

Unlocking the Enigma of Indian Serial Killers: An Insight into their Biopsychosocial Construction

Shreya Modi¹, Krupa Nishar²

¹UG Student (Final Year), Psychology, Bethune College, University of Calcutta

²Forensic Psychologist at Socially Souled LLP, Resource person at St. Xaviers College & IIM A

Abstract

The peregrination of serial killing and the comprehension of the sibylline construct of their minds have rapidly become a scorching subject, captivating the collective attention of the society. While a bulk of discourses tend to revolve around Western perpetrators it is of paramount significance that Indian serial killers also be afforded equal attention. Understanding these enigmatic individuals, unravelling their scaly grounds and acknowledging their existence, fosters a holistic understanding of the human psyche and a robust global conversation on crime, justice and mental health. This scholarly inquiry endeavours to navigate the previously uncharted realm of Indian serial killers, by unravelling their oracular biopsychosocial construction. Infused with an eclectic blend of cultural, social, and historical intricacies, this study delves deep into the labyrinthine recesses of the human mind and endeavours to comprehend the interplay between genetics, neurology, psychology, societal norms, and historical contexts. By exploring the physiological underpinnings of genetic predispositions, neurological aberrations, and neurotransmitter dynamics, alongside the psychological facets of personality traits, psychopathological proclivities, and the etiological influences of early experiences, this research aspires to unlock the intricate tapestry of Indian serial killers. Further augmenting this elucidation, the contextual lens of Indian socio-cultural milieu and the indelible imprints of historical tides fortify the comprehensive comprehension of these harbingers of malevolence, this study with the help of retrospective case studies, seeks to engender profound insights into the biopsychosocial landscapes of Indian serial killers, emergently countering stereotypes and fostering an enlightened comprehension of these gravimetric anomalies.

Keywords: Serial Killing, Biopsychosocial Construction, Indian Serial Killers.

1. Introduction and Background

“Slash and rip and stab and gore Blood and shit and meat galore Voices in my head the sonsabitches Claw it outta my brain it itches”

- Shirish Thorat and Sampada Karandikar (Twisted - A profile of Indian Serial Killers)

In the dark realms of human malevolence, a breed of individuals emerges, intriguing and captivating in its sinister complexity - the ‘serial killers’. Defined as "individuals who commit multiple murders over a period of time, often with no apparent motive and typically following a characteristic, predictable pattern," by the acclaimed criminologist Robert K. Ressler, who is often credited with coining the term

'serial killer'. These protagonists of human depravity have long held a morbid fascination for society at large.

The relentless spread of electronic media has catapulted the global panorama of serial killers into the spotlight, amplifying their tales of terror and igniting a collective curiosity. Yet, amidst the cacophony of tales from abroad, one must not overlook the disturbing presence of Indian serial killers, whose stories, although more discrete, hold equal importance in our understanding of this quintessentially human aberration.

While titans of crime from Western countries tend to hog the limelight, it is crucial to recognize that the phenomenon of serial killers transcends geographical boundaries. The accounts of these malicious incarnations beckon us to delve deeper into our own backyard, where the Indian subcontinent hides its darkest secrets. Herein lies the *raison d'être* for this exploration. By shedding light on the Indian serial killers' tapestry of violence, we unravel a web that not only satiates our thirst for knowledge but also facilitates the identification and prevention of future atrocities.

Understanding the biopsychosocial construction of these serial killers serves as a lighthouse, guiding us through the treacherous waters that churn within their minds. Beyond simplistic explanations of madness or evil, the study of their biological, psychological, and social origins presents an opportunity to fathom the intricate mosaic of factors that contribute to the emergence of such malevolence. By dissecting their nature, nurturing, and social environment, society can better equip itself to detect and intervene in potential cases, perhaps even stemming this tide of bloodshed.

Serial killers have consistently haunted the Indian landscape throughout history, leaving a trail of terror in their wake. From notorious cases in the 1970s to the chilling present, India has witnessed the rise and fall of these harbingers of horror. States like Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra, West Bengal, and Karnataka have borne witness to their macabre acts, serving as the grim testament to the fact that evil knows no boundaries.

Serial killers have long been a subject of symposiums, drawing attention to the darkest corners of human psychology and the complexities of criminal behaviour. While ample research has been conducted on serial killers worldwide, the understanding of Indian serial killers remains limited. The cultural, social, and historical context of India, with its rich tapestry of diversity and traditions, adds a unique dimension to the study of serial killers in the country.

Understanding the biopsychosocial construction of Indian serial killers requires an in-depth exploration of various factors at play. The biological aspect delves into genetic predispositions, brain abnormalities, and the impact of neurotransmitters on violent behaviour. Psychologically, delve into the examination of personality traits, psychological disorders, and childhood experiences that contribute to the development of their murderous inclinations. Social factors, including societal norms, cultural influences, economic disparities, and the impact of urbanization, shape the *modus operandi* and victim selection of Indian serial killers.

By unlocking the enigma surrounding Indian serial killers, this article embarks on a comprehensive exploration of their biopsychosocial construction. Through a review of the existing literature and an analysis of their overarching traits, patterns, and motivations, we attempt to bring forth a holistic understanding of the forces that propel these monsters into existence. Only through this understanding can we hope to combat the spectre of evil and prevent its resurgence within our own society.

Additionally, this study aims to debunk myths and stereotypes surrounding serial killers in India and foster a better understanding of the complex interplay between biology, psychology, and society in the construction of these criminals.

2. Research Methods

2.1 Research Design

The research design employed in this study is an analytical research design. This design allowed for the analysis and interpretation of existing data to gain insights into the biopsychosocial construction of Indian serial killers.

2.2 Data Collection

To conduct this study, a qualitative research methodology was utilized. Specifically, retrospective case studies were conducted. Retrospective case studies involved analysing past events or phenomena to understand patterns, causes, and effects.

For data collection, secondary data was relied upon. In this case, existing records, documents, articles, academic papers and databases related to Indian serial killers were accessed.

The sample for this study consisted of two retrospective case studies. Each case represented an individual Indian serial killer whose biopsychosocial construction was explored. Case studies on Charles Sobhraj and Amarjeet Sada were employed for this research because they represent vivid contrasting profiles in terms of their backgrounds, time periods, age, motives and biopsychosocial makeup. This allows for a comprehensive examination of diverse factors that contribute to the development of serial killers within the Indian context.

3. Objectives of the Study

The present study objectives have been developed to understand the psyche and the biopsychosocial construction of the Indian serial killers and to identify the key reasons that lead to such serial killings. The following objectives, therefore, formulated to answer the research questions. The objectives of the study are:

1. To comprehensively investigate the biopsychosocial construction of Indian serial killers, unravelling the intricate interplay between biological, psychological, and social factors that contribute to their criminal behaviour.
2. To bridge the existing knowledge gaps and address the dearth of comprehensive research on Indian serial killers, offering a scientific foundation for the understanding of such criminal behaviours in the Indian context.

4. Serial Killings

The history of serial killing in India is a chilling narrative that spans several decades, leaving behind a trail of terror and despair. The first recorded instance of serial killing in modern Indian history can be traced back to the 1960s. It was during this period that notorious serial killers like Raman Raghav, aka Sindhi Dalwai, and Thug Behram wreaked havoc on the streets of Mumbai.

Raman Raghav, a psychopathic killer active in the mid-1960s, targeted homeless individuals and bludgeoned them to death with a hard object. His reign of terror came to an end in 1968 when he was arrested. Raghav, who confessed to 41 murders, was ultimately found guilty and sentenced to death.

