

**PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS INFLUENCING VIOLENT CRIMINAL
OFFENSES IN BANGLADESH**

Dissertation submitted to the department of Clinical Psychology, University of Dhaka, as a partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Masters of Philosophy in Clinical Psychology.

Submitted by

Mita Rani Roy Chowdhury

M.Phil (Part II)

Registration Number: 100/2010-2011

Department of Clinical Psychology

University of Dhaka



July, 2017

DECLARATION SHEET

I hereby declare that from data collection to report writing, all the steps were followed authentically. There is no plagiarized content in this research report.

Mita Rani Roy Chowdhury

M.phil (part II)

Registration Number: 100/2010-2011

Department of Clinical Psychology

University of Dhaka

APPROVAL SHEET

This is to certify that I have supervised and then read this thesis entitled “**Psychological Factors Influencing Violent Criminal Offenses in Bangladesh**” which was carried out and submitted by Mita Rani Roy Chowdhury in partial fulfillment of the requirements of M.phil degree in Clinical Psychology, University of Dhaka.

Certified by

Kamal Uddin Ahmed Chowdhury

Associate Professor

Department of Clinical psychology

University of Dhaka

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

At first I would like to express my gratitude to University of Dhaka as the institution's scholarship helped me to bear the expenses of my research. My Supervisor Kamal Uddin Ahmed Chowdhury who guided me throughout the journey of this research work. My peer reviewers and topic guide experts assisted me at different phases. My family members especially my husband supported me by creating an enabling environment for this study. I would like to acknowledge the teachers of the department of Clinical Psychology, who supported me at different stages. In addition, there are few people from my social network who also supported me in many ways. I am grateful to all of them.

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this research to my parents, Dolly Roy Chowdhury (late) and Shawdesh Kumar Roy Chowdhury (late) whose inspiration headed me to do higher study.

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ABSTRACT

Violent criminal offense is a big threat to peaceful human world and its adverse impact may encompass physical injury to death, mental health suffering, financial expenditure to carry out judicial procedures, social instability and fear, and so on. There are many risk factors which may lead to develop a criminal offender and to maintain the criminal behavior. The factors can be seen from different perspectives which are biological, social, and psychological and so on. Critics in existing theories and diversified context issue indicate further study of the violent behavior. In Bangladesh, there is a gap in empirical evidences about the cause's especially psychological factors. In this context, grounded theory approach of qualitative research design was suitable to be used to explore the contributing psychological factors of violent criminal offenses and to understand the interrelation of these factors.

In-depth interview was conducted with nine offenders in a prison of Bangladesh who confessed to committing violent crime by their own hands. Violent behaviors included grievous hurt and murder along with some other crimes such as kidnapping, carrying firearm and so on. Purposive and snowball techniques were used to find the respondents according to inclusion criteria. Interview transcript was the sources of data which derived from the interview notes of the researcher. Data collection process was carried out by following theoretical sampling. A computer based software; Nvivo-10 was used for data analysis where open, axial and selective coding stages followed to explore the psychological factors of violent criminal behavior. A total of seven broad themes were indentified which are poor

sense of love and affection, inadequate learning and moral judgment, Maladaptive personality factors, perceived survival threat, ambiguous meaning of life, poor cognitive abilities and skills, and influence of emotional drives. Under seven broad themes, a list of 19 themes were identified in which all the themes were associated with 44 specific psychological factors.

Violent offense is preventable. Thus it is essential and necessary to understand psychological factors influence violent behavior which required the study of human being who actually commits the violence. Therefore, these findings of the study may contribute to the knowledge development of psychology, criminology, sociology and law field; and to take preventive actions at individual and institutional level in Bangladesh.

Psychological Factors Influencing Violent Criminal Offenses in Bangladesh

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Violent crime is a form of violence. This behavioral manifestation commonly present across the world and Bangladesh is not an exception. Violence can be physical, emotional or economical torture where the presence of victim or survivor and perpetrator is obvious. Usually, if the violence causes any grievous physical injury along with mental pain or leads to severe damage of any organ or death of the victim, then it is called violent behavior. When the violent behavior is a recognized crime by the law, then the violent behavior turned into violent criminal offense. Research found causal factors of violence can be biological, social, psychological or economic but it varies greatly from context to context.

Systems that ensure justice to the victim or punishment of the perpetrator or criminal have been established gradually mostly, by the means of law or sometimes as custom but not similar in all context. While the violent act is proved by witnesses and evidences, various forms of punishment of the convicted personnel is charged consist of imprisonment, fine or death penalty whereas charges are followed according to the respective law. However, any kind of compensation of the sufferer is barely seen in the justice system. Thus, ensuring the punishment of the perpetrator through court is the only way to console the loss of the most sufferer or the pain bearers. Enacting law or act and

putting justice system in place is the preferred way to deal with violence is seen everywhere. The justice system is mainly directed to the perpetrator by proving him or her guilty and responsible for the act in order to give punishment as a form of penalty and or teaching to behave rightly. One of the outcome principles of this aforementioned system is that, fear of punishment will keep people away from doing wrongful or criminal act. Prevention is another way to work on violence which stresses on exploration of causal factors and to address those factors in order to resist human capital to turn into offender.

In Bangladesh, focus is mostly given on the punishment of the perpetrator, followed by the occurrence of the event rather than addressing the causal factors which refers to prevention. Thus, there is almost no option available to prevent the occurrence of violence rather than exhibiting the fear of punishment. Though according to the worthy proverb which states “prevention is better than cure”; prevention of violence is supposed to be the first priority action to deal with violence.

1.1 Definition of Terminologies

1.1.1 Psychological Factors:

Psychology refers to the scientific study of human mind and behavior. *“Psychology is the science of behavior and mind, embracing all aspects of conscious and unconscious experience as well as thought”* (Fernald, L. D., 2008).

According to Crider, B. A., Goethals R. G., Kavanaugh, D. R., & Solomon R. P. (1993) "Psychology is the Scientific study of behavior and mental process. Behavior is an activity that can be observed, recorded and measured. Mental Process includes thoughts, memories, emotions, motivations, dreams, perceptions and beliefs" (p. 4). Therefore, the word Psychology embraces factors like attitude, motivation, learning, memory or experience, perception, cognition, emotion, feeling, personality and so on which is connected to mental process and human behavior.

Attitude is a stance or perspective to see something which can be positive, negative, neutral, hostile etc and it is well established that attitude plays a great role to lead behavior. According to Richard "An attitude is a psychological construct, it is a mental and emotional entity that inheres in, or characterizes a person" (Richard M. 2016). One of the prominent social psychologists mentioned that "Attitude can be formed from a person's past and present" (Allport, G. 1935).

Motivation is the inner force of human being which urges people to take actions. "Motivation is a theoretical construct used to explain behavior. It gives the reason for people's actions, desires, and needs. Motivation can also be defined as one's direction to behavior or what causes a person to want to repeat a behavior and vice versa" (Elliot, A. J; Covington, M. I., 2001). Motivation can be intrinsic or extrinsic considering the sources. According to Psychologist Ryan "Intrinsic motivation is the self-desire to seek out new things and new challenges, to analyze one's capacity, to observe and to gain knowledge" and "Extrinsic motivation refers to the performance of an activity in order to

attain a desired outcome and it is the opposite of intrinsic motivation” (Ryan, R. M.; Deci, E. L., 2000). The person who holds intrinsic motivation is likely to have higher internal locus of control and may gather inner strength to achieve target. On the other side, person with extrinsic motivation puts responsibilities on external factors for making changes and choices in his or her life.

Learning generally refers adding new things into the memory. “*A relatively permanent change in behavior brought about by experience*”(Crider et al, 1993). Like any other behavior, violence can be learned by the perpetrator and learning of moral beliefs in life may influence violence.

Memory refers storage of information which usually derived from experiences. “*Memory is the faculty of the mind by which information is encoded, stored, and retrieved. Memory is vital to experiences and related to limbic systems, it is the retention of information over time for the purpose of influencing future action*”(Sherwood, L., 2015). Memory plays an important role to store learning and experiences which eventually shape behavior in a later time.

Perception is one of the psychological factors which actually means interpretation of sensations or senses like the ability to see, hear etc. “*Perception is not the passive receipt of these signals, but is shaped by learning, memory, expectation, and attention*”(Bernstein, D., 2010). Any behavior is heavily influenced by perception of the individual for example perception of threat or fear may change the normal behavior.

Cognition simply refers actions whereas thoughts are usually processed. It encompasses abilities like problem solving, reasoning, judgment, attention, evaluation, decision makings and so on. According to a psychologist, “*the mental functions, mental processes (thoughts), and states of intelligent entities*” (Bloomberg, O., 2011). According to Crider et al (1993), “*A broad term that refers to the ways we process or transform information about the world around us. Simply, it refers to knowing and understanding*”. From cognitive psychology point of view, processing of thoughts result behaviors, as such, status of cognitive abilities and processing change behavior.

Emotion is a state of feeling or affection. “***Emotion*** is any relatively brief conscious experience characterized by intense mental activity and a high degree of pleasure or displeasure”(Canabc, M., 2002).The aforementioned definition refers that positive emotion may bring pleasurable feelings. Furthermore, some negative emotion like anger may lead to violence.

Personality is one of the significant psychological factors which dominate human behavior. “*Personality can be defined as the unique patterning of behavioral and mental process that characterizes an individual and the individual’s interactions with the environment*” (Crider et al, 1993). Personality can be linked with trait which is more stable pattern of behavior, or it can be state which often influences by the situation.

In addition to counting the abovementioned factors, psychology also focuses on interactions of these factors and how it affects the human mind and behavior or reasoning process throughout the life. Psychology is greatly influenced by social factors.

1.1.2 Violent Criminal Offenses

‘Violence’ is a noun which refers to a negative act or behavior usually results injury, death or serious physical or psychological damage of the victim. The word ‘violent’ is an adjective which mean acting to cause violence. "*Violent behavior is defined as intentional physically aggressive behavior against another person*" (Volavka, J. 1999). According to a report of World Health Organization, "*the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, which either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal development, or deprivation*", *although the group acknowledges that the inclusion of "the use of power" in its definition expands on the conventional understanding of the word*" (Krug, 2000).

Violence can be carried out by one individual, group or it can be massive; based on intensity the impact can be mild to lifelong. Violent behavior can be homicide, attempt to homicide, brutal assault, rape etc. and there are specific law to define the violent behavior as offense and to decide punishment accordingly. There are different types of violence based according to the mode of occurrence classified by WHO (Global Status Report on Violence Prevention, 2014) which are as followed.

- *Self Directed Violence: Self-directed violence is that which people inflict upon themselves, such as suicidal behavior/behavior and self-mutilation.*
- *Collective violence: Collective Violence refers to instrumental violence inflicted*

by larger groups such as nation states, militia groups and terrorist organizations in order to achieve political, economic or social objectives.

- *Interpersonal Violence: Interpersonal violence is violence that occurs between family members, intimate partners, friends, acquaintances and strangers, and includes child maltreatment, youth violence (including that associated with gangs), violence against women (for example, intimate partner violence and sexual violence) and abuse of elderly. Homicide falls under interpersonal violence which is one of the leading causes of young generations.*

Positive correlation is found with deterioration of social context and incidence of violence. For example, political violence may increase during political instability. Furthermore, violence especially Gender Based Violence including sexual violence increase post disaster or humanitarian emergency context.

There are subtle differences between violence, crime and offense though these words are closely linked. Crime is a harmful behavior but not necessarily can be called offense. But all offenses are considered as crime. Crime or offense can be violent or non violent.

Generally crime refers to an unlawful act or criminal behavior whereas criminal offense refers that the act or behavior is prohibited and punishable by state. The word 'criminal' refers to a person who committed crime. According to American criminal law

scholar Jerome Hall a human event in order to qualify as a crime, must meet seven basic requirements (Adler, F., Mueller, O. W. G., Laufer, S. W., 1991). These are as followed.

- The act requirement;
- The legality requirement
- The harm requirement
- The causation requirement
- The Mens Rea requirement
- The concurrence requirement
- The punishment requirement

Edwin Sutherland, an American sociologist, who is considered as one of the most influential criminologist in the 20th century. According to him “anti-law activities is crime, if there is no law in the society then there is no crime”.(Roy, 2011, p. 41). Anthony Giddens, an British sociologist, according to him “ any anti social act which perpetrates the status quo of the society due to the action of the individual of the disintegration of himself and if the act causes any violation of the social order or social norms, that specified act can be treated as a crime”(Roy, 2011. P. 43). However, if the existing law of the state or the province detects the crime as an offense, then the crime turns into an offense.

According to the Bangladesh Penal Code, “*Offense means any act or omission made punishable by the law for the time being in force*” (Code of Criminal Procedure, 1898. p. 6).

Punishment is one of the procedures followed if the person is charged as an offender. Here punishment refers putting a perpetrator in a condition of penalty in order to reduce the tendency of the future offensive behavior and as a result to give justice to the victim. Correction of the perpetrator through some interventions is also included into the punishment system in many countries. However, punishment can be imprisonment, monetary fine or death.

1.2 Operational Definition of Terminologies in the Present Study

1.2.1 Psychological Factors

Psychological Factors for this study are considered all the factors which associated with mental process and influence human behavior. Thus, the factors include attitude, perception, memory, emotion, cognition, personality, mental process and behavior. For this study, risk factors were explored as psychological factor.

1.2.2 Influence

Influence simply refers to a process that has the capacity or power to change something or to have an effect on certain thing. In the present study, influence will refer to the effect of those psychological factors which lead to develop and commit the violent behavior.

1.2.3 Violent Criminal Offenses

In the present study, violent criminal offenses are referred to those offenses which were carried out intentionally and caused death or grievous physical hurt to the victim. Sometimes violence, violent behavior, violent act, violent actions or violent crime was used instead of writing violent criminal offenses, however, all these terms indicate the expression of 'violent criminal offense'.

1.2.4 Social Context

Society is formed with a group of people where they interact, set values and maintain norms within a regulated system. Social context refers to the situation or the environment where people act and react to any stimuli. Interestingly, though human being creates society, but at the same time human psychology and behavior can be greatly affected by the social context.

1.2.5 Risk Factor

Risk factor is any attribute, characteristic or exposure of an individual that may cause harm or injury. "Risk factors increase the likelihood of offending behavior" (Claudia, Hanneke, & Hovee 2013).

In the current research, psychological risk factors refer to the personal characteristics, mental processes or other psychological factors which are found to influence the perpetrator to act violently.

1.3 Impact of Violence

Violence is damaging and its impact is irreversible. In addition to physical injury, violence causes many unexpected problems such as mental health sufferings, disabilities and so on. A study result shows “*for men and women, the more violence, the higher the risk of health problems*” (Romito, P. and Grassi, M., 2007). The same study also refers to the assumption that the excess health problems among women may result from more intense or more frequent experiences of violence. (Romito et al., 2007).

Victim or perpetrator may involve in maladaptive behaviors such as smoking, drinking alcohol and substance abuse etc. which increases the possibility of further health risk. According to a study, “*strong support was found for the hypothesis that delinquent behavior predicts later substance use*” (Claudia, et. al., 2013). People subjected to any form of violence may feel a constant and invasive threat to their own security, and will have to invest time and money while seeking legal justice and sometimes lose livelihood due to disability caused by violence. According to a study focused on domestic violence states, “*Lost economic output accounts for around £2.7 billion. This is the cost of time off work due to injuries. It is estimated that around half of the costs of such sickness absences is borne by the employer and half by the individual in lost wages*”. (Walby, S., 2004).

Furthermore, violence also creates stress on country economy to run judicial system (e.g. maintenance of court and prison, salary of employees etc.) and other relevant

actions. According to a report *“The cost of domestic violence to the criminal justice system (CJS) is around £1 billion a year.” Civil legal services cost over £.3 billion, about half of which is borne by legal aid and half by the individual.* (Walby, S., 2004)

In a nutshell, violence not only hampers the life of the victim and perpetrator, but also imposes burden on health, economy and social stability of the country.

1.4 Violent offenses in Global context

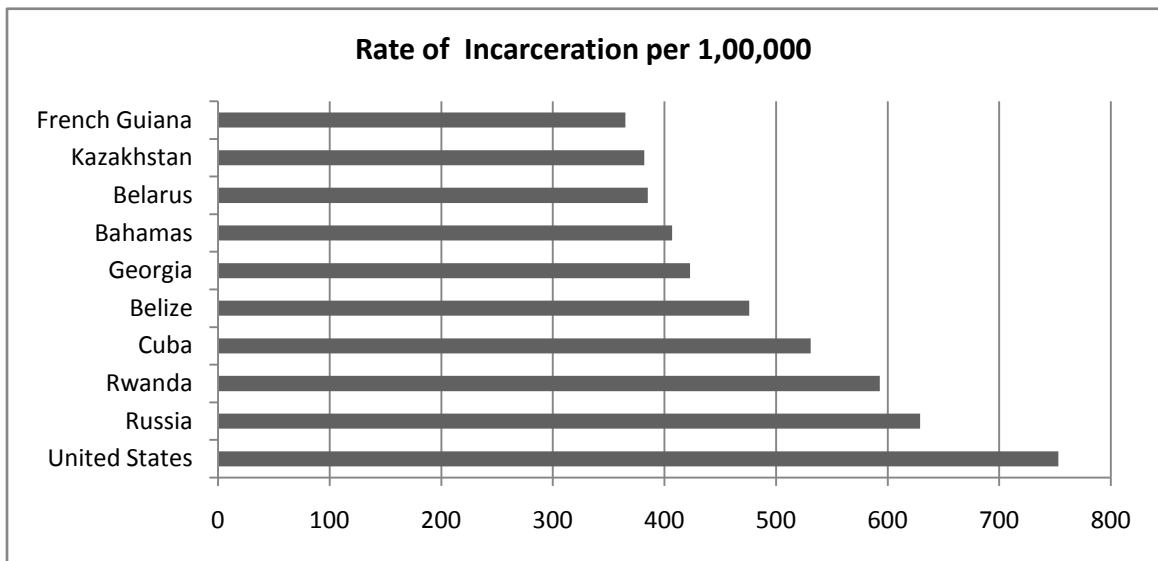
Despite high number of deaths, casualties and violent events occur all over the world, there are gaps in data or unavailability of data is seen everywhere. Databases are inconsistent, a large number of incidents go unreported, and difficulties to access to information etc. are common challenges to refer correct information. In addition, it is often difficult to distinguish violent offenses from any other kind of crime due to unavailability of segregated data.

A report published by *Lancet* states that *“Globally, violence resulted in the deaths of an estimated 1.28 million people in 2013 up from 1.13 million in 1990 ”* (Naghavi, M., Wang, H., Lozano, R., Davis, A., Liang, X., & Zhou, M. 2015). In addition, *more than 1.3 million people worldwide die each year as a result of violence in all its forms (self-directed, interpersonal and collective), accounting for 2.5% of global mortality*(WHO, 2014). Information is that *“since 2000, about 6 million people globally have been killed in acts of interpersonal violence, making homicide a more frequent*

cause of death than all wars combined during this period. Non-fatal interpersonal violence is more common than homicide and has serious and lifelong health and social consequences”(WHO, 2014).

According to a study of Centre for Economic and Policy Research, cost of incarceration is increased significantly due to increased rate of crime. The cost rate of incarceration per 1, 00,000 people in some countries is as followed (Schmitt, J., Warner, K., and Gupta, S., 2010)

Figure 1.4: Top 10 Countries with Highest Incarceration Rates (2006-2008)



Therefore, it can be said that violence is everywhere but varies in types, intensity and frequency. Addressing the causal factors can play role to reduce violence or offenses.

1.5 Violent offenses in Bangladesh context

Violent criminal offense is a type of offense found in Bangladesh along with other types of crime. Comparative crime statistics refers to a quantified record of crime in Bangladesh is updated by Bangladesh Police; the report is as followed.

Table 1.5: Comparative Crime Statistics, 2002-2015(Source: Bangladesh Police)

Units name	Dacoity	Robbery	Murder	Riot	Women & Child Repression	Kidnapping	Police Assault	Arms Act	Explosive Act	Narcotics	Total	Total
2002	963	1397	3503	1276	18967	1040	281	3060	570	9018	17394	127616
2003	949	1170	3471	890	20717	896	271	2293	499	9494	16785	125639
2004	885	1207	3902	754	13318	898	280	2370	477	9505	16534	119323
2005	796	898	3592	570	11981	765	240	1836	595	14195	20960	123033
2006	795	843	4166	570	11730	722	337	1552	308	15479	22073	130578
2007	1047	1298	3863	263	15217	774	278	1746	232	15622	22802	157200
2008	885	1583	4099	203	15246	817	296	1529	239	19263	28993	157979
2009	764	1298	4219	112	13997	858	357	1721	227	24272	34037	157108
2010	656	1059	3988	130	17752	870	473	1575	253	29344	37535	162898
2011	650	1069	3966	109	21389	792	581	1269	207	31696	38886	169667
2012	593	964	4114	94	20947	850	659	1115	289	37264	45642	183407
2013	613	1021	4393	172	19601	879	1257	1517	1007	35832	44793	179199
2014	651	1155	4514	79	21291	920	702	2023	520	42501	51832	183729
2015	491	933	4035	93	21220	806	629	2081	725	47692	56677	179880
Total	10738	15895	55825	5315	243373	11887	6641	225687	6148	341177	454943	2157256

In Bangladesh, crime is found in many forms which encompasses extortion, homicide, money laundering, kidnapping, human trafficking, robbery, corruption, terrorism, political violence, rape and so on. From the above mentioned report it is clear that the number of murders which can be referred to most violent offense experienced by the country in an alarming rate in past recent years.

The Crime Data report of May, 2017 of Dhaka Metropolitan Police says that there are 20 and 10 cases reported as murder and abduction respectively. There are a substantial number of cases for violence against women (147) and children (36) found only in Dhaka city in one month. Guns are seen as the major means to create violence and only in May, a total of 11 firearms were recovered by police within Dhaka city. The number of cases involving narcotics is 1134, which is alarming as use of substance may increase the rate of crime for a number of reasons.

After analyzing aforementioned information, it is clear that existing actions of violence including the provision of punishment could not change the prevalence of crime. Furthermore, substance abuse is another underlying factor which contributes to sporadic increases in the number of crimes. So, it is reasonable to say that Bangladesh is at risk of high prevalence rate of violent criminal offense in addition to any other crime or offenses.

