insegnante preferito di te	
		SI	NO	SI	NO	SI	NO
Estorsione	SI	85	82	103	63	118	49
		3,7%	7,2%	4,3%	6%	4,4%	6,3%
	NO	2226	1064	2295	993	2562	732
		96,3%	92,8%	95,7%	94%	95,6%	93,7%
Volenza fisica	SI	121	87	143	63	157	51
		5,2%	7,6%	6%	6%	5,9%	6,5%
	NO	2193	1057	2260	989	2524	730
		94,8%	92,4%	94%	94%	94,1%	93,5%
Furto	SI	561	360	605	311	702	219
		24,2%	31,5%	25,2%	29,5%	26,2%	28%
	NO	1754	783	1795	743	1976	564
		75,8%	68,5%	74,8%	70,5%	73,8%	72%
Discriminazione	SI	108	74	125	56	136	48
		4,7%	6,5%	5,2%	5,3%	5,1%	6,1%
	NO	2203	1071	2273	998	2542	733
		95,3%	93,5%	94,8%	94,7%	94,9%	93,9%
Cyberbullismo	SI	1902	245	447	210	2160	135
		82,2%	21,4%	18,6%	19,9%	80,6%	17,3%
	NO	411	899	1951	846	521	645
		17,8%	78,6%	81,4%	80,1%	19,4%	82,7%
"Percosse"	SI	743	472	809	403	943	273
		32,3%	41,6%	33,9%	38,4%	35,4%	35,2%
	NO	1559	663	1577	646	1723	503
		67,7%	58,4%	66,1%	61,6%	64,6%	64,8%
"Lesioni"	SI	182	142	203	118	228	96
		7,9%	12,4%	8,5%	11,3%	8,5%	12,4%
	NO	2117	999	2188	930	2443	678
		92,1%	87,6%	91,5%	88,7%	91,5%	87,6%

N=3508

Tabella 10

		Mi piace la mia scuola	Mancanza dell'insegnate preferito in caso di trasferimento	Importanza di ciò che pensa il tuo insegnate preferito di te
Estorsione	χ^2	20,149	4,473	4,610
	p-value	< ,001	,034	,032
Violenza fisica	χ^2	7,644	,002	,487
	p-value	,006	,996	,485
Furto	χ^2	20,656	6,944	,956
	p-value	< ,001	,008	,328
Discriminazione	χ^2	4,915	,015	1,368
	p-value	,027	,903	,242
"Cyberbullismo"	χ^2	6,621	,739	1,777
	p-value	,010	,390	,183
"Percosse"	χ^2	28,829	6,495	,010
	p-value	< ,001	,011	,922
"Lesioni"	χ^2	18,331	6,603	10,532
	p-value	< ,001	,010	,001

Tabella 11

Per quanto concerne la vittimizzazione (Tabella 11) non si riscontrano associazioni statisticamente significative eccetto che per le variabili mi piace la mia scuola e l'essere stato vittima di estorsione, furto, percosse e lesioni da parte dei propri genitori.

Discussione

Il piacere la scuola frequentata ed avere un'insegnate preferito di cui si considera importante l'opinione ha mostrato, per il campione esaminato, di avere degli effetti sulla vita dei ragazzi intervistati.

Come mostrato da ricerche internazionali sul tema (Wilson, Allen & Cavallucci, 2017; Bao, Jiang, Zhu & Zhang, 2020; Gualco *et al.*, 2022), anche nel nostro studio coloro a cui piace la scuola frequentata ed hanno un insegnate preferito del quale interessa l'opinione, appaiono avere relazioni migliori con i propri genitori anche se adottivi, si sentono molto supportati da questi e stanno molto male qualora li deludano.

Rispetto ai comportamenti devianti, l'aver un insegnate preferito e l'importanza dell'opinione che questi ha dell'alunno risultano essere maggiori fattori di protezione rispetto alla variabile "mi piace la mia scuola". Sentirsi supportati emotivamente, sentirsi accolti nella propria individualità da un'insegnante fa sì che risulti piacevole l'andare a scuola.

Stesso trend risulta rispetto all'uso di alcol o sostanze stupefacenti, in particolar modo per l'uso delle "hard drugs". È comune che i ragazzi in adolescenza facciano uso di alcohol e di sostanze stupefacenti. L'alcohol non è percepito, però, una sostanza nociva ed una grave trasgressione come le sostanze stupefacenti, tanto è che non si sono riscontrate differenze. L'uso di droghe è un atto percepito come fonte di repressione da parte della comunità,

di vergogna, che porta il giovane ad un senso di colpa verso le persone che si fidano di lui (cfr sito Istituto Superiore della Sanità)².

I risultati ottenuti possono essere spiegati con il fatto che per paura di deludere l'insegnate preferito con il quale si ha un buon rapporto e che riveste il ruolo di "parenting" o "reparenting" si sta lontani dall'uso di droghe soprattutto quelle pesanti percepite come aventi effetti più gravi sulla salute (Beidleman, 2021).

I risultati emersi risentono dei limiti insiti nello strumento di ricerca ossia il questionario self-report il quale se da una parte permette di conoscere a livello quantitativo un'enorme quantità di dati non è in grado, invece, di carpire differenze qualitative molto importanti quali ad esempio vissuti particolari dei giovani che possono essere fattori predisponenti l'assunzione di comportamenti devianti. Inoltre, la natura trasversale dello studio non consente di poter delineare inferenze causali tra i fattori presi in considerazione.

Nonostante questi limiti i risultati sono interessanti perché in molte delle variabili analizzate l'ambiente scolastico, è risultato essere comunque un fattore protettivo. A parere degli Autori, l'istituzione scolastica dovrebbe progettare interventi di prevenzione alla devianza costruendo relazioni con le famiglie e la comunità ed ascoltando i bisogni dei suoi studenti attraverso una formazione specifica del corpo docente.

2 https://www.epicentro.iss.it/alcol/adp07_cons_giovanis#:~:text=le%20bevande%20alcoliche%20non%20sono,%2C%20maggiore%20sicurezza%2C%20%E2%80%9Cforza%E2%80%9D (data ultima consultazione 23/01/2023)

Conclusioni

La scuola è uno degli ambienti in cui i ragazzi esprimono il loro disagio psicologico cercando un aiuto dalla stessa. Per questo motivo il personale che lavora all'interno dovrebbe essere formato adeguatamente in modo da ascoltare i propri alunni ed individuare quali sono i bisogni emotivi frustrati degli stessi per intervenire in maniera efficace. La scuola, dunque, può svolgere una funzione incisiva, perché apre ad un legame sociale rinnovato e sempre rinnovabile, offre uno spazio alternativo a quello familiare, culturale dominante, indirizzando il ragazzo verso una progettualità futura, fatta di speranza, di fiducia. L'insegnante ha un ruolo cardine in questo frangente poiché attraverso la sua esperienza e preparazione può essere in grado di mettere la soggettività dello studente in primo piano creando una relazione educativa basata sulla fiducia e rispetto reciproco. L'insegnante svolge il ruolo di "secondo genitore" se non, nei casi estremi, di "genitore" ed ha quindi la responsabilità di intercettare precocemente i segnali di disagio dello studente in modo da contrastarli efficacemente ed evitare che sfocino ad esempio in condotte devianti.

I risultati dello studio presentato, mostrano come una buona relazione insegnante-alunno protegga quest'ultimo dal commettere atti devianti e faciliti anche una buona relazione genitori-alunno.

Alla luce di quanto evidenziato nello studio presentato che trova conferme nella letteratura scientifica internazionale, ad avviso degli Autori è importante campagne di sensibilizzazione che esortino i giovani, fin da piccoli, a riconoscere l'importanza dell'istituzione scolastica, affinché possano crescere in un contesto positivo e costruttivo, che gli aiuti a migliorare il proprio rapporto con i genitori ad autoregolarsi in modo da "tenerli fuori" dall'assumere comportamenti devianti.

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Rorschach test in murderers: A systematic review of the literature 1946-2021 II – Descriptive, not controlled group studies

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Abstract

A total of 91 studies on Rorschach test in murderers from 1946 to 2021, written in English (62), French (13), Italian (12) or other languages (N = 4; Portuguese, Spanish and German) were reviewed, searched from the main databases (PubMed, Medline Complete, Embase, PsycINFO, PsycNET, PEPWeb, Cochrane, Gallica and Perseus) and other relevant sources (Google scholar; books and journals in the Rorschach field; Rorschach bibliographies; Buros MMY Mental Measurement Yearbooks), as well as from researcher networks (academia.edu, researchgate.net) and from the list of references of identified articles. Literature searching, study selection, screening and data extraction were carried out independently and concordantly by two authors. All the papers containing data on the Rorschach test in murderers were included, but only the contributions whose full text pdf was available were considered. Five types of studies were identified: 1) Literature reviews (N = 4); 2) Single case studies (N = 31); 3) Descriptive studies on murderer samples without controls (N = 20) or compared with normative data (N = 2); 4) Case-Control groups comparative studies (N = 28); 5) Miscellanea (N = 6). All the studies have been summarized in detail, so that they almost always replace a direct reading. The present paper concerns descriptive studies on murderer samples without controls (N = 20) or compared with normative data (N = 2). The results are extensively discussed, focusing on forensic implications and indications for future research.

Keywords: homicide, murder, murderer, rorschach test

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Rorschach test in murderers: A systematic review of the literature 1946-2021 II – Descriptive, not controlled group studies

Introduction

The psychological and psychiatric assessment of authors of homicide is of paramount relevance in the forensic practice, in order to address issues of competence to stand trial, mental state at the time of offense and current dangerousness, according to the principles of EBMPA (Evidence Based Multimethod Psychological Assessment) (Erard & Evans, 2017; Giromini & Zennaro, 2019). In this field, the Rorschach test, blowing out its first hundred candles since the publication of Psychodiagnostic (1921, 1942, 1981), the masterpiece of Herman Rorschach (1884-1922), confirmed itself until to-day as the longest-lived and one of the most used psychodiagnostic tests, both in clinical and forensic psychological and psychiatric practice (Hinselroth & Strycker, 2004; Archer, Buffington-Vollum, Vauter Stredny, & Handel, 2006; De Fidio e Grattagliano, 2007; Archer & Wheeler, 2013; Neal & Grisso, 2014; Giromini & Zennaro, 2019; Giromini et al., 2022; Convertini et al., 2020; Grattagliano et al 2019a; Grattagliano et al 2019b; Convertini et al, 2020). In addition, in the last decade, despite some recent criticism (Areh, Verkanpt, & Allan, 2021), the outstanding meta-analysis by Mihura, Meyer, Dumitrascu & Bombel (2013), completed the work of refoundation of the psychometric bases of the Rorschach, convincing the most bitter opponents of the first hour (Wood, Garb, Nezworski, Lilienfeld & Duke, 2015) and almost putting an end to the so-called 'Rorschach controversy' (Zizolfi, 2016); as a consequence, the Rorschach test is not challenged at unusually high rates, when compared to other psychological tests, in the United States and in selected European courts (Viglione, et al., 2022). It is therefore of the greatest interest to analyze the literature on the Rorschach test in murderers, along a systematic all-inclusive comprehensive review, with the aid of electronic databases, which allows to identify much more studies (N = 91) than previous reviews (Cimino, 2018a; Ferracuti, 1961; Frank, 1994; Gambineri, 2004a). The following paper refers expressly to our previous contribution in this issue (Zizolfi, et al., 2023); for further details, the first work is an indispensable reading and a pivotal element also as regards the aims, the rationale and the methods used. Of the five types of papers identified, already mentioned in the first paper, the first contribution presented single case studies (10 without Rorschach protocol and 21 reporting Rorschach record) and miscellaneous studies (N = 6). The present second contribution concerns descriptive studies without controls, including murderer samples without controls (N = 20) or compared with normative data (N = 2).

Methods

In order to obtain a comprehensive and inclusive literature review, all articles mentioning the Rorschach test in murderers were included without any language filter: search strategy, eligibility and exclusion criteria, and data extraction are fully detailed in our first contribution (Zizolfi, S., et al., 2023). Briefly, only full text contributions were considered; two reviewers extracted the different data independently of each other; if the systematic review process lacked consensus between the two, they discussed between them to solve the disagreement, or, otherwise, a third reviewer resolved it. 103 papers were identified, 91 articles entered the study¹: paper by Ermentini (1990) and eleven papers presenting Rorschach data from mixed criminals (not only murderers) were excluded (Dorr & Viani, 2006; Franks, Sreenivasan, Spray & Kirkish, 2009; Keltikangas-Jarvinen, 1978; Norbech, Gronnerod, & Hartmann, 2016; Parrot & Briguet-Lamarre, 1965; Rader, 1957; Schachter, 1975; Timsit & Bastin, 1987, Walters, 1953; Weizmann-Henelius, 2005 and 2006)².

Results

This second section of our review concerns:

- a) Descriptive studies on murderer samples without controls (N = 20), divided into 2 subgroups:
 - Descriptive studies on adolescent murderers (N = 4);
 - Descriptive studies on adult murderers (N = 16);
- b) Descriptive studies on murderer samples compared with normative data (N = 2).

Descriptive studies in adolescent murderers (N = 4)

From 1949 to 1975, Schachter, médecin chef of the Comité de l'Enfance Déficiente de Marseille and court expert of the Tribunal des Mineurs de Marseille, published a series of contributions on Rorschach test in adolescent murderers examined for forensic purposes, without specifying the method of test administration.

Schachter & Cotte (1949) reported historical and clinical data, and some preliminary Rorschach findings of the first sample of 9 adolescent murderers (8 males, 1 female; 15-18 years old).

The following paper (Schachter & Cotte, 1963) in-

- 1 A pdf copy of each analyzed article is available upon request to the first author (S.Z.), e-mail: zizolfi@iol.it
- 2 A pdf copy of each excluded article is available too, upon request to the first author (S.Z.), e-mail: zizolfi@iol.it

cludes two more cases (1 male parricide, 15 years old; 1 female, 16 years old) and reports detailed Rorschach data for each of 11 records. Rorschach variables ranged as follows: R: 9-41 (9-16 in 5 cases, 24-28 in 3 cases, 33-41 in 3 cases); G: 2-7; D: 4-26; Dd: 0-11 (zero in 4 cases); Dbl: only 1 in 3 cases, zero in others; F+ %: 60-89 (60-74 in 6 cases); K: 0-4 (zero in 7 cases); FC: 0-5 (zero in 5 cases, 1 in 2 cases, 2 in 2 cases); CF: 0-3 (zero in 7 cases; 1 in 2 cases); C: 0-4 (zero in 7 cases, 1 in 2 cases); H%: 0-26 (zero in 5 cases; 3-10 in 3 cases); V%: 7-44 (7-18 in 7 cases). Three adolescents rejected one card, one subject rejected 4 cards. Only 3 subjects gave anatomical contents (4%, 6%, 30%); only 2 gave Blood responses (12%, 16%).

Schachter's last contribution (1975) mixed Rorschach data from adolescent convicted for murder (N = 7) and attempted murder (N = 8) and therefore it was excluded from the present review: anyway, it does not add any significant additional information.

Durand de Bousingen (1971) summarized clinical and testing (Rorschach and T.A.T.) results, without specifying methods, in a group of 5 adolescents, 3 males and 2 females, aged 14, 15, 16 and 16 years old, with normal range IQ, 4 out of 5 without any psychiatric history, who killed respectively a 4-year-old child during a fight, an 8-year-old child, in an attempt of homosexual intercourse, her newborn (abused by her uncle), his grandfather, her newborn. No extensive quantitative Rorschach data were presented. Rorschach records depicted an overall 'constricted personality', with low total R (mean = 15, perhaps due to the forensic setting), absent M responses (indicating poor ability to internalize problems), lack of coloured responses in 4 out of 5 cases (no 'impulsive structure' of personality), no signs of anxiety, very few or absent H responses (suggesting reduced interpersonal contacts), the rejection of the IV table (so called 'father table') in 4 out of 5 cases, while the last female gave the following two responses: "The body of an animal, without its head; a block of ice". The Rorschach picture was very stable in the 15-year-old male, undergoing previous psychiatric hospitalizations for conduct disorders, who was tested three times, when 11, 13 and 15 years old.

From a psychoanalytic point of view, McCarthy (1978) studied history, symptoms, psychopathology, psychological and psychiatric evaluation and psychotherapeutic treatment of ten inpatient adolescents (9 males and 1 female, aged 12-16) who had committed murder; nine of the ten had been deserted by one or both parents; nine of the ten had histories of transient psychotic schizophrenic episodes and extensive histories of fighting, antisocial behavior, and in several cases, fire-setting. Their victims ranged in age from younger children to peers, adults who were strangers or neighbors; in one case, a youngster murdered his mother. Rorschach test contained evidence of both episodic discontrol and dehumanization: "...several youngsters repeatedly saw statues in human-like movement instead of popular human-movement responses".

Descriptive studies in adult murderers (N = 16)

Schneider (1955) reported some Rorschach quantitative data (mean, range), without specifying the method, in

18 murderers, for the following variables: R (37.8, 10-114), G (6.3; 2-16), D (18.1; 5-44), Dd (8.1; 0-35), Dim (Space) (3.3; 0-23), F (33; 7-85), F+ % (79), F- (7.2; 1-38), K (1.7; 0-8), FC (1.1; 0-4), CF (1.7; 0-6), C (0.3; 0-4), FClob (2.8; 0-5), A% (52.0), H% (19.7), Anat% (3.0), Sex% (1.7). According to the Author's conclusion, the Rorschach records of murderers appeared to be 'normal', even if he notes that Space responses, as well as Anat% and Sex% ones are higher than usual, and that CF+C are higher than FC. Anyway, the lack of sociodemographic, clinical and criminological data, and the excessive variability of total R (10-114), quite invalidated the study.

Paolella (1958), and Romano & Paolella (1958, 1958a) studied 20 male murderers in prison, administering the Rorschach test (not specified method), the T.A.T and the Wechsler Bellevue scale. They distinguished 'hyperthymic personalities', with Rorschach signs of impulsivity and oppositivity (high whole and space responses, high C; low banal/popular responses), and 'cool personalities', without particular Rorschach features.

Satten, Menninger, Rosen & Mayman (1960) administered Rorschach and TAT in four cases of young men (20-43 years old) convicted of bizarre, apparently senseless and without motive murders, as part of an appeal process. "All had been examined by psychiatrists prior to their trials, and found to be 'without psychosis' and 'sane'. Three of the 4 were under death sentence, and one of them was serving a long prison term. Further psychiatric investigation was requested because someone in each of these cases, either one's lawyer, relative, or friend, was dissatisfied with the previously given psychiatric explanations, and asked: 'How can a person, as sane as this man seems to be, commit an act as crazy as the one he was convicted of?'". "For the most part, the murderers themselves were puzzled as to why they killed their victims. Attempts to reconstruct a rational motive were unsuccessful. In each case, there was no gain to the murderer by killing the victim, nor was there any accompanying crime. The victims were relatively unknown to the murderers, and the method of the murder was haphazard and impromptu. In no case did the murderer use a conventional weapon, but killed with his bare hands or whatever could immediately be pressed into use. In all instances, however, the murder was unnecessarily violent, and sometimes bizarre, and there was evidence that the assaults on the bodies continued until long after the death of the victims". In this paper, historical findings, examinational data (including clinical observations and EEG findings) and the role of unconscious motivation are fully described and detailed. Rorschach results are briefly summarized as below. Brief, constricted Rorschach records were the rule: "Certainly the usual role of thinking (as a delay of, and attenuated substitute for, action) was conspicuously absent in these cases". In general, "...the test picture for all of the men added up to an 'all or none' pattern of functioning. Inhibition of action required great amounts of psychic energy and lacked flexibility; once controls began to weaken, the men were almost completely overwhelmed by affect, morbid fantasy, and a proneness to immediate unreflective action. The test pictures were uniformly consistent with indications of a severe ego deficiency which permits impulse to flow too directly into action and not be easily shunted into thinking or verbalization". In addition, there was a blurring of the boundaries between fantasy and reality, and there were transient feelings of depersonalization

both in previous life experience and in murder episode, as well as at the Rorschach: the fourth murderer, for example, in response to a Rorschach card "...began to describe not only the blot in front of him, but also a confused mixture of dreams, memories and waking fantasies". In all these individuals. "...the tolerance for affect and anxiety was extremely limited and all showed marked disturbance in dealing with color on the Rorschach".

