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NARRATIVE EXPERIENCE OF VIOLENT OFFENDING IN GREECE

Sotirios Dedeloudis

A thesis submitted to the University of Huddersfield in partial
fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

The University of Huddersfield
January 2016

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Abstract

Introduction: Violent offenders are a divergent population of offenders. There are various types of violent offending, such as subcultural violent offenders who perceive a righteousness of violence when protecting and maintaining their reputation. There are considerably few studies that relate the causation of crime and violence with emotions and narrative roles. Furthermore, it is documented that narratives are associated with issues that are considered within the realms of personality. Thus, the purpose of this study is to investigate how violent offenders' narratives, emotions, and their correlates with background and personality can shape their violent actions and to unfold violent offending patterns.

Methodology: A total of 50 violent Greek offenders (41 males and 9 females), who were involved in hooligan/extreme political violent acts, with an age range of 18-63 participated in the study. These Greek participants had committed a wide variety of violent offences including robbery, gang fights and grievous bodily harm and were accused by the Greek court to be a part of a criminal organisation; of collective group violence. Participants who agreed to participate in this study were invited to fill a questionnaire that consisted of five sections (Description of Crime, Emotions Questionnaire, Narrative Roles Questionnaire, The Self-Report Offending Questionnaire and the HEXACO personality inventory).

Results: Results revealed that emotions could be differentiated into four themes Elations, Calm, Distress and Depression in line with the circumplex structure of emotions postulated by Russell (1997) and narrative roles into Adventurer, Professional, Revenger and Victim. Furthermore, emotions themes and associated narrative roles themes were differentiated into four criminal narrative experience (CNE) themes namely Calm Professional, Elated Hero, Depressed Victim and Distressed Revenger. Interestingly, further analysis showed

that Elated Hero was the most dominant theme for the violent offenders in the study contrasting previous findings (Ioannou, 2006). Significant associations between the CNE and background characteristics as well as personality traits were also demonstrated.

Implications: The current study makes a significant contribution to knowledge supporting previous relevant studies. It was the first time that a theoretical framework of Criminal Narrative Experience was combined with personality and the first time that this was applied in a Greek population and exclusively with violent offenders that most had been involved in collective violence. The theoretical and practical implications are discussed as well as limitations and suggestions for future studies are described.

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Preface

Violent offenders are a divergent population of offenders. There are various types of violent offending, such as subcultural violent offenders who perceive a righteousness of violence when protecting and maintaining their reputation. Several studies have focused on the societal context, situational factors and personality traits regarding criminality; all factors that have an external influence on the offender. In addition, most of the studies aimed to explore criminality based on general characteristics, such as demographics, based on a sociological point of view and certainly most of them support theoretical evidence rather than empirical. There has been little attention on individual differences and the experience of crime itself. There are considerably few studies that relate the causation of crime and violence with emotions and narrative roles. Furthermore, it is documented that narratives are associated with issues that are considered within the realms of personality. The current study investigates how violent offenders' narratives, emotions, and their correlates with background and personality can shape their violent actions and to unfold violent offending patterns.

The main aim of this study is to examine whether the Criminal Narrative Experience framework developed for offending experience in general and with a British sample can be applied specifically to violent offending experience in a different context (Greece). The Criminal Narrative Experience framework was chosen over others in this study as the identification of themes is based on a closed questionnaire which operates as a non-threatening summary of a criminal narrative theme revealing the presence of narrative themes of which the individual may not be aware. The current study makes a significant contribution to knowledge supporting previous relevant studies. It is the first time that a theoretical framework of Criminal Narrative Experience is combined with personality and

the first time that this was applied in a Greek population and exclusively with violent offenders that most had been involved in collective violence.

The thesis is divided into three main parts, Part 1, Introduction; Part 2, Methodology and Results; and, Part 3, General Discussion and Conclusions.

Part I consists of four chapters. In Chapter 1, aggression and violence are defined as well as various theories of aggression and violence presented. In Chapter 2, theories of emotion are introduced together with the dimensional models. Past research on emotions and crime is discussed and the circumplex of emotions as well as its application to past research on criminal behaviour, with the identification of four themes (elation, calm, distress and depression), presented. In Chapter 3, narrative theory and its importance in various areas in psychology is introduced. Criminal narratives, as drivers of offending behaviour, and past research on narrative roles in crime related research is presented. Chapter 4 presents the rationale for the study as well as the aim and objectives.

Part 2 consists of six chapters; one on methodological considerations, one on descriptive characteristics of the sample and four covering the studies. Thus Chapter 5 describes the methodology employed in the thesis. Chapter 6 describes the characteristics of the sample. Chapter 7 describes Study 1, which examined whether the overall framework of emotions that are experienced by violent offenders during a violent offence may be distinguished in relation to different emotional themes, such as elation, calm, distress and depression and whether Russell's Circumplex of Emotions (1997) can be applied to violent offending emotional experience. Chapter 8 describes Study 2, which examined whether the overall framework of roles that are experienced by violent offenders, in Greece, during a violent offence may be distinguished in relation to separate narrative themes, such as hero, professional, revenger and victim and the relationship of

these narratives with Frey's (1957) archetypal stories. Chapter 9 describes Study 3 which investigated the relationship between the emotions and narrative roles experienced by violent offenders. Chapter 10 describes Study 4 which examined the correlates of the Criminal Narrative Experience of violent offenders, namely general and social background, criminal background and personality.

Part 3 consists of Chapter 11, which is a discussion of the findings and conclusions. This chapter revisits the aim and objectives of the research, and the major findings are summarised and discussed in relation to these. Implications are highlighted. Finally, limitations of the research are addressed, and possible directions for further research are considered.

PART 1

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1

VIOLENT OFFENDERS

1.1 Definition of aggression and violence - What is violence?

There are various forms of aggression that vary from psychological to physical and as a result various attempts to define aggression and violence have been made. One of the first incomplete definitions was made by Bandura (1973) who stated that aggression is the behavioural result of individual injury or destruction of property. A more constructive definition was given later by Baron and Richardson (1994) who defined aggression as “any form of behaviour directed toward the goal of harming or injuring another living being who is motivated to avoid such treatments” (p. 7). This definition includes different types of aggression, both verbal and physical and designates the importance of “intention to harm” (see Carlson, Marcus-Newhall and Miller, 1989) regardless of the outcome. Generally speaking “harm” represents any type of action discarded by the target individual, resulting in bodily injury, harming their feelings, or destroying their social image by spreading rumours or taking away or destroying their property (Hewstone, Stroebe & Jonas, 2012): Baron and Richardson’s (1994) definition indicates three significant factors that can differentiate aggression from other types of behaviour (i.e. violence).

First of all, aggression is based on the underlying motivation (intent to harm) and not by the outcome (whether harm happens). Thus, aggression can exist if it was directed

by the intention to harm even though no actual harm was done to the target (Baron & Richardson, 1994; Anderson & Huesmann, 2003); for example, a wife might miss a shot with a fire weapon towards her husband, but she had the intention to harm him, while a dentist might cause pain to the patient based on an unintentional motivation to harm. Secondly, a required characteristic of the “intention to harm” is the performer’s comprehension that his/her behaviour may harm the target. This denotes that if the performer does not expect or is not aware of the harmful consequences of his/her behaviour, then this behaviour cannot be characterized as aggressive. Finally, by identifying aggression as an action that the target wants to evade, a behaviour which causes a painful experience with the consent of the target cannot be identified as aggression (Baron & Byrne, 2000). Thus, aggression is a behaviour with the intention to harm another individual who does not want to be harmed (Brehm, Kassin, Fein & Burke, 2007).

Aggression can be separated into more subcategories, such as physical and verbal aggression, spontaneous (unprovoked) and reactive (provoked) aggression, individual and group aggression (Hewstone, Stroebe & Jonas, 2012). In addition, it must be mentioned that aggression can be either direct (face to face) or indirect (spreading rumours) or destroying someone's image behind their back (Björkqvist, Lagerspetz, & Kaukiainen, 1992).

Regardless of the subcategory of aggression (verbal or physical), aggression might be related to different underlying motives. Hewstone, Stroebe and Jonas (2012) classified aggression as either hostile or instrumental based on the underlying motivation. Instrumental aggression is when the performer uses aggressive behaviour in order to gain something (i.e. asking ransom for a hostage) and this behaviour is motivated by the desirable goal that the performer wants to accomplish. Hence, the intention to harm is

acknowledged as a consequence of achieving the goal by means of aggressive behaviour. On the other hand, hostile aggression is driven by the performer's expression of negative emotions based on the initial intention to harm the target (Hewstone, Stroebe & Jonas, 2012).

If the intentional harm is excessive aggression then it is transformed into violence. The concept of violence is shallower than the meaning of aggression. Coakley (2001) defines violence as ““the use of excessive physical force, which causes or has the potential to cause harm or destruction”” (p. 174). In violence there is always a behavioural element, while aggression is based on motivation. The achievement of a behaviour that may lead to serious injury involving the use or threat of physical force can define violence (Hewstone, Stroebe & Jonas, 2012). Not all cases of aggression are violence, but all cases of violence include aggression.

