

Review of *Crime and Criminality*, (University of Toronto Press, Ehor Boyanowsky, 2020)

This book masterfully enhances understanding of crime and criminality for both the student of criminality and the lay reader. It provides an integrated analysis of theory, research and practice in a field that is ever more pertinent in this troubled era. It integrates the findings of psychology, sociology and criminology to address troubling questions about crime and criminals: why crimes happen, what type of people are involved, what are the genetic, experiential and environmental factors that produce deviance. A holistic theory of criminality ties together the various threads raising it above a collection of case study vignettes. The book is a readable, yet thoroughly referenced, synthesis of Boyanowsky's teaching, research and activism in a lifetime of leadership in the field of criminality. Focussed primarily on Canada and North America, but also with worldwide examples, it presents short case studies, personal anecdotes, and references to film and media to illuminate the theory and provide additional evidence for the research findings.

The book discusses what crime is in various cultures, how criminals develop, and the pertinent psychological, sociological and experiential factors that differentiate the criminal from other people. Not limited to mass murders, serial killers, and family violence, *Crime and Criminality* also examines cybercrime, crimes against the environment and the role of organized crime in such aspects as climate change and the disposal of hazardous waste.

For me, one of the best qualities of the book is its brilliant integration of wide-ranging snippets from history, the Mongol horsemen of the 13th century, Bonnie and Clyde and Ted Kaczynski, the Unabomber, to name a few. Each chapter is "of the right length" and stuffed with interesting connections that preserve interest and facilitate reading. The book is flawlessly written and edited with a useful glossary and extensive reference list. It promises to become a classic.

Gary Anderson
Retired Professor, McGill University
May 2020

• REVIEWS

"Ehor Boyanowsky has provided something to which every criminology or criminal justice student should be exposed: a summary of empirical approaches to the study of human behavior that truly is based in synthesis. The days of single-variable explanations for antisocial or violent behaviors are well behind us, and the field—as well as our students—will benefit from the approach taken in Boyanowsky's book. The breadth and depth of coverage in the text is impressive and true to Boyanowsky's admirable wit, and the writing style makes for an easygoing read. I highly recommend this book for students of human behavior and those interested in understanding antisocial conduct from a multidisciplinary perspective."

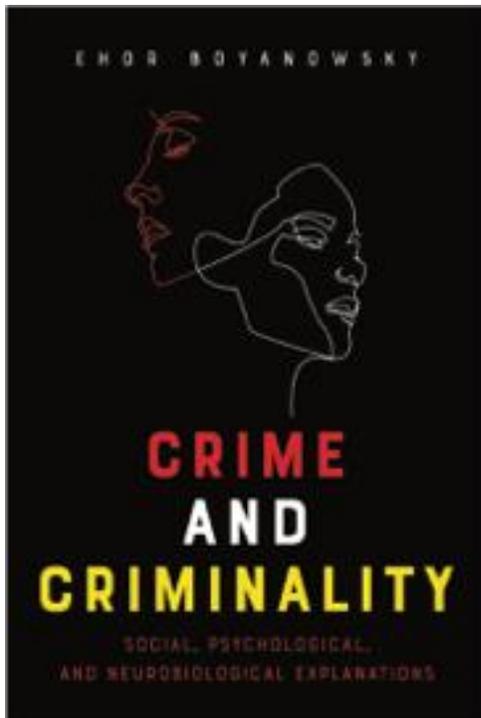
Joseph L. Nedelec, School of Criminal Justice, University of Cincinnati

"Engaging and applicable, *Crime and Criminality* will appeal to a wide array of students. Particularly excellent is its use of case studies, which will prompt discussion in a classroom environment and can be accompanied by audiovisual material and news stories related to current events pertaining to crime and justice in society. *Crime and Criminality* is a massive asset and a phenomenal teaching tool in the classroom."

Daniel Alati, Department of Sociology, MacEwan University

"Understanding criminality means understanding how perpetrators think. This book is a highly readable contribution to that end."

Don Dutton, Department of Psychology, University of British Columbia



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***Crime and Criminality:
Social, Psychological, and Neurobiological Explanations***

Ehor Boyanowsky

Crime and Criminality employs case studies to bring theories to life, and to offer insight into vital contemporary topics like domestic violence, child pornography, genocide, the effect of climate change on crime, and the evolution of cybercrime.

Accessible, and comparative in scope, this text is ideal for students interested in understanding the varied causes of crime. Introductions and summaries for each chapter make this an ideal text for criminology courses.