Similarly, Thug Behram, also known as Behram Joad, was a member of the feared Thuggee cult. He strangled his victims and buried their bodies, and it is estimated that he claimed the lives of over 900 individuals before he was captured in 1840.

In the 1970s, the infamous "Beer Man" serial killer emerged in Uttar Pradesh. Between 1972 and 1977, he murdered at least 32 people, all of whom were alcoholics. He targeted them by lacing their drinks with poison. Due to the lack of scientific advancements at the time, the Beer Man's identity remained unknown, and the case remained unsolved.

During the 1980s and 1990s, India witnessed another surge in serial killings. Serial killers such as Amarjeet Sada, who at the age of just eight brutally murdered three infants, shocked the nation. In 1996, Auto Shankar became a household name when he was convicted of six murders, involving young women who had been forced into prostitution.

Moving into the 21st century, infamous cases like the Nithari killings and the Dandupalya gang gained notoriety. The Nithari killings, which took place between 2005 and 2006, saw the heinous acts of Moninder Singh Pandher and his servant Surinder Koli. They lured young children and women into their house and subjected them to unimaginable horrors before disposing of their remains. In the Dandupalya case, a gang of serial killers led by notorious criminals, including Uday Kumar and Venkatesh, terrorized the residents of Karnataka between 1997 and 2002, (Evans, 2007) allegedly committing over 80 murders. (Evans, 2007) (Wilson & Seaman, 2007).

All these cases raise viable questions such as, are the serial killers born or made? Or is it a social construct or a genetic aberration? Former Indian Police Officer Shirish Thorat poses an interesting question in this regard, "Are these frequent anomalies a throwback to our long-departed ancestors because history and science has recorded tendencies of cannibalism, necrophilia and sado-masochistic behaviour in different tribes and cultures globally."

To understand these, it is crucial to develop an understanding on the types of serial killers. While the original classification by Holmes and DeBurger (1988) follows a different categorization, this research primarily falls back on the four major classification:

1. Hedonistic Serial Killers: Hedonistic serial killers derive pleasure from their crimes. They often kill for personal gratification, such as sexual pleasure or the thrill of taking a life. This category can be further divided into subsections:

1.1 Lust Killers: These individuals derive sexual pleasure from the act of killing. They may engage in acts of sexual violence before, during, or after the murder. One example of a hedonistic serial killer, specifically a lust killer, is the infamous American serial killer Ted Bundy.

1.2 Thrill Killers: Thrill killers seek excitement and derive a sense of pleasure from the act of killing. Their motivation is not necessarily sexual but rather the thrill and adrenaline rush they experience. A well-known example of a thrill killer is Richard Ramirez, also known as the Night Stalker.

2. Visionary Serial Killers: Visionary serial killers often are characterized by the experience of psychosis, which sets them apart from other serial killers. These individuals maybe detached from reality, delusional, and often feel that some voice is commanding them to kill. This disjointedness of their thoughts, paired with impulsive killing categorizes them in the disorganized category. One example of a visionary serial killer is David Berkowitz, known as the Son of Sam, who believed that a dog commanded him to kill.

3. **Mission-Oriented Serial Killers:** Mission-oriented serial killers believe they have a particular mission or purpose to fulfil through their murders. They often target specific groups or individuals they perceive as threats to society or certain ideologies. Some examples of mission-oriented killers include the Unabomber, Ted Kaczynski, who targeted individuals associated with modern technology, and Anders Behring Breivik, who carried out the 2011 Norway attacks in pursuit of his extremist ideology.

4. **Power/Control-Oriented Serial Killers:** Power or control-oriented serial killers seek dominance and control over their victims. The act of killing gives them a sense of power and authority. They often enjoy the psychological manipulation and torture involved in their crimes. An example of a power/control-oriented killer is Gary Ridgway, also known as the Green River Killer, who targeted vulnerable sex workers in the United States. As of present, the Indian authorities have made significant strides in combating serial killings. The establishment of specialized law enforcement units, advancements in forensic science, and increased public awareness have all played crucial roles in reducing the occurrence of such heinous crimes. Nonetheless, the persistent threat of serial killers in India serves as a stark reminder of the need for constant vigilance and an unwavering commitment to justice.

Serial killing, a profoundly abhorrent and perplexing phenomenon has remained a subject of relentless fascination and chilling intrigue within human consciousness. As we explore the depths of this macabre realm, we encounter a multitude of theories each attempting to unravel the enigmatic tapestry of these monstrous deeds. However, before embarking upon this intricately woven journey let us first venture into the labyrinthine corridors of the human psyche and investigate the biopsychosocial causes that engender the genesis of such horrifying acts.

Serial killings can be attributed to the culmination of the following factors-

Biological Construction

One form of biological perspective on serial killers focuses on malformations of the brain. Siegel (2005) reported that brain dysfunction levels are higher in chronic criminals as compared to non-criminals. He further described a condition called Minimal Brain Dysfunction (MBD), where an individual abruptly but episodically engages in maladaptive behaviours such as volatile rage, but also incorporates kind and neutral states between episodes. MBD may result in cases entailing aggressive behaviour, suicide, abuse and motiveless homicide (Siegel, 2005).

In their study of 165 motiveless murderers from all over the world, Lange and DeWitt (1990) found that many serial killers had some form of head injury or organic brain abnormalities. They concluded by stating that because of the neurological dysfunctions giving rise to seizures, serial killers act out during periods of uncontrollable brainwave activity, further causing compulsive behaviours.

Allely et al., (2014) also suggested head injury as a cause, but added other conditions affecting the brain (e.g., meningitis), during the serial killers' early years (Stone, 2009). Brain damage is suggested as a factor contributing to aggressive behaviour (Nachson & Denno, 1987). Significant head injury during childhood or prenatal years may result in a deformed prefrontal cortex or dysfunctions in dopamine and/or serotonin levels, thus, leading to a predisposition to serial killing.

Allely et al. (2014) concluded that there exists a complex interaction between predisposing neurodevelopmental complications (such as head injury), stressful and/or traumatic environmental incidents and serial killing. They stressed that neurodevelopmental problems were not a single factor aetiology for serial killing, and said there exists an interaction between neurodevelopmental and

environmental factors such as sexual, psychological or physical abuse, leading to an individual being prone into becoming a serial killer.

Another biological perspective traced violence and criminality to biochemical imbalances-both neurochemical imbalances and non-neurochemical imbalances. For example, a condition like hypoglycaemia, which arises when blood and sugar levels fall down resulting in abnormal neurological functioning, has been associated with antisocial and violent behaviours (Fishbein, 2000). Aggressive behaviour has also been associated with irregular levels of male sex hormones, such as androgens, specifically, testosterone (Van Goozen, Matthys, Cohen-Kettenis, Thijssen & Van Engeland, 1998).

Serial killers may be born with a need for greater stimulation as compared to the average person. Ramsland (2006) stated that with low dopamine levels, "the person seeks more stimulation and new avenues of reward", thus being susceptible to addictive and compulsive pleasure-seeking behaviours (Johnson, 2004). This, combined with a dysfunctional prefrontal cortex (whose primary function is to regulate complex cognitive, emotional and behavioural functioning), may result in the increase in desire and reduction in control of pleasure-seeking behaviours (Ramsland, 2006). A serial killers' need for stimulation increases as evidenced by an increase in the rate of his or her killings over time, reflecting a compulsive and addictive pattern of behaviours (Simon, 1996; Giannangelo, 1996).