Perdue (1961, 1964) repeatedly studied Rorschach test in murderers, scored according to Beck (1949, 1950, 1952) and Piotrowski (1957). In the first paper (Perdue, 1961), he examined the records obtained over a period of one to two years in 47 men (mean age: 37.9 years; 34% black, 66% white; IQ mean, from the Otis Quick-Scoring Test of Mental Ability and the Revised Beta Examination: 84.4), convicted of first-degree murder who are serving life terms at the Virginia State penitentiary: other 6 subjects, considered in his unpublished master's thesis (Perdue, 1960), were excluded because serving lesser terms for murder. 42% had been convicted of killing either blood relatives (parricide) or their wives (uxoricide); the remainder had been convicted of killing persons who were neither 'emotionally' nor blood kin; victims ranged from one to three people. Length of time served on sentence was not controlled, as it has been indicated that length of confinement tends to have little effect on Rorschach responses (Loreto & Ferraz, 1952); at the time of testing, the inmates had been in prison from less than a month to five years. The Rorschach records included those who were making good adjustments as well as those who were trying

to get used to the newness of confinement and were still bewildered. All, however, appeared to have one major goal in common: working for eventual release through pardon or parole consideration. Since 1960, the Virginia Prison System's Psychology Department has adopted the policy of giving every inmate a battery of projective techniques, including the Rorschach, T.A.T. and H.T.P.: all of the Rorschach records for the study came as a result of this practice. Once the procedure was explained to each inmate, with the idea that the results might help us understand him better, cooperation was excellent: perhaps they enjoyed being 'bugged' by the 'headshrinker'. In the second paper, Perdue (1964) added 53 additional cases, as a result of his daily work in the prison, along the same procedure, thus giving a total of 100 protocols from male murderers, aged 15 to 57 (mean: 33.3; the 15-year-old had been given three life sentences after being convicted of killing three people), 43% black and 57% white, with a mean IQ of 85.3 (range: 60 to 112), 30% convicted of killing their blood relative (parricide), 30% of killing their wives (uxoricide), the remainder convicted of killing persons of no kin. In this second study, only 75% of the murderers were serving life terms, while the remainder had been sentences of 10 to 99 years; several inmates had been given the death penalty, which later was commuted to a life term. In both studies, Rorschach factors, found to be very infrequent, were not considered. Mean and SD values for primary Rorschach factors in the 1st and the 2nd study were tabulated as follows, showing no significant difference between the two samples (tab. n. 1):

Table 1 – Rorschach responses in 100 murderers

Rorschach Factors (*)	GROUP A (N = 47) (Perdue, 1961)		GROUP B (N = 53) (Perdue, 1964)	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Total R	15.37	3.90	17.40	7.00
W	6.27	2.60	5.71	2.70
D	8.40	0.43	10.33	5.09
Dd	0.60	1.40	1.13	1.21
S	1.06	1.20	1.23	1.50
M	0.75	0.91	0.73	1.22
FM	1.09	0.94	1.18	1.40
m	0.69	1.20	0.35	0.86
F	1.25	1.20	3.20	3.10
F+	8.15	2.60	7.44	3.40
F-	1.25	1.20	1.04	3.90
FC	1.64	1.40	1.58	1.62
CF	0.97	1.00	1.24	1.90
C	0.13	0.45	0.30	0.68
SumC	2.52	2.70	2.43	4.10
FV	0.50	0.66	0.84	1.60
FY	0.28	0.83	0.70	1.10
H	1.36	1.30	1.29	1.70
Hd	0.60	0.92	1.90	1.58
A	7.34	2.10	7.15	2.70
Ad	1.89	1.80	1.91	6.70
P	4.92	1.50	4.19	2.20
R (plates I-VII)	11.49	3.00	10.41	4.40
R (plates VIII-X)	5.66	2.90	6.56	3.30
T/ 1 st R (sec.)	12.97	2.50	11.80	4.90

(**): according to Beck (1949, 1950, 1952) and Piotrowski (1957)

In the first paper, Perdue (1961) listed some percentages and various ratios to be worked into the personality description, roughly following the four basic part pattern set by Mons (1950) (basic personality, mental activity, emotional life, contents): W% (40), D% (53), Dd% (6), F% (62), F+% (89), A% (60), H% (13), P% (33), M : SumC (1:3), W:M (6:1), M:FM (1:1), (H+A):(Hd+Ad) (8:3), Affective Ratio (50%). In the second paper, Perdue (1964) noted that personality factors seemed very similar those ones of the previous study, and enhanced the following Rorschach variables: the high W to M ratio (6:1; NV: 3:1), suggesting "...that a lowered sense of personal adequacy may be present..." and "...that great amount of ambition could be in evidence, but it tends to outstrip true creative ability, which hints at strong feelings of inferiority and personal inadequacy. Such feelings can cause limited tension tolerance, with limited patience not only with others but with the self as well"; the low Dd%, suggesting "...a practical-minded type of person who may tend to ignore the finer points of life"; the presence of S Space responses "...often indicative of opposition"; the high F%, indicating a constriction and rigidity of personality, implying "...that much control is being exercised"; the high F+%, implying "...the presence of both anxiety and emotional constriction"; the limited color response "...thought to further reinforce this emotional constriction; perhaps experience with emotions in the past has brought about fear of them"; the low M, indicating "...a low fantasy activity" and "...a lack of inner wish activity to control the emotions when they arise"; the low M to SumC ratio, suggesting "...an uncreative type of person of rather unstable emotionality who may be easily excitable"; the low FC to CF ratio, confirming self-centered attitudes and that "...a strong attempt is being made to over-compensate for the feelings of inferiority by adopting an egotistical or highly sensitive self-centered outlook"; the very low M to FM (1:1; NV: 3:1) ratio, with concomitant m, indicating "...the presence of primitive impulses... (that) seem about equal in strength to the maturity that has the job of controlling them"; the high A%, implying "...a limited imagination, unproductiveness and stereotypy in the thinking; a mentality that seldom rises above the common lines of existence"; the low H%, suggesting "...a lack of faith in others" and "...a fear of people and their intentions, thus hinting at undue sensitivity toward the environment"; the high P% and the lack of original responses, confirming "...a rather stereotyped mentality who seems to be rarely independent in his thinking. He seems content to adopt the ideas of others and displays little or no imagination in his thinking or planning"; the high F+% (construction of reality), the high A% (adaptive thinking) with the high P% (conformity) "...appear to indicate that subject is trying to protect himself against something – perhaps anxiety – within the personality structure". In summary, Rorschach pattern, according to the Author, suggests "...a person who appears to be of dull-normal intelligence, stereotyped in his thinking, and who may be trying extremely hard to conform. Perhaps subject has had enough prior experience with his emotions to know that he must try to control them. It is as if he is stepping cautiously in an area where he has learned, from bitter past

experience, that trouble may lie. Such caution appears to be causing the constriction of emotional life that prevents any wandering off the beaten path. Then again, it must be taken into consideration that subject is trying to conform, being aware that his prison record or adjustment has a great bearing on his future release to society. It is thought that he is hiding his emotions and that inside exists what Banay (1952) has termed 'an emotional smoldering'. The lack of inner creativity to serve as a check could mean that often the road is open to the primitive forces of the subconscious (Banay, 1952). The depressive characteristics, which were in evidence throughout the personality pattern, could add weight to Wilson's (1951) assumption that prison has an extremely depressing effect". Anyway, the Author is perfectly aware that "A study of this nature raises, among many questions, the idea of comparisons with similar research in other...prisons". According his conclusive remarks, his results "...add strong evidence to Banay (1952, p. 29) statement: 'A scientific understanding and evaluation of the destruction of one human being by another, varies so greatly that true understanding can only be achieved in individual terms and reactions'".

Anastasiadis (1965) administered the Rorschach (not specified method) in 67 murderers not sentenced to death for circumstances mitigating sentence, undergoing long-term imprisonment in Istanbul, aged 19-58 (mean: 31) at the time of testing, aged 15-55 (mean: 26) at the time of crime. Most of them were illiterate; the test of Porteus was administered in order to exclude subjects with mental retardation (11% had an IQ between 50 and 69; 8% had an IQ between 70 and 79). No one had a psychiatric history or showed psychiatric symptoms. Rorschach data differ from normal value (not cited) for low number of R, low G%, low F+%, high Clob, constricted TVI, higher sex responses, suggesting a normal intelligence, poor imagination, rigid thinking, impoverished affect and Ego functions, sexual perseverations. Anyway, these features are not specific, and are not suitable to identify a specific 'criminal personality'.

Kahn (1965), in search for specific characteristics of murderers by means of techniques of factorial analysis, examined a sample of 43 individuals, consecutively admitted during a period of seven years to a University Psychiatric Hospital with the plea of insanity to the charge of murder, and each evaluated for a 30-day period, both psychiatrically and through a battery of psychological test. Psychiatric examinations and interviews allowed to obtain a) the mental status of the patient; b) the patient's description of the crime and the events that led up to it; c) the personal and social history obtained from the patient, d) a formulation of the patient's personality dynamics, and e) diagnosis and evaluation of legal sanity. All the tests were administered by the same examiner. The Rorschach were scored according to Holt & Havel (1960) primary process system, and verbal, performance and full-scale WAIS IQs were used. Twenty items of data from the medical chart were included, representing five areas: a) past adjustment, b) social class, c) demography, d) crime, and e) evaluation. Thirty-nine items in all, from the Rorschach, WAIS, and medical chart were then factors analyzed by a computer program which utilized a principal component method

with a Varimax rotation to approximate orthogonal simple structure. Only factors with loadings above .30 were rotated. Fifteen factors emerged, accounting for 91% of the variance. Only the first five, which account for about 62% of total variance, were discussed. Factor III (10.61% of total variance) was related to occupational level, social class, number of prison terms, school adjustment and educational level. Factor IV (6.83% of total variance) was associated to number of marriages, marital status and age. The remaining factors are more related to testing results. Factor I (24.26% of total variance) is bipolar, and might well be subtitled a sane-insane or a primary process-secondary process factor, taking into account Total Formal Primary Process (Perceptual or Logical Distortion), Primitive (Level 1) Aggressive Drive, Primitive (Level 1) Libidinal Drive, Defense Demand, Defense Effectiveness, Form-level Accuracy, and Sane. Factor II (14.50% of total variance) is clearly an intelligence factor, or more precisely a factor concerned with measured intellectual functioning (Full-scale IQ, Verbal IQ, Performance IQ), associated with Educational level and with modulated expression of primary process (Level 2 Primary Process). Finally, Factor V (5.76% of total variance) is clearly a unitary factor representing the primary process expression of aggressive drive, associated with compelling need for defence, taking into account four Rorschach content variables: Aggression Level II, Total Aggression, Total Content, Defense Demand.

Kahn (1967) re-scored the same 43 Rorschach records according to Mayman's (1964) seven category scoring system of Rorschach form level, in order to evaluate reality adherence: a reality adherence score for each murderer's protocol was determined by dividing the total of the murderer's form level score, weighted according to Holt (1962) and Holt & Havel (1960), by the number of responses in his protocol. Reality adherence score contributes importantly to a factor analysis dimension of reality functioning (Factor I of the previous study), correlated significantly with judgment of legal sanity ($r = +.492$, $p < 0.01$) and with intelligence test (WAIS) variables (Full Scale IQ: $r = 0.352$, $p < 0.05$; Performance IQ: $r = .400$, $p < 0.01$), showed statistically significant negative correlations ($p < 0.01$) with Holt's Rorschach Primary Process scores (Libido I: $r = -.569$; Aggression I: $r = -.548$; Formal I: $r = -.586$; Formal II: $r = -.446$; Total Formal: $r = -.553$).

Four years later, the paper by Kahn (1971) is an extensive monography (86 pagg.), illustrating in more details the sample characteristics, the methods and the results obtained in the same group of 43 murderers. The paper provides a careful descriptive report for all the characteristics taken into account: age (mean. 30.88); sex differences (41 males, 2 females); religion (70% Protestant, 19% Roman Catholic, 2% Jewish, 9% - two subjects - no religious affiliation); ethnic-race (81% Caucasian, 14% Mexican-American); marital status (40% married, 37% never married, 23% broken marriage at the time of the murder); number of marriages (23% with 2 or more marriages); social class level (according to Hollingshead's five level classification, based on a weighting of education and

occupation, while level 5 is the lowest status) (65% level 5, 30% level 4); occupational level (according to Hollingshead's seven level classification, while level 7 is the lowest state; 51% level 7; mean level: 6.05); occupational stability (42% very unstable, 31% very stable); education (years of education: mean = 8.5, SD = 3.26); number of siblings (mean: 3.84; SD: 2.97); sibling position (44% first born, 22% second born); school adjustment (51% poor; 7% good); broken home (47% came from home broken by divorce, separations, desertions, death, and other reasons); number of previous arrests (40% : none; 60% : multiple previous arrest, with a mean of 1.86 and a SD of 1.95); number of prison terms (67%: none; 33%: one or more); nature of previous crime (35%: none; 21%: minor; 28% burglary; 11% major: 1 arson, 3 assault, 1 homicide); victims (39% family members - 23% spouse -, 33% strangers); weapons (54% firearms, 19% blunt instrument, 12% knife, 9% hands); drinking at the time of the murder (47%, but only a few had been drinking heavily); psychiatric diagnosis (17% absent, 32% sociopathy, 19% other character disorder, 14% psychosis, 9% mental deficiency, 5% psychoneurosis, 5% chronic brain syndrome); medico-legal judgment (35% legally insane). According to Holt's Rorschach scoring system, based on psychoanalytic distinction between primary and secondary process, each Rorschach response is scored for the presence, type and degree of drive (libidinal or aggressive) and for the presence, type and degree of formal perceptual or logical distortions. Only 39 variables were considered, since the factor-analysis procedure made it necessary to limit the number of variables: a) *past adjustment* (N = 4): broken home, number of prison terms, degree of violence of previous crimes, school adjustment; b) *social class* (N = 6): social class (Hollingshead's five categories), occupational (Hollingshead's seven level classification), education, race, number of siblings, birth-order position; c) *demography* (N = 3): age, sex, number of marriages; d) *the murder* (N = 3): relationship to victim, weapon, number of persons killed; e) *evaluation* (N = 2): legally sane, legally insane; f) *intelligence* (N = 4): full scale IQ, verbal IQ, performance IQ, performance-verbal IQ; g) *Rorschach Primary Process* (according to Holt, 1962 and to Holt & Havel, 1960) (N = 17): total content, libido level 1, libido level 2, total libido, aggression level 1, aggression level 2, total aggression, formal level 1, formal level 2, total formal, grand total primary process, total level 1, total level 2, form level/R (Mayman, 1964), defense demand/defense effectiveness, defense demand, defense effectiveness. Means and SD for each of the 17 Rorschach Primary Process categories scores, are shown, as well as for full scale IQ, verbal IQ and performance IQ. The paper contains a detailed report of the interrelationship of descriptive characteristics, social class and crime variables, and of the interrelationships of personality (Rorschach test) and intellectual (WAIS) characteristics with background, social-class, and crime variables. Factor analysis identified the same five major factors and ten minor factors as in the previous study (Kahn, 1965). Factor 1 might well be considered a primary process-secondary process factor. It is bipolar, that is a dimen-

sional continuum with two opposed extremes. One pole – the insane one – is represented by psychiatric evaluation of insanity, and is characterized by impulsive, primitive, and reality distorted responding. The other pole – the sane one – is represented by psychiatric evaluation of sanity, and is characterized by delay, reflection, and realistic mode of response. Factor 2 is a one-dimensional factor, concerned with measured intellectual functioning, and is associated with educational level and with socialized and modulated expression of primary process (level 2). Factor 3 is a bipolar factor that is essentially concerned with Hollingshead’s social-class levels and their component parts. At one extreme, there are the constellation of low occupational and social-class level, and previous serious difficulty with the law. At the other end of this dimension, there are educational achievement and a history of satisfactory school adjustment. Factor 4 represents a basic dimension concerning the marital history of murderers. A murderer who was high on this factor would be an individual who had multiple and often unstable marital experiences. Factor 5 is clearly a unitary factor representing the Rorschach primary process expression of aggressive drive as a basic dimension of the personality of murderers.

Sethi, Gupta & Nathawat (1971) administered the Rorschach test, according to Klopfer (Klopfer, Ainsworth, Klopfer, & Holt, 1954), in 25 out of 300 male prisoners convicted of murder (mean age: 29.8), all confessed and all sentenced for life-imprisonment, highlighting: no significant distribution of location variables; over emphasis on form (64.2%), suggesting “*inadequate personality and neurotic constriction*”; CF and C outnumbering FC (average 1.52, 0.68 and 0.36, respectively), representing “*weak*

emotional control and impulsive behavior”; FM responses, relatively greater as compared to M, “*indicative of immediate need for gratification*”; frequent aggression CF responses (explosion, fire, blood, injured body parts), revealing “*infantile, immature and impulsive mode of behavior... an uncontrolled acting-out of emotional reactions*”; low texture and achromatic colour determinants (mean: 0.80), indicating “*minimal level of anxiety*”; low occurrence of human (mean: 1.08) and sexual (mean: 0.12) responses, “*indicative of lack of empathy and disturbed interpersonal relationship*” and of “*basic inadequacy in their social adjustment*”; scanty presence of diffusion and vista responses (mean: 0.52) and prevalence of extra-tensive trend, portraying “*lack of introspection and insight*”; F+% (52.0%) and popular responses (mean: 3) considerably low, suggesting “*improper reality testing... markedly impaired ego-functioning with unstable emotionality... failure of the ability to participate in communal or popular thinking and sociability within a specific culture or the conforming of the individual’s thinking to that of the group*”.

Schachter & Cotte (1972) presented Rorschach data (not specified the method) from a sample of 21 male murderers, aged 19-52 (62% < 30), all but two married, unskilled workers, without any psychiatric symptom (6 out of 21, addicted to alcohol; 11 out of 21, mild cognitive disability, with IQ < 70). Age, marital status, job, IQ (60-100; 90-100 in 3/21, 80-90 in 7/21, 60-70 in 11/21), victim, motive for the murder, some basic Rorschach variables (R, style of perception, Erlebnistypus, G/D ratio, F+%, V%, rejections, unusual contents such as Anat, Mask, Sex) are detailed for each case. Mean and range values are shown for the following variables (tab. n. 2)

Table 2 – Rorschach Variables in 21 Male Murderers (Schachter & Cotte, 1972)

Rorschach Variable (*)	Mean	Range	Notes
R	21.3	10-35	< 20 in 8/21
G	5.2	1-13	//
D	13.1	3-20	//
Dd	1.8	1-5	//
Dbl (Space)	0.7	0-3	Present in 14/21
Do	0.33	0-2	Present in 6/21
F%	80.0	60-92	//
F+%	76.0	47-97	//
K	1.4	0-4	Present in 16/21
FC	0.3	0-2	Present in 7/21
CF	1.0	0-4	Present in 11/21
C	0.52	0-4	Present in 5/21
CF+C	1.5	0-7	//
FClob	0.8	0-3	Present in 14/21
A%	44.5	23-85	//
H%	10.2	3-33	Present in 18/21
Anat%	8.4	3-45	Present in 14/21
V%	29.5	10-72	Present in 18/21
Orig%	1.6	3-5	Present in 9/21
Card Rejection	//	//	Present in 7/21, once or more; Card II: 2; V: 1; VI: 2; VII: 3; X: 2
Rotation of the cards	18.3	4-11	Present in 16/21
Responses in para-standard position	30.2	11-58	Present in 17/21

(*): Not Specified Rorschach Method

The Authors underlined the preliminary nature of these results, unsuitable to outline a 'murderous personality'. Anyway, they noted: low R, low F+%, high Do and low Orig%, possibly reflecting low IQ; low H%, related to difficulties in interpersonal relationships; high Anat%, suggesting somatic concerns and self and heterodirect aggressivity; high % of responses in para-standard position, interpreted as an expression of the tendency towards oppositional and/or aggressive behaviors.

Karsvnie, Lazcano De Anta, Rigazzio & Saade De Alonso (2000) studied the Rorschach protocols of 28 male murderers (aged 21-68) out of 110 prisoners in Argentina, looking for the most significant Rorschach variables from a forensic point of view "...as regards lucidity, responsibility, competence degree, emotional alterations and potential danger degree". Only 21 records were considered, 3 being excluded for clinical heterogeneity and 4 because of $R < 8$. Murderers Rorschach showed: low R (20 in 1/21; mean: 11), as expected in a forensic setting; W higher than expected 20-30%; low M (0 in 5/21, 1 in 9/21), suggesting immaturity, poor internal resources and reduced capacity of sublimation; F+% lower than expected 80-95% (normal values in 9/21; 70-80% in 7/21; lower than 70% in 5/21), indicative of impaired cognitive function and improper reality testing; FM responses relatively greater than M, suggesting a basic emotional instability; prevalence of labile colour responses, related to impulsivity.

Léveillé & Lefebvre (2008) and Vignola-Lévesque & Léveillé (2017) reported Rorschach findings according to the Comprehensive System (CS) (Exner, 2001, 2003) in four males (29, 45, 35 and 30 years old) who killed their wives following their marital separation. The scoring of the responses was performed by two examiners, on the basis of consensual agreement. The four Rorschach records were characterized by: normal R (15, 23, 19, 21); high lambda (> 0.99 in each case); unusual FC: CF+C ratio (normal = 2:1) (1:2, 1:0; 2:0; 0:3); lack of C; high FM (1, 3, 2, 0); high A% (46.6; 69.6; 63.2; 47.6); low AG (except in one case: 1, 0, 0, 0); low S (except in one case: 0, 0, 1, 5); low M (except in one case: 0, 0, 2, 1); low H (0, 0, 2, 0); presence of Per (personalized responses) (3, 1, 0, 0); absence of Fr-rF (mirror responses) (except in one case: 1, 0, 0, 0). According to the Authors, high lambda suggests a rigidity of defense mechanism, an over-investment of concrete reality, and an overcontrol of the pulsional life, while high FM is an index of immaturity, high A% is related with an impairment of socialization, low M indicates a deficit of mentalization abilities and low H, difficulties in human relationships. In one case, high S suggests high aggressivity, while high Per in the other subject is related to narcissistic traits, and to the tendency of over-controlling the others.

Descriptive studies on murderer samples compared with normative data (N = 2)

Kaser-Boyd (1993) studied a sample of 28 women, 19 to 60 years old, 14 white, 12 black and 2 Hispanic, all charged with first-degree murder, restricted in jail (more than two thirds) or on bail awaiting trial, consecutively referred for pretrial psychological evaluation, under court appointment, to assist with their defense, addressing issues of competence to stand trial, mental state at the time of offense and current dangerousness. The victim in each case was a spouse or someone with whom the defendant was cohabiting. In all cases, there was a history of battering in the relationship, that was usually extreme in degree; in 55% of the cases, the killing clearly occurred in the midst of a violent domestic argument, and the defendant seemed to have a reasonable belief that her life was in danger. None of the women appeared to be psychotic on clinical interview; 21 showed symptoms of anxiety and depression (2 were psychiatrically hospitalized, both secondary to suicidal ideation; 2 received outpatient therapy of 10-20 sessions at a county mental health center, with a diagnosis of Major Depressive Episode; 15 had had symptoms of anxiety and depression for some time but had limited contact with helping professionals; 2 had become dependent on alcohol as 'self-medication'). Testing was conducted within 1 to 6 months of the homicide. According to WAIS-R (Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale), 6 of the 28 women had IQs below 70, and appeared to have functioned at this level for a number of years before homicide. The Rorschach was administered according to the Comprehensive System (CS) (Exner, 1986), and scored by the Author; 22 protocols were rescored by a 'blind' scorer (the 6 protocols of women with IQs of less than 70 were not rescored because they were very short, containing 8 or fewer responses, and were eliminated from statistical analysis). Interscorer agreement was calculated as percentage agreement for location, developmental quality, determinants, form quality, content, pairs/reflections, popular, and special scores. Percentage agreements, respectively, were .92, .95, .83, .90, .90, .97, .98 and .83. Descriptive statistics (mean, standard deviation, mode, range, skewness and kurtosis) were calculated for a number of variables of CS, and statistically compared to the scores of 600 nonpatient adults reported by Exner (1986) with Welch's V (Wilcox, 1987), a modified t test suitable for comparisons with unequal variances. In addition, ratios and percentages were compared to expected frequencies for the same normative sample and subjected to chi-square and Fisher Exact tests. Since five out 22 women had protocols with 14 or fewer responses, statistical analyses were conducted both with and without the $R < 14$ protocols; the exclusion of the shorter records resulted in minimal difference in significance. The homicide sample as a whole was characterized by the delivery of short records (mean: 18.27 vs 22.57; SD: 6.88 vs 5.54; $V = 7.384$, $p < 0.05$), not related to IQ, that was normally distributed in this group, and not caused by defensiveness, not suggested in clinical inter-

views: in test taking, these women appeared to be attempting to do their best. The homicide group was also significantly higher on Lambda (mean: 1.03 vs 0.59, SD: 0.63 vs 0.28; $V = -.157$, $p < 0.05$). According to V values, homicide group showed statistically significant differences ($p < 0.05$), with lower cognitive variables (R, Lambda, Blends, Zf, Zd, X+%, P), lower control variables (Ea, es, FC, CF) and lower affect variables (Lambda, Afr). As a whole, this group of homicide battered women showed cognitive constriction, lack of internal resources for problem solving, tendency to be ambivalent and to vacillate between thinking and acting, strong affect, not well modulated by cognitive operations and more likely to be discharged or externalized, high vulnerability in provocative situations, tendency to be backing away as main method of coping, distortions of reality testing, difficulties in perceiving the world as others do. The Author warns against the limitations of her study: the reduced sample size, non-random sampling, lack of control or comparison group, the *artificial use of Exner normative data for statistical comparison*. In conclusion, she recommends that “*This study is of a low-base-rate phenomenon and is exploratory in nature. Generalizations from this sample should be cautious ones*”.