In Bangladesh, Penal Code is being used as a law or guide for carrying out the judicial procedure for criminal offenses. Some new 'act's were enacted time to time to

add more offenses such as “Acid Oporaadh Domon Ain, 2002. In addition, modification or extension of the existing is also done to adjust terms and procedures according to the needs and circumstances.

Law enforcement agency and judicial section of Government of Bangladesh both work jointly to accomplish the post violence actions. Law enforcement agency is involved to take primary complain, to prepare the charge sheet, to catch the perpetrator and to handover him or her to prison authority if convicted. So, Systems are in place but judicial procedures take time to prove conviction against the charged person. Though the victim or victim’s family is the most sufferers, but it is their responsibilities also to prove the perpetrator as an offender in court as a claimant. Sometimes Government or other stakeholders (e.g. non government organization) take responsibility on behalf of the victim as a claimant also. The identified perpetrator or convicted person act as a defiant to dismiss the charges against him or her by proving him or herself innocent in court. Sometimes, informal negotiation are seen which mainly happen outside of the court among the defiant and claimant.

1.6 Theories and Research on Crime

Research suggests that there can be many factors that influencing the behavior of the offenders which can be categorized into Biological, Psychological, and Social etc. According to a study Campbell, A and Munser, S., (1990) said that there are, “*two subsystems are identified, corresponding to societal and personal crime pathways*”. They

are united by the perceived relationship between poverty and drug use.” This statement gives an idea about social and economical factors associated with violence or crime. Another researcher said that *“People who break the law are often psychologically atypical”* (Wilson, J. Q., & Herrnstein, R. J. 1998). So, this finding stresses psychological factors associated with violence. Based on research and evidence, many scholars developed theories to explain criminal behavior, however no theory is beyond the realm of criticism.

Biological Theorists emphasized that crime is a result of biological or inborn defects or abnormalities. Some theories correlate crime with body appearance. Sociobiological theorists also consider the interaction or exposure to society with biological vulnerabilities as a causal factor of crime.

Psychological Theories focuses on the cognition, learning, personality factors etc and put an effort to understand thoughts, emotions, and behaviors of the offender. The theories make an attempt to explain the mental process in addition to exploring the causes and its interaction with environment. Developmental issues and cognitive abilities like problem solving and coping capacity are also studied under this section.

Social theories explain poor social upbringing, social disorganization, limitation of institutions role in prevention etc. It also includes some economic factors like unemployment, poverty, corruption etc. A major belief of these social theorists is that the environment plays the biggest role to develop criminal or antisocial behavior.

Biological, psychological, social, economic etc are all perspectives to explain the causality of crime. However, there are many schools of thoughts even within one perspective. Mixed approach is also seen among many theorists. Most prominent theorists of crime are as followed.

1.6.1 Biological Theory

Biological theory focuses on the idea “born as criminal” or “influenced by biological factors” like genetics, hormone etc. Few biological theories are as followed.

1.6.1.1 The Y chromosome Theory

This theory holds that criminals have genetic abnormalities in Y chromosome which mean the perpetrator possesses an extra Y chromosome that gives them an XYY chromosomal make up rather than an XY makeup. This abnormality in chromosome results a strong compulsion within them to commit crimes. The XYY inmates tended to be tall, physically aggressive, and, frequently, violent (Adler et al, 2008. P. 93).

In addition, there are few more theories which include body shape theory, physiognomy, phrenology etc. These theories were criticized by many scholars as socio-psychological issues were not considered and could not guide for specific direction to utilize the findings for prevention of crime.

1.6.2 Sociological Theory

Sociology study the social issues of a society which includes organization, network, institution, norms, values etc. “*Sociological theories are statements of how and why particular facts about the social world are related*” (Macionis and G., John, J. and Linda, M., 2010. p. 14). So, sociological theories define the crime as a consequence of unrest of social systems which triggers the propensity to commit crime. There are many theories which explain the causes of crime which are as followed.

1.6.2.1 Anomie Theory

Anomie is also spelled as Anomy is the term used by French sociologist Émile Durkheim in his study of suicide in 1897. Through study, he found that one type of suicide (anomic) resulted from the breakdown of the social standards, but social standards are necessary for regulating behavior; the situation can be called normlessness which causes deviant behavior.

Anomie theory is based on structural functionalist perspective developed in nineteenth century. At that period, all scholars were busy distinguishing between the criminal from noncriminal, Durkheim tried to find out criminality in social groups and organizations (Adler et al, 2008, p.108)

1.6.2.2 Strain Theory

Robert King Merton, an American Sociologist developed a theory in 1938 which is called Strain theory. The theory focuses on social perspective and stresses on the unfair individual feel some goal to live in life in the society but unequal distribution of opportunities also exists. At this point, people may choose some paths which may not be in line with the law usually refers to offenses. This theory was criticized by saying that it better explains the lower economic class people who struggle to reach their goals with limited resources but not those perpetrators who commit white collar crimes (Bernard, 1984).

There are some more sociological theories which are social construct theory, cultural deviance theory, labeling theory, self control theory etc. but all of them were criticized as they focus on social issues and failed to analysis human behavior as a single and prime unit of society.

1.6.3 Psychological Theory

1.6.3.1 Social Learning Theory

Social learning theory was shaped by Albert Bandura where he explained that behavior is learned through observation and by observing the consequence of behavior as well. According to social learning theorists, after engaging in a behavior, most of us examine the responses to our actions and modify our behavior as necessary to obtain

favorable responses. If we are praised or rewarded for a behavior, we are likely to repeat it. If we are subjected to verbal or physical punishment, we are likely to refrain from such behavior. The Psychologist Gerald Patterson and his colleagues examined how aggression is learned by direct experience (Adler et al, 1991). A theory of differential association was posited; criminal behavior occurs in a context of cultural conflict where association with criminals increases criminal behavior (Sutherland, 1939).

1.6.3.2 Moral Development theory

Lawrence Kohlberg expanded on the earlier work of cognitive theorist Jean Piaget to explain the moral development of children. According to Kohlberg *“the theory holds that moral reasoning, the basis for ethical behavior, has six identifiable developmental stages, each more adequate at responding to moral dilemmas than its predecessor”* (Kohlberg, 1973).

Kohlberg’s six stages of moral reasoning were generally grouped into three levels: pre-conventional, conventional and post-conventional; each level encompasses two stages of reasoning. According to Kohlberg and his colleagues, most delinquents and criminals reason at the pre-convention level. Low moral development or pre-conventional reasoning alone, however, does not result in criminality. Other factors, such as the presence or the absence of significant social bonds, may play a part. Kohlberg argued that basic moral principles and social norms are learned through social interaction and role-playing. In essence, children learn how to be moral by reasoning with others who are at a higher level of moral development (Adler et al, 1991).

1.6.3.3 Rational Choice Theory

Rational Choice Theory was first developed written by the Nobel-Prize-winning economist Gary Becker (1968). The theory states that the offender makes their own choice to go for crime like any other non offender considering rational choices of cost and benefits of the behavior. Rational choice implies a limited sense of rationality. Offenders do not have different personalities than non offenders; neither were they socialized into a criminal belief or cultural system whose norms require crime (Cornish & Clarke, 1986; Kubrin C. E, 2009).

1.6.3.4 Personality Trait Theory

The trait theory interprets criminal behavior as a pattern of thoughts, emotion and behavior whereas trait is considered as relatively stable characteristics. The psychodynamic-psychoanalytic theory was developed by Sigmund Freud in 19th century to explain human psychology in which id, ego and superego refer three parts of human personality. According to this theory, delinquent behavior occurs as a result of imbalance between these three parts of our personality and is thought to be a symbolic way of meeting our unconscious needs.

Eric Erikson expanded on this theory, explaining delinquency as an “identity crisis” created by inner turmoil (Siegel, L. J., Welsh, B. C., & Senna, J. J., 2006). Hans Jürgen Eysenck (1967) theorized that criminality and antisocial behavior are both positively and causally related to high levels of psychoticism, extroversion and

neuroticism specially Individual who score high on measures of psychoticism are aggressive, egocentric, and impulsive (Moore, M., 2011).

All psychological theories tried to explain the crime as a result of individual's motivational factor, personal deficiencies in skills, mental illness etc. Psychological approaches believe that individual human beings are solely responsible for their criminal or deviant acts. However, different theories tried to explain it from different perspectives of psychology; no one does necessarily imply a complete picture.

1.7 Rationale of the Study

The rate of violence is high in Bangladesh especially violent offenses like murder, attempt to murder, incidence of grievous hurt etc. However, violence is preventable and in order to understand the strategy of prevention, it is obviously necessary to understand the factors which influence violence or violent behaviors of the offender.

Though there are some sociological studies to identify causal factors, but it is not enough for prevention. Human beings are the building block or foundation, around which social structure is established. So, study of psychological factors of human being is important and necessary to gain a comprehensive understanding of violence and studying the convicted perpetrator is a good source to analyze the factors; findings may guide to initiate or modify existing actions to prevent future violence.

Some studies and theories were found in western countries' context to understand psychological factors of violence however none of them is concrete enough to explain diversified factors of psychological issues. No study was found in Bangladesh context which solely studied factors associated with psychology of violent offenders. Therefore, in order to understand the psychology of violent offenders in Bangladesh, it is pertinent to conduct the study in Bangladesh. Thus the current research is designed and targeted to the violent offenders to understand their psychology by studying themselves.

1.8 Research Questions

What are the psychological risk factors influencing the violent behaviour of the offender who commits violent offenses in Bangladesh and how?

1.9 Objective of the study

General objective:

- Exploration of the psychological risk factors which influence the violent behavior.

Specific Objectives:

- To explore the psychological risk factors of violent offensive behavior.
- To understand how the causal risk factors influence violent offensive behavior.

CHAPTER 2: METHOD

2.1 Research Design

The present study followed qualitative research design as it is the most relevant and useful method to explore underlying factors and reasons. In addition, this design also helps to understand the process of why and how, which is helpful to reach beyond initial responses and rationales. Mainly the research used words or languages as main sources of information; however, it also gives the opportunity to use observations and interpret non-verbal communication as sources of information or a process of understanding, which is valuable during analysis.

According to Shank, qualitative research is “*a form of systematic empirical inquiry into meaning*” (Shank, 2002). It means that the research helps to find the meaning of ‘why’ by implying reason or factor. The qualitative research can give the interpretations of the factors as well.

According to Barker, “*It is more flexible in that it can adjust to the settings. Concepts, data collection tools, data collection methods can be adjusted as research progress. The main advantage of the qualitative method is that they allow a rich description*”. (Barker, C., Pistrang, N. and Elliott, R., 2002).

In addition to data, qualitative research gives more visible picture to the reader. “Qualitative research is a situated activity and locates the observer in the world”. It consists a set of interpretive material practices that make the world visible (Denzin & Linkoln, 2005, p. 3)

There are several approaches to conduct qualitative research, however, Creswell, W.J.(2007, p 9) divided qualitative study into 5 categories which are Narrative research, Phenomenology, grounded Theory, Ethnography and Case Study. Among these, Grounded theory seemed to best fit for the research considering the objectives of the present study.

2.1.1 Grounded Theory

Grounded theory is an inductive methodology of research; it was developed by two researchers Barney Glaser and Anselm Strauss in 1967. Many researchers found it appropriate for exploratory research when adequate data is not available in the context to go for a holistic explanation. It was better explained by Glaser in 1998 that “*Grounded theory is the systematic generation of theory from data acquired by a rigorous research method. Grounded theory is not findings, but rather is an integrated set of conceptual hypothesis. It is just probability statement about the relationship between concepts*”.

This method also gives an scope for analysis on how the factors interact..“*Grounded theory is a qualitative research design in which the inquirer*

generates a general explanation (a theory) over process, actions, or interaction shaped by the views of a large number of participants” (Strauss & Corbin, 1998).

Grounded theory is not based on a preconceived framework and thus follows theoretical sampling. The method refers to constant comparison of data until theoretical saturation happens. So, it is a complete process of construction of a theory from data by following systematic approaches.

2.1.2 Grounded Theory and present research

The objective of the present research is to explore psychological risk factors of violent offenses and to understand the process how the factors influence the behavior of the offender. In Bangladesh, no data was available about the psychological causes of violence, thus it was inevitable to follow the inductive method of grounded theory approach to achieve the objectives. As such, grounded theory is seemed an appropriate methodology for this research as it focused on finding the unknown factor and its links in a given context.

2.2 Participants

The participants for the study were the offenders who committed violent crime by their own hands. All the participants were taken from prison. To select participants for the study, inclusion and exclusion criteria were set and followed.

2.2.1 Inclusion Criteria

Inclusion criteria refer to the characteristics of the respondents which are to be considered when selecting the respondents for the study. For the study, participants were selected based on the criteria.

- I. Adult men of 19 to 60 years of age;

- II. The persons who admitted to committing violent action at least once which fall under one of the following sections and/ or had been convicted at least once by the Honorable Court under at least one of the following sections of Bangladesh penal code and other acts.
 - 302: Punishment for murder
 - 307: Punishment for attempt to murder.
 - 325: Punishment for voluntarily causing grievous hurt
 - 326: Voluntarily causing grievous hurt by dangerous weapons or means
 - 396: Dacoit with murder
 - 397: Robbery or dacoit, with attempt to cause death or grievous hurt
 - 376: Punishment for rape
 - Section 4 and 5 of Acid Oporaadh Domon Ain, 2002

- III. The people who committed the crime by their own hand and admitted it.

2.2.2 Exclusion Criteria

Exclusion criteria are those characteristics or reasons for which the sample or person can be disqualified from being a respondent. For the current study, at first potential respondents were screened through a brief questionnaire to finalize a handful of the participants for interview. Exclusion criteria's were assessed during screening interview and the list of exclusion criteria are as followed.

i. The person was in a substance induced or intoxicated state or in a psychotic state (a mental state when the person suffers from Schizophrenic Disorder) while committed the offenses.

The reason was that, if a person suffering from schizophrenia or under the situation of substance intoxicated, then the violent attempt can be influenced by the intoxicated state or psychotic state, not with full consciousness. Thus, it is not possible to understand the psychology of the violence.

ii. The person was not from any Government law enforcement or security agency (e.g. Police, Armed force, Bangladesh Border Guard etc.) which includes training and use of gun, due to the nature.

iii. The reason behind it is that the person has already been influenced to do a violent act by law or act for the sake of safety and security of public. Thus, immediate factors

can be identified, but other developmental and transformative factors would be difficult to explore.

A screening tool was used to ensure that the inclusion criteria's are fulfilled or exclusion criteria are applied accordingly.

2.3 Sampling

Purposive sampling techniques were used to select the participants in which purposive sampling refers to selecting the participants based on objective of the study and relevant characteristics. Purposive sampling is a non-probability sampling method and it occurs when *“elements selected for the sample are chosen by the judgment of the researcher. Researchers often believe that they can obtain a representative sample by using a sound judgment, which will result in saving time and money”* (Black, 2011). In order to find out the respondent quickly, snowball technique was also used. In this case, exponential discriminative snowball sampling technique was applied which means participants were asked to refer prospective participants who were convicted and admitted of committing the violent acts. Snowball technique was used only to select participants for primary screening to select the respondent.

Sampling procedure followed two steps which are primary selection of the respondents for screening interview and then screening interview to finalize the list of respondents. At the beginning, list was collected from the “koyedi” (prison) register book

which includes name, address, section under which he was convicted, punishment and some other information. In order to avoid old cases in which distant memory can be an issue to recall information, data was collected from the recent entry of the prison register. A list was prepared at the beginning as primary selection to carry out the screening interview by reviewing data from the register book.

The list was given to prison authority to bring the listed person to jail gate office for screening interview. Some of the primary selected participants were excluded from screening interview due to the high sensitivity of the cases where all of them had given capital punishment hang to death. . After screening interview of listed prisoners from first list, the interview process was started. All the selected respondents were convicted for murder, attempted to murder whereas and hurt or grievous hurt to the victim were also reported. Primary selection list was updated later on to get expected sample for screening as well as to achieve theoretical sampling.

2.3.1 Theoretical Sampling

Theoretical Sampling refers to the procedure in which sampling and data collection continue to collect available data from wide sources to construct the theory on the following topic. *“Theoretical sampling is a process of data collection for generating theory whereby the analyst jointly collects codes and analyses data and decides what data to collect next and where to find them, in order to develop a theory as it emerges”* (Glaser, 1978). This technique is imperative in grounded theory approach as it also

guides the researcher work with participants according to the demands of information. For the present study, after conducting each interview, theoretical sampling issue was considered to select and to conduct interview of the respondents.

2.3.2 Saturation

Saturation, which is also called theoretical saturation, is a stage of data collection where no new information emerges from the sources of data and researcher may stop data collection. In the current study, for the current cases, no major data were found to create new category of the theme. Thus, data collection was stopped.

2.4 Tools

Three tools were used in the present research which is demographic information sheet, screening questionnaire and topic guide.

2.4.1 Screening Questionnaire

The screening questionnaire was used to find out the participants for interview according to inclusion criteria. There were total 8 questions in screening questionnaire. (Appendix F).

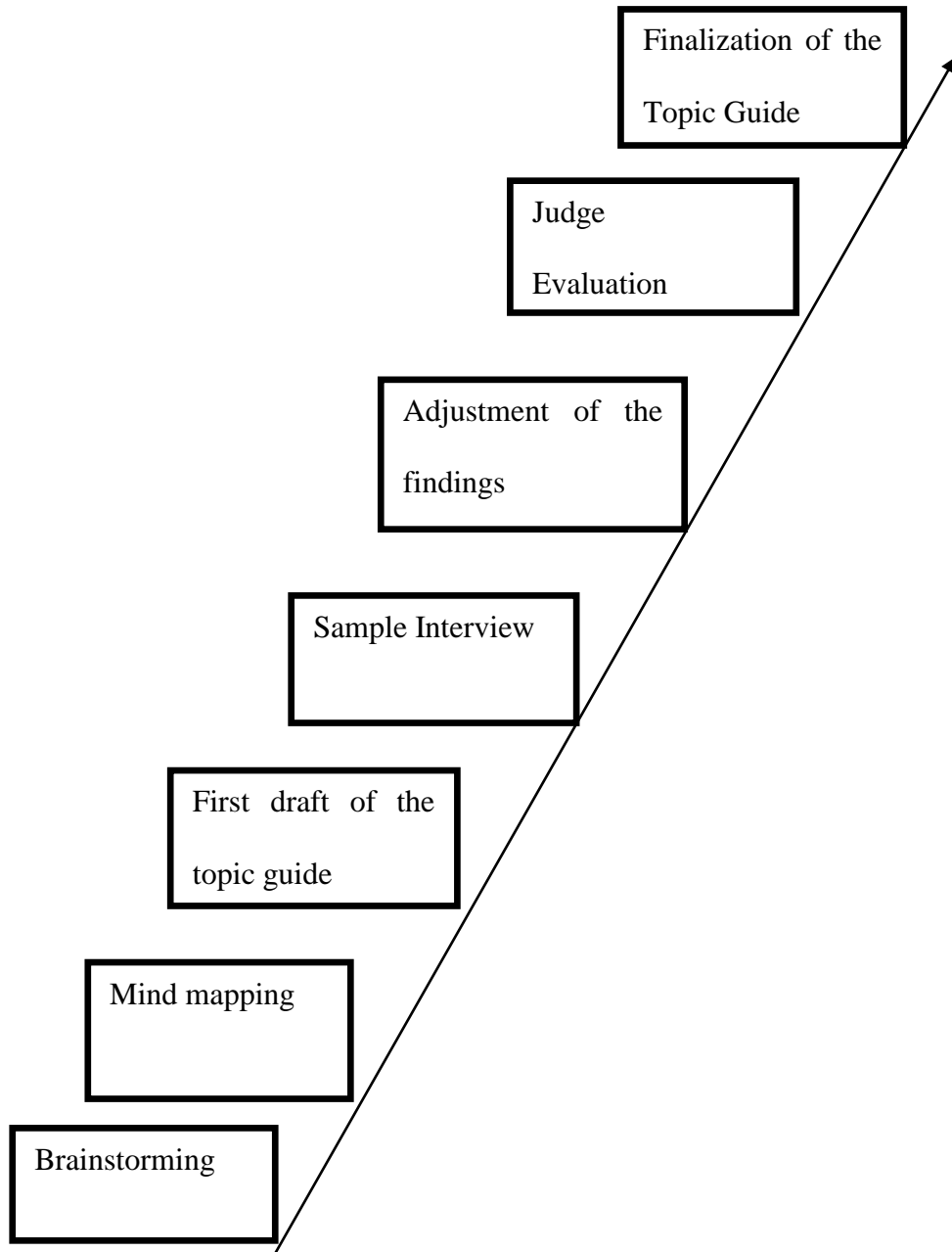
2.4.2 Demographic Questionnaire

A demographic information sheet were used to collect information about respondent's age, birth order, education, latest profession, years of stay in the prison, marital status, number of children if married, number of times in jail and type of crime. All the information was collected to understand the social context of the participants. (Appendix G).

2.4.3 Topic Guide

Certain procedures were maintained to develop the topic guide for in-depth Interview. At the beginning of the process, brainstorming was done to explore possible areas of the present study and questions, which will be helpful to get those findings. Researcher used existing research knowledge in order to find out key points which can be used for mind mapping process. Afterwards, Mind mapping was conducted as a tool for eliciting the process of data connectivity which includes problems to solution approaches. After doing the mind map, first draft of the questionnaire was developed. At the second stage, two pilot interviews were done randomly to examine whether the topic guide is helpful to get sufficient data related to the objectives. One sample was from offender, and another one was non-offender but who had committed violence. The researcher did her own evaluation to understand the utility of the topic guide, thus no transcript were done at this point. Topic guide was further revised while some gap found in the proposed key points.

Figure 2.4.3: Process of the development of Topic Guide



Judge's evaluation was done at third stage which included seven judges from different areas of expertise. Three judges were chosen from the academic background in clinical psychology and/or experienced in grounded theory research, two Psychiatrists were chosen including one forensic psychiatrist. One faculty member from the department of criminology was involved in that process. One practicing lawyer who deals with criminal cases was in the judge panel also. Judge's feedbacks were incorporated into the topic guide and data collection was started after finalizing the tool.