Yakeley and Meloy, (2012, p. 231) define violence as “the actual bodily harm inflicted by one person on another person, in which the body boundary is breached and physical injury may occur”. Then, the writers indicate that there is an underlying meaning for the violent offender regarding his/her motivation; “This act of bodily harm may be consciously or unconsciously motivated, but often holds unconscious symbolic meaning, although this meaning is usually unavailable to the mind of the violent person”.

The World Health Organization (WHO) (2014) defines violence as “the intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, which either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation”.

This is the definition adopted throughout this thesis regarding the participants of this study. Nevertheless, most of the participants in the current study were involved in collective actions of violence. Thus, it is important to also refer to the term “collective

violence” when we take into account the behaviour of the Greek participants who comprise the sample population of this study. Krug et al. (2002) defined collective violence as “the instrumental use of violence by people who identify themselves as members of a group . . . against another group or set of individuals, in order to achieve political, economic, or social objectives” (p. 215). But what causes aggression and eventually violence?

1.2 Theories of aggression and violence

1.2.1 Biological Approaches

Biological justification of aggressive behaviour is one of the main approaches that refers to the genetic and hormonal explanations of the predisposition to engage in aggression. Lorenz (1966) presented the ethological perspective, which indicates that aggression amongst animals and humans is caused by inner energies that are released from aggression-linked stimuli. According to this perspective aggression has a survival value amongst species, either as an innate tendency or as situational response (Ardrey, 1966, Lorenz, 1966; Morries, 1967). This innate tendency can be explained by the steam boiler model (Lorenz, 1966) that indicates a continuous inner energy that is ready to explode based on external cues (i.e. same-sex rivals, defending territory). Though this perspective can be criticised due to the fact that humans using weapons is certainly not by instinct rather than impulsive thinking (see Lore & Shultz, 1993); humans are able to perform quick aggressive acts (i.e. school shootings) regardless of their inner pool of aggressive energy.

Scientists tried to investigate whether there is a genetic potentiality regarding individual differences of aggressive behaviour (i.e. Plomin, Nitz & Rowe, 1990). Buss (1995) indicates that there is a biological explanation of social behaviour and that

behaviour is evolved through genes. For instance, Buss and Shackelford (1997) indicated that male to male aggression is justified due to hereditary mechanisms to improve the survival of their genes; although it cannot explain the aggressive behaviour of mothers in order to protect their children.

A way to validate the genetic bases of aggression is to look upon twin and adoption studies. Twin studies compare the twins (identical or fraternal), while adoption studies compare the children who were raised in the same environment with their biological parents and children who were adopted. Meta-analysis studies (see Miles and Carey, 1997 and Rhee and Waldman, 2002) indicate that while genetic predisposition to aggression is based on genes, environmental and social factors are a bigger predictor of aggressive behaviour. Therefore, a genetic makeup can predispose the individual to become aggressive, while environmental and social factors will eventually determine the outcome.

Another biological factor that plays a crucial role in the explanation of aggression, is the role of hormones (i.e. Van Goozen, 2005). Several studies (Dabbs, Carr, Frady & Riad, 1995; Dabbs & Hargrove, 1997; Dabbs, Bernieri, Strong, Campo & Milun, 2001) indicate a strong correlation between testosterone levels and aggressive behaviour. Dabbs and his fellow researchers found high testosterone levels amongst aggressive boys, violent offenders, and males and females with criminal records. In addition Van Goozen et al. (1995, 1997) studied individuals who went for a sex change operation and found that transsexual women-to-men became more aggressive due to testosterone injections, while transsexual men-to-women became less aggressive due to testosterone suppressants. Similarly, Archer, Birring and Wu (1998) found that highly aggressive males had higher testosterone levels compared to less aggressive males. Moreover, a study by Klinesmith, Kasser, and McAndrew (2006) indicated that testosterone levels can increase while a male

may hold a weapon. This indicates that apart from the biological explanation of aggression, situational cues may play a role in understanding aggression.

1.2.2 Situational Approaches

A review by Argyle et al. (1981) showed that situational cues and frustration are linked to aggressive behaviour. Dollard et al. (1939) indicated that frustration leads to aggressive behaviour and that aggression is derived from frustration. The frustration-aggression hypothesis (Dollard et al., 1939; Miller, 1941) indicates that aggression is a potential response to frustration based on additional environmental factors, such as fear of punishment for unconcealed aggression. A meta-analysis of forty nine studies showed that aggression was derived from frustration towards available and less powerful targets (Marcus et al., 2000). Still, it is questionable in which circumstances frustration may lead to aggression. For instance, Berkowitz (1993) found that frustrating events may lead to high amounts of frustration but rarely they lead to an aggressive behaviour.

A factor showed to increase the possibility of the replacement of frustration to aggressive behaviour, is the presence of aggression-cues (i.e. shown photos of boxing matches). Berkowitz and Le Page (1967) found that the presence of a weapon plays a critical role in the transformation of frustration into aggression. This weapon's effect signifies the increase of aggressive thinking, emotions and actions based on the presence of weapons. This was supported later on by the meta-analysis of fifty seven studies that designated the relationship between aggression-related cues and the development of aggressive response (see Carlson et al., 1990). This indicates that aggressive cues have the potential to turn on cognitive representations that are correlated with aggression and hence increase the possibility of aggression-based behavioural choices. Zillman (1979) argued that impulsive aggressive behaviour may derive from emotional arousal while Buss (1963)

argued that strong unfulfilled desires may lead to aggression. Also, studies showed a second aggression-cue that may lead to aggressive behaviour. Physical or verbal assaults may lead to hostility or aggression (Borden et al, 1971; Greenwell & Dengerink, 1973). Moreover, it is important to mention the opportunity standpoint of the aggressive behaviour; for example, it was found that the absence of capable guardians motivates violent perpetrators to attack available targets (Cohen & Felson, 1979).

Berkowitz (1993) extended the frustration-aggression hypothesis and indicated that any unpleasant stimulation will cause emotional aggressive behaviour to the extent that it produces unpleasant emotions. He named this as the “Cognitive Neo-Association” model, a theory that emotions and thoughts interact. Berkowitz found that unpleasant experiences generate a negative affect that fuels cognitive associations with anger and fear. Anger and fear trigger an unconscious automatic response to either fight or flight. For example, an aversive stimulus might be when a person was hit by another person with a stone. At times aggressive behaviour is displaced against a target that is not entirely innocent but emits a slightly annoying behaviour towards the performer and this is called as the “Kicking the (barking) dog effect” (Pendersen, Bushman, Vasquez & Miller, 2008).

This cognitive evaluation of physiological arousal is the centre of another theory that is called “excitation transfer theory”. Zillmann (1978) suggested that the expression of aggression needs a learned aggressive behaviour that is excited from another source while interpreting the circumstances as necessitating an aggressive behaviour. Zillman proposed that aggression might be triggered by a neutral or non-aggression indicator. If for example a physiological stimulation from a neutral activity such as running is still present during an anger-educing situation, such as being verbally attacked, the earlier neutral stimuli will increase the aggressive response. Moreover, another aggression situational factor can be high temperature. Since the sample of this study comes from a warm environment like

Greece, it is important to mention that research suggests a strong correlation between the increase of the temperature and the increase of aggression (see Anderson, 2001). However, it is critical to say that this might be based on people's different routines during each season (see Cohen & Felson, 1979).

Despite the fact that the above studies and theories explain aggression based on situational factors, an important question whether social factors may influence such aggressive responses.

1.2.3 Learning and Aggression

Many studies argue that learning experiences play a crucial role in the development of behaviour, such as aggression (see Bandura, 1983). Behaviour is characterized by learning through experience and two factors can determine aggression; direct reinforcement and observational learning. Direct reinforcement indicates that the experience of being aggressive is rewarded either by gaining a goal due to aggressive performance or gaining social approval due to aggressive actions (Hewstone, Stroebe & Jonas, 2012). In addition, observing others who are rewarded for being aggressive can be linked to learning aggression.

In the Bobo doll studies (Bandura, Ross & Ross, 1963) the researchers found that children who watched an adult hitting a doll were imitating the aggressive behaviour afterwards when given time to play with the bobo doll, especially when they were praised subsequently. Hence, the social learning theory might conceptualize the link between media violence and learned aggressive behaviour.

1.2.4 Social information processing models

The theoretical concepts discussed so far indicate the role of biology, emotions, and cognition as factors of aggressive responses and emphasise the importance of learning experiences regarding the aetiology of aggression.

Aggression is a type of social behaviour that can be determined by different social scripts (Huesmann, 1998). These social scripts include normative beliefs that indicate to the individual when it is proper to display aggression and which of the variations of the script to perform.

