

The Black Sheep of Society

History of the concept of psychopathy in Finland from the 1970s to the present

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Tiivistelmä - Abstract: <p>Tämä tutkimus keskittyy sekä psykopatiakäsitteen että psykopatian tutkimuksen kehitykseen Suomessa 1970-luvun alusta nykypäivään asti. Ajanjakson valinta perustuu Katariina Parhin vuonna 2018 julkaisemaan väitöskirjaan <i>Born to be deviant: histories of the diagnosis of psychopathy in Finland</i>, joka tarkasteli psykopatiadiagnoosin historiaa Suomessa 1800-luvulta 1960-luvun loppuun. Ennen vuotta 1969 suomalainen psykiatria otti psykopatian määrittelyssä vaikutteita pääosin Saksasta, kun taas nykypäivänä vallalla on Hervey Cleckleyn ja Robert D. Haren kehittämä pohjoisamerikkalainen malli. Tutkimukseni pyrkii hahmottelemaan sekä psykopatian että sen käsitteellisen lähisukulaisen "sosiopatian" vaiheita suomalaisessa psykiatriassa ja oikeuspsykiatriassa viimeisen puolen vuosisadan aikana. Käyn myös läpi merkittävimpien suomalaisten psykopatian tutkijoiden julkaisuja luodakseni ymmärrystä siitä millaista tutkimusta he ovat luoneet ja miksi. Tutkimuksen lopullisena päämääränä on kytkeä 1970-luvun alusta nykypäivään ulottuva suomalainen psykopatian historia aiheen laajempiin länsimaalaisiin kehityslinjoihin.</p> <p>Tutkimukseni lähteet koostuvat viimeisen 50 vuoden aikana julkaistuista suomalaisista psykiatrian ja oikeuspsykiatrian teoksista, psykopatiasta käsittelevistä tutkimuksista ja <i>Duodecim</i>-lehden artikkeleista. Tutkimusmenetelmänä käytän lähilukua, joka tässä yhteydessä ilmenee aineiston tarkkana analysointina ja siitä nousevien havaintojen asettamisena asianmukaiseen historialliseen kontekstiin. Psykopatiakäsitteen kehityksen kohdalla erityisen huomion kohteena olivat ajanjaksot joita määritteli jokin selkeä muutos, kun taas psykopatian tutkimuksen kohdalla ensisijaista oli hahmottaa suomalaisen tutkimuksen asema aiheen laajemmassa kansainvälisessä tutkimuskentässä.</p> <p>Tiivistetyt tutkimustulokset: Kun Saksasta omaksuttu psykopatian määritelmä menetti asemansa virallisena diagnoosina vuonna 1969, ilmeni suomalaisten psykiatrien keskuudessa halukkuutta omaksua Hervey Cleckleyn amerikkalaista psykopatiamallia mukaileva määritelmä "sosiopatia" -termin alle. 1990-luvulle tultaessa "epäsosiaalinen persoonallisuushäiriö" kuitenkin syrjäytti myös sosiopatian, ja 2000-luvulle asti sekä psykopatia että sosiopatia nähtiin vanhentuneina termeinä. 2000-luvulla psykopatia teki kuitenkin paluun suomalaiseen psykiatriaan ja oikeuspsykiatriaan pohjoisamerikkalaisen määritelmän mukaisena, sillä empatiakyvyttömiä ihmisten kuvaamiseen tarvittiin erillinen termi. Suomalaisen psykopatian tutkimuksen osalta ensimmäinen uusi asiantuntija 1960-luvun jälkeen oli Hervey Cleckleyn amerikkalaiseen malliin keskittynyt Jaana Haapasalo, joka myös toi 1990-luvun alussa Robert D. Haren <i>Psykopatian piirrelistan</i> Suomeen. Haapasalon jälkeen uutta suomalaista tutkimusta psykopatiasta ei ilmestynyt lähes vuosikymmenen, kunnes Jari Tiihonen ja Markku Eronen julkaisivat ensimmäiset tutkimuksensa. Jari Tiihosesta muovautui Suomen merkittävin psykopatian neurotieteen asiantuntija, kun taas Markku Eronen käytti kirjavampaa kokoelmaa tutkimusmenetelmiä. Molemmat tekivät myös merkittävää tutkimusta naispsykopateista. Hannu Lauerma oli julkaissut uransa aikana vain muutaman psykopatiasta käsittelevän tutkimuksen, vaikka hän on yksi Suomen kuuluisimmista oikeuspsykiatrian asiantuntijoista. 2010-luvulla psykopatian neurotieteelliset tutkimukset lisääntyivät Suomessa huomasti, mikä voidaan nähdä luonnollisena seurauksena 2000-luvulla tapahtuneesta vastaavasta maailmanlaajuisesta ilmiöstä. Suomalaisten tutkijoiden kiinnostus naispsykopatiaan voidaan nähdä pyrkimyksenä tehdä merkittäviä löytöjä myös kansainvälisellä mittapuulla, sillä kyseinen aihe on suhteellisen alitutkittu verrattuna miespsykopatiaan.</p>	
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1. Introduction

The purpose of this thesis is to create an overview of the role of psychopathy in Finnish psychiatry from the beginning of the 1970s until present day. The topic will be examined from two different perspectives: first, via the evolution of the concept of psychopathy in Finland and second, by forming a comprehensive picture of Finnish research done during the period. This work has been inspired by the doctoral thesis of Katariina Parhi, entitled *Born to be deviant: histories of the diagnosis of psychopathy in Finland* (2018). It focuses on the Finnish history of psychopathy from the 19th century until the end of the 1960s. My aim is to continue from her work and complete the chronological history of psychopathy in Finland by bringing the remaining half a century under the spotlight of historical research.

1.1 Research questions

This thesis attempts to understand what definitions the terms *psychopath* and *sociopath* have had in Finland from the 1970s to the present day, as well as to provide an overview of Finnish research done during this period. I will first look at how the concepts of psychopathy and sociopathy have evolved in Finland, after which I will dive into the research of some of the most important Finnish experts on psychopathy. The eventual goal is to connect the Finnish history of psychopathy to the larger framework of the Western tradition in the history of psychopathy. Therefore, the objectives of this thesis can be boiled down to three questions:

1. What definitions have the terms *psychopath* and *sociopath* had in Finnish psychiatry from the beginning of the 1970s to the present day?
2. What kind of research have the most notable Finnish experts on psychopathy created?
3. Why did the concept and research of psychopathy (and sociopathy) in Finland evolve the way it did?

Questions 1 and 2 are focused on describing what happened during our chosen period, while question 3 will attempt to take a more interpretive approach. Question 3 is also meant to link the Finnish and overseas traditions on psychopathy together, creating context for the results of the first two questions. Overall, these questions aim to provide a thorough representation of the history of psychopathy in Finland during the last half century. Even though it is to be

published under general history, this work is at least partially what one would call history of science. Its purpose is to elucidate how the Finnish understanding of psychopathy has evolved in order to create an overview which could be of use to professionals of not just history, but possibly also of psychiatry and psychology.

1.2 Sources

The primary sources of this work consist of Finnish research articles, psychiatric textbooks and articles on psychopathy in the journal *Duodecim*, which is a Finnish peer-reviewed medical journal.¹ These should allow me to find sufficient answers for the research questions of this thesis, as the research articles can be used to analyse the research and the latter two source corpuses the concept of psychopathy. This subchapter will be divided into two parts for the sake of clarity, with the first part reserved for the textbooks and *Duodecim*-articles, and the second for the research articles.

1.2.1 Textbooks

In regard to the evolution of the concepts of psychopathy and sociopathy, I will rely on textbooks from the field of psychiatry. These include two textbooks entitled *Psykiatria*, which were written by different authors and both consist of multiple editions. The earlier *Psykiatria* (Achté et al.) has editions from 1971 to 1991 and the later (Lönnqvist et al.) from 1999 to 2021. Four textbooks on forensic medicine have also been included in the primary sources, as psychopathy is frequently seen in the context of forensic psychiatry. A more thorough presentation of the sources will be provided below.

There are two versions of *Oikeuslääketiede*² that exist within our research period, of which the earlier has at least two editions published after the 1960s: 1970 and 1981. Kalle Achté (1928-2019) was an author in both publications, and is known as a major figure in Finnish psychiatry. He was a professor of psychiatry (1968-1992) as well as the dean of the faculty of medicine (1978-1981) in the University of Helsinki during the latter half of the 20th century.³

¹ Aikakauskirja *Duodecim*, Vastuullisuus.

² Translation: "Forensic medicine."

³ Korppi-Tommola 2001.

Achté had a lot of contacts overseas, taking actively part in both importing new psychiatric knowledge to Finland from the West and exporting it to the Soviet Union and its satellites.⁴ Therefore both of these editions of *Oikeuslääketiede* can be seen as sources which give an accurate view of the Finnish understanding of psychopathy during the time of their publication. The same can be said about the earlier version of *Psykiatria*, as Achté was an author within all of the editions ranging from 1971 to 1991. The later version of *Psykiatria*, which has editions from 1999 to 2021, includes Jouko Lönnqvist as either an author or an editor in every edition. As Lönnqvist is a professor emeritus of the faculty of medicine in the University of Helsinki,⁵ it gives the publication substantial credibility as a source of psychiatric information. Neither *Oikeuslääketieteen perusteet*⁶ (1993) nor the later version of *Oikeuslääketiede* (2000) have any notable individuals as either authors or editors. However, as they are both published by *Duodecim*, they can still be trusted as an accurate representation of Finnish forensic medicine during their time.

1.2.2 Research articles

In regard to the research articles, they were found via the University of Jyväskylä's search engine for international e-publications as well as the library's own collections. The criteria for choosing which experts to focus on was a combination of media publicity and the number of publications they have produced, as well as notable positions in institutions that are in continuous contact with psychopaths. Examples of the latter would in this case be prisons and psychiatric hospitals. I have also kept an eye out for new names that frequently occur among the authors of the articles, as this could allow me to discover experts who have missed the media spotlight. In Finland there seems to have been a substantial increase in the interest in studying psychopathy after the turn of the millennium, but I have succeeded in finding some important research published earlier. More specifically, I used *Finna.fi*⁷ and *Medic*⁸ in order to discover articles which were not published internationally. It quickly became evident that the first major Finnish studies on psychopathy were created during the beginning of the 1990s. The more popularised publications on the topic will intentionally be left outside the

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ University of Helsinki, Persons > Jouko Lönnqvist.