2.5 Approval for Data Collection

According to the purpose of the study, prison is the ideal place to find the violent offenders. Even if the perpetrator stay outside, in general, it is difficult to reach the person who committed violent crime and admit openly. However, while court identifies as convicted and the convicted person also admits, then the case is more reliable. Thus, in order to reach reliable and valid sample, researcher decided to take interview of the convicted prisoners. Therefore, permission from jail authority was an inevitable precondition to take interview of the prisoners.

After taking recommendations from department of Clinical Psychology, researcher applied to the Inspector General (IG) of Bangladesh prison who is the head of the prison authority. The IG took an interview of the researcher and then passes the application to the home ministry of the Government of Bangladesh.

An investigation was launched from the concerned ministry to understand the logic behind interviewing the convicted prisoner where the investigation is a routine procedure. The process involved interview with the researcher and checking with the authority of the department of clinical psychology also about the purpose of the research. The process took around nine months as Government conducted an exhaustive investigation to understand the real motive of interviewing the prisoners. A letter of approval was afterwards issued on 5th of September, 2016 with some specific directions.

The direction includes that interview can only be taken at Kashimpur Central Jail 2 which is situated in Gazipur district of Bangladesh. Some conditions were added which are as followed.

- The researcher would not enter into the jail with any camera, mobile phone, gun or arms, sharp knife, food or any other bag or purse.
- Security will be enforces at all cases.
- 661(3) dhara/section of the 1st part of Bangladesh Jail code should be maintained.

The explanation of the 661(3) dhara or section is as followed.

661.

Every article of whatever description shall be deemed to be a prohibited article within the meaning of section 42 and clause 12 of section 45 of the Prisons Act in the case of-

(3) A visitor- if introduced into or removed from any jail or supplied to any prisoner and such article-

(a) is not required for his personal use while within the jail and has not been declared by him before entering the jail and the introduction into or removal from the jail or possession of which while in the jail has not been permitted by proper authority;

(b) Is introduced with or without authority and is not retained in his possession until he has left the jail premises; or

(c) comes into his possession while within the jail and is subsequently removed by him from the jail;(The Bangladesh Jail Code,2006.)

The copy of the approval is attached as annex. (Appendix A).

2.6 Place of data Collection

Interview was taken in the jail gate office of kashimpur central prison, which is situated in Gazipur district of Bangladesh. As the targeted sample participants were convicted prisoner, certain steps were followed to take approval from government and specific rules were followed.

2.7 Data Collection Process

During data collection, several issues were maintained to ensure the ideal process which is as followed.

2.7.1 Consent Form and Explanatory Statement

An informed consent form was developed which included the introduction of the researcher, purpose of the research and confidentiality issues. It was also mentioned that there police, court or jail authority share no connection with this interview. And the participant has the full right to stop the interview at any point if he does not feel comfortable to carry on. At the beginning, the interviewee was asked whether they know the reason of being in the jail gate or talking with the researcher. Then discussion was started by sharing the purpose of the meeting to get consent for the interview. However, collection of signature on the consent form was not possible as none of the participants were not interested to provide any written consent on the issues they have shared. They was scared by thinking that the written consent is a proof and can be used in future against them. Therefore, only verbal consent was taken.

In addition to the aforementioned information given during the informed consent stage, an explanatory discussion was conducted with the interviewees. At this point, it was explained that researcher will not talk about the details of the cases for which he has been convicted and it is not necessary to mention different names linked to the cases. Total time can be one hour but mainly based on discussion following the questions he will be asked. The interview would not bring any benefit nor any harm following the confidentiality of the matter. Even there is no link is to be made with any paralegal procedures or human rights issue. It was also assured that the researcher would not carry

or use any recorder, so the interviewee would be comfortable while speaking. Only the information will be analyzed to produce report, no other identity will be used.

The reason of the presence of a police from detective branch of the prison was also explained as it is the protocol of the prison set by law. The person is only present for safety and security reasons; the prison police will also maintain confidentiality. In front of the interviewee, the prison police was also briefed by researcher about the confidentiality issues and the importance of it. It was also cleared that if necessary, the researcher may take another interview in coming days.

2.7.2 Researcher Safety during Data Collection

The prison authority was careful to ensure security of the researcher. Thus, after bringing in the session, the participants were oriented by the authority personnel that an interview will be taken and there is no risk involved. Thus, the prisoners who met with the researcher were asked to act sensibly during interview.

2.7.3 Conduction of Interview

While participant agreed to participate after explanatory statement, interview began. Gaining trust of the participants was crucial for the interview to make sure that they don't feel inferior and uncomfortable. In order to achieve that, participants were asked whether they have any question for the researcher, or any other concerns. Few of them asked some queries, which was answered immediately. Information about breathing

relaxation was given to reduce emotional harm as much as possible. The respondent was asked to clarify and to practice breathing relaxation if he feels any emotional discomfort like tension, sadness, shortness of breathes etc.

2.7.4 Preparation of the Transcript

Due to restriction of using any electronics during interview inside the prison, researcher collected all notes by writing on paper. After completing the interview, the researcher worked to prepare the final transcript of the interviews for analysis purpose using Microsoft word.

2.7.5 Time Frame of Data Collection

In October, 2016 data collection was started to finalize the topic guide. From January to May, 2017, all the interviews were completed.

2.8 Characteristics of the Participants

A total of forty five (45) participants were listed primarily for screening interview. Six of them had to be excluded from screening interview due to voluntary withdraw of the participants and inconveniences to bring for the screening interview. So, for the rest of 39 out of 45, two were excluded due to using substances few hours prior to the violent act. Twenty seven (27) participants denied about the violence act even after being convicted, thus they were excluded after screening interview considering exclusion

criteria. Finally 10 participants were selected and interviewed for the present research. However, later on, one of the interviewed participants shared that he was involved in the dacoit process, but did not participate in the murder. As such, researcher did not use the data though he was convicted for the act. Finally, in total, interview data of nine participants were used for the research.

2.8.1 Demographic Information

Demographic information was collected to check the diversity of the respondents and understand their background. A total of nine respondents were interviewed in which four were from 21-25 years, two were from 26-30 years and two were from 31 to 35 years and only one was more than 35 year of age. It means that most of the prisoners who attempted or committed violence and participated in the interview were young. One of the participants committed violence at adolescent age but was convicted for the punishment at adult age. This is why; he was put into the adult prison though he passed few years in correction centre for juvenile delinquents. However, he had been convicted for another murder at the end of the stay in correction centre though he denied the claim of second one.

Four of the nine participants were brought up in the city or town. Six participants confessed to committing the crime without preplan and the rest of three committed crime in a planned way. Three participants admitted to occasional substance intake. Four participants were the first child, and rest of others were second, third, fourth, fifth and

sixth child of their parents Six participants had lost of their one or both parents within 20 years of age. One of them lost both of his parents at very young age. Social support network seemed to be poor for all of the participants; as on an average, the number of close person of the respondents was found less than two people. Six participants were unmarried. Two participants were illiterate; three participants had studied up to class eight or less than that. Only one respondent passed Secondary School Certificate course, two respondents passed Higher Secondary School Certificate course and only one had completed post graduation. Two participants worked as a driver, one was van puller, one was student, three participants ran small businesses and one was completely linked with kidnapping by profession.

2.8.2 Information about violent act

Four respondents out of nine admitted to commit murder and rest of them admitted to do grievous hurt to the victims. Three participants entered into jail more than two times. Many of them had more than one charges of offenses. Four participants stayed five or more years in prison.

2.9 Data Analysis

Data was analyzed by using computer based data analysis software called Nvivo-10. The software was designed to analyze qualitative data. Data analysis was carried out steps by steps. At first, transcripts were imported into the software to start coding.

Coding is an essential part to develop a theory in grounded theory approach. It works to make data into analytical interpretation. According to Charmaz, “*Coding means we attach labels to segment of data that depicts what each segment is about. Coding distills data, sorts them and gives us a handle for making comparisons with other segments of data*” (2006, p 3). In the present study, 3 types of coding procedure were followed which are as followed.

2.9.1 Open Coding

Open coding is the first step of data analysis process which is also called initial coding. “*It involves taking data (e.g. interview transcriptions) and segmenting them into categories of information*”(Strauss & Corbin, 1998). So, researcher works to go through the text and to give them a category by segmenting phenomenon but through studying the phenomenon.

In the present study, at first two interviews were taken and coded into the software. Generally, the open coding starts after first interview, but the category of respondents was different and thus coding was started after doing two interviews. Researcher read line by line of the transcript and coded them into categories as initial coding with a meaning of smallest unit of the psychology of the participants. Third interview was guided by the finding of the coding of first two interviews. Data was compared constantly within a case and between cases as well.

2.9.2 Axial Coding

Axial coding is the second step of data analysis after completion of open coding. At this stage, researcher assembles the open coded data to get a theme. It also helps to understand casual conditions and to develop a visual model. *“Axial coding relates categories to subcategories, specifies the properties and dimensions of a category, and resembles the data you have fractured during initial coding to give coherence to the emerging analysis”*(Charmaz, 2006). This coding establishes link among newly themed categories towards a center phenomenon and describes how they are related to each other.

For the present study, analysis was done to see the possible similarities among codes derived from open coding at this stage. Then categories were sorted out to assemble them into a visual model. This coding gave an idea how the themes can be linked with the factors that influences criminal behavior. Risk and protective factors were also categorized separately under different themes developed through axial coding process.

2.9.3 Selective Coding

This is the final stage of the coding procedure. *“The researcher takes the central phenomenon and systematically relates it to other categories, validating the relationships and filling in categories that need further refinement and development”*(Strauss & Corbin, 1998). So, this is the last stage of the data analysis where the writing of the

theory happens by linking the themes found in the axial coding or the study. For this research, all the categories identified in axial coding were considered to write a concept of how they are related with each other and how the violent act happens. It was a short theory, which was developed as an outcome of the analysis of the study.

Though Coding is a part of data analysis but data collection and analysis run simultaneously to enable the process of constant comparison of the data. *Constant comparative* method refers “*researcher identifying incidents, events, and activities and constantly comparing them to an emerging category to develop and saturate the category*”(Creswell, 2007). Memo writing is another crucial process which helps to conceptualize the expected theory by analyzing the codes in early time point. According to Charmaz, “*Memos catch your thoughts, capture the comparisons and connections you make and crystallize questions and directions for you to pursue*” (2006, p 72).

In the present study, memo writing was done during data analysis while researcher thought to find a connection of ideas which is needed to be recorded to guide future connections and theory. These memos were used during theory development process. After completion of coding procedures, the theory was formed to explain what the factors are and how the factors influence the violent offenses in Bangladesh.

2.10 Ethical Consideration

Some steps were taken to follow the ethics of the research which are as followed.

2.10.1 Confidentiality and Privacy

Researcher explained the issue of confidentiality and privacy, however, the presence of a prison police was mandatory during interview. To minimize the threat to confidentiality and privacy, the necessity of privacy and confidentiality issues related to the interview information was explained to the police officers who were present during interview. During data analysis, an individual code number were assigned to the transcripts. However, the transcript will be kept for next five years to check reference if required, afterwards the documents will be destroyed.

2.10.2 Wellbeing of the Participants

The participant had to remember the event of committing the violence which sometimes brought painful memories and caused emotional distress. Thus, basic support of water and tissues were available in case respondent cry at any point of the interview session or feel the need to drink. In addition, breathing relaxation techniques were taught to the participant to reduce stress and researcher also helped to practice it during the session. Involvement in recreational activities which are available inside the prison was encouraged to reduce distress.

2.10.3 Right to withdraw

All the participants were informed by the researcher that they can withdraw anytime from the interview. They were asked to share the information of discomfort with

the researcher. It was also shared that there will be no implication on their current situation if they withdraw from the interview. Prison authority was also oriented about the right of withdrawal issue.

CHAPTER THREE: RESULTS

After analyzing nine interviewed data through NVIVO software, a list of 39 psychological risk factors were explored and grouped into 19 themes. All of the themes (19) were grouped into seven broader themes to understand different thematic areas of psychology. The main thematic areas are as followed.

- Poor sense of love and affection
- Inadequate learning and moral Judgment
- Maladaptive personality factors
- Perceived survival threat
- Ambiguous meaning of life
- Poor cognitive abilities and skills
- Influence of Emotional drives

However, it was seen that violence often resulted from the interactions among different factors. There were some factors which influenced the violent action immediately; on the other hand, some factors influenced the evolution of the psychology of offender gradually. Thus, the action of violence is explainable from two different perspectives which are as followed.

- **Immediate risk factors:** These factors played a key role in leading the person to commit violent behavior immediately or relatively recent time to respond to a stimulus. Cognitive, emotional and perceived survival threat is identified as risk factors. It may or may not have influence of developmental factors.
- **Developmental risk factors:** It refers to the risk factors which contribute to shape the psychology of violence of the offender since childhood.

In the situation of multiple occurrence of violence, some factors were found which maintained the violent behavior of the perpetrator. Some of them can be found among developmental and immediate risk factors also. These factors are called maintaining factor of violence.

- **Maintaining risk factors:** Psychological factors associated with repetition of violence are called maintain factors.

The immediate factors were found to be influenced by developmental factors in most of the cases. Two types of occurrence of the violence were seen based on the frequency, which are as followed.

- **Single occurrence:** It refers to a situation when perpetrator commits the violent crime only once. Most of the identified risk factors were associated with single or



first occurrence of the violent crime whether it can be immediate or developmental risk factors.

- **Repeated or multiple occurrences:** Perpetrator commits the violent crime twice or more. Most of the factors which influenced the single occurrence were also responsible for the repetition of the violent action. Reviving confidence, sensitization through exposure and inability to inner change were found to play a huge role for the case of repetition where poor learning process had little influence.

Social context is another consideration which acts as stimuli and often interacts with human being to influence their psychology and behavior. In the present study, social context are considered as stimuli and a number of factors are identified; which are availability of arms and substances, presence of gangs, deviant peer group, distrust upon judicial procedure, social stigma about perpetrators, lack of parental presence at home due to work, poverty, social tolerance of violence among groups, political events, corruption, culture of punishment, masculinity and so on.

However, all the identified risk factors are closely interlinked and influenced the violent behavior at different points. The summary of the psychological factors found as result is as followed.

Table 3: Results of broader themes, themes and categories

Broader theme	Theme 	Category 
1. Poor sense of love and affection	1. Poor attachment within family	1. Parental maltreatment 2. Lack of empathetic interaction 3. Absence of emotional reciprocity
	2. Poor attachment outside of family	4. Poor interaction 5. Abuse by people outside of family
2. Inadequate learning and moral judgment	3. Poor parental discipline	6. Inconsistent discipline 7. Overindulgence 8. Manipulative communication style
	4. Maladaptive self-learning	9. Observational learning 10. Intentional learning 11. Convenient learning
	5. Poor learning process	12. Limited exposure to learning 13. Lack of explanation of information
	6. Reviving Confidence	14. Self-reward after successful action 15. Perceived support from others

		16. Perceived of ability to deceive others
	7. Sensitization through experience	
3. Maladaptive personality factors	8. Personality pattern	17. Antisocial behavioral tendency 18. Impulsiveness
	9. Unhelpful Personal characteristics	19. Power hungriness 20. Attention seeker 21. Poor empathy 22. Prone to obsession 23. Revengefulness 24. Greediness 25. Lack of pro-activity 26. Excessive angriness 27. Disobedience
4. Perceived survival threat	10. Threat to safety and security	28. Threat to own life 29. Threat to close person's life
	11. Threat to prestige and values	30. Threat to dignity 31. Threat to religion and values

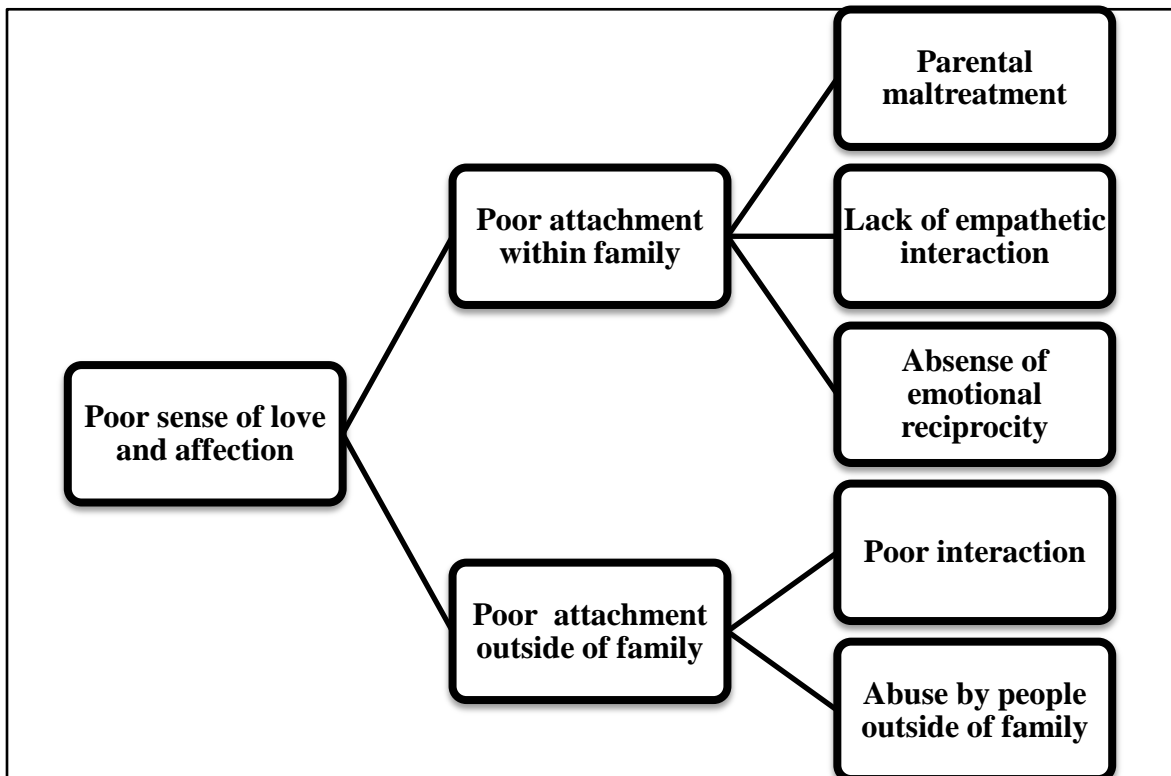
5. Ambiguous meaning of life	12. Poor understanding about self	32. Short term goal setting 33. External locus of control 34. Susceptibility to conformity 35. Lack of strong determination
	13. Loose spiritual attachment	
6. Poor cognitive abilities and skills	14. Poor problem focused coping skill	36. Inability to cogitation 37. Irrational thought pattern 38. Poor cost benefit analysis
	15. Poor interpersonal skill	39. Poor assertiveness skills 40. Poor acceptance
	16. Limited intervention for inner change	
7. Influence of Emotional drives	17. Poor emotional regulation skills	41. Poor coping strategy 42. Effect of personality pattern
	18. Desire to fulfill interest	
	19. Limited emotion focused intervention	43. Perceived helplessness to break the cycle of violence 44. Perceive stigma

Broader themes were developed considering the prime psychological factors but each of them is closely connected through mental process of a human being. Details of the findings including verbatim of the participants are as following as.

3.1 Poor Sense of Love and Affection

The first broader theme ‘Poor Sense of affection’ is linked with the feeling of attachment.

Figure 3.1: Themes and categories of poor sense of affection



This feeling of attachment increases emotional connection among human beings. This broader theme consists of two themes which is poor attachment within family and poor attachment with others outside of family.

3.1.1 Poor attachment within family

The theme poor attachment within family stressed on the emotional belongingness within the family. This theme was derived from 4 different categories which include parental maltreatment, lack of empathetic interaction within family and emotional detachment from loved ones which includes absence of emotional reciprocity.

3.1.1.1 Parental maltreatment

Parental maltreatment was found in two major forms which are parental negligence and abuse. Few of the participants (3/9) shared that they were neglected by parents in their childhood. They did not care much about their presence at home and the emotional needs. One of the participants shared that he used to play outside from morning to evening, and sometimes stayed outside but nobody from his family looked for him or showed concern. One of the complaints was found that parents did not listen and they have many untold story they could not share; which created a feeling of rejection. Lack of trust was also seen from parental side

“During my childhood they always told me I was found on the street. I knew it was not true but I felt very bad. Many times I left home to stay with street children. They did

not care where I went. Even, I was afraid to return as father used to beat me more. But he was the one who told me to go away from home. They were ashamed of me”.

Parental abuse was very common among many of the participants (7/9) which included physical and verbal abuse. One of the participants’ shared that he wanted to play outside in childhood for which he was beaten by his parents who wanted him to work. Some other participants reported that they were beaten brutally whenever their parents thought they misbehaved. The form of abuse was both mental and physical and participants counted more the physical one.

*“I have become almost immune to pain because I used to be beaten by my father since childhood. I feel less painHe (father) used to reprimand and threaten me which made me escape from home several times. If he heard any complaint against me, he tried to catch and beat me. I was one kind of **Bhaboghure(vagrant)**”.*

3.1.1.2 Lack of empathetic interaction

Few (3/9) of the participants reported that sometimes interaction within family was very minimal and they felt the constant yearning for love and care. They used to feel detached because of this and this feeling of detachment persisted later in childhood.

“Situation at home was cold. My parents never encouraged to gossip at home with siblings. We did not even watch television together”.

One of the respondents emphasized on the good interaction within family to develop lovely relationship, in addition to disciplinary actions.

“It is necessary to make child understand with love and care, brutal punishments and discipline does not always leave a positive impact.”

3.1.1.3 Absence of emotional reciprocity

Few of the participants stressed on the importance of having family or loved one and expressed the need for having somebody who cared for them. They have shared that, after losing loved one people may feel less emotional connection in life. Therefore, absence of emotional reciprocity has clear link with developing poor sense of affection.

I used to earn money by abducting people. My wife, was my dream girl and love of my life. I rented a flat in Dhaka to stay with her. Suddenly she died in an accident. After that event, I started attacking to abducted person when they urged for anything.

I had a close friend in childhood who died suddenly. After that event, I nearly lost the ability to be empathetic (maya momota) to others. He was very good friend of mine and used to keep me happy. I used to share lots of things with him. After his death, I did not feel good attachment with any other friends like that.