Zizolfi, Catanesi, Grattagliano, & Zizolfi (2017) examined 20 murderers with no psychiatric history and without any psychiatric disease according to DSM-5 diagnostic criteria, tested according to the SRR (Scuola Romana Rorschach) in a forensic setting, and judged as ‘fully responsible’ (i.e. legally sane). The group showed no statistically significant difference from normative SRR control group (Cicioni, 2016; Giambelluca, Parisi & Pes, 1995; Parisi & Pes, 1990) with regard to cognitive functions and reality control (R, R+, R+%, F+%, Reality Index). Major statistically significant differences (Student two tailed t test; level of significance: $p < 0.05$) resulted as regards affective functions, with H (Human) response percent much lower (mean: 7.75, SD: 1.7; 0.0% in 6/20, < 8.0% in 5/20, < 15.0% in 5/20; normal values: 10-20 in males, 20-30 in females) and Impulsivity Index much higher (mean: 0.79, SD: 0.1; > 1.00 in 6/20, > 0.75 in 4/20; > 0.60 in 4/20; normal value: 0.35), suggesting compromised interpersonal relationships and marked impulsivity. No difference was found between 9 ‘non impetus crime’ and 11 ‘crime of impetus’, the latter being characterized by the lack of planning and/or peculiar brutality and cruelty of the crime.

Discussion

Descriptive studies on adolescent murderers (N = 4)

These four studies have been mentioned for the purpose of completeness of the present review, but they are mainly of historical interest, because of their great methodological limitations: no studies specify the Rorschach method or report a full quantitative Rorschach picture; no statistical

descriptive analysis was performed, and the sample size is always too small, with N ranging from 5 (Durand de Bousingen, 1971) to 9 (Schachter & Cotte, 1949), 10 (McCarthy, 1978) and 11 (Schachter & Cotte, 1963). However, some results are noteworthy, and will be mentioned in conclusive remarks.

Descriptive studies in adult murderers (N = 16)

10 out of 16 studies have been considered for the purpose of completeness of the present review, but suffer from great methodological limitations:

- 7/16 do not specify the Rorschach method (Anastasiadis, 1965; Paoletta, 1958; Romano & Paoletta, 1958, 1958a; Satten, Menninger, Rosen & Mayman, 1960; Schachter & Cotte, 1972; Schneider, 1955);
- 8/16 do not perform any statistical descriptive analysis (Anastasiadis, 1965; Léveillé & Lefebvre, 2008; Paoletta, 1958; Romano & Paoletta, 1958, 1958a; Satten, Menninger, Rosen & Mayman, 1960; Schachter & Cotte, 1972; Vignola-Lèvesque & Léveillé, 2017);
- 8/16 consider samples too small in size ($N < 22$) ($N = 4$ in Léveillé & Lefebvre, 2008; Satten, Menninger, Rosen & Mayman, 1960; Vignola-Lèvesque & Léveillé, 2017; $N = 18$ in Schneider, 1955; $N = 20$ in Paoletta, 1958; Romano & Paoletta, 1958, 1958a; $N = 21$ in Karsvnie, Lazcano De Anta, Rigazzio & Saade De Alonso, 2000; Schachter & Cotte, 1972).

Consequently, their findings must be regarded as very preliminary, just suggestions or working hypotheses looking for validation through confirmatory studies (see conclusions).

The remaining 6 out of 16 studies can be considered more valid from a methodological point of view, as they examined larger samples, administered Rorschach test within a multimethod assessment battery, specified Rorschach methods, and controlled a number of variables: sex, age, IQ, murder type and degree, sentence, in prison setting administration, psychiatric diagnosis, evaluation of legal sanity, level of cooperation, type of victims, and so on.

Perdue reported mean and SD of Rorschach variables, according to Beck (1949, 1950, 1952) and Piotrowski (1957), in two similar samples of 47 (Perdue, 1961) and 53 (Perdue, 1964) normal IQ legally sane male inmate murderers, mostly serving life terms at the Virginia State penitentiary, who were administered the Rorschach, T.A.T., H.T.P. and the Otis Quick-scoring Test of mental Ability and the Revised Beta Examination. In both studies, Rorschach factors found to be very infrequent were not considered. Mean and SD values for primary Rorschach factors in the 1st and the 2nd study were tabulated as follows, showing no significant difference between the two samples (see tab. n. 1).

In the second paper, Perdue (1964) noted that person-

ality factors seemed very similar to those ones of the previous study, and enhanced a lot of Rorschach variables, which will be considered in conclusive remarks. In summary, Rorschach pattern, according to the Author, suggests "...a person who appears to be of dull-normal intelligence, stereotyped in his thinking, and who may be trying extremely hard to conform. Perhaps subject has had enough prior experience with his emotions to know that he must try to control them. It is as if he is stepping cautiously in an area where he has learned, from bitter past experience, that trouble may lie. Such caution appears to be causing the constriction of emotional life that prevents any wandering off the beaten path. Then again, it must be taken into consideration that subject is trying to conform, being aware that his prison record or adjustment has a great bearing on his future release to society. It is thought that he is hiding his emotions and that inside exists what Banay (1952) has termed 'an emotional smoldering'. The lack of inner creativity to serve as a check could mean that often the road is open to the primitive forces of the subconscious (Banay, 1952). The depressive characteristics, which were in evidence throughout the personality pattern, could add weight to Wilson's (1951) assumption that prison has an extremely depressing effect". Anyway, the Author is perfectly aware that "A study of this nature raises, among many questions, the idea of comparisons with similar research in other...prisons".

Kahn (1965, 1967, 1971), in search for specific characteristics of murderers by means of techniques of factorial analysis, repeatedly examined a sample of 43 individuals (42 males, 2 females), consecutively admitted during a period of seven years to a University Psychiatric Hospital with the plea of insanity to the charge of murder, and each evaluated for a 30-day period, both psychiatrically and through a battery of psychological tests. Psychiatric examinations and interviews allowed to obtain: a) sociodemographic characteristics and the personal and social history obtained from the patient (sex, age, religion, ethnic race, marital status, number of marriages, education, occupation and stability of occupation, social class level, number of siblings, sibling position, school adjustment, broken home); b) the patient's description of the crime and the events that led up to it (including type of victims, weapons, drinking at the time of the murder, criminal history with number of previous arrests, number of prison terms, and nature of previous crime); c) a formulation of the patient's personality dynamics, and d) diagnosis and evaluation of legal sanity (35% legally insane). WAIS and Rorschach tests were administered by the same examiner. The Rorschach were scored according to Holt (1962) and Holt & Havel (1960) primary process system, based on psychoanalytic distinction between primary and secondary process (Kahn, 1965, 1971) and according to Mayman's (1964) seven category scoring system of Rorschach form level, in order to evaluate reality adherence (Kahn, 1967): each Rorschach response is scored for the presence, type and degree of drive (libidinal or aggressive) and for the presence, type and degree of formal perceptual or logical distortions, according to Holt (1962)

and Holt & Havel (1960); a reality adherence score for each murderer's protocol was determined by dividing the total of the murderer's form level score, according to Mayman's (1964), by the number of responses in his/her protocol. Means and SD for each of the 17 Rorschach Primary Process categories scores are shown, as well as for full scale IQ, verbal IQ and performance IQ. Data from the medical chart, the WAIS and the Rorschach were factors analyzed by a computer program which used a principal component method with a Varimax rotation to approximate orthogonal simple structure; only factors with loadings above .30 were rotated. Only 39 variables were considered, since the factor-analysis procedure made necessary to limit the number of variables: a) *past adjustment* (N = 4): broken home, number of prison terms, degree of violence of previous crimes, school adjustment; b) *social class* (N = 6): social class (Hollingshead's five categories), occupational (Hollingshead's seven level classification), education, race, number of siblings, birth-order position; c) *demography* (N = 3): age, sex, number of marriages; d) *the murder* (N = 3): relationship to victim, weapon, number of persons killed; e) *evaluation* (N = 2): legally sane, legally insane; f) *intelligence* (N = 4): full scale IQ, verbal IQ, performance IQ, performance-verbal IQ; g) *Rorschach Primary Process* (according to Holt, 1962 and to Holt & Havel, 1960) (N = 17): total content, libido level 1, libido level 2, total libido, aggression level 1, aggression level 2, total aggression, formal level 1, formal level 2, total formal, grand total primary process, total level 1, total level 2, form level/R (Mayman, 1964), defense demand/defense effectiveness, defense demand, defense effectiveness. Factor analysis identified the same five major factors and ten minor factors in both studies, which account for about 62% of total variance (Kahn, 1965, 1971). Factor I (24.26% of total variance) might well be considered as a sane-insane or a primary process-secondary process factor, taking into account Total Formal Primary Process (Perceptual or Logical Distortion), Primitive (Level 1) Aggressive Drive, Primitive (Level 1) Libidinal Drive, Defense Demand, Defense Effectiveness, Form-level Accuracy, and Sane. It is bipolar, that is a dimensional continuum with two opposed extremes. One pole – the insane one - is represented by psychiatric evaluation of insanity, and is characterized by impulsive, primitive, and reality distorted responding. The other pole – the sane one – is represented by psychiatric evaluation of sanity, and is characterized by delay, reflection, and realistic mode of response. Factor II is a one-dimensional factor, concerned with measured intellectual functioning, and it is associated with educational level and with socialized and modulated expression of primary process (level 2). Factor III is a bipolar factor that is essentially concerned with Hollingshead's social-class levels and their component parts. Factor IV represents a basic dimension concerning the marital history of murderers. Factor V (5.76% of total variance) is clearly a unitary factor representing the Rorschach primary process expression of aggressive drive, associated with the compelling need for defence, as a basic

dimension of the personality of murderers; it takes into account four Rorschach content variables: Aggression Level II, Total Aggression, Total Content and Defense Demand.

Sethi, Gupta & Nathawat (1971) administered the Rorschach test, according to Klopfer (Klopfer, Ainsworth, Klopfer, & Holt, 1954), in 25 out of 300 male prisoners convicts of murder (mean age: 29.8), all confessed and all sentenced for life-imprisonment, highlighting some remarkable features, which will be detailed in our conclusive remarks.

Descriptive studies on murderer samples compared with normative data (N = 2)

Kaser-Boyd (1993) studied a sample of 28 women, 19 to 60 years old, 14 white, 12 black and 2 Hispanic, all charged with first degree murder, restricted in jail (more than two thirds) or on bail awaiting trial, consecutively referred for pretrial psychological evaluation, under court appointment, to assist with their defense, addressing issues of competence to stand trial, mental state at the time of offense and current dangerousness. The victim in each case was a spouse or someone with whom the defendant was cohabiting. None of the women appeared to be psychotic on clinical interview; 21 showed symptoms of anxiety and depression. Testing was conducted within 1 to 6 months of the homicide. According to WAIS-R (Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale), 6 of the 28 women had IQs below 70, and appeared to have functioned at this level for a number of years before homicide. The Rorschach was administered according to the Comprehensive System (CS) (Exner, 1986), and scored by the Author; 22 protocols were rescored by a 'blind' scorer (the 6 protocols of women with IQs of less than 70 were not rescored since they were very short, containing 8 or fewer responses, and were eliminated from statistical analysis). Interscorer agreement was calculated as percentage agreement for location, developmental quality, determinants, form quality, content, pairs/reflections, popular, and special scores. Percentage agreements, respectively, were .92, .95, .83, .90, .90, .97, .98 and .83. Descriptive statistics (mean, standard deviation, mode, range, skewness and kurtosis) were calculated for a number of variables of CS, and statistically compared to the scores of 600 nonpatient adults reported by Exner (1986) with Welch's V (Wilcox, 1987), a modified *t* test suitable for comparisons with unequal variances. In addition, ratios and percentages were compared to expected frequencies for the same normative sample and subjected to chi-square and Fisher Exact tests. Since five out of 22 women had protocols with 14 or fewer responses, statistical analyses were conducted both with and without the R < 14 protocols; the exclusion of the shorter records resulted in minimal difference in significance. The homicide sample as a whole was characterized by the delivery of short records (mean: 18.27 vs 22.57; SD: 6.88 vs 5.54; $V = 7.384$, $p < 0.05$), not related to IQ, that was

normally distributed in this group, and not caused by defensiveness, not suggested in clinical interviews: in test taking, these women appeared to be attempting to do their best. The homicide group was also significantly higher on Lambda (mean: 1.03 vs 0.59, SD: 0.63 vs 0.28; $V = -.157$, $p < 0.05$). According to V values, homicide group showed statistically significant differences ($p < 0.05$), with lower cognitive variables (R, Lambda, Blends, Zf, Zd, X+%, P), lower control variables (Ea, es, FC, CF) and lower affect variables (Lambda, Afr). As a whole, this group of homicide battered women showed cognitive restriction, lack of internal resources for problem solving, tendency to be ambivalent and to vacillate between thinking and acting, strong affect not well modulated by cognitive operations and more likely to be discharged or externalized, high vulnerability in provocative situations, tendency to be backing away as main method of coping, distortions of reality testing, difficulties in perceiving the world as others do. The Author warns against the limitations of her study: the reduced sample size, non-random sampling, lack of control or comparison group, the *artificial use of Exner normative data for statistical comparison*. In conclusion, she recommends that "*This study is of a low-base-rate phenomenon and is exploratory in nature. Generalizations from this sample should be cautious ones*".

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Conclusions

In the present review we examined 22 descriptive Rorschach studies on murderer samples without controls, and 2 descriptive Rorschach studies in murderer samples compared with normative data. All the studies considered report Rorschach data collected after the murder, in a jail

context, for forensic or research purposes, after a variable time from the murder. As a consequence, the results are not generalizable, except to populations of a similar type, taking into consideration and possibly controlling all the variables involved. In no case, these data may be considered 'predictive' of homicidal behavior.

Anyway, descriptive not controlled group Rorschach studies on murderer samples, must be considered as preliminary exploratory investigations, useful to generate hypotheses to be consequently tested through controlled studies on larger samples. To achieve this goal, it is necessary to collect reliable and valid data, according to a methodological flawless design, that should meet the following criteria:

- sample size as large as possible, at least with $N > 20-30$;
- full personal history, as detailed as possible, including murder and his/her sentencing;
- detailed description of: setting (forensic, clinical, experimental), characteristics of cases (sex, age, schooling or education, marital status, job, full psychiatric state examination, psychiatric diagnosis according to DSM-5-TR and/or ICD-11, time after the murder, length of time served on sentence), features of murder (weapon; types: familicide, parricide, matricide, sexual homicide, rage murder, catathymic homicide, and so on), features of victim/victims (sex, age, schooling, marital status, relationship with the murderer);
- multi-method/multi-source evaluations including interviews, Rorschach test, self-rating questionnaires, malingering evaluation test and so on (Erard, & Evans, 2017);
- use of well standardized and psychometrically reliable and valid Rorschach methods, i.e. those (Zizolfi, 2016) of the Scuola Romana Rorschach (SRR) (Cicconi, 2016, 2020; Parisi, & Pes, 1990a, 1990b, 2010; Rizzo, Parisi, & Pes, 1980), the CS Comprehensive System (Abbate & Porcelli, 2017; Exner, 1969, 1974, 1978, 1986, 1991, 1993, 1997; Exner & Erdberg, 2005; Exner, Porcelli, & Appoggetti, 2001; Lis, Zenaro, Salcuni, Parolin, & Mazzeschi, 2007), and the R-PAS, Rorschach Performance Assessment System (Meyer & Viglione, 2011; Meyer, Viglione, Mihura, Erard, & Erdberg, 2013, 2015; Mihura & Meyer, 2018);
- extensive descriptive statistical analysis (mean, standard deviation, mode, range, skewness and kurtosis) of main or all Rorschach variables and indexes.

Many studies considered in the present review do not satisfy one or more of these criteria:

- 12/22 considered samples too small in size ($N < 22$) ($N = 4$ in Léveillé & Lefebvre, 2008; Satten, Menninger, Rosen & Mayman, 1960; Vignola-Lèvesque & Léveillé, 2017; $N = 5$ in Durand de Bousingen, 1971; $N = 9$ in Schachter & Cotte, 1949; $N = 10$ in

McCarthy, 1978; $N = 11$ in Schachter & Cotte, 1963; $N = 18$ in Schneider, 1955; $N = 20$ in Paoella, 1958; Romano & Paoella, 1958, 1958a; Zizolfi, Catanesi, Grattagliano, & Zizolfi, 2017; $N = 21$ in Karsvnie, Lazcano De Anta, Rigazzio & Saade De Alonso, 2000; Schachter & Cotte, 1972);

- 11/22 do not specify the Rorschach method (Anastasiadis, 1965; Durand de Bousingen, 1971; McCarthy, 1978; Paoella, 1958; Romano & Paoella, 1958, 1958a; Satten, Menninger, Rosen & Mayman, 1960; Schachter & Cotte, 1949, 1963, 1972; Schneider, 1955);
- 12/22 do not perform any descriptive statistical analysis (Anastasiadis, 1965; Durand de Bousingen, 1971; Léveillé & Lefebvre, 2008; McCarthy, 1978; Paoella, 1958; Romano & Paoella, 1958, 1958a; Satten, Menninger, Rosen & Mayman, 1960; Schachter & Cotte, 1949, 1963, 1972; Vignola-Lèvesque & Léveillé, 2017).

As a consequence, findings from 15/22 studies must be regarded as very preliminary, just suggestions or working hypotheses looking for validation through confirmatory studies; this is true for:

- the great variability of total R, in 9 (Schachter & Cotte, 1949) and in 11 adolescent murderers (Schachter & Cotte, 1963);
- higher than usual values of Space responses, Anat% and Sex%; $CF+C>FC$, in 18 murderers (Schneider, 1955);
- the distinction between 'hyperthymic personalities', with Rorschach signs of impulsivity and oppositivity (high whole and space responses, high C; low banal/popular responses), and 'cool personalities', without particular Rorschach features, in 20 male murderers in prison (Paoella, 1958; Romano & Paoella, 1958, 1958a);
- the constricted Rorschach records with "severe ego deficiency which permits impulse to flow too directly into action and not be easily shunted into thinking or verbalization", blurring of the boundaries between fantasy and reality, and transient feelings of depersonalization in four cases of young men (20-43 years old) convicted of bizarre, apparently senseless and without motive murders (Satten, Menninger, Rosen & Mayman, 1960);
- low number of R, low G%, low F+%, high Clob, constricted TVI, higher sex responses, suggesting a normal intelligence, poor imagination, rigid thinking, impoverished affect and Ego functions, sexual perseverations, in 67 murderers (Anastasiadis, 1965);
- the low total R (mean = 15, perhaps due to the forensic setting), the absence of M responses (indicating poor ability to problem interiorization), the lack of coloured responses in 4 out of 5 cases (no 'impulsive structure' of personality), the very few or absent H responses (suggesting reduced interpersonal contacts), the rejec-

tion of the IV table (so called 'father table'), in 5 adolescent murderers (Durand de Bousingen, 1971);

- the stability of Rorschach picture in a 15-year-old male, tested when 11, 13, and 15 years old: twice during his previous psychiatric hospitalizations for conduct disorders, and once after the murder (Durand de Bousingen, 1971);
- low R, low F+%, high Do and low Orig%, possibly reflecting low IQ; low H%, related to difficulties in interpersonal relationships; high Anat%, suggesting somatic concerns and self and heterodirect aggressivity; high % of responses in para-standard position, interpreted as an expression of the tendency towards oppositional and/or aggressive behaviors, in 21 male murderers (Schachter & Cotte, 1972);
- the evidence of episodic discontrol and dehumanization (McCarthy, 1978);
- low R (20 in 1/21; mean: 11), as expected in a forensic setting; W higher than expected 20-30%; low M (0 in 5/21, 1 in 9/21), suggesting immaturity, poor internal resources and reduced capacity of sublimation; F+% lower than expected 80-95% (normal values in 9/21; 70-80% in 7/21; lower than 70% in 5/21), indicative of impaired cognitive function and improper reality testing; FM responses relatively greater than M, suggesting a basic emotional instability; prevalence of labile colour responses, related to impulsivity (Karsvnie, Lazcano De Anta, Rigazzio & Saade De Alonso, 2000);
- normal R (15, 23, 19, 21); high lambda (> 0.99 in each case); unusual FC: CF+C ratio (normal = 2:1) (1:2, 1:0; 2:0; 0:3); lack of C; high FM (1, 3, 2, 0); high A% (46.6; 69.6; 63.2; 47.6); low AG (except in one case: 1, 0, 0, 0); low S (except in one case: 0, 0, 1, 5); low M (except in one case: 0, 0, 2, 1); low H (0, 0, 2, 0); presence of Per (personalized responses) (3, 1, 0, 0); absence of Fr-rF (mirror responses) (except in one case: 1, 0, 0, 0). According to the Authors, high lambda suggests a rigidity of defense mechanism, an over-investment of concrete reality, and an overcontrol of the pulsional life, while high FM is an index of immaturity, high A% is related with an impairment of socialization, low M indicates a deficit of mentalization abilities and low H, difficulties in human relationships. In one case, high S suggests high aggressivity, while high Per in the other subject is related to narcissistic traits, and to the tendency of overcontrolling the others, in four males (29, 45, 35 and 30 years old) who killed their wives following marital separation (Léveillé & Lefebvre (2008) and Vignola-Lévesque & Léveillé (2017) examined by means of Comprehensive System (CS) (Exner, 2001, 2003);
- Rorschach results (Zizolfi, Catanesi, Grattagliano, & Zizolfi, 2017) from 20 murderers with no psychiatric history and without any psychiatric disease according to DSM-5 diagnostic criteria, tested according to the SRR (Scuola Romana Rorschach) in a forensic setting, and judged as 'fully responsible' (i.e. legally sane),

compared with data from normative SRR control group (Cicioni, 2016; Giambelluca, Parisi & Pes, 1995; Parisi & Pes, 1990). No statistically significant difference was found with regard to cognitive functions and reality control (R, R+, R+%, F+%, Reality Index). Major statistically significant differences (Student two tailed t test; level of significance: $p < 0.05$) resulted as regards affective functions, with H (Human) response per cent much lower (mean: 7.75, SD: 1.7; 0.0% in 6/20, < 8.0% in 5/20, < 15.0% in 5/20; normal values: 10-20 in males, 20-30 in females) and Impulsivity Index much higher (mean: 0.79, SD: 0.1; > 1.00 in 6/20, > 0.75 in 4/20; > 0.60 in 4/20; normal value: 0.35), suggesting compromised interpersonal relationships and marked impulsivity. No difference was found between 9 'non impetus crime' and 11 'crime of impetus', the latter being characterized by the lack of planning and/or peculiar brutality and cruelty of the crime.

The remaining 7 out of 22 studies can be considered more valid from a methodological point of view, as they examined larger samples, administered Rorschach test within a multimethod assessment battery, specified Rorschach methods, controlled a number of variables: sex, age, IQ, murder type and degree, sentence, in prison setting administration, psychiatric diagnosis, evaluation of legal sanity, level of cooperation, type of victims, and so on.