⁶ Translation: "Basics of forensic medicine."

⁷ Finna.fi is a collection of publications from museums, archives, libraries etc.

⁸ Medic is a database reserved for Finnish medical publications that are not available internationally.

scope of this work, as they could end up causing a flood of primary sources. Many of them are also likely to deviate from the professional definition of psychopathy quite significantly. This could, however, be an interesting topic for future research, providing understanding on the differences between popular and scientific discourses on psychopathy.

1.3 Methods

The chosen method for this thesis is *close reading*. In practice, close reading is a form of reading in which the researcher goes through a text multiple times, focusing on attempting to change perspective each time.⁹ This will provide new information that one could have previously missed¹⁰ and can in theory be repeated infinitely. Close reading is also not limited to written information, but can be applied to pictures and videos as well, to name a few. As I have gone through a relatively large amount of different publications during the development of this thesis, the time spent on each book or article has had to be rationed. The focus was on finding key pieces of information and then analyzing them more thoroughly. In practice, it first meant reading Finnish texts on psychopathy from different eras and comparing them with each other. Second, these texts were compared to publications from overseas in order to place the concept and research of psychopathy in Finland within a sufficient context.

The psychiatric literature on psychopathy (and sociopathy) was analysed by focusing on the differences between the definitions of the term, as well as on how they compared to those common overseas during the time, most notably those of North America. Special care was applied to finding periods which were characterised by some significant shift. This allowed for the creation of a “timeline” for the history of psychopathy in Finland. This required careful application of close reading, especially in the different editions of both versions of *Psykiatria* (Achté et al. & Lönnqvist et al.), as the differences between the editions could be as small as a few new sentences within multiple pages of text. Nevertheless, a continued and deep interest in the topic allowed me to not only point out the differences between the publications, but also in some cases to comment on their implications in relation to the Western tradition of psychopathy.

⁹ Pöysä et al. 2010, 338-339.

¹⁰ Ibid, 339.

In regard to the research articles, the use of close reading proved to be more difficult. After going through a large number of abstracts from Finnish studies on psychopathy, I chose some for closer inspection. Inclusion among my primary sources was based on how important their contribution seemed not only to Finnish but also global research of psychopathy. For example, research on female psychopathy or large literature reviews were an obvious pick, but in some cases the decision proved more difficult. Nevertheless, after a study had been included, a more careful reading was applied to the introductions, discussions and conclusions of the articles due to their relevance in providing the most important information. Especially in the conclusions the results were often presented in a form which is understandable also to a reader without years of specialisation in psychometrics or neuroscience. I naturally do not have the ability or the qualifications to create detailed commentary on their findings, but I can instead attempt to connect their studies to the more general trends within Western research of psychopathy.

1.4 Previous research

The history of psychopathy in Finland has been left with almost no previous research, but an important contribution has been made by Katariina Parhi with her doctoral thesis *Born to be deviant: histories of the diagnosis of psychopathy in Finland* (2018). Parhi looks at the evolution of the meaning of the term “psychopath” in Finland from the 19th century until the end of the 1960s,¹¹ when it disappeared from official diagnostic manuals. She has also published multiple shorter articles, which include “Altered role of the concept of psychopathy in forensic psychiatry” (2016). This seems to focus, albeit briefly, on the Finnish history of psychopathy after the 1960s.¹² This master’s thesis is meant to continue from the work of Parhi by filling in the missing five decades from the beginning of the 1970s to the present day and to help create a comprehensive overview of the history of psychopathy in Finland. I have chosen a slightly different approach to the topic than Parhi due to psychopathy no longer being an official diagnosis. However, as it is still an important part of psychiatry, especially forensic psychiatry, it can be studied via textbooks, medical journals and research articles. This work will therefore add another piece to the puzzle of a comprehensive history of psychopathy in Finland.

¹¹ Parhi 2018, “Abstract.”

¹² Parhi & Lauerma 2016, “Abstract.”

1.5 Terminology

In this subchapter I will provide a short explanation of the terminology used in this thesis. As this work is focused heavily on the history of science, more specifically that of psychiatry, one may return to this subchapter for clarification when faced with a novel term. I will also provide brackets within the text in chapters 2 and 3 which refer back to the correct page for further information.

Antisocial personality disorder/ antisocial personality/asocial personality disorder/asocial personality: Antisocial personality disorder (ASPD) is characterised by a lack of concern for the general norms of society, as well as for the rights of others.¹³ The person is often dishonest, impulsive and does not experience remorse for his/her actions.¹⁴ This disorder also frequently results in problems with the law and is common among convicts.¹⁵

Borderline personality disorder: A person suffering from borderline personality disorder (BPD) experiences extreme instability in regard to emotions, behaviour and interpersonal relationships.¹⁶ The disorder is also characterised by fears of abandonment and a tendency for self-harming behaviour.¹⁷ People with BPD have a significantly higher risk for committing suicide than the general population.¹⁸

Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders: The Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM) is a formal classification of mental health disorders which is used extensively in the United States.¹⁹ It is currently in its fifth edition (DSM-5, 2013), with the first version having been published in 1952.²⁰

¹³ Mielenterveystalo, Aikuiset > Tietoa mielenterveydestä > Tietoa diagnooseista > F60-69 Määritetyt, sekamuotoiset ja muut persoonallisuuden häiriöt > F60 Persoonallisuushäiriöt > F60.2 Epäsosiaalinen persoonallisuus.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Repo-Tiihonen & Hallikainen 2016, "Kliininen kuva ja diagnoosi."

¹⁶ Korkeila et al. 2015, "Kliininen kuva ja ennuste."

¹⁷ Mielenterveystalo, Aikuiset > Tietoa mielenterveydestä > Tietoa diagnooseista > F60-69 Määritetyt, sekamuotoiset ja muut persoonallisuuden häiriöt > F60 Persoonallisuushäiriöt > F60.3 Epävaka persoonallisuus.

¹⁸ Korkeila et al. 2015, "Kliininen kuva ja ennuste."

¹⁹ Rowe & Casabianca 2022, "What Is the DSM-5? Resource Guide."

²⁰ Ibid, "A brief history of the DSM."

International Classification of Diseases: Unlike the United States, Finland has traditionally used the International Classification of Diseases (ICD), which is by present day in its 11th edition (ICD-11 came into effect in 2022).²¹ Unlike the DSM, it consists of information about both mental and physical health problems. The roots of the ICD go as far back as the 19th century, with it currently being the legally mandated health data standard of the World Health Organization.²²

Narcissistic personality disorder. Narcissistic personality disorder (NPD) involves grandiosity, sensitivity to criticism and an impaired ability to experience empathy.²³ Individuals with NPD also have an excessive need for admiration and often exploit others for personal gain.²⁴

Magnetic resonance imaging: Magnetic resonance imaging (MRI) relies on magnetic fields and radio waves for scanning the inside of the human body.²⁵ In neuroscience, the focus is on creating images of the brain. Whereas traditional MRI is limited to providing structural information about the brain,²⁶ functional resonance imaging (fMRI) can be used to detect brain activity.²⁷ In simple terms, fMRI works by measuring blood flow within the brain.²⁸

Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale: Often considered the “gold standard” of modern intelligence testing, the Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale (WAIS) was originally published in 1955²⁹ and is currently in its fourth edition (WAIS-IV, 2008). It was created by American psychologist David Wechsler (1896-1981), who believed that intelligence was too complex a phenomenon to be described with a single number.³⁰ The WAIS was therefore designed to provide multiple scores that indicate cognitive ability within specific domains.³¹

²¹ World Health Organization, Standards > Classifications > Classification of Diseases.

²² Ibid.

²³ PsychDB, Personality Disorders > Narcissistic Personality Disorder.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ NHS, Health A to Z > M > MRI scan.

²⁶ Pedersen 2021, “What’s the difference between fMRI and MRI?”

²⁷ Ibid, “What is an fMRI?”

²⁸ Ibid, “What is an fMRI?”

²⁹ Cherry 2020, “The Wechsler Adult Intelligence Scale.”

³⁰ Ibid 2020, “WAIS vs. Stanford-Binet.”

³¹ Ibid 2020, “WAIS vs. Stanford-Binet.”

1.6 History of psychopathy

This subchapter will be devoted to the introduction of two concepts: psychopathy and sociopathy. Due to a long history with widely ranging definitions, it is essential to form a clear picture of the development of the term psychopathy in the Western world. There are two main schools of thought which have affected the Finnish history of psychopathy: German and American-Canadian. Both of these will be explained in sufficient depth in order to provide background for the research within this thesis. The first section of this subchapter will focus on the general history of psychopathy in the West, while the second will provide a brief overview of the highly overlapping concept of sociopathy. Subchapter 1.7 is reserved for the history of psychopathy in Finland between the 19th century and 1969.

1.6.1 Psychopathy in the Western world

The roots of psychopathy go back to the 19th century when French physician Philippe Pinel (1745-1826) coined the term *moral insanity* to describe individuals who seemed to have normal reasoning abilities but manifested a serious deficit in their ability to conform to moral rules.³² This set the condition apart from similar cases in which intellectual disability or psychosis was present. Two other pioneers in the research of psychopathy were German psychiatrists J. L. A. Koch (1841-1908) and Emil Kraepelin (1856-1926), the former of whom introduced the term “psychopathic inferiority,” which could be seen as an early definition of personality disorders.³³ Kraepelin on the other hand attempted to divide the diagnosis into different subtypes of which one was the “born criminal,”³⁴ a concept similar to that of modern psychopathy or antisocial personality disorder. German psychiatrist Kurt Schneider (1887-1967) picked up on Kraepelin’s work by outlining ten different forms of psychopathy,³⁵ eight of which later became specific personality disorders within the ICD and the DSM.³⁶ This German school of thought would have a major impact in the Finnish history of psychopathy up until the end of the 1960s.

³² Kiehl & Lushing 2014, “History.”

³³ Horley 2014, 96.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Horley 2014, 97.

³⁶ Tyrer 2013, 2.

