

# *Psychopathological Profile of Men Convicted of Gender Violence*

## *A Study in the Prisons of Spain*

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*In this article, a description of the demographic, penal, and psychopathological characteristics of 54 men, who are in prison because of having committed a serious offense of gender violence, was carried out. Furthermore, a comparison of all the variables studied between the participants with homicide and those without homicide was done. The results showed the existence of irrational beliefs both about women and violence, as a strategy to cope with everyday difficulties, as well as a general inadaptation to daily life. However, from a psychopathological point of view, in spite of not observing a high degree of symptomatology in the sample, the psychiatric and penal antecedents and current emotional instability were much more frequent and severe in people who had not committed homicide. Therefore, two possible differential profiles among the violent men are presented.*

**Keywords:** *gender violence; prison; psychopathology; homicide.*

***Gender-based violence is a problem*** that is increasing and currently reaching alarming proportions. A study of domestic violence carried out in 2000 by the Spanish Ministry of Social Affairs involving a sample of more than 20,000 Spanish women, for instance, revealed that at least 4% of those older than 18 (around 640,000 of the total population) were abused in the home. However, there was also a further 12% (around 1,865,000 of the total population) who, although they did not regard themselves as abused, suffered degrading or humiliating behaviors that are inconsistent with a healthy relationship as a

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couple (Echeburúa, Fernández-Montalvo, & De la Cuesta, 2001). Studies carried out in the United States indicate that between 15% and 30% of women undergo some type of aggression in their relationship as a couple (Goldman, Horan, Warshaw, Kaplan, & Hendricks-Matthews, 1995; O'Leary & Arias, 1988; Stith, Williams, & Rosen, 1990/1992; Straus & Gelles, 1990).

These disturbing figures have led to a greater interest on the part of the scientific community in studying the perpetrators of this violence, and this has resulted in a greater knowledge of the clinical characteristics of men who are violent toward women (Echeburúa & Corral, 1998). These aggressors usually present significant psychological deficits such as cognitive bias, mainly distorted thoughts as to sexual roles and the inferiority of women, but also communication difficulties, irritability, and a failure to control impulses, as well as other specific difficulties (mainly alcohol abuse and pathological jealousy) (Corsi, 1995; Dutton & Golant, 1997; Fernández-Montalvo & Echeburúa, 1997b).

Moreover, personality disorders have frequently been identified among aggressors (Bernard & Bernard, 1984; Dinwiddie, 1992; Hamberger & Hastings, 1986), the most commonly encountered being antisocial, borderline, and narcissistic personality disorders (Hamberger & Hastings, 1988). There have even been attempts to establish an aggressor typology as a function of personality disorders and to suggest specific lines of therapeutic intervention in accordance with that typology. The idea is, ultimately, to design tailored programs of intervention depending on the type of personality disorder involved (White & Gondolf, 2000).

From a therapeutic perspective, a growing interest has also been observed in psychological treatment for aggressors, particularly within a community environment. The outcome has been a number of specific intervention programs for types of aggressors, and the results in some cases are decidedly hopeful, especially with men who have completed the full program (Echeburúa & Fernández-Montalvo, 1997). Psychological treatment, then, is currently seen as the most appropriate option, although one of the difficulties that exists is that of aggressors denying or at least minimizing the problem, as well as putting the blame for the cause and perpetuation of the conflict onto their partners.

These results, hopeful as they are, refer largely to male abusers who have received no punishment or sentence for their violent behaviors. It may be assumed that the profile of aggressors imprisoned for acts of gender violence (bodily harm, homicide, sexual assault, and so on) is quite different. This type of case, although more serious, has in general terms received less attention, as prisoners serving sentences for violence against women represent a relatively

small proportion of the total prison population and they usually adapt well to prison rules.

The task of detecting both risk and protection factors pertaining to violence against women is now a priority (Schumacher, Feldau-Kohn, Smith, & Heyman, 2001). The aim of this study is to present the demographic, penal, and psychopathological characteristics of those aggressors serving time in prison for an offense involving gender violence, with a view to designing specific intervention programs for this type of offender at a later stage. This is a preliminary work that forms part of a wider study into treatment in prison of men who show violence toward women.

## METHOD

### Participants

The sample for this study consisted of 54 participants imprisoned for a serious offense of violence against their intimate partner. These participants are part of research about the effectiveness of a pilot program of psychological intervention with prisoners convicted of violence against women that ran in seven Spanish penal institutions in 2001 and 2002. All the offenders were incarcerated in federal penitentiaries (all prisons belong to this system in Spain) in medium-security wings.