The following indications may be considered as more well-founded:

- those resulting from Perdue's first sample in 47 (Perdue, 1961), and confirmed in a similar sample of 53 murderers (Perdue, 1964): 1) the high W to M ratio (6:1; NV: 3:1), suggesting "...that a lowered sense of personal adequacy may be present..." and "...that great amount of ambition could be in evidence, but it tends to outstrip true creative ability, which hints at strong feelings of inferiority and personal inadequacy. Such feelings can cause limited tension tolerance, with limited patience not only with others but with the self as well"; 2) the low Dd%, suggesting "...a practical-minded type of person who may tend to ignore the finer points of life"; the presence of S Space responses "...often indicative of opposition"; 3) the high F%, indicating a constriction and rigidity of personality, implying "...that much control is being exercised"; 4) the high F+%, implying "...the presence of both anxiety and emotional constriction"; the limited color response "...thought to further reinforce this emotional constriction; perhaps experience with emotions in the past has brought about fear of them"; 5) the low M, indicating "...a low fantasy activity" and "...a lack of inner wish activity to control the emotions when they arise"; 6) the low M to SumC ratio, suggesting "...an uncreative type of person of rather unstable emotionality who may be easily excitable"; 7) the low FC to CF ratio, confirming self-centered attitudes and that

“...a strong attempt is being made to overcompensate for the feelings of inferiority by adopting an egotistical or highly sensitive self-centered outlook”; 8) the very low M to FM (1:1; NV: 3:1) ratio, with concomitant m, indicating “...the presence of primitive impulses... (that) seem about equal in strength to the maturity that has the job of controlling them”; 9) the high A%, implying “... a limited imagination, unproductiveness and stereotypy in the thinking; a mentality that seldom rises above the common lines of existence”; 10) the low H%, suggesting “...a lack of faith in others” and “...a fear of people and their intentions, thus hinting at undue sensitivity toward the environment”; 11) the high P% and the lack of original responses, confirming “...a rather stereotyped mentality who seems to be rarely independent in his thinking. He seems content to adopt the ideas of others and displays little or no imagination in his thinking or planning”; 12) the high F+% (construction of reality), the high A% (adaptive thinking) with the high P% (conformity), which “...appear to indicate that subject is trying to protect himself against something – perhaps anxiety – within the personality structure”;

- those emerging by factors analytic studies by Kahn (1965, 1967, 1971), which identified two factors associated with Rorschach variables in 43 murderers administered the WAIS and the Rorschach test, scored according to Holt (1962) and Holt & Havel (1960) primary process system, and according to Mayman's (1964) seven category scoring system of Rorschach form level, in order to evaluate reality adherence. Factor I (24.26% of total variance) might well be considered a sane-insane or a primary process-secondary process factor, taking into account Total Formal Primary Process (Perceptual or Logical Distortion), Primitive (Level 1) Aggressive Drive, Primitive (Level 1) Aggressive Drive, Defense Demand, Defense Effectiveness, Form-level Accuracy, and Sane. It is bipolar, that is a dimensional continuum with two opposed extremes: one pole – the insane one - is represented by psychiatric evaluation of insanity, and it is characterized by impulsive, primitive, and reality distorted responding; the other pole – the sane – is represented by psychiatric evaluation of sanity, and is characterized by delay, reflection, and realistic mode of response. Factor V (5.76% of total variance) is clearly a unitary factor representing the Rorschach primary process expression of aggressive drive, associated with compelling need for defence, as a basic dimension of the personality of murderers; it takes into account four Rorschach content variables: Aggression Level II, Total Aggression, Total Content, Defense Demand;
- those evidenced by Sethi, Gupta & Nathawat (1971) in 25 out of 300 male prisoners convicted of murder (mean age: 29.8), all confessed and all sentenced for life-imprisonment, administered the Rorschach test, according to Klopfer (Klopfer, Ainsworth, Klopfer, & Holt, 1954): 1) no significant distribution of location variables; 2) over-emphasis on form (64.2%), suggest-

ing “inadequate personality and neurotic constriction”; 3) CF and C outnumbering FC (average 1.52, 0.68 and 0.36, respectively), representing “weak emotional control and impulsive behavior”; 4) FM responses relatively greater as compared to M, “indicative of immediate need for gratification”; 5) frequent aggression CF responses (explosion, fire, blood, injured body parts), revealing “infantile, immature and impulsive mode of behavior... an uncontrolled acting-out of emotional reactions”; 6) low texture and achromatic colour determinants (mean: 0.80), indicating “minimal level of anxiety”; 7) low occurrence of human (mean: 1.08) and sexual (mean: 0.12) responses, “indicative of lack of empathy and disturbed interpersonal relationship” and of “basic inadequacy in their social adjustment”; 8) scanty presence of diffusion and vista responses (mean: 0.52) and prevalence of extra-tensive trend, portraying “lack of introspection and insight”; 9) F+% (52.0%) and popular responses (mean: 3) considerably low, suggesting “improper reality testing... markedly impaired ego-functioning with unstable emotionality... failure of the ability to participate in communal or popular thinking and sociability within a specific culture or the conforming of the individual's thinking to that of the group”;

- those obtained by Kaser-Boyd (1993) in a sample of 28 women, 19 to 60 years old, 14 white, 12 black and 2 Hispanic, all charged with first degree murder, restricted in jail (more than two thirds) or on bail awaiting trial, consecutively referred for pretrial psychological evaluation, under court appointment, to assist with their defense, addressing issues of competence to stand trial, mental state at the time of offense and current dangerousness. The victim in each case was a spouse or someone with whom the defendant was cohabiting. None of the women appeared to be psychotic on clinical interview; 21 showed symptoms of anxiety and depression. Testing was conducted within 1 to 6 months of the homicide. According to WAIS-R (Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale), 6 of the 28 women had IQs below 70, and appeared to have functioned at this level for a number of years before homicide. The Rorschach was administered according to the Comprehensive System (CS) (Exner, 1986), and scored by the Author; 22 protocols were rescored by a ‘blind’ scorer (the 6 protocols of women with IQs of less than 70 were not rescored since they were very short, containing 8 or fewer responses, and were eliminated from statistical analysis). Interscorer agreement was calculated as percentage agreement for location, developmental quality, determinants, form quality, content, pairs/reflections, popular, and special scores (percentage agreements, respectively, were .92, .95, .83, .90, .90, .97, .98 and .83). Descriptive statistics (mean, standard deviation, mode, range, skewness and kurtosis) were calculated for a number of variables of CS, and statistically compared to the scores of 600 nonpatient adults reported by Exner (1986) with Welch's V (Wilcox, 1987), a modified *t* test suitable for compar-

isons with unequal variances. Since five out of 22 women had protocols with 14 or fewer responses, statistical analyses were conducted both with and without the R < 14 protocols; the exclusion of the shorter records resulted in minimal difference in significance. The homicide sample as a whole was characterized by: 1) the delivery of short records (mean: 18.27 vs 22.57; SD: 6.88 vs 5.54; $V = 7.384$, $p < 0.05$), not related to IQ, that was normally distributed in this group, and not caused by defensiveness, not suggested in clinical interviews: in test taking, these women appeared to be attempting to do their best; 2) significantly higher Lambda (mean: 1.03 vs 0.59, SD: 0.63 vs 0.28; $V = .157$, $p < 0.05$); 3) lower cognitive variables (R, Lambda, Blends, Zf, Zd, X+%, P), lower control variables (Ea, es, FC, CF) and lower affect variables (Lambda, Afr), according to V values ($p < 0.05$). As a whole, this group of homicide battered women showed cognitive constriction, lack of internal resources for problem solving, tendency to be ambitious and to vacillate between thinking and acting, strong affect not well modulated by cognitive operations and more likely to be discharged or externalized, high vulnerability in provocative situations, tendency to be backing away as main method of coping, distortions of reality testing, difficulties in perceiving the world as others do.

All these findings deserve confirmation by means of case control group comparative studies, and adequate statistical methods. In any case, it must be taken into account that homicide is a rare, low-base-rate phenomenon, and a highly variable behavior, different from case to case, so that the very existence of a 'murderous mind', i.e. common to all or some murderers, is a dubious and questionable working hypothesis. On the other hand, Rorschach test is a very sensitive tool, offering an extremely in-depth and detailed analysis of personality, so that the psychodiagnostic picture is very different from case to case, leading to high inter-individual variability of Rorschach data even in very homogeneous murderer samples. As a consequence, generalizations should be cautious. According to Perdue's (1964) conclusive remarks, Rorschach test results "...add strong evidence to Banay (1952, p. 29) statement: *A scientific understanding and evaluation of the destruction of one human being by another, varies so greatly that true understanding can only be achieved in individual terms and reactions*".

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Psychological aspects in human trafficking for sexual exploitation: a systematic review

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Abstract

This article is a systematic review of the crime of trafficking in persons for sexual exploitation, relating the psychological aspects of the victims and the traumas and disorders caused to mental health with the violation of human rights. The methodology followed the Prisma statement, with scientific articles deposited in three databases: Pubmed, Web of Science (WoS), and Springer; Three search equations were crossed with their Booleans under inclusion and exclusion criteria. As a result of the screening, 27 documents were obtained to conclude that the crime of human trafficking qualifies as a crime against humanity given the psychological consequences of the victims and the difficulty of reintegration, but also, the need to generate inter-country actions to confront criminal gangs.

Keywords: Human trafficking, sexual exploitation, psychological sequelae, trauma and disorders, human rights

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Psychological aspects in human trafficking for sexual exploitation: a systematic review

Introduction

The violation of Human Rights has been a constant in different cultures regardless of social status. Among the different types of human rights violations is human trafficking, understood as a criminal act that threatens the integrity of the being, since the victim is subjected against their will using force, manipulation or even the kidnapping. Sometimes, the victim is mobilized to other places and their identity is replaced. The foregoing with the purpose of exploiting the subject, violating their integrity (Litam 2017)

It should be noted that these events are promoted by criminal mafias in networks worldwide, dedicated to the illegal commercialization of human beings, which has positioned them in one of the most lucrative businesses, focused on the interests of the trafficker, who subdues the victim through abuse of power and annuls them through the invisibility and degradation of the integrity of the being (Franchino Olsen 2021).

According to reports generated by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime UNODC, there are an average of eight hundred thousand victims worldwide who are subjected to sexual exploitation. The female population stands out in an average greater than 80% and girls in approximately 70%. Situations that are more evident in developing regions. ((Marburger and Pickover 2020).

Although this is a phenomenon that generates multiple crimes, from the point of view of existing protocols, greater concentration is required on the part of the state instances established for this purpose. In that same order, it is highlighted how in the criminal organization, whoever assumes the role of trafficker, previously performs a profile study of his victim, where it is possible to identify aspects related to economic deprivation, lack of job opportunity, actions related to desire to contribute to the substantial improvement of living conditions and fill the gaps caused by inequality, extreme poverty and forced displacement (Palines et al. 2019).

In relation to sexual exploitation, this is considered a type of practice where a subject through the payment of economic contributions can obtain, in exchange, enjoyment and sexual pleasure, situations that can also promote practices related to prostitution and pornography. Hardy et al. (2020). This affects the integrity and dignity of the subjects, due to the submission of acts associated with enslaving events, servitude or salary exploitation. (Jaeckl 2021).

As a consequence, in the case of the victims, it is noteworthy that the experience of trafficking is related to various effects on both physical and psychological

health. (Ferrari 2022). In this sense, from the perspective of physical health, it stands out how from the condition of the ideal state of well-being, this can be affected by various diseases such as Acquired Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV), as well as different sexually transmitted diseases (STDs), tuberculosis, malnutrition, injuries, traumas, as well as the increase in sequelae caused by social isolation, emotional restrictions and the consumption of psychoactive substances to which they are forced during the time of retention to achieve submission (Sambo and Spies 2021).

On the other hand, from the psychological affectations product of coercion and manipulation, the following may be evident: anxiety disorders, depression and suicidal ideation. Being altered, the mental health of the subjects who are victims. In addition, with the passage of time, people who suffer from this type of event can lose control of themselves, accepting demeaning situations as the only alternative to stay alive, which generates high states of defenselessness and loss of confidence. (Namy et al. 2022).

One aspect that focuses attention is related to the conditions of the victims, upon regaining freedom. In this regard, it can be noted a certain inability to reintegrate into society, due to the feeling of rejection by it, which stigmatizes, discriminates and offers minimum conditions and guarantees before the restitution and restoration of the different rights that have been violated. In the same way, illnesses and disorders worsen due to the impossibility of receiving health care immediately and according to the disorders evidenced. (Franchino-olsen et al. 2022)

Also, it is necessary to mention how this type of crime sometimes remains silent, as a result of limited actions and strategies by governmental authorities for its dissemination and prevention. For this reason, it is striking how, despite the existence of policies and protocols in the different countries, this is an issue that still does not receive all the attention it deserves and that should become one of the priorities to be addressed at the national level, both politically and socially. (Al-asaf 2021).

Therefore, in the present investigation, we have proposed a bibliometric review, following the Prisma Declaration, regarding the psychological consequences that derive from the crime of people trafficking with the purpose of relating the psychological aspects of the victims and the traumas and disorders caused to mental health with the violation of human rights as a crime against humanity. By making evident the consequences derived from this crime, it contributes to make visible and to generate pressure for the decision-making of more severe international policies that propose the fight and eradication of this crime. (King et al. 2021).

Method

In carrying out the research, the quantitative method was used, focusing on the systematic review of the bibliometric type, as indicated by Otzen and Manterola (2017) who conceive research in the globalized world as a permanent need for scientific evidence that responds to the questions of needs. For this reason, the main characteristic is the description of the elaboration process which includes the selection, evaluation and analysis of the scientific documents that are found as primary sources, through the inclusion criteria. The information that is obtained through the approach of the Boolean equations responds to a screening of the data according to the categorization of the variables studied to, finally, expose the results of the research study in detail.

Due to the aforementioned, the systematic review was carried out under the PRISMA statement. Page, McKenzie, and Bossuyt (2021) that allows documenting the contributions of the authors based on the methodological advances proposed in the scientific articles, taking as a starting point the checklist proposed from the methodology, generating contributions of advanced knowledge in the field of study, by addressing the investigative problems that are taken from the variables and categories of analysis.

The search, as well as the processing and subsequent analysis of the information, focused on three study variables: first, the psychological aspects of the victims of human trafficking; secondly, trauma and disorders in the mental health of the victims and thirdly, the violation of human rights in the crime against humanity of human trafficking. The sample consisted of 27 research reports published in open access journals, in an observation period of the last five years, in English and Spanish.

Inclusion criteria

For the development of the research, the research results from primary sources were included, published in Open Journal System (OJS) journals, which facilitated the search for data in the scientific documents reported and submitted to peer review, through which it had as its principle the condensation of the information, based on the variables studied, as well as being published in the last five years in the period from 2018 to 2022. Likewise, the documents that included reports and therapeutic advances from the psychological point of view were considered in relation to victims of the crime of human trafficking

Exclusion criteria

Articles resulting from gray literature, clinical trials, case reports, books, book chapters, reflection papers, and documentation outside the observation window considered in the last five years were excluded.

Search strategies

The search was carried out in three databases such as Clarivate (WoS), Springer and Pubmed, being selected according to thematic relevance in contributions of interest regarding the analysis of the variables of this study. The keywords that are pertinent in the development of the approach of the Boolean equations based on the thematic relationship between the psychological aspects in the victims of the crime of trafficking in persons were included.

Information search terms.

“Variables” and “psychological” or “trafficking” not “protocol” “Factors” and “mental” or “trafficking victims” not “judicial” “Crimes” and “sexual” or “trafficking” not “asylum” “Trafficking persons” and “protection” or “human rights” not “practices” “Crime” and “lesa humanity” or “trafficking persons” not “penalties” “Victimology” and “humans” or “trafficking” not “migrants” “Slavery” and “sexual” or “human trafficking” not “marital” “Violence” and “sexual” or “persons” not “marriage” “Abuse” and “psychological” or “trafficking victims” not “conflict”

Table 1

As explained above, the search for the information to be selected and subsequently analyzed was carried out in three databases that, due to their relevance and thematic relevance and by applying the specific Boolean equations

for each database (see table 2), so that each one was adjusted to the search requirements of the databases so that they could answer the question posed in this research study.

Search equations

Databases	Equations constructed for the search
pubmed	"Variables" and "psychological" or "human trafficking" not "protocol" "Crimes" and "sexual" or "human trafficking" not "asylum" "Slavery" and "sexual" or "human trafficking" not "marital" "Violence" and "sexual" or "persons" not "marriage" "Crime" and "lesa humanity" or "trafficking persons" not "penalties"
web of science	"Factors" and "mental" or "trafficking victims" not "judicial" "Crimes" and "sexual" or "human trafficking" not "asylum" "Slavery" and "sexual" or "human trafficking" not "marital" "Violence" and "sexual" or "people" not "marriage" "Abuse" and "psychological" or "trafficking victims" not "conflict"
Refseek or Springer	"Variables" and "psychological" or "human trafficking" not "protocol" "Factors" and "mental" or "trafficking victims" not "judicial" "Crimes" and "sexual" or "human trafficking" not "asylum" "Crime" and "lesa humanity" or "human trafficking" not "penalties" "Victimology" and "humans" or "trafficking" not "migrants"

Table 2

Data Collection Process

Starting from the PRISMA list, systematic reviews have been founded as a tool that allows to delve into the study of research findings, from a retrospective look in which evidence-based conclusions are made. That is why, once the Pubmed, WOS and Springer databases were selected, the initial search for information was made based on the equations in accordance with the study variables, covering areas of knowledge such as psychology, social sciences and

Law because they are the disciplines that have made contributions to the topic studied.

Subsequently, the documents were retrospectively screened, taking into account the methods used in the investigations, the search was focused through the application of filters, such as observation window, complete and open access studies, as well as finally the studies that met the proposed study variables, eliminating those documents that isolated at least one variable.

Crosses used in the databases

Crosses/databases	pubmed	web of science	Springer	Total
"Variables" and "psychological" or "human trafficking" not "protocol" "Human trafficking" and "protection" or "human rights" not "practices"	1321	2356	1215	4,892
"Factors" and "mental" or "trafficking victims" not "judicial" "Crime" and "lesa humanity" or "human trafficking" not "penalties"	874	1348	765	2,987
"Crimes" and "sexual" or "human trafficking" not "asylum" "Slavery" and "sexual" or "human trafficking" not "spouse"	693	1145	854	2692
Total	2,888	4849	2,834	10,571

Table 3

Selection of studies

The selection of the different articles was carried out taking into account the observation window of the last five years, also taking into account compliance with the vari-

ables studied, subsequently the studies that were duplicated or that did not meet the criteria were eliminated, additionally considered publications that were available in full text, eliminating abstracts and research notes (Hutton, Catalá-lópez and Moher 2016).

Process of identification, elimination and selection of articles.

Equation	Databases	Without filter	No access	incomplete or duplicates	They do not meet the criteria	Selection
"Variables" and "psychological" or "human trafficking" not "protocol" "Human trafficking" and "protection" or "human rights" not "practices"	pubmed web of science Springer	2888	1745	967	954	13
"Factors" and "mental" or "trafficking victims" not "judicial" "Crime" and "lesa humanity" or "human trafficking" not "penalties"	pubmed web of science Springer	4849	3967	763	107	12
"Crimes" and "sexual" or "human trafficking" not "asylum" "Slavery" and "sexual" or "human trafficking" not "spouse"	pubmed web of science Springer	2834	1657	1348	301	8
Total		10,571	7369	3078	1362	27

Table 4

Results

For the results, the data of three Boolean equations were crossed in the databases, for a total of 10,571 results. For the crosses in Pubmed, 2,888 were obtained, in Web of Science 4,849 and, finally, in Springer 2,834. Regarding the documents without access, a total of 7,369 identified

articles were found. In the following filter, the documentation that was incomplete or that, in turn, was duplicated in the other databases was identified for a total of 3,078. Finally, the preselection of the studies resulted in 27 references that were used to process the information. Given the results obtained, these are presented in Table 4 and summarized in the flowchart of Figure 1.