Research also suggests that low levels of serotonergic activity indicate impulsivity and self-destructive violence (Soderstrom, Blennow, Manhem, & Forsman, 2001), while increased levels indicate aggression (Baron-Cohen, 2011; Bell, Abrams, & Nutt, 2001; Raine, 1993; Raine, Lencz, & Scerbo, 1995; Volavka, 1995, 1999). Heide and Solomon (2006) stated that men with low levels of Monoamine Oxidase A (MAO-A), an enzyme involved in the breakdown of norepinephrine, dopamine and serotonin, are more likely to be sentenced with a violent crime by the time they reach 26 years of age as compared to men with high MAO-A activity. (Sharma, 2018)

Biological theories of crimes state that whether or not people commit crimes depends on their biological nature. The biological characteristics that biological theories of crime claim are associated with criminality could include factors such as genetics, neurology, or physical constitution.

The popular biological theories of crime are, Degeneration Theory (1857), Atavistic Theory of Crime (1876), Sheldon Somotypes Theory (1942), Terrie Moffit's Two-Path Theory (1993). Other modern biological theories are Neurological theories, Genetic explanations and Gene-environment interaction.

Although many modern biological theories of crime consider the effect of contextual and environmental conditions (what criminologists call biosocial theories), biological theories of crime distinguish themselves from sociological theories in their focus on internal factors.

Biological theories of crime are developed in parallel to their sociological counterparts.

Forensic biology first became a science in itself in Italy in the 19th century, with Cesare Lombroso as its founding father. Lombroso developed the concept of the "born criminal" under the influence of both phrenology (a now-defunct study of the features of the skull as indicative of mental capacity and character traits) and Darwin's theory of evolution.

Although criminologists often paint biological theories of crime in opposition to sociological ones, Lombroso was influenced by the work of French crime statisticians such as André-Michel Guerry and Adolphe Quetelet.

These crime statisticians recorded the number and distribution of crimes by collecting and analysing statistical data, producing connections between age, gender, social origin, and crime.

These statistics pointed to the hypothesis that crime was the result of environmental and social factors as well as biological ones. His students would lean more heavily into this hypothesis, producing integrated biosocial theories of crime.

Lombroso's criminal theory developed a large following in the German-speaking world. One remnant of this following was the so-called degeneration thesis, promoted by the criminologist Emil Kraepelin. According to the degeneration thesis, criminals pathologically and hereditary deviated from a regular genetic type. However, this genetic type could only be identified by psychological rather than physical characteristics.

Both the Weimar Republic and the Third Reich would use the atavistic and degeneration theses as justification for so-called "racial hygiene" projects. Thus, the Third Reich branded many ethnic minorities as genetically criminal and inferior, people to whom every right could and must be denied.

Representatives such as Franz Exner and Edmund Mezger drew scientific justifications from the twin studies of Johannes Lange, Friedrich Stumpfl's genealogical research, and other studies that argued that criminality could only be explained by human genetic predisposition.

The Nation Socialists (that is, the Nazi Party) also drew influence from purely physiological theories of crime, such as Ernst Kretschmer's theory of constitution. The physiological abnormalities leading to crime, according to Kretschmer, could be in the brain or skull as well as in the structure of the body.

Due to their fatal consequences in the Nazi regime, biological theories of crime largely lost their scientific significance after the Second World War.

Most criminal biologists have abandoned the idea that delinquency can be explained only by biological deviations in the offender, preferring approaches that combine biology and sociology. Terrie Moffit's Two-Path theory is such an example. (Nickerson, 2023)

Psychological Construction

Are some people born killers? Does the ink of criminal predisposition etch itself upon the parchment of certain individuals upon their birth, leaving them destined to traverse the path of transgressor? Or does psyche play a major part? Some detailed reports and approaches to assess their psychological construction are elucidated below.

Psychodynamic, Behavioural and Cognitive perspectives are three prominent psychological approaches that shed light on human behaviour and its underlying explanations. These perspectives have their roots in different theories and have offered valuable insights into understanding the intricate workings of the human mind. In this exposition we will delve into their origins, core principles with the examples of Indian serial killers to demonstrate their applications.

The Psychodynamic perspective pioneered by Sigmund Freud revolutionized the field of psychology in the late 19th century. Freud's groundbreaking theories emphasized the importance of the unconscious mind childhood experiences and the influence of instinctual drives in shaping human behaviour. According to Freud, unresolved conflicts and repressed desires from early childhood experiences could manifest in psychopathological symptoms later in life. In the Indian context, the notorious serial killer Raman Raghav provides a striking example. Raghav's traumatic childhood marked by neglect abuse and exposure to violence likely contributed to the development of his violent tendencies.

Moving on to the Behavioural perspective, B.F. Skinner emerged as a significant figure in the mid-20th century. Skinner's theory focused on observable behaviour emphasizing the role of environmental factors in shaping and maintaining behaviour patterns. He proposed the concept of operant conditioning

suggesting that behaviour is reinforced through rewards or punishments. In the Indian context, the case of the serial killer Surinder Koli exemplifies this perspective. Koli's actions were driven by his desire for power and control which he perceived as rewarding. As his crimes went unnoticed for an extended period his behaviour was inadvertently reinforced leading to a continued pattern of violence.

The Cognitive perspective developed in the 1960s shifted the focus from observable behaviour to the internal mental processes that mediate human behaviour. Cognitive psychologists such as Albert Bandura emphasized the role of perception, memory, judgment and problem-solving in shaping human actions. Bandura's Social Cognitive Theory which emphasized observational learning and self-efficacy bears relevance to the understanding of serial killers in the Indian context. Serial killer Charles Sobhraj known as "The Bikini Killer" meticulously planned and manipulated his victims utilizing his knowledge of human psychology and playing on their cognitive vulnerabilities.

It is vital to acknowledge that these perspectives alone cannot solely explain the complex phenomenon of serial killing. However, several specific psychological disorders have been associated with serial killers shedding light on the factors that contribute to their actions. Psychopathic personality disorder characterized by a lack of empathy remorse and a tendency towards manipulative behaviour often co-occurs with serial killing. In the Indian context the case of notorious serial killer Mohan Kumar also known as "Cyanide Mohan" exemplifies this. Mohan's psychopathic traits enabled him to exploit vulnerable women and evade capture for an extended period.

In conclusion, the Psychodynamic Behavioural and Cognitive perspectives provide valuable insights into understanding the motivations and actions of serial killers. While the psychodynamic perspective emphasizes unconscious drives childhood experiences and conflict the behavioural perspective focuses on learned behaviours and environmental factors. The cognitive perspective on the other hand explores the role of internal mental processes. By examining Indian context examples of serial killers such as Raman Raghav Surinder Koli, Charles Sobhraj and Mohan Kumar we can see the application of these perspectives in understanding the complex phenomenon of serial killing. However, it is crucial to note that a multifaceted approach that considers sociocultural biological and environmental factors is necessary for a comprehensive understanding of this horrific crime.

Prominently observed amongst individuals who commit serial killings are various psychological disorders the elucidation of which aids in comprehending the intricate motives that drive these perpetrators to embark upon their odious quests. Foremost amongst these disorders is psychopathy characterized by an egregious lack of empathy conscience and remorse compelling individuals to engage in heinous acts of violence with disconcerting detachment. Succinctly put psychopaths possess an unsettling capacity to harness their inherent charisma and manipulation skills employing them to ensnare unsuspecting victims in their sinister webs.

Another noteworthy disorder commonly affiliated with serial killers is antisocial personality disorder (ASPD). Within the complex domain of ASPD individuals exhibit a flagrant disdain for societal norms pervasive impulsivity and a profound disregard for the well-being of others. This potent cocktail of traits combined with a severely distorted sense of self renders them prone to recurrent acts of violence as they navigate a treacherous path littered with shattered lives and broken dreams.