KEY FEATURES

- Brings concepts to life with an interdisciplinary, comparative, case study approach.
- Integrates a personal voice into the narrative of the text.
- Compares criminal justice systems in the United States, Canada, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Russia, Australia, Japan, France, and China.

Chapter 1: What is a Crime, What is Not? **Chapter 2:** A Multidimensional Model of Crime
Chapter 3: Explanations of Criminality

Chapter 4: Psychopathy: Dionysius and the Antihero in Society **Chapter 5:** How
Criminality Develops
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Human Reactions to Environmental Threat
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Chapter 1

Circumstances and Cultural Differences Define Crime: Case Studies

Ian Thomson, an older man living alone in a relatively remote location in the country, is awakened in the middle of the night by the sound of breaking glass. He grabs his gun and looks out the window to where three men wearing balaclava masks are throwing **Molotov cocktails** against his house. He calls 911 and fires his gun over their heads. They flee and he turns over a surveillance videotape to the police (Gurney, 2013). To his astonishment, they arrest him! Why? Where does he live?

A neighborhood watch volunteer notices a stranger, a tall young man wearing a hoody, walking through his gated neighborhood one evening after dark. He calls 911. The operator advises him not to pursue

the youth who overhears his call and turns toward him. The youth, who is African American, begins to challenge him demanding to know where he lives and then punches him. He falls to the ground, pulls out his gun, and shoots the youth. The police arrive, interview him, and let him go (Botelho & Yan, 2013). Why? Where does he live?

In the play *Mother Courage and Her Children* (Brecht, 1939/1980), a sturdy matriarch halts her caravan at an execution site in the European countryside, realizing with horror that the man bound at the stake is her son. He explains, bemusedly, that he doesn't understand what is going on. Last week he had been raiding villages, raping and killing and pillaging, and had been commended by his commanding officers. This week he did the same thing and has been condemned to death. What is going on?

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EFFECTS OF MORAL DEVELOPMENT ON OFFENDING AND RECIDIVISM

Keep in mind that within the Kohlbergian scheme, a person's level of moral development attained is not based on that person's behavior but on how she or he justifies or rationalizes that behavior orally or verbally. So the question remains: How important is this theory for determining criminal behavior? Can the level achieved predict or reflect the

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likelihood of offending? That relationship can be measured in at least three ways: one, by promoting moral development in a person through training and seeing whether it has an effect on delinquency; two, by correlating the severity of delinquency or criminality with the level of morality achieved; or three, by measuring the relationship between level of moral development and the probability of recidivism, i.e., further offending after initial conviction.

In an initial study of juvenile delinquents who were coached to achieve a higher degree of moral development, Arbuthnot and Gordon (1986) found during a one-year follow-up evaluation, that these young offenders were less likely to receive behavioral referrals, had reduced rates of tardiness at school, showed improved academic performance, and had fewer police or court contacts. Stams et al. (2006) found a very strong correlation between a lower stage of moral judgment and juvenile delinquency, even when controlling for socioeconomic standing, cultural background, age, intelligence, gender, and type of offense.

Finally, in a huge (meta-analysis) comparison of many studies comprising 15,992 offenders, Van Vugt et al. (2011) found a significant inverse relation between more "mature" moral development and recidivism, with a larger effect for moral **cognition** (sense of justice factors) than for emotional cognition (feeling empathy factors). Of course, as I have discussed, empathy is part of a person's ability to experience emotion, whereas a sense of social justice is more dependent on the intellectual development of the individual. There was also a stronger relationship for production measures (the subjects' ability to describe their rationale orally) than for recognition measures (the subjects' ability to point to the printed reasoning provided). Again, active involvement requires engagement of both emotional and cognitive faculties. Correlations were not significantly different for juvenile versus adult offenders.

Those studies clearly demonstrate that moral development is relevant and may be crucial to stemming delinquency and adult criminality. How a person thinks at significant moments in the decision process is reflected in the likelihood that he or she will behave antisocially. You may recall the famous Subway TV

commercial during which a doomed gangster wannabe is forced to dig his own grave while heavily armed thugs watch over him. Turning to the camera he says, "I made some bad decisions."

