

# Reconstructing Meaning, Objectivity, and Ethical Practice in Contemporary Forensic Psychology: An Integrative Theoretical and Empirical Reappraisal

Dr. Elias Verhoeven

Department of Psychology, KU Leuven, Belgium

**Received:** 07 December 2025; **Accepted:** 03 January 2026; **Published:** 01 February 2026

**Abstract:** Forensic psychology occupies a distinctive position at the intersection of law, science, and human experience, requiring practitioners and scholars to navigate complex tensions between objectivity, ethical responsibility, and the lived realities of both victims and accused persons. Over the past several decades, this field has expanded from a primarily assessment-driven specialty into a broad, theoretically informed discipline that engages deeply with questions of meaning, identity, and social context. Building on classical and contemporary contributions to forensic psychology, this article offers a comprehensive reappraisal of how meaning structures, professional socialization, ethical labeling, and psychological constructs interact to shape forensic practice and research. Drawing on foundational frameworks of personality and meaning, as well as modern criminological and victimological research, the article argues that forensic psychology cannot be reduced to technical assessment alone but must be understood as an interpretive science embedded within moral, cultural, and institutional systems.

The work is anchored theoretically in the tradition of personal construct psychology, which emphasizes that individuals actively interpret and organize their experiences through unique systems of meaning (Kelly, 1955), and in contemporary models of criminal conduct that integrate cognitive, social, and environmental factors (Bonta & Andrews, 2023). These theoretical perspectives are situated within the broader professional and ethical landscape of forensic psychology, including debates over objectivity, role conflict, and occupational socialization (Neal & Brodsky, 2014), as well as concerns regarding the ethical implications of labeling and categorization in correctional and forensic contexts (Willis, 2018). Central to this analysis is the recognition that forensic psychology is not merely a technical enterprise but a deeply normative one, in which judgments about risk, responsibility, and harm are inseparable from assumptions about human nature and social order.

A major contribution of this article is its integration of victimological research into the core of forensic psychological theory. Studies of victimization, particularly those focusing on gendered and institutionalized forms of harm, demonstrate that experiences of trauma and injustice are mediated by meaning structures that profoundly affect psychological outcomes (Baum et al., 1983; Fisher, 2025; Johnson & Wasielewski, 1982). These insights challenge forensic psychologists to move beyond purely symptom-focused models and to attend to the interpretive frameworks through which victims and offenders understand their experiences. At the same time, criminological scholarship emphasizes that crime and deviance must be understood within broader social and moral contexts, rather than as isolated individual pathologies (Liebling et al., 2023).

Methodologically, the article adopts a theoretically grounded, integrative research design that synthesizes qualitative and quantitative traditions within forensic psychology. Rather than privileging one form of evidence over another, the approach reflects the pluralistic epistemology that has long characterized the field, as exemplified by the diverse assessment practices documented in surveys of forensic psychologists (Archer et al., 2006). The results of this integrative analysis suggest that objectivity in forensic psychology is best understood not as the absence of values or perspectives, but as the disciplined and transparent engagement with them, an idea that is consistent with contemporary reflections on professional identity and ethical responsibility (Neal & Brodsky, 2014; Willis, 2018).

Throughout the article, the theoretical and practical contributions of major handbooks and foundational texts are woven into a unified argument about the future of forensic psychology. In particular, the comprehensive scope and conceptual depth of the Handbook of Forensic Psychology by Weiner and Hess (2004) provide an essential anchor for understanding how assessment, ethics, and theory converge in professional practice. By situating newer debates about meaning, labeling, and victimization within this broader tradition, the article demonstrates that many of the field's current challenges are extensions of long-standing conceptual tensions rather than entirely novel problems.

Ultimately, this article contends that a more reflective, theoretically integrated, and ethically grounded forensic psychology is both possible and necessary. By acknowledging the interpretive nature of psychological judgment, the socially embedded character of crime and victimization, and the moral weight of professional decisions, forensic psychologists can better serve the legal system and the individuals whose lives are affected by it. The article concludes by outlining directions for future research that emphasize interdisciplinary collaboration, deeper engagement with meaning-centered theories, and a renewed commitment to ethical reflexivity within forensic practice.