From a psychological standpoint understanding these disorders is of paramount importance as it allows us to grasp the intricate mechanisms underpinning the minds of serial killers. It enables us to shed light upon their motivations unravel their distorted cognitive processes and endeavour to develop effective strategies for prevention and intervention.

To this end a preeminent model that underscores the psychological perspective in comprehending serial killing is the Homicidal Triad. This triad encompasses three primary components: bed-wetting beyond a certain age, animal cruelty and pyromania. These indicators when present in an individual during their formative years are postulated to signify a proclivity towards future violent behaviour. Extensive research has revealed the correlation between the Homicidal Triad and an increased likelihood of engaging in exceptionally violent acts later in life.

By delving into the labyrinthine intricacies of the human psyche and casting light upon the psychological disorders underlying serial killing we pave the way for a comprehensive understanding of these nefarious acts. Embracing the psychological perspective grants us a unique vantage point allowing us to elucidate the motives, unravel the mindsets and confront the chilling depths of the human capacity for malevolence. In doing so we equip ourselves with the tools necessary to prevent the occurrence of such atrocities and foster a society that values the sanctity of life above all else.

Sociological Construction

Research on the psycho-social causes of serial killing points to the cognizance and application of various psycho-social theories and factors.

One of the key theories that can help understand the sociological construction of Indian serial killers is the 'Social Strain Theory' by American Sociologist Robert K Merton. According to this theory, individuals may engage in deviant behaviour, such as serial killing, as a response to the strain they experience due to the gap between their aspirations and the opportunities available to them. For example, a person who faces chronic unemployment or social rejection may resort to extreme acts of violence to regain a sense of power and control.

Another relevant theory is the 'Social Learning Theory' by Canadian-American Psychologist Albert Bandura, which suggests that individuals learn criminal behaviour through their interactions with others. This includes observing and imitating the behaviours and attitudes of significant others, as well as the influence of media and cultural factors. For instance, in a society where violence is glorified in movies or where traditional norms of honour and revenge dominate, individuals may be more prone to resort to serial killing as a means of gaining social status or seeking revenge.

The most apposite theory to expound the psycho-social construction is the 'Field Theory', given by German-American Gestalt Psychologist Kurt Lewin, who was one of the modern pioneers of social, organizational, and applied psychology in the United States. In [topological](#) and [vector psychology](#), Field Theory is a psychological theory that examines patterns of interaction between the individual and the total field, or environment. The concept first made its appearance in psychology with roots in the holistic perspective of Gestalt theories. It was later developed by Kurt Lewin, in the 1940s.

Lewin's Field Theory can be expressed by the formula: $\mathbf{B} = \mathbf{f}(\mathbf{P}, \mathbf{E})$, meaning that behaviour (**B**) is a function of the person (**P**) and their cultural environment (**E**). His Field Theory posits that an individual's behaviour is influenced by interplay between their personal characteristics and the social environment, akin to a delicate equation where the variables interact dynamically. When applied to the macabre realm of serial killers, these variables include disturbed psychological predispositions, childhood experiences, societal norms, and external stressors, amalgamating into a sinister gestalt that orchestrates their heinous acts.

Lewin's Field Theory incorporates four key elements: the **Life Space**, **Environment**, **Person**, and **Behaviour**. In the context of serial killers, these elements can shed light on their social behaviour:

- 1. Life Space:** The Life Space refers to the individual's subjective perception of their current reality, including their thoughts, feelings, and motivations. Therefore, behaviour can be expressed as a function of the life space $B=f(LS)$. Furthermore, the interaction of the person (P), and the environment (E) produces this life space. In symbolic expression, $B=f(LS)=f(P, E)$. In the case of serial killers, their Life Space is often marked by distorted beliefs, deviant fantasies, and a dark compulsion to hunt and harm others. These internal dynamics shape their worldview and contribute to their socially aberrant behaviour.
- 2. Environment:** The Environment encompasses the external factors and influences that surround the individual. For serial killers, this includes factors such as childhood trauma, dysfunctional family dynamics, exposure to violence or abuse, and societal norms that may perpetuate a sense of isolation and alienation. The Environment plays a crucial role in shaping their social behaviour, as it can either exacerbate their maladaptive tendencies or provide opportunities for intervention and redirection.
- 3. Person:** The Person represents the individual's unique characteristics, including their personality traits, mental health, cognitive abilities, and coping mechanisms. Serial killers often exhibit traits such as psychopathy, antisocial behaviour, and a distorted sense of empathy. These inherent personal factors contribute to their social behaviour patterns, as they navigate their interactions with others in sinister and manipulative ways.
- 4. Behaviour:** Behaviour refers to the observable actions and choices individuals make in response to their Life Space and Environmental factors. In the context of serial killers, their behaviour involves engaging in predatory acts of violence and murder. This behaviour is heavily influenced by their distorted perceptions, internal conflicts, and the interplay between their personal characteristics and the social environment they inhabit.

This theory enlightens us to the intricate dependencies and multiplicities of factors that sculpt the social behaviour of these aberrant individuals, serving as an intellectually captivating framework for explicating their complex motivations and desperations.

By understanding and analysing these interdependent elements of Lewin's Field Theory, we gain insight into the complex and multifaceted nature of serial killers' social behaviour. It serves as a framework for comprehending the intricate web of factors that contribute to their deviant actions and helps inform strategies for prevention, intervention, and rehabilitation.

To understand the sociological construction of Indian serial killers, further studies have been conducted to explore the cultural, familial, and societal factors that contribute to their emergence. For example, research has highlighted the influence of family dynamics, such as childhood abuse, neglect, or exposure to violence, as potential risk factors for developing psychopathic tendencies. Additionally, studies have shown that elements of Indian culture, such as caste-based discrimination, patriarchal norms, and socio-economic disparities, can create an environment conducive to the development of individuals with a propensity for violence.

One notable case is that of Raman Raghav. Raghav's crimes were influenced by a combination of personal and socio-cultural factors. He was reportedly abused as a child and grew up in poverty, which may have contributed to his deviant behaviours. Additionally, his acts of violence were shaped by the social inequalities and urban alienation prevalent in the city during that time.

Research on the psychosocial causes of serial killing points to the likelihood that childhood experiences - particularly abuse, loneliness and abandonment - lead serial killers to commit their crimes. Mackey and Immerman (2004) claimed that the presence of a father or a father-figure during childhood

prevents/reduces violent and aggressive behaviour during adulthood; Holmes and DeBurger (1985) suggested that most serial killers are born to parents out of marriage, presumably increasing the rate at which the killers were raised without one of their parents. Hickey (1997) found that among a group of 62 male serial killers, 48% faced some kind of rejection by either parent or another important person in their life.

Apart from rejection, other psychosocial factors such as childhood humiliation (Hale, 1994), neglect, early adoptions, and abandonment during childhood (Whitman & Akutagawa, 2004) have been found to relate to serial murder. These unstable and unhealthy relationships may result in the incapability of forming emotional attachments during childhood. Research also supports the notion that physical and psychological abuse contribute to the development of serial killing. Cleary and Luxembourg (1993), in their study of more than 60 serial killers, found that a prevalent part of serial killers' childhood consisted of physical and/or psychological abuse (see also Holmes and DeBurger, 1985). Further research studying the impact of childhood abuse and neglect on adults who became serial killers concluded that adults who were emotionally, physically and sexually abused during their childhood were three times more likely than non-abused adults to act extremely violently during adulthood (Dutton & Hart, 1992). Kesner and McKenry (1998) discovered evidence for the theory that parent-child attachments influence violent behaviour. Their results showed that individuals who developed insecure and fearful attachment styles were more likely to be violent.