Those selected for the sample were required to be (a) adult males (between 18 and 65), (b) serving a sentence for a serious offense in relation to gender violence, (c) not suffering from any serious mental disorder or disabling physical disease, and (d) taking part voluntarily in the program, having been properly informed of its characteristics. Offenders with severe mental disorders in Spain are not incarcerated in prisons but treated in inpatient high-security hospitals, so they are not able to belong to the studied sample.

### Assessment Measures

#### *Abuse Variables*

The Inventory of Distorted Thoughts About Women (Echeburúa & Fernández-Montalvo, 1998) comprises a checklist of 13 binary items aimed at detecting irrational thoughts in the aggressor that are related to sexual roles and the inferiority of women. These thoughts are of great interest insofar as they are conducive to the display of violent behaviors. The participant has to

state which ideas in the inventory correspond to his normal way of thinking. Each affirmative response scores 1 point, so that the inventory score ranges between 0 and 13 points. The higher the score, the greater the number of women-related cognitive distortions.

The Inventory of Distorted Thoughts on the Use of Violence (Echeburúa & Fernández-Montalvo, 1998) comprises a checklist of 16 binary items aimed at detecting irrational thoughts in the aggressor that are related to the use of violence as an acceptable way of resolving conflicts. These thoughts are extremely relevant to the extent that they are conducive to the display of violent behaviors. The participant has to state which ideas in the inventory correspond to his normal way of thinking. Each affirmative response scores 1 point, so that the inventory score ranges between 0 and 16 points. The higher the score, the greater the number of cognitive distortions connected with the use of violence as an acceptable way of resolving conflicts.

The Interpersonal Response Index (Davis, 1980) consists of 28 items that assess four components of empathy: fantasy (capacity for imagination and identification with fictional characters), awareness of perspective (capacity to appreciate the point of view of others), empathic interest (capacity for showing concern for persons who have negative experiences), and personal grief (capacity to feel the negative emotions of others as one's own). Each of the 28 items is marked on a Likert-type scale that ranges from 0 (*absolute disagreement*) to 4 (*absolute agreement*). The full range of the scale is, therefore, from 0 to 112. The higher the score, the greater the empathic capacity. In this study, the Spanish version of the index created by Garrido and Beneyto (1995) was used.

#### *Psychopathological and Personality Variables*

The SCL-90-R (Derogatis, 1975) (Spanish version created by González de Rivera, 2002) is a self-administered general psychopathological assessment questionnaire. It comprises 90 items with five alternatives for each item on a Likert-type scale, ranging from 0 (*none*) to 4 (*very much*). The aim of the questionnaire is to reflect a participant's symptoms of psychological disturbance. As it has been shown to be sensitive to therapeutic change, it may be used for either single or repeated assessments. The SCL-90-R consists of nine areas of primary symptoms (somatization, obsessive-compulsive, interpersonal sensitivity, depression, anxiety, hostility, phobic anxiety, paranoid ideation, and psychoticism). It also provides three overall indices that reflect the participant's overall level of severity. The cut-off point of the Global Symptoms Index is 63.

The State-Trait Anger Expression Inventory (STAXI) (Spielberger, 1988) (Spanish version created by Miguel-Tobal, Casado, & Cano-Vindel, 2001) consists of 10 items related to state-anger (the intensity of the emotion of anger in a specific situation) and a further 10 items related to trait-anger (the individual disposition to experience anger habitually). The range of scores is from 10 to 40 on each scale. The STAXI also has a third subscale of 24 items connected with the form of expressing anger (anger expression-out, anger expression-in, and anger control).

The Impulsivity Scale (Barratt, 1985) consists of 33 items aimed at assessing how impulsive participants are. Scores from 0 to 4 on a Likert-type scale provide a total scale range of between 0 and 132. This instrument has three subscales of 11 items each, giving a range from 0 to 44. The first subscale assesses motor impulsivity, the second assesses cognitive impulsivity, and the third assesses improvisation and failure to plan ahead. The higher the score, the stronger the presence of each trait measured on each subscale. The sum of all the subscales gives the total score. In this study, the Spanish version of the scale created by Luengo, Carrillo de la Peña, and Otero (1991) was used.