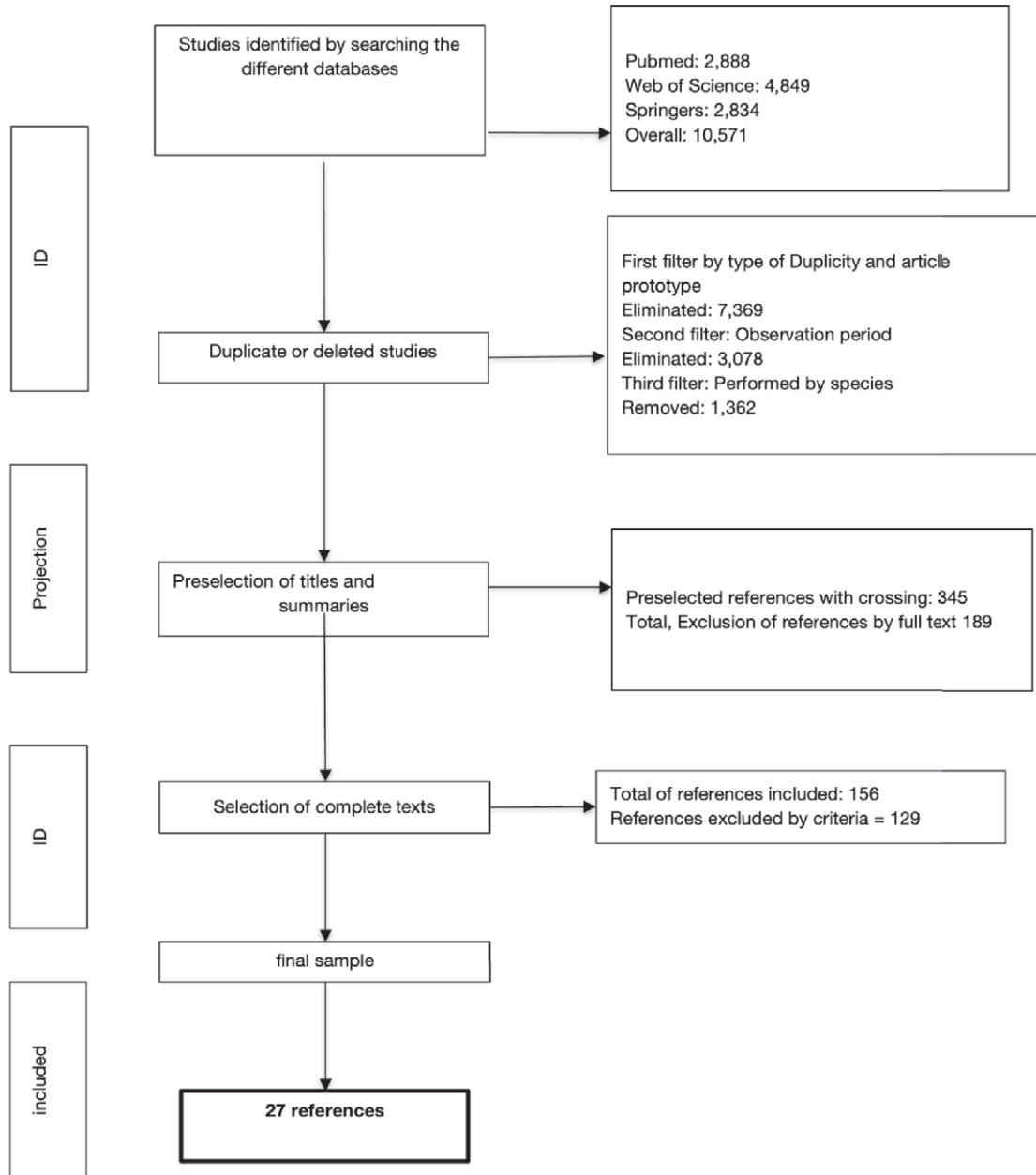


Figure 1. Flowchart of the process and screening of the selection of the studies. Adapted from Page, al. (2021)

Results

No.	Variable crosses / keywords	DOI	contributions	Base of data	Authors
1	HR and human trafficking	https://doi.org/10.1080/23322705.2019.1574476	Victims of trafficking require the creation of methods of access to comprehensive multidisciplinary care in attention to legal and social areas.	pubmed	(Munro-kramer et al. 2019)
two	mental health and trauma	https://doi.org/10.1192/bj0.2021.1029	Post-traumatic stress disorder is prevalent in survivors of the crime of human trafficking. Narrative exposure therapy improves EPT as long as it is worked in an adaptive way.	pubmed	(Brady et al. 2021)
3	mental health and trauma	https://doi.org/10.22229/ibp1012019	Attention to victims of trafficking in persons requires counselors specially trained to understand, mediate and help in the needs of victims of violence.	pubmed	(Humphreys, Clair, and Hicks 2019)
4	mental health and trauma	https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ejpsy.2022.01.005	The prevalence of post-traumatic stress in survivors of human trafficking is very high and its minimization requires access to health-care and adaptation to biopsychosocial needs.	pubmed	(Evans et al. 2022)
5	HR and human trafficking	https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-022-13021-2	The prevention of human trafficking begins with the reduction of adverse childhood conditions such as poverty and education. Migrant girls and adolescents are the main victims.	pubmed	(Kiss et al. 2022)
6	Human rights and human trafficking	https://doi.org/10.4236/oalib.1109194	Human trafficking is the result of inherent labor injustices in poor countries, lack of education, and increased criminal activity, in addition to poor government regulation.	pubmed	(Munania, Odhiambo and Kimokoti 2022)
7	DH and human trafficking.	https://doi.org/10.1016/j.childyouth.2018.12.014	The Quick Youth Indicators for Trafficking (QYIT) was designed and validated, which is a brief tool for detecting labor and sexual trafficking that can be applied by non-experts in the subject in social service institutions.	pubmed	(Chisolm-Straker et al. 2019)
8	HR and human trafficking	https://doi.org/10.1186/s12992-018-0361-x	Trafficking in people who work on the high seas is one of the most extreme, slavery conditions are increased by isolation and remoteness from ports where government entities operate.	pubmed	(Pocock et al. 2018)
9	Psychological aspects in the victims	https://Vol.21No.3 2018	There is a correlation between the crime of human trafficking and the type of abuse to which they are subjected, as well as the intensity of said abuse; This in turn increases the comprehensive needs for post-trafficking care.	pubmed	(Olubukola and Lanre-Babalola 2018)
10	mental health and trauma	https://doi.org/10.1080/08964289.2018.1432553	Psychosocial intervention based on social support offers greater results in the community reintegration of survivors and less willingness to post-traumatic stress.	pubmed	(Okech et al. 2018)
eleven	DH and human trafficking.	https://doi.org/10.19184/jseahr.v3i1.9544	Cultural and linguistic perceptions will determine agreements that help minimize trafficking in persons in contrast to palliative solutions such as the legalization of prostitution.	pubmed	(Tanielian and Tanielian 2019)
12	DH and human trafficking.	https://doi.org/10.1177/00333549221089254	Attention to victims of trafficking in persons must include: a framework of analysis and strategic planning of the State, attention to regional variations and legal, health and mental health assistance, support for substance use disorders and housing.	pubmed	(Preble, Nichols and Cox 2022)
13	Psychological aspects in the victims	https://doi.org/10.3390/traumacare2020027	The impact of physical violence and sexual abuse on victims of human trafficking could influence mobilization and be an indicator of community intervention.	pubmed	(Urada et al. 2022)
14	HR and human trafficking	https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0264338	A mandatory training plan for health and care professionals who work with victims of human trafficking would improve their skills and their consequent care for survivors.	web of science	(McAmis et al. 2022)
fifteen	HR and human trafficking	https://doi.org/10.1177/1044389419857	Unsatisfied basic needs play an important role in the victimization of people in the crime of human trafficking; however, this is not the trigger when it comes to adolescents but the relationship between the trafficker and the victim.	web of science	(Twis 2020)
16	mental health and trauma	https://doi.org/10.2105/AJPH.2016.303095	The effects of human trafficking include diagnoses of sexually transmitted infections, elevated levels of depression, anxiety, or symptoms of post-traumatic stress disorder.	web of science	(Oram et al. 2018)
17	Psychological aspects in the victims	https://doi.org/10.1186/s13033-018-0241-z	Network analysis of concurrent relationships is a substantive approach both for understanding risk factors and attention to mental health problems derived from trafficking.	web of science	(Gezie, Yalew and Gete 2019) (Dando, Walsh and Brierley 2016)
18	HR and human trafficking	https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0153263	The recognition of human trafficking by public opinion increases the expectations for the requirement of statutes and regulations against modern slavery.	web of science	
19	Psychological aspects in the victims	https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-019-6395-z	There are push factors for human trafficking such as (female) sex, low level of family wealth, being a smuggler, desire for a successful life abroad, imbalance between risks and opportunities before departure and feeling of hopelessness about the country originally.	web of science	(Gezie et al. 2019)
twenty	Psychological aspects in the victims	http://dx.doi.org/10.29313/mimbar.v34i1.2856.204-212	Assistance and contextualized approach with a sense of belonging, as well as psychological and spiritual care help survivors of trafficking to be resilient.	web of science	(Borualogo 2018)
twenty-one	HR and human trafficking	https://doi.org/10.31014/aior.1991.02.02.72	The prevailing drivers of human trafficking are economic and cultural: limited employment opportunities and substantial income, early marriage, low educational levels, poverty, lack of access to information, and the desire for quick wealth.	web of science	(Klenden and Atri 2019)

22	Psychological aspects in the victims	https://doi.org/10.1080/17440572.2014.979915	The forms of psychological control applied by the traffickers include a) the victim as an object, b) the victim as a vehicle and c) the victim as a person.	web of science	(Ioannou and Oostinga 2018)
23	HR and human trafficking	https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jmh.2021.100073	Violence in human trafficking is prevalent and gender-based, involving physical violence, sexual violence, especially among women and girls, threats, and forced consumption of alcohol and drugs, which increases if the trafficking is international and with false documentation.	web of science	(Strockl et al. 2021)
24	HR and human trafficking	https://doi.org/10.1080/08964289.2018.1465269	Aspects related to human trafficking, sexual and labor exploitation generate biomedical, psychological and social impacts in populations with higher vulnerability indices, having a negative impact on public health problems, including sexual and reproductive health.	web of science	(Phuong Thao and Perry Halkitis 2018)
25	Psychological aspects in the victims	https://doi.org/10.3389/fpubh.2021.645059	The conditions of sexual exploitation in migrant women increase due to the consequences, where the fact that there are no intervention and training processes as effective aid mechanisms has a negative impact, together with the unequal conditions that are part of the migratory reality.	web of science	(Zimmerman et al. 2021)
26	HR and human trafficking	https://doi.org/10.1332/204986020X15945756343791	The current conditions that arise in relation to the relationship between prostitution and forced sexual slavery have generated debates about the violation of human rights, because this problem is part of human trafficking, a phenomenon that continues to increase without unified legislative control in the world.	Springer	(Charnley and Nkhoma 2020)
27	HR and human trafficking	https://doi.org/10.1177/10982140211056913	An evaluation protocol for shelter programs for victims of human trafficking must take into account a) the characteristics of the evaluation, b) the best methodological practices to guide the application of the protocol, and (c) the objectives of the evaluation. .	Springer	(Macy et al. 2021)

Table 5

Variable Category Analysis

Mental Health and Trauma

Mental Health is recognized as a dynamic state through which behaviors and emotions are expressed in daily life that allow, in turn, to interact with others and deploy cognitive and mental resources. Levin (2017). In the same way, the transit of life in the different spheres is recognized, such as, for example, community, work, family social interaction, among others, which strengthen the ties in relationships, promoting the biopsychosocial well-being of people. (Lazzarino et al. 2022).

Violent events experienced by victims who are subjected to the criminal act of human trafficking in the context of sexual exploitation have been shown to have a post-traumatic psychological effect and can have lasting consequences on mental, physical and emotional health. McCabe and Eglen (2022). Victims are at high risk of developing mental health conditions, such as: anxiety disorders, depression, alcohol or drug abuse, personality disorders, post-traumatic stress disorders. This is increased because the process of social reintegration implies stigmatization, lack of empathy from their fellow citizens, few tools in the specific matter of trafficking of professionals (Motseki and Mofokeng 2020).

Psychological Aspects of Victims of Human Trafficking

Human trafficking with the purpose of sexual exploitation is highlighted as one of the crimes that threatens physical and psychological integrity, violating the dignity of human beings and the particularity of the subjects. No one is excluded from being a victim of these actions, re-

gardless of the age or gender of these attacks, it has been possible to establish that 90% of the majority of the reports of this type of sexual exploitation are more directed towards the female gender. (Mansur 2017).

The psychological scars that a woman suffers when experiencing a case like this establish significant discomfort and sequelae over time. Within the symptomatic manifestations, the following can be identified: irritability and constant mood swings, extreme dependence, fractures in order to trust the other, states of agitation such as aggression, feelings of guilt, self-esteem problems, anxieties, fears, isolation, depression, desire to control everything, insomnia and changes in the eating process. In the same way, there is evidence of pathologies such as disorders that burden the subject such as stress, hyperprosexia, distancing from the opposite gender, and obstacles to managing the trauma experience. (Chambers et al. 2022)

Likewise, there are certain preconditions of a social nature such as poverty, migration, gender, among others, that make trafficking with a certain type of person possible. But, in turn, the studies show that there is also a psycho-emotional predisposition in the victims such as dissatisfaction with the current situation, desire to succeed in another country, a feeling of not fitting in and relationships with certain types of people that open up possibilities of meeting with other people who mobilize in crime (Dahal and Kumar, 2015)

Human Rights and Human Trafficking

It is important to point out that, within the rules of human dignity, these are indivisible, they are for all human beings, related and do not exclude. Human Rights are also

located within the civil scenario, within cultural and social processes, in addition to that within the political field of a country. Its main characteristic is the principles related to the dignity of people and the adaptation to the laws and respect for all human beings. Non-discrimination begins through alienation from this type of principles (Jagoe, Toh and Wylie 2022).

The rights of those who have been victims of this crime, within which they are transgressed in different ways, three ways in which rights are violated are recognized: countries that approve or generate these events that discriminate against women and do not allow some human beings manage to discover and deploy their particular abilities. Molodikova (2020). Also for those who deprive the victims of their dignity and human rights due to the negligence of the countries in pointing out and sentencing the traffickers, in addition to them the lack of protection for people who suffer a situation of trafficking. Lack of political will to support victims through interdisciplinary teams specifically prepared on the subject of human trafficking, as well as countries that look the other way on the issue of low-income people and lack of educational processes in the most vulnerable countries on these issues (Chaney 2020).

Discussion

Human trafficking is a social, psychological and legal phenomenon that implies a requirement for international protection, due to the fact that the victims present high levels of subjective vulnerability. Grönvall (2022). In many cases, the criminal actions of trafficking have been increased by the activities of terrorist groups such as ISIS, Boko Haram, self-defense groups, guerrillas, among others, which have led to a violation of human rights in terms of human trafficking in the world. with the objective of achieving sexual exploitation and in turn from the exclusion of labor, evidencing the conditions of gender inequality since the largest number of victims are women; likewise, exposure to different types of sexual violence and conditions of mistreatment and damage to human integrity (Brabant and Raynault 2012).

The foregoing indicates that within the findings reported in the different studies analyzed, human trafficking is an integral salutogenic problem at a universal level, due to the recruitment actions, together with the different forms of sexual exploitation of the prostitution of others, as well as such as servitude and even organ trafficking, to which people are subjected are legal indicators of violation of the dignity of human beings and the characteristic of their freedoms, as well as not submitting to some type of slavery (Gossling 2022); Therefore, it establishes that the violations of individuals are included within the binding conditions for torture, as well as the submission of degrading penalties against individuals. (Grose et al. 2021).

Consequently, this type of action that violates the integrity of the human being, from the field of psychology,

has a negative impact on comprehensive mental health, due to the fact that the affectations over time that reveal cognitive, thought and of behavior that lead to significant mental deterioration, as well as being linked to the appearance of symptoms associated with the course and development of psychopathological disorders, where anxiety, depression, post-traumatic stress, panic disorders and ideas prevail. recurring deaths, product of the conditions to which they have had to be subjected (Hoddy and Gray 2022)

Conclusions

Based on the objectives proposed in the research, it was identified that the main affectations from the psychological point of view are the appearance of pathologies such as depression, anxiety, panic disorders and post-traumatic stress. Faced with which, the implications of the repercussions from the mental health of the victims and survivors who have been subjected to human trafficking and consequent forced sexual exploitation generate sequelae that are not remittable over time, due to the severity of the traumatic events to which they have been subjected and the little comprehensive professional care they receive within the framework of psychosocial care.

On the other hand, within the reported findings it was identified that the authorities worldwide have generated strategies aimed at mitigating the phenomenon, but these are insufficient, due to the conditions of impunity in which the illegal armed groups act with often criminal acts and outside the law, in the territories of domination, due to the scant presence of the state and the link with other criminal networks that facilitate the fact of continuing to perpetrate criminal activities. Where the legal frameworks refer to the different modalities that are provided for by law such as the prostitution of others, servile marriage, sexual exploitation and the linking of actions against the will of people to carry out sexual acts without consent, among others.

Likewise, the characteristics that are presented in organized crime, regarding the crime of human trafficking, works under a hierarchical scheme, in which the criminal structure fulfills different roles that range from the recruitment, transfer and exploitation of the victims, and Their locations in different countries or continents make their apprehension and monitoring difficult, since it requires joint work at the international level by Interpol and other judicial bodies.

Finally, the adverse conditions of the victims' places of origin perpetuate the crime of trafficking in persons, since misinformation, poor access to education, gender inequality and the non-existent opportunities for personal and economic improvement constitute ideal environments where human trafficking gangs find favorable conditions to violate the human rights of these people.

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Psychopathy subtypes: etiology, characteristics and the importance to identifying variants

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Abstract

Traditionally psychopathy is described as a personality disorder characterised by lack of empathy and guilt, shallow affect, manipulation of other people and premeditated and violent antisocial behaviour. The current study analyses the major aspects of psychopathy and provide an overview of most influential existing theories on psychopathy subtypes and their distinguishing features. In this research, we summarize the main traits that allow to differentiate the two variants of psychopathy. We analyse the distinct etiological processes that cause those traits through genetic and environmental processes and the divergences that have emerged about alcohol and substance abuse. Finally, we describe the damage of not differentiating those two variants, specifically, emphasizing that treatment should be different for each variant.

Keywords: psychopathy, personality disorder, aetiology of psychopathy, PCL-R, PPI-R, triarchic psychopathy measure, Levenson self-report scale, psychopathy subtypes, primary psychopathy, secondary psychopathy, aggression, violent crime, psychopathy treatment

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Psychopathy subtypes: etiology, characteristics and the importance to identifying variants

Introduction

Psychopathy is a personality disorder defined by a specific cluster of behaviors and inferred personality traits. A common belief is that psychopathy refers to a distinct diagnostic category whose defining characteristics distinguish it from construct of antisocial personality disorder (ASPD). Nevertheless, the term is still often used interchangeably, however there are strong evidences that psychopathy is not a unitary construct and that there is a fair distinction between psychopathy and ASPD (Ogloff, 2006). Though still underdeveloped as an area of research, the studies on psychopathy subtypes to date provide important pieces of evidence that can help to resolve key questions in the field, including the very definition of psychopathy.

In this article, we expose the four most represented methods for the clinical and forensic assessment of psychopathy namely: Psychopathy Checklist-Revised (PCL-R), Psychopathic Personality Inventory – Revised (PPI-R), Triarchic Psychopathy Measure and Levenson Self Report Scale.

We provide an overview of most influential existing theories on psychopathy subtypes and their distinguishing features and we explain the most common traits that hold the key to differentiation of psychopaths. Later, we analyze the distinct etiological processes that cause those traits within variants, through genetic and environmental processes, with emphasis on neurological processes. The damage of not differentiating the variants are presented through paragraph on Clinical Outcomes and Legal issues. Specifically, emphasizing that treatment should be diverse for each variant.

Materials and Method

All the main scientific studies regarding the psychopathy were examined. Specifically, we used the search engines PUBMED (<https://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov/pmc/>), Scopus (<https://www.scopus.com>), ScienceDirect (<https://www.sciencedirect.com>) and Google Scholar (<https://scholar.google.com>) to research the keyword “psychopathy” associated with “etiology”, “genetic”, “subtypes”, “variants”, “treatment” “clinical outcomes” “crimes” “legal issues”. All major papers published in the English language in the last years were considered. The results of the search were screened on the basis of the titles and abstracts of the papers. We excluded papers that did not fully relate with the topic under examination. Articles deemed relevant to the issue under investigation were read and ana-

lyzed in their entirety. We conducted a critical analysis of all the scientific papers selected.

The search yielded over 150 scientific papers deemed suitable for analysis; then 70 articles were analyzed and studied in their entirety while the others were discarded as duplicates or because they were not judged relevant to the topic.

History of psychopathy

In 1952 the American Psychiatric Association (APA) published its first Diagnostic and statistical manual of mental diseases (DSM), where the term sociopathic personality prevailed. The person who suffers from «sociopathic personality disturbance» was described as ill primarily in social terms with often comorbidity with neurosis, psychosis or personality disorder. Such individuals according to DSM-1 are not treatable and responsive to any sort of punishment. At that time, the term «psychopathic personality» was used synonymously with «emotionally unstable personality.»

The same inconsistencies remained in DSM-2, published in 1968, with minimal changes in terms, in fact, as noted in the introduction, «the antisocial reaction explained above is one of the areas that still remained in disagreement»(APA, 1968). Some scholars speculate that it was only DSM-3, published in 1980, and DSM-4, published in 1994 that brought some diagnostic consistency by relatively objective and non-inferential diagnostic criteria (Lykken, 1995). Others argued that DSM-4 intended to shift diagnosis closer to the PCL-R and Cleckley’s conception of psychopath (Crego & Widiger, 2014). The main problem of diagnosis as seen in DSM-4, is that large proportion of heterogeneous criminals diagnosed within prison or other forensic settings would meet DSM-4 criteria for Antisocial Personality Disorder (ASPD), but only about half of the cases of ASPD would meet criteria for psychopathy (Lykken, 1995).

The latest version of DSM (DSM-5) was introduced in 2013, and the ASPD was listed under Cluster B Personality disorders. The same list of traits presented in DSM-4 is repeated in Section III of DSM-5; the only change is that the «psychopathy specifier» was included in the chapter entitled Alternative Models of Antisocial Personality Disorder. (APA, 2013). Section III of DSM-5 describes ASPD in terms of 7 traits. These traits are part of the Personality inventory for DSM-5 (PID-5). PID-5 is a 200-item questionnaire designed to assess the DSM-5 dimensional trait model. These alternative traits are entailing the presence of three additional traits - low anxiousness,

high attention seeking and low social withdrawal. This is very controversial as low fearfulness theory still doesn't constitute the contemporary picture of psychopathy because of lack of empirical evidence.

Historical accounts on psychopathy variants

Benjamin Karpman was the first scholar that propose the introduction of a differentiation between «primary» and «secondary» psychopaths, each reflecting different etiological influences (Karpman, 1941).

Karpman's Primary and Secondary psychopaths are phenotypically similar. However, the primary psychopath was conceptualized with lack of conscience and impaired capacity to develop normal attachments with absence of guilt or anxiety. On the other hand, secondary psychopaths were conceptualized as entailing a conscience that fails to function appropriately due to an affective disturbance based on early psychosocial learning. Karpman saw secondary psychopaths as individuals associated with strong negative emotions, above all, hostility and aggression, but in contrast to primary psychopath they are able to feel guilt, anxiety and are prone to depression. These negative emotions are considered as a «hot» impulsive and reactive behavioral style. While, on the contrary, primary psychopaths exploit others with a «cold» and calculated method. He believed that another basic distinction is a possibility of treatment because presence of basic foundation of conscience makes them amenable to psychotherapy (Skeem et al., 2003).

David Lykken associated primary psychopaths with fearless temperament. He tried to test his theory in a study with male inmates who met all Cleckley's criteria and a control group that was classified as psychopathic due to their records of antisocial behaviour but was not seen as ideal Cleckley's psychopath. Study included administering the Activities Preference Questionnaire (APQ) intended to assess fearfulness and administering electric shocks to measure subjects pain threshold.

Later on, Lykken applied pair of recording electrodes on subjects' fingers to study their electrodermal responses produced by sweat gland activity in the response to the stimulus and proposing a task to measure avoidance learning. He found that inmates who represented Cleckley's ideal psychopath achieved lower scores on APQ, those individuals also showed a significantly reduced electrodermal response and increased passive avoidance errors within a learning tasks than control group.

Lykken and Fowles linked the theory with Gray's biopsychological theory of personality. The two central components of Gray's model are the behavioral avoidance or inhibition system (BIS), that controls the inhibition of ongoing behavior, the increase in vigilance and arousal which can be produced by aversive stimuli, and the behavioral approach system (BAS) which regulates appetitive motives and is associated with the experience of positive affect and impulsivity (McNaughton & Gray, 2000).

Fowles and Gray suggested that primary psychopaths might be understood as a consequence of a weak BIS, a model equivalent to what Lykken referred as low fear hypothesis. On the other hand, individual with a normal BIS but unusually active BAS might apply to secondary psychopaths. (Lykken, 1995; Newman et al., 2005). Consistently with Lykken's and Gray's theory about psychopaths deficit in aversive responding, Patrick, Bradley and Lang (1993) conducted a study with subjects organized in 3 groups, showing them a series of 27 slides, 9 pleasant, 9 neutral and 9 unpleasant previously rated on dimensions of valence and arousal by normal subjects. They found the absence of an augmented probe-startle response during the exposure to unpleasant slides as compared to pleasant slides. However, Blair, Mitchell and Blair (2005) stated that when individuals with psychopathy are presented with threatening visual images, they show equivalent electrodermal responses to those of comparison individuals which is not consistent with reduced fear theory.

Lykken's conceptualization is consistent with Karpman's view that secondary psychopaths experience negative affect and behave impulsively, but Lykken's classification goes even further, individuals whom he classifies as psychopaths failed to become socialized because of genetic peculiarity, usually a peculiarity of temperament, whereas, children with inherited temperamental problems that are left untrained, neglected or abused by their incompetent or unsocialized parents, he called sociopaths. Lykken was emphasizing the importance of conscious parenting as a tool for preventing criminal behaviour in population with ASPD (Lykken, 1995).