The pattern of abuse and abandonment may also lead to the development of mental illness. Weatherby, Buller, and McGinnis (2009) suggested a substantial relationship between mental disorders and violent crime. Silva, Leong, and Ferrari (2004) proposed a link between autism spectrum disorders (ASD) and serial killing, however, various follow-up studies suggest that people with ASD are not likely and are maybe less likely to commit violent crimes as compared to the general population (e.g., Mouridsen, Rich, Isager, & Nedergaard, 2008). Nonetheless, Fitzgerald (2010) suggested a new diagnosis of Criminal Autistic Psychopathy, as a subcategory of Asperger's syndrome. Weatherby et al. (2009) further proposed that schizophrenics' inability to identify emotional facial expressions, among many other symptoms, influences social functioning, thus recognition tests because of their inability to recognize angry and fearful expressions. Therefore, individuals suffering from such disorders, including ASDs, are impaired in their social functioning which increases their likelihood to indulge in criminally violent behaviours. Another symptom of schizophrenia to be kept in mind are the delusions. These delusions may also play a role in the serial killing behaviour. (Sharma, 2018)

Therefore, understanding the sociological construction of Indian serial killers require an examination of the theories, models, and studies that shed light on the social factors and processes that contribute to their emergence. By analysing these factors, we can gain insights into the unique socio-cultural dynamics that shape the development of serial killers in India.

5. Case Studies

5.1 Charles Sobhraj

Abstract: This retrospective case study delves into the life and crimes of the notorious serial killer Charles Sobhraj with the objective of unravelling the intricate biopsychosocial factors that contributed to his criminal behaviour. By analysing his upbringing psychological disposition and sociocultural influences this study sheds light on the complexities surrounding the construct of Indian serial killers.

The findings reveal a confluence of biological, psychological and social factors that shaped the enigmatic persona of Charles Sobhraj.

Introduction: Charles Sobhraj commonly known as the "Bikini Killer" and "The Serpent" gained international infamy during the 1970s for his heinous crimes committed across Asia. Sobhraj, a man of controversial and notorious reputation, is a French serial killer of Vietnamese and Indian descent, was primarily recognized for his manipulation and charm, which he employed to manipulate and exploit his victims. His criminal exploits spanned multiple countries, with a particular focus on Southeast Asia. Over the years, he gained notoriety through his ability to elude capture and the audacity of his crimes. Eventually, Sobhraj was apprehended and convicted, serving time in various prisons before his eventual release. Born in Saigon, Vietnam in 1944. Sobhraj's background was marked by a complex mix of cultural influences, a troubled childhood and a deep-seated personality disorder setting the stage for his dark and sinister exploits.

Early Life and Background: Charles Sobhraj was born on April 6, 1944, in Saigon, French Indochina (now Vietnam). His parents were of Indian and Vietnamese descent. His mixed heritage contributed to his ability to blend into various cultures exploiting his victims' trust. Sobhraj's childhood was marked by instability and trauma. His father abandoned the family when he was young, leaving his mother to raise him alone. Raised in a dysfunctional family Sobhraj experienced a tumultuous childhood marked by neglect and abandonment. These early experiences likely contributed to his distorted sense of identity lack of empathy and inclination towards criminal behaviour.

Crimes Committed: He was active from the mid-1970s to the late-1980s. It was the period when he had embarked on a spree of robberies, frauds, and eventually, murders. Sobhraj is believed to have murdered and robbed numerous young travellers traversing the infamous "Hippie Trail" across Southeast Asia, particularly in Thailand and Nepal. His victims predominantly Western backpackers were lured by his charisma and manipulated into dangerous situations before being murdered and robbed of their belongings. The exact number of his victims remains unknown but estimates range from 12 to 24 individuals across various countries including Thailand, Nepal and India.

Modus Operandi: Sobhraj employed a variety of strategies to ensnare his victims. His charming persona coupled with his ability to speak multiple languages allowed him to gain the trust of vulnerable individuals. He would often befriend travellers gaining their confidence and offering them assistance or guidance. Once he gained their trust Sobhraj would manipulate his victims into dangerous situations or drug them eventually leading to their demise. His gruesome murders often involved poisoning suffocation or strangulation.

Years Active: Sobhraj's criminal activities reached their peak in the mid-1970s, during which time he carried out his string of murders. However, his reign of terror was eventually brought to an end when he was arrested in 1976 in New Delhi, India.

Insight into his Biopsychosocial Construction

The biopsychosocial construction of Charles Sobhraj involves multiple factors that contributed to his criminal behaviour:

Biological Perspectives

Biologically, Sobhraj displayed traits commonly associated with psychopathy. Psychopathy is characterized by a lack of empathy, shallow emotions, and an inclination towards antisocial behaviour. These traits may have predisposed Sobhraj to engage in criminal activities.

The biopsychosocial construction of Charles Sobhraj can be further explored through the various theories and factors. Biologically, it has been suggested that his genetic makeup and upbringing may have contributed to his criminal tendencies.

Various biological theories can shed light on Sobhraj's criminal behaviour. The psychopathy hypothesis suggests that an individual's deficient neural circuitry particularly in the prefrontal cortex can lead to a lack of empathy impulsivity and a propensity for manipulation and violence. Sobhraj's callous nature ability to manipulate and absence of remorse align with this theory. Additionally genetic factors may play a role as certain genes associated with aggression and impulsivity could contribute to his criminal tendencies. (Vohs & F.Baumeister, 2004;) (Hare, 1999) (Moffitt, Caspi, & Rutter, 2006) For instance, biological theories like the diathesis-stress model may be relevant in understanding how Sobhraj's genetic predispositions combined with environmental stressors led to his criminal behaviour. Psychosocial theories such as social learning theory may also offer insights into how his interactions with other criminals or deviant subcultures influenced his criminal activities.

Psycho-social Perspectives

Charles Sobhraj's psychosocial construction is influenced by a myriad of factors including his chaotic upbringing, lack of parental guidance and exposure to criminal influences.

Sobhraj is a notorious serial killer who exhibited signs of antisocial personality disorder (ASPD) or psychopathy. According to the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders (DSM-5), ASPD is characterized by a pervasive pattern of disregard for and violation of the rights of others, as well as deceitfulness, impulsivity, aggressiveness, irresponsibility, lack of remorse, and rationalization of one's behaviour. Psychopathy is a similar but more severe construct that also involves a lack of empathy, guilt, and emotional depth, as well as a superficial charm, manipulateness, and egocentricity.

Sobhraj displayed many of these traits throughout his criminal career. He lied, cheated, stole, and killed without any moral qualms or fear of consequences. He used his intelligence, charisma, and cultural knowledge to lure and exploit his victims, mainly Western tourists travelling in Asia. He poisoned them, nursed them back to health, and then either robbed them or murdered them. He also escaped from prison several times and enjoyed the media attention he received. He showed no remorse for his actions and rationalized them as a way of living an adventurous and luxurious lifestyle.

Sobhraj's ASPD or psychopathy may have been influenced by his early life experiences. His excessive need to take extra steps in committing all his crimes, and gathering a brigade of followers, perhaps stems from the excessive neglect he underwent as a child. He was born to an Indian father and a Vietnamese mother who never married and separated when he was young. He felt neglected by his mother's new husband, a French army officer who moved the family frequently between Asia and Europe. The Social Control Theory posits that individuals who experience weakened bonds with society such as a

dysfunctional family are more likely to engage in criminal behaviour. He started to commit petty crimes as a teenager and spent time in prison, where he learned to manipulate the authorities. He also developed a resentment towards Westerners, whom he saw as colonial oppressors and naive exploiters.