Based on the general aggression model, the traits of a person, such as anger and aggressive stimuli in the environment unite in specific circumstances in order to construct an internal state in the individual that is typified by particular thoughts, emotions and arousal indicators (Hewstone, Stroebe & Jonas, 2012). For instance, a person who gets easily angry might just need a small provocation from someone he/she did not know in order to feel furious by having aggressive thoughts and emotions. Then, by judging the situation as unacceptable the individual may behave in an aggressive way or simply calm down. The behavioural choice is based on the response of the target that may lead to escalation or de-escalation of the aggressive behaviour. Hewstone, Stroebe and Jonas (2012, p. 538) indicate that “the general aggression model provides a structure...to understand the complex processes through which particular input variables, such as violent media stimuli or biographical experiences of abuse, can lead to aggressive behaviour as the critical outcome variable” .

In addition, certain individuals will decide whether they are going to become aggressive or not based on their hostility attitude or hostile attribution bias (Matthews & Norris, 2002). This hostile attribution bias indicates that an ambiguous behaviour is perceived by the person as hostile. Research (see for example Dill, Anderson, Anderson, &

Deuser, 1997) indicates that those who have a hostile attribution bias are more likely to become aggressive. Therefore it seems that the expectation from others might have an impact on the individual. Does this indicate that a person's identity might change due to social expectations?

1.2.5 Social Identity Theory

Tajfel (1979, 1981) introduced social identity theory which proposes the sense of “us” (ingroup membership) and the sense of them (intergroup membership); a psychological shift from a personal to a social identity. Tajfel and Turner (1979, 1986) indicated that individuals attach to their wider societal network and obtain self-knowledge and meaning from their grouping identities. In addition, they proposed that individuals have a need for a positive image inside groups and that they are unwilling to be involved with outgroup members.

From the viewpoint of the social identity theory, intergroup violence is based on the need to establish and preserve the positive image of the group's identity (Tajfel, 1981). Also, Hewstone, Stroebe & Jonas (2012) indicate the role of “self-worth” that group members have and which might explain the source of personal pride that members of a national group might have.

However, Drury, Reicher and Stott (2003) criticised classic crowd research by indicating that sometimes there is an “on and off” switch for identity and that classic studies define crowd action as mindless and meaningless. For example, some riots may start as a peaceful demonstration and because of the presence of police these individuals might change their peaceful attitude into an aggressive behaviour; attitudes not always predict behaviour as proposed by the theory of planned behaviour (Ajzen, 1991). In addition, it is important to say that the expectations of the outgroup members might

influence the aggressive levels of the ingroup members, such as the expectations of the police that rioters or crowds are dangerous (see Drury & Reicher, 2000). Stott (2009, p. 9) says that the perception of dangerous groups “increases the likelihood that the police will use indiscriminate force against whole crowds even when it is only a minority that are judged to be posing any threat to public order”. Thus, as a conclusion, intergroup behaviour is based on the group identity each member has, on the pride and the positive image that ingroup members have and on the expectations that the outgroup members have towards the identity of the ingroup. But what happens when that behaviour is violence?

1.2.6 Intergroup Violence

The types of aggressive behaviour discussed so far were based on the confrontations between individuals, which indicated the form of interpersonal aggressive behaviour.

Part of the behaviour of the study's sample is linked to intergroup violence; a type of violence that occurs between groups (Goldstein, 2002). This type of violence can be explained by Sherif's (1966) theory of realistic group of conflict, which indicates antagonism for goals (i.e. power) as the main reason of violent conflict amongst groups. Regardless of the realistic conflicts of interest, a simple grouping of individuals can generate emotions of intergroup hostility; superiority of ingroup members towards outgroup members (see social identity theory).

Based on this point of view, intergroup violence can be related to the group membership and association of the individuals. Since some of the sample consists of football hooligans, it is important to note that the more football fans are associated with their team, the more aggressive they are, both verbally and physically (Van Hiel, Hautman, Cornelis, & De Clercq, 2007).

LeBon (1896) proposed that being part of a group uncover us of our normal mental capacities and reveals our primitive nature by making us to lose all sense of self, identity and responsibility. LeBon indicated some early signs of deindividuation, which designates the lack of identity and rationality in acts, and tends to focus on anti-social actions.

The theory of deindividuation was developed by Zimbardo (1969) who suggested that aggression between groups is caused by two factors: the loss of individual identity and responsibility and the repression of the group's internal standards, if group members were more conscious of their membership as individuals. This was clearly seen in his famous "Stanford Prison Experiment" where ordinary people ended up torturing other ordinary people.

In order to understand better this phenomenon of cruelty, Zimbardo explained that was people can be deindividuated due to anonymity, diffusion of responsibility and large size of the group. In these circumstances, individuals become spontaneous, illogical and may behave in an aboriginal way. Diener (1980) proposed that when people are alone they are paying attention on the self, while when people are in groups they focus their attention on external cues (i.e. aggressive situational cues) rather than focusing on their personal morality and ethics. Similarly, Mullen (1986) suggested that lynching by violent crowds is lacking of self-monitored awareness of the violent act itself and indicated this conception as the cause of violent group behaviour. Thus, individual norms change into group norms, it was concluded that individual behaviour may become a violent behaviour if the group norms promote aggression. In addition, a gang-related study from Vasquez, Lickel and Hennigan (2010) showed that motivation to retaliate against outgroup members is increased when the ingroup social identity is strong. Maitner, Mackie and Smith (2006) indicated retaliation generated an intergroup emotion that motivated aggressive behaviour.

Copes, Hochstetler and Williams (2008) confirm the standpoint that violent acts, mercilessness and conspicuous pride in offending achievements create first-class criminals. Brookman et al (2011) found that the most violent form of retaliations derives from those who have been disrespected. Furthermore, Brunson and Stewart (2006) found that African-American women lived by a street code that was previously described by Anderson and that they used violence as a vehicle to preserve their reputations and identities, which indicates a cultural identity of violence. For example, Papageorgiou (1998) argues that the majority of Greek hooligans are unemployed and participate in subcultural with a strong contradistinction against the oppressive government.

1.2.7 Subculture of Violence

The Ball-Rokeach's studies (1973) regarding subculture violence focused on the concept that subcultural violent individuals have favourable attitudes towards violence and are dedicated to subcultural-violent values. Wolfgang and Ferracuti (1967) highlighted the difference between subcultural violent offenders and general violent offenders by arguing that subcultural violent offenders perceive a righteousness of violence when protecting and maintaining their reputation.

McMurtry and Curling (2008) add that this perception of righteousness may reinforce violence and that this represents an instrumental understanding of violence. Greene & Gabbidon (2009, p. 780) define the subculture of violence as “a set of norms, values, or attitudes that exist within a group and in which violence is an accepted part of the lifestyle of that group....a subculture is formed by those who share something in common, such as class, ethnicity, religion, or place of residence. .. subcultures may establish social norms that are in opposition to those of the society at large, such as those regarding violence. A subculture of violence is characterised by its members' shared belief

that violence is part of a way of life, a way to end disputes, and a way to gain respect and prove one's manhood"; see for example Botch's study, (2012) regarding extreme right wing skinhead subculture in Germany and Martin's (2009) literature review regarding the "chav subculture").

Perhaps, Krug et al.'s' (2002) definition that was discussed before regarding "collective violence" may give us a better explanation on the violence phenomenon and may explain why normal people engage in collective violence by injuring other people on behalf of the group.

1.2.8 Collective Violence

Whilst the reasons why (see social identity theory) were discussed previously people join groups, Litman and Paluck (2015) propose that the identification with a violent group motivates people to engage in violent acts. Such violent groups help people to justify their violent behaviour, while they have the desirability to belong to that group and accomplish the desired identification of being a group member. Thus, Litman and Paluck (2015) indicate a cycle of violence where people are motivated to engage in collective violence due to the identification with the violent group and subsequently violence amplifies the identification with the group. It is important to mention that Litman and Paluck (2015) signify that it is not necessary for those people to have past experience with violence or even be predisposed to violence. Additionally, outgroup hate can become a strong motive to increase collective action (Litman & Paluck, 2015).

Those people who join such groups may believe the group's cause or believe that this group may have a good social prospect regardless of their attitudes on violence. This is very similar to the "theory of cognitive dissonance" where the experience of our beliefs conflict (see Festinger, 1957, 1964). Thus, people who may hold anti-violence attitudes

may engage in violent acts (i.e. collective violence) for a greater cause or for the benefit of the group, even if they experience an unpleasant state of emotional tension (dissonance). Thus, it is questionable whether emotions play an important role in violent behaviour.

1.3 Conclusion

In this chapter aggression and violence were defined as well as various theories of aggression and violence presented. Given the points and issues raised, the next chapter attempts to explore the importance of emotions in behaviour in general but also in relation to crime and violent offending in particular.