During the 1940s American psychiatrist Hervey Cleckley (1903-1984) created a new conceptualization of psychopathy based on patients he had interviewed during his clinical practice.³⁷ I will now explain it in sufficient detail due to its importance for understanding the subtle changes in the meaning of the term “psychopath” during the latter part of the 20th century. His book *The Mask of Sanity: An Attempt to Clarify Some Issues About the So-Called Psychopathic Personality* (1941) outlined a single personality disorder in contrast to Kraepelin or Schneider. *The Mask of Sanity* had six different editions between 1941 and 1984, with the amount of traits defining the psychopath ranging from 14 to 21. Cleckley finally settled on the following 16 traits, which will be elaborated by using the third edition of his book from 1955:

Cleckley’s traits for psychopathy (1955)

1. Superficial charm and good “intelligence”

Cleckley put emphasis on both the ability of psychopaths to create a good first impression and his/her tendency to show high intelligence in both interpersonal situations and psychometric intelligence tests.³⁸

2. Absence of delusions and other signs of irrational thinking

The psychopath rarely if ever demonstrates any genuine psychopathological symptoms, but rather seems rational and able to express appropriate emotions.³⁹ According to Cleckley, there is likely to be nothing which would indicate a mental illness when he/she is undergoing psychiatric examination.⁴⁰

3. Absence of nervousness or other psychoneurotic manifestations

Cleckley’s psychopathic patients did not seem to show any signs which would indicate psychoneurotic problems such as anxiety, but rather seemed remarkably at ease with themselves even when compared to the average citizen.⁴¹

4. Unreliability

³⁷ Kiehl & Lushing 2014, “History.”

³⁸ Cleckley 1955, 382.

³⁹ *Ibid*, 383.

⁴⁰ *Ibid*, 383.

⁴¹ *Ibid*, 384.

Even as the psychopath might seem trustworthy when one first meets him/her, they will eventually turn out to be outrageously unreliable.⁴² According to Cleckley, they show remarkably inconsistent behaviour which varies from occasional devotion to total disregard of personal responsibilities.⁴³

5. Untruthfulness and insincerity

The psychopath is prone to excessive lying and even though he/she could speak in a very convincing manner, they would, according to Cleckley, continuously end up proving themselves dishonest and manipulative.⁴⁴

6. Lack of remorse or shame

Even as the psychopath's personal history is usually full of deeds which range from questionable to outright horrifying, he/she apparently cannot feel any true sense of guilt.⁴⁵ Cleckley noticed how many of these patients could still be outwardly convincing in their fake expressions of regret, but this would be proven nothing more than an act by their subsequent behaviour.⁴⁶

7. Inadequately motivated antisocial behavior

According to Cleckley, the psychopath's antisocial⁴⁷ behaviour cannot be explained in the same way as that of an ordinary "scoundrel," such as a traditional criminal.⁴⁸ It seems to be lacking any understandable motivation and often consists of both a very high risk for being caught and a surprisingly small potential gain.⁴⁹

8. Poor judgement and failure to learn by experience

He/she will, even when possessing high intellectual ability, seem remarkably unable to use their ability to reason for the purposes of attaining his/her own goals.⁵⁰ The psychopath can

⁴² Ibid, 385.

⁴³ Ibid, 385-386.

⁴⁴ Ibid, 387-388.

⁴⁵ Ibid, 389.

⁴⁶ Ibid, 389.

⁴⁷ "Antisocial" is in this context to be understood as behaviour which is in conflict with the laws and customs of society, as for example in criminality. It is **not** to be confused with the lack of desire to socialize.

⁴⁸ Cleckley 1955, 390.

⁴⁹ Ibid, 390.

⁵⁰ Ibid, 393.

show a remarkable capacity to understand theoretical situations in regards to what he/she should do, but seems unwilling or unable to apply these skills in the “real world.”⁵¹

9. Pathological egocentricity and incapacity for love

According to Cleckley, the psychopath can experience emotions only in a very limited magnitude, with strong attachments such as love being usually something completely foreign to them.⁵² There is also a disturbing level of egocentricity, which seems all but absolute.⁵³

10. General poverty in major affective reactions

Even though they can show what might seem to be deep emotions outwardly, the psychopath seems to be lacking in what could be considered a normal and healthy affect.⁵⁴ Once again the “mask of sanity” covers up a personality which is remarkably poor in mature emotions, and what the layman might mistakenly consider strong feelings are in fact just a theatrical act.⁵⁵

11. Specific loss of insight

Cleckley had noticed that his psychopathic patients did not seem to have any meaningful insight into their condition, instead either rationalising their antisocial behaviour or showing superficial signs of regret.⁵⁶ Their apparent understanding of their own situation and of the fact that they are lacking in emotional depth would eventually turn out to be nothing more than “verbal reflexes.”⁵⁷

12. Unresponsiveness in general interpersonal relations

The psychopath does not seem to respond with adequate feelings no matter how continuous or grave his/her abuse of interpersonal relationships has been.⁵⁸ This is, however, usually masked by what might seem to be spontaneous acts of goodwill, but which consist chiefly of matters trivial to the psychopath.⁵⁹

⁵¹ Ibid, 394.

⁵² Ibid, 395.

⁵³ Ibid, 395.

⁵⁴ Ibid, 397.

⁵⁵ Ibid, 397.

⁵⁶ Ibid, 400.

⁵⁷ Ibid, 400-401.

⁵⁸ Ibid, 404.

⁵⁹ Ibid, 404-405.

13. Fantastic and uninviting behavior with drink and sometimes without

When under the influence, no matter how light, the psychopath, according to Cleckley would indulge in what could best be described as quarrelsome and even absurd behaviour.⁶⁰ They also frequently decide to drink alone and seem to show minimal evidence of any feelings of pleasure from alcohol.⁶¹

14. Suicide rarely carried out

The psychopath rarely ends his/her own life no matter how tragic their situation is, even though theatrical acts with no real attempt at self-harm can appear.⁶²

15. Sex life impersonal, trivial, and poorly integrated

The sexual behaviour of a psychopath seems not to be motivated by any deep desire for pleasure or a positive emotional experience, but is rather characterized by what seems to be a desire to engage in acts which are abnormal and even distasteful for the sake of variety.⁶³

16. Failure to follow any life plan

In regards to long-term plans, the psychopath seems unable to follow any life course, be it positive or negative, and seems to be stuck in a spiral which Cleckley calls “social and spiritual self-destruction.”⁶⁴

Cleckley’s classical definition of psychopathy has been highly influential in the creation of the more modern Psychopathy Checklist (PCL, 1980) and the Psychopathy Checklist-Revised (PCL-R, 1991) by Canadian psychologist Robert D. Hare. The PCL-R consists of 20 items which are rated on a 3-point scale from 0 to 2 by a trained professional, with a maximum score of 40.⁶⁵ This instrument forms the backbone of modern research on psychopathy by providing a reliable way of measuring such an elusive concept. The PCL-R is still being used actively in Finnish forensic psychiatry and psychology, and it is the basis for our modern understanding of the term “psychopath.” It usually consists of both an evaluation of previous

⁶⁰ Ibid, 406-407.

⁶¹ Ibid, 407.

⁶² Ibid, 411.

⁶³ Ibid, 412-416.

⁶⁴ Ibid, 417.

⁶⁵ Kiehl & Lushing 2014, “Measurement Tools and Assessment of Psychopathy.”

information about the person and a face-to-face interview, but the process can be completed even if the patient does not agree to be interviewed.⁶⁶ The items in the PCL-R are traditionally divided into two factors: interpersonal/affective traits (factor 1) and lifestyle/antisocial traits (factor 2).⁶⁷ “Promiscuous sexual behaviour” and “many short term marital relationships” are not part of either factor.⁶⁸ The traits of psychopathy as listed by the PCL-R are as follows:

Hare’s Psychopathy Checklist-Revised (1991)

- | | |
|--|------------|
| 1. Glibness / superficial charm | (factor 1) |
| 2. Grandiose sense of self-worth | (factor 1) |
| 3. Need for stimulation / proneness to boredom | (factor 2) |
| 4. Pathological lying | (factor 1) |
| 5. Conning and manipulative | (factor 1) |
| 6. Lack of remorse or guilt | (factor 1) |
| 7. Shallow affect | (factor 1) |
| 8. Callous and lack of empathy | (factor 1) |
| 9. Parasitic lifestyle | (factor 2) |
| 10. Poor behavioral controls | (factor 2) |
| 11. Promiscuous sexual behaviour | (-) |
| 12. Early behavioral problems | (factor 2) |
| 13. Lack of realistic, long term goals | (factor 2) |
| 14. Impulsivity | (factor 2) |
| 15. Irresponsibility | (factor 2) |
| 16. Failure to accept responsibility for own actions | (factor 1) |
| 17. Many short term marital relationships | (-) |
| 18. Juvenile delinquency | (factor 2) |
| 19. Revocation of conditional release | (factor 2) |
| 20. Criminal versatility | (factor 2) |

The original PCL included two additional items (“previous diagnosis as a psychopath or similar” and “drug or alcohol not direct cause of antisocial behavior”), but these were removed from the updated edition due to low relevance and scoring difficulties.⁶⁹ The PCL-R is considered the “gold standard” in measuring psychopathy and has therefore achieved global popularity as a tool for estimating criminal recidivism. It also helped to create a uniform definition of psychopathy for the first time since its introduction in the form of moral insanity at the beginning of the 19th century. A large portion of the modern research on

⁶⁶ Ibid, “Measurement Tools and Assessment of Psychopathy.”

⁶⁷ Hare & Neumann 2009, 793.

⁶⁸ Ibid, 793.

⁶⁹ Hare 1990, 338.

psychopathy is based on the PCL-R, even though it has sometimes been criticised about its ability to capture the core characteristics of the disorder.⁷⁰ There has also been Finnish criticism of the instruments created by Hare, some of which I will go into more depth within this thesis.

1.6.2 A brief history of sociopathy

The roots of sociopathy have been traced back to the middle of the 19th century.⁷¹ However, the term is considered to have been first coined in 1909 by German-American psychiatrist Karl Birnbaum (1878-1950), who presented sociopathy as a suitable term for psychopathic individuals. This was due to his belief that the disorder was caused by environmental factors rather than inborn flaws of character.⁷² American psychologist George Partridge (1870-1953) also preferred the term sociopathy, as he saw the disorder as a reaction to abnormal social conditions.⁷³ However, sociopathy would face problems as its definition was so broad that it could be applied to every criminal.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, the label of “sociopathic personality disturbance” was included in the first edition of the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders* (DSM, see page 6 of this thesis) in 1952.⁷⁵ In later editions the term was removed and eventually replaced with “antisocial personality disorder.”⁷⁶ Although psychopathy and sociopathy can be seen to describe a similar disorder in regard to symptoms, only the latter term is loaded with a presupposition that the underlying cause is environmental.⁷⁷ By the present day sociopathy has essentially disappeared from academic discourse.⁷⁸ However, a brief summary of the history of the term is still relevant due to sociopathy being used as an euphemism for psychopathy in Finland, albeit slightly incorrectly, within our research period.