The aim of the Self-Esteem Scale (Rosenberg, 1965) is to assess the feeling of satisfaction that a person has about himself or herself. There are 10 general items, each carrying a score of between 1 and 4 on a Likert-type scale, giving a questionnaire range of 10 to 40. The higher the score, the greater the level of self-esteem. The cut-off point for the adult population is 29. Test-retest reliability is .85, and the internal consistency alpha coefficient is .92. Convergent validity and discriminant validity are likewise satisfactory (cf. Zubizarreta et al., 1994). The Spanish version of the scale used in this study can be found in Fernández-Montalvo and Echeburúa (1997a).

#### *Adjustment Variables*

The Inadaptation Scale (Echeburúa & Corral, 1987) reflects the extent to which the participant's current problems affect different areas of daily life: work, social life, free time, relationship with partner, and family life. This instrument also has a subscale that takes account of the overall level of maladjustment in everyday life. The self-report comprises a total of six items, each carrying a score of between 0 and 5 in accordance with a Likert-type scale. The full range of the instrument is therefore 0 to 30, with 12 points representing the overall cut-off point. The higher the score, the greater the level of inadaptation. The psychometric properties of this scale can be found in Echeburúa, Corral, and Fernández-Montalvo (2000).

### **Procedure**

All the participants completed the questionnaires individually in the psychologist's presence during pretreatment assessment before the intervention program.

This assessment was carried out during September and October 2001 by prison psychologists under the direction of the authors of this study.

## **RESULTS**

The paragraphs below present the results for demographic and penal characteristics. These are followed by the cognitive distortions and psychopathological, personality, and adjustment variables relating to the participants studied. Similarly, a comparison is drawn for the scores obtained for all the variables studied between participants who have killed (or attempted to kill) their partners and those who have not.

### **Sociodemographic and Penal Characteristics**

The mean age of the total sample was 40 (range = 27 to 58). The number of divorced men (57%) and widowers (20%) far exceeded that of married men (17%). This prevalence is associated with the type of participants studied.

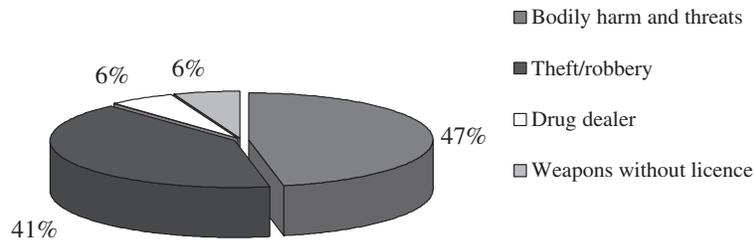
The level of education of most participants was rather low, with a clear predominance of participants who left school at the minimum leaving age (81%) and only 4% with a university education. This means that the socioeconomic level of the cases studied varies between the lower and middle classes.

Moreover, a previous history of psychiatric problems was observed in 22% of the sample, a percentage that is slightly higher than that of the general population (15% to 20%) (Klerman, 1986). The main disorders for which psychological or psychiatric attention had been administered were, in decreasing order, depression (54%), addictive behaviors (33%), and personality disorders (13%).

From a penal point of view (see Table 1), the sample participants had spent an average of 2.5 years in prison, the great majority serving the sentence for the crime committed under Level 2 imprisonment conditions (without permission for going out from prison). One significant aspect of this section is that almost half (46%) of the sample had killed their partner (or attempted to do so). Furthermore, 31% had a previous prison record, chiefly for bodily

**TABLE 1: Penal Characteristics of the Sample**

| Variable                         | Total Sample (N = 54) |            |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------|------------|
|                                  | n                     | %          |
| Months in prison (range)         | 29.8                  | (1 to 100) |
| Penal situation                  |                       |            |
| Punished                         | 48                    | 88.9       |
| Preventive                       | 6                     | 11.1       |
| Crime type                       |                       |            |
| Gender violence with homicide    | 25                    | 46.3       |
| Gender violence without homicide | 29                    | 53.7       |
| Penitentiary classification      |                       |            |
| First degree                     | 0                     | 0.0        |
| Second degree                    | 45                    | 83.3       |
| Third degree (probation)         | 0                     | 0.0        |
| Preventive                       | 4                     | 7.4        |
| Without classification           | 5                     | 9.2        |
| Criminal record                  |                       |            |
| Yes                              | 17                    | 31.5       |
| No                               | 37                    | 68.5       |

**Figure 1: Criminal Records**

harm or threats (47%), theft (41%), and to a lesser degree, for breach of the peace (6%) and illegal possession of arms (6%) (see Figure 1).