3.1.2 Poor attachment outside of family

The issue of poor attachment outside of family resulted from two different categories which are poor interaction and pain of punishment. Both of the factors are associated with social context.

3.1.2.1 Poor interaction

Few (2/9) of the participants reported that they had limited interaction with the people outside of family which refers to friends, neighbors and relatives. This lack of interaction was reflected in their socio-emotional development and sense of relationship in their life. Limited emotional network contributed to high emotional insecurity among one of the clients.

Aunt (Khala) used to tell me to avoid friends. This is why I was always with my aunt. I had nearly no friends as I never approached anyone.... I was always worried if something happened to my aunt, then what will happen to me.

3.1.2.2 Abuse by people outside of family

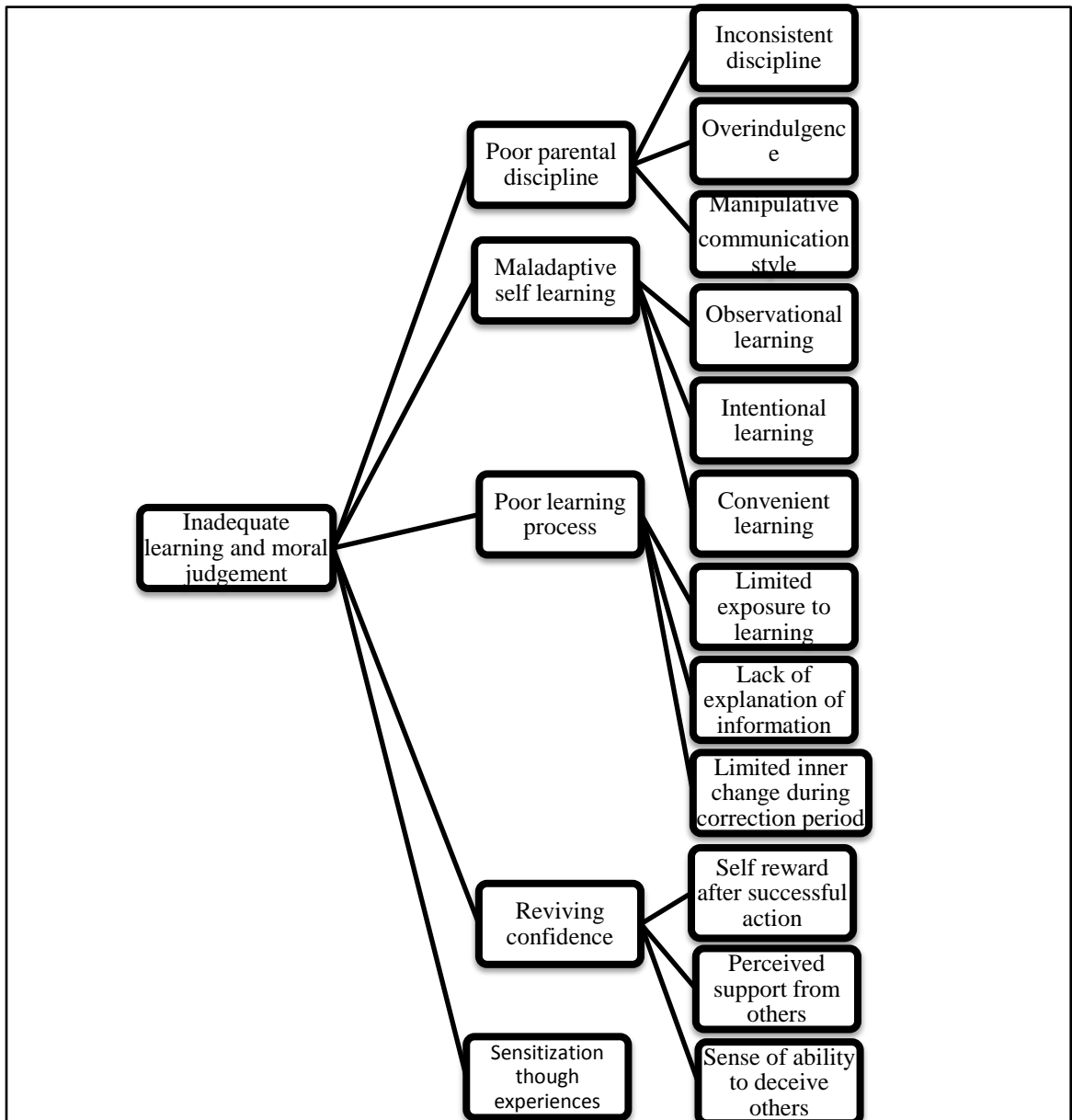
Sources of pain were found from two different social contexts which are punishment at school and police custody. The negative experience of punishment had changed the perception towards others and caused poor emotional attachment with outside networks. Experience of pain of the punishment gave them a feeling of less affectionate world.

“I did not enjoy studying. When I failed to deliver homework, teachers beat me a lot. They hit me with a stick on the palm of my hand. I did not feel like to going to school....I was beaten by police mercilessly (amare chharabara kore dise). Without any talk, they started to beat me mercilessly in the custody; they do not have any feeling of affection towards others”.

3.2 Inadequate learning and moral judgment

Moral development is one of the important areas of life which is often considered as a psychological developmental issue and it grows through learning and experience. In the present study, inadequate moral sense includes poor parental discipline, poor learning process, maladaptive self learning, reviving confidence and normalization through exposure.

Figure 3.2: Themes and categories of inadequate moral development



3.2.1 Poor learning process

Poor learning process theme consists of three categories which are limited exposure to learning, lack of explanation about learned information and limited opportunity during correction period

3.2.1.1 Limited exposure to learning

Awareness is critical to be careful about any issue or act. Most of the participants in the present study shared that they were not aware about information about crime and punishment. Information about learning good and bad conduct was also limited.

During my childhood, I had limited numbers of friends, thus could not learn much (from outside) about right and wrong. Family was the only mentor and guide....a greater understanding about crime developed after taking admission in university.

3.2.1.2 Lack of explanation of information

During interview, few of the participants (3/9) also revealed that they knew about good and bad things from their parents, but often failed to understand the reasoning or rationale behind a moral sense of right and wrong. They realized that logic is an important issue when it comes to learning.

Family members used to beat me a lot without any reason....My father was used to beat me a lot without telling me why.

They tell (us) not to go outside to meet with an outsider friend as they can be dangerous. They should have explained to me why I was wrong when I did something I should not have

3.2.2 Poor parental discipline

Poor parental discipline theme is consisted of three major actions of parenting which are inappropriate reinforcement, overindulgence and manipulative communication style.

3.2.2.1 Inconsistent discipline

Few participants (3/9) reported about inconsistent pattern of instruction and action in regards to their behavior from their parents. For example, sometimes parents asked them to leave the violent behavior and also tried to help them out from this situation; on the other hand they also asked to be involved in violence wherever necessary. According to one respondent, he was treated unfairly compare to other siblings.

“Once my father filed a case against me to prevent me from doing crime and put me in jail. Again he wanted to withdraw the case when I was tortured in police custody....My parents never pulled me away from any dangerous group or gangs though they knew that I have friendship with that groups. But whenever my father found any complain against me, he tried to catch and beat me. Sometimes they overlooked some issues(complains or concerns) ”.

3.2.2.2 Overindulgence

Overindulgence is one of the behaviors of parents which can affect the enforcement of discipline on the child, expressed by few (3/9) participants. The common example of overindulgence was mainly giving money to the child without guiding them how to use it.

One of the reasons of my current situation (bigrai jaoa) is that I used to get whatever I wanted. I had access to a free shop, from where I used to buy anything I needed..

One son asked 5 taka (currency) from their parents but received 20 taka. By the course of time, son grew up but parents become older. At older age, parents' income diminishes but son's demand continues to increases. Parents can no longer provide for their son; even siblings do not fulfill the need. Opportunistic people from that area try to use the son for illegal work by giving money.

3.2.2.3 Manipulative communication style

Few (2/9) participants reported that sometimes due to the words of their parents, they were compelled to commit or to continue crime to prove themselves. Parents criticized while their son had reported about any injustice happened to them, as their son could not give a right reply to the attacker.

“People will hit me if I act like a coward. Parents will say that if you get hit, why cannot you hit them back? Should I cry at home like a coward?”

“My parents once said you tried to rectify yourself but police tortured you. Now you will show to police what crime is”.

3.2.3 Maladaptive self-learning

Maladaptive self-learning is a theme under broad theme of inadequate learning and moral Judgment. The theme consists of three categories which are observational learning, intentional learning and convenient learning.

3.2.3.1 Observational learning

Some of the participants (4/9) reported that they learned violence by observing it. Sources of observation were family, society, school, different forms of entertainment (electric media etc.) and so on. They also learned by observing the way the violence was committed.

I have seen my elder brothers being violent....Family plays an important role. Actually I saw my father being tortured and that's why I chose this path.

My father used to beat me...he never trusted or sympathized with me which spurred anger and disgust within me. I tried to release the resentment by torturing somebody, just the way my father tortured me

I was taking bath in a pond with some neighbors. We had a debate. When I had asked to stop (debate), some of them did not follow. If they do not listen then it is necessary to beat. Otherwise, they will be more desperate.

3.2.3.2 Intentional learning

Few (3/9) of the participants intentionally visited places or even participated in activities or training to learn how to do violence and how to do it efficiently. Watching drama series or movie based on criminal event was one of the approaches of learning.

Once I went to see martial arts and to learn where to hurt or attack to weaken people. I discovered the need of energy and strength so that I can prevent myself from falling down to shoot someone. I have done practical demonstration as well.

I used to watch drama serieses and movies based on kidnapping to see their strategy.

3.2.3.3 Convenient learning

It was found during interview that participants (3/9) modified their learning in a way that they were freed from their conscience to make the actions in their favor.. Though they did not like violence, they rationalized it to justify the violence.

I have seen in movies that if anybody goes down the wrong path, they cannot return. Because after returning, you cannot live a normal life like before..... I have done many wrong things to others, it cannot be erased, so I have to live like that or I have to die or to be punished or humiliated. And it is difficult to return to a normal life after doing committing wrongdoings.

I also realized that bad people can be perceived badly but there are benefits also for bring bad. “kharaperjemonvortiasse, temonkharaper dike hisab o ase”.

I was afraid of criminals and was repelled by them in my childhood. But when I started to do crimes, I tried to rationalize it by thinking that I do not kill people.

I was afraid of criminals and felt heatedness towards them in my childhood. But when I started to do crime; I tried to rationalize it by thinking that I do not kill people.

3.2.4 Reviving confidence

Some participants (4/9) strongly emphasized on the idea that by doing criminal acts, perpetrator gains confidence. In addition, when a person observes that people can live without punishment after doing crime, it also gives them confidence though self experience gives stronger believes. It is one of the major reasons behind repetition of violent acts. Having financial ability to pay bribes, powerful family, corruption, informal negotiation etc. contributed to revive perpetrators confidence. It was self-rewarding since law enforcement authority or the victim could not do anything. The theme is comprised with three categories which are Self-reward after successful action, perceived support from others and sense of ability to deceive others.

3.2.4.1 Self reward after successful action

It is a common form of reinforce to increase the possibility of any behavior. The process refers to the ability of doing a crime successfully and sometimes it gave the perpetrator a feeling of immense power. One of the participants shared that *'the person who commits murder, gains experience to do so the next time'*.

"He gets emotional release by accomplishing his/her target. He becomes superior in his community".

3.2.4.2 Perceived support from others

Few participants shared that those who have more support from family, political liaisons and so on; they are less afraid to commit any crime. Often they perceive

themselves in a better position knowing they will be able to escape the punishment by manipulating systems.

“After entering the crime world, I started to feel that committing murder is not a matter of concern if the person has money. An innocent boy was murdered by a criminal but the criminal gained experienced by the act”.

He started to feel the power of having money and an influential family, and may commit another murder.

3.2.4.3 Sense of ability to deceive others

It was shared by the few of the participants that if the perpetrator does not get punishment after doing murder, his/her self-confidence increases. It is not only linked with manipulation of the systems, but also about the ability to erase evidences.

Even police cannot keep him in the lock up, is it not a matter of pride?

3.2.5 Sensitization through experiences

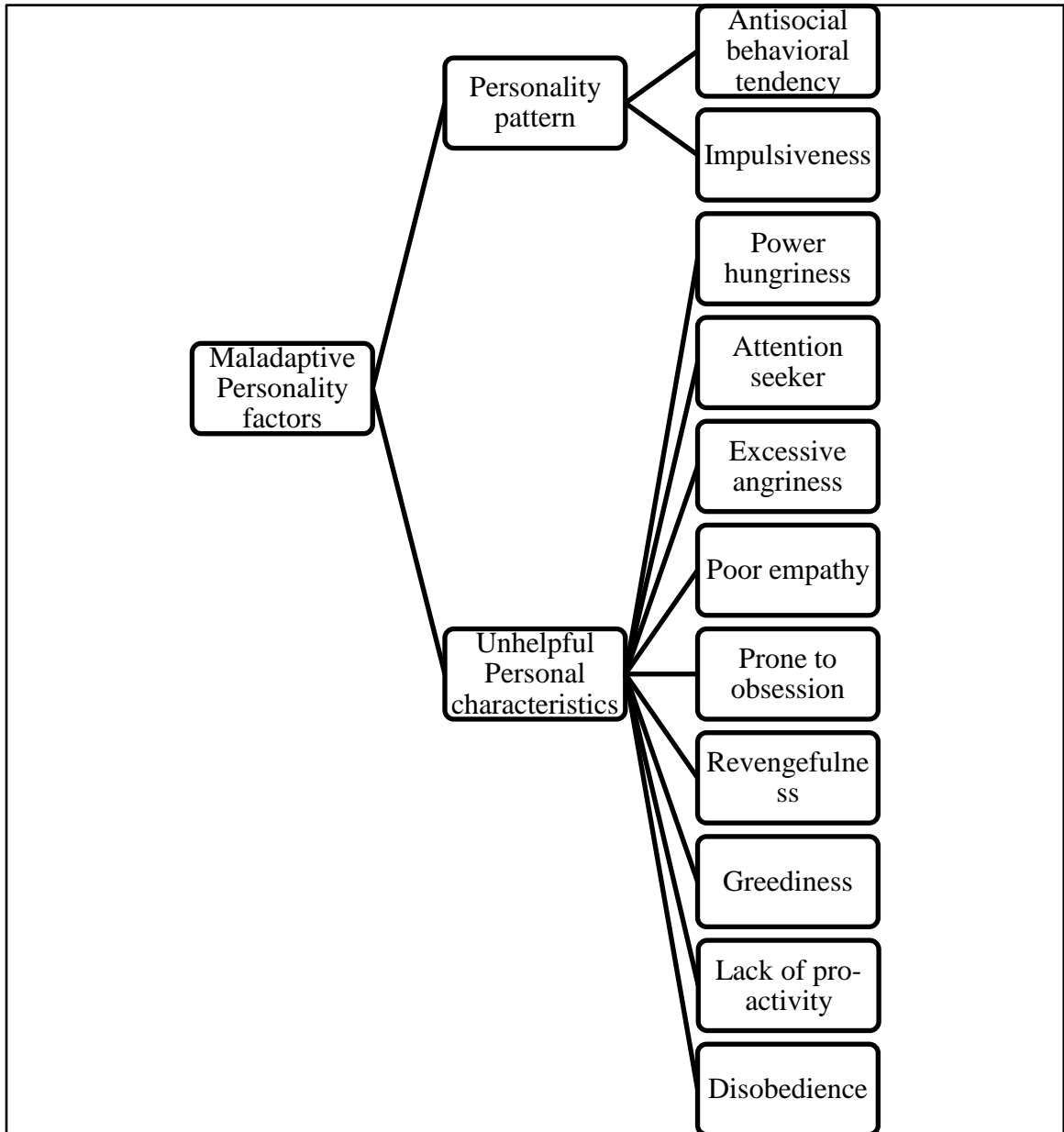
Some of the participants shared that they started to perceive the violence normally as they have observed and experienced it many times in their life. Though they were well aware about the harm and impact of the violence, but did not consider the severity since it was a part of their everyday lives.

We had land dispute issues and the opponent parties always used to seek opportunity to file case against us. Therefore, I started to go to court since I was 14. While I slept, my mother called me in the early morning many times and asked to go court as the opponent party filed case against me. So, I became familiar with and developed a fearless about police and court proceedings.

3.3 Maladaptive personality factors

Personality factor is the third broader themes identified in the present study which consists of personal patterns and unhelpful personal characteristics. These factors take time to shape personality of the people but greatly influence the behavior of the offender.

Figure 3.3: Themes and categories of personal characteristics



3. 3.1 Personality pattern

Personality pattern is a more dominant state of personal characteristics or ways of doing things which becomes a pattern of behavior. Two types of characteristics were found which had big influence on offenders' violent behavior; these are anti-social behavioral tendency and impulsiveness.

3.3.1.1 Antisocial behavioral tendency

Antisocial behavioral tendency were found among few participants (3/9) who admitted to be committed in several fights, stealing and some other socially unacceptable behavior; generally causes distress on others. The behavior was observed since childhood.

“When I was 12, I stole some mangos from others' house and the son of the tree owner saw me. I was escaping and he suddenly started to shout. I wanted to stop him so that I do not get caught. I explained but the boy did not listen. At that time, I attacked him with a brick and he was seriously injured”.

When any complaints against me came to my parents, they beat me by hanging (jhulaye pitato.....but after that, I again started fighting with boys of the same age. I behaved with elders.

3.3.1.2 Impulsiveness

Impulsiveness was one of the major developmental risk factors of violence reported by few participants (3/9). Despite being willing to exercise self control, they could not resist themselves from committing violence. For few of them, it has been a problem since childhood. Some of them recognized that the tendency to act without forethought resulted many fights. It was a complaint of their family members too.

My brother told me that I am short tempered, and would not be able to handle (microbus)in case an accident happens (if I drive car)

Since my childhood I had very less control over my temper. I fractured my own head twice and my brother's thrice.

3.3.2 Unhelpful Personal characteristics

Some personal characteristics were found which affected people's mental process or stability and led to crime. Logically these characteristics were unhelpful to maintain nonviolent behavior. Identified characteristics are power hungriness, attention seeking, poor empathy, obsessive, excessive angriness, revengefulness, greediness, disobedience and lack of pro-activity.

3.3.2.1 Power hungriness

The greed to possess power to live a meaningful life is one of the major risk factor which contributes to commit and maintain violent behavior.

I started to dream that I will have a big and powerful group like them. It was the source of intention that I want to be 'Rangbaaz' and to be like the attackers.

Ambition to be powerful or power may bring respect along with fear were reported by few (3/9) of the participants. They perceived power as a mean of manly life.

If I cannot show the power, it means that I am wearing 'bangles' which refers weak or coward (Kapurus)....Environment is one of the reasons where I cannot live with honour/proudly if I do not have any power.

Money was one of the sources of power which led the perpetrator to earn through violence or to cover the violent act by taking means of corruption. Power was also a source of satisfactions opined by two participants.

I know that I am bad and that's why I can take money from others, they do not protest.....rich people can escape after committing crimes....those who have money, can negotiate with the victim and avoid legal punishment.

*I feel firearm means power. I feel connected with gun. I feel myself superior (“**humse bara kon hai**”, a hindi movie dialogue which means there is nobody powerful than me).*

It was reported by one participant that “*people want to extend their area of dominance and powerful image and this is why they commit crime*”.

3.3.2.2 Attention seeker

Attention seeking tendency were found among few participants (3/9) as a strong characteristic. All of them had comparatively longer history of crime. They explained that attention is necessary to feel good and to be famous as a leader in their respective areas.

*From my childhood I wanted to be “**Rangbaaz**”. It means something that people will know me easily. They will be afraid of me and will count on me. I will be like hero in our locality...people in my area would revere me. If there was a murder or something, they used to discuss that my group did it by mentioning my name. I wanted to be the leader of my area.*

3.3.2.3 Poor empathy

Some of the participants (4/9) stressed importance on poor empathetic personality traits to explain the cause of violent behavior. One of the participants shared that when he felt guilty about torturing people, he started to think about how harmful his act is. One of the participants emphasized the need of love to grow empathy.

“If the person has empathy (mayamomota) about other, he will not kill anybody”I was groaning with pain and started to feel, how painful it can be when I kill people.

3.3.2.4 Prone to obsession

Some of the participants mentioned that if obsessive thoughts occupy their mind, it is difficult for them to control it. Due to obsessions, they could not refrain from violent behavior. However, it was not explored whether they have obsessive compulsive disorder (one kind of psychiatric disorder).

Sometimes I take shower to reduce my anger but most of the times I do not get peace in my mind and I keep deliberating on it. .

I could not think anything except hurting the person and at that time I forgot all codes of conduct I could not control myself and thus went to hit the person.

I started to walk outside. Then I sat in a shop in the market (bazar). I was not able to focus on anything. That disturbing thought (incest act of my father) was coming continuously into my mind....then I went to a nearby culvert; still I could not control my disturbing thoughts.

3.3.2.5 Revengefulness

This attitude was found among a significant number (5/9) of the participants. It was one of the reasons for which offender cannot correct him even after punishment. He often failed to change his mindset and started violence to take revenge.

Who has less courage, they can be frightened after being beaten. But people like me, will be more vengeful.

I did not like him from the beginning. He was arrogant and rude . So, I felt the need to pay him back.. I believe in give and take, if somebody wants to sprinkle water on me, I will push him into water.

After seeing my aunt, I said “he had hurt you, I will hurt him too. I will spill his blood”

3.3.2.6 Greediness

Greediness which referred to mainly an ambition to earn wealth was mentioned as a cause of crime. It was more than fulfilling the need. Two of the participants mentioned, crime was carried out as a way of earning money within short time. The characteristics were found to develop from childhood and extended up to adulthood.

I often used to think, I need money to impress the girl. Thus, how can I earn money quickly?

The situation was that, his father is a rickshaw puller. The amount of money he earned was not perceived as adequate by the son. The boy wants more money.....sometimes people want to be rich in a short time.

3.3.2.7 Lack of pro-activity

Lack of pro-activity of human being creates obstacle to find out different opportunities of livelihood or alternative solutions rather than committing crime. Some of the participants shared the importance of being busy in work to avoid crime. It can be linked with the term “employment opportunity” and willingness to do hard work, as it was found that some people had the tendency to earn huge money within short time.