1.7 Finnish history of psychopathy before 1969

⁷⁰ Scott 2014, 697.

⁷¹ Horley 2014, 92.

⁷² Kiehl & Lushing 2014, “Psychopathy vs. Sociopathy.”

⁷³ Horley 2014, 97.

⁷⁴ Kiehl & Lushing 2014, “Psychopathy vs. Sociopathy.”

⁷⁵ Horley 2014, 101.

⁷⁶ Ibid, 101-102.

⁷⁷ Kiehl & Lushing 2014, “Psychopathy vs. Sociopathy.”

⁷⁸ Ibid, “Psychopathy vs. Sociopathy.”

As a diagnostic term “psychopathy” was imported to Finland from Germany by Finnish doctors,⁷⁹ therefore becoming firmly linked to the German school of thought on the disorder. Although the earliest diagnoses of psychopathy were made in Lapinlahti Hospital in 1905,⁸⁰ the term had already appeared in Finnish newspapers as early as the 1890s.⁸¹ Its use in Finland was strongly linked to individuals who deviated from the norms of society, especially in the form of abnormalities in the patients’ will, emotions and urges.⁸² Up until the 1930s psychopathy was sometimes diagnosed in the form of *degeneratio psychopathica*, which referred to an idea that the central nervous system of a psychopath was unlike that of a healthy individual.⁸³ Different types of physical abnormalities, such as an oddly shaped skull, a late onset of puberty or abnormalities in body hair could also be seen as additional evidence for psychopathy.⁸⁴ In 1931 the term *degeneratio* was dropped and replaced with *constitutio psychopathica*, but the diagnosis still referred to an inborn disorder much like the earlier *degeneratio psychopathica*.⁸⁵ When researching the Finnish history of psychopathy, Katariina Parhi discovered one important similarity between different instances of using the diagnosis: the patient was in need of hospitalisation.⁸⁶ During the 1930s one in ten patients in Finnish psychiatric hospitals had been diagnosed as a psychopath,⁸⁷ and by the early 1950s this had risen to over a quarter.⁸⁸ The legal concept of diminished responsibility was also widely used on psychopaths in Finland up until the end of the 1960s, often resulting in shorter sentences.⁸⁹ This was in stark contrast to the modern day legal climate, in which psychopathy as measured by the PCL-R can instead be used as a justification for an increased length of incarceration.⁹⁰

The overpopulation of psychopaths in psychiatric hospitals came to a halt in 1954 when the diagnosis was once again reshaped as part of the national transition to the ICD-6 (see page 7 of this thesis).⁹¹ *Constitutio psychopathica* now had the following subtypes:

⁷⁹ Parhi 2019, 8.

⁸⁰ Parhi 2017, 10.

⁸¹ Parhi 2019, 11.

⁸² Parhi & Lauerma 2016, “Alussa oli vapaa tahto.”

⁸³ Parhi 2019, 12.

⁸⁴ Ibid, 12-13.

⁸⁵ Ibid, 13.

⁸⁶ Parhi 2018, 54.

⁸⁷ Parhi 2019, 13.

⁸⁸ Parhi 2018, 14.

⁸⁹ Ibid, 54-55.

⁹⁰ Parhi & Lauerma 2016, “English summary: Altered role of the concept of psychopathy in forensic psychiatry.”

⁹¹ Parhi 2019, 14.

Schizoides

Paranoids

Cyclothymica (instabilis)

Inferioritas

Antisocialis

Asocialis (insanitas moralis, mendacitas pathologica)

Anomalia sexualis (bestialismus, exhibitionismus, fetischismus. Homosexualitas, masochismus, sadismus, sexualitas pathologica, sodomia, transvestitismus)

*Alia s. non definita*⁹²

As a result of this shift, the number of patients in Finnish mental hospitals with a diagnosis of psychopathy fell to as low as one in fifty.⁹³ When Finland made the next transition from the ICD-6 to the ICD-8 in 1969, psychopathy as an official diagnosis was removed and replaced with *disorders of character*.^{94, 95} This change had already taken place in the English version of the ICD-6 during the 1940s.⁹⁶ Overall, the Finnish history of psychopathy before the 1970s was closely connected to the German tradition, with it in fact being the history of personality disorders.⁹⁷ This thesis is meant to shed light on what happened after the disappearance of psychopathy as an official diagnosis, as the term is nowadays used in Finland most often in accordance with the American-Canadian tradition.

1.8 Structure

The structure of this thesis will be as chronological as possible, but slight deviations might appear due to the natural desire to create a comprehensive text. I will first go through all of the different meanings the terms “psychopath” and “sociopath” have had in Finland during our research period. After this, I will discuss the research of Finnish experts via a few chosen articles per researcher. The publications will be divided into subchapters by author and then

⁹² Ibid.

⁹³ Ibid, 15.

⁹⁴ Original Finnish term: “*luonneviat*.”

⁹⁵ Parhi & Lauerma 2016, “English summary: Altered role of the concept of psychopathy in Finnish forensic psychiatry.”

⁹⁶ Ibid, 29.

⁹⁷ Ibid.

presented (mostly) chronologically with a small section at the beginning devoted to the introduction of the expert in question. The nature and importance of their research in light of national and international studies will be presented within these subchapters. A more interpretative look at the history of psychopathy in Finland in light of the previous two chapters will be provided in the fourth chapter of this thesis. This part will combine the information gathered from chapters 2 and 3 in order to answer to the question why both the concept and the research of psychopathy in Finland evolved the way they did. Finally, compact but comprehensive answers to the research questions will be presented within the conclusion.

2. Terminology adrift: The concept of psychopathy in Finland after 1969

This chapter will focus on the different definitions that “psychopathy” and “sociopathy” have had in Finnish psychiatric literature from the 1970s to the present day. I will present them in a chronological order, starting with the old, discarded German definition. Although obsolete since 1969, it could nevertheless still be seen in textbooks of forensic psychiatry during the 1970s. After this, I will attempt to find out whether there was any competition between different conceptualizations of psychopathy before Robert D. Hare’s PCL-R became widely used in Finland. My primary sources consist of psychiatric textbooks, both traditional and forensic, which are supplemented with articles from *Duodecim*. This chapter will be divided into two parts, with the first subchapter reserved for the 1970s and the 1980s. The second will cover the period from the 1990s to the present. This decision has been made on the basis that the PCL-R was officially published by Hare in 1991, so we are likely to see its adoption into Finnish forensic psychiatry during the following decades. As we get closer to the present, the definition of psychopathy has probably stabilised.

2.1 New term, old concept: 1970-1989

During the beginning of the 1970s in the publication *Oikeuslääketiede* (1970) there was a discussion about a desire to discard the old term psychopathy in favor of the more modern term *abnormal nature*.⁹⁸ It also mentioned an attempt to change the meaning of psychopathy to describe a more specific personality disorder, which in this case is called *sociopathic or aggressive nature*.⁹⁹ There appears some similarity between this publication’s description of sociopathy and Cleckley’s (or later Hare’s) psychopathy, with unreliability, irresponsibility, shallow affect, glibness and criminality being mentioned as some of its traits.¹⁰⁰ The first three editions (1971, 1973 & 1976) of the textbook *Psykiatria* (Achté et al.) within our research period also have chapters devoted to *sociopathic personality disorder*.¹⁰¹ These are altogether a total of 4 pages in length and nearly identical to each other. In *Psykiatria* (1971) sociopathy is seen to be characterized by an inability to conform to social norms, with the

⁹⁸ Uotila et al. 1970, 108. (Original Finnish term: “*poikkeava luonne.*”)

⁹⁹ Ibid, 109. (Original Finnish term: “*sosiopaattinen ja aggressiivinen luonnehäiriö.*”)

¹⁰⁰ Ibid, 109-110.

¹⁰¹ Achté et al. 1971, 209-213 & Achté et al. 1973, 235-239 & Achté et al. 1976, 235-239. (Original Finnish term: “*sosiopaattinen luonnehäiriö.*”)

previous medical label being *antisocial psychopathy*^{102, 103} Criminality is mentioned as a common characteristic, with the criminal responsibility of a sociopath often being difficult to define.¹⁰⁴ Kalle Achte and his colleagues propose that in these cases one should take into consideration the severity of the sociopathic personality disorder as well as any comorbid pathological reactions.¹⁰⁵ It therefore appears that after the German definition for psychopathy was discarded in 1969, there was some interest among Finnish psychiatrists to use sociopathy as a term for a personality disorder which is similar to that of North American psychopathy. Interestingly, there was still some ambiguity about the criminal responsibility of sociopaths (or psychopaths) during this period.

In regard to the causes of sociopathy, in *Psykiatria* (1971) it is believed to be mostly a result of environmental factors, especially of those in childhood.¹⁰⁶ There is approximately one page of discussion about this, with an intriguing reference to a foreign research article called “The Genesis of Antisocial Acting Out in Children and Adults” (1952). Achte and his colleagues explain how antisocial behaviour in a child might be caused by the acting out of a parent’s subconscious desire for a similar lifestyle.¹⁰⁷ The text also mentions that behavioural problems in childhood were more likely to cause sociopathy in men than in women, the latter of whom were more prone to neurotic disorders.¹⁰⁸ The final subchapter in *Psykiatria* (1971) regarding sociopathic personality disorder is called “Prognosis and treatment,” and it is overall surprisingly optimistic about the treatment of sociopathy. There are references to multiple different studies, with a success rate of 39-87% of sociopathic individuals being “cured.”¹⁰⁹ The highest success rate of 87% was achieved in a Danish institution specifically designed for psychopaths.¹¹⁰ In *Psykiatria* (1971) there is also an emphasis on the theory that age-related maturation has a positive impact on the prognosis of personality disorders, including sociopathy.¹¹¹

¹⁰² Original Finnish term: “*antisosiaalinen psykopatia*.”