**Keywords:** Forensic psychology, personal constructs, victimization, professional objectivity, ethical labeling, criminal conduct

**Introduction:** Forensic psychology has evolved into one of the most intellectually demanding and socially consequential areas of applied psychological science, in large part because it is required to operate simultaneously within empirical, legal, and moral domains. Unlike many other branches of psychology that primarily address therapeutic or developmental concerns, forensic psychology is directly implicated in decisions about responsibility, risk, and social control, making the epistemological and ethical foundations of the discipline unusually salient. The contemporary field is often described as a synthesis of clinical assessment, legal reasoning, and criminological theory, yet such a description only begins to capture the depth of its conceptual commitments and practical dilemmas (Weiner & Hess, 2004). At its core, forensic psychology must answer a deceptively simple question: how can psychological knowledge be used responsibly to inform legal judgments about human behavior? This question becomes increasingly complex when one recognizes that psychological knowledge itself is shaped by theoretical assumptions about meaning, personality, and social context.

The historical development of forensic psychology reflects these underlying tensions. Early forensic psychologists were primarily concerned with issues of competence, insanity, and credibility, often relying on psychometric instruments and clinical interviews to provide expert testimony (Archer et al., 2006). Over time, however, the field expanded to include a wide range of activities, from risk assessment and offender treatment to victim advocacy and policy consultation, as documented in comprehensive treatments of the discipline (Weiner & Hess, 2004). This expansion has brought with it an increased awareness that forensic

practice cannot be reduced to technical measurement alone, because the interpretation of psychological data is always mediated by theoretical frameworks and value-laden assumptions about normality, deviance, and harm (Adler, 2013).

One of the most enduring theoretical influences on forensic psychology is the idea that human behavior is organized around systems of meaning rather than simply driven by stimuli or instincts. Kelly's personal construct psychology posits that individuals function as "scientists" who continuously generate and revise hypotheses about themselves and the world in order to anticipate and control events (Kelly, 1955). This view has profound implications for forensic psychology, because it suggests that criminal behavior, victimization, and even professional judgment are structured by interpretive frameworks that may not be immediately visible in overt behavior. From this perspective, an offender's actions cannot be fully understood without considering the personal constructs through which those actions are given meaning, just as a victim's response to trauma depends on how the experience is interpreted and integrated into a broader life narrative (Johnson & Wasielewski, 1982).

At the same time, contemporary theories of criminal conduct emphasize that behavior emerges from the interaction of individual, social, and environmental factors, rather than from isolated personality traits or pathological drives (Bonta & Andrews, 2023). These models, which are now central to evidence-based risk assessment and rehabilitation, are themselves grounded in assumptions about cognition, motivation, and social learning. Forensic psychologists, therefore, operate at the intersection of meaning-centered

theories and empirically grounded models of behavior, a position that requires both conceptual sophistication and methodological rigor (Weiner & Hess, 2004). The challenge lies in integrating these perspectives in a way that respects the complexity of human experience while still providing actionable information for legal decision-makers.

The importance of such integration becomes especially clear when considering the role of victimization in forensic psychology. Research on the psychological impact of crime and disaster has consistently shown that the severity of distress is not determined solely by the objective characteristics of the event, but by the subjective meaning that individuals assign to it (Baum et al., 1983). This insight has been reinforced by large-scale studies of sexual victimization and other forms of interpersonal harm, which demonstrate that experiences of powerlessness, betrayal, and stigma profoundly shape long-term outcomes (Fisher, 2025). Forensic psychologists who evaluate victims or provide expert testimony in cases involving trauma must therefore be attuned not only to symptom patterns but also to the interpretive frameworks through which victims make sense of their experiences (Johnson & Wasielewski, 1982).

Parallel to these concerns about meaning and victimization are ongoing debates about objectivity and professional identity within forensic psychology. Because forensic psychologists often serve adversarial legal systems, they are subject to powerful pressures that can shape their judgments, sometimes in subtle and unintended ways. Research on occupational socialization suggests that professional norms, institutional expectations, and role demands can influence how forensic psychologists conceptualize their tasks and interpret evidence (Neal & Brodsky, 2014). This raises critical questions about whether true objectivity is possible in forensic practice, or whether what is more realistically achievable is a form of disciplined subjectivity that acknowledges and manages bias rather than denying it outright (Weiner & Hess, 2004).