I do not see any prospects in Bangladesh. I may go abroad. Free time may lead to bad action.

3.3.2.8 Excessive angriness

Anger is a basic emotion but having excessive anger leads people to commit violence. Participants (4/9) shared that when they feel strong anger, they often commit more violent offense as they lose control over them. They lose their ability to think further. In most of the time, they cannot control their anger by themselves even after knowing it is excess.

I also want to stop my anger, because angry feelings make me more violent. Sometimes I try to control but it does not work much....when I became angry because of somebody (outsider), I do not spare the person.

Human beings will continue to commit crime. Devil will remain as anger is the devil.

People lose patience and tolerance

3.3.2.9 Disobedient

Some of the participants (5/9) reported about being disobedient as a characteristic which started in childhood. Few of them also repented for their current condition (being in jail) and mentioned as a cause of not being obedient. Disobedience increased their possibility of doing bad things.

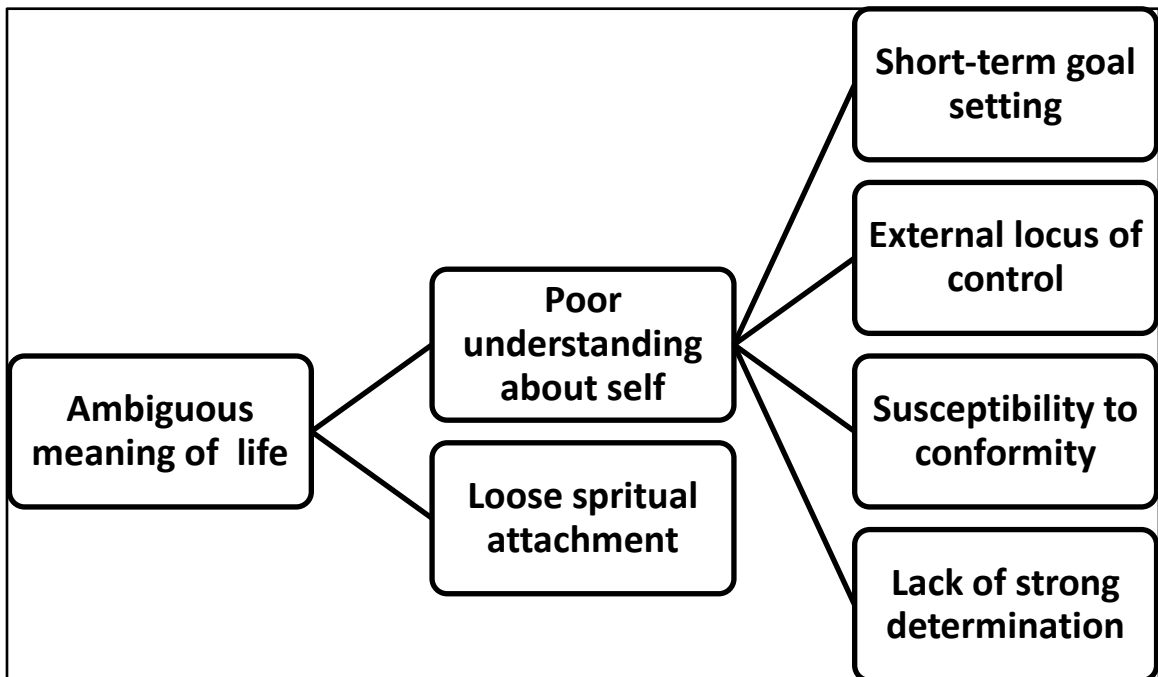
I was young with full force of energy (roster groom), thus did not respect elder or younger. What I did the thing what I have felt right. I did not listened to my parents....If I would have listened; maybe I would not have been in jail today.

I did not obey my parents in my childhood. My parents also asked me to avoid the friends who compelled me to participate in the killing action.

3.4 Ambiguous meaning of life

Ambiguous meaning of life is derived from poor understanding about self or unclear understanding about life and its interactions with other elements in the society. Spiritual belief is one of the issues influences on the meaning of life. This broader theme is consisted of poor understanding about self and loose spiritual attachment.

Figure 3.4: Themes and categories of ambiguous meaning of life



3.4.1 Poor understanding of self

The term poor understanding of self is a theme which consists of 4 different categories; short term thinking pattern, external locus of control, susceptible to conformity and lack of strong determination.

3.4.1.1 Short-term goal setting

Shorter goal setting tendency were found among some (3/9) of the participants. Couple of them also shared about the importance of installing hope and thinking about future, which may help refrain him from doing offenses.

At that time, I did not spend money by counting it. I never gave less than 100 taka (Bangladeshi currency) to the beggars. I wanted to pass my whole life like thisI used to think, money will come like thisWhen I was detained in a place for four months after getting caught by a law reinforcing agency, I understood the meaning of life. Man is mortalpeople should have a family, children and so on.

They (parents) can talk about future, hope and consequence of bad things in early life.

3.4.1.2 External locus of control

Many participants blamed social contexts and some other things as a causal factor behind becoming a perpetrator, rather than taking his responsibility for doing the crime. The external factors were unreciprocated love, corruption, injustice, poverty etc.

I was involved in crime to earn more money so that I could marry the girl who I loved. Therefore, to impress her, I was involved in the crime.... my wife understood that what I did back then, it was only for her.

I think, incidents involving rejection is one of the reasons boys turn good to bad.

3.4.1.3 Susceptibility to conformity

Few of the participants (3/9) reported that they committed crime after joining certain groups/gangs. They had to stay in the group to maintain social life and it was important to listen to the group is saying them rather than having own opinion. It is linked with relationship with peers and conformity issues which can happen both in childhood or adulthood.

Parents enforce discipline on the child by beating them. Children get hurt when they are beaten. From that point, a child can go to two directions. She or he can turn obedient or vengeful. He can take actions to cause harm to the person who complained against him to the parent. When he is in a group, friends support him or her. Sometimes, for the sake of friendship, a person can support a friend by being blind about other aspects (chokh buje support dei).

3.4.1.4 Lack of strong determination

Two participants, who committed violent crime more than once, shared that they wanted to leave this kind of work, but could not exercise self-restraint. One of them

shared, that he procrastinated and always consoled his mind by promising 'a next time'. Another participant reported, he wanted to leave crime because of emotional stress which resulted from the violent event, but when he took drugs, he forgot all the pain. He could not hold his determination.

I realized that what I am doing is unlawful and wanted to leave it. I wanted to return to normal life. But each e time, I used to think about next time. I will earn some more money and then I will leave it. But the day never came.

3.4.2 Loose spiritual attachment

Importance of spiritual or religious ritual was reported by many participants (6/9) while they talked about prevention of crime. Especially the role of regular prayer was reported as the most important way to divert the criminal mind. One of the participants linked the meaning of life with spirituality. Few of the participants also shared about the absence of the fear about God and belief in afterlife.

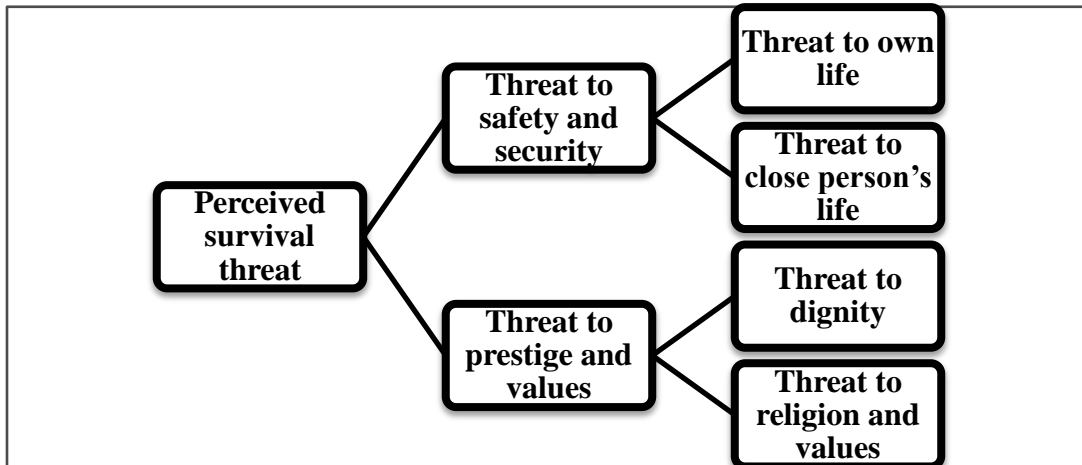
People are more likely to commit crime if they religion has little influenced, and when they don't understand the meaning of life.

3.5 Perceived survival threat

Survival threat mainly refers to the existence of life. However, social life also faces threat when its components or other relevant elements are at risk. Thus, perceived

survival threat is consisted of two issues which are threat to safety and security, and threat to prestige and values.

Figure 3.5: Themes and categories of perceived survival threat



3.5.1 Threat to safety and security

Threat to safety and security is linked with human lives which are divided into two categories; threat to own life and threat to close one's life.

3.5.1.1 Threat to own life

Threat to life was shared as risk factor which contribute to commit the violence as well as to maintain it. One of the participants' defined violence is a common defensive behavior when there is any threat.

Many a times I tried to leave this type of activity (crime) but I feel threatened as my enemies can try to kill me. They can hurt my families by thinking that I am weak....there is a fear that if I rectify myself, the people who had been tortured by me will seek vengeance.

People may be forced to commit murder when they are helpless and left with no other options to protect him or herself.

3.5.1.2 Threat to close person's life

Some participants (4/9) shared that threat to the life of a close person made them violent. One participant felt weak and helpless while he saw his father and brother being beaten in front of him. Another two participants reported that once they saw their family members bleeding, they decided to kill/hurt the attacker. They perceived it as a threat of losing their loved one. It was found both as a learning factor or immediate factor to commit violence.

Once there was a fight in our home when I was child. My father was outside the gate and fought with many people who came to attack him. He was beaten by some of the attackers but could not do much to protect himself. He was beaten by bamboo and my elder brother was also hurt while trying to defend him. I felt weak and threatened. I watched the situation and felt that the attackers are powerful and if we were as powerful as the situation would have been different. I would have not seen my father being beaten in such a way.

Since childhood I used to live with my maternal aunt after death of both my parents. My aunt meant everything to me. After watching my aunt's blood which was coming out as somebody hurt her, I felt like crying. I have never seen my aunt in that situation and had feared that something terrible would happen to her. I felt helpless and decided to hit the people who hurt my aunt.

3.5.2 Threat to Prestige and Values

This theme is consisted of two categories which are threat to dignity and threat to prestige and values.

3.5.2.1 Threat to dignity

Living with dignity is an issue for societal survival. Few of the participants (4/9) had shared the strong urge to hurt people when somebody maligned their families' dignity in the society. Few of them even committed murder for humiliation of the parents. This threat included shouting and badmouthing their parents

One day, the broker shouted to my mother and me for money. I raised my voice and told him not to do shout). He continued and I could not tolerate the humiliation of my mother. Thus I decided to kill the person.

I dislike if somebody speaks ill of my mother. I beat a a person inside jail who used vulgar language (Gali Deoa) by mentioning my mother. I knew that I may need to pay the

price (strong specific punishment) for this act as any kind of violence in the prison strictly prohibited.

3.5.2.2 Threat to religion and values

Two of the participants reported that people can be violent in order to respond to the threat to religion or any other beliefs. One of the participants perceived an event more seriously and led to committing violence whilst a thought came into his mind that religion can be challenged because of that incest event (act).

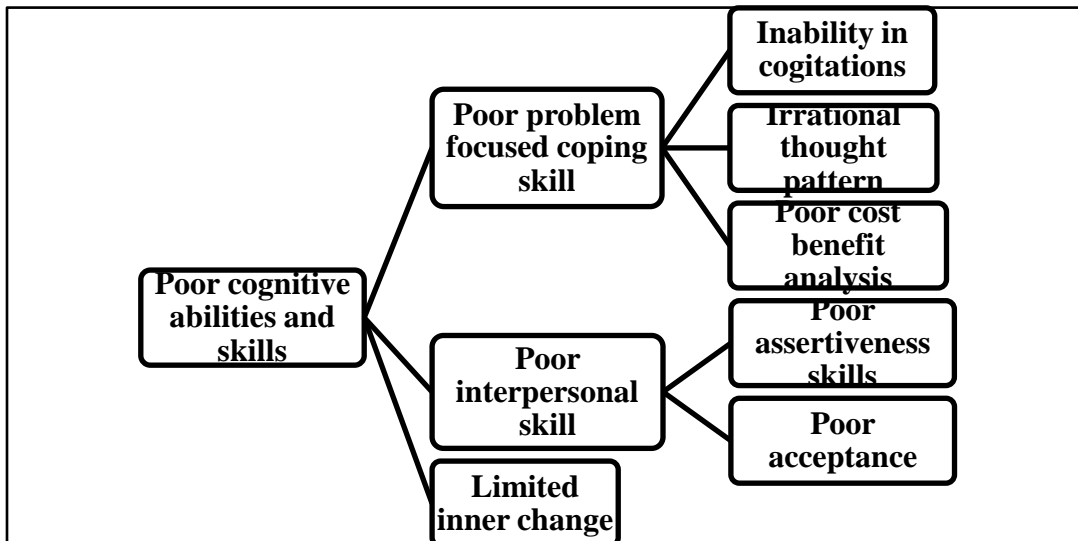
I have to kill him. I do not have any options other than this. Because of What he did, people will point a finger at my religion.

I was quarrelling with him over the issue (a task). He threw the fat of beef towards me and I threw the fat of pork. We continued...At first he attacked me physically, as I did so afterwards. It is normal tendency to be violent as a mean of defense of any threat.

3.6 Poor cognitive abilities and skills

The broader term 'poor cognition abilities and skills' is consisted with two themes which are poor problem focused coping skill and poor interpersonal skill.

Figure 3.6: Themes and categories of poor cognitive abilities and skills



3.6.1 Poor problem focused coping skills

Poor problem focused coping skills refers to limited ability as well as skills to find out solution of different problems. This theme comprised of three categories: inability in cogitations, irrational thought pattern and poor cost benefit analysis.

3.6.1.1 Inability in cogitations

Three of the participants shared that, they could not think deeply about the situation, thus became confused many times about possible actions. They could not find alternative options and before committing the violent act, their mind went to a state of ‘emptiness’. These issues caused problems in their decision making whether to do the act

or not. One participant expressed, his mind went blank due to extreme fear created by his peer group while he assisted to kill someone.

Sometimes I feel, I would have gone somewhere else to get rid of the pain rather than doing the murder. But my brain stopped working and went blank (mathai kisu silona).....I could not think in-depth (chintasokti lope peyesilo). I could not handle myself.

3.6.1.2 Irrational thought pattern

Some irrational thoughts were found among respondents which played important role to construct hostile personality characteristics or to commit crime. Some of the respondent used to think that killing the targeted person is necessary to get peace in his mind. Some of them though that money is power, power is inevitable to live a glorious life and so on.

I would not get mental peace if I do not punish the attacker.

I would not rest until I seek my vengeance by killing him (jotokhon na maarte parbo tatokhon shorirer rokto thanda hobe na).

I tried to impress my girlfriend with money as I think; all girls are always like that (girls are impressed by money).

3.6.1.3 Poor cost benefit analysis

A significant number of participants (7/9) reported that poor cost benefit analysis of the perpetrator is one of the major causes of crime especially for the first episode. After doing the crime, they became worried and repented for the act considering the legal consequences of the crime. In addition, those who were concerned about spiritual implications also shared about their fear of punishment in the afterlife,

I never thought what is good or bad; I have done whatever I wanted to. Rather when parents asked not to do something, I felt offended.

Before doing the crime, people do not think whether the action is legal or illegal, what can be the consequences or they may be caught. .

I could not think before what will be the consequences if the fingers get separated from hand.

3.6.2 Poor interpersonal skill

The theme poor interpersonal skills resulted from poor assertiveness skill and poor acceptance. Limited interaction due to poor social network was a factor which influenced interpersonal skills. It is the theme under the broader theme cognitive abilities and skills.

3.6.2.1 Poor assertiveness skills

Three of the participants reported about poor assertiveness skill where two of them could not say no to the friends in some critical situations. They knew that these friends are not good when they asked her to do a risky task. But he was afraid what his friend will think about him in future, this is why, he agreed to do so. One of the participants expressed that, he wanted to discuss about the problem, but could not as he was worried what others will think. This lack in skill can be linked with peer pressure also.

I was crossing the road and suddenly my friends asked me to assist in their killing mission. I could not say no.

3.6.2.2 Poor acceptance

Five of the participants expressed that lack of acceptance of the reality often causes violence. The reality can be poverty which requires maintaining life with less money, acceptance of others fault as the person cannot change the result and so on. Lack of acceptance drove people to gain something illegally and often led to crime.

Sometimes people run blindly for something. It is not good to have the mentality to have whatever things they want. It is alright if we do not get something. ...otherwise people will commit crime.

It is important to come to terms with one's family background, capabilities, and not be greedy. When you do not accept it, problems begin.

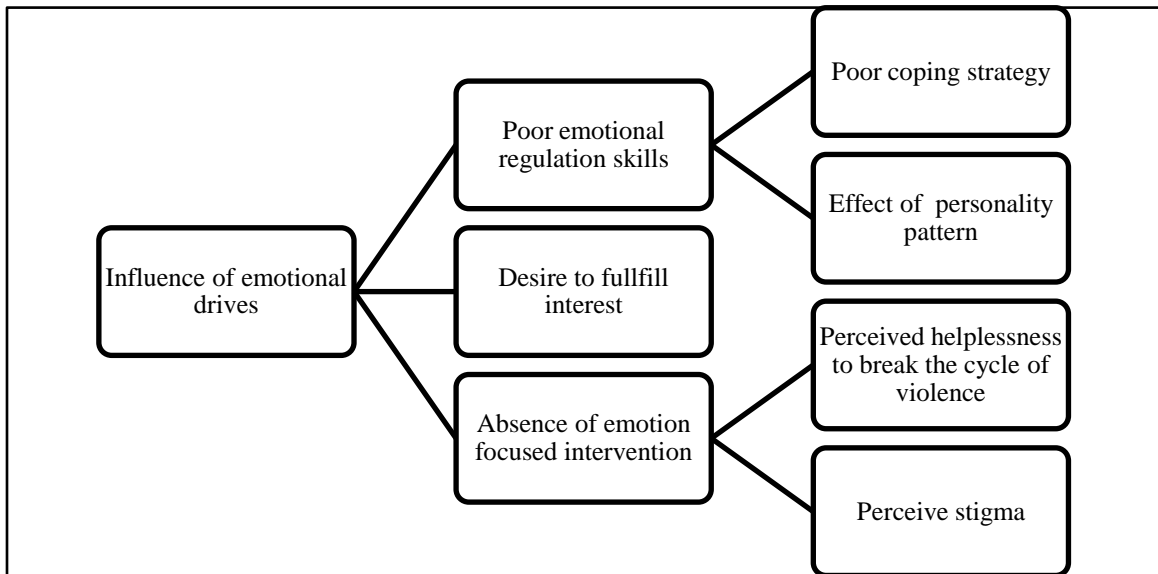
3.6.3 Limited inner change

The theme 'limited inner change' refers to the change in perpetrators mind about the motivation of committing violent crime. The changes may happen during punishment period or any other time after committing the crime. Some of the participants reported about the positive sides of the opportunity of learning about moral issues whilst staying in jail through reading books and maintaining discipline. According to the respondents, it was helpful for them. However, no specific correction program was reported which may bring positive changes in their mind though the limited opportunities whatever available were appreciated.

3.7 Influence of Emotional drives

This broad theme 'influence of emotional drive' was categorized into two themes which are poor emotional regulation skill and increased desire of power. All the participants reported about the association of emotion and violence.

Figure 3.7: Themes and categories of influence of emotional drives



3.7.1 Poor emotional regulation skills

Poor emotion regulation which is usually refers to the difficulties to manage own emotion carefully. This theme consists of two categories which are poor coping strategy and effect of personality pattern.

3.7.1.1 Poor coping strategy

Poor coping skill were reported by many of the participants as a reason of committing violence. Anger, hatefulness and fear were the most disturbing emotions they could not handle and committed crime. Lack of emotional support was expressed by one of the clients whereas he tried to manage love by using money and involving himself in criminal work. Self infliction of harm was seen among two participants. Substance abuse

was one of the ways for couple of participants. The participants were also susceptible to sudden emotional shock where they became perplexed.

My father was shouting out vulgar words...I could not understand what I should do...my father used to care for me in childhood, and it seemed that everything had changed suddenly, but how?...He continued to raise his voice and argument...I had an axe nearby and attacked with that one.

I was afraid as they frightened me, could not think what I should do. They ask me to hold the legs of the victim....I thought; I would not be able to run faster compare to them. Thus, it will be good to do what they are asking for.

3.7.1.2 Effect of personality pattern

One of the dangerous ways of violence was killing people because of humiliation. Emotional effect of personality pattern worked quickly here without thinking any other substitute options to take action. One respondent reported that people enjoy to do violence which refers to more than emotional regulation, can be linked with psychopath mentality. Few participants' shared that they wanted to take serious steps of violence even for trivial issue. All of the following statements of the participants indicate the effect of personality pattern rather than lack in skill to cope with immediate distress.

He (brother) did not keep his promise. I was angry at him and threatened to kill him.

In 2012, I was ready to attack an elder brother with the shroud cloth (kafoner kapor)....He tried to prove me liar in front of my mother. I purchased a Chinese axe.

3.7.2 Desire to fulfill interest

It was found that some people do crime due to fulfill personal interests such as gaining power, earning money and so on. Thus, they are mostly driven with their motive which can be materialistic or non-materialistic.

When I do crime, I can show myself as a hero.

I extort from those who have money. If they do not give up easily, I cut their hand. Sometimes I let them go easily when I feel so.

3.7.3 Absence of emotion focused intervention

This absence of emotion focused intervention is a maintaining risk factor which consist of two categories; perceived helplessness to break the cycle of violence and perceived stigma.

3.7.3.1 Perceived helplessness to break the cycle of violence

Few of the participants who reported to commit violent crime more than once, had expressed doubt about their capacity to avoid further occurrence of criminal offense. Though they knew that there are ways to keep them away from violence, but they had failed to implement the plans.