The Origins of Delinquency

As mentioned previously, long ago Aichhorn (1925/1951) had argued that delinquency emerges as a function of life events, not necessarily traumatic, occurring to a subset of individuals who already contain the latent elements of antisocial behavior in their constitution, those elements that Raine identified. Farrington and Welsh (2007) describe the most important individual factors in predicting offending as low intelligence and low educational attainment, certain personality and temperament factors, lack of empathy, and a high degree of impulsiveness. The strongest family factors are large family size, poor parental supervision, parental conflict, and disrupted families. The environmental factors are growing up in a low socioeconomic status household, associating with delinquent friends (Akers's point), attending schools with high delinquency rates, and living in deprived areas, points emphasized by Sutherland. Many of those environmental factors can be seen as sources of differential association and reinforcement, the process emphasized by Akers through which various interactions endorse favorable definitions toward breaking the law.

If we analyze such factors, the personal characteristics revealed are those that other researchers have identified in individual offenders, especially those with psychopathic tendencies. Of course, large families suggest less ability (time and effort available) to focus on children who are troubled, a deficit exacerbated if a family has quarreling parents or a single parent. Finally, children are at great risk if they live among other children in similar circumstances: a cascade of causal factors.

Although differing slightly, Glueck and Glueck (1950) identified many of those factors in their study comparing 500 institutionalized boys with 500 matched controls. And to reiterate, in a study of young delinquents that has received a great deal of attention, Terrie Moffitt (1993) has identified two vectors of offending: adolescent

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limited and **life-course persistent criminality**. Those whose antisocial behavior is limited to the adolescent years make up the largest group, and those whose offending is life-course persistent the smaller. She describes a process within which biological factors and the early family environment mutually influence one another: negative environments worsen negative traits, and negative traits increase the exposure to negative environments. Obviously, Bandura's concept of reciprocal determinism has influenced her thinking. By late adolescence, those traits conducive to antisocial behavior are so entrenched that changing a person's behavior may be nearly impossible. By contrast, adolescent-limited antisocial behavior is not driven by individual traits but rather by peer influence and other situational factors, and it eventually comes to be abandoned. In a 2018 review, Moffitt affirms that such bifurcation of adolescent offenders has stood the test of time as a major principle of behavior and should form the basis for social policy.

That theoretical algorithm harkens back to Lombroso's ideas of over 100 years ago. Moffitt argues that multiple minor physical anomalies that reflect neurological impairments along with mistreatment by parents are two of the significant causes of future serious delinquency. Raine, Brennan, and Mednick (1994) found that birth complications combined with maternal rejection were strongly predictive of future offending. Thus, there is mounting empirical evidence that individual predilections interacting with powerful environmental influences collude to produce both adolescent-limited and life-course-persistent

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Dutton (2006), in his paradigm-altering book *Rethinking Domestic Violence*, argues that the existence of such violence is a weak point of sociobiology since domestic homicide is counterintuitive to its premises. For instance, in a study of domestic homicides in Detroit, the sociobiologists Daly and Wilson (1988) found jealousy to be a motive in only 13.6 percent (25/183) of the murders committed by men whereas 31 percent (9/29) of the murders committed by women were jealousy driven; but, in a Canadian study, 24 percent (195/812) of male-perpetrated homicides and only 7.6 percent (19/248) of female-perpetrated homicides were jealousy driven. Since the US cases involved African Americans and the Canadian ones involved white couples, Dutton argues cultural differences outweigh sociobiological explanations. Buss (2013) acknowledges that some human universals e.g., fire, may have spread through cultural transmission but argues that jealousy, especially sexual jealousy, is a basic human emotion whose adaptive value promoted its perpetuation and similar universality. That is, sexual jealousy defends initially against infidelity by one's mate through intimidation and even violence; second, it defends against mate poaching, i.e., by threatening the interloper who may want to have sex with your spouse; and third, it also defends against mate defection, namely the loss of one's mate by their departure. The response is restriction—of interaction with family, friends, and travel alone, for example—and isolation may be the consequence. The goal is to monopolize the mate's reproductive ability and to make certain the paternity (fatherhood) of any children in the case of men.

One could argue that one cannot compare the Canadian and American studies in that way, however, for in Detroit not only did 18 women kill males but another 11 women killed females. Also, the jealousy-driven rate for female-perpetrated homicides in Detroit is four times that of the Canadian rate while males in Detroit were found to kill for reasons of jealousy at about half the rate of the males

in Canada (Dutton, 2006). Walsh, Ellis, and Davis (2007) contend that because male mortality is so high among young African American males, they are in short supply, so females are very competitive with one another, which would account for females killing both males and females out of sexual jealousy at a high rate—even though male insecurities over paternity would seem to give them a stronger motive for violence occasioned by sexual jealousy.