The Lykken's sociopath would be consistent with Porter's secondary psychopath. Porter embraced Karpman's etiological ideal of primary psychopath and secondary psychopaths, one primarily congenital and one primarily environmental, but he argued that secondary psychopath might be considered a dissociative disorder - the child's emotion being dissociated from or unconnected with cognition and behaviour over time rather than a personality disorder (Porter, 1996). According to Porter, secondary psychopaths are born with the capacity to respond empathetically, but this ability is lost due to physical or sexual abuse and other mistreatment suffered by the child (Porter, 1996).

Blackburn & Lee-Evans (1985) in distinguishing primary and secondary psychopath proposed another view. Investigating Megargee's typology of violent offenders (Megargee & Mendelsohn, 1962) he made cluster analysis of Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI) profiles of maximum security forensic patients. His main conclusion was that the distinction between psychopaths and secondary psychopaths lies in their degree of withdrawal. He described both types as aggressive, impulsive and hostile, with the main difference in primary psychopaths being extroverted, confident, dominant and low in anxiety whereas secondary psychopaths were characterized as a person with low self-esteem, anxious, emotionally disturbed and withdrawn.

PCL-R and its derivatives

The dominant instrument for the clinical and forensic assessment of psychopathy is the Psychopathy Checklist-Revised (PCL-R). PCL-R is considered the gold standard in psychopathy research (Swogger & Kosson, 2007), it is firmly grounded in a clinical tradition that long has described psychopathy in terms of a constellation of affective, interpersonal, and behavioral characteristics (Cleckley, 1976). PCL-R began as a research tool for operationalizing the construct of psychopathy (Blackburn, R. et al., 2008) The PCL-R is a 20-item clinical construct rating scale completed on the basis of a semi-structured interview and detailed collateral or file information. Each item is scored on a 3-point scale; the total score, which can range from 0 to 40, provides an estimate of the extent to which a given individual matches the prototypical psychopath, as exemplified, in the work of Cleckley. Some scholars expressed concern that explicit measures of low trait anxiety and trait fearlessness were not included in the list of PCL-R items, recent research indicates that the current items adequately reflect these two traits (Neumann, Johansson & Hare, 2013). The second edition of the PCL-R appeared in 2003, with detailed psychometric and validation data for 10,896 North American male and female offenders, substance abusers, sex offenders, African American offenders, forensic psychiatric patients, and offenders in several other countries. The PCL-R items and their scoring criteria remained the same as those in the 1991 edition (Hare, Neumann, Mokros, 2018). The 2003 manual provided users with an extensive review of the then extant literature on PCL-R assessment of psychopathy.

PCL-R is the ultimate assessment tool for measuring psychopathy, and it does minimize the heterogeneity between Antisocial Personality Disorders and psychopathic personalities as presented in DSM-5. However, in need of discovering subtypes significant heterogeneity still remains in the PCL-R item set.

Psychopathic Personality Inventory – Revised

As already mentioned, it is argued that PCL-R index psychopathy as unitary construct, instead it is argued that PPI is tool that took an inclusive personality-based approach with the aim of capturing the full spectrum of trait constructs embodied in Cleckley's description of a psychopath (Patrick, Fowles, Krueger, 2009) (Cox et al., 2013)

The PPI initially included 187 items but in order to lower its reading level and eliminate psychometrically problematic or culturally specific items, 33 items has been removed, which led to creation of the PPI revised version (PPI-R). Factor analysis of PPI results in possibility to organize it in eight subscales with two distinct higher order factors. Benning and colleagues (2005) labeled these factors fearless dominance and impulsive antisociality, stating

that the first factor (PPI-I: Fearless Dominance) was characterized by social potency, stress immunity, and fearlessness; essential features of the interpersonal-affective traits and analogous to primary psychopathy. Instead, the second factor (PPI-II: Impulsive Antisociality), analogously to secondary psychopathy, was marked by negative emotionality, such as aggression and alienation, and low behavioral constraint, such as impulsivity and sensation seeking. Findings suggest that PPI-I is negatively related to hostility and anger and shows only a weak positive association with physical aggression (Falkenbach, Stern & Creevy, 2014). This is in accordance with the study conducted by Skeem et al. (2007) where they used PPI and describe it a less violence-based assessment of psychopathy traits. Scores on PPI-II are more generally indicative of psychological and behavioral maladjustment which includes impulsivity and aggressiveness, child and adult antisocial behavior, alcohol and drug problems, high anxiousness and suicidal ideation (Patrick, Fowles, Krueger, 2009). Unlike PCL-R Factor 1 and 2, which are moderately correlated, the 2 higher order Factor of PPI-R are uncorrelated.

Triarchic Psychopathy Measure

Patrick, Fowles and Krueger (2009) developed Triarchic model of psychopathy around three constructs: Boldness, Disinhibition, and Meanness.

Boldness is intended to reflect the positive adjustment features noted by Cleckley's «mask of sanity» (1941/1976/1988) that gives the appearance of good psychological functioning despite the severe behavioral pathology. Boldness may be expressed through adaptive features, such as emotional stability, low internalizing symptomatology, leadership/authority, social poise, assertiveness, persuasiveness, bravery, and venturesomeness, but also through less adaptive proclivities such as narcissism, low BIS, manipulativeness, risk-taking, and thrill-seeking (Patrick, Fowles, Krueger, 2009; Sellbom & Phillips 2013; Strickland et al., 2013).

The term «disinhibition» as used by Patrick, Fowles and Krueger (2009) describe «a general propensity toward impulse control problems entailing a lack of planning and foresight, impaired regulation of affect and urges, insistence on immediate gratification, and deficient behavioral restraint». It is viewed as nexus of impulsivity and negative emotionality and also associated with substance use problems and other mental health problems such as anxiety, depression, and suicidal behavior. Disinhibition, thus reflects mainly features of psychopathy that are assessed by the criteria for ASPD, the items of PCL-R Factor 2 (those comprising its Impulsive - Irresponsible facet, in particular), and the PPI's Self-Centered Impulsivity factor (Hicks & Drislane, 2018).

Finally, the term meanness is described by Patrick, Fowles and Krueger (2009) as «a constellation of phenotypic attributes including deficient empathy, disdain for

and lack of close attachments with others, rebelliousness, excitement seeking, exploitativeness, and empowerment through cruelty». Terms related to meanness include callousness, cold heartedness and antagonism. Meanness corresponds with PCL-R Factor 1 and presents individuals who seek to dominate and exploit others instead of avoiding them. It is believed that manifestation of meanness could be seen in common psychopathic behavior such as cruelty toward animals premeditated violence, vindictive and destructive aggression, arrogance, and lack of cooperativeness and close attachments to others (Hicks & Drislane 2018; Evans & Tully, 2016).

Primary psychopath would be defined as having an equal representation of Boldness, Meanness, and Disinhibition. In contrast, secondary psychopathy and the severe ASPD subtype conceptions are dominated by Disinhibition, followed by a significant portion of Meanness but little Boldness (Hicks & Drislane, 2018).

Levenson Self Report Scale

The LSRP scale was developed by Levenson, Kiehl and Fitzpatrick (1995) to detect self-reported psychopathic features in noninstitutional samples. It consists of 26 items on a 4-point Likert-type format that forms two scales, Primary and Secondary, which were rationally constructed to serve as counterparts to PCL-R Factors 1 (an inclination to lie, lack of remorse, callousness, manipulativeness) and Factor 2 (impulsivity, intolerance of frustration, quick-temperedness, and lack of long-term goals) since Levenson Kiehl and Fitzpatrick (1995) was of opinion that the two factors as composed in PCL-R are quite compatible with the distinction made by Karpman, about the primary and secondary psychopaths.

Even though one may think that finally is introduced assessment tool that can disaggregate psychopathy and offer empirical evidence for primary and secondary subtypes, unfortunately validity of the LSRP is questionable. Several studies showed that this tool has been more highly related to measures of secondary psychopathy and antisocial behavior than to measures of the core affective and interpersonal features of psychopathy. First conundrum is associated with Primary psychopathy scale that is said that indexes an egocentric, callous, and manipulative mindset more globally, which is related to both primary and secondary psychopathy (Yildirim & Derksen, 2015). Furthermore, primary psychopathy is more related to Factor 2 and facets of PPI-II than Factor 1 and facets of PPI-I (Poythress et al., 2010; Brinkley et al., 2001), which is completely opposite of hypothesis that Levenson, Kiehl and Fitzpatrick had in mind when creating LSRP. Moreover, the absence of a substantial negative correlation between the Primary scale and trait anxiety calls into question this scale's construct validity, as Levenson Kiehl and Fitzpatrick (1995) predicted that primary psychopaths should be low in trait anxiety. The secondary scale also provides confusing data, as it is closely related

to Machiavellianism (Yildirim & Derksen, 2015), and shows similarity with criminality and violence as primary scale.

In an effort to reconcile emphasized problems occurring Levenson's two scales, Christian and Sellbom (2016) developed an expanded 36-item version of the LSRP three-factor scales, with an emphasis on improving construct coverage with a range of criteria including measures designed to index constructs described by the triarchic model of psychopathy (Patrick, Fowles & Krueger, 2009). However, lack of empirical studies cannot derive further conclusions. Same goes for the Levenson Self Report scales bears too much mixed evidence about its reliability.

The instrumental difference between primary and secondary psychopathy

Hicks and Drislane (2018) in the most extensive meta-analytic study about psychopathy variants, analyzed 24 studies. They examined subtype differences on measures of personality traits, organizing the variety of personality measures into the construct of negative emotionality (divided into 2 groups: neuroticism and anger/aggression), positive emotionality and disinhibition. They found that regardless of the differences across studies in data analytic techniques, clustering variables, sampling strategies, and participants characteristics, 20 studies (83%) showed strong empirical evidence for clear primary and secondary psychopath variants. Interestingly, Hicks and Drislane explained that other 17% that were exceptions still reported finding psychopath related subgroups, but they didn't match that closely examined conceptions of primary and secondary psychopaths. Comparing the subtypes to each other the primary variant had higher PCL-R total and Factor 1 scores whereas the secondary variant had higher Factor 2 scores. This is in accordance with theory that F1 is more discriminating towards the construct of psychopathy in sense that provides more information about the construct than F2 items which is correlated strongly with ASPD. The subtype comparisons were very similar when using PPI, TriPM, ASPD, Levenson self-report scale and the Youth psychopathy inventory.

Trait-based models discriminate primary psychopaths and secondary psychopaths not only in the terms of psychopathology but also personality, it provides answers on long-awaited questions about etiological factors of psychopathy and possibility of treatment. According to Hicks and Drislane, the greatest difference between primary psychopath and secondary psychopath is on personality traits for neuroticism, there is an overall agreement also that secondary psychopath scores higher on disinhibition.

Despite the high rates of criminal behavior, the primary variants were associated with little in the way of psychological maladjustment. Primary psychopathy consistently exhibited few internalizing problems as evidence by rates of fear and distress disorder commensurate with or lower than the control groups, whereas the secondary psy-

chopaths was associated with elevated levels of both internalizing and externalizing problems. The secondary psychopath was more likely than the primary psychopath to report having an anxiety disorder and to have more severe alcohol and drug use problems. Secondary psychopaths were also associated with other mental health problems including borderline personality disorder and symptoms of major mental disorders and maladaptive coping strategies. Secondary psychopath is associated with social skills deficits including poor assertiveness, social anxiety and withdrawal and susceptibility to peer pressure. Secondary psychopath shows positive associations with retrospective accounts of having experienced trauma or abuse including childhood sexual abuse, physical abuse and neglect. Secondary psychopaths have been found to be associated with higher rates of post-traumatic stress disorder. Multiple studies showed higher incidence of institutional fractions in secondary psychopath than in primary psychopath, particularly for infractions involving impulsive or reactive aggression (Blair, Mitchell & Blair, 2005). There is also evidence that the secondary psychopath is associated with greater treatment motivation and treatment change than the primary psychopath, with higher likelihood of reporting receipt of mental health treatment or use of prescribed antidepressant medications in the past. This is notable given that secondary psychopath is associated with elevated suicidal ideation and suicide attempts.

Neuroticism – trait anxiety

Neuroticism is, indeed, as Karpman hypothesized the key difference between the primary and secondary psychopath. Hicks et al. (2004), in their empirical study in incarcerated male subjects found psychopathy variants divided in two groups. The first group consistent of primary psychopaths they labeled “Emotionally stable psychopaths”. The second group consistent of secondary psychopaths they labeled “Aggressive Psychopath”. Their primary psychopath is characterized as person of high social dominance and fearlessness, together with low anxiety, low impulsiveness and aggressiveness. In contrast, their secondary psychopath was characterized by high aggressiveness, reactive hostility, impulsiveness and anxiety. Relative to non-psychopathic group that served as controlled group in that study, secondary psychopaths manifested greater negative affectivity, alienation and less general well-being.

Skeem et al. (2007), in the study with male prisoners found equal results as Hicks and colleagues. In this study secondary psychopaths had significantly more traits of avoidant and dependent personality disorders than primary psychopaths. Secondary psychopaths showed greater somatic anxiety. They reported in comparison with control group that was composed of violent but non-psychopathic subjects, secondary psychopaths showed to be more emotionally unstable and withdrawn. Primary psy-

chopaths were less anxious, more assertive or dominant and interpersonally confident i.e. free of negative emotionality than comparison group. Swogger and Kosson conducted two separate studies, one with 258 unselected white male prisoners (Swogger & Kosson, 2007) and one with 262 unselected African American male prisoners (Swogger, Walsh & Kosson, 2008). Importance of these two studies lies in the fact that psychopathy variants can be found even in different racial profiles and also as evidence that PCL-R-assessed psychopathy is valid across ethnicity. Primary psychopaths in both studies showed low anxiousness. However, secondary psychopath group in study with white male prisoners was characterized by higher anxiety or negative affectivity scores than all other clusters, whereas secondary psychopath group with African American male prisoners showed moderately high trait anxiety. It is important to mention that members of secondary psychopath group with African American male prisoners did not have lower scores than primary psychopaths on the Affective dimension of the PCL-R, that result suggest similar levels of callousness and emotional shallowness in the two groups.

Wareham et al., 2009., draw same conclusion about trait anxiety in mixed gender study within youth offenders. Among four groups they identified two groups, both impulsive, but that differed mainly in terms of low and high anxiety. They reported that subtypes did not differ significantly in regard to gender (However, this topic will be more detailed later in paper). Those and other similar studies show clear evidence that psychopaths can be divided into two variants. Primary variant who shows low levels of anxiety and low internalizing problems, and secondary variant that shows elevated level of anxiety (Zwaan-swijk et. al. 2017).

Anger/Aggression

Aggression can be defined as behavior aimed at harming others physically or psychologically. Anger can be defined as an emotion characterized by tension and hostility arising from frustration, real or imagined injury by another, or perceived injustice (APA). Secondary variants are prone to higher levels of anxiety, but also impulsivity which can be seen as nexus to hostility and more expressed aggression (Hicks et. al., 2004). Secondary variants engaged in more fights already in early childhood which continued in adulthood and had earlier age of first charge (Hicks et. al., 2004; Hicks, Vaidyanathan & Patrick, 2010). High anxiety secondary psychopaths exhibited muscular tension and is reported that are more prone to sulking and other indirect expressions of aggression (Skeem et al., 2007). In their study with male juvenile offenders, Kimonis et. al. (2011) reported that secondary variants engaged in significantly more institutional violence than primary variants. The violent incidents of secondary variants were more reactive than those of primary variants. Due to higher level of aggression, secondary variants are charged with a greater

number of violent crimes than primary psychopaths. They also exhibit greater criminal versatility in comparison with non-psychopathic group but similar to that of primary psychopaths (Swogger & Kosson, 2007; Swogger, Walsh, & Kosson, 2008).

Studies showed that higher psychopathic women, specifically secondary variants may be more pathological and aggressive than higher psychopathy men (Falkenbach, Reinhard & Larson, 2017). Researches yielded also one more important conclusion regarding female psychopathy and aggression, which is that female psychopaths are more relationally aggressive and less overtly aggressive than males. It should be said that psychopathy in females is understudied, however, an interesting Italian study, points out that women committed crimes mainly against property and their crimes against the person and were committed within the family (Caraballese et al., 2020). While the target of men's violent behavior are typically extrafamilial victims or intimate partners, female victims were usually intrafamilial and often the victimized subjects were their children (Caraballese et al. 2020).

There are strong empirical evidence that psychopathy variants are more aggressive and exhibits greater criminal versatility than non-psychopaths (Olver et al., 2015; Poythress et al., 2010; Swogger, Walsh & Kosson, 2008; Coid, Freeston, & Ullrich, 2012; Falkenbach, Stern & Creevy, 2014; Brennan T. al., 2008; Fanti, Demetriou & Kimonis, 2013; Kimonis et al, 2011; Lee & Salekin, 2010) however there are mixed opinions that secondary variants are more aggressive, that they engage in more violent crimes and that they express greater criminal versatility than primary variants (Blagov et al., 2011; Hicks et al., 2004; Claes et al., 2014; Drislane, Patrick & Aarsal, 2014; Falkenbach, Stern & Creevy, 2014; Kahn et al., 2013; Vaughn et al., 2009).

Substance use disorder

Many studies conducted in prison settings have investigated the association of psychopathy, assessed by the PCL-R, with substance use disorder. They found a significant association that is entirely explained by the impulsive-antisocial factor (Blackburn R. et al., 2003). However, two more recent studies involving inmate samples that examined correlates for the four facets rather than the two broad PCL-R factors suggested a more complex picture (Kennealy, Hicks & Patrick, 2007; Walsh, Allen & Kosson, 2007). Walsh, Allen & Kosson (2007) found a strong and robust association for PCL-R Factor 2 with substance dependence. The impulsive lifestyle facet of Factor 2 demonstrated stronger associations than the antisocial facet with lifetime symptoms of alcohol and illicit drug dependence in this male sample, and with substance use among female offenders in another study (Kennealy, Hicks & Patrick, 2007). Regarding facets of Factor 1, the interpersonal facet was positively correlated with cocaine,

but not other drug, dependence symptoms (Walsh, Allen & Kosson, 2007).

Under the assumption that Factor 1 is more associated with primary psychopathy and Factor 2 with secondary psychopathy, research is showing equal results as stated above. Secondary psychopaths does tend to be prone to greater alcohol abuse than primary psychopaths (Hicks et al., 2004), with primary psychopaths showing less severe drug and alcohol problems than its secondary variant (Vassileva et al., 2005; Swogger & Kosson, 2007; Brennan, Breitenbach, & Dieterich, 2008; Kimonis et al., 2012; Vaughn et al., 2009). Overall, similar to trait aggression, psychopathic groups including primary and secondary variant shows more severe substance abuse than non-psychopathic group (Coid, Freeston & Ullrich, 2012).

There is an implication that continuous substance use may result in cognitive deficit akin to those associated with disinhibitory liability, which would increase liability for psychopathy and potentially contribute to poorer treatment outcomes. Secondary variants tend to be more aggressive and impulsive, and this could be related directly to greater substance abuse, because dependence may lead to criminal activity. Also, high anxiousness could result in searching "escape" in drugs to relieve negative mental state, this include the possible abuse of antidepressants as secondary variants exhibiting high anxious level tend to be prone to depression. The co-occurrence of psychopathy and substance use disorder appears to be substantially attributable to general externalizing proneness, or disinhibition, which may manifest as impulsive decision making (Ellingson et al., 2018).

Environmental and Genetically based approach

Environmental factors (such as good parenting, good education or on the other side physical abuse, broken homes) in primary psychopaths life can be seen as motors which are pushing the subject toward specific direction, toward life of crime and endless recidivism or toward the side of being law abiding citizen that learned to assimilate in society and learned how to hide his true personality, to become how they are popularly called "Successful psychopaths".

Authors suggest that risk for developing psychopathy is likely to act in conjunction with environmental factors, although growing body of evidence is pointing toward genetic risk (Viding et al., 2005). Many argued that emotional dysfunction shown by psychopaths makes them more likely to learn antisocial strategies to reach their goals (Blair, Mitchell & Blair, 2005), that suggest that specific behavior expressed by the variants it is not genetically based but learned.

Most prominent evidence of antisocial behavior later in the life it's shown to be physical abuse, lack of good parenting and broken homes. Connection between child abuse and neglect with criminal behavior is shown in

the study, that was carried out by Widom (1989). A 20-year follow-up showed that the children who were abused or neglected were more likely to be arrested as juveniles and as adults than were controls, and that they were more likely to be arrested for juvenile violence (Maxfield & Widom, 1996). Child sexual abuse, along with child physical abuse and neglect, also predicted adult arrests for sex crimes (Widom & Ames, 1994). Most importantly, Luntz and Widom & Ames (1994) showed that child abuse predicted adult antisocial personality disorder, and Weiler and Widom (1996) found that child abuse predicted increased PCL-R scores in adulthood, for both sexes and ethnicity.

Widom explained possible links between childhood victimization and later antisocial behavior

1. Childhood victimization may have immediate but long-lasting consequences (e.g., hitting or intense shaking may directly cause brain injury).
2. Childhood victimization may produce bodily changes (e.g., desensitization to pain) that encourage later violence.
3. Child abuse may lead to impulsive or dissociative coping styles that, in turn, lead to poor problem-solving skills or poor school performance.
4. Victimization may cause changes in self-esteem or in social information-processing patterns that encourage later violence.
5. Child abuse may lead to changed family environments (e.g., being placed in foster care) that have deleterious effects.
6. Juvenile justice practices may label victims, isolate them from prosocial peers, and encourage them to associate with delinquent peers.

On the other hand there are other environmental factors suffered in the young age that can cause brain damage and already in the very beginning of one's life, such as, suffering birth complications, preeclampsia, anoxia and forceps delivery (Blair, Mitchell & Blair, 2005). Raine, Brennan and Mednick (1994) in their broad study with 4.269 male births examined the connection between birth complications and maternal rejection with violent offending at age of 18 years and found wide connection. Other similar studies are showing that those early complications together with other psychosocial factors results with more likely chances to develop conduct disorder and delinquency, therefore committing violence in adulthood (Raine, 2002).

All thing considered, we have strong evidences that primary psychopathy is heritable whilst secondary psychopaths are "created" via various environmental influences.

Clinical Outcomes

As mentioned before, Karpman (1941) speculated that individuals with secondary psychopathy would be more responsive to treatment than those with primary psychopathy. Poythress and colleagues (2010), has examined differential treatment responsivity among psychopathy variants. They found that offenders classified into a subgroup reflecting secondary psychopathy attended treatment more reliably and showed higher treatment motivation than offenders classified into a primary psychopathy subgroup. There is evidence that those offenders classified as being secondary psychopaths are more likely to reoffend following release than primary psychopaths (Kimonis et al., 2011; Poythress et al., 2010). In accordance with those studies, Daly and Polaschek (2013) found that secondary psychopaths who showed higher F2 scores (with no difference on F1), were rated as more anxious by their therapists and were more likely to be reconvicted following treatment. Wong notes that it is F2 that should be prioritized for treatment, since it carries most of the unique predictive power of the PCL-R for crime and violence, a view well supported by recent meta-analyses (Kennealy et al., 2010).