Perpetrator cannot avoid criminal act because of the situation though they try. Leaving the area is an option but many failed to do so.

3.7.3.2 Perceived Stigma

After committing crime, few of the participants perceived and experienced ‘stigma’ as a perpetrator, which made them to feel low and guilt. Due to poor coping skills, they had accepted them as a perpetrator and decided to be like this.

Sometimes people criticize and hate for the past event even after doing good work. In that time, I felt to do bad things again as people’s perception will remain same towards me.

From the above mentioned description of the findings, it is clear that all the factors had influenced the process of committing the violence. Influence of emotional drives was most common factor among all the interviewed respondents. However, all the factors were not equally applicable for the violent act; rather it was closely linked with the situation of the perpetrator.

CHAPTER FOUR: DISCUSSION

A significant number of psychological factors were explored through the analysis of nine interviewed data and presented in the section of result. The result indicated a big range of psychological factors which interacted and influenced violent crime that includes attitude, perception, memory or experience, morality, cognition, emotion and motivation. All of the factors are linked with either developmental, immediate or maintaining factors. Parenting and learning in childhood played a great role in developmental stage. Though research suggests that most of the developmental process such as cognitive, emotional, moral etc. occurs during childhood and adolescence period, however, learning may happen throughout the life. Meaning of life is an important factor which develops from unclear self understanding and spirituality. Behavior is the manifestation of inner process and state of one's psychology; there are many small factors which contribute towards developing that psychology. For this study, violent behavior which is often named as crime or offense based on respected law, is the core phenomena; exploration of influencing factors and mental process of committing violence is the objective. Therefore, a detailed description of all of these factors and how those are linked to violence is discussed as followed.

4.1 Developmental risk factors

Developmental risk factors do not lead to commit the crime directly, but it contributes to create some background factors for the human being which has a huge

influence on violent actions. In the present study, Poor sense of love and affection, inadequate learning and moral judgment, maladaptive personality factors, and ambiguous meaning of life were found as developmental risk factors. All of the factors started to process since childhood.

4.1.1 Poor sense of love and affection

Both love and affection are essential part of human life. Lack of love and affection refers to the lower emotional responsiveness which was found among some of the participants. People develop it since birth through experience, learning and interaction. Family and outside of family such as school, other places and so on, are the common sources of experience, learning and interactions. There are many factors related to the development of poor sense of love and affection which are as followed.

4.1.1.1 Poor attachment within family

Emotional development is an essential part of human being which separated mankind from other living creatures. Attachment is a core issue of that emotional architecture of human being. In the present study poor attachment was gradually developed where some family factors unconsciously affected the process.

Parental Maltreatment refers to abuse or negligence of child. It includes parental actions or omissions which were found among many participants. Experience of **parental negligence** or perceived ignorance in terms of habitats, emotional needs and

discussion about their needs; those had an adverse impact on the perpetrators mind. Lack of trust from parents' side was one of the signs which was perceived as parental negligence by their offspring. All of these issues might hamper their healthy emotional development and cognitive development as well. A study states that "*child neglect can have severe, deleterious short- and long-term effects on children's cognitive, socio-emotional, and behavioral development*"(Hildyard & Wolfe, 2002). This research also suggest that relative to physically abused children, neglected children have more severe cognitive and academic deficits, social withdrawal and limited peer interactions, and internalizing (as opposed to externalizing) problems.

Parental abuse which includes both verbal and physical was found common risk factors among many participants. It is needless to say that because of this abusive experience, a child or adult feels detached from the family or parents. In the present study it was also found that, fathers were involved for physical abuse most of the times, thus they had a negative perception which involved a 'fearful' father rather than a loving person.

Brutal punishment creates not only external bruises and injuries, but also leaves painful emotional scratches in memory and mind. Experience of abuse also results poor affection towards others. In a study on violence and injection drug users, four severity groups were identified: non-violent, low, moderate and high level offenders. Higher severity groups had more prevalent and more severe histories of childhood maltreatment (Torok, Darke, Kaye and Shand, 2014).

Self experience of violence also helps the victim to learn execution of violence in different ways and to create a sense of validation of violent actions in case of any perceived wrongdoing through cognitive restructuring. Thus, few participants rationalized violence as a way to teaching right thing to the victim as he learned from parents through punishment. Another study reports the similar finding, “*Perpetrators of violence were more likely to be victims of violence*”. (Moore & Foreman-Peck, 2009).

There are many researches which gave evidence about the link between parental neglect, abuse and violence. Abused and neglected subjects had higher rates of having an adult criminal record than controls and a larger number of arrests as an adult (Widom, 1989). Another recent research stated that “*a serious consequence of child maltreatment is an increased risk for crime and violence*” (Widom, 2017). The researcher also emphasized on the issue of cycle of violence, which refers to a phenomenon whereby children who have experienced physical abuse become perpetrators of violence in adolescents and adulthood (Widom, 1989).

Lack of empathetic interaction also resulted due to parental rejection and gap in sharing within family. Thus, participants may have failed to develop age appropriate evolution of emotion and craving for love and care were present. However, due to these difficulties, perpetrator lost their empathetic feeling towards others and cultivated the background to commit violence mercilessly.

In addition to parental issues, the need to be of loved was found as critical. It was reported that love can prevent people from being violent. A strong emotional attachment with partner or children can act as a shield from violence for the sake of wellbeing of the family. In this study, it was found that loss of close person created **absence in emotional reciprocity**. As a mechanism of faulty coping style, perpetrators became rude and aggressive when they lost the loved one.

Some studies supported these findings. “*Juvenile delinquents with and without substance abuse, both had risk factors on use of free times, relationships, family, attitude, aggression and skills*” (Claudia et. al, 2013). In another study it was stated that “*the patients with criminal record were younger, mostly unmarried, living without partner and they were of lower social class*”. (Modestin, Hug & Ammann, 1997).

4.1.1.2 Poor attachment outside of family

In addition to family, socialization plays an important role in emotional development through interaction and exchange of emotion. **Poor interaction** with social networks was found which reduced the chances of developing ‘sharing and caring attitude’ from outside of the family.

In addition, **abuse by people outside of family** was seen in school, which also created negative impact. Painful punishment in police custody made the perpetrator less sensitive to emotion with overwhelmed feeling of pain. A study was concluded by questioning the relevancy of punishment in school linking with violence. “*Do the*

strategies that schools adopt in response to "disciplinary problems," including violence, actually perpetuate violence?"(Noguera, 1995). Noguera maintains that a "get-tough" approach fails to create a safe environment because the use of coercive strategies interrupts learning and ultimately produces an environment of mistrust and resistance.

To summarize, the topic 'poor sense of love and affection' refers to an emotional developmental deficit which may result from poor empathy and attachment in their mind and affect existing and future relationship with others. The person who has these characteristics may hurt people without any emotional burden or guilt. So, committing violent crime became simple for him compared to the person who has more sense of love and affection. There are many studies supporting this concept. It has been considered from gender perspectives also as generally the number of male offenders is more compared to female. Scholars in the emerging field of men's studies argue that boys disproportionately experience these disruptions of early attachment and that these disruptions are causally related to elements of what is often described as the masculine gender role. These two bodies of theory and research are combined with Gottfredson and Hirschi's (1990) theory of low self-control in a new theory of disproportionate male offending (Hayslett-McCall & Bernard, 2002). The prominent attachment theorist John Bowlby had studied both the need for warmth and affection from birth and onwards including the consequences of not having it. It was found that anxious attachment affects the capacity to be affectionate and to develop intimate relationships with others. Habitual criminals, it is claimed, typically have an inability to form bonds of affection (Adler et al., 1991).

4.1.2 Inadequate learning and moral judgment

Learning plays an important role to increase knowledge, understanding, wisdom and judgment. Thus, human actions greatly depend on learning. Morality refers to a set of principles which helps people distinguish between right and wrong. Morality is not innate rather learned overtime through different sources. There are many factors linked to these components which influence violence like other human behaviors.

4.1.2.1 Poor learning process

Learning is a process to increase knowledge which helps person to act cautiously and sensibly. Lack of learning opportunity about was an obstacle to develop moral sense.

Limited exposure to learning was reported which reflected insufficient sources of information about good, bad or illegal actions. The common sources of learning were parents, school and neighbor or self learning through different ways, but it was not similar for all. Learning was subjective too thus depended on the opinion of teacher or information provider. Teaching of moral values was mostly based on context and presence of a situation. It was rare that additional guidance was given to the children to think and act in a broader context or about unseen exposure.

In addition to the issues of limited information, **lack of explanation of that information** was a major barrier in learning process. Often the mode of leaning indicated what is good and what is bad, but no further explanation was given. As such it did not

help to understand or think logically why things are good or bad. So, a ‘good-bad’ or ‘do-does not’ learning pattern was found without any contextual explanation or analysis of cost or benefit. This teaching trend didnot help much to develop cognitive skills and abilities. As a result the learners could not apply the learning in different contexts. So, gap in knowledge and skill regarding moral issues sustained among the poor learners.

The importance of ‘explanation’ was found in one of the studies on parental discipline style which states “*The use of praise and reasoning appears to have the most predictable effect across studies*” (Hoffman& Hoffman, 1964). It was also added that “*The parents who talks and reasons with the child about his misbehavior is likely to provide the child a clear understanding of what he did wrong so the anxiety about misbehavior is connected to the right cues. Explanation and reasons provide the child with integration resources for evaluation of his own behavior; that is, the child gains explicit training in making moral judgment*”.

4.1.2.2 Poor parental discipline

In the present study, **parental discipline** was one of the major sources of learning things and moral issues where participants have learned what is good and bad. Sometimes, they have also learned that what should not be done such as hurting helpless people, stealing etc.

However, **inconsistent discipline** was reported which includes inappropriate reinforcement, conflicting guidance on same issue at different times and so on.

Discrepancies were seen among the expectations towards child and efforts given by parents. This inconsistency in parental discipline in regards to violent actions created confusion and subsequently the off springs failed to develop clear understanding about ideal actions. Thus, violence was reinforced many times inappropriately.

Over indulgence by parents was reported as another concern which caused irrational expectations and poor analytical capacity among perpetrators. In addition, sometimes parents accepted the violent power of offspring by thinking that enemy would be scared and they will be protected.

Manipulated communication style of parents regarding violence was reported by participants. Parents encouraged fighting or committing violence whilst they perceived violence as beneficial and a mean of teaching a lesson to opponents. These types of supportive statements from parents encouraged the perpetrator with a strong belief that violence is justified sometimes.

All of the discussed factors indicate poor parental discipline which resulted faulty learning from parenting and inadequate moral judgment as well. There are evidences that parenting, especially inappropriate parental discipline may develop violent behavior. In a study it was found that, parental management styles in terms of supervision and discipline has influence on violent or delinquency. (Goetting, 1994). According to another study, *if parental management skills are good, then social economic status of the family does not affect delinquency problems of violent behavior problems.* (Larzelere & Patterson, 1990).

4.1.2.3 Maladaptive self learning

Maladaptive self learning was another significant causal risk factors linked to inadequate learning and moral judgment. The concept refers that whether the learning content was inappropriate or the outcome of learning did not help to have good moral judgment.

Observational learning is one of the common ways to learn new things; however, it was found that perpetrators learned violent behavior through observing the violent incidents. They observed violence by watching in school; fight among family members and outsiders or in groups. All of these learning were vicarious learning and focus was given by the respondents on the benefit of violent behavior. So, the exposure and learning had resulted inappropriate actions like violence.

Participants also reported about **intentional learning of violence**. In order to fulfill curiosity and to learn the convenient ways of doing violence, few of the participants have tried to learn it from movie, drama series and so on. Even, Marshal art techniques are used for protection purpose, but perpetrator tried to gather weak points of the body to attack a person. So, intentional learning played an important role to develop violent behavior.

Sometimes, a tendency of **convenient learning** was seen which referred to using the learning according to the situation and benefit. It was dangerous as they tried to link

maladaptive learning such as importance of violence with financial benefit and wish of having power.

Though, learning is a normal part of life, but when the participants shared information about learning issues on how to do violent act and justified the reasons behind it, then the situation can be considered as maladaptive self learning. The famous social learning theory of Albert Bandura supports this concept that violence is a learned behavior. In 1973, Bandura stated that “violence is learned, through role models provided by the family (parents, siblings, relatives, and boyfriends/girlfriends), either directly or indirectly, and reinforced in childhood and continued in adulthood as a coping response to stress or a method of conflict resolution” (Mihalic & Elliott, 1997).

4.1.2.4 Sensitization through experience

A significant finding of the study is that direct observation or experience of violence or criminal behavior made the perpetrator less sensitive to violent event. Thus afterwards, they felt less anxious or guilt to commit violence. Their morality also became weaker and could commit any violence in ease comparatively. The finding supports the idea of systematic desensitization process or exposure technique of behavior therapy. A study conducted on systematic desensitization referred that “desensitization may provide the individual with a greater ability for self-control in a variety of anxiety-provoking situations”(Goldfried, 1971). In the case of violence, the participants reported to be desensitized to the disturbing feelings of violence after being exposed and thus did not

feel the violence is a bad thing to do. Though they knew that violence is not good, it had no impact on their actions whatsoever.

In brief, poor access to knowledge about moral principles and information about offensive behavior including punishment were major obstacle for moral development. Moral guidance is available in our society to some extent but inadequate explanation does not enhance cognitive analysis and skills to work on future issues. Maladaptive learning lead people to imitate violence and due to exposure, observer become sensitized to commit crimes.

4.1.3 Maladaptive personality factor

The personality factors were identified as a developmental risk factor of violent behavior and the finding is divided into two categories. One category focuses on more stable like traits and other one is based on state of mind or situation. However, personality grows and takes shape overtime. Personality pattern influences the violence very closely as it influences the cognitive skills and emotional drives which are considered immediate risk factors of violence.

4.1. 3.1 Personality pattern

Two types of major personality patterns were identified which are impulsiveness and antisocial personality pattern. These patterns are more stable in person's life and sometimes allied with personality disorder.

Impulsiveness is associated with personality trait, which decreases people's capacity to analyze with patience, so that they become prone to commit the action quickly. They cannot not consider consequences before acting. As such, impulsivity is one of the major risk factor to cause violence. It was found in a study that "*high impulsiveness might contribute to an increased likelihood of offending either directly or indirectly. By the direct pathway, impulsiveness would have a fundamental impact on the way in which individual would act in any given situation. With less time and cognitive energy available for contemplation of potential responses, an impulsive individual would, on balance select the option that provides the most immediate perceived benefit*" (Jolliffe & Farrington, 2009, p.40).

Antisocial behavioral tendency was also found as a dominant pattern of personality in this study. Though no psychometric assessment or diagnostic interview was conducted to diagnose the personality or personality disorder, however, many criteria of conduct disorder and antisocial personality disorders matched with some of the interviewed participants. The pattern was also seen since childhood such as brutal attack on human being, beating people who do not obey and so on. It clearly indicates symptoms of conduct problems of childhood or antisocial behavior. This type of personality characteristics often influences people to commit violence or criminal offenses. The finding of antisocial behavior as a risk factor of criminal behavior is supported by many researches and scholars. According to the book 'the psychology of criminal consult', "*antisocial behavior is one of the best predictors of criminal behavior*". (Bonta, & Andrews, 2016; p. 193).

4.1.3.2 Unhelpful personality characteristics

Many unhelpful personality characteristics were found which contributed indirectly to commit violence. These characteristics were context specific and sustained among the person with dominance.

Power hungriness led the people to run towards gaining power by using firearms, threatening actions, extortions, and fight with opposite group and so on. The person with this characteristic tried to achieve control over group, society or property by hook or crook. They felt one kind of desperateness through intrinsic and extrinsic both type of motivations. Sometimes they perceived power as beneficial and an achievement also. So, this power hungriness personality characteristic led them to lose self control and to commit violence as a means of achievement of the target. The power-control theory does support this idea of power and class, shared by Hagan, J., Gillis, A. R., & Simpson, J. (1985).

Greediness of money is closely linked with power hungriness but not completely. It was found that participants wanted money to live a decent life but did not try to hold power and take control. So, in order to follow the '*shortcut way to be rich*', violence was one of the ways to earn money by threatening people. According to Gottfredson and Hirschi's general theory of crime, an individual restraint on behavior, or "self- control," is not similar to social restraints. "*The elements of self- control include an ability to defer gratification, the tendency to be cautious and diligent, cognitive ability, and sensitivity*

toward others. In this paper we analyze the construct of self- control and its relationship to official and self- reported measures of juvenile delinquency” (Brownfield & Sorenson, 1993).

Attention seeking tendency was found among some of the violent perpetrators. Perpetrators often imagined themselves as a hero or thug which was learned mainly from movies or drama series and so on. They had also committed crime in a dramatic/flamboyant way so that they can be at the centre of attention. Thus, they did not hesitate to commit crime violently to get more attention. This finding was supported by a study which stated that sensation seeking is a strong predictor of risky behavior, particularly in the areas of criminal behavior and social violations. (Horvath& Zuckerman,1993).

Disobedience was one of the risk factors where participants did not obey the direction of their parents and failed to do analysis of risk taking behavior. Sometimes they have also felt offended to receive guidance and conducted opposite behavior to show disrespect. Therefore, they committed high risk behavior which turned into violent behavior also. A study supported the evidence that disobedience may lead to criminal behavior (Siegmann, A. W. 1966)

One of the thinking patterns identified among the participants which is **proneness to obsession**. It refers to the idea when perpetrator’s personality is vulnerable to obsession pattern, thinks about the negative event more and more and tries to take

revenge; as these scenarios appears more often and causes discomforts. They failed to ignore the obsession after substantial effort. This situation made them emotionally vulnerable towards the situation and committed the crime as a compulsion or poor emotion regulation.

Excessive anger is a common feature found among participants. Anger made the respondents easily influenced by the emotional drives due to poor coping skills; they lost control over their mind and caused violence along with aggression. The finding is similar to General strain theory of Agnew (1992). A study which was carried out to test the hypothesis of strain theory and the covariance structure models of the study reveal that anger and hostility in response to negative life events do play a causal role in fostering more aggressive forms of delinquency (Aseltine, Gore & Gordon, 2000).

Revengeful attitude is other personality characteristics which resisted participants to accept the situation and to overcome the strong negative emotions derived from the unexpected situation. So, even after ending the situation, they tried to take revenge by their own hands rather than following the judicial procedure or ending the event at that point. Thus they were involved in violent behavior as a revengeful act.

Poor empathy was found among the participants specially who committed violence more than once. This poor empathy resisted their feeling of humanity and could not feel pain for others. This state is also linked with poor sense of love and affection. Thus, it was rightly said by few respondents that empathy towards others can prevent

violent behavior by associating the feeling of others' loss and suffering. A study was conducted to explore relations of emotional empathy with aggression and violence and the result shows strong negative correlations (ranging from $-.22$ to $-.50$, $P < .05$) of measures of aggression and violence with measures of emotional empathy (Mehrabian, 1997). One of the researchers shared that a number of empirical evidences have proposed that empathy, sympathy, or both, defined primarily in affective terms, may inhibit aggressive and antisocial behaviors. Child abuse also was associated with low levels of empathy/sympathy. (Miller & Eisenberg, 1988).

Lack of pro-activity is another problem found in the study. Many participants stated that lack of work is a situation whilst people do not find anything to do and get involved in crime. Few of them linked it with limited opportunities of work and crime to earn money easily. However, others said about the connection between bad thoughts and lazy mind. It is more related with the Bengali proverb "Oloos Mostisko Shoitaner Adda" which can be translated to 'An empty mind is a devil's workshop'.

Bangladesh is a developing country and people can manage paid or voluntary work to do rather than sitting idle. Due to culture, parents support their offsprings in case of unemployment. Therefore, it is not justified to involve in violence because of personal greediness. The concept of external locus of control, lack of pro-activity and the concept of 'earning money quickly' is linked with violence. In addition, laziness or unclear goal of life is also linked with the situation.

In brief, all the above mentioned qualities can make a person prone to violent behavior as the characteristics itself then develops susceptibility to crime. It is considered as developmental risk factor which interacts with immediate factors (cognition and emotion) before committing the violence.

4.1.4 Ambiguous meaning of life

Ambiguous meaning of life is a developmental risk factor which is mainly refers to unclear understanding about self, life and goal. Loose spiritual attachment or loose spiritual attachment also influences the development of the meaning of life.

In the present study, it was found that few participants used to set **short term goal** and could not foresee their future target. This goal setting pattern inhibited their thinking capacity about long term consequences of any action and organizational skills. Thus, they focused on current excitements and outcomes. Violent Crime was seen as a mean of immediate gain of money, power and emotional coping, as such, they were involved in crime, but could not think much about future situation or consequences.

Another feature is that participants had poor idea about themselves, their expectations and goals. It can be called '**poor understanding about self**'. They were confused especially when they had faced any situation linked to problem solving or decision making. Their ideas and goal in their life were found unclear. Identity crisis was observed among them while they thought about crime and eternal life.

In addition, most of the times, they focused on **external locus of control**, thus could not use own analytical ability and judgment about criminal act. Responsibility of doing crime was focused on others or on social contexts, they could not think about their own role. Inner positive changes of them about illegal work were somehow blocked and failed to stop themselves from doing violent offenses.

It was also seen that, some of them were **susceptible to conformity** in group. It happened because they did not have clear idea and had no counter logic. This is why; they were often manipulated by others and involved in criminal activity due to susceptibility to conformity.

Lack of strong determination was one of the reasons for which perpetrators could not abstain themselves from doing violence. Though they took oath to stop, but again started to do illegal activities. Despite of having strong willpower, they were unsuccessful to withdraw themselves from bad company though they knew this relationship is dangerous. Therefore, lack of strong determination of a person has big negative influence for developing and maintaining of violent behavior.

Loose spiritual attachment or loose spiritual attachment refers to unclear understanding about the goal in life from spiritual perspective. People live in a society and religion is a significant part of it. Religion has great influence on learning, moral development, goal setting of life and so on. If the spiritual belief does not give adequate guidance, then people lack the guidance principles and value of spirituality. It may

hamper goal setting of life. People may become easily convinced again with shorter goal. Sometimes, spiritual ambiguity put people at risk to involve in violence when their belief is threatened.