These questions are further complicated by the ethical implications of labeling and categorization. In forensic and correctional contexts, psychological diagnoses and risk labels can have far-reaching consequences for individuals' legal status, treatment opportunities, and social identities. Critics have argued that such labels, even when empirically grounded, can inadvertently reinforce stigma and undermine the humanity of those to whom they are applied (Willis, 2018). At the same time, legal systems rely on these categories to make decisions about sentencing, supervision, and public safety, creating an unavoidable tension between

individual dignity and collective security (Liebling et al., 2023). Forensic psychology must therefore grapple with the ethical weight of its own conceptual tools, recognizing that they do not merely describe reality but actively shape it.

Despite the richness of this theoretical and ethical landscape, much contemporary research in forensic psychology remains fragmented, with separate literatures on assessment, victimization, criminology, and professional practice often proceeding in parallel rather than in dialogue. While handbooks and integrative texts have attempted to bridge these divides, the rapid growth of empirical research has sometimes outpaced efforts to develop coherent theoretical frameworks (Weiner & Hess, 2004). As a result, there is a pressing need for scholarship that explicitly connects meaning-centered theories, models of criminal conduct, and ethical debates about objectivity and labeling into a unified account of forensic psychological practice (Adler, 2013).

The present article seeks to address this gap by offering an integrative reappraisal of forensic psychology that places meaning, objectivity, and ethics at the center of the field's conceptual architecture. Drawing on a wide range of foundational and contemporary sources, the analysis will explore how personal constructs, professional socialization, and victimization research interact to shape both theory and practice. By situating these elements within the broader criminological and legal context, the article aims to demonstrate that many of the field's most challenging problems arise not from a lack of data, but from unresolved tensions between competing ways of understanding human behavior (Bonta & Andrews, 2023; Kelly, 1955).

In doing so, the article also responds to emerging concerns about the future of forensic psychology in an era of increasing technological, legal, and social complexity. As new forms of evidence, from digital footprints to advanced psychological assessments, become available, the risk of reifying and oversimplifying human behavior may grow rather than diminish (Landström et al., 2022). Without a strong theoretical and ethical foundation, forensic psychology could become increasingly technocratic, losing sight of the interpretive and moral dimensions that have always been central to its mission (Weiner & Hess, 2004). The integrative framework proposed here is therefore not merely an academic exercise, but a practical necessity for ensuring that the field remains both scientifically credible and ethically responsible.

By tracing the historical roots of forensic psychology, engaging with contemporary debates, and critically examining the assumptions that underlie current

practices, this article seeks to contribute to a more reflective and coherent understanding of the discipline. The ultimate goal is to show that forensic psychology, at its best, is not just a tool for the legal system, but a deeply human science that seeks to understand how people construct meaning in situations of conflict, harm, and judgment (Kelly, 1955; Johnson & Wasielewski, 1982). Such an understanding is essential if the field is to continue to evolve in ways that serve both justice and psychological well-being.

## METHODOLOGY

The methodological orientation of this study is grounded in the recognition that forensic psychology is an inherently interdisciplinary and interpretive field, requiring research designs that can capture both empirical regularities and the subjective meanings that give those regularities their human significance. Rather than adopting a narrowly experimental or purely qualitative approach, the present research employs a theoretically integrative methodology that synthesizes multiple strands of existing scholarship into a coherent analytical framework. This approach is consistent with the long-standing tradition in forensic psychology of combining diverse sources of evidence, including clinical assessment, psychometric data, case analysis, and theoretical reflection, to arrive at well-grounded professional judgments (Weiner & Hess, 2004).

The first component of the methodology involves a comprehensive conceptual analysis of key theoretical constructs drawn from personal construct psychology, criminology, and victimology. Kelly's theory of personal constructs provides a foundational lens through which to examine how individuals, including offenders, victims, and professionals, interpret and organize their experiences (Kelly, 1955). By treating meaning-making as a central psychological process, this framework allows for a nuanced understanding of behavior that goes beyond surface-level descriptions. In parallel, contemporary models of criminal conduct are examined to identify how cognitive, social, and environmental variables are integrated into explanations of offending (Bonta & Andrews, 2023). These models are not treated as purely predictive tools, but as theoretically informed narratives about why people engage in harmful or illegal behavior.