CHAPTER 2

EMOTIONS

2.1. Theory of emotions

The impact that emotions have on people's actions and decisions is worth noting. Every experience that human beings have can create a certain type of emotion that may affect their mood and as a consequence to drive them into certain types of behaviours. Emotions are a key element in every action and in what people experience in everyday situation, while sometimes emotions can have an impact on someone's vitality (Rubin & McNeil, 1983). Katz (1999) indicated that emotional responses define who people are.

In general, emotions can shape people's sense of being and are the alpha and the omega of their mental life (Oatley & Jenkins, 1996). Though, it is rather complicated to define emotions, there are several studies that correlate emotions with behaviour (i.e. Oatley & Jenkins, 1996; Posner, Russell & Peterson, 2005). Fehr and Russell (1984) raise the question of whether emotions are a physiological, psychological or behavioural experience. In addition, emotions can be rather subjective (Katz, 1999). Since human beings are unable to control their emotions, many scientists argue that emotions can not be described in physiological, psychological and behavioural terms. Therefore, it seems that emotions are the "Achilles' heel" of contemporary psychology. Though, first we need to explore the theories of emotions.

One of the earliest theories of emotions was proposed by Darwin (1872) who suggested that every type of emotion is allocated into different categories or each emotion

is allocated into one neural system (Posner et al., 2009). Panksepp (1998), who was an animal researcher, suggested that certain neural pathways are related to specific emotions. In addition, Levenson and Friesen (1983) indicated that each emotion is allocated to a facial expression. For example infants show a specific type of facial expression based on each type of emotion before learning language (see Kopp & Neufeld, 2003). However, if we could correlate each facial expression with each types of emotion, then emotions could be defined by facial expressions.

Almost two decades later, a theory was developed in order to further explore emotions. James-Lange (1887) was one of the oldest theories of emotions. This theory indicates that the feeling is not caused by the perception of an event, but by physical reactions caused by the fact. In addition, the theory proposed that in order to be able to experience an emotion, the individual needs to experience a physical reaction which is related to the emotion. For example someone stares at a dog that barks in an aggressive way towards him and the heart rates are increased; the individual focuses on his heart rates and the brain “understands” fear.

Half a century later, the theory of Cannon-Bard (1927) criticised the theory of James-Lange. The Cannon–Bard theory (1927) of emotions upgraded James-Lange theory by adding the central brain functions of emotions. He suggested that the same physical reactions accompany different emotions and that the brain’s “understanding” can not only be based on physical reactions in order to “understand” what kind of feelings we experience. For example, based on the previous paradigm that was based on James-Lange theory, when heartbeats are increased the individual can experience either joy or anger. Most physical changes during an emotional experience are the result of the sympathetic part of the autonomous nervous system.

Then, after several years the theory of Schachter and Singer (1962) proposed that the experience of an emotion includes both physical reactions and the interpretation of bodily reactions taking into account the specific situation a person is in a given time (cognitive appraisal). For example, if the individual is being chased by an alligator and has palpitations, then the individual interprets the particular bodily response as fear. If the same individual has palpitations because he looks at his/her beloved one, then the brain interprets this situation as a physical reaction to love. Studies (Lazarus, Kanner & Folkman, 1980; Lazarus, 1991) indicated that emotions need a cognitive appraisal regarding how we interpret a situation and that it affects how we feel about it. The cognitive assessment of the situation determines the intensity of emotion. Ratner (2000) and Wierzbicka (2010) indicate that emotions are not only associated with feelings, but thoughts are involved as well. Barret et al (2007) argue that emotions are the outcome of cognitive representations, which indicate pleasure and displeasure and are socially derived. Sometimes though emotions can be altered by thoughts (Heider, 1958) and thus emotions and cognition are highly correlated (Plutchik, 2000).

Izard (2010) indicated that an “emotion consists of neural circuits (that are at least partially dedicated), response systems, and a feeling state/process that motivates and organises cognition and action” (2010, p. 367) and he stated that this was not a single definition but the outcome of several theories. However motivation plays another important role in understanding emotions. Emotions consequently incorporate a relationship flanked by the actualised motivations of human beings and their behavioural outcomes in a specified situation, hence relating the emotions to people’s motives (Holodynski, 2013). Consequently, emotions indicate the individual sense of these features based on individual experience (see Gonzalez, 2012). In addition, emotions can derive from what is socially expected. For example, a student is furious with a fail mark because

he/she is expected to pass the exams. Thus, the social environment plays a crucial role in emotions.

Leont'ev's (1978) defined emotions based on a cultural-historical orientation. He defines emotions as internal indicators that hold the function of evaluation, the relations amongst a goal (or the result of a personal act) and the real motivation (or need). This evaluation happens before these associations are appraised by a conscious, verbally based reflection. Holodyski (2013) criticises Leont'ev's definition by saying that emotions need a second significant function apart from the evaluation function. Therefore, by defining emotions based on the societal context of actions, Leont'ev (1978) indicated a new non-dualistic standpoint in the investigation of emotions.

Studies have found that emotions have an action-adapting function. Emotions are expressed as an exhortation to act or an exhortation to restrain an act (see Campos, Campos, & Barrett, 1989; Frijda, 1986; Holodyski & Friedlmeier, 2006). Frijda (1986, p. 466) defined emotions "as changes in action readiness", and propose "Emotions are changes in readiness for action as such (we called these changes in activation) or changes in cognitive readiness (they have come under investigation as attentional arousal), or changes in readiness for modifying or establishing relationships with the environment (we called these action tendencies), or changes in readiness for specific concern-satisfying activities (we called these desires and enjoyments)".

An intense emotion experience is suggested to include at least six elements; (1) the subjective of emotion (emotions associated), (2) Internal responses of the body (autonomic nervous system), (3) Thoughts around the emotion, (4) Facial expressions, (5) Reactions to the emotion, (6) Behaviour, (Frijda, 1986; Lazarus, 1991).

Mulligan & Scherer (2012, p. 346) proposed a definition that says "x is an emotion only if x is an affective episode x has the property of intentionality (i.e., of being directed)

x contains bodily changes (arousal, expression, etc.) that are felt x contains a perceptual or intellectual episode, y, which has the property of intentionality the intentionality of x is inherited from the intentionality of y x is triggered by at least one appraisal x is guided by at least one appraisal”.

However, emotions such as satisfaction and delight can not be described by the theories of emotions, as they are secondary emotional outcomes (Ortony & Turner, 1990; Richins, 1997). In addition, from the psychoanalytic point of view emotions sometimes are repressed and cannot be easily explained. Plutchik (2000) indicated that emotions can be distorted by the “ego”. Izard (2010) concluded that there is not only one definition of emotions. The reason for that is that emotions can not be measured and emotions can only be described by words (White, 2010; Widen & Russell, 2010; Wierzbicka, 2010).

2.2. Dimensional models of emotions

Limitations of the above theories led researchers to find a new perspective of emotions regarding the behavioural expressions of emotions. These theories ignored the aspect of emotion dimensionality, by viewing each emotional state as an independent facet with separate facial expressions and separate cognitive schemas (Daly, Lancee & Polivy, 1983).

Ellsworth (2013) emphasises the difficulty of the relationship amongst the mental reality of emotions and the linguistic range of affective words. Specifically, he says that “the words of a language may act as magnets in the multidimensional universe of appraisals” (Ellsworth 2013, p. 128). If people search inside them and try to explore their own affective state in its rich specificity, they do not need to use words; even though humans are expected to be tempted in using words due to the habit of verbal classification that leads to rapid and competent ways of decision making (De Sousa, 2013). Moreover, recent research of Wyczesany & Ligeza (2014, 2015) verified the dimensional approach to

emotions and show that the valence, arousal and dominance space is represented in patterns of brain activity. Additionally, De Sousa (2013) indicates that there are four dimensions of valence, power/control, arousal, and unpredictability (or novelty; Scherer, 2013, p. 154).

Dimensionality is one of the core issues regarding the emotion theory. Early studies favoured monopolar descriptions of emotion that treat every emotional condition as a different dimension sometimes presuming an individual system of physiology for every emotion, dissimilar facial expressions and individual cognitive schemas (Daly et al, 1983). Several studies (Nowlis and Nowlis, 1956; Borgatta, 1961; Hendrick & Lilly, 1970; Izard, 1972) indicated that there are more than one monopolar factor of emotion, such as degree of anger, happiness, elation etc. Nevertheless, a study by Russell (1979) indicated that there are associations between these monopolar factors and that there is a bipolar orthogonal dimension of Pleasure-Displeasure based on the arousal of the variance. As said before, early studies favoured the monopolarity of such factors, while later studies suggested a bipolar dimension which proposes that emotional states are connected to each other in a methodical way more willingly than being independent to each other (Mehrabian & Russell, 1977; Russell, 1979; Daly et al, 1983); i.e. joy is contrariwise correlated with sadness.

A sufficient portrayal of emotions entails the classification of those dimensions that are equally essential and adequate to classify all affection states. It is important to mention that the most constantly discussed dimension for all emotions is “pain and pleasure”. From early ages, philosophers discussed that the emotions of pleasantness and unpleasantness underlie every emotion.