A comparison of results for demographic variables between those who had committed (or attempted) homicide and those who had not revealed significant differences only in the history of mental disorders. Those who had not committed or attempted homicide are more likely to have a previous history of psychiatric problems (see Table 2).

**TABLE 2: Comparison Among Participants With Homicide and Without Homicide in the Sociodemographic and Penal Variables**

|                              | <i>With Homicide (n= 25)</i> |      | <i>Without Homicide (n= 29)</i> |      | t        |
|------------------------------|------------------------------|------|---------------------------------|------|----------|
|                              | M                            | SD   | M                               | SD   |          |
| Age                          | 42.4                         | 8.8  | 38.3                            | 7.7  | 1.75     |
| Months in prison             | 43.1                         | 23.6 | 19.2                            | 14.1 | 4.51*    |
|                              | n                            | %    | n                               | %    | $\chi^2$ |
| Education                    |                              |      |                                 |      | 3.84     |
| None                         | 1                            | 4.0  | 1                               | 3.4  |          |
| Primary studies              | 18                           | 72.0 | 26                              | 89.7 |          |
| Secondary studies            | 4                            | 16.0 | 2                               | 6.9  |          |
| University                   | 2                            | 8.0  | 0                               | 0.0  |          |
| Socioeconomic status         |                              |      |                                 |      | 3.93     |
| Low                          | 4                            | 16.0 | 7                               | 24.1 |          |
| Middle-low                   | 11                           | 44.0 | 9                               | 31.0 |          |
| Middle                       | 8                            | 32.0 | 13                              | 44.8 |          |
| Middle-high                  | 2                            | 8.0  | 0                               | 0.0  |          |
| Previous psychiatric history |                              |      |                                 |      | 5.12*    |
| Yes                          | 2                            | 8.3  | 10                              | 34.5 |          |
| No                           | 22                           | 91.7 | 19                              | 65.5 |          |
| Criminal record              |                              |      |                                 |      | 8.19**   |
| Yes                          | 3                            | 12.0 | 14                              | 48.3 |          |
| No                           | 22                           | 88.0 | 15                              | 51.7 |          |

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ .

In terms of penal variables, significant differences between the two groups of participants were evident in the longer sentences served in the case of the homicide group and the higher frequency of a previous criminal record among those not involved in homicide. No significant differences were found for the remaining variables studied.

### **Cognitive Bias and Psychopathological, Personality, and Adjustment Variables**

The results for the total sample in regard to the main variables studied were subdivided into two subsamples (with and without homicide), as shown in Table 3. In respect to cognitive bias, the participants in the total sample are characterized by a high presence of distorted ideas about women and the use of violence as an acceptable way of resolving conflicts. Comparing the two subsamples revealed no significant differences for any of these variables.

**TABLE 3: Cognitive Distortions and Personality and Adjustment Variables**

|  | <i>Total Sample</i><br>(N = 54) |      | <i>With Homicide</i><br>(n = 25) |      | <i>Without Homicide</i><br>(n = 29) |      | t     |
|--|---------------------------------|------|----------------------------------|------|-------------------------------------|------|-------|
|  | M                               | SD   | M                                | SD   | M                                   | SD   |       |
| Cognitive bias about women (range = 0-13)        | 4.7                             | 2.3  | 4.1                              | 2.2  | 5.1                                 | 2.4  | 1.75  |
| Cognitive bias about violence use (range = 0-16) | 6.6                             | 2.2  | 6.5                              | 2.3  | 6.6                                 | 2.1  | 0.05  |
| Empathy (range = 0-112)                          | 61.8                            | 13.7 | 60.0                             | 13.6 | 63.3                                | 13.9 | 0.89  |
| State-anger (range = 10-40)                      | 13.5                            | 4.6  | 12.1                             | 3.1  | 14.8                                | 5.3  | 2.28* |
| Trait-anger (range = 10-40)                      | 15.8                            | 5.1  | 14.3                             | 3.8  | 17.1                                | 5.5  | 2.09* |
| Impulsivity (range = 0-132)                      | 46.2                            | 17.3 | 41.5                             | 16.1 | 50.1                                | 17.7 | 1.83  |
| Self-esteem (range = 10-40)                      | 29.8                            | 4.5  | 30.1                             | 3.8  | 29.6                                | 5.1  | 0.31  |
| Inadaptation (range = 0-30)                      | 17.8                            | 7.6  | 17.8                             | 7.7  | 17.8                                | 7.6  | 0.01  |

\* $p < .05$ .