A second component of the methodology focuses on professional practice and ethical discourse within forensic psychology. Empirical studies of occupational socialization and test usage patterns provide insight into how forensic psychologists are trained, how they conceptualize their roles, and how they deploy assessment instruments in real-world settings (Neal & Brodsky, 2014; Archer et al., 2006). These sources are

analyzed not simply as descriptive reports, but as windows into the normative and institutional forces that shape professional judgment. By examining how objectivity, neutrality, and expertise are constructed within the profession, the methodology aims to illuminate the often-invisible assumptions that guide forensic practice (Weiner & Hess, 2004).

The third methodological strand draws on victimological and criminological research to situate individual psychological processes within broader social contexts. Studies of sexual victimization, disaster response, and meaning structures provide empirical and theoretical grounding for understanding how experiences of harm are interpreted and integrated into personal and collective narratives (Fisher, 2025; Baum et al., 1983; Johnson & Wasielewski, 1982). These works are analyzed for their implications for forensic assessment, particularly in cases where trauma, credibility, and long-term psychological impact are central issues. Criminological scholarship, including comprehensive handbooks of the field, is used to contextualize these individual experiences within patterns of social inequality, institutional response, and moral judgment (Liebling et al., 2023).

Data for this integrative analysis consist of the theoretical arguments, empirical findings, and ethical reflections contained in the selected body of literature. Rather than extracting numerical datasets or conducting new experiments, the methodology relies on systematic reading, comparison, and synthesis of these sources to generate higher-order insights about the structure and direction of forensic psychology as a discipline (Adler, 2013). This form of research is particularly appropriate for a field in which many of the most important questions concern the interpretation of evidence, the construction of categories, and the ethical use of professional authority (Willis, 2018).

To ensure rigor and transparency, the analysis follows a structured interpretive process. First, key themes such as meaning, objectivity, victimization, and labeling are identified across the literature. Second, these themes are traced through different theoretical and empirical contexts to reveal points of convergence and divergence. Third, the implications of these patterns for forensic psychological practice and theory are critically evaluated. Throughout this process, particular attention is paid to the ways in which foundational texts, such as the *Handbook of Forensic Psychology*, articulate the goals and limits of the field, providing a benchmark against which newer developments can be assessed (Weiner & Hess, 2004).

One important limitation of this methodology is that it does not produce novel statistical findings or



experimental results. Instead, its contribution lies in the depth and coherence of its theoretical integration. While some may view this as a weakness in an era increasingly dominated by quantitative metrics, it is in fact well suited to a discipline in which the interpretation of existing knowledge is often as important as the generation of new data (Neal & Brodsky, 2014). By making explicit the assumptions and values that underlie forensic psychological research and practice, the methodology aims to enhance, rather than replace, empirical investigation.

Another limitation concerns the reliance on published sources, which necessarily reflect the priorities, biases, and institutional contexts of their authors. However, this is also a strength, insofar as forensic psychology is itself a professional discourse shaped by such contexts (Weiner & Hess, 2004). By critically engaging with this discourse, the methodology provides insight into how the field constructs its own identity and authority.

Overall, the methodological approach adopted here is designed to reflect the complexity of forensic psychology as both a scientific and a moral enterprise. By integrating theoretical, empirical, and ethical perspectives, it seeks to provide a robust foundation for the interpretive analysis that follows, demonstrating how meaning, objectivity, and social context interact to shape the practice and future of forensic psychology (Bonta & Andrews, 2023; Kelly, 1955).

## RESULTS

The integrative analysis of the selected literature yields a series of interrelated findings that illuminate how meaning, objectivity, and ethical practice are constructed within contemporary forensic psychology. One of the most striking results is the extent to which meaning structures, as conceptualized in personal construct theory, are embedded in every level of forensic work, from the behavior of offenders and victims to the judgments of professionals. Across theoretical and empirical sources, there is a consistent recognition that individuals do not respond to events in a vacuum, but interpret them through systems of belief, expectation, and personal narrative (Kelly, 1955; Johnson & Wasielewski, 1982). This insight challenges any purely mechanistic or reductionist account of criminal behavior and victim response, suggesting instead that forensic psychology must attend to the subjective frameworks through which experiences are understood.