Wundt (1912, 1924) was the first one to identify the pleasure-activation model and was mainly represented by Russell (1980). This pleasantness-unpleasantness activation

experience indicates a hedonic tone, which gives humans energy and a sense of mobilisation. For example, Feldman, Barrett & Russell (1999) suggested that an individual's senses exist between a consecutive ranging from sleep (at the low end), through sleepiness, relaxation, alertness, hyper-activation and in the end frenetic excitement (at the opposite end).

As was indicated before, Wundt (1924) was the first one who suggested the underlying dimensions of emotions based on the framework of pleasantness-unpleasantness, nervousness-relaxation and excitement-boredom. Over the next years several studies tried to investigate these dimensions in depth. Plutchik (1962) suggested that these underlying dimensions can be explored with factor-analytic research.

Re-examinations of several studies of self-reported mood propose the existence of a positive-negative emotion existence (see for example Watson & Tellegen, 1985). Positive emotions represent the degree to which an individual experiences enthusiasm, activation and alertness, while negative emotions can be represented by unhappiness and lethargy. Watson, Clark and Tellegen (1988) indicated that the negative affect dimension can be subjective. For example an unpleasant experience may include more than one aversive mood, such as anger, fear, guilt and disgust, while a low negative affect dimension may indicate calmness and quietness.

Myllyniemi (1997) agreed that most emotions may be classified as one of two hedonic dimensions based on pleasantness or unpleasantness; when an individual experiences a beneficial incident, he/she will encode that event with positive emotions and when an individual experiences a harmful event, he/she will encode that event with negative emotions. A study (Abelson & Sermat, 1962) found that participants rated the similarity and difference regarding facial expressions. The outcome of this research

suggested a two-dimensional space, where the axes were consisted of pleasantness-unpleasantness, attention-rejection and sleep-tension.

On the whole, research (see Royal & Hays, 1959; Shepard, 1962 and Cliff & Young, 1968) of the affective structure proposes the existence of two main bipolar dimensions, such as facial and vocal affection expressions (see Abelson & Sermat, 1962), mood word similarities (see Russell, 1980) and semantic discrepancy ratings of mood expressions (see Averill, 1975). Additionally, research found that emotional personality traits also indicate a bipolar dimension (Leary, 1957; Conte 1975). Watson & Tellegen (1985) concluded that these studies indicate a bipolar dimension of mood. These two dimensions sufficiently identify emotional reaction to every type of stimuli; bipolarity at this point indicates a consecutive ranging from excessive happiness or ecstasy from at one end to excessive unhappiness or pain at the other end.

Even though, the bipolar dimension of emotions was relatively accepted, Russell (1979) argued regarding the quantity of and the relationship between these dimensions. Three independent bipolar dimensions have been proposed by Russell and Mehrabian (1977): (1) Pleasure-Displeasure, (2) Arousal and (3) Dominance-Submissiveness. Although, Watson and Tellegen (1985) indicated Potency, Aggression and Attention-Rejection as a potential third dimension, Russell (1978, 1983) indicated that such dimensions are applicable to a very small amount of variance compared to Pleasantness-Unpleasantness and Arousal dimensions. However, as it was indicated earlier, De Sousa (2013) indicates that there are four dimensions; (1) valence, (2) power/control, (3) arousal, and (4) unpredictability (or novelty; Scherer, 2013, p. 154). Furthermore, Vachon and Krueger (2015) indicated that the underlying structure of common psychological disorders is a hierarchical adjustment of five broad dimensions: (1) negative affect (vs. emotional stability), detachment (vs. extraversion), antagonism (vs. agreeableness), dis-inhibition (vs.

constraint) and psychoticism (vs. lucidity). Thus, these emotional dimensions may reflect the structure of emotion-based disorders.

To conclude, there is a great amount of empirical evidence concerning the conception of bipolar dimensions of emotions.

2.3. The Circumplex of emotions

Emotions cannot be described with one word (Russell, 1980, 1997) or words in general (see Ellsworth, 2013). In addition, emotions consist of six properties that have to be combined together and consequently produce the complete picture of each type of emotions. Russell (1980, 1997) suggests that any of these six properties individually can produce an incomplete picture. A specific emotion is associated with many separate groups and does not exist separately. Averill (1980) and Russell (1991) indicated that such classification is characterised by vague membership, whereby membership of the classification is a matter of degree. In simple words, a person does not experience or not experience a specific emotion, rather than experiencing a degree of this emotion. The six properties are described below:

- 1) A particular occurrence of emotions is a member of a group of groups.
- 2) The condition of membership to groups is based on the degree of the emotion rather than all or none.
- 3) Emotion groups are correlated with each other as illustrated by a circumplex.
- 4) Emotions can be classified in terms of determinate broad dimensions, like the degree of pleasantness or unpleasantness and the amount of arousal.
- 5) Emotion groups are comprehended in terms of a script that is the initial coherence of causally related and temporally ordered events.
- 6) Emotion groups occur in a hazy hierarchy (Russell, 1997).

Thus, it is desirable to classify emotions as a circumplex (circular order) contrary to the bipolar approach whereas signifying that emotional shapes join together into one another. Guttman (1954) indicates that this circumplex is a two dimensional model as a basis of his facet theory (Canter, 1984) and that it illustrates expected associations between several variables, such emotions (Russell, 1997).

The initial concept that emotional variables cluster around axes and have a tendency to form circular patterns in the region of dimensions was proposed by Russell (1980). Russell (1980) indicated that the circumplex model was the best option in order to understand emotional states. He conducted a study using twenty eight words and/or phrases that humans use in sequence to describe their moods, feelings and emotions. The results of this study indicated that whereas circular patterns were formed in order to illustrate some variation, the general structure was analogous. Russell's model was verified by several other studies (i.e. Remington, Fabrigar & Visser, 2000) as well.

Figure 2.3.1 displays a graphical illustration of this circumplex that shows how emotions, feelings and moods are positioned on a two-dimensional space. Arousal-Sleepiness is illustrated on the vertical axis and Valence (pleasantness-unpleasantness) is illustrated on the horizontal axis, while the center of the circle illustrates a neutral valence and a medium intensity of arousal. In this circumplex of emotions, the emotional states can be representative at any level of arousal-sleepiness and pleasantness-unpleasantness or at a neutral level of one or each of these dimensions. Remington, Fabrigar and Visser (2000) suggested that this circumplex model can be used for testing the emotion of words, facial expressions and emotional states.

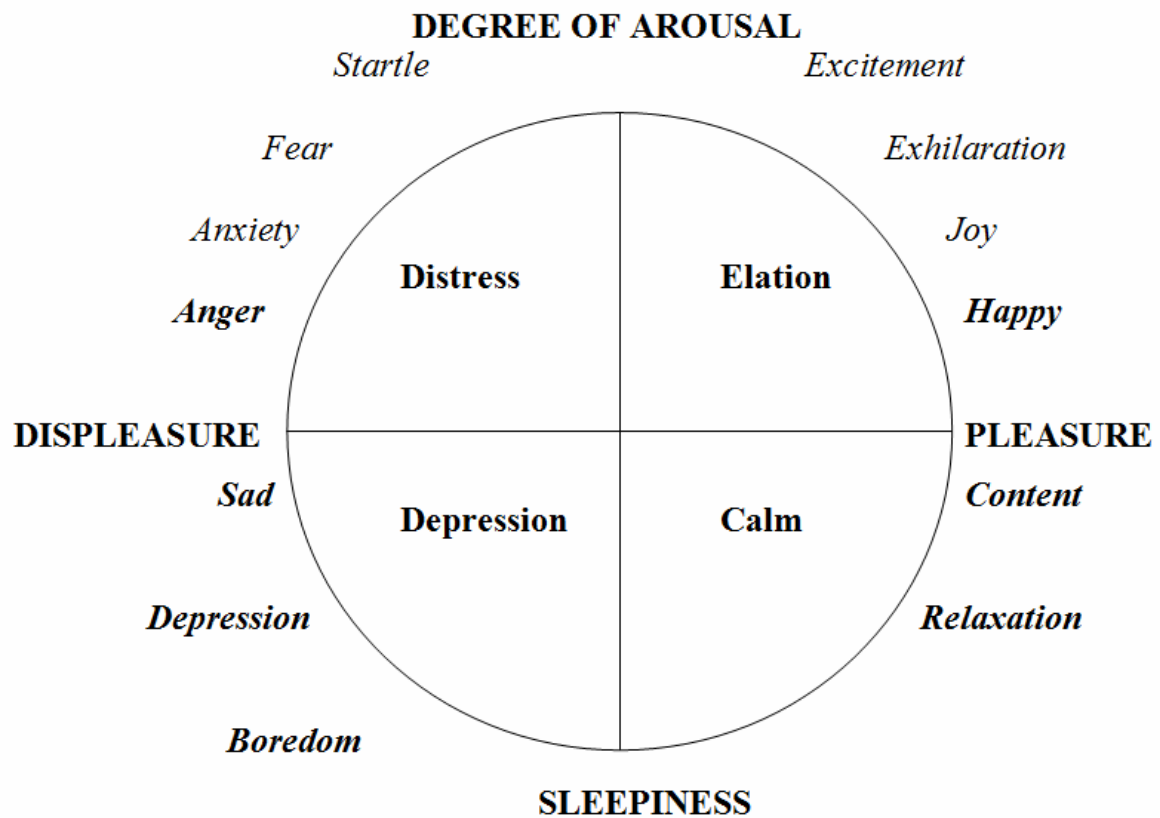


Figure 2.3.1: *Russell's (1997) Circumplex of Emotions*

This model suggests that every emotion may be illustrated as a linear combination of the dimensions of pleasantness-unpleasantness and arousal with every emotion overshadowing indiscernibly from one into another beside the curve of the two dimensional circumplex (Posner et al, 2005). Under this model, “sadness” is the result of a powerful activation in the neural system related to negative valence and a middling activation in the neural system related to negative arousal. These underlying neuro-physiological factors can produce the emotion states; though they should differ in degree of activation. Therefore,