Results for personality variables are not highly enlightening: They show a low anger intensity in terms of both state-anger and trait-anger, as well as a moderate empathic capacity. Nevertheless, differences may be observed between the two subsamples in regard to anger, the score for which is significantly higher in the nonhomicide participants.

The participants do not score significantly for impulsivity, nor are there any discernible differences in this variable between the two subsamples.

The participants in the sample slightly exceed the cut-off point on the scale for self-esteem (set at 29 points). No alterations are therefore observed on this point. Nor are there any significant differences between the two subgroups.

However, aggressors show a high degree of maladjustment to everyday life, far exceeding the cut-off point on the scale (12 points), although there are no significant differences between the two subsamples.

On a psychopathological level, the results of the SCL-90-R symptoms inventory may be seen in Table 4. The participants studied show only a moderate level of psychopathological symptoms. In fact, as a group, their score is positive on 46 ( $M = 45.7$ ) of the 90 items contained in the inventory. Furthermore, according to the Global Symptoms Index ( $M = 46.2$ ), the symptoms do not appear with any great degree of intensity, as the cut-off point is not exceeded for any of the overall indices or even any of the specific dimensions.

In terms of differentiating between the two subgroups for the SCL-90-R, significant differences may be noted in the three overall inventory indices, as well as in the dimensions of depression, anxiety, and paranoid ideation (suspicion, hostility, grandiosity, etc.). Although neither of the subgroups

**TABLE 4: Results on the SCL-90-R (Derogatis, 1975)**

|                           | <i>Total Sample</i><br>(N = 54) |      | <i>With</i><br><i>Homicide</i><br>(n = 25) |      | <i>Without</i><br><i>Homicide</i><br>(n = 29) |      | t      |
|---------------------------|---------------------------------|------|--|------|---|------|--------|
|                           | M                               | SD   | M  | SD   | M   | SD   |        |
| Global Symptoms Index     | 46.2                            | 11.1 | 42.5                                       | 8.7  | 49.4  | 12.1 | 2.35*  |
| Positive Symptoms         |                                 |      |  |      |   |      |        |
| Distress Index            | 46.2                            | 11.6 | 41.3                                       | 7.7  | 50.4  | 12.8 | 3.07** |
| Positive symptoms total   | 45.7                            | 14.6 | 41.5                                       | 13.9 | 49.4  | 14.3 | 2.05*  |
| Somatization              | 50.8                            | 12.9 | 48.4                                       | 10.1 | 52.8  | 14.8 | 1.26   |
| Obsessive-compulsive      | 44.4                            | 11.1 | 42.1                                       | 8.1  | 46.4  | 12.8 | 1.47   |
| Interpersonal sensitivity | 41.2                            | 15.7 | 39.2                                       | 14.1 | 42.8  | 17.1 | 0.83   |
| Depression                | 46.7                            | 9.5  | 43.2                                       | 7.3  | 49.7  | 10.1 | 2.64** |
| Anxiety                   | 43.5                            | 13.4 | 39.7                                       | 11.9 | 46.9  | 13.9 | 2.01*  |
| Hostility                 | 40.3                            | 18.1 | 36.5                                       | 18.3 | 43.6  | 17.4 | 1.46   |
| Phobic anxiety            | 39.6                            | 20.2 | 38.8                                       | 18.1 | 40.4  | 22.2 | 0.29   |
| Paranoid ideation         | 46.8                            | 15.5 | 42.2                                       | 17.8 | 50.8  | 12.3 | 2.10*  |
| Psychoticism              | 41.6                            | 19.2 | 36.4                                       | 18.4 | 45.9  | 19.1 | 1.83   |

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ .

**TABLE 5: Significant Correlations Between Demographic and Penal Characteristics and Psychopathological Variables**

| <i>Variable</i>                   | <i>Age</i> | <i>Months in Prison</i> |
|-----------------------------------|------------|-------------------------|
| Cognitive bias about women        | —          | -.31*                   |
| Cognitive bias about violence use | -.28*      | —                       |
| Trait-anger                       | —          | -.27*                   |
| Inadaptation                      | .28*       | —                       |
| Global Symptoms Index             | —          | -.29*                   |
| Positive Symptoms Distress Index  | —          | -.38**                  |
| Depression                        | —          | -.32*                   |
| Paranoid ideation                 | —          | -.28*                   |

\* $p < .05$ . \*\* $p < .01$ .

exceeds the cut-off point for these dimensions, the homicides present less symptoms than the nonhomicides.