Material-oriented killer, Sobhraj's psychological profile can be understood using various theories and models of personality and criminal behaviour. For example, the Social Learning Theory suggests that Sobhraj learned to be antisocial from observing and imitating the behaviour of others, such as his father, who denied his paternity; his stepfather, who treated him harshly; and his fellow inmates, who taught him how to survive in prison. The Psychodynamic Theory proposes that Sobhraj's ASPD or psychopathy resulted from an unresolved conflict between his id, ego, and superego during his childhood development. His id, which represents the instinctual drives for pleasure and aggression, dominated his personality and overpowered his ego, which mediates between the id and reality; and his superego, which represents the moral values and conscience. The Cognitive-Behavioural theory argues that Sobhraj's ASPD or psychopathy stemmed from his distorted cognitions and maladaptive behaviours that reinforced his antisocial tendencies. He had a negative view of himself, others, and the world; he justified his actions with rationalizations and blame shifting; he lacked empathy and guilt; he had poor impulse control and problem-solving skills; and he failed to learn from his mistakes and negative consequences.

Sobhraj's fractured family dynamics, absence of positive role models and dispositional roots may have contributed to his lack of moral development and propensity for criminal acts. (APA, 2013) (R.D. & C.S., 2008) (R & T, 1980) (Bandura, Ross, & S.A, 1961) (Freud, 1930) (Blackburn & J.W.Coid, 1998)

Findings and Interpretation: The case study of Charles Sobhraj sheds light on the complex interplay between biological, psychological, and social factors in the development of a serial killer. Sobhraj's psychopathic traits, manipulative nature, and troubled upbringing all played a role in shaping his criminal behaviour.

Understanding the biopsychosocial construction of serial killers like Charles Sobhraj is crucial for developing effective prevention strategies and interventions. By identifying individuals at risk and addressing underlying factors early on, it may be possible to prevent future acts of violence.

Conclusion: Charles Sobhraj was arrested thrice in India (1971, 1976 and 1986); once in Nepal (2003), and was convicted on the grounds of murders and robberies. In 2022, he was released and is presently residing in France. Sobhraj's case exemplifies the intricate interplay of biological and psychosocial factors in the construction of a serial killer. His mixed heritage, troubled childhood and the absence of nurturing relationships likely shaped his warped sense of identity and moral compass. Sobhraj's narcissistic personality traits lack of empathy and manipulative tendencies align with psychopathy theory suggesting a biological foundation for his criminal behaviour. Furthermore, the Social Control Theory sheds light on the sociocultural influences that shaped Sobhraj's criminal trajectory. Understanding the biopsychosocial construction of individuals like Sobhraj is crucial to developing effective prevention strategies and rehabilitation programs for the identification and treatment of potential serial killers.

5.2 Amarjeet Sada

Abstract: This retrospective case study aims to provide a comprehensive analysis of one of India's most notorious serial killers, Amarjeet Sada. By delving into his early life crimes committed modus operandi and exploring his biopsychosocial construction through the lens of biological, psychological and sociological perspectives this study seeks to understand the complex factors that contributed to his violent behaviour. Through a detailed of Amarjeet Sada's case this research offers unique insights into the mind of a serial killer and emphasizes the need for interdisciplinary approaches in criminal profiling and prevention.

Introduction: Serial killers have long fascinated researchers, criminologists and the general public due to the gruesome nature of their crimes and the mystery surrounding their motives. Amarjeet Sada gained infamy as one of the youngest serial killers in history. This case study aims to unravel the enigma surrounding his behaviour and shed light on the intricate interplay of biological, psychological and sociological factors that contributed to his violent nature.

Early Life and Background: Amarjeet Sada was born in 1998 in Begusarai, Bihar, India. His early life was marked by a tumultuous upbringing characterized by poverty, neglect and violence. He was exposed to domestic abuse, substance abuse and witnessed frequent acts of violence within his family environment. Such adverse experiences during his formative years could have influenced his subsequent development and shaped his distorted worldview.

Crimes Committed: Between 2006 and 2007 Amarjeet Sada committed three known murders. His victims were all younger children and the brutality of his crimes shocked the nation. The victims' ages ranged from 8 months to 6 years and Sada's modus operandi involved luring them to remote areas where he would inflict fatal injuries before disposing of their bodies. The sadistic nature and age of the victims revealed a disturbing pattern that necessitates a closer examination of his psychological makeup.

Modus Operandi: Amarjeet Sada demonstrated a calculated modus operandi that suggests a level of premeditation and control. Through careful manipulation and coercion, he gained the trust of his victims leading them into vulnerable situations. The use of violence as a means of obtaining power and control over his victims reflects the sinister psyche at work.

Years Active: Amarjeet Sada's criminal activities occurred between 2006 and 2007, spanning a relatively short period. However, the intensity and brutality of his crimes elicited widespread public fear and contributed to the urgency in capturing him.

Insight into his Biopsychosocial Construction

The biopsychosocial construction of Amarjeet Sada involves multiple factors that contributed to his criminal behaviour:

Biological Perspectives

Amarjeet Sada was born in 1998 in a poor village in Bihar, India. He was the eldest of four children and lived in a harsh environment with little education and social support. His parents were laborers who

struggled to provide for their family. Sada was a quiet and reserved child who preferred to play alone. He showed no interest in making friends or interacting with others.

According to biological theories of crime, Sada may have inherited or acquired some biological factors that predisposed him to antisocial and violent behaviour. These factors could include genetic abnormalities, hormonal imbalances, neurological impairments, or physical deformities. Some of these factors may have been present at birth, while others may have developed later due to environmental influences such as malnutrition, disease, injury, or abuse.

One possible biological factor that could explain Sada's criminality is the presence of an extra Y chromosome (XYY syndrome). This condition affects about one in 1,000 males and is associated with increased height, acne, learning difficulties, and behavioural problems. Some studies have suggested that XYY males are more likely to commit violent crimes than XY males. However, this link is not conclusive and may be influenced by other factors such as social stigma, low intelligence, or poor upbringing.

Another possible biological factor that could account for Sada's serial killing is head trauma. Sada may have suffered from brain damage due to accidents, falls, or blows to the head during his childhood. Brain damage can affect the functioning of the frontal lobe, which is responsible for impulse control, moral reasoning, empathy, and emotion regulation. Damage to this area can result in increased aggression, impulsivity, risk-taking, and lack of remorse. Sada may have also experienced seizures or epilepsy as a result of his brain injury, which could have triggered violent episodes or altered states of consciousness.

A third possible biological factor that could contribute to Sada's murderous behaviour is hormonal imbalance. Sada may have had abnormal levels of testosterone, cortisol, or serotonin in his body. Testosterone is a male sex hormone that influences aggression, dominance, and sexual drive. Cortisol is a stress hormone that regulates the body's response to threat or danger. Serotonin is a neurotransmitter that affects mood, appetite, sleep, and impulse control. Imbalances in these hormones can lead to mood swings, anxiety, depression, irritability, or violence. Sada may have also been exposed to environmental toxins or drugs that altered his hormonal balance.

These biological factors alone cannot fully explain Sada's serial killing. They may have only increased his vulnerability or propensity to commit crimes. They may have also interacted with other environmental factors such as poverty, abuse, neglect, isolation, or peer pressure. Sada may have learned to use violence as a way of coping with his frustration, anger, or boredom. He may have also developed a sadistic personality disorder that made him enjoy inflicting pain and suffering on others⁷. He may have lacked empathy or guilt for his victims and rationalized his actions as justified or necessary.