¹⁰³ Achte et al. 1971, 209.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid, 209-210.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid, 209-210.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid, 210.

¹⁰⁷ Ibid, 211.

¹⁰⁸ Ibid, 212.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid, 212.

¹¹⁰ Ibid, 212.

¹¹¹ Ibid, 212.

In the 1981 edition of *Psykiatria* (Achté et al.), the chapter devoted to sociopathic personality disorder is very similar to those from the 1970s. However, there are a few key differences: whereas in the 1976 edition sociopaths are seen as unlikely to commit violent crimes,¹¹² in 1981 the textbook makes an exception for domestic violence under the influence of alcohol.¹¹³ In the latter edition there is also a mention of the possible use of psychiatric drugs in the treatment of sociopathy, more specifically antipsychotics and antidepressants.¹¹⁴ In the publication *Oikeuslääketiede* (1981) there also exists an entire subchapter devoted to sociopathy, which, when describing the disorder, lists nearly all (13 out of 16) of Hervey Cleckley's 16 traits for psychopathy.¹¹⁵ Once again, it is mentioned that psychopathy was previously used as a more general term for personality disorders and that there are current attempts to discard it due to its vagueness.¹¹⁶ As sociopathy is considered as an alternative term and Cleckley's criteria are offered as its description, we can conclude that sociopathy was something of a synonym for Cleckley's psychopathy in Finnish forensic psychiatry around the turn of the 1980s. Although they do not specifically list Cleckley's traits as a description, all editions of *Psykiatria* (Achté et al.) between 1971 and 1981 seem to create a similar picture of the disorder.

In *Oikeuslääketiede* (1981) there is also a substantial emphasis on explaining that sociopathy is likely caused by the combination of an inborn deficit and environmental influence.¹¹⁷ The 1981 edition of *Psykiatria* also acknowledges the possibility of a partially hereditary and therefore an inborn component in the creation of sociopathy.¹¹⁸ This is in contrast to the previous editions from the 1970s, in which there was a heavy emphasis on environmental causes. Sociopathy viewed as the outcome of both environmental and hereditary factors is in contrast to the term's original meaning, which carried the presupposition that the disorder was caused specifically by the environment. Therefore, sociopathy seems to have been used in Finland a bit loosely when compared to its original definition by Karl Birnbaum and George Partridge, with Finnish psychiatrists attempting to adopt it to describe a condition which is caused by a mix of hereditary and environmental factors.

¹¹² Achté et al. 1976, 236.

¹¹³ Achté et al. 1981, 260.

¹¹⁴ Ibid, 263.

¹¹⁵ Raekallio et al. 1983, 80.

¹¹⁶ Ibid, 81.

¹¹⁷ Ibid, 81.

¹¹⁸ Achté et al. 1981, 261.

2.2 Disappearance and return: 1990-2022

The 1990 edition of *Psykiatria* (Achté et al.) has a chapter devoted to *asocial personality disorder* (ASPD, see page 6 of this thesis),¹¹⁹ which consists of roughly the same exact text that in previous editions was labeled *sociopathic personality disorder*. In the publication *Oikeuslääketieteen perusteet* (1993) there is no trace of psychopathy or sociopathy, but rather a paragraph devoted to *asocial personality*.¹²⁰ Therefore between 1981 and 1990 there seems to have been a shift away from the term sociopathy, which included both traditional and forensic psychiatry. In 1994 an article was published in *Duodecim* by Matti Huttunen with the title “Voidaanko “psykopaatti” parantaa?”¹²¹ According to Huttunen, psychopathy is considered at least a partially obsolete term which is to be replaced with asocial personality disorder.¹²² He explains that this is due to a desire to avoid labels which carry obvious negative connotations.¹²³ Also in the first edition of a new series of *Psykiatria* (1999) by Jouko Lönnqvist and his colleagues, psychopathy and sociopathy are mentioned as previous terms for *antisocial personality disorder*.¹²⁴ Although psychopathy, sociopathy and antisocial personality disorder are at least nowadays not considered synonymous with each other, it seems that during this period that was a common opinion among medical professionals. During the turn of the millennium within the publication *Oikeuslääketiede* (2000) there seems to be no mention of psychopathy, although Robert D. Hare’s PCL-R is shortly mentioned as an effective tool for predicting violent behaviour.¹²⁵

The first instances in which psychopathy is considered a separate entity from antisocial personality disorder are the articles “Voiko persoonallisuushäiriöitä kuvantaa?”¹²⁶ (2002) and *Psykopatia* (2007) in *Duodecim*. The former publication was written by Jari Tiihonen and the latter by Eila Repo-Tiihonen. Jari Tiihonen considers psychopathy to be an extreme form of antisocial personality disorder and mentions the PCL-R as a reliable assessment method.¹²⁷

¹¹⁹ Achté et al. 1990, 306-310. (Original Finnish term: “*asosiaalinen persoonallisuushäiriö.*”)

¹²⁰ Penttilä et al. 1993, 226-227. (Original Finnish term: “*asosiaalinen persoonallisuus.*”)

¹²¹ Translation: “Can a “psychopath” be cured?”

¹²² Huttunen 1994, Abstract.

¹²³ Ibid, Abstract.

¹²⁴ Lönnqvist et al. 1999, 353. (Original Finnish term: “*epäsosiaalinen persoonallisuus.*”)

¹²⁵ Penttilä et al. 2000, 328.

¹²⁶ Translation: “Can personality disorders be imaged?”

¹²⁷ Tiihonen 2002, “Voiko persoonallisuushäiriöitä kuvantaa?.”

Five years later in the article *Psykopatia* (2007), Eila Repo-Tiihonen also makes it clear that even though psychopaths are often diagnosed with antisocial personality, not everyone with antisocial personality is a psychopath.¹²⁸ In addition to this, Repo-Tiihonen also seems to consider Hare's definition of psychopathy to be the most modern and valid.¹²⁹ There is also a very short section in the 2007 edition of *Psykiatria* (Lönnqvist et al.) in which psychopathy is mentioned. In it, both psychopathy and sociopathy are still considered to be obsolete terms outside the field of forensic psychiatry.¹³⁰ Psychopathic individuals are, however, briefly defined as manipulative, impulsive, selfish and unable to experience empathy, with a tendency to engage in criminal behaviour without remorse.¹³¹ Even as there is just a total of three sentences devoted to psychopathy within the entire publication, it can still be seen as the first time psychopathy has reappeared in a Finnish psychiatric textbook.

In 2009 Hannu Lauerma published an article in *Duodecim* called *Psykopaatin paluu*, in which he mentions that psychopathy as a term has reappeared due to its necessity in describing individuals who have no regard for the well-being of others.¹³² In the 2011 and 2017 editions of *Psykiatria* (Lönnqvist et al.) there are small bits of information added on psychopathy compared to the 2007 edition, but the disorder is still within the chapter devoted to antisocial personality disorder. However, whereas in 2007 *Psykiatria* (Lönnqvist et al.) still considered psychopathy a relic to be replaced with antisocial personality disorder, by 2011 it is instead regarded as a broader definition of personality which is strongly linked to both antisocial and narcissistic personality disorders.¹³³ The 2017 edition of *Psykiatria* (Lönnqvist et al.) defines psychopathy at least partially as an extreme form of antisocial personality disorder, with the following text presented as a clarification (the original Finnish text is provided in the footnote¹³⁴):

¹²⁸ Repo-Tiihonen 2007, "Käsitteen kehitys."

¹²⁹ Ibid, "Käsitteen kehitys."

¹³⁰ Lönnqvist et al. 2007, 526.

¹³¹ Ibid, 526.

¹³² Lauerma 2009, "Psykopaatin paluu."

¹³³ Lönnqvist et al. 2011, 490.

¹³⁴

*"Käsitteellä psykopatia kuvataan henkilöitä, jotka ovat
-tunteettomia ja kykenemättömiä empatiaan, syyllisyydentunteisiin tai katumukseen
-manipulatiivisia, impulsiivisia, ylemmyydentuntoisia ja ajattelevat omaa etuaan
-syyllistyvät usein lainvastaisiin tekoihin kokematta katumusta.*

Psykopatia on laajempi persoonallisuutta kuvaava käsite kuin persoonallisuushäiriö.

“The concept of psychopathy is used to describe people who are

-callous and lack the ability to feel empathy, guilt or remorse

-manipulative, impulsive, consider themselves superior and are interested in their personal gain

-often commit criminal acts without experiencing remorse

Psychopathy is a wider concept used to describe personality than personality disorder.

Psychopathy is especially related to antisocial and narcissistic personality disorders, but psychopathic traits can also be present in other mental disorders.”¹³⁵

2.3 Summary

Overall, we can conclude that after being discarded in 1969 as an official diagnosis, psychopathy as a term disappeared for over 30 years. There were attempts to adopt Hervey Cleckley’s definition of psychopathy under the label sociopathy, but this faded out during the 1980s. The 1990s could be considered the “Dark Ages” of psychopathy in Finland, as all primary sources seem to indicate that it was, alongside sociopathy, considered an obsolete term. However, after the turn of the millennium there was a reappearance of psychopathy, first in the medical journal *Duodecim* and later in textbooks such as *Psykiatria* (Lönnqvist et al.). As written by Hannu Lauerma in 2009, psychopathy was seen as a necessary concept in order to describe individuals who have no regard for the well-being of others. The old German umbrella term had therefore found new life in Finland under the American-Canadian definition of psychopathy.

Psykopatia liittyy erityisesti epäsosiaalisiin ja narsistisiin persoonallisuushäiriöihin, mutta myös muissa mielenterveyden häiriöissä voi esiintyä psykopaattisia piirteitä.”

¹³⁵ Lönnqvist et al. 2017, Persoonallisuushäiriöt > Epäsosiaalinen persoonallisuushäiriö.

3. The psychopath whisperers: Finnish experts and their research

In this chapter we will look at the most notable Finnish experts on psychopathy and provide examples of their research. I have chosen some of the most important peer-reviewed publications and will attempt to insert them into the framework of both national and international research. As the research of psychopathy is a highly specialised field in both psychiatry and psychology, I do not have the qualifications to give detailed commentary on their results, especially in regard to neuroscience. I can, however, provide a summary of their studies and connect them to the more general trends in the evolution of the research of psychopathy. For the purposes of this thesis the publications on female psychopathy will be discussed separately in the cases of Jari Tiihonen and Markku Eronen, as it is a topic in which Finnish experts seem to have been making an important contribution. The focus will be on four key names: Jaana Haapasalo, Jari Tiihonen, Hannu Lauerma and Markku Eronen. These experts were at the forefront of Finnish research on psychopathy. There will be a subchapter for each of the aforementioned individuals, with a short introduction at the beginning.