Dutton outlines a long history of wife beating that became somewhat tempered in England, in the late middle ages, by the "rule of thumb," which allowed the husband, should he have to discipline his wife, to use a stick no thicker than his thumb. Nevertheless, perhaps wife beating was the norm in France and England as village festivals were mounted in which men were mocked and abused by painted revelers if they were beaten by their wives, but no such admonition was mounted against wife beaters. However, in the seventeenth century, Puritans in both England and the United States condemned wife assault.

And so too, eventually, did the British Parliament in response to the philosopher John Stuart Mill's famous 1869 essay, "The Subjection of Women." In that treatise, he attributed abuse to the savage nature of men, a tendency kept in check in public (again, community standards of tolerance come into play) but unleashed in the home where women, no longer protected by societal disapprobation of male brutality, were too often regarded merely as possessions. Of course, most of the abuse was attributed to men of

lower class, the presumption being that better bred men would not resort to such primitive behavior. Buss would disagree, arguing it would be as frequent among the upper classes where an important goal, a blood heir to a fortune, was at stake. Mill's work sparked a report to parliament, and by the end of the century, all violence against women, including that regulated by the rule of thumb, was rendered illegal, although Dutton suggests it was merely overlooked by the authorities unless murder was committed. In early 1900, President Theodore Roosevelt, an extremely progressive intellectual, suggested whipping posts for assaultive husbands (Brinkley, 2010). Progressive means different things in different eras, apparently.

Thus, the conception of the problem of domestic violence as the assault of women victimized by men was eminently reasonable, and, as Dutton points out, the studies that confirmed that belief derived

Among the most robust of criminological phenomena is the positive relationship between average daily and monthly temperature and violent crime. Although most of the research has been done on American cities ranging from Dallas to Minneapolis, studies have also been conducted on British cities (Field, 1992), Pakistani cities (Simister & Van de Vliert, 2005) and now Canadian cities (Boyanowsky & Yasayko, 2007, 2011). Some researchers have argued that the strong relationship between temperature and violent crime is best explained by **routine activities theory (RAT)** (Cohen & Felson, 1979). That hypothesis posits that, as the weather becomes more pleasant, people interact more and so more perpetrators and victims have access to each other, and consequently, on a probabilistic basis, more crime occurs.

Baron and Bell (1976) and others have also argued that the relationship is curvilinear so that at temperatures above 80 or so degrees Fahrenheit,

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aggressive behavior and its consequence, violent crime, drop. They have suggested that the reduction in violent crime is prompted by people's desire to escape the heat. Although few researchers question that at some high temperatures people's highest priority would be to escape if possible in order to avoid collapse from heat exhaustion, in the most careful statistical reanalysis undertaken, Anderson et al. (2000) have concluded that the curvilinear finding of Baron and others is due to statistical artifact and that the linear relationship persists to very high temperatures.

Cohn and Rotton (1997) have contrarily pointed out that, when days are partitioned into sections, in some American cities, the hottest part of the day is accompanied by a drop in the crime rate. That time, however, encompasses the hours from four to six pm when many Americans are in their cars or on buses and trains, commuting, so that potential rates of interaction are actually much lower. Yet Kenrick and MacFarlane (1986) have shown that horn honking at intersections where cars did not budge on the change to a green light (a suggested aggressive behavior) increased dramatically as temperatures rose, but only for cars without air conditioning. Nor can the routine activity or **negative affect escape hypothesis** account for the dramatic relationship between increasing temperature and domestic violence, which, by definition, occurs within the confines of the home (Michael & Zumpe, 1986), or for the finding that baseball pitchers are more likely to hit batters with a pitch on hot rather than cool days (Reifman, Larrick, & Fein, 1991). Obviously, something else is going on.

Environmental Temperature, Brain Temperature, and Interpersonal Aggression

In his book *The Stranger* Albert Camus (1946, 38–39) describes the distress of his protagonist:

The heat was beginning to scorch my cheeks; ... I had the same disagreeable sensations—especially in my forehead, where all the veins seemed to be bursting through the skin. ... I was conscious only of

the cymbals of the sun clashing on my skull ... of the keen blade of light flashing up from the [Arab's] knife. ... Then everything began to reel before my eyes.... Every nerve in my body was a steel spring, and my grip closed on the revolver. The trigger gave....