Sada's serial killing spree began in 2006 when he was seven years old. He strangled his six-month-old cousin and smashed her head with a brick. He then buried her body in a nearby forest. He confessed his crime to his mother who did not report it to the police. She only scolded him and warned him not to do it again. A few months later, he killed his eight-month-old sister in the same manner. His parents again did not inform the authorities and tried to cover up the incident. His third and final victim was a six-month-old girl from his neighbourhood whom he lured away from her mother and killed in 2007. This time he was caught by the villagers who handed him over to the police.

Sada was arrested and interrogated by the police. He admitted his crimes with a smile and showed no remorse or emotion. He asked for biscuits and toys as if he had done nothing wrong. He was sent to a juvenile home where he underwent psychological evaluation and treatment. He was diagnosed with antisocial personality disorder and mental retardation.

Sada's case is an example of how biological and environmental factors can interact to produce a serial killer. His biological construction may have made him more prone to violence and antisocial behaviour than others. However, his environmental conditions may have also played a role in shaping his personality and motivations. His lack of education, socialization, supervision, and discipline may have prevented him from developing moral values and empathy for others. His exposure to poverty, violence, and abuse may have desensitized him to human suffering and made him view life as cheap and meaningless. His isolation and boredom may have driven him to seek thrill and excitement through killing. His sadism and narcissism may have given him a sense of power and pleasure over his victims. His serial killing may have been his way of expressing his anger, resentment, or frustration with his life. Sada's case also raises ethical and legal questions about how to deal with juvenile offenders who commit heinous crimes. Should they be treated as children or adults? Should they be punished or rehabilitated? Should they be held accountable or excused for their actions? Should they be released or confined for life? These questions are difficult to answer and depend on the circumstances of each case. However, one thing is clear: serial killing is a complex phenomenon that cannot be explained by a single factor. It requires a multidisciplinary approach that considers the biological, psychological, social, and cultural aspects of the offender and the offense. (Nickerson,2023) (Brogaard, 2018) (Lee & Choi, 2014) (Rajan, 2023) (Sinha, 2023)

Psycho-social Perspectives

Amarjeet Sada, the notorious serial killer, presents a complex psychosocial construction that requires a profound exploration through the lenses of prominent psychological theories, models, hypotheses and research. His sociopathic tendencies and aberrant behavioural patterns have perplexed criminal psychologists, criminologists and forensic experts around the world. Unravelling the intricate tapestry of Amarjeet's psychosocial development necessitates an examination of various theoretical frameworks including psychoanalytic social learning and evolutionary perspectives.

Within the psychoanalytic perspective Sigmund Freud's Tripartite Model of Personality provides invaluable insights into Amarjeet's psychopathology. According to Freud, the id, ego and superego are constantly in conflict, shaping an individual's behaviour and psychosocial development. In the case of Amarjeet, a closer inspection reveals an overemphasis on the id the primal and instinctual part of the psyche while the superego responsible for internalizing societal norms and morals appears significantly underdeveloped. This imbalance predisposes him to impulsive and violent actions without remorse or guilt.

Furthermore, Amarjeet's psychosocial construction can be analysed through Albert Bandura's Social Learning Theory. Bandura posits that individuals acquire behaviours through observational learning and modelling. In Amarjeet's case, the lack of positive role models along with exposure to violence and aggression likely contributed to the internalization and subsequent replication of deviant behaviours. This hypothesis is strengthened by the fact that Amarjeet grew up in a household characterized by familial dysfunction, domestic violence and neglect all of which provide a fertile breeding ground for the perpetuation of violent tendencies.

Another vital perspective in understanding Amarjeet's psychosocial construction is the Evolutionary Theory of Aggression proposed by Konrad Lorenz. Lorenz argues that aggression is an innate instinct driven by survival and reproductive instincts with its manifestation shaped by individual and contextual factors. In Amarjeet's case, this theory manifests itself in his distorted cognitive processing and distorted

interpretation of social cues. The homicidal acts committed by Amarjeet can be viewed as a distorted expression of his evolutionary predisposition towards aggression possibly augmented by external stressors and psycho-social maladjustment.

It is salient that the neurochemical perspective is highlighted as it played a crucial role for him. Amarjeet was evaluated by professionals and was found to be suffering from Conduct Disorder. Shamshad Hussain, a psychologist based in the city of Patna who observed and evaluated Amarjeet opined that this conduct disorder causes him to behave in sadistic manner. Due to severe chemical imbalance in Sada's brain, he receives a sense of gratification from inflicting injuries on others. It was observed that he did not have a sense of right or wrong when he committed the murders due to the aforesaid disorder. It was the considered opinion of medical experts that a structured regime of medication can balance the levels of certain neurotransmitters in his brain.

Additionally, it is crucial to explore the potential role of neurological factors such as brain structure and functioning in Amarjeet's psychosocial construction. Neurobiological models including the early-life stress hypothesis and the amygdala dysfunction theory may shed light on the biological underpinnings of his violent behaviour. Early-life stress as witnessed in Amarjeet's upbringing can lead to alterations in brain development and functioning resulting in impaired emotional regulation and an increased propensity for aggressive behaviour. Moreover, dysfunction in the amygdala a brain region implicated in emotional processing may contribute to the blunted affect and lack of empathy seen in individuals like Amarjeet.

In conclusion, unravelling the complexities of Amarjeet Sada's psychosocial construction necessitates a multidimensional analysis incorporating various psychological theories models hypotheses and empirical research. From Freud's Psychoanalytic perspective to Bandura's Social Learning Theory Lorenz's Evolutionary Theory and neurobiological insights, each framework provides a unique lens through which to understand Amarjeet's criminal tendencies. Ultimately, an integrative and comprehensive approach is crucial for comprehending the interplay of intrinsic and extrinsic factors that have shaped his psychosocial development and propelled him towards being one of the most chilling and notorious serial killers of our time.

Findings and Interpretation: Through a comprehensive analysis of Amarjeet Sada's case it becomes evident that no single factor can fully explain his development into a serial killer. Instead, a combination of biological, psychological and sociological factors likely contributed to his violent tendencies. His early exposure to violence neglect and adverse childhood experiences coupled with potential genetic predispositions could have shaped his psychological makeup and influenced his choices and actions.

Conclusion: Amarjeet was taken to the juvenile court when he was 8 years old and was released from custody in 2016, when he turned 18 years old. His current whereabouts are unknown. The case of Sada provides a unique insight into the enigmatic world of serial killers and highlights the importance of multidisciplinary approaches in understanding and preventing such crimes. By analysing the complexities of Sada's biopsychosocial construction, we can gain valuable knowledge to improve early intervention strategies, criminal profiling techniques and mental health support systems. This research underscores the need for a comprehensive understanding of serial killers to ensure the safety and well-being of society.

6. Results and Discussion

The two case studies of Charles Sobhraj and Amarjeet Sada revealed some interesting insights into the biopsychosocial construction of serial killers in India. The results showed that both serial killers had a history of childhood abuse, neglect, and trauma, which may have influenced their personality development and predisposed them to antisocial and violent behaviour. However, there were also significant differences in their motives, methods, and targets of killing.

Sobhraj was a charismatic and manipulative serial killer who preyed on Western tourists in Asia during the 1970s. He killed at least 12 people, mostly by poisoning them with drugs or alcohol, and then robbed them of their valuables. He also used various disguises and aliases to evade capture and escape from prison several times. He was motivated by a desire for money, power, and revenge against the Western society that he felt had rejected him. He also exhibited traits of narcissism, psychopathy, and sadism.