A relevant research was found for juvenile delinquents, which stated “*for juvenile delinquent, treatment should include improving aspirations for better life, the acceptance for responsibility for behavior, respect for rules, social conventions and authority figures, control over antisocial behavior and reducing impulsivity* (Claudia, et. al., 2013). So, it can be said that ambiguous meaning of life is a result of poor development of self by which a person may try to find unrealistic and immediate target. On the contrary, a clear meaning of life can show a person right path to achieve target in a peaceful way and would not be easily influenced by misdeed or conformity. They would have better control on self, increased cost benefit analysis and less influence on emotional drives.

4.2 Immediate risk factors

Immediate risk factors influenced the perpetrator by hindering cognitive abilities and skills and by influencing emotional drives. Perceived survival threat is one of the concepts which go beyond cognitive and emotional analysis as it refers to a ‘do or die’ situation.

4.2.1 Perceived survival threat

Threat can be real, but people act when they perceive it, though sometimes people can have some other emotion and behavior for example like running away following fear.

4.2.1.1 Threat to safety and security

Participants reported that due to **threat to their own life and close one's life**, they became violent. They perceived their violent act as defense from enemies to protect themselves. It can be called fighting back or self defense. Threat to life resulted in helpless feeling among them which compelled them to follow the peers order for committing violence. Threat also made them emotionally vulnerable so that they could not control anger or aggression, thus also committed violence. A study was conducted with 52 battered women on their motives for using violence against their partners. The most frequent reason for violence reported by the women was for self-defense. Only one woman reported initiating an attack with severe violence in more than half of her violent acts. Only eight percent of the women reported that no severe violence was used to initiate an attack more than half of the time. The concepts of "self-defense" and "fighting back" were significantly and positively correlated; that is, many women saw them as being the same (Saunders, 1986). Another similar example is law on provocation or self defense, which considers the life threatening situation and use of violence as a self defense.

4.2.1.2 Threat to prestige and values

It was also found that people were violent when they perceived **threat to their prestige** and values which includes beliefs, values or religion. This situation can be explained by the psychology of group violence in which people feel threat to their group and join to fight. Extremism, rebel group etc are explainable under this section. Sometimes, goods or property became a means to survive and people also feel affection and importance towards them, as such, loss of the properties or things was intolerable to them and people fight back to protect it or to take revenge. In a study, it was reported that, *“the violent behavior was carried by stalker in 168 events studied by the researcher. In the majority of the cases, the attacks constituted an impulsive lashing out in response to rejection or perceived insult” (Meloy, 2002).*

When people perceive threat, they usually lose the ability of cogitation and think more about survival strategy. Thus, they do not dare to commit violence to protect themselves and other belongings. This situation may happen while people are found with good moral values also. In the Bangladesh Penal Code (2003), ‘violence as a self defense’ is well explained by three sections which are as followed.

- I. *Things done in private defense*
- II. *Right to private defense of the body or property*
- III. *Right to private defense against the act of a person of unsound mind, etc.*

All of abovementioned laws recognize the existence of violence as a form of self defense and kept under the discretion of the court to provide judgment whether the convicted person will be punished or not. These evidences give more strong proof about the occurrence of violence as a spontaneous response to perceived survival threat.

4.2.2 Poor cognitive abilities and skills

It was found that poor cognitive abilities and skills play an important role to determine behavior of the perpetrator. It worked as an immediate factor but was greatly influenced by developmental factors. Two major components were found under this theme which are poor problem focused coping skill and poor interpersonal skill.

4.2.2.1 Poor problem solving skills

Problem solving skill is a cognitive ability of human being which refers to an essential skill to deal with a difficult matter. It also helps to think deeply, to analyze adequately and to take decision accordingly.

Under poor problem solving skills, **inability in cogitation** was found as an immediate risk factor among perpetrators which indicates that they had difficulties to think deeply to find out alternative solution or to see the problem in a different way. They reported about often going blank in their mind before committing the violence. It was a confused state and only found violence is a way to solve the problem. It can be linked with IQ (Intelligent quotient) also.

Some participants mentioned about **irrational thoughts** which did not help them to find out best solution, rather guided in an illogical way. Whenever they tried to think, many irrational thoughts came into their mind which perpetuated to commit violence or to use violence as a mean of achieving target. Some of them thought that money is power and the punishment of violence can be dismissed by money. They failed to think about the importance of law and order though regretted later on. Few of them had emphasized on the importance of having power to lead a meaningful life. Difficulties to find out logical thought resulted worst consequences for them. Few of them had thought that hurting the opponent can bring peace in their mind but afterwards they understood that it creates more sufferings. Generalized thinking about everything, minimization of maximization of event etc. were also found as irrational thoughts.

Poor cost benefic analysis which results from deficit in cognitive analysis, is one of the major causes of violence. Many participants reported that they could not analyze the consequences of the violent action before the event. If they would have done this, they might not have been in jail at this time. Fear of punishment might have stopped them. So, it is clear that inability to do sufficient cost benefit analysis is one of the reasons of violence. Through applying this cost benefit analysis skill, an alternative solution was possible to find out rather than committing the violence.

There are many studies supported the link between aforementioned poor cognitive factors and violence. *“Illogical thought processes are found significantly more present in more violent compare to less violent, incarcerated boys”* (Lewis, Shanok, Pincus, &

Glaser, 1979). A sociological study suggested an influence of social factors also on the development of cognitive skills. According to the study *“defensive, impaired-processing, non-psychopathic model of violence was proposed for the low-IQ non-psychopaths; effective self-reinforcement coupled with poor impulse control and low empathy placed them in hazardous situations that exceeded their cognitive skills.”*(Heilbrun, A. B.,1982).Another study found that *“after considering differences in self-control, there was evidence to suggest that the attractiveness of the crime target, the ease of committing the crime with minimum risk, and perceptions of the costs and benefits of committing the crime were all significantly related to offending decisions”*(Nagin & Paternoster 1993).

4.2.2.2 Poor interpersonal skill

Lack of assertiveness and poor acceptance were found as poor interpersonal skills which referred to deficit in communication and resulted violence through the influence of emotional drives.

Due to **poor assertiveness skills**, perpetrator could not say no or failed to tell their actual wish. According to the statement of participants, it happened that they went with their peers to commit violence as they could not say no to them. So, poor assertiveness skills can influence a person to commit crime due to own deficit in social skills. In addition, people with less assertive often suffer from passive aggressive problem and thus became very aggressive at one point by exceeding stress management capacity. That time, the person lost control over their mind and behavior.

Poor acceptance of reality is a risk factor for committing violence. Some of the participants reported that, they could not accept the unexpected changes and lost their control on their mind. Thus they thought that revenge will be the perfect reaction to respond. So, poor acceptance caused negative emotional reaction to them and due to negative coping skills they were involved in violence.

In brief, cognitive abilities and skills helps people to understand the context, interpret the cost and benefit of specific action and to determine context specific suitable behavior. It follows a certain way for information processing based on a person's skill. However, deficiency in these skills results problem in decision making in action. So, perpetrator often takes decision to commit violence as they failed to choose the correct action considering their future consequences. Poor social skills also make them handicap to take actions according to their moral judgment. A study examined reasons for gender differences in criminal behavior whilst they found link with the processing of cognitive abilities. The results showed that *“One of the reasons females have lower rates of offending is because they acquire social cognitive skills earlier in life than males do and because they have better pro-social skills”* (Bennett, S., Farrington, D. P., & Huesmann, L. R. 2005). The study also expressed about the importance of cognitive empathy which also refers to the use of cognitive skills in empathy, *“Low cognitive empathy was strongly related to offending, while low affective empathy was weakly related to offending”*.

4.2.3 Influence of Emotional drives

Naturally human being reacts according to their emotion. Thus, influence of emotional drives which can be anger, frustration, fear etc has tremendous influence on the occurrence of violence. Two major emotional components were found as immediate risk factor among the respondents which are poor emotion regulation skills and desire to fulfill interest.

4.2.3.1 Poor emotion regulation skills

Emotional regulation skills are linked mostly with the situational management of emotion that refers to the skills people gain over time through experience and practices. Some perpetrators had negative coping skills like self harm, hitting people to reduce anger, killing people to take revenge, earning money to gain power etc. These were **poor coping strategy**, which drove the perpetrators to dangerous behavior due to their poor emotion regulation skills. A study showed relation between emotion regulation skills and aggression which gives the idea about the causation of violence due to emotional influence, *“emotion regulation, or the ability to recognize emotions, accept them, and control emotion-related behaviors, is related to both PTSD and impulsive aggression”* (Miles, Sharp, Tharp, Stanford, Stanley, Thompson, & Kent, 2017). Poor coping strategy greatly varied from context to context which had to the developmental factor like inadequate learning in earlier life and poor the cognitive skills.

In the case of people who had traits like impulsivity, antisocial behavior or psychopath personality pattern, the likelihood of committing crime is higher due to their inability to control their emotion or apathetic attitude. So, if any person has dominant

feature of aforementioned **personality pattern**, they are prone to criminal behavior. According to a study conducted by Torok et. al.,(2014), *“two risk factors associated with violent offending across the four classification schemes tested. The risk factors are having committed crime under influence and having more impulsive personality traits”*. Another study also suggests that *“higher trait severity may lead to more serious violence as such individuals are more prone to poorly thought responses in challenging or provocative situations”* (Moore, et. al. 2009).

4.2.3.2 Desire to fulfil interest

It is found as direct causes of criminal behaviour. Perpetrator has many motives like earning money, gaining control, having respect by showing power and so on. Violence was a mean to achieve all of these targets and they were passionate to fulfil their desire. It infers that perpetrator may have been influenced by their motives rather than situational influence. They feel emotional urge to do crime to fulfil their own interest and criminal act to gratify their needs. A study was conducted to see influence of self control, criminal motivation and deterrence; *“the results suggest that in the production of criminal behavior, motivation may be more important than controls inhibiting criminal impulses”* (Tittle & Botchkovar, 2005).

In a word, emotional drivers have the biggest direct influence on criminal behavior and in the violence in most cases happens due to the inability to manage the negative emotions. In regards to violence behavior, some people tend to lose control over their more emotions frequently due to specific personality patterns, while others show

deficit in coping skill to respond to emotional turbulence. Thus, better control over emotion was reported by many respondents as a means to prevent violence.

4.3 Maintaining risk factors

This factor influences in the case of multiple occurrence of violent crime. After committing violence for the first time, a perpetrator may go through many situations such as getting caught by law enforcement agency, hiding to avoid arrest, facing judicial procedure, and suffering from imprisonment or move freely without facing any judicial procedure. At different phases, presence and absence of some psychological risk factors influence the repetition of violent crime. In the presence study, three major themes were identified under three broader themes which are as followed.

4.3.1 Factors associated with inadequate learning and moral judgment

Two factors were found to be present in perpetrator's psychology in post violence period which go under inadequate learning and moral judgment issue. These factors are reviving confidence and sensitization though experience.

4.3.1.1 Reviving confidence

Perpetrator may reward himself after successful execution of a violent crime according to his wish or plan. It was found that the perpetrators who commit crime on regular basis, takes precaution and does intensive preplanning to conduct the criminal act

successfully. Afterwards, if the perpetrator does not face any punishment of his misconduct, then he may commit further violent crime, reviving confidence through impunity. **Perceived support from others** which includes family, gang member, political leader etc. also make the perpetrator fearless by thinking that he will be protected at any cost. They also gain confidence by perceiving that they are **able to deceive others**, especially law enforcement agency, the victim or his family when do not face punishment even after doing violent crime.

Therefore, it is needless to say that positive correlation exists between absence of punishment and prevention of violence. Because, Legal system and penal code was formed on the basis that it will ensure the justice of the victim and also strengthen the prevention by bringing fear of punishment among people. Sometimes, stricter punishment of violent crime is enforced to bring more fear among people, for example, Acid Oporadh Domon Ain in Bangladesh. So, when the perpetrator does not get punishment due to their unlawful act, they gain confidence and likelihood of committing further violence increases.

4.3.1.2 Sensitization through experience

As explained earlier, perpetrator became sensitized to violence while they watched it directly or experienced it in their life. This exposure led them to accept violence as a part of life like other events. Living environment specially areas where many gangs exist, these areas played an important role to influence the perpetrators

violent behavior as violence was often observed and experienced in that context. In addition, when they committed a crime second time they thought that nothing will change if they do it again.

4.3.2 Factors associated with poor cognitive skills and abilities

This issue was mainly linked to self correction of the perpetrator or exposure to the opportunity for inner change which affects the further occurrence of the violent crime of the offender.

4.3.2.1 Limited inner change

Some perpetrators denied the possibility of committing further violent crime where most of them committed crime all of sudden and once in their lifetime. Fear of punishment, lack of love, lack of freedom etc. were the reasons behind this mind changing and decision. However, few of perpetrators with the history of repeated crime expressed about taking revenge which refers lack of inner change despite getting punishment. Few perpetrators mentioned about the experience of changing their mind towards crime by reading book from prison library, leading a disciplined life, and developing a regular habit of praying and so on.

Therefore, from the abovementioned discussion, it is clear that punishment does not always change perpetrators future violent actions. These evidences refer to the need of specific support to bring change in their mind to keep them away from further

occurrence of violence. Importance of counseling and informal guidance from close person, teachers, and senior citizens were mentioned by the perpetrators as a means to bring these changes. In a research report it was mentioned that “*the field of correction is experiencing a reawakening interest in rehabilitation driven by a notable commitment to offender reentry*” (Rhine, E. E., Mawhorr, T. L., & Parks, E. C. 2006). There are many similar evidences about positive influences of correction initiatives on the occurrence of further violence, however, still the opportunity is limited and no specific intervention on “correction and rehabilitation along with punishment” was taken to solve the problem.

4.3.3 Factors associated with influence of emotional drives

Emotional drive was found as a major immediate as well as maintaining risk factor for committing violent crime. Lack of changes in the similar mindset of the perpetrator thus affects the further occurrence of violent crime.

4.3.3.1 Absence of emotion focused intervention

Many participants reported about loss of control over their emotion such as anger as a reason of violent behavior. Thus if the perpetrator cannot overcome this limitation, he may commit further crime. This emotion regulation capacity may change over period; however, it is evident that focused intervention is effective to improve this capacity. A study suggested that “*the management of anger is a crucial issue in the prevention of violent crime. Programs that aim at anger management can be highly cost-effective*” (Howells, K., & Howells, K. 2002).

A study was carried out in the prison which showed significant relevance of emotion focused intervention such as anger management for the correction procedure of violent crime. *“One program lasted for 10 weeks and included written exercises; individual counseling; and group training in relaxation therapy, stress management, conflict resolution, and cognitive therapy. A comparison of 28 inmates who took part in the program and 27 who did not revealed that the program produced significant changes. The second program consisted of 12 weekly 2-hour sessions that used a cognitive-behavioral approach. Fifty-two offenders who attended at least six group sessions were compared with 27 offenders who received no treatment. Findings revealed that although overall recidivism was relatively high (61 percent), completion of the program was associated with significantly lower recidivism involving violent crime. In addition, the length of time in the community before re-arrest was significantly lower for those who completed the program than for those who did not. Findings of both evaluations provide support for such programs”* (Hunter, D., & Hughes, G. V. 1993). There are many emotion related factors which contribute to the violent offenses; lack of focus to work on these emotion related problems during correction or after first occurrence of violence may cause further occurrence of violence.

Perceived helplessness to break the vicious cycle was also found as an emotion related maintaining factor. Despite knowing the risk factors or places, they expressed doubt about their ability to take the known measures. Few of the respondents reported that they knew about the importance of avoiding few places to resist them from doing further crime, but could not followed by actions. So, it is clear that they perceived

helplessness and started to make doubt about themselves to come out from the cycle of violence.

Perceived stigma about them as a perpetrator was found frustrating and they could not avoid it despite doing good work. Criticism from others hampered their self confidence and they decided to continue the violent actions as the perception of others would not change.

4.3.4 Sustaining developmental and immediate risk factors

Developmental causal risk factors continue to influence immediate risk factors which cause violent crime or offense. Developmental factors are difficult to change and have great lifelong influence on immediate factors. So, unless the developmental and immediate factors changes, there is always the vulnerability for the perpetrator to repeat violent crime.

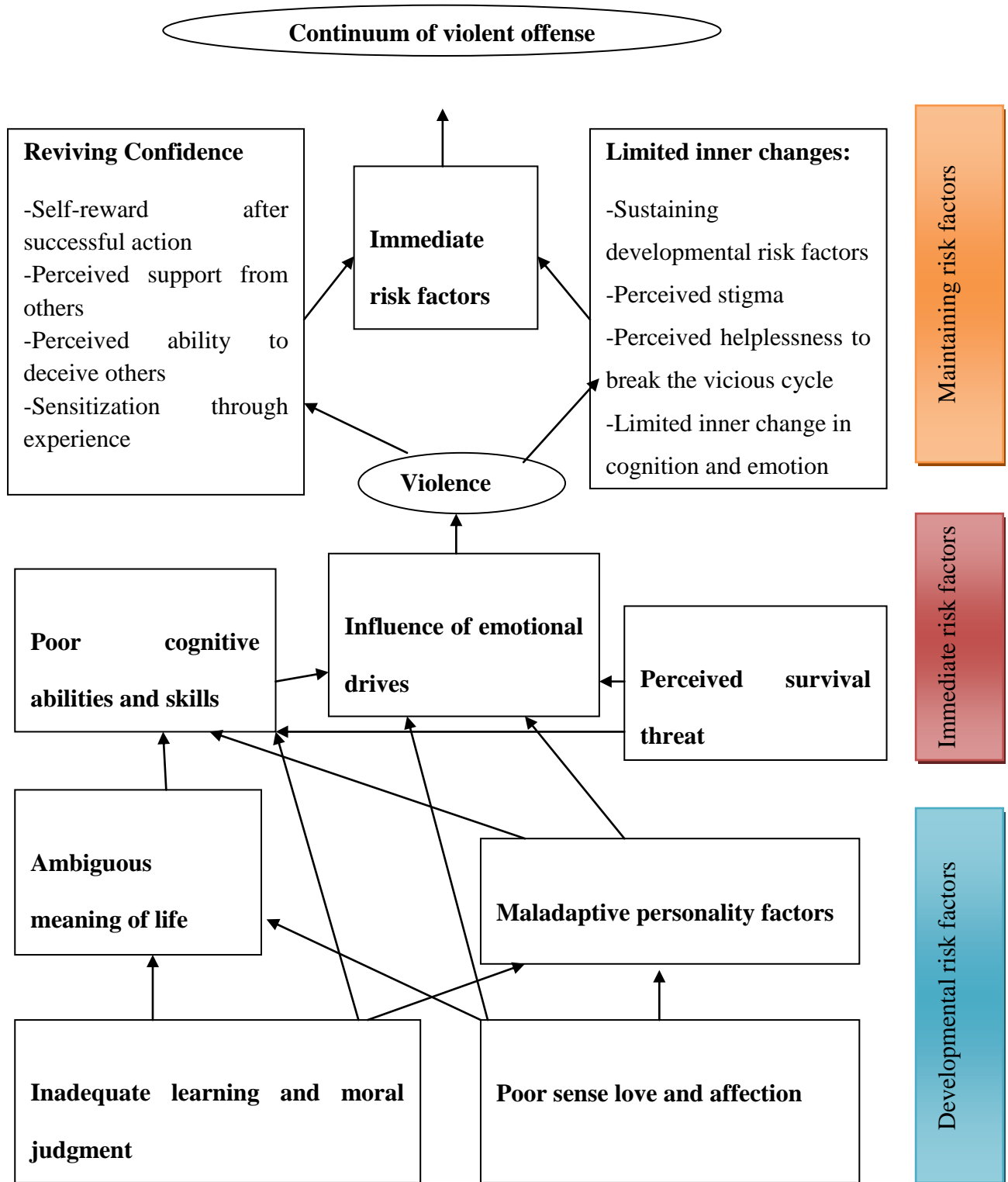
In a word, sustaining development and immediate risk factor is always make the perpetrator susceptible to repeat violent crime, however, reviving confidence and lack of inner change in cognitive and emotional factors increase the likelihood of committing multiple occurrence of violent crime.

4.4 Development of a model

There are a range of psychological factors which negatively affected or influenced violent crime. From psychological perspective, the offender is mainly responsible for violent crime as she or he executes the violent action by interacting with stimuli (e.g. social context). Sometimes all the identified psychological issues or broader themes (seven) can play a role, however, sometimes two or three factors adequately responsible to initiate violent act.

Developmental factors make a person to be susceptible to violence. When a person already exhibit developmental vulnerabilities, she or he may commit violent crime after interacting with immediate factors. Developmental risk factors also result cognitive and emotional related risk factors in a person's psychology. Maintaining risk factors are responsible to keep the person at risk of further occurrence of violent act. Person with record of multiple violent crimes is observed to have most of the identified vulnerabilities including maintaining factor.

Figure 4.4: Model of Psychological risk factors of Violent Criminal Offenses



Perceived survival threat especially threat to life is the quickest form of any violent actions in terms of response time. It often limits the time of cognitive processing and ability of a person to think about future consequences or possible wise actions when the person is exposed to any threat. It can be associated with ambiguous meaning of life but not applicable always. In the situation of threat to religion or values, ambiguous meaning of life can be easily influenced by creating cognitive dissonance. This situation may lead people to do risk taking behavior to protect their religion and values; they do not dare to be violent despite knowing that violence is bad.

There are people who do not have any significant developmental vulnerability but commit crime as a result of only immediate factors; which are **poor cognitive abilities and skills and influence of emotional drives**. Human being responds to stimuli naturally. So, while they face any situation which is not well solved through existing abilities and skills became, influenced immediately by emotion. Violence happens at that time as response to the stimuli.

Person who has certain **personality** pattern like antisocial, often **lack feeling of attachment** and commit violence without feeling any guilt. For them, becoming a violent offender sometimes is a result of long term interaction of the all the identified areas (seven) of psychological risk factors. **Moral development** is weaker among those persons. Even some personality characteristics may lead a person to commit violence despite having good moral development which is power hungriness, lack of empathy and so on.

Offenders psychology may alter based on the situation or through planned intervention, however, it is difficult and take time to change vulnerable factors of criminal behavior. Post violence situation, learning, inner changes in terms of cognitive and emotional issues have greater influence to determine the further action of violent offenses.