3.1 Jaana Haapasalo

Jaana Haapasalo is currently a docent of judicial and criminal psychology at the University of Turku.¹³⁶ She has published multiple peer-reviewed articles on psychopathy, with a specific focus on the concept created by Cleckley in 1941. Haapasalo received her PhD in 1992 from the University of Jyväskylä with a doctoral thesis called *Psychopathy as a descriptive construct of personality among offenders* (1992),¹³⁷ on which I will focus in this subchapter. Psychopathy seems to have been of a special interest to her during her academic career, with the earliest article “Psykopatiakäsitteen kehitys ja sisältö”¹³⁸ published in 1985.

3.1.1 Haapasalo’s doctoral thesis

In her doctoral thesis *Psychopathy as a descriptive construct of personality among offenders* (1992) Jaana Haapasalo focused on testing different assessment methods (such as the

¹³⁶ University of Turku, University > Faculties > Faculty of Law > Contact Information of the Faculty of Law > Docents at the Faculty of Law.

¹³⁷ Haapasalo 1992, “Authors.”

¹³⁸ Translation: “The development and content of the concept of psychopathy.”

Psychopathy Checklist-Revised) used for psychopathy, grouping offenders according to the results and creating more information on the nature of criminality found in psychopaths, as defined by Cleckley.¹³⁹ She also took part in translating the PCL-R¹⁴⁰ into Finnish and modifying some of the items, such as “Revocation of conditional release” and “Criminal versatility,” to better suit Finnish jurisdiction.¹⁴¹ During her research she came to the conclusion that narcissistic personality disorder (NPD, see page 7 of this thesis) and Cleckley’s psychopathy share multiple similarities and that Cleckley’s psychopathy could be described as NPD without emotions.¹⁴² Haapasalo also placed emphasis on the fact that the PCL-R was more focused on antisocial behaviour than Cleckley’s classical description, entertaining the idea that the interpersonal/affective and lifestyle/antisocial traits (see page 13 of this thesis) could be part of separate checklists.¹⁴³ Therefore one can draw the conclusion that Haapasalo considered Hare’s PCL-R at least partially an inaccurate measurement of psychopathy, seeing it as diverging too far from the original definition by Cleckley.

We can see that Jaana Haapasalo seems to have taken a special focus on psychopathy as formulated by Cleckley, even referring to it when providing criticism of instruments such as the PCL-R. She can be seen as the first new Finnish expert on psychopathy after 1969, as before her publications and nearly a decade after them there is a complete void in regard to Finnish research articles on psychopathy. Haapasalo’s focus on Cleckley’s description makes her not only the most notable but probably the only Finnish expert on the classical American definition of psychopathy. It is clear that she possesses valuable insight into the subtle differences between the intertwining definitions of psychopathy within the American-Canadian tradition.

3.2 Jari Tiihonen

Jari Tiihonen is currently a professor of forensic psychiatry at the University of Eastern Finland.¹⁴⁴ He received his PhD in 1989¹⁴⁵ from the University of Kuopio and has afterwards

¹³⁹ Ibid, “Abstract.”

¹⁴⁰ Haapasalo used an unpublished version of the PCL-R, which had been provided to researchers since 1985. The PCL-R was, as mentioned in subchapter 1.6.1, officially published in 1991.

¹⁴¹ Haapasalo 1992, 43.

¹⁴² Ibid, 55.

¹⁴³ Ibid, 57-58.

¹⁴⁴ Niuvanniemi Hospital, Education and research.

¹⁴⁵ Tiihonen 1989, “Authors.”

taken part in multiple international research projects involving psychopathy, even alongside famous pioneers such as Robert D. Hare.¹⁴⁶ The department of forensic psychiatry for the University of Eastern Finland is located at Niuvanniemi Hospital, which has published a substantial amount of research on psychopathy, among other topics.

3.2.1 Research of female psychopathy by Tiihonen

Jari Tiihonen has taken part in publishing at least two scientific articles on female psychopathy, both of which used some form of *magnetic resonance imaging* (MRI, see page 7 of this thesis) as a research method. In “White matter correlates of psychopathic traits in female community sample” (2017) his focus was on uncovering whether a previously researched link in male subjects between abnormalities in the limbic system¹⁴⁷ and psychopathic traits was also present in women.¹⁴⁸ The study concluded that this was indeed the case and that the aforementioned anomalies seem to be more prevalent in both men and women who exhibit psychopathic traits.¹⁴⁹ Another research article published a year later, “Associations of Psychopathic Traits with Local and Global Brain Network Topology in Young Adult Women” (2018), attempted to shed light on the connection between abnormalities in neural network topology¹⁵⁰ and psychopathic traits in women.¹⁵¹ The research participants consisted of 73 women of whom none filled the criteria for psychopathy, but the study was nevertheless able to conclude that there was indeed a connection between unusual neural topology in some regions of the brain and psychopathic traits.¹⁵² This, according to Tiihonen and his colleagues, supported the theory that psychopathy in women, as in men, is caused by abnormalities in information processing and learning.¹⁵³

¹⁴⁶ Boccardi et al. 2011, “Authors.”

¹⁴⁷ The limbic system is a combination of parts in the brain which are closely linked to phenomena such as emotions, motivations and unconscious drives.

¹⁴⁸ Lindner et al. 2017, 1500.

¹⁴⁹ Ibid, 1507.

¹⁵⁰ “Topology” in this context refers to the way in which neurons are connected within the brain.

¹⁵¹ Lindner et al. 2018, 1003.

¹⁵² Ibid, 1010.

¹⁵³ Ibid, 1003.

As psychopathy is statistically more common in men than in women, female psychopathy has not been researched as thoroughly.¹⁵⁴ Therefore Tiihonen can be seen as a pioneer in this field. The neuroscience of psychopathy is such a specialised topic that for the purposes of this thesis it is not possible to understand just how important the aforementioned discoveries have been. However, it is safe to say that finding new proof for similar abnormalities in brain structure between male and female psychopaths is an important step towards understanding the causes as well as possible treatments for this puzzling personality disorder. The fact that Finnish experts have been active in studying relatively unknown areas, such as female psychopathy, could point towards the conclusion that while bulk of the research on psychopathy is likely done in North America, smaller countries can still have an impact via specialisation.

3.2.2 Other publications by Tiihonen

Although most of the research published by Jari Tiihonen seems to be focused on neuroimaging studies,¹⁵⁵ there is also an intriguing article published in 2010 called “The Intergenerational Cycle of Criminality-Association with Psychopathy.” In this study Tiihonen along with his colleagues focuses on whether the children of homicide offenders are more likely to engage in criminal behaviour than the general population.¹⁵⁶ Psychopathy in homicidal parents was measured with the PCL-R, and it was found that, regardless of gender, the children with psychopathic parents were indeed more likely to engage in antisocial behaviour.¹⁵⁷ This provided proof that antisocial and psychopathic traits can be passed down from parent to offspring. In regard to the neuroimaging of psychopathy, perhaps one of the most notable projects by Tiihonen is “A Systematic Literature Review of Neuroimaging of Psychopathic Traits” (2019), in which, he alongside Mika Johanson, Olli Vaurio and Markku Lähteenvuo, reviewed 118 neuroimaging studies in order to create an overview of the previous research on psychopathy.¹⁵⁸ The review combined information gathered with different forms of magnetic resonance imaging, such as conventional MRI and fMRI (see page 7 of this thesis).¹⁵⁹ This can be considered a highly important contribution, as

¹⁵⁴ Kiehl & Lushing 2014, “Female psychopathy.”

¹⁵⁵ JYKDOK, International e-publications > Search: author = “Jari Tiihonen” AND title = “psychop*.”

¹⁵⁶ Repo-Tiihonen et al. 2010, 116.

¹⁵⁷ Ibid, 119.

¹⁵⁸ Johanson et al. 2019, “Abstract.”

¹⁵⁹ Ibid, “Introduction.”

neuroimaging of psychopathy is done around the world and with different methods. Therefore, creating a comprehensive picture of the current understanding of the topic allows for more effective planning of future projects. Along with summarizing the notion that psychopathy stems from a range of both structural and functional abnormalities in the brain, the review also pointed towards the conclusion that psychopathy and antisocial personality disorder might have different neurobiological causes.¹⁶⁰ This puts more emphasis on the fact that even though some may consider antisocial personality disorder and psychopathy to be similar concepts due to outward manifestations such as criminality, they are still separate personality disorders.

We can conclude that Tiihonen has been a formidable expert in the neuroscientific research of psychopathy, and his work is a shining example of the impact smaller countries with access to modern equipment can have on the international stage. For example, the review of over 100 neuroimaging studies on psychopathy is a remarkable feat and has likely helped the international research community to coordinate their projects more efficiently. Eila Repo-Tiihonen also deserves an honorary mention as an expert on psychopathy in this thesis, as she seems to have taken part in creating many of the publications discussed in this subchapter.

3.3 Hannu Lauerma

Hannu Lauerma is currently a clinical professor at the University of Turku and the senior medical advisor at the Psychiatric Hospital for Prisoners in Turku.¹⁶¹ He received his PhD in medicine from the University of Turku in 1994¹⁶² and is an author of multiple articles on psychopathy, ranging from academic to more popularised publications. He has been interviewed frequently by *Yleisradio*¹⁶³ on topics such as criminality and mental health,¹⁶⁴ and can be considered one of the most famous experts on forensic psychiatry in Finland.

3.3.1 Publications by Lauerma

¹⁶⁰ Ibid, "Conclusions."

¹⁶¹ VTH, Hospitals > Psychiatric Hospital for Prisoners.

¹⁶² Lauerma 1994, "Authors."

¹⁶³ *Yleisradio* is the Finnish public broadcasting company.

¹⁶⁴ Yleisradio, Search: "Hannu Lauerma."