the circumplex model indicates that a person's subjective experience can be one emotion rather than an additional nearby emotion as the consequence (Posner et al, 2005). Such circumplex models have been illustrated for intelligence, personality traits, and offending behaviour (see Canter & Heritage, 1989). The strength of an emotion is represented by the shortest distance from the neutral point to the location of that emotion.

Neighbouring categorical variables are more related, such as startle and fear are more similar than startle and anger, and gradually more different from affective states that are further removed on the circumplex. Emotion and feelings which are similar tend to come together at nearby points, while opposite variables are approximately 180° away from each other. The correlation between the terms is said to be circular, indicating an ordering of emotion terms in where variables that are similar are close to each other, variables that are dissimilar are on the opposite direction and variables that are not related are differentiated by 90°. Therefore, the circumplex model of emotions proposes that emotional experience is based on a bipolar valence (pleasantness-unpleasantness) dimension and an orthogonal dimension categorized as arousal or activation.

The circumplex theory for emotions dates back to Schlosberg's circular ordering for emotions (1941), followed by Plutchik's circumplex (1962) and then Russell's (1980). Further research by Daly, Lancee and Polivy (1983), Watson and Tellegen (1985) and Fisher, Heise, Bohrnstedt, and Lucke (1985) have produced evidence of a circumplex theory for emotions. Although each piece of research has developed each circumplex on different data and analytic techniques the convergence obtained from these sources is impressive. An example of this is that Abelson and Sermat (1962) have replicated Schlosberg's (1941) results using Multidimensional Scaling analysis (MDS).

Studies (Schlosberg, 1941; Plutchik, 1962; Russell, 1980; Fisher, Heise, Borhnstedt & Lucke, 1985; Watson & Tellegen, 1985; Feldman, 1995; Feldman Barrett &

Russell, 1998; Remington, Fabrigar & Vissar, 2000) show that a circumplex can represent successfully the categories of emotions. In addition, several other studies used the circumplex model for other domains, such as personality traits (Fisher, Heise, Bohrnstedt & Lucke, 1985; Fisher, 1997), facial expressions (Myllyniemi, 1997), empathy (Gurtman, 1997) and so on.

However, this model might have some limitations, as Russell (1997) suggested that the complexity of the emotions cannot be represented in two dimensions. For example, Figure 2.3.1 shows that the emotions of fear and startle are both high in unpleasantness and arousal, but they could have different behavioural, physiological and facial responses. These dissimilarities are not portrayed within the circumplex and thus the individuality of each emotion can be lost. Additionally, the intensity of the experience is again not represented within the circumplex. Ioannou (2006) indicated that as long as a person might experience particular emotions that are more intense from the others, the degree of intensity does not have an effect on the location of the emotion inside the circular order. For example the emotion of anxiety may vary in intensity from mild anxiety to severe anxiety and thus the degree of anxiety can have a big impact on the person's behaviour and cognition. Certain behaviours can be determined by the degree of the experienced emotions that belong into the arousal category. The emotional changes in the pleasantness-unpleasantness and arousal systems are classified by the cognitive representations of the experienced emotions. As long as these changes have been identified, they are systematized based on the individual's previous experience, behavioural responses and semantic knowledge (Russell, 2003; Posner et al, 2005).

Even though the circumplex model of emotions might have certain limitations, it does capture important features of emotional experience, personality traits, abnormal psychology and social relations for the last three decades (Plutchik, 2000).

2.4. Research on emotions and crime

2.4.1. Emotions and crime general research

While several studies have focused on the experience of crimes amongst “ordinary” people, little attention has been given regarding the emotions that offenders may experience. In addition, there are a few studies that relate the causation of crimes and violence with emotions, such as anger. Anger and fear trigger an unconscious automatic response to either fight or flight and based on the “Kicking the (barking) dog effect” (Pendersen, Bushman, Vasquez & Miller, 2008), anger may lead to aggression and violence. Additionally, anger combined with aggressive stimuli in the environment may lead to an aggressive response (Hewstone, Stroebe & Jonas, 2012).

Additionally, Mitscherlich and Mitscherlich (1975) indicated that grief may lead to violence, though there is no concrete evidence in non-laboratory research. The emotion of shame found to be the cause of violence in many studies (Luckenbill, 1977; Scheff and Retzinger, 1991; Sherman, 1993; Hagan and McCarthy, 1997).

One of the most important works regarding emotions and crime was presented by Katz (1988) in his book “Seductions of Crime”. Katz (1988) explores the significance of emotional experience within offending behaviour. The sample that was investigated consisted of university students and convicted criminals illustrating that emotion does matter in criminality. Katz (1988) criticises the sociological aspect of Criminology, because it was lacking of crime causation and the impact of emotion in crime. Also, Katz criticised the cognitive theoretical background of criminality and he proposed that emotions like anger, enthusiasm and hopelessness are important in crime causation.

In addition, Katz indicates the importance of seduction by humans and by the crime itself. As said by Katz, offenders feel seduced during the commitment of crime and

that there is a rationality regarding a compulsive offending behaviour (i.e. thrill). For instance, Katz (1988) explores the emotions and feelings involved in violent crimes, such as revenge, cynicism, mockery, arrogance and righteousness to name a few. Specifically speaking, Katz indicated the sadistic pleasure that skinheads from London have during their violent offences. These violent offenders felt increasingly attractive and pleasurable to commit criminal acts. Also, it is important to mention that skinheads were comparing themselves with “ordinary” people and justified their violent behaviour due to boredom. An ex-skinhead in the book of Katz (1988, p. 102) wrote a poem about skinheads:

“ Everywhere they are waiting, In silence. In boredom. Staring into space. Reflecting on nothing, or on violence!”

Katz (1988) indicates that skinheads were using petty theft in order to “spice up” the process of violent offending. In addition, Katz indicates that domestic violence is perceived as increasingly attractive between spouses.

All these emotions indicate the sense of seduction the criminal feels and the compulsion makes them believe that there is morality in violent offending (i.e. revenge). It seems that offending behaviour might be addictive as well. Brown (1997, p. 49) argued that “We should note that addictions, whether substance- or behaviour-based, differ from pure obsessions and compulsions in that they are directed toward a goal, and are expected to yield pleasure. By contrast, obsessive and compulsive behaviours are noticeably rigid and stereotyped, and are not performed to produce any particular result”. Brown (1997) proposed in his book that criminal behaviour can be correlated with addiction. To conclude, Katz (1988) indicated an important factor in recent Criminology and Forensic Psychology; emotions play a crucial factor in the causation of crimes.

Following Katz, an Australian study from Åkerström (1993) found that 72% of the participating offenders expressed the opinion that non-offenders are experiencing a boring

life, such as spending their time watching TV. In addition, a research by Adler (1993) regarding drug-related offenders indicated that emotions played a crucial role in determining their behaviour and found that impulsivity, fascination, thrill and excitement represented their way of life. Moreover, Indermaur (1995) investigated self-reported thoughts and emotions that Australian offenders had regarding violent property crime. Indermaur (1995) concluded that violent offenders experienced emotions or unpleasant feelings, such as anger, frustration and quite a few had feelings of revenge. Furthermore, Feeney (1999) reached an interesting conclusion, where 60% of the robbers in decision to commit such an offence were committing the crime in order to reach a particular emotion state. Thus, Feeney (1999) found that robbers committed the offence due to financial reasons, but they were driven by their desire to reach an affective state. Similarly, Wright, Decker, Redfern and Smith (1999) found that crime decision making is determined by emotions. It seems that offenders perceive themselves as more adventurous compared to non-offenders. Furthermore, De Haan and Loader (2002) discovered that there is a complexity in emotions during crime. They found for instance, that a robber was feeling anger and regret during the commitment of the offence.