### **Correlation Between Psychopathological Variables and Sociodemographic and Penal Characteristics**

The psychopathological variables studied are significantly correlated with only two variables: age and prison sentence served (see Table 5). More

specifically, the older participants presented fewer distorted thoughts on the use of violence as a reasonable way of resolving conflicts and a higher degree of inadaptation. Moreover, participants serving longer prison terms had fewer distorted thoughts about women and showed a lower predisposition to anger. They also showed a lower severity of psychopathological symptomatology in the SCL-90-R, particularly with respect to depression and paranoid ideation.

### CONCLUSIONS

The psychopathological profile of men who are violent toward women has already been the focus of other studies carried out in a community environment (cf. Fernández-Montalvo & Echeburúa, 1997b). The aim of this particular research was to delimit this profile to concentrate on men who have committed serious offenses of gender-based violence and who are serving long prison sentences.

From a sociodemographic perspective, the participants have a mean age of 40, have only a very basic education, and are of lower-middle and lower social class. The most characteristic feature of this group is the high percentage of divorced men (among those who have not committed homicide) and widowers (among those who have), which is directly related to the type of offense committed (violence against women). The incidence of past histories of psychiatric problems in the sample is only slightly higher than in the population as a whole (cf. White & Gondolf, 2000).

In criminological terms, almost half of the participants killed their partners (or attempted to do so), which is why the prison sentences are rather long. More than two thirds of the sample had no previous prison record, an indication of the specific nature of gender-based violence outside the course of a criminal career.

From the psychopathological viewpoint, the symptomatology currently presented is not very high, especially among those who have spent a long time in prison, at least related to the general population. Anyway, this conclusion has to take into account the high rate of personality pathology and substance abuse in the normal population. It is as if prison “smooths” the participants out, freeing them from further stressful situations and resigning them to their situation. The only aspect that stands out with these participants is the degree of maladjustment to everyday life, probably derived from their prison term, and the extent among them of distorted thoughts about women and the use of violence as a means of tackling confrontations. The older the participant, however, the less severe the cognitive bias tends to be, perhaps because

such participants have become more mindful of the situation and more aware of the inadequacy of the pattern of behavior in question.

Comparison between those participants who have committed or attempted to commit homicide and those who have not provides some enlightening results. Previous psychiatric and prison records are much more common and current emotional instability more intense in those who have committed *minor* offenses as compared with those who have committed serious ones. That is to say, the profile of those involved in homicides equates with that of a relatively normal person without a previous criminal career who loses control in a fit of rage or passion and commits a serious offense or, as Huss and Langhinrichsen (2000) also stated, that of a psychopathic profile who without any previous emotional instability commits the offense in a nonempathic manner. Anyway, we cannot speak properly of psychopathy because mental or personality disorders, in a categorical diagnosis, have not been the focus of this study. The profile of those who did commit homicide but were sentenced for causing bodily harm, on the other hand, corresponds to that of a person with a previous history of psychiatric problems (depression and addiction), who is at the time irascible and emotionally unstable and has a long criminal record (particularly bodily harm, threats, and theft), reflecting the existence of a career of delinquency (cf. Schumacher et al., 2001). In short, murderers were more adjusted to everyday life before being involved in homicide. The establishment of these profiles would appear to be especially useful because they are more precise than those obtained in other studies (cf. Holtzworth, 2000).

The weight of social desirability in the low level of psychopathology encountered cannot be disregarded in this study. Such desirability may be greater than expected because we are considering participants who are prison inmates. In short, affecting a degree of "normality" in front of assessors may be one way of gaining faster access to probation. On the other hand, the absence of differences of empathy, impulsivity, and self-esteem between the two groups might be related to the problem of low statistical power because the samples are rather small. Results must be taken with caution. Further research should address this concern.

Finally, future research should focus on replicating typology shown in this study, properly studying the psychopathy with specific measures, monitoring the social desirability of these participants, and comparing the profiles of these violent men in prison with those of aggressors studied and treated within a community-based program.

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