Hannu Lauerma has taken part in publishing at least two research articles on psychopathy,¹⁶⁵ one of them in collaboration with Jari Tiihonen.¹⁶⁶ In “Brain Basis of Psychopathy in Criminal Offenders and General Population” (2021), the focus was on discovering whether there are similarities in brain abnormalities between psychopathic individuals and the more high-functioning members of the general population, who nevertheless express antisocial traits.¹⁶⁷ It was concluded that this was indeed the case, indicating that antisocial behaviours of a differing severity share a similar cause.¹⁶⁸ Another article published earlier by Lauerma and his colleagues is called “Psychopathic traits in a representative sample of Finnish male prisoners” (2014). It studied the distribution of psychopathic traits in Finnish inmates and compared the results to those received in North America and other European countries.¹⁶⁹ The authors also attempted to uncover whether any national differences exist in the expression of psychopathy among prisoners, which turned out to be true at least for the interpersonal traits.¹⁷⁰ Finnish male prisoners had lower scores on the interpersonal facet of the PCL-R than those studied in North America, and it was discussed that Finnish prisoners seemed less glib and manipulative than their counterparts across the Atlantic.¹⁷¹ This is another interesting discovery, as it points towards the conclusion that psychopathy might be an adaptive disorder, which can express itself in slightly different ways depending on the culture of the individual.

The fact that one of the most famous experts on forensic psychiatry in Finland has only published a few scientific articles on psychopathy is a surprising discovery, but as searching for international e-publications with Hannu Lauerma as an author provides 81 results,¹⁷² it must be concluded that he has simply used most of his time to study other important topics of his field. It, however, cannot be denied that Lauerma must have a considerable understanding of psychopathy due to his work in the Psychiatric Hospital for Prisoners, and therefore he deserves a place as one of the most important experts on the topic Finland.

3.4 Markku Eronen

¹⁶⁵ JYKDOK, International e-publications > Search: author = “Hannu Lauerma” AND title = “psychop*.”

¹⁶⁶ Nummenmaa et al. 2021, “Authors.”

¹⁶⁷ Ibid, 4104.

¹⁶⁸ Ibid, 4112.

¹⁶⁹ Jüriloo et al. 2014, 117.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid, 117.

¹⁷¹ Ibid, 121.

¹⁷² JYKDOK, International e-publications > Search: author = “Hannu Lauerma.”

Markku Eronen (1961-2022) was during the final years of his life the chief of staff in the Vanha Vaasa hospital. He received his PhD in 1997 from the University of Kuopio with a doctoral thesis entitled *Psychiatric disorders and homicidal behavior in Finland* (1997).¹⁷³ After graduation, Eronen took part in publishing multiple research articles on psychopathy, with some of them focusing on female psychopathy.

3.4.1 Research of female psychopathy by Eronen

In 2004 Markku Eronen took part in publishing an article on female psychopathy called “Psychopathy in Violent Female Offenders in Finland”, which looks at the incarcerated or hospitalised violent female offenders in Finland. The goal was to uncover more information about the severity and combination of psychopathic traits in these individuals.¹⁷⁴ Hare’s PCL-R was used as the method for measuring psychopathic traits, and it was eventually concluded that, as suspected, psychopathy was statistically less common in female than in male offenders.¹⁷⁵ As this study was done by using extensive psychological testing on inmates and patients,¹⁷⁶ the research also came across other important findings by comparing scores from the PCL-R with scores from other tests, such as the *Structured Clinical Interview II for DSM-IV*¹⁷⁷ or the *Weschler Adult Intelligence Scale-Revised* (WAIS-R, see page 7 of this thesis). It was, for example, found that there was a strong inverse correlation between PCL-R scores and verbal cognitive ability on the WAIS-R,¹⁷⁸ which seems counterintuitive when considering that Hervey Cleckley put an emphasis on the intelligence of psychopaths in both interpersonal situations and psychometric tests. Keeping in mind Cleckley’s definition of psychopathy, Eronen and his colleagues also found that higher PCL-R scores were associated with increased levels of depression and anxiety in women, which is once again in stark contrast with Cleckley’s argument about the “absence of nervousness and other psychoneurotic manifestations” in psychopaths.¹⁷⁹ These findings therefore point towards the conclusion that psychopathy might in fact be expressed differently in women than in men.

¹⁷³ Eronen 1997, “Authors.”

¹⁷⁴ Weizmann-Helenius et al. 2004, 213.

¹⁷⁵ Ibid, 218.

¹⁷⁶ Ibid, 213.

¹⁷⁷ The SCID-II is a semi-structured interview guide for making diagnoses of personality disorders as classified by the DSM (see page x of this thesis). The SCID-I is reserved for major mental disorders.

¹⁷⁸ Weizmann-Helenius et al. 2004, 217.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid, 218.

This can be seen even more clearly in Eronen's other article, called "Examination of psychopathy in female homicide offenders - Confirmatory factor analysis of the PCL-R" (2010). In it, Eronen takes part in comparing the two-factor model (see page 13 of this thesis) of the PCL-R with a three-factor model¹⁸⁰ created by David Cooke and Christine Michie, concluding that the two-factor model by Hare had limitations when assessing female homicide offenders.¹⁸¹ In this study they also discovered more evidence for a previously researched link between antisocial personality disorder and psychopathy, as well as a strong correlation between psychopathy and borderline personality disorder (BPD, see page 6 of this thesis).¹⁸² The latter finding is especially interesting due to the fact that two years later a study was published which proposed that BPD might in fact simply be the female expression of psychopathy,¹⁸³ or, if turned the other way around: psychopathy might just be the male expression of borderline personality disorder.

We can therefore conclude that even with just two articles, Markku Eronen has created extremely valuable new information on female psychopathy. He has discovered evidence for the hypothesis that psychopathy might be expressed differently in males than in females, as well as a strong correlation between borderline personality disorder and psychopathy. The possibility of BPD and psychopathy being in fact the same thing might help with a future breakthrough in both the research and treatment of psychopathy. With this in mind, Eronen can be considered the most notable expert on female psychopathy in Finland.

3.4.2 Other publications by Eronen

In 2001 Markku Eronen published an article in collaboration with Jari Tiihonen and other researchers called "Psychopathy and the posterior hippocampus". It is the first Finnish research article on psychopathy after the publications of Jaana Haapasalo. Eronen and his colleagues used MRI to measure the regional hippocampal¹⁸⁴ volumes of 18 violent offenders and compared the results with their PCL-R scores. They found a negative correlation between

¹⁸⁰ The three-factor model rearranges the items of the PCL-R into three new factors: "Arrogant and Deceitful Interpersonal Style," "Defficient Affective Experience" and "Impulsive and Irrensponsible Behavioral Style."

¹⁸¹ Weizmann-Helenius et al. 2010a, 177.

¹⁸² Ibid, 184.

¹⁸³ Sprague et al. 2012, 127.

¹⁸⁴ The hippocampus is a part of the limbic system which has a major role in learning and memory. One of its more specific functions is the connecting of memories to emotional information.

the volume of the posterior hippocampus and the severity of psychopathy among their subjects.¹⁸⁵ This provided evidence for theories that psychopathy is partially caused by an inability to acquire conditioned fear, as abnormalities in the posterior hippocampus had in previous studies been linked to impairments in this learning process.¹⁸⁶ Another article from 2010 called “Psychopathy and gender differences in childhood psychosocial characteristics in homicide offenders - a nationwide register-based study” researched the childhood experiences of both male and female homicide offenders, attempting to find out whether there were any characteristics that correlated with psychopathic traits.¹⁸⁷ It was concluded that psychopathy was connected to childhood physical abuse more in men than in women, whereas the opposite was true in regard to sexual abuse.¹⁸⁸

These two articles are fine examples of just how diverse the expertise of Eronen is, as he has chosen to study psychopathy from multiple different perspectives in collaboration with other experts. His methods are not limited to specialised fields such as neuroscience, but consist of a wide range of tools, making his publications both interesting to read and diverse in nature. He can also be considered a national pioneer in the research of psychopathy, as he took part in creating the first Finnish research article on psychopathy since Haapasalo’s final publication. His sudden death was a tragic loss to the Finnish scientific community, and he was without a doubt one of the foremost experts on psychopathy in Finland.

3.5 Summary

Overall, it seems that Jaana Haapasalo was the first new Finnish expert on psychopathy after the official diagnosis disappeared in 1969, with her focus being on the definition created by Hervey Cleckley in 1941. Alongside arguing for a close connection between psychopathy and narcissistic personality disorder, she also provided criticism of Hare’s PCL-R by referring to Cleckley’s work. After her thesis it took nearly a decade for other experts to create their first research articles on the topic. Two of the upcoming experts on psychopathy, Jari Tiihonen and Markku Eronen, eventually went into different directions in regard to their approach to psychopathy. Tiihonen seemed to focus on neuroscience, whereas Eronen had a more diverse

¹⁸⁵ Laakso et al. 2001, 187.

¹⁸⁶ Ibid, 187.

¹⁸⁷ Weizmann-Helenius et al. 2010b, 801.

¹⁸⁸ Ibid, 809.

set of methods. However, both of them showed great interest in the study of female psychopathy, with especially Eronen deserving the status of a pioneer in this specialised field. He discovered a strong connection between psychopathy and borderline personality disorder, which supports the hypothesis that BPD is in fact the female expression of psychopathy. Tiihonen on the other hand could be considered the foremost Finnish expert on the neuroscience of psychopathy, as he went as far as providing a literature review of previous brain imaging studies of psychopathy. Hannu Lauerma had published only a few research articles on psychopathy, but evidence for the potential cultural differences in the disorder that he has provided is still an important contribution.

4. The black sheep of society: Overview of the history of psychopathy in Finland

We have now gone through the evolution of the terms *psychopath* and *sociopath* in Finnish psychiatric literature as well as some of the most notable Finnish research created during the last five decades. This chapter is reserved for creating an overview of the topic in light of the previous two chapters, as well as understanding why the concept and research of psychopathy in Finland evolved the way it did. If we are to begin chronologically from the 1970s, it seems that there were attempts to change the meaning of psychopathy from a more general term towards a more specific label. Originally an umbrella term for what are nowadays considered personality disorders, psychopathy was altogether abandoned in favor of sociopathy, which was nearly identical to Hervey Cleckley's classical definition of psychopathy. It must be kept in mind that during this period North American research on psychopathy was also operating beyond official diagnostic criteria, as the disorder was never adopted into the DSM.