Hellmuth and McNulty (2008) indicated that individuals with high levels of negative emotions (anger, hostility and anxiety) exhibit higher rates of intimate partner violence compared to those who have lower levels of negative emotions. Halperin and Gross (2011) found that anger and fear are related to intergroup violence and the emotions of anger, contempt and disgust lead to violations of moral codes (see Rozin, Lowery, Imada, & Haidt, 1999) and many times fear leads to hatred (Sternberg, 2003). Similarly, Birkley & Eckhardt (2015) showed that the causality of intimate partnership violence is based on negative emotions, such as anger hostility and other internalizing negative feelings, based on a sample of aggressive offenders. Matsumoto, Frank and Hwang (2015)

found that leaders who have emotions of anger, contempt and disgust can produce intergroup violence against others; here the special role of anger and disgust in order to escalate political violence is demonstrated.

One of the objectives of this study is to investigate the emotions of violent perpetrators during their commitment in crime. As there are no previous studies focusing exclusively on the relationship of emotions and violent offending, existing emotion-based models of the general criminal population were reviewed consecutively to create a hypothesis that can be applied to violent offenders. Though, sometimes offenders cannot regulate their emotions properly and this might be the reason that they commit crimes. Robertson, Daffern and Bucks (2014, 2015) suggest that criminals with a maladaptive emotion regulation displayed more extensive histories of violent behaviour compared to those who did not have such difficulties.

2.4.2. Application of the circumplex model to criminal behaviour

The majority of the previous studies indicated that the circumplex model of emotions can be applied to non-criminal populations and thus it is questionable whether Russell's model (1997) can be applied to criminal behaviour. Several studies (i.e. Slovic, Finucane, Peters, & MacGregor 2002; Finucane, Peters, & Slovic, 2003) indicate a link between pleasantness and decision preparation, as humans select risky options because they have an average expectation of positive emotions (Mellers, 2000). Additionally, Ramírez et al (2005) found a significant positive correlation amongst the justification of aggressive behaviour and unpleasantness minimisation. Ramírez et al (2005) found that pleasantness is derived from aggression only when there is a medium or non-extreme aggression.

One of the first studies to explore such issues was the study of Canter and Ioannou (2004). The researchers used self-reported interviews with imprisoned offenders with

different criminal backgrounds, in order to determine the emotional experience they had during the commitment of a specific offence. The sample consisted of 83 imprisoned offenders who were asked to report their experience of crime based on the Emotions Felt During Crime Questionnaire (EFDCQ) that was derived from the Russell's model. This was the first study to use EFDCQ that was developed from a pilot study that had found the emotions make sense to offenders as potential portrayals of their emotional experience during an offence that they could clearly remember.

Canter and Ioannou (2004) found that the circumplex of emotions (Russell, 1997) illustrated offenders' experiences, with the dominant axes of pleasure and arousal, regardless of the fact that this was proposed for non-offending experiences. Consequently, they identified four categories of emotion; elation, calm, distress and depression. Hence, Canter and Ioannou (2004) suggested that offenders' responses are a form of normal emotional performance illustrated in a dissimilar context. In addition, the study displayed a powerful dissimilarity between the "pleasantness and unpleasantness" compared to the normal range of non-offending experiences. Further findings proposed that offenders of dissimilar subsets of crime are expected to experience diverse emotions; i.e. property offences generated more pleasurable feelings compared to offences against a person. As a conclusion, Canter and Ioannou's study (2004) supported the findings of Katz (1988), where offending behaviour involves emotional experience and that it requires future research.

Moreover, the findings of this study (Canter and Ioannou, 2004) proposed that the criminal's emotional experience during crime may be conceptualised in a similar manner to other emotional experiences and thus offering support that the emotional experience of offenders are similar to the experience of non-offenders. The above findings were replicated by Ioannou (2006) who also found that the experience of crime might be more

bipolar than the usual range of emotions, particularly regarding the dominance of pleasure-displeasure axis and that the quality of emotional offending experience is similar to the emotional experience of non-offenders, although they vary in quantity. Additionally, her research showed that the emotional experience is stronger in intensity compared to normal population based on the four dominant themes discussed before; elation, calm, distress, depression.

Finally, Spruin (2012), who conducted her research with mentally disordered offenders found that the full range of emotions based on the Russell's model (1997) is partially established upon this forensic population. Specifically speaking, the emotion states which are on the activation axis cover the full range of emotion variables related to this axis.

2.5 Conclusion

In this chapter theories of emotion were introduced together with the dimensional models. Past research on emotions and crime was discussed and the circumplex of emotions as well as its application to past research on criminal behaviour, with the identification of four themes (elation, calm, distress and depression), presented. With this in mind, the Circumplex of emotions was selected as the main framework for investigation in the present thesis in relation to emotions of violent offenders.

CHAPTER 3

NARRATIVE ROLES

3.1 Narrative link with Emotions

Sarbin (1995) indicated the presence of roles actors impersonate during events that form the whole framework of experience. Such roles may support our understanding of the emotional experience and together form the wider life narratives that accompany the individual's acts. This was actually the establishment of several theories that correlated the human nature with narratives and roles since the beginning of the 20th century.

3.2 Theories based on Narratives

Freud (1900) used the dream narratives of published case studies in order to explore underlying individual truths. Moreover, Hall (1904) constructed his child development theories based on the diaries and autobiographies of adolescents. Also, Adler (1927) argued that the initial human memories are the presages of a human's lifestyle. According to Adler, the earliest memories are an adult's origin myth that indicate a specific type of lifestyle and indicate the individual's vision of the future based on the comprehension of his/her rebuilt past and perceived present (see Gergen & Gergen, 1983). Some years later, Murray (1938) argued, in his famous work "Explorations in Personality", that behaviour can be explained only by exploring in detail the individual and Allport (1942) provided a narrative approach on the study of an individual. Kelly (1955) indicated that the set of

constructs the individual has in order to give a meaning to his/her life is the basis for understanding that individual.

Jung (1969) explored human development as an intra-psychic adventure story by indicating that the hero would confront personal archetypes of villains and monsters. Jung suggested that these story-telling challenges of the unconscious realm of life indicate the individuality of a person. Since the beginning of psychotherapy, understanding of human behaviour was based on narrative portrayals (Spence, 1982), such as the 'narrative therapy' (White & Epston, 1990). Van den Broek & Thurlow (1991) indicated that a person's past experience, a person's current emotions and knowledge and a person's expectation concerning the future put forth a strong impact on their lifetime acts.

MacIntyre (1981) designates that life is an enactive narrative and is based on a script that is comprehensible by the person and that the unity of an individual's life is reliant on being a character in this enacted story-telling life. Sarbin (1986) indicated that people make a meaningful sense of their world based on their stories.

Van den Broek and Thurlow (1991) suggested that humans' actions are determined by their mental version of reality and that this illustration is both fundamental and story-telling by nature. Josselson and Lieblich (1993) concluded that we live based on a script that determines our actions and give us a meaningful entirety. Booker (2005) indicates that stories are the most natural method humans use in order to describe their lives and as a consequence humans are the experts concerning their life stories. For example, Van Dijk (2003) used discourse analysis, a methodological approach for qualitative research in order to underlie the meanings behind works, as he suggested that those meanings indicate the actions of a person based on the social and political context he/she lives.

People normally spend a great amount of their time telling stories, hearing stories and listening others narrate their experiences. Most human beings are trying to transform

their images of everyday life into stories and explain to others why and how they committed certain actions; i.e. stories focusing on family (Fiese, Sameroff, Grotevant, Wamboldt, Dickstein & Fravel, 1999).

For thousands of years humans have had a tendency to tell their own stories based on their experiences in life and as consequence scientists tried to find systematic methods to analyse such stories in a scientific way (McAdams, 2006). In addition, McAdams (2000) argued that even though those early attempts to comprehend and analyze personal stories; scientist did not succeed to clearly perceive humans as narrative tellers and their life-episodes as stories to be told. Therefore, such early examinations of personal stories lead researchers only to understand that there is nothing more than stories rather than understanding that such stories play an important role in human's actions and lives in general.

Thus, there should be a theoretical concept of narratives in Psychology. For example Katz (1988) argued that in order for an offence to happen, the individual should interpret and understand the role he/she illustrates and how they are perceived by others; based on the Narrative Theory.

3.3 Narrative Theory

According to Baumeister and Newman (1994), the narrative theory suggests that people comprehend their lives better when they make a story or narrative regarding themselves as the main character and designate their awareness and understanding of a situation (Agnew, 2006), a psychological concept of their character (Currie, 2009), their acts (Canter, 1994), and their interactions (Ibarra & Barbulescu, 2010).

Bruner (1990) indicates that this narrative or story consists of a peculiar series of events, psychological conditions including other people as actors or characters. Bruner

(1986) was the first to introduce narratives and stories in the scientific field and he proposed narrative knowing. Narrative knowing is based on stories humans tell regarding their experiences (see McLeod, 1997). People like good writers create plots, scenes and protagonists in order to describe the reasons humans do what they do.