On the other hand, the study by Olver and colleagues (2015) provided the first clues about treatment response within primary psychopaths via VRS (Wong & Gordon, 2006). They observed that the secondary psychopathy subtype had higher risk and more criminogenic treatment needs at the start of treatment and improved more during treatment. However, changes made during treatment were not related to reduced violent recidivism for this second subtype. On the other hand, the first subtype of psychopaths showed less improvement, but the changes they did make were indeed related to less violent recidivism. The authors speculate that behavioral changes of secondary psychopaths may be more easily spotted by coders of the VRS because of 'visible' emotional instability and impulsivity.

There are more supporting evidence that secondary psychopaths are eligible for the treatment, whereas primary psychopaths paradoxically, are showing good response to the treatment but still have the highest rates of recidivism among all groups (Seto & Barbaree, 1999). That can be caused by the fact that psychopaths are highly manipulative and will say and do anything for their own gain. It is not rare to hear that they conned parole board or even psychologists and raters.

Another problem is the fact that most of the traditional correctional treatments are showing modest results even with general incarcerated population, other than with personality disorders such as psychopathy who needs different approach. On top of that, lack of staff and money to conduct longer and more exhaustive treatments is ever present problem in any institution, even if it pays off in the long run. Some regular treatments were not only ineffective with psychopathic personalities but also counterproductive. That's why it is of great importance to have specific

treatments tailored only for this targeted group. In 2001, Wong and Hare proposed another approach to treating psychopaths, which is to focus on their behavioral control rather than acting on cognitive factors normally addressed in traditional therapeutic settings, such as empathy or temperament. Behind this approach lies the fact that psychopathy as disorder is associated with traits and behaviors that are ingrained and reinforced through years of learning from a very young age, which is why according to Wong and Hare it is unlikely that any traditional psychotherapeutic strategy would be capable of eliminating these traits from an uncooperative adult, who is unmotivated to change, moreover because psychopaths does not think that there's anything wrong with them.

In short, they believe the best treatment strategy would be to focus on minimizing the harm they cause to others through reinforcement of specific behavioral patterns and self-control.

Legal issues

There is a growing body of literature that explains just how dangerous a psychopath can be, meaning they are more likely than others to be violent, and to recidivate, but not only violently. Some authors emphasize the fact that what make psychopathy unique is that its defining characteristics and traits lead to behaviors that conflict with the generally accepted norms and laws of society.

A lot of psychopathic personalities are in prison because of the violent crimes they committed, but the prison is also full of the psychopathic personalities whom may be called «successful psychopath» i.e. the ones who are incarcerated for white-collar crimes such as fraud, stock manipulations and embezzlement. The «third» and perhaps most dangerous group are the ones who usually get away with the crimes they commit. This group break the law but are rarely prosecuted or even if they are, they are serving light sentences. Violations, such as, physical abuse of others, commonly child or spouse maltreatment, bullying, sexual misconduct or any sort of lying and manipulating with all «means» to achieve their goals. Harm that those personalities inflict is extreme, and it doesn't only cause material damage that is usually even possibly to restore but the one that results in psychological and physical harm to others, including the people around the victim.

Use of PCL-R in legal assessment

This differences in Nomenclature are important for mental health professionals performing assessments in legal settings. It has been argued that the PCL-R is best construed as a “forensically relevant instrument”, that is, although not specifically “psycholegal” in nature, it measures a construct that may be pertinent to consider in relation to various legal questions, such as whether a sex offender is at increased risk to engage in further predatory

sexual crimes if released back into the community (Otto & Heilbrun, 2002). In their recent survey of U.S. case law, DeMatteo and colleagues (2014) identified 348 cases involving the PCL-R from 2005 to 2011. The PCL-R “appears to be the most widely used measure of psychopathic traits in forensic settings around the world”. (as cited in Hare, Neumann, Mokros, 2018). Douglas, Vincent and Edens (2018) conducted a metanalysis study examining the link between psychopathy (particularly using the PCL measures) and recidivism and concluded that the PCL family of measures (PCL:YV, PCL:SV) has the greatest support with respect to predicting recidivism. However, psychopathy, as measured by the PCL family of instruments, is less strongly related to future sexual offending compared to violent and nonviolent offending.

Discussion

Psychopathy is a personality disorder defined as a specific cluster of behaviors and inferred personality traits. Though it remains a growing area of research, there is ample evidence for the presence of two subtypes: primary psychopathy and secondary psychopathy.

Currently, the assessment of psychopathy is based on four tools: Psychopathy Checklist-Revised (PCL-R), Psychopathic Personality Inventory – Revised (PPI-R), Triarchic Psychopathy Measure and Levenson Self Report Scale.

None of them are specific to the evaluation of different subtypes. However, they allow to highlight some distinctive features of the primary and secondary variants.

The most important traits used to subtype differentiation are: neuroticism and trait anxiety, anger/aggression and substance use disorder. As regards “neuroticism and trait anxiety”, Primary variant shows low levels of anxiety and low internalizing problems whereas Secondary variant is characterized by elevated level of anxiety.

Analysing the trait «anger/aggression» it seems that the Secondary variant is more correlated to high levels of aggressiveness and greater criminal versatility than Primary variants, even though some studies do not agree with these conclusions.

As regard “substance use disorder”, most studies indicate that Secondary psychopaths tend to be prone to greater alcohol abuse than Primary psychopaths whereas Primary psychopaths show less severe drug and alcohol problems.

Regarding the etiology, both variants have an inheritance component associated with environmental influences, anyway we have evidences that Primary psychopathy is mainly heritable whereas Secondary psychopaths are “created” via various environmental influences.

Studies regarding clinical outcomes do not provide concordant results but all authors agree about the low efficacy of the treatments and the high recurrence rate. In fact, a particular feature of psychopathy is that its defining

characteristics and traits lead to behaviours that conflict with generally accepted social norms and laws.

Regarding legal aspects, predicting the recidivism rate would be important; currently the most widely used tool is the PCL-R, even if it is not “psycholegal” specific it has important limitations.

Conclusion

Despite conundrums that were repeatedly brought upon in this paper one thing we can conclude definitely: there are strong evidences that difference between primary and secondary psychopaths exists.

Decades of studies reveal numerous distinctive features between the two variants, particularly with regard to neuroticism, anger and substance use.

These distinctive features lead to important differences between primary and secondary psychopaths in the type of crimes committed, social dangerousness, response to treatment, and rate of recidivism.

Therefore, it would be important to differentiate psychopathic subjects from non-psychopathic ones and then to subdivide the former group into the two variants.

In our opinion, a systematic classification of psychopathic subjects based on the distinction into primary and secondary psychopathy might allow the introduction of a clinical and legal approach specific to the two variants.

The result could be identifying more effective treatment pathways and a suitable legal management of psychopaths.

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Mental manipulation and persuasion models

Manipolazione mentale e modelli di persuasione

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Abstract

The article examines the controversy over mental manipulation by showing that the reasons for disagreement lie in unclear conceptualization. The literature on mental manipulation is often tainted by the specious use of the metaphor of "brainwashing." This is sometimes used as a pretext to emphasize the irrationality of manipulation and its location outside the scientific realm. The purpose of this article is to show how the findings of experimental psychology and behavioral economics lead to the identification of a process of thought and behavior change that can be described in scientific terms. The case described faithfully traces the process of persuasion described in the text, which takes place through the selection of the most likely subjects in sequential and orderly steps, and concretely affects the final recruits in particular, who engage in indoctrination in a psychological and relational context that's now profoundly altered. Classical experiments and quasi experimental are quite capable of explaining the gradual induction of counterproductive decisions in a context that makes them rational for those who make them. The article shows that thought manipulation isn't a magical, supernatural phenomenon, but a persuasion process based on a set of widely studied basic principles of social psychology. Thus, a psychosocial reading is proposed that allows the criminological sciences to reintroduce into their field of study a phenomenon that had escaped them due to sociological simplifications and ideological issues that have nothing to do with the scientific debate.

Keywords: Mind manipulation, cults, persuasion, free choice, abuse

Riassunto

L'articolo esamina la controversia sulla manipolazione mentale mettendo in rilievo come i motivi di divergenza siano nella ambigua contestualizzazione. La letteratura sulla manipolazione mentale è spesso viziata da un uso specioso della metafora del "lavaggio del cervello". Ciò è talvolta usato come pretesto per sottolineare la sua irrazionalità e il suo situarsi al di fuori del campo scientifico. Questo articolo mira a dimostrare come le conoscenze acquisite dalla psicologia sperimentale e dall'economia comportamentale portino all'identificazione di un processo di modificazione del pensiero e del comportamento che può essere descritto in termini scientifici. Il caso descritto ricalca fedelmente il processo di persuasione descritto nel testo e che avviene tramite la selezione, con passi successivi e ordinati, dei soggetti più propensi, realizzandosi in concreto soprattutto sulle reclute finali, operando l'indottrinamento in un contesto, psicologico e relazionale, ormai profondamente mutato. Situazioni sperimentali e quasi-sperimentali, anche classiche, sono perfettamente in grado di spiegare l'induzione graduale di scelte controproducenti in un contesto che le rende ragionevoli per chi le agisce. L'articolo mostra che la manipolazione della mente non è un fenomeno magico e soprannaturale, ma un processo persuasivo che coinvolge un insieme di principi di base della psicologia sociale ampiamente studiati. Si propone quindi una lettura psico-sociale che permette alle scienze criminologiche di riacquisire nel proprio ambito di studio un fenomeno che ne era sfuggito a causa di semplificazioni sociologiche e questioni ideologiche che nulla hanno a che fare col dibattito scientifico.

Parole chiave: Manipolazione mentale, sette, persuasione, libera scelta, abusi

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Mental manipulation and persuasion models

Introduzione

Il tema della manipolazione mentale è uno dei più discussi per le sue implicazioni etiche e le conseguenze che ne potrebbero derivare dal punto di vista legale. Il concetto fece irruzione nella cultura di massa nel 1974 quando un commando di due uomini e una donna dell'*Esercito di Liberazione Simbionese*, un gruppo terrorista di estrema sinistra, fece irruzione nella villa di Berkley in cui l'ereditiera Patty Hearst, figlia del miliardario e Senatore George Hearst, viveva e la rapì, chiedendo poi un riscatto. La ragazza, però, si unì al gruppo, assunse il nome di battaglia di Tania e partecipò di persona ad una serie di rapine di autofinanziamento, alcune delle quali portarono a conflitti a fuoco. Patty fu catturata dopo mesi di indagini dell'FBI nel Settembre del 1975. Il processo che ne seguì vide coinvolti in qualità di periti, fra i tanti, Louis Joloy West e Robert Jay Lifton, due autorità di quella che chiamavano, rispettivamente, *persuasione coercitiva* (West, Martin, 1994) e *riforma del pensiero* (Lifton, 1961).

Il 20 Novembre 2018 la cooperante italiana Silvia Romano venne rapita in Kenya da un gruppo di criminali che poi la rivendettero ad una organizzazione islamica salafita. Verrà liberata il 9 Maggio 2020 grazie a trattative segrete con organismi dello Stato Italiano. I telespettatori dei TG di mezza giornata rimasero però sorpresi nel vedere le immagini della giovane liberata avvolta in abiti arabi e velo in testa. L'agnostica Silvia si era convertita all'Islam. Davanti alle perplessità di chi ha pensato di rispolverare i concetti, già utilizzati per il caso Hearst, di "lavaggio del cervello" e "sindrome di Stoccolma", la preponderante parte dell'opinione pubblica mostrava invece il rispetto per le scelte di vita, supposte libere e non condizionate, della ragazza, secondo i modi della società aperta liberale e democratica (Ciavardini, 2020).

Le due vicende differiscono considerevolmente quanto ad esiti e, consequenzialmente, quanto a reazioni dell'opinione pubblica. Appaiono però perfettamente omologhe in relazione al manifestarsi di un inaspettato mutamento di convinzioni e comportamenti in accordo con la visione dei rapitori. Questo apre a riflessioni sul ruolo della persuasione alla quale le due ragazze sono state sottoposte e su come essa possa essere interpretata a seconda di una serie di premesse, conseguenze e variabili ideologiche e culturali. Queste riflessioni sono di enorme rilevanza criminologica e finiscono per investire anche il piano della legittimità, quantomeno etica, di alcuni processi di indottrinamento; inducono, inoltre, interrogativi sulla conformità

alla società democratica di varie organizzazioni in cui le persone entrano di propria volontà, ma nelle quali si attuano processi simili. Sono, ad esempio, note le vicende riguardanti

Scientology, oggetto di molte e contrastanti sentenze in tribunali in tutto il mondo.

La controversa Chiesa è, da parte di alcuni, etichettata quale una organizzazione totalitaria e una minaccia alla democrazia, in contrasto con le costituzioni dei Paesi occidentali, d'altra parte, ha recentemente vinto una causa presso la Corte Europea dei Diritti Umani (CEDU) contro la messa al bando da parte del governo russo, che avrebbe violato il diritto alla libertà di religione e di espressione dei seguaci di Scientology, come garantito dalla Convenzione Europea per la Protezione dei Diritti dell'Uomo e delle Libertà Fondamentali.

La problematicità del concetto di manipolazione mentale è quindi chiara, e con essa difficoltosa diventa anche l'oggettivazione dell'azione abusante. In Italia ciò ha portato alla cancellazione del reato di plagio previsto dall'art. 603 del codice penale, non senza che molte voci abbiano denunciato il vuoto normativo lasciato dalla sentenza della corte costituzionale (96 del 9 Aprile 1981) (De Fazio, 1990; Di Bello, 2010). Altri ordinamenti prevedono invece misure protettive per i cittadini contro movimenti settari che minano i diritti umani e le libertà fondamentali. Il miglior esempio è la *Legge About-Picard*¹, contro l'"abuso di debolezza" promulgata in Francia nel 2001 e che funge da prototipo per leggi simili in altri paesi, come, ad esempio, il Belgio.

Il termine «lavaggio del cervello», usato per la prima volta da Edward Hunter nel 1951 per descrivere l'opera che i cinesi sembravano in grado di compiere producendo incredibili cambiamenti nel modo di pensare e agire dei prigionieri di guerra (Hunter, 1951), è entrato con forza nella cultura popolare, ma è un concetto dibattuto in ambito scientifico. Infatti, benché dagli anni '70 il controllo mentale sia stato spesso collegato all'adesione ai «culti» distruttivi che hanno conquistato le cronache – quelli generalmente noti come "sette" –, alcuni sociologi considerano l'idea «implausibile», perché nessuna ricerca metodologicamente valida sosterebbe la tesi del lavaggio del cervello quale tecnica infallibile di modifica del comportamento che avvenga senza il consenso della persona persuasa. Que-

1 Loi n° 2001-504 du 12 juin 2001 tendant à renforcer la prévention et la répression des mouvements sectaires portant atteinte aux droits de l'homme et aux libertés fondamentales, link: <https://www.legifrance.gouv.fr/loda/id/JORFTEXT00000589924/>

sti autori, quindi, interpretano l'adesione a quelli che chiamano «Nuovi Movimenti Religiosi» (NRM) come il risultato della libera scelta degli individui, anche se questa dovesse comunque essere il risultato di un'opera di convincimento (Barker, 2010; Melton, 2003; Richardson, Introvigne, 2007). Il rischio è di proporre due retoriche opposte, quella del “controllo mentale” e quella della “libera scelta”. Queste due posizioni hanno storicamente assunto la forma di due campi reciprocamente fronteggiatesi, definiti, ciascuno dai suoi oppositori, con etichette non prive di connotazione critica. Gli studiosi dei fenomeni della manipolazione sono definiti *movimento antisette* (*anti-cult movement*) (Kent, 2001; Kent, Willey 2013; Lalich, 2017; Stein, 2016) mentre i critici di questa impostazione sono noti come *apologeti dei culti* (*cult apologists*). Il presente lavoro si propone di superare, tramite un approccio psicosociale, questo contrapposto schematico riduzionista introducendo variabili che intervengono a modulare e influenzare la scelta degli individui sottoposti a persuasione.

Note preliminari sul concetto di persuasione

La discussione e, di conseguenza, la ricerca sul tema della manipolazione nei gruppi non riesce a svincolarsi dai legacci posti in essere dall'assunzione di posizioni intellettuali tali da inquinare profondamente la serenità e l'oggettività che dovrebbero essere proprie del dibattito scientifico (Zablocki, 1997). È quindi azione propedeutica a qualunque discorso quella di rendere inequivocabili alcuni concetti per evitare fraintendimenti.

Validità del costrutto

Con il termine “persuasione” si intende una forma di influenza sociale che comporta il cambiamento dei pensieri e dei comportamenti degli altri e che si attua per mezzo di argomenti razionali e fattori emotivi (Cialdini, 2017). Definiamo quindi “manipolazione” la persuasione indebita, cioè mirata al controllo ed allo sfruttamento dell'altro. Pertanto, è bene in primo luogo chiarire che quella in atto non è una disputa fra “credenti” e “non credenti” in un qualche fenomeno metafisico. Negare l'esistenza della manipolazione psicologica sarebbe atto sconsiderato per qualunque studioso rispettabile e rispettoso dei suoi lettori (che esistano autori che si discostino da tali caratteristiche non è elemento che ci riguarda in sede di discussione scientifica). Infatti, è ormai incontrovertibile che esistono modalità comunicative in grado di bypassare l'elaborazione centrale e razionale e anche specifiche tecniche atte a ciò (Kahneman e Tversky, 1979, Petty e Cacioppo, 1984, Bohner, Moskowitz e Chaiken, 1995, Kahneman, 2011, Cialdini, 2017, Sharot, 2018).

Le principali evidenze scientifiche dimostrano l'esistenza di due vie o processi differenti attraverso cui si attua la comunicazione persuasiva. L'*Elaboration Likelihood*

Model (ELM), o modello della probabilità dell'elaborazione, di Petty e Cacioppo (1984) descrive le due vie di elaborazione dell'informazione da parte del ricevente come segue:

1. Il *percorso centrale*: logico, caratterizzato dalla forza degli argomenti e del contenuto e da un alto livello informativo. Il focus è sul contenuto.
2. Il *percorso periferico*: caratterizzato da un basso livello di rielaborazione e da una maggiore attenzione agli aspetti superficiali e formali del messaggio, senza analisi critica e impegno cognitivo e con un basso livello informativo. Il focus è sulla forma.

Gli esseri umani raramente utilizzano il percorso centrale, perché implica un impegno cognitivo notevole (Budzynska et al., 2011). È più facile usare la via periferica in cui balzano in primo piano elementi marginali come l'attrattiva dell'oratore, la sicurezza che mostra, il tono, l'ambiente, il sottofondo, ecc. Ciò che si è definito *carisma* è esattamente la capacità di elicitare potentemente la via periferica.

In accordo con l'ELM, il *modello euristico-sistematico*, HSM (Bohner, Moskowitz e Chaiken, 1995), prevede l'esistenza di due meccanismi differenti nell'elaborazione dei messaggi persuasivi: un processo definito *euristico* e l'altro detto *sistematico*. Il primo, corrispondente a grandi linee con la via periferica dell'ELM, implica un basso impegno cognitivo e fa ricorso alle *euristiche*. Queste sono procedimenti mentali intuitivi e sbrigativi, scorciatoie mentali, che permettono di costruire un'idea generica su un argomento senza effettuare troppi sforzi cognitivi.

Il processo *sistematico*, invece, comporta un elevato uso di risorse cognitive, al pari della via centrale nel modello della probabilità di elaborazione. Tuttavia, la differenza rispetto all'ELM, sta nel fatto che è prevista la possibilità che le due modalità di elaborazione, euristica-sistematica, non si escludano a vicenda e anzi, possano interagire vicendevolmente.

Già nel 1979, con l'elaborazione della *Teoria del prospetto*, Kahneman e Tversky (1979) avevano dato vita all'*economia comportamentale* dimostrando con una incontrovertibile mole di dati come gli esseri umani non scelgano razionalmente le strategie che massimizzano i loro vantaggi (l'*utilità attesa* degli economisti), ma vengono tratti in inganno da una serie di limiti cognitivi. La mente è prona ad una serie di *bias* cognitivi, errori sistematici prodotti dalle *euristiche*, che possono essere sfruttati dal marketing e dalla propaganda. Un chiaro esempio di come agisca un pregiudizio cognitivo ce lo fornisce l'*effetto incorniciamento* (*framing effect*) il quale porta il nostro cervello a valutare, giudicare o interpretare le informazioni in base al modo in cui sono fornite le loro conseguenze positive o negative. Una terapia che comporta il 70 per cento di successo è più apprezzata di una che ha il 30 per cento di successo, benché si tratti delle medesime percentuali di successo ed insuccesso. Gli studi di Kahneman e Tversky hanno avuto enorme influenza sul marketing.

Lo stesso Kahneman, che per i suoi studi sulla fallacia della scelta razionale ha vinto Nobel per l'economia nel 2004, ha in tempi più recenti proposto un modello duale del pensiero. Egli descrive un *pensiero lento* e un *pensiero veloce*. Il pensiero lento è quello razionale. Questo funziona in maniera lenta, sequenziale, faticosa e controllata. L'altro è il pensiero intuitivo, che è veloce, automatico, senza sforzo, associativo e difficile da controllare (Kahneman, 2011).

In definitiva, una o più persone dotate di carisma e valide capacità di attivare i processi cognitivi veloci (Kahneman), euristici (HSM) e periferici (ELM) sono in grado di rendere efficace qualunque tipo di propaganda ed indottrinamento, soprattutto agendo su individui alla ricerca di senso o di sicuri punti di riferimento.

Non esiste, pertanto in ambito scientifico alcuna questione dibattuta in merito alla persuasione e, del resto, il marketing lavora con questi strumenti, così come la propaganda politica (Cialdini, 1994). Il pionieristico lavoro di Eileen Barker (1984) ha però inaugurato, in un ambito diverso da quello della psicologia sperimentale, vale a dire quello della sociologia, un filone di critica del concetto di "manipolazione mentale" applicato ai gruppi. Infatti, a partire dagli anni '70, quando il dilagare dei culti alternativi nati nell'ambito della controcultura mostrò il suo lato più oscuro², i modelli del lavaggio del cervello e di riforma del pensiero cominciarono ad essere applicati anche al processo di affiliazione alle "sette religiose" (Bromley, Shupe, 1981). Il concetto di lavaggio del cervello propagandato da Hunter durante la guerra di Corea aveva infatti influenzato la cultura di massa ed ispirato anche un film del 1962, *The Manchurian Candidate*, con Frank Sinatra. Nel film, un eroe della guerra di Corea che aveva subito il "lavaggio del cervello" era stato programmato - «ricostruito», nel linguaggio del film - per assassinare un candidato alla presidenza degli Stati Uniti. In pratica, si trattava di un agente dormiente che si trasformava, a seguito di specifici stimoli, in un automa eterodiretto. È questa una concezione irrealistica della manipolazione mentale, frutto del panico comunista dell'epoca. Fra la fine degli anni '60 e l'inizio dei '70, la preoccupazione di molti parenti di adepti di gruppi che li allontanavano dalle famiglie portò a pensare che anche l'affiliazione alle "sette" non fosse priva di elementi manipolatori. Nel frattempo erano stati

prodotti nuovi modelli di "controllo mentale", alquanto differenti da quello del "lavaggio del cervello" e dal prototipo del *Manchurian Candidate* (Singer, Lalich, 1996). Molti studiosi si erano interessati negli anni precedenti alla manipolazione, soprattutto quella operata dai regimi politici totalitari (Meerloo, 1956; Schein 1956; Ofshe, 1990; Lifton, 1961), ma il modello che ha avuto maggiore impatto è stato quello di Robert Lifton, perché, benché nato anch'esso da uno studio su prigionieri di guerra occidentali e cinesi in Corea, descrive una tecnica più sottile e utilizzabile anche in contesti diversi, come i culti. Lifton utilizzò il termine *Riforma del Pensiero* (*Thought Reform*) proprio perché non connotabile in modo magico come il "lavaggio del cervello". Negli anni '80, l'irruzione di alcuni sociologi nel campo dello studio di quelli che definirono *Nuovi Movimenti Religiosi*, etichetta priva della connotazione negativa del termine *cult* in uso fra gli psicologi e psichiatri che si occupavano di manipolazione, comportò l'inizio di una controversia.