In a series of studies inspired by the riots of the sixties that Baron and his colleagues conducted (e.g., Baron & Bell, 1976), those researchers found that subjects given the opportunity to retaliate against another person in a laboratory situation (where the provocateur was actually an accomplice of the experimenter) gave more electric shocks to their antagonist under conditions of heat than they did when tested under normal laboratory temperature conditions. But only in moderate heat: when the dry bulb temperature rose above approximately 80 degrees Fahrenheit (26.7 Celsius) or the subjects were provoked by personal verbal attacks on them, their levels of retaliation actually dropped. To account for those results, the authors invoked the curvilinear or inverted U relationship between temperature and aggression. They argued that the combined distress of heat and anger led to attempts to escape from the heat rather than engage in aggression, a rather puzzling metaphorical explanation as no escape was physically possible—the only response available to them was pressing the button to deliver more or fewer shocks.

By contrast, in a parallel series of studies conducted by my colleagues and me (Boyanowsky, 1999; Boyanowsky, Calvert-Boyanowsky, et al., 1981), we found that there was a direct linear relationship between environmental heat and retaliatory aggression that increased as provocation was added to the procedure even to the level of 95 degrees Fahrenheit (dry bulb) or 90.5 effective temperature (combining heat with humidity), that is, 32.5 degrees Celsius. How to account for those different results?

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Emerging from that strategy, China has sprung to the front in the “**cyberwars**” with a massive number of computer experts, hackers, and other tech whizzes whom some claim regularly and remotely pirate the industrial and technological secrets of the world and, even more sinisterly, perhaps attack its national security and military control systems (Clarke & Knake, 2010). So China, after 500 years and now with technological parity or even supremacy recouped, this time contemplates no withdrawal from the real world or the virtual world of **cyberspace**. China had learned the lesson well from history: not only is isolation a fatal choice but so is being even a step behind the emerging technology of the day. Indeed, falling behind could be disastrous economically and militarily in the twenty-first century. Thus, China has become a major player ready to do battle in the impending world of cyberwarfare.

Cyberwarfare is the use or targeting in a battlespace or warfare context of computers, online control systems and networks. It involves both offensive and defensive operations pertaining to the threat of cyberattacks, espionage and sabotage. (“Cyberwarfare,” 2019)

According to Andy Greenberg (2017), near catastrophic attacks have already happened in Ukraine where the Russians in their unrelenting attempts to destabilize and re seize that country have unleashed thousands of cyber strikes derailing its media, power grid, and even its finance ministry's functioning. The most

profound attacks occurred in December 2015 and 2016, when large parts of the Ukrainian electrical grid were plunged into blackout. But that was just a test run compared to what could follow.

It was not the first attack. According to Kim Zetter (2014, 2015), a joint Israeli-US attack against Iranian uranium enrichment facilities—insinuating the Stuxnet worm, a virus that targets programmable logic controllers through infected flash drives—caused hundreds of centrifuges to spin out of control and physically self-destruct. This attack set back the campaign to create nuclear weapons, which Israel felt threatened by given the Iranian regime's avowed intention to destroy that nation.

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Thus the war is waged anonymously and remotely through malware-accessing computer systems. Those characteristics allow for a certain type of individual to enter the realm of war and crime. This person is a far cry from the Bill Miner type. Miner was a pioneer of an earlier technology, a gentlemanly American who coined the phrase "Hands up!" when robbing trains, which, like personal computers in the 1990s, were a new technology for transporting money and gold bullion in large amounts in my area near Ashcroft, British Columbia, during the late 1800s and early 1900s. So too, the Bonnie Parker and Clyde Barrow duo that robbed banks in the United States during the 1930s adopted the emerging technologies of ever-faster cars and automatic rifles to make their getaways.

And Ken Leishman, a fellow I knew who ran for mayor of my northern Ontario hometown of Red Lake, used small bush planes to fly to and from bank robberies that he perpetrated in southern Ontario (Robertson, 1981). Though armed, he never killed anyone, and after engineering the largest gold heist of bullion (from Red Lake) in Canadian history in Winnipeg, Manitoba, Leishman was captured and imprisoned. After serving his sentence, he became a model citizen in town and even ran for mayor. Ironically, given that it was a tough mining town that you fought your way into and out of, the only black man in town beat him in the election. Thus Leishman was a curious mix of the psychopathic renegade and the solid citizen; he died in a plane crash on a mercy mission flying a patient to hospital.

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