The youngest serial killer in India, Sada, who killed at least three infants, including his own sister and cousin, in Bihar in 2006, was only eight years old then. He killed the infants by strangling them or smashing their heads with bricks. He showed no remorse for his actions and confessed to the police without hesitation. He was motivated by a sense of curiosity and thrill, as well as a lack of empathy and moral reasoning.

The results indicated that both serial killers had biological, psychological, and social factors that contributed to their criminal behaviour. However, the relative weight and interaction of these factors varied depending on the individual case. For example, Sobhraj had a genetic predisposition for antisocial personality disorder, as his father was also a criminal. He also suffered from psychological disorders such as narcissism and psychopathy, which impaired his ability to feel empathy, guilt, or fear. Moreover, he was influenced by social factors such as his dysfunctional family background, his exposure to violence and crime at an early age, his migration and adaptation to different cultures, and his resentment towards the Western society.

On the other hand, Sada had different known genetic and neurological abnormalities that explained his violent behaviour. However, he was affected by social factors such as his poverty-stricken environment, his lack of education and supervision, his exposure to domestic violence and alcoholism, and his acceptance of infanticide as a cultural norm.

The results also revealed some patterns and trends that emerged from the research. One of the patterns was that both serial killers targeted vulnerable victims who were easy to access and control. Sobhraj targeted Western tourists who were unfamiliar with the local culture and laws, and who trusted him as a fellow traveller or guide. Sada targeted infants who were defenceless and dependent on him for care. Another pattern was that, both serial killers used deception and manipulation as their main tools of killing. Sobhraj used his charm and intelligence to lure his victims into his trap, where he poisoned them with drugs or alcohol. Sada used his innocence and familiarity to gain access to his victims, whom he killed when no one was watching.

The results also unfurled some trends that reflected the changing nature of serial killing in India. One of the trends was that serial killing in India has become more diverse and complex over time. While earlier serial killers in India were mostly motivated by religious or political reasons, such as Thuggee cults or Naxalite rebels, modern serial killers in India have more varied and personal motives, such as financial gain, sexual gratification, thrill seeking, or revenge. Additionally, serial killing in India has become more difficult to detect and prevent due to the increased mobility and anonymity of the perpetrators and the victims. With the advent of globalization, urbanization, tourism, migration, and technology, serial killers

in India have more opportunities to travel across regions and countries, to blend in with different cultures and communities, to access potential victims through online platforms or networks, and to evade law enforcement agencies through fake identities.

7. Implications

Delving into the profound implications of comprehending the Biopsychosocial Construction of Indian serial killers ensues a captivating voyage into the annals of human darkness and the multifaceted factors that underpin such heinous acts. By unravelling the intricate tapestry of their biologically, psychologically and socially influenced compositions we are bestowed with the potential to both decipher and prevent the perpetuation of these repugnant crimes that plague modern society. These implications extend to various domains including Criminology, Forensic Psychology, Social Sciences and even Public Policy.

In this context, the exploration of their biopsychosocial construction catapults us into an intellectual realm where empirical insights meld harmoniously with theoretical frameworks constituting a holistic understanding of the intricate workings that engender the birth of a serial killer. By knitting together the intricate threads of biological predispositions, psychological abnormalities and sociocultural influences we unearth a plethora of heretofore hidden truths encapsulating the enigma that shrouds these malevolent entities.

Historically, a lacuna exists in comprehending the minds of Indian serial killers necessitating a diligent scrutiny of the diverse perspectives that endeavour to illuminate their darkness. The biopsychosocial lens unveils a panoramic view encompassing genetic predispositions, neurobiological aberrations and hormonal imbalances that merge and interact synergistically to mould the propensity towards such abhorrent behaviour. Concurrently the psychodynamic perspective with its roots nestled deep within psychoanalytic theory elucidates the unexplored depths of their distorted psyches where unresolved traumas, innate psychosexual conflicts and twisted defence mechanisms coalesce to fuel their sadistic pursuits.

From a criminological perspective, this research provides valuable insights into the motivations, patterns and behavioural profiles of Indian serial killers. Retrospective case studies on emblematic Indian serial killers such as the notorious Charles Sobhraj and the enigmatic Amarjeet Sada have been employed to offer profound revelations into the dimensions of their psychopathology further bolstering the significance of biopsychosocial inquiry. Sobhraj's seemingly magnetic charm, manipulative tendencies and insatiable thirst for dominance expose the psychological underpinnings that perpetuated his reign of terror while Sada's bewilderingly early age of onset and distorted familial dynamics project a stark portrayal of how environmental factors intertwine with inherent propensities shaping these malevolent figures.

This research also has crucial implications for the field of Forensic Psychology. By unravelling the intricate interplay between biological, psychological and social influences we gain a comprehensive understanding of the developmental trajectory of individuals who eventually become serial killers. Such knowledge can assist forensic psychologists in formulating more accurate risk assessments aiding in offender rehabilitation and contributing to the development of proactive intervention strategies aimed at reducing the chances of recidivism.

Categorically comprehending the biopsychosocial construction of Indian serial killers affords us the opportunity to discern the fine nuances that differentiate typologies within this macabre realm. The

classification of organized and disorganized killers, lust and power-oriented murderers as well as visionary and mission-oriented perpetrators bestows upon researchers and law enforcement agencies invaluable insights. The identification of these subtypes unveils significant implications for the prevention investigation and profiling of such deviant individuals metamorphosing mere knowledge into actionable strategies that safeguard vulnerable populations.

Moreover, the broader societal ramifications of studying the biopsychosocial construction of Indian serial killers must not be understated. Enhancing public awareness and educating communities about the underlying factors that contribute to the emergence of these malevolent entities cultivate a vigilant social fabric fostering early identification and intervention. The implementation of multidimensional preventive measures encompassing comprehensive mental health services, social support systems and targeted interventions fortifies our collective resilience against the insidious influence of serial killers.

To conclude, the implications emanating from unravelling the intricate biopsychosocial construction of Indian serial killers resound with far-reaching reverberations. Our relentless pursuit of comprehending the genetic psychological and sociocultural dimensions that mould these malevolent figures affords the prospect of generating knowledge-driven interventions that shield society from the perils of their depravity. Emboldened by a sophisticated understanding of their multifaceted compositions we possess the power to negate the existence of these anomalies thereby weaving a brighter tapestry for future generations to behold.

8. Conclusion

Serial killers are among the most terrifying phenomena in the world of crime. Their motives, methods, and patterns of behaviour have been the subject of extensive research and debate. However, the existing literature on serial killers has largely focused on the Western context, neglecting the unique characteristics and challenges of serial killers in India. This research paper aimed to fill this gap by providing an insight into the biopsychosocial construction of Indian serial killers, using retrospective case studies of Charles Sobhraj and Amarjeet Sada as examples.

The paper explored the various factors that influenced the development and manifestation of serial killing behaviour in India, such as cultural, social, economic, political, historical, and psychological aspects. The paper also examined the types of serial killers in India, based on their motives, methods, and victim selection. The paper applied various biopsychosocial theories to explain the complex interplay of biological, psychological, and social factors that shaped the personalities and actions of Sobhraj and Sada. The paper also discussed the implications of the findings for the prevention, detection, and treatment of serial killers in India.

The paper concluded that serial killers in India are not a homogeneous group, but rather a diverse and dynamic phenomenon that requires a multidimensional and contextualized approach to understand and address. The paper also highlighted the need for more research on serial killers in India, especially on their prevalence, typology, modus operandi, and risk factors. The paper suggested that such research would not only enhance the cognizance on serial killers, but also contribute to the development of effective policies and strategies to combat this serious threat to public safety and security. The paper hoped that by unlocking the enigma of Indian serial killers, it would also shed light on the broader issues of violence, crime, and justice in India.

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