Therefore, Cleckley's psychopathy being mentioned, albeit under a different label, within Finnish psychiatric literature can be seen as an indication of the relevance of American-Canadian psychopathy as a distinct personality disorder. The reason for adopting the term sociopathy could be explained by a desire to avoid confusion among medical professionals, as psychopathy could during the 1970s and 1980s still be mistakenly identified with the old German definition. Even though psychiatric diagnoses are constantly evolving concepts, having a term familiar to all medical professionals change its meaning abruptly could end up causing mislabeling of patients.

During the 1990s psychopathy and sociopathy seem to have completely disappeared from Finnish psychiatry, even though the PCL-R by Robert D. Hare was officially published in 1991. However, research of Cleckley's psychopathy and criticism of the PCL-R can still be found in the form of Jaana Haapasalo's publications, which means that there was some interest in the topic expressed by devoted specialists. Nevertheless, in the more mainstream psychiatric discourse psychopathy seems to have been abandoned in favor of antisocial personality disorder. This was likely due to the fact that Hare's PCL-R had not yet been widely adopted in Finnish forensic psychiatry. In fact, as in her doctoral thesis of 1992 Haapasalo also took part in translating the Psychopathy Checklist-Revised into Finnish and

modifying it to better fit the Finnish jurisdiction, her dissertation is likely to be one of the first, if not the very first, instance of the PCL-R ever being used in Finland.

By 2002 there appears to have been a change of heart in Finnish psychiatry in regard to psychopathy. The term had reappeared in the form of the PCL-R. The first instance was the article “Voiko persoonallisuushäiriöitä kuvantaa?”¹⁸⁹ (2002) by Jari Tiihonen. As we have seen that professionals such as Markku Eronen and Jari Tiihonen had done research with the PCL-R at the beginning of the 2000s, it seems consistent that this definition of psychopathy would also appear in medical journals around the same time. The slightly delayed appearance in textbooks such as *Psykiatria* (2007) also seems natural, as these are less likely to consist of information which is still being introduced into or disputed within academic discourse. Nevertheless, it is entirely possible that there was already discussion in Finnish psychiatry about psychopathy (also beyond medical journals such as *Duodecim*) before it was adopted into literature meant for students. By 2017 the term had already assumed a firm status as part of Finnish psychiatry, being defined as an extreme form of antisocial personality disorder.

Overall, in our definition of psychopathy we have seen a shift from following German influence towards embracing American-Canadian research. However, this change has not taken place independently of international affairs. It can instead be seen as a by-product of the Finnish transition in 1969 from the ICD-6 to the more modern ICD-8.¹⁹⁰ During the transition, psychopathy disappeared as an official diagnosis in Finland in favor of the more modern *pathological personality*.¹⁹¹ Finnish medical terminology in regard to psychopathy was therefore left with a vacuum which would eventually be neatly filled by the North American definition and its robust research. As mentioned by Hanny Lauerma in 2009, psychopathy was readopted due to a need for a term with which to describe individuals who have no regard for the well-being of others. The popularity of the PCL-R in Finland is likely due to both its reliability as a measurement tool and its usefulness in predicting future criminal offending and violence, as psychopaths are at an exceptionally high risk of recidivism.¹⁹²

¹⁸⁹ Translation: “Can personality disorders be imaged.”

¹⁹⁰ Parhi 2022, 43.

¹⁹¹ Ibid.

¹⁹² Scott 2014, “8. Psychopathy and Recurrent Anti-Social Behaviour.”

In regard to the research of psychopathy in Finland, there seems to have been a sharp increase in peer-reviewed publications after the turn of the millennium, with the focus being on using the PCL-R for defining and measuring psychopathy. The roots of this explosion of interest most likely lie in the pioneering work of Jaana Haapasalo, who introduced the PCL-R to Finland during the beginning of the 1990s. Although there were some Finnish brain imaging studies of psychopathy published during the beginning of the 2000s, it was rather the 2010s that saw a nationwide embrace of the neuroscience of psychopathy. This can be seen to be at least partially caused by the fact that Finnish experts had access to state-of-the-art equipment. Although a small country, Finland is relatively wealthy and has therefore both the ability and the incentive to make significant investments in order to gain an edge in scientific competition. Another likely cause for the national increase in neuroscientific publications on psychopathy during the 2010s is a tendency to follow international research trends at a slight delay, as globally it was the 2000s that saw a significant increase in brain imaging studies of psychopathy.¹⁹³

Although there was some Finnish research on psychopathy previous to the 2000s, such as that of Jaana Haapasalo, it was relatively small in scale when compared to the present day. Even after Haapasalo's publications it took a decade for other Finnish researchers to publish their first studies on the disorder. Even though I have conducted a relatively thorough search by using multiple databases such as *Finna.fi* and *Medic*, it is still possible that one could uncover new Finnish research on psychopathy (or sociopathy) from the 1970s and the 1980s. I wholeheartedly support anyone's aspirations to further study this topic. Nevertheless, for the purposes of this work we can safely assume that, with the exception of Haapasalo's publications, Finnish research on psychopathy was virtually nonexistent from the 1970s onwards until a more widespread adoption of the PCL-R. This allowed for the first time a valid and reliable way for Finnish experts to study this complex personality disorder. After the turn of the 2010s the more widespread use of neuroscientific methods was caused by two factors: an increase in the interest for neuroscience more generally, and in the brain imaging of psychopathy more specifically, with the latter following a global trend set during the 2000s.

¹⁹³ Kiehl & Lushing 2014, "Neuroscience."

5. Conclusion

As we can see, the history of psychopathy in Finland from 1969 onwards was far from non-existent, even though the official diagnosis had disappeared. The term persisted in textbooks of both mainstream and forensic psychiatry. During the 1970s and the 1980s Hervey Cleckley's classic definition of psychopathy was used in Finland under the label *sociopathy*, but was removed by the turn of the 1990s as both terms began to be considered relics of the past. A reappearance of psychopathy came during the 2000s in the form of Robert D. Hare's Psychopathy Checklist-Revised, which stands until this day as the mainstream definition of psychopathy in Finland.

In regard to peer-reviewed Finnish research on psychopathy, the decades prior to the 1990s were characterised by an almost total lack of research articles on either psychopathy or sociopathy. The earliest examples of extensive research were created by Jaana Haapasalo, who also took part in introducing the PCL-R to Finland. It took another decade for other researchers to create their first publications on the disorder, with the earliest study, "Psychopathy and the posterior hippocampus," being from 2001. A robust use of traditional research methods was applied by Markku Eronen, especially in his research of female psychopathy, while Jari Tiihonen seemed to embrace brain imaging studies. Hannu Lauerma proved to be something of an outlier, publishing a surprisingly small amount of peer-reviewed articles on psychopathy regardless of his status as one of the most famous experts on forensic psychiatry in Finland.

We shall now return to the original research questions in light of the previous three chapters. The results regarding each question will be condensed into a single paragraph in order to provide a clear and straightforward answer.

1. What definitions have the terms *psychopath* and *sociopath* had in Finnish psychiatry from the beginning of the 1970s to the present day?

Psychopathy was discarded in 1969 in favor of the more modern *abnormal personality*, which eventually gave way to *personality disorders*. Instead, *sociopathy* was presented as an alternative term, which was nearly identical to the classical definition of psychopathy by Hervey Cleckley. Sociopathy survived in Finnish

psychiatric textbooks, both mainstream and forensic, until it was also dropped by the start of the 1990s in favor of *antisocial personality disorder*. After a decade during which neither psychopathy nor sociopathy were present in psychiatric literature, psychopathy was reintroduced in the 2000s in the form of the PCL-R. It appeared first in the medical journal *Duodecim* as early as 2002, then later in the textbook *Psykiatria* (Lönnqvist et al.) in 2007. After this, there has been a slow but steady increase in the recognition of the importance of psychopathy in Finnish psychiatric literature.

2. What kind of research have the most notable Finnish experts on psychopathy created?

The earliest examples of notable peer-reviewed Finnish research on psychopathy were the publications of Jaana Haapasalo, of which her doctoral thesis is the most extensive. It focused on issues such as the differences between Cleckley's classical definition of psychopathy and Hare's PCL-R, providing criticism of the validity of the latter. Markku Eronen had publications ranging from the early 2000s to the 2010s and seems to have directed a large portion of his focus on female psychopathy. He discovered a strong correlation in women between psychopathy and borderline personality disorder, which pointed towards the conclusion that BPD might in fact be a female expression of psychopathy. Jari Tiihonen took part in publishing a large amount of brain imaging studies on psychopathy during the 2010s, even creating a literature review of the previous neuroscientific research on the disorder. He could be considered the foremost expert on the neuroscience of psychopathy in Finland. In regard to Hannu Lauerma, he seemed to have only a couple of peer-reviewed studies on psychopathy, regardless of his status as a famous expert on forensic psychiatry.

3. Why did the concept and research of psychopathy (and sociopathy) in Finland evolve the way it did?

Psychopathy was abandoned in Finland in 1969 as part of the transition from the ICD-6 to the ICD-8. There was a desire to discontinue the use of a term which carried an obvious stigma. Sociopathy was adopted as a new term, with Cleckley's psychopathy as its definition. By the 1990s this label was also considered a relic, as antisocial personality disorder was seen as a sufficient substitute. Although the PCL-R was

officially published by Robert D. Hare as early as 1991, its use for research would not become widespread in Finland until the 2000s. Psychopathy eventually reappeared after a decade-long hiatus due to its importance as a term for describing individuals who have no regard for the well-being of others. The 2010s saw a widespread increase in the use of brain imaging technology for studying psychopathy, which can be seen as a natural extension of a similar trend overseas during the 2000s. There was also a robust amount of research done on female psychopathy by Finnish experts. This is most likely due to the fact that it is relatively uncharted territory, providing fruitful ground for new discoveries.

This thesis is far from providing a complete picture of all of the nuances in the Finnish history of psychopathy after 1969, but it should at least create sufficient ground for future research. One of the ways more information can be created is in the form of comparing the academic and popular Finnish discourses on psychopathy. More specifically, this could be done by analyzing some of the more popularized books and magazines alongside textbooks of psychiatry. As the history of psychopathy in Finland sits at an intersection of multiple different traditions of psychiatry, it is unlikely to run out of stories to tell just yet.

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