4.5 Strength of the study:

The present study followed methodological approach steps by steps; which refers that the findings are purely grounded from data. Other strength is that the study explored the factors linked to the convicted prisoners of Bangladesh, which seemed to be the good sources to understand the psychology of violent offense.

4.6 Limitations of the study

The present study had some limitations which need to be considered while looking into the findings. The limitations are as followed.

- Research participants from diverse category of criminal offenses were not covered. Mainly perpetrators with a history of murder and grievous injury were reached, thus psychology of other violent offenses like rape, acid throwing etc. were not studied.
- Gender based violence that refers to a different perspective, which was not covered through this study as there were no female or transgender victim.
- Extremism is one of the areas of violent crime, was not covered through this study due to sensitivity of the issue.

- During data collection, tape recorder was not used due to strict prohibition on the permission of Government of Bangladesh. Thus, there is a high possibility that researcher could not collect some information while she took notes writing by hands.
- A small number of samples were studied.
- Psychological factors are explored but no psychometric scale or questionnaire was used to get reliable and valid data or report.
- There are evidences that some psychiatric disorders have association with violent crime, but in this study, it was neither assessed nor targeted.

4.7 Challenges of the study

- In order to study violent offenders' psychology, it is obviously necessary to talk with violent offenders. Prison was the most relevant and convenient place to reach offenders. As such, permission was asked to the respected Ministry of Home Affairs, Government of Bangladesh to collect permission. But it took about 10 months to get the permission to enter into jail for data collection. This was one of the major challenges of the study as academic research has specific time limit.
- Writing all interview notes by hand and at the sometime asking questions during interview session was difficult. It increased the risk of missing information from the respondents' speech and hampered the consistency of the interview session.
- Recalling the violent memories was not easy for the participants and they tried to avoid it sometimes. Thus, researcher needed more time to talk and explore

required information. Emotional disturbance of the respondents also hampered the continuity of the session.

- Justice procedures took long time and thus it was not possible to catch the recent memory about the violent behavior. Therefore, there was a challenge to recall all the subtle events, thoughts and issues for the participants.

4.8 Implication of the Study

In order to prevent violence, understanding the offenders or factors influencing the violent act is imperative. Especially, psychological factors of the perpetrator are as important as many other factors like biological and geographical which may not change radically. Outcome of the findings can be useful in many ways which are as followed.

- The findings will help to understand the psychology of violent offenders. So, it will contribute in knowledge development of the area of psychology, sociology, criminology and law.
- Identified risk factors can give an idea for designing prevention programs. Relevant professionals will be able to identify risk factors and to take initiatives to prevent the person from doing violence by addressing the psychological causes in advance.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION AND RECOMENDATION

5.1 Conclusion

The present study aimed at exploring psychological factors influencing violent criminal offenses in Bangladesh. Thus, it was pertinent to study the perpetrators who confessed to carry out the by their own hands. Grounded theory approach of qualitative research design was used for the study. The study explored a range of psychological broad thematic factors which cover holistic areas of psychology of human being.

Although the existing theories of crime, especially psychological theories contain number of causal factors and rich description about how the factors are linked with crime, however, this study is distinctive due to its own nature and context. This research has studied the offenders who committed violent crime by their own hands which make it a novel research, given the Bangladesh scenario. A range of psychological factors are explored including developmental, immediate and maintaining risk factors. The most interesting findings are that the study gives a feasible idea about the ways on how factors are influenced and can be prevented through interventions at different time points. Developmental factors can be addressed through reaching parents and institutions. Immediate risk factors can be tackled through specific psychological or psycho-social interventions. To work on maintaining factor, prison is one of the convenient and effective places whereby a paradigm shift is needed from ‘punishment’ to ‘Correction and Rehabilitation’ focused system to address future issues related to the convicted offenders. All of these factors may differ case by case, but the model is able to give a holistic idea about how the violent crime occurs.

In a word, the findings of the study can give an eye opening perspective to relevant professionals and concerned people about dealing with violent criminal offenses including an in-depth understanding of primary, secondary and tertiary interventions of prevention.

5.2 Recommendation for actions

- **‘Positive parenting program’** is one of the major recommendations as it helps to understand and learn discipline from early stages of life. It also helps to healthy emotional development.
- A style of **‘communication through explanation’** is necessary and needs to be mainstreamed at home and at the institution level as it may help to enhance the capacity of logical thinking. It also reinforces cognitive abilities and skills.
- Child stimulation is an activity which covers **‘Early Childhood Development (ECD) activity’** also, is a strong recommendation as it may help to strengthen the emotional bonding with parents, to enhance emotional development and to develop empathetic attitude, which may contribute to prevent violence. The intervention also enhances cognitive development as well.
- Increase the opportunity at different places of the country to deal with emotion and thought related difficulties which can be carried out through **‘psychological or psycho-social support services’**.
- Inclusion of specific **‘prevention focused intervention for violent criminal offenses in prison’** to promote inner changes to prevention further violent crime.

- Identify the risk prone areas or social context and focus to the community through specific prevention activity to prevent violent criminal offences.

5.2.1 Recommendation for future research

- Similar research is essential to collect more evidences regarding psychological factors influencing violent criminal offenses.
- A study to check the prevalence of psychological factors for violent criminal offenses occurring in the Bangladeshi society is necessary.
- Research is necessary to explore the prevalence of violent offenses and substance abuse. In the present study, few cases were found during screening who committed crime to earn money for take substances. Few of respondents mentioned during screening that crime was carried out unintentionally in an substance intoxicated state.
- Research is required to observe the correlation among mental disorder and violent crime or offense. As many studies suggested link between those factors. A study in Switzerland demonstrated that patients with affective disorders without substance abuse had a higher probability of committing crimes against property. (Modestin, J., & Wuermle, O.2005).
- It is necessary to know the link among poverty or other social factors and violent offenses. Some of the participants mentioned about the need of money, though from psychological point of view, it was mainly poor problem solving skills and lack of pro-activity.

- A bio-psycho-social study is necessary to see the risk factors or causes of violent crime from different perspectives.

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Appendix A: Approval Sheet of Government for Data Collection in Prison

গণপ্রজাতন্ত্রী বাংলাদেশ সরকার
স্বরাষ্ট্র মন্ত্রণালয়
কারা-১ অধিশাখা

পত্র সংখ্যা-৪৪.০০.০০০০.০২৩.০৪.০০১.২০১৩(অংশ-১)-২৬৫ তারিখঃ ২১ ভাদ্র, ১৪২৩ বঙ্গাব্দ
০৫ সেপ্টেম্বর, ২০১৬ খ্রিঃ

বিষয় : একাডেমিক গবেষণার জন্য কারাগারের অপরাধীদের সাক্ষাৎকার গ্রহণের সুযোগ দান প্রসঙ্গে।

সূত্র : (১) বাংলাদেশ পুলিশ স্পেশাল ব্রাঞ্চ, ঢাকার পত্র নং-৪৪.০০.০০০২.০০০.১২.০১৪.১৬-৪৪৪
তারিখঃ ০৯/৮/২০১৬ খ্রিঃ।

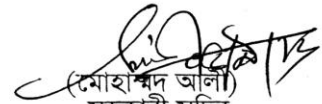
(২) জাতীয় নিরাপত্তা গোয়েন্দা অধিদপ্তরের পত্র নং-২৪-৯৬(রাজ-১)-৯/৫৫২, তং-০২/৫/১৬ খ্রিঃ

উপর্যুক্ত বিষয়ে সূত্রোক্ত পত্রের পরিপ্রেক্ষিতে জানানো যাচ্ছে যে, ক্লিনিক্যাল সাইকোলজি বিভাগের এমফিল দ্বিতীয় বর্ষের ছাত্রী জনাব মিতা রানী রায় চৌধুরী এর “Psychological Factors Influencing Violent Criminal Offences in Bangladesh” বিষয়ক গবেষণার কাজে সহায়ক হিসেবে যারা ইতোমধ্যে আক্রমণাত্মক আচরণের কারণে ফৌজদারী আদালতে অপরাধী, হিসেবে দোষী সাব্যস্ত হয়েছে এরূপ বন্দীদের সাক্ষাৎকার গ্রহণের লক্ষ্যে কাশিমপুর কেন্দ্রীয় কারাগার-২ এ নিম্নোক্ত শর্ত প্রতিপালন সাপেক্ষে পরিদর্শনের অনুমতি নির্দেশক্রমে প্রদান করা হলো :

শর্তসমূহ :

- (ক) কারাগারে প্রবেশকালে ক্যামেরা, মোবাইল ফোন, আগ্নেয়াস্ত্র, ধারালো চাকু, ছুরি, খাবার কিংবা কোন প্রকার ব্যাগ, পার্স ইত্যাদি সংগে নেয়া যাবে না;
- (খ) সকল ক্ষেত্রে প্রয়োজনীয় নিরাপত্তা নিশ্চিত করতে হবে;
- (গ) কারাবিধির ১ম খন্ডের ৬৬১(৩) ধারা অনুসরণ করতে হবে।

সংযুক্ত : বর্ণনামতে- ০৩ ফর্দ।


(মোহাম্মদ আলী)
সহকারী সচিব
ফোন : ৯৫৫০০১৭

কারা মহাপরিদর্শক
কারা অধিদপ্তর
ঢাকা।

অনুলিপি :

- ১। জেলা প্রশাসক, গাজীপুর।
- ২। কারা উপ মহাপরিদর্শক, ঢাকা বিভাগ, ঢাকা।
- ৩। সিনিয়র তত্ত্বাবধায়ক, কাশিমপুর কেন্দ্রীয় কারাগার-২, গাজীপুর।
- ৪। জনাব মিতা রানী রায় চৌধুরী, চিকিৎসা মনোবিজ্ঞান বিভাগ, এমফিল দ্বিতীয় বর্ষের ছাত্রী, ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়, ঢাকা।

Appendix B: Topic Guide

ক. অপরাধ সংগঠনের পূর্বের অবস্থা

১. যে অপরাধের জন্য আপনার প্রথম শাস্তি হয়, সেটি করার আগে অপরাধ এবং অপরাধী সম্পর্কে সম্পর্কে আপনার ভাবনা (Attitude towards crime)
২. ছোটবেলা থেকে আপনি কিভাবে শিখেছেন যে কোনটা করা ভুল/খারাপ এবং কোনটা ভাল/সঠিক (Moral Development)?
৩. কোনটা অপরাধ, সেটা করলে কি সাজা হতে পারে বা সাজা হলে জীবনে কি কি সমস্যা হয় সেসব সম্পর্কে ধারণা (Learning and Insight development)
৪. যে ঘটনার জন্য আপনি অভিযুক্ত হয়েছেন, তার আগে অন্যকে আক্রমণ করা বা আহত করার কোন ঘটনা (Trait/State)

খ. মানসিক পরিবর্তন ও অপরাধ সংগঠনের পর্যায় (একধিক অপরাধ হলে আলাদা আলাদা তথ্য নিতে হবে)

৫. যে অপরাধের জন্য দোষী সাব্যস্ত হয়েছেন, কিভাবে এই অপরাধ করার ধারণা গঠন হয়?(Reason for certain pattern)
 ৬. ঘটনাটি ঘটানোর সময়কার চিন্তা, আবেগ ও অনুভূতি(Thoughts, Emotion and Feelings)।
 ৭. পরবর্তী অবস্থার ভাবনা ছিল কিনা?(Future thinking)
 ৮. এমন কি কোন বিষয় ছিল যার কারণে মনে হয়েছে কাজটি না করি? থাকলে সেগুলি কি ছিল?(Protective Factors)
 ৯. ঘটনাটি সম্পর্কে বর্তমান ভাবনা(attitude at present)
- একবারের বেশী যাদের অপরাধের রেকর্ড রয়েছে তাদের ক্ষেত্রে

১০. প্রথম অপরাধটি করার পর আপনার মনের অবস্থা কেমন ছিল? চিন্তা ভাবনার পরিবর্তনগুলো কি ছিল?

(Adjustment or Transition phase)

১১. কোন বিষয়গুলো (শিক্ষণ, মানসিক অবস্থা, চিন্তা ইত্যাদি) আবারো শাস্তিযোগ্য অপরাধ করার ক্ষেত্রে ভূমিকা

রেখেছিল? (Maintaining factor of criminal behaviour)

ঘ. অন্যান্য বিষয়

১২. আপনার মতে, আপনার নিজের বা চরিত্রের কোন কোন বৈশিষ্ট্যগুলো (ভালো/খারাপ..) এরকম একটা কাজ

করার ক্ষেত্রে ভূমিকা রেখেছে? (Personal Protective and Risk factors)

১৩. আপনার জীবনের কোন কোন বিষয়গুলো (যেমনঃ অভিজ্ঞতা, পরিস্থিতি ইত্যাদি) আপনার এরকম সহিংস হয়ে

ওঠার পিছনে ভূমিকা রেখেছে বলে আপনি মনে করেন? (Environmental/Social Protective and Risk factors)

১৪. এখন কি কখনও মনে হয় যে ঐ সময় চিন্তাগুলো/মনের অবস্থা/পরিস্থিতি একটু অন্য হলে এখনকার পরিস্থিতিটা

এড়ানো যেত? এমন হলে কোন চিন্তাগুলো/মনের কোন অবস্থা/পরিস্থিতি গুলো আসলে আপনার কাছে দায়ী মনে হয়?(Problem Solving skill)

১৫. ভবিষ্যৎ ভাবনা(Prognosis)

Appendix C: List of the Experts for Judge Evaluation

Name	Designation and institution
1. Amir Hossain Saju	Clinical Psychologist
2. Ayesha Rehnuma Siddiqua	Assistant Professor, Department of Criminology, University of Dhaka, Bangladesh
3. Helal Uddin Ahmed	Psychiatrist, Assistant professor, Department of Child, Adolescent and Family Psychiatry, National Institute of Mental Health, Dhaka, Bangladesh
4. Kamruzzaman Mozumdar	Clinical Psychologist, Chairman, Associate professor, Department of Clinical Psychology, University of Dhaka, Dhaka, Bangladesh
5. Khan Khalid Adnaan, Barrister-at-law	Advocate, Criminal Law Practitioner, Supreme Court, Dhaka, Bangladesh
6. Md. Fakruzzaman Shaheed	Psychiatrist, Assistant Professor, Department of Forensic Psychiatry, National Institute of Mental Health, Dhaka, Bangladesh
7. Zohora Parvin	Clinical Psychologist

Appendix D: Informed Consent Form

জনাব/জনাবা,

আমি মিতা রানী রায় চৌধুরী, ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের চিকিৎসা মনোবিজ্ঞান বিভাগের একজন এমফিল গবেষক/ছাত্রী। এমফিল কোর্সের অংশ হিসাবে আমি বর্তমানে একটি গবেষণা কাজ করছি উক্ত বিভাগের সম্মানিত শিক্ষক কামাল উদ্দিন আহম্মেদ চৌধুরীর তত্ত্বাবধানে। গবেষণার শিরোনাম “ মনোবৈজ্ঞানিক বিষয় যেগুলি বাংলাদেশের সহিংস অপরাধকে প্রভাবিত করছে (Psychological Factors Influencing Violent Criminal Offenses in Bangladesh)”. এই গবেষণার উদ্দেশ্য হল বাংলাদেশের প্রেক্ষাপটে আক্রমণাত্মক বা সহিংস অপরাধের মনোবৈজ্ঞানিক কারণগুলো খুঁজে বের করা। উক্ত গবেষণা কাজের জন্য আমি এমন মানুষের সাথে কথা বলছি যে জীবনে এক বা একাধিক আক্রমণাত্মক কাজের জন্য মাননীয় আদালতে অভিযুক্ত হয়েছে। এখানে আমি আপনাকে নিশ্চয়তা দিতে চাই যে, আপনার নাম এবং পরিচয় গোপন রাখা হবে এবং আপনার দেওয়া তথ্য শুধুমাত্র গবেষণার কাজে ব্যবহার করা হবে। এ তথ্যের সাথে সরকার বা আইনি প্রক্রিয়ার কোন সম্পর্ক নেই। আপনি যেহেতু.....কাজের জন্য অভিযুক্ত হয়েছেন, সেহেতু আপনি রাজি হলে আমার গবেষণার প্রয়োজনে আপনার সাথে কথা বলতে চাই।

আপনার সদয় অনুমতি থাকলে আমি কথা বলা/সাক্ষাৎকার নেওয়া শুরু করতে পারি। এখানে উল্লেখ্য যে, আপনি যে কোন সময় চাইলে সাক্ষাৎকার বন্ধ করতে পারেন বা কোন প্রশ্নের উত্তর দেওয়ার ক্ষেত্রে না বলতে পারেন। সাক্ষাৎকারের ক্ষেত্রে ত্রিশ মিনিট থেকে এক ঘণ্টা সময় লাগতে পারে। আপনি কি সাক্ষাৎকার দিতে ইচ্ছুক?

ক) হ্যাঁ(সাক্ষর বা টিপসই বা মৌখিক অনুমতি)	খ) না
	আপনার সময়ের জন্য ধন্যবাদ।

নিবেদক,

মিতা রানী রায় চৌধুরী

এমফিল : ২য় বর্ষ,

ভর্তি সেশন : ২০১০-১১

বিভাগ : চিকিৎসা মনোবিজ্ঞান, ঢাকা বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়, ঢাকা।

Appendix E: Explanatory Statement form

Explanatory Statement/ব্যাখ্যামূলক বিবৃতি

আমি শুধুমাত্র বিশ্ববিদ্যালয়ের লেখা পড়ার অংশ হিসাবে এই গবেষণাটি করছি। যদিও আপনার সম্পর্কে কিছু আর্থ-সামাজিক তথ্য সংগ্রহ করা হবে, তবে তা শুধুমাত্র আপনার পরিপ্রেক্ষিত বোঝার জন্য। এখানে আপনার নাম, পরিচয় কোন কিছুই রিপোর্ট করা হবে না, শুধুমাত্র তথ্যগুলো বিশ্লেষণ করা হবে। এক্ষেত্রে আপনার কোন লাভ বা ক্ষতি কোনটিই হবে না। বরং আপনার দেওয়া তথ্যগুলো নীতিনির্ধারকদের বুঝতে সাহায্য করবে যে কি করলে ব্যক্তিপর্যায়ে অপরাধ প্রবণতা কমানো যায়। আপনার বড় হয়ে ওঠা, অপরাধ সম্পর্কে পূর্ব ধারণা, অপরাধ করার পূর্ব এবং পরবর্তী মনের ক্রিয়া-প্রতিক্রিয়া এগুলো সম্পর্কে কথা বলব। এখানে আপনাকে কোন স্থান বা ব্যক্তির নাম বলার ও প্রয়োজন হবে না। একজন মনোবিজ্ঞানী হিসেবে তাৎক্ষণিক কোন খারাপলাগা কমাতে আমরা নিঃশ্বাসের ব্যায়াম করার কথা বলে থাকি। যেখানে নাক দিয়ে বুক ভরে শ্বাস নিয়ে প্রায় ৩-৫ সেকেন্ড ধরে রেখে মুখ দিয়ে ধীরে ধীরে ছেড়ে দিই। আপনি প্রয়োজন মনে করলে এই ব্যায়ামটিও করতে পারবেন। আপনি চাইলেই যেকোন সময় সাক্ষাৎকার দেওয়া বন্ধ করতে পারেন। আপনার এ বিষয়ে কোন প্রশ্ন থাকলেও করতে পারেন।

Appendix F: Screening Questionnaire

Screening Questionnaire/স্ক্রিনিং প্রশ্নমালা

আপনার সম্পর্কে আরো স্পষ্ট কিছু তথ্যের জন্য নিম্নোক্ত বিষয়গুলো জানালে উপকৃত হব।

১. আপনি কোন কেস বা মামলার কারণে এখানে এসেছেন?(একধিক উত্তর হতে পারে।)
ক) মার্ডার খ) মার্ডারের চেষ্টা করা গ) ডাকাতি ঘ) ধর্ষণ ঙ) মারাত্মক আহত করা
২. আপনার কি সাজা হয়েছে?
৩. কোন ধারায় আপনি দোষী সাব্যস্ত হয়েছেন?
৪. আপনি কি মামলার রায় মেনে নিয়েছেন?
ক) হ্যাঁ খ) না
৫. আপনি কি ঘটনাটি ঘটানোর সাথে সরাসরি যুক্ত ছিলেন?
ক) হ্যাঁ খ) না
৬. আপনি কি ঘটনাটি ঘটানোর সময় নেশাগ্রস্ত ছিলেন?
ক) হ্যাঁ খ) না
৭. আপনি কি ঘটনাটি ঘটানোর সময় মানসিক ভাবে কোনরকম ভারসাম্যহীন বা অসুস্থ ছিলেন কিনা?
ক) হ্যাঁ খ) না
৮. আপনি কি আপনার ঘটনাটি সম্পর্কে তথ্য দিতে রাজি আছেন?
ক) হ্যাঁ খ) না

Appendix G: Demographic Information sheet

Demographic Information/আর্থসামাজিক তথ্যাবলী

তারিখঃ	কোড নংঃ
সাক্ষাৎকারের স্থানঃ	সাক্ষাৎকারের সময়ঃ
নামঃ	বর্তমান বয়সঃ
জন্মস্থানঃ	শিক্ষাগত যোগ্যতাঃ
বর্তমান পেশাঃ	পূর্বের পেশাঃ
বৈবাহিক অবস্থাঃ	সন্তানঃ
ভাইবোনের সংখ্যা :	জন্মক্রমঃ
মা-বাবার তথ্য(নিজ/সৎ)ঃ	জীবিত/মৃতঃ
খুব কাছের মানুষের সংখ্যাঃ	কাছের মানুষের সাথে সম্পর্কঃ
পূর্বের অপরাধঃ	পূর্বের অপরাধের ধারাঃ
কারাগারে থাকার সময়কালঃ	কতবার কারাবাসঃ
পরিকল্পিত/হঠাৎ করে/পেশাদারঃ	নেশা করার অভ্যাস ছিল কিনাঃ
কতটা ভালো আছেন মনে করেন(১-১০ স্কেলে)ঃ	মনে কোন অশান্তি থাকলে তার লক্ষণগুলোঃ
যে ঘটনার কারণে শেষবার কারাগারে যাওয়ার ঘটনা ঘটেছে তার বর্ণনাঃ	