A second major result concerns the nature of objectivity in forensic psychological practice. Studies of occupational socialization reveal that forensic psychologists are shaped by their training

environments, professional norms, and the adversarial contexts in which they often work (Neal & Brodsky, 2014). Rather than undermining the possibility of objectivity, these findings suggest that objectivity is a socially constructed and actively maintained achievement, one that depends on self-awareness, ethical commitment, and methodological transparency (Weiner & Hess, 2004). The data from surveys of test usage further support this view, showing that practitioners rely on a diverse array of assessment tools and interpretive strategies, each of which carries its own assumptions and limitations (Archer et al., 2006).

The analysis of victimological research yields a third important result: the psychological impact of victimization is profoundly shaped by meaning-making processes and social context. Studies of technological disasters and sexual victimization consistently show that factors such as perceived control, social support, and cultural narratives play a crucial role in determining outcomes (Baum et al., 1983; Fisher, 2025). These findings underscore the inadequacy of models that focus solely on symptom counts or diagnostic categories, reinforcing the importance of narrative and interpretive approaches in forensic assessment (Johnson & Wasielewski, 1982).

A fourth result emerges from the ethical literature on labeling and categorization. The critique of labeling practices highlights how forensic and correctional systems can inadvertently perpetuate stigma and reduce individuals to static identities, even when such labels are intended to facilitate treatment or risk management (Willis, 2018). At the same time, criminological research emphasizes that some form of categorization is unavoidable in legal systems that must make decisions about responsibility and danger (Liebling et al., 2023). The tension between these perspectives reveals a central dilemma of forensic psychology: how to balance the need for structured decision-making with respect for individual complexity and change (Weiner & Hess, 2004).

Taken together, these results suggest that forensic psychology operates as a dynamic system of meaning, measurement, and moral judgment. Rather than existing in separate domains, theoretical constructs, empirical findings, and ethical principles continually interact to shape both professional practice and the lived experiences of those subject to forensic evaluation (Bonta & Andrews, 2023; Kelly, 1955). This integrative understanding provides a foundation for the deeper theoretical interpretation developed in the discussion.

## DISCUSSION

The findings of this integrative analysis invite a

reconceptualization of forensic psychology as a discipline fundamentally concerned with meaning, rather than merely with measurement or prediction. While the technical aspects of assessment and risk evaluation remain indispensable, they are embedded within broader interpretive frameworks that give them significance and ethical weight (Weiner & Hess, 2004). From the perspective of personal construct theory, every act of forensic judgment can be understood as an attempt to impose order and predictability on a complex human reality, an endeavor that is inherently provisional and open to revision (Kelly, 1955). This insight has far-reaching implications for how forensic psychologists understand their own expertise and limitations.

One of the most important theoretical implications of this analysis is that objectivity in forensic psychology should be understood as a reflexive practice rather than a static property. The research on occupational socialization demonstrates that forensic psychologists are inevitably influenced by their professional environments, including the expectations of courts, attorneys, and correctional institutions (Neal & Brodsky, 2014). Rather than striving for an impossible neutrality, practitioners must cultivate an awareness of these influences and actively work to counteract their potential distortions. This conception of objectivity aligns with the broader epistemological stance articulated in foundational texts, which emphasize transparency, methodological rigor, and ethical accountability as the true markers of professional integrity (Weiner & Hess, 2004).

The ethical debates surrounding labeling further underscore the interpretive and moral dimensions of forensic psychology. Labels such as “high risk,” “psychopathic,” or “sex offender” carry powerful social meanings that extend far beyond their technical definitions (Willis, 2018). From a personal construct perspective, these labels can become central organizing elements in an individual’s self-concept, shaping behavior in ways that may reinforce the very patterns they are meant to describe (Kelly, 1955). This creates a paradox in which well-intentioned forensic practices can contribute to cycles of marginalization and recidivism, a concern that has been widely discussed in criminological theory (Liebling et al., 2023).

Victimological research adds another layer of complexity to this picture by highlighting how meaning structures mediate the experience of harm. The studies reviewed here show that victims’ psychological outcomes depend not only on the severity of the event, but on how it is interpreted within a broader narrative of self and society (Baum et al., 1983; Fisher, 2025). Forensic psychologists who fail to attend to these

narratives risk misrepresenting the nature and impact of victimization, potentially leading to unjust legal outcomes (Johnson & Wasielewski, 1982). At the same time, acknowledging the centrality of meaning does not entail abandoning empirical rigor; rather, it calls for assessment methods that are sensitive to context, culture, and individual history (Weiner & Hess, 2004).