Nascita della controversia

Eileen Barker (1984) è considerata "la mamma degli apologeti dei culti" (Hauserr, 2002), perché un suo classico studio ha dato il via al coagularsi di una nebulosa di sociologi critici del concetto di "manipolazione mentale". Questo studio era stato condotto sulla *Chiesa dell'Unificazione* del Reverendo Moon, i cui fedeli sono comunemente noti come *Moonies*, e fu pubblicato col titolo *The Making of a Moonie* (Barker, 1984). Barker aveva scoperto che su oltre 1.000 persone fermate per strada e che avevano partecipato al loro primo evento della Chiesa (generalmente un pranzo), circa il 33,3% era poi andato al seguente workshop, circa il 10% aveva dichiarato di voler aderire e circa il 5% era ancora membro a tempo pieno due anni dopo. Un dato che la Barker considera piuttosto deludente e che dimostrerebbe che non esiste alcuno straordinario meccanismo di persuasione come il fantomatico "lavaggio del cervello". Se ne ricaverebbe che gli adepti non sono manipolati.

Il lavoro fu duramente attaccato da altri studiosi, in particolare dalla psicologa Margaret T. Singer, già autrice di vari studi sulla manipolazione (Singer, Schein 1958). Le critiche non riguardavano solo il merito. Nel suo classico libro *Cults in our Midst* (Singer, Lalich, 1996) la Singer scriveva:

Nel 1989, il servizio *Religious News* ha reso pubblico che il libro della dottoressa Barker è stato finanziato dalla Chiesa dell'Unificazione, dicendo che Barker "ammette liberamente che la Chiesa dell'Unificazione ha pagato tutte le sue spese per partecipare a 18 conferenze in Europa, a New York, nei Caraibi, in Corea e in Sud America". [...] Un membro del Parlamento ha dichiarato: "Qualsiasi accademico che si lasci manipolare per dare credito a una setta fa del male alle famiglie di tutto il mondo".

Ciò fa capire il clima avvelenato in cui si svolge quello che dovrebbe essere un dibattito scientifico. Della com-

2 Si erano succeduti nel giro di pochi anni una serie di eventi drammatici che avevano avuto come teatro l'ambito dei culti minoritari. Prima la strage di Cielo Drive ordinata da Charles Manson agli adepti della sua *Family* nel 1969, poi l'emergere dei casi di violenze sessuali su minori nella congregazione dei Bambini di Dio all'inizio degli anni settanta, quindi le vicende di percosse e tentati omicidi nella comunità Synanon, culminata nel famoso tentativo di uccisione tramite un serpente a sonagli posto nella cassetta delle lettere di un avvocato colpevole di aver vinto una causa a nome di una donna rapita dalla comunità nel 1978. Il culmine fu raggiunto, nello stesso anno, con l'eccidio di Jonestown, cioè con gli oltre 900 fedeli de *Il Tempio del Popolo* morti per ingestione di veleno su ordine del loro leader, il reverendo Jim Jones.

plessa diatriba ancora in corso qui interessa solo segnalare che la narrativa che questi autori propongono è quella secondo la quale il discredito di cui i culti godono sarebbe frutto di un “panico morale” ordito dalle “associazioni antisette”, propagatrici di miti come la manipolazione mentale. Costoro affermano che non esista alcuna manipolazione, ma solo la persuasione che, essendo un comportamento umano naturale, non può essere oggetto di censura (Introvigne, 2002).

Considerazioni sulle obiezioni sulla manipolazione nei culti

Ci sembra che l'effettiva difficoltà a tracciare un limite fra una persuasione legittima e la “manipolazione mentale” comporti però l'ingresso nel discorso di considerazioni che non superano la prova della avalutatività, sfociando fuori dall'ambito del rigore che deve caratterizzare la ricerca scientifica. La narrativa secondo la quale i gruppi etichettati come “sette” sarebbero quelli non graditi da studiosi pregiudizialmente ostili si configura, infatti, come una teoria della cospirazione. Che il caso possa porsi è ovviamente possibile, ma andrebbe ogni volta supportato da dati fattuali, ad oggi mancanti. Nella propedeutica opera di disambiguazione che abbiamo messo in premessa, è allora necessario sottolineare che quando si parla di manipolazione mentale nell'ambito dei culti, l'oggetto non è la persuasione in sé, ma quella che, essendo finalizzata allo sfruttamento, può considerarsi indebita. Ad andare sottolineato è l'aggettivo “indebita”, non il sostantivo “persuasione”. Indebito significa “non etico”. Come scrive Langone (1988), il controllo mentale “si riferisce a un processo in cui un gruppo o un individuo usa sistematicamente metodi manipolativi non etici per persuadere gli altri a conformarsi ai desideri del manipolatore” (Langone, 1988). L'errore principale nella discussione sul tema è stato quello di definire la persuasione come un costrutto costituito da una sola dimensione. È necessario introdurre una dimensione ignorata, quella della finalità del persuasore, cioè la dimensione dell'*interesse* (Corvaglia, 2022). È la manipolazione con intenti maligni ad essere oggetto dell'attenzione degli studiosi di *cultic studies*. Sgombrato il “tavolo operatorio” dalla vaghezza concettuale, cade ovviamente anche il sofisma nominalistico. Un culto abusante è considerato tale in quanto abusante, non perché sarebbe un gruppo deviante rispetto a un qualche canone fissato dai critici. Laddove, infatti, la devianza è sempre tale rispetto a delle norme che possono essere non oggettive e mutevoli, l'abuso e lo sfruttamento sono dati oggettivi.

Tutto ciò promesso, si potrà anche obiettare in merito a questioni di metodo e di lettura dei dati, ma le valutazioni della Barker nel suo citato studio sui *Moonies* sono senz'altro valide nello smentire l'ipotesi del *Manchurian Candidate*, ossia di una tecnica specifica ed infallibile di ricostruzione degli individui. È però possibile contemplare una differente concezione di manipolazione che vede il

controllo mentale come un processo di persuasione che avviene proprio selezionando, con passi successivi e ordinati, i soggetti più propensi, e che si realizza in concreto soprattutto sulle reclute finali, operando l'indottrinamento in un contesto, psicologico e relazionale, ormai profondamente mutato (Corvaglia, 2020, 2022). Procederemo quindi a presentare tale modello psicosociale.

Un modello di processo persuasivo nei culti

La connessione salienza-procrastinazione

La comune tendenza dell'essere umano a procrastinare le azioni che considera spiacevoli dipende dal fatto che i costi «qui e ora» sono più concreti e vividi, in quanto sono immediati e chiaramente spiacevoli rispetto ai vaghi costi futuri. Il differente valore che un soggetto assume in relazione a un contesto si chiama *salienza*. È questa salienza che cambia a seconda della prospettiva temporale che produce la procrastinazione. Questa cangiante salienza ci fa spesso agire in modo non propriamente “razionale”. Ciò, per esempio, è evidente dal fatto che procrastinare un'azione spiacevole generalmente comporta un costo finale molto alto. Un buon esempio potrebbe essere il caso di chi rimanda di iniziare un programma di attività fisica per prevenire eventi cardiaci.

È sempre la salienza soggettiva che fa sì che noi adattiamo sempre le nostre preferenze in modo da desiderare più intensamente quei beni di cui abbiamo meno disponibilità in un dato momento. Jon Elster (1984) ha usato come esempio di quello che chiama «cambiamento endogeno delle preferenze» la novella di Hans Christian Andersen in cui un contadino va al mercato per vendere o scambiare il suo cavallo, ma torna a casa con un cesto di mele marce. Infatti, lungo la strada il contadino aveva scambiato il cavallo con una mucca, perché gli piaceva più del cavallo, poi la mucca con una pecora, per la stessa ragione e così questa con un'oca, l'oca con una gallina, e la gallina, infine, per un cesto di mele marce. In altre parole, le persone si comportano in modi incoerenti che esse stesse non possono prevedere. Qui, ad esempio, cade il *principio di transitività*. Infatti, se uno preferisce A a B e B a C, dovrebbe preferire anche A a C, ma la salienza altera ciò (così il contadino torna a casa con un cesto di mele marce).

L'ambito in cui la procrastinazione può produrre i risultati più dannosi è quello dell'obbedienza ad un'autorità indebita o abusiva. Niente spiega questo meglio dell'esperimento di Milgram. Nel suo classico studio, lo psicologo sociale Stanley Milgram (1975) reclutò dei maschi adulti per partecipare ad un esperimento che dichiarava essere finalizzato a valutare gli effetti della punizione sulla memoria. In realtà, lo studio verteva sull'obbedienza all'autorità. Un complice dello sperimentatore interpretava il ruolo di un allievo. Quando questi sbagliava nel rievocare un testo che avrebbe dovuto apprendere, i soggetti sperimentali avrebbero dovuto somministrargli delle scosse

elettriche tramite un apposito congegno che avrebbe dovuto essere a lui connesso con dei cavi. Questi, visibile al soggetto attraverso una finestra di vetro, non era realmente collegato alla macchina e aveva il compito di simulare reazioni appropriate alle scosse somministrate dai soggetti. A questi veniva ordinato inizialmente di somministrare shock a basso voltaggio (15 volt), con dosi che aumentavano di 15 volt alla volta fino a un massimo di 450. Ci sono diverse versioni di questo esperimento, ma, in tutte le versioni, lo «studente» arrivava a mostrare una risposta significativa alle «scosse». In una versione, secondo la descrizione di Milgram, a 75 volt l'allievo cominciò a grugnire e gemere. A 150 volt, chiese di essere lasciato uscire dall'esperimento. A 180 volt, gridò che non poteva più sopportare il dolore. A 300 volt, implorava di essere liberato» (1965, p. 246, citato in E. Stotland e L. K. Canon, 1972, p. 6).

Questo risultato dimostra che i soggetti preferiscono obbedire piuttosto che venir meno al patto con lo sperimentatore, cioè che la *saliienza* della disobbedienza la rende più «costosa» del cedere alla compassione per la persona che si sta torturando. Ciò supporta il nostro argomento centrale: In circostanze appropriate, la saliienza percepita induce le persone a comportarsi in modi incoerenti che esse stesse non possono prevedere.

Lee Ross (1988) ha sostenuto che questa saliienza specifica attribuita alla disobbedienza è dovuta al fatto che esiste un contratto implicito tra «l'insegnante» e lo sperimentatore e che questo contratto non richiede l'esistenza di un motivo valido per interrompere gli shock. Il soggetto, quindi, vedendo il costo della disobbedienza attuale come molto alto, può pianificare di disobbedire in futuro, se il costo dovesse aumentare ulteriormente. Il soggetto, cioè, procrastina. Ciò che forse è più rilevante è che la saliienza stessa è probabilmente determinata non tanto dal livello di tensione che il soggetto somministra, quanto dalla differenza tra la tensione attuale e quella già somministrata. Nessuno, infatti, avrebbe accettato di somministrare direttamente 450 volt, eppure molti vi sono arrivati mediante incrementi progressivi di shock. I soggetti sono disposti a disobbedire se le richieste diventano eccessive, ma non ora, non ancora. Pur ipotizzando una disobbedienza futura, questi soggetti continuano ad aumentare il livello di shock necessario per indurli a disobbedire.

L'esperimento di Milgram mostra che, quando sono isolati in un laboratorio, gli individui possono esibire, per pura obbedienza, un comportamento inaspettato e inquietante, a condizione che l'escalation di comandi sia lenta. Fuori dal laboratorio, in condizioni non isolate, tuttavia, ci sono prove che tali comportamenti si verificano solo quando esiste una quasi unanimità di opinioni. A questo proposito, la prova più rilevante proviene da una variante del celeberrimo esperimento di Asch (1951). Solomon Asch dimostrò che i soggetti posti davanti alla richiesta di valutare la differenza di lunghezza di una linea rispetto ad altre davano una risposta sbagliata in circa il 40% dei casi se erano preceduti da complici dello sperimentatore che avevano dato risposte deliberatamente sbagliate. I soggetti

sperimentali si adeguavano alle risposte degli altri anche se erano chiaramente sbagliate.

Tuttavia, in una variante dell'esperimento, Asch trovò che la presenza anche di un solo complice che dava la risposta giusta, tra tutti gli altri che davano quella sbagliata, riduceva di due terzi il numero di errori nei soggetti sperimentali (Asch, 1952). Questo suggerisce che la presenza di persone che confermano le nostre percezioni diminuisce la nostra tenenza al conformismo. Ciò significa, che la presenza di altri disubbidienti in condizioni quali quella dell'esperimento di Milgram aumenta significativamente la probabilità di disobbedienza. Si può dedurre che l'obbedienza come quella vista da Milgram può avvenire solo in laboratorio, dove le persone sono protette da informazioni e influenze esterne. Tuttavia, ci sono altre situazioni in cui questo può accadere, in particolare nei culti.

Autoselezione ed effetto framing di gruppo

Riprendendo le conclusioni della Barker (1984), possiamo notare che l'adesione ai *Moonies* comporta una sequenza di decisioni separate. Le potenziali reclute vengono prima contattate individualmente e invitate a partecipare a un workshop di due giorni nel fine settimana. Questo workshop è seguito da un altro di 7 giorni, poi da un workshop di 12 giorni e, infine, c'è la vera adesione. La potenziale recluta deve prendere quattro decisioni separate: prima partecipare al workshop di 2 giorni, poi continuare con il workshop di 7 giorni, poi partecipare al workshop di 12 giorni e infine entrare nella Chiesa. Come nell'esperimento di Milgram, la decisione viene presa in fasi lente e attraverso leggere deviazioni dalla scelta precedente.

Il classico studio di Marc Galanter (1979), avente per tema il medesimo culto, mostra bene questa ristrutturazione graduale del pensiero verso l'impegno. Nel suo studio, dei 104 ospiti dei primi due giorni di workshop, 74 non hanno continuato. Dei 30 del workshop di 7 giorni, non hanno continuato in 12. Dei 18 rimasti nel workshop di 21 giorni, 9 non hanno continuato. Dei rimanenti 9, 6 erano membri attivi della chiesa 6 mesi dopo. Questa sequenza descrive un processo di conversione. I convertiti intraprendono una sequenza di piccole decisioni riguardanti l'accettazione dell'autorità. Alcuni procrastinano la disobbedienza per poco, altri più a lungo. Alla fine, come risultato di questa sequenza di decisioni di obbedienza piuttosto che di ribellione, i convertiti sviluppano credenze e valori che sono molto diversi da quelli che avevano all'inizio del processo.

Riteniamo che questa acquiescenza all'autorità sia facilitata dall'autoselezione. Poiché la maggioranza di coloro che hanno perplessità se ne vanno, non si ha modo di sviluppare il dissenso necessario per resistere all'escalation dell'impegno. Così si crea la condizione di isolamento dalle influenze esterne che esiste nel laboratorio di Milgram e, allo stesso tempo, la conformazione alle idee degli altri, come nell'esperimento di Asch. Questo è anche un esempio di *preference shifting* in cui i cambiamenti nelle prefe-

renze dipendono dalle preferenze precedenti, come ha sottolineato Elster.

Il fatto che il nuovo contesto dia diversa «salienza» e significato a ciò che avviene all'interno del culto richiama facilmente l'effetto *framing* evidenziato da Daniel Kahneman e Amos Tversky (1979). Come fa notare Elster (1984), questo altera la razionalità delle scelte, perché si perde il principio di transitività (l'esempio del contadino della novella di Andersen). Una delle scorciatoie, note come «euristiche», che contribuisce all'effetto *framing* è l'*euristica dell'affetto*. Si tratta di un fenomeno per cui durante il processo decisionale facciamo molto affidamento sul nostro stato emotivo, piuttosto che prendere il tempo per considerare le conseguenze a lungo termine di una decisione. Ciò è correlato all'utilizzo di quei canali veloci e euristico-periferici che abbiamo descritto. Il marketing e la propaganda politica fanno ampio uso di questi pregiudizi.

L'importanza del framing e del ragionamento emotivo nella manipolazione e nella propaganda è particolarmente sottolineata da George Lakoff (1980, 2001), che si concentra sul linguaggio come strumento in grado di cambiare la visione del mondo delle persone e di conseguenza le loro decisioni. Egli presta particolare attenzione all'uso delle metafore come elemento delle narrazioni che trasmettono messaggi in grado di cambiare le percezioni e le decisioni degli individui attraverso il «reframing».

Che i leader di culto carismatici possano condurre i loro seguaci all'interno di una cornice in cui le loro decisioni irrazionali acquistano perfettamente senso è stato espresso anche da Janja Lalich (2000) nel suo modello di «scelta vincolata» (*bounded choice*). In definitiva, date le condizioni di un sistema «autosigillante», i membri di un culto distruttivo sono condotti in uno stato di «scelta vincolata» in cui prendono decisioni apparentemente irrazionali in un contesto, però, che dà loro un senso (e che, di fatto, è coerente con le loro più alte aspirazioni).

Il percorso qui esemplificato ci porta quindi a ipotizzare che non si aderisca ad un culto abusante perché si è persuasi a farlo, e in virtù di ciò introdotti nel gruppo. Al contrario, si è persuasi *perché* si è inseriti nel gruppo³. Anche se persuasione e seduzione possono avvenire contemporaneamente, il peso di quest'ultima è temporalmente più pregnante all'inizio. Ad esempio, mediante il noto *love bombing* (Tizzani, Giannini, 2011). L'indottrinamento ideologico acquista più peso nel tempo. Più graduale sarà il processo di persuasione, più si sarà disposti a credere e ad agire secondo le nuove credenze. Ad ogni passo, la differenza rispetto a ciò che è già stato acquisito

o fatto sarà minima (e l'impulso a disertare sarà ritardato). Benché ognuno di questi passi sia scelto «liberamente», o quantomeno, benché libera sia la scelta di procrastinare la disobbedienza, ciò avviene in una cornice in grado di modificare la salienza delle cose. Le stesse persone che percorrono l'intero processo per approssimazione continua e graduale non avrebbero mai scelto liberamente la destinazione finale, cioè i dogmi e i comportamenti correlati, se fosse stata presentata loro in un'unica soluzione all'inizio. La persuasione indebita è questa, cioè la manipolazione del gradiente di 'libera scelta' con l'obiettivo di trarre vantaggio dai soggetti auto-selezionatesi.

Conclusioni

Il dibattito sul «lavaggio del cervello» si è storicamente focalizzato sulla esistenza o meno di una specifica ed efficace metodica persuasiva (Andersen, Saribay, 2012; Robbins, 2001; Zabliki, Robbis, 2001), talvolta perfino indugiando in elencazioni di tecniche (Singer, 1996, Tizzani e Giannini, 2011). Ciò ha reso agevole il lavoro a coloro i quali si dedicano al «debunking» del supposto mito della manipolazione. Le tecniche di manipolazione, infatti, non sono specifiche dei gruppi abusanti, perché molte sono utilizzate in altri ambiti, a cominciare dal marketing e dalla comunicazione politica. D'altro canto, come Barker dimostra, esse non sono efficaci allo stesso modo su tutti. Ciò pone il problema di cosa distingua le persone più facilmente influenzabili dalle altre (Curtis e Curtis, 1993). La lettura psico-sociale qui proposta vuole essere un contributo al superamento di tali criticità introducendo il concetto del *framing*, ossia della cornice culturale e psicologica entro la quale tale metodica viene messa in atto. Questo è un elemento che muta radicalmente il quadro e il senso, quindi l'efficacia della persuasione che avviene in quel contesto. Ciò a maggior ragione se consideriamo che nell'ottica psico-sociale tale opera manipolatoria viene ad attuarsi su soggetti auto-selezionatesi. Questo permette di superare, quindi, anche il problema delle supposte differenze di suscettibilità, dato che sono i più propensi coloro i quali permangono nel gruppo ed entrano nei giochi di conformismo e assunzione di identità sociale ben descritti dalla psicologia sociale (Tajafel, Tucker 2004; Turner, Reynolds 2012). Ci sembra che tutto ciò disinnesci le obiezioni dei cosiddetti «apologeti dei culti», sotto vari aspetti. Il primo è che tale prospettiva ridimensiona di molto la reificazione delle tecniche, usualmente definite in una prospettiva lineare up-down, insensibile agli aspetti sistemici e vittimologici. Tale ridimensionamento della importanza delle tecniche viste fuori dal contesto dinamico depotenzia le critiche sulla esistenza di una manipolazione specifica delle «sette». A renderle efficaci non è la specificità, ma il contesto. In secondo luogo, la stessa obiezione circa la reale efficacia della manipolazione cade, una volta che si accoglie l'idea che questa sia un processo che si realizza in concreto sulle reclute finali di una selezione «a setaccio sempre più stretto» e che avviene in un contesto,

3 Ciò in accordo con il modello sociobiologico il quale sottolinea, più che la manipolazione mentale, i meccanismi psicologici dell'affiliazione al gruppo e i benefici che ne derivano a livello individuale (Wenegrat B (1989). Religious cult membership: A sociobiologic model. In Galanter M (a cura di) Cults and new religious movements: A report of the American Psychiatric Association, pp. 193-208. American Psychiatric Association, Washington D.C.)

psicologico e relazionale, ormai profondamente mutato.

Tutto ciò non può che rivestire un'enorme rilevanza dal punto di vista criminologico, dato che la questione della liceità della persuasione muta radicalmente il senso di quanto avviene nei culti (la visione che abbiamo della persuasione è essa stessa un frame!) trasformando la devozione eccessiva, le donazioni in denaro e sessuali, le umiliazioni, perfino i suicidi, da libere scelte in crimini (riduzione in schiavitù, estorsioni, stupri, induzione al suicidio, ecc.). E', in pratica, la *vexata questio* della "scelta razionale", una concezione legata all'economia classica e ormai in disgrazia tanto in economia quanto in psicologia e nelle scienze sociali. Sembra permanere solo fra studiosi ed attivisti che si impegnano nella difesa della libertà di scelta degli adepti dei gruppi totalitari.

La lettura psico-sociale permette quindi alle scienze criminologiche di riacquisire nel proprio ambito di studio un fenomeno che ne era sfuggito a causa di semplificazioni sociologiche e questioni ideologiche che nulla hanno a che fare col dibattito scientifico.

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