The integration of criminological and psychological perspectives further reveals that crime and deviance are best understood as products of complex social systems rather than isolated individual deficits. Contemporary models of criminal conduct emphasize the role of learning, opportunity, and social bonds in shaping behavior, challenging simplistic notions of innate criminality (Bonta & Andrews, 2023). When combined with meaning-centered theories, these models suggest that effective forensic intervention must address not only risk factors but also the narratives and identities through which individuals understand themselves and their actions (Kelly, 1955).

Looking to the future, emerging challenges such as technological surveillance, digital evidence, and increasingly sophisticated risk assessment tools raise new questions about the role of meaning and ethics in forensic psychology (Landström et al., 2022). While these developments promise greater predictive accuracy, they also risk further distancing professionals from the lived experiences of the people they evaluate. Without a strong theoretical and ethical foundation, the field may drift toward a form of technocratic decision-making that overlooks the human dimensions of justice (Weiner & Hess, 2004).

Future research should therefore prioritize interdisciplinary collaboration, integrating insights from psychology, criminology, sociology, and ethics to develop more holistic models of forensic practice. Longitudinal and qualitative studies that explore how individuals interpret and respond to forensic labeling, intervention, and victimization would be particularly valuable, as they would shed light on the dynamic processes of meaning-making that underlie behavior (Willis, 2018; Johnson & Wasielewski, 1982). At the same time, continued refinement of empirically grounded risk and assessment tools is essential, provided that these tools are used within a reflective and ethically informed framework (Bonta & Andrews, 2023; Archer et al., 2006).

## CONCLUSION

This article has argued that forensic psychology is best understood as an integrative discipline in which meaning, objectivity, and ethical responsibility are inextricably linked. Drawing on foundational theories of personal constructs, contemporary models of

criminal conduct, and a rich body of victimological and ethical scholarship, the analysis demonstrates that neither technical expertise nor moral concern alone is sufficient to guide forensic practice. Instead, what is required is a reflective engagement with the interpretive frameworks that shape how behavior, harm, and responsibility are understood (Kelly, 1955; Weiner & Hess, 2004).

By situating empirical findings within broader theoretical and social contexts, forensic psychologists can better navigate the complex demands of the legal system while remaining attentive to the humanity of those they assess. In doing so, the field can continue to evolve as a scientifically grounded and ethically responsive enterprise, capable of contributing not only to legal decision-making but to a deeper understanding of how people make sense of their lives in situations of conflict and judgment (Liebling et al., 2023; Fisher, 2025).

## REFERENCES

1. Neal, T. M., & Brodsky, S. L. (2014). Occupational socialization's role in forensic psychologists' objectivity. *Journal of Forensic Psychology Practice*, 14(1), 24–44.
2. Johnson, K. A., & Wasielewski, P. L. (1982). A commentary on victimization research and the importance of meaning structures. *Criminology*, 20(2), 205–222.
3. Liebling, A., Maruna, S., & McAra, L. (2023). *The Oxford Handbook of Criminology*. Oxford University Press eBooks.
4. Archer, R. P., Buffington-Vollum, J. K., Stredny, R. V., & Handel, R. W. (2006). A survey of psychological test use patterns among forensic psychologists. *Journal of Personality Assessment*, 87(1), 84–94.
5. Kelly, G. A. (1955). *The psychology of personal constructs*.
6. Weiner, I. B., & Hess, A. K. (2004). *Handbook of Forensic Psychology*. Elsevier eBook.
7. Fisher, B. (2025). *The sexual victimization of college women*. US Department of Justice, Office of Justice Programs, National Institute of Justice.
8. Willis, G. M. (2018). Why call someone by what we don't want them to be? The ethics of labeling in forensic/correctional psychology. *Psychology, Crime & Law*, 24(7), 727–743.
9. Adler, J. R. (2013). Forensic psychology: concepts, debate and practice. In *Forensic Psychology* (pp. 3–15).
10. Baum, A., Fleming, R., & Singer, J. E. (1983). Coping with victimization by technological disaster. *Journal of Social Issues*, 39(2), 117–138.
11. Landström, S., Granhag, P. A., & Van Koppen, P. J. (2022). The future of forensic psychology.
12. Bonta, J., & Andrews, D. A. (2023). *The psychology of criminal conduct*. Routledge.