Polkinghorne (1996) said that this is the cognitive organised procedure which offers a comprehension of life episodes and actions that involve causation, intention, beliefs and purpose of the human life and action (Baumeister & Newman, 1994). This story-telling approach of cognition is the favoured approach in order to understand how humans' intentions and desires are explained as individual actions. Overall, narratives offer a systematic knowledge regarding the relation between intentions, motivations, desires and human actions. Moreover, narrative data contain stories humans describe concerning their life events or their life in total. These narrations indicate how humans comprehend the importance of incidents they have experienced and of the actions they have done. Therefore, such data provide scientists with an in depth understanding of human experiences the way they are understood by humans themselves (Polkinghorne, 1996). The last decades the narrative field motivated psychologists to study the meaning between human actions and their subjective experiences; for example in the fields of: Counselling Psychology (Polkinghorne, 1988), Clinical Psychology (Howard, 1991), Social Psychology (Bruner, 1990; Murray & Holmes, 1994), Psychotherapy (Josselson, 2004; McAdams, 2004) and Criminology (Presser & Sandberg, 2015).

McAdams (1988) proposed a life-narrative model of identity that was derived from the person's narratives and this model proposes that humans self-identify themselves in a constructive framework from birth to death. Thus, their meaning of "who they are" is a narrative tool, a story of their individual life episodes that forms their identity. Based on McAdams (1988) model, humans start to put in order their narrative life episodes during

their late teenage years which determine the entire life course rather than being determined in the earliest years of life (McAdams, 1996; McLeod, 1997). McAdams recognises Erikson's views on identity development and the notion that particular characteristics of a person's life can form his/her interactions with the world. By proposing a holistic viewpoint of identity, McAdams (1988) focuses on Piaget's theory of cognitive development and indicates that in puberty humans go into a fourth and final stage of cognitive development where teenagers start to comprehend the world in a theoretical term.

As a consequence, narrative theory proposes that this shape of identity starts in puberty with the adolescent's great effort to shape a view of himself/herself in a constantly shifting situation. McAdams (1988) indicates that this individual turns into a "biographer of self" and that this identity is perceived as a lifetime active procedure with periods of respective constancy and transformation. Hence McAdams (1988) argued that psychological measurements were created in order to identify the identity formation in puberty, but the theory of narratives concentrates on how this identity looks once shaped; the identities are formed based on the past, the present and the future which give a meaningful purpose in the individual's life.

Therefore, the self of the individual changes accordingly with the time changes of his/her story. Studies (see McAdams, 1996; Polkinghorne, 1996) indicate that the narrative of the self is always narrated from the advantageous position of the present and mirrors back on the past with the aim of creating a consistent and reliable account.

According to Sarbin's (1986) "narratory principle", the creation of narratives and listening of others' stories can have an impact on how people think, perceive, imagine and make ethical decisions. These narratives are taken off by heroes and villains, wise and fools and other fictional figures. Such fictional figures are part of a society's myths and

legends that indicate stories and personal characters who direct humans' actions which develop a person's identity or prevent or disrupt the degradation of a person's identity. McAdams (2006) proposes the idea that humans may or may not bear a resemblance to story characters which can point out an enormous deal of instinctive appeal. For example, Canter and Youngs (2009) signified the "inner narrative", which is the procedure of viewing the self based on an unfolding personal story.

In McAdams's (1988) life narrative model, a narrative consists of four main thematic components and two basic dimensions. Regarding the two dimensions, McAdams indicated that people's life stories are driven by thematic lines and narrative intricacy. Concerning the thematic lines, McAdams proposed that these thematic lines are the motivational streams that flow throughout any particular narrative, systematizing and canalising the flow of the story to a wanted endpoint. Although, there are several thematic components, McAdams proposed that there are specific thematic characters, called imagoes.

Imagoes are the main, dominant characters that the person identifies in the narrative and which reflects the roles being identified by the person during the act. These "imagoes" are parts of the self that act and work together to characterise the foremost script lines of the identity. Thus the person can identify himself/herself as a hero, a mother/father or a carer. These imagoes have an importance concerning the way the individual perceives the association with other people; either live independently or act together and in doing so potentially come into collision. This notion of imagoes derived from the narrative theory may be construed as descriptive of the roles that a criminal may play or impersonate during an offence. In particular, researchers have begun to analyse the structure of these personal narratives in terms of their key components, plots, settings and

scenes, as well as characters and their dominant roles (Canter & Youngs, 2009). Thus, these imagoes-characters will be explored in this study.

3.4 Frye's Theory of Mythoi

A number of narrative psychologists indicate that there is a limit to the range of potential formations for all life narratives and they notice significant associations with researches of literature. For example, Polkinghorne (1988) points out that there are only some ways to narrate a story and such ways can be conceptualised by one of four archetypal narrative structures (McAdams, 1988). The original concept of these structures was proposed several years before by Northrop Frye (1957), entitled as the "Theory of Mythos".

Frye (1975) indicated in his famous book "Anatomy of Criticism" a variety of stories from ancient time to the modern day; the origins of these stories were based on Aristotle's Poetics. For this reason, Frey (1957) created four primary story forms or "mythic archetypes"; comedy, romance, tragedy and irony. All these archetypes contain a primordial episodic table for stories and every story is viewed as either a hybrid of two (or more) or as an archetype on its own. This archetypal system is the illustration of "ethos" and recounts how the protagonist is illustrated in respect to other humans and his/her environment. Frey (1957) proposed that Western civilization was based on the development of such archetypal systems during ancient and modern times. These archetypal systems were slightly changed due to the dynamic transformation of society. For example, the classic story of "Lancelot, the Knight of the Cart" was a romantic story that would be perceived as an adventure nowadays regarding the quest of the Holy Grail. Additionally, Murray (1985) indicates that movies such as "Star Wars" and the "Elephant Man" are life episodes that can be based on these four archetypes.

Even though, these four archetypical structures developed individually, Frey indicates that these structures are additionally correlated with the primary form of the narrative procedure of “cyclical movement”, similar to the four seasons of the year; Comedy (spring), Romance (summer), Tragedy (autumn) and Irony (winter):

Comedy comes out of the awakening of nature and the birth of spring, which demonstrates the social harmony after the cold winter. The outcome of this process indicates the protagonist’s revitalisation and integration into society, by defeating the powers of darkness and winning the villains that may lead to a “happy ending”. From this point of view, the young hero seeks true love and happiness by simply waiting for the pleasurable finale at the end of the journey. These types of protagonists are mainly optimistic and free from anxiety and as Frye (1957) says their experience is based on positivity.

Romance simulates the warmth of the summer and the sun’s zenith that can be correlated with the “triumphant phase”; the triumph over evil leading the protagonist to paradise. Thus the tale of romance is a triumphant chase that consists of three stages: a risky journey with inconsequential adventures, leading to the final battle where either the hero or the villain would die and eventually the emergence of happy ending. Thus, the protagonist is the adventurer who overcomes risky and hazardous situations in order to gain the final victory during the journey (Frey, 1957).

Tragedy is based on the autumn season and the “death” of nature which indicates the “death stage”. Such tragedy stories are typified by evil entities or fraudulent bad characters that are using their power to bring the protagonist a tragic end. The hero tries to keep away from such dangers that overcast his life and as a consequence the protagonist develops a pessimistic and ambivalent behaviour. The emotions of the protagonist can be either positive or negative and are overcasted with happiness and sadness, pleasure and pain that

eventually make him sad and afraid. Sacrifices, dying gods and heroes and cruel endings are just examples of such tragic stories. A typical tragedy illustrates a hero who is isolated from the natural balance of things and the emotions of isolation lead to the downfall of the protagonist. Even though it is foreseeable that the tragic protagonist would meet defeat, the hero is nevertheless recognised as the “extraordinary victim” who tries to face inevitable risks followed by life’s nemesis; the defeat is frequently precipitated by the accomplishment of wisdom or the aptitude to ‘see’ the genuine truth (Frye, 1957).

Irony is recognised as the archetypal structure of darkness, where the hero is perceived as constantly being insufficient to the mission of conquering the dark force of death; at the end of autumn the winter naturally follows. Frye (1957, p. 223) indicates that the archetypal theme of irony is constructed "to give form to the shifting ambiguities and complexities of un-idealized existence". The protagonist attempts to re-establish or bring in order the chaos and acquire a standpoint on the challenges of human livelihood. Stories like the return of chaos and floods are just typified examples of the irony theme. The Irony mythos is described by Frey (1957, p.366) as the “realistic level of experience”. This definition can illustrate movies that are based on a “current dark and brutal world”. Throughout the Irony cycle, the idealistic protagonist plays the role of an exhausted old king who lives in a world of repugnance and imbecility, a cosmos without hope. Frey (1957, p.239) explains how this Irony cycle leads to a resurrection of the spring season by indicating that “Tragedy and tragic irony take us into a hell of narrowing circles and culminate in some such vision of the source of all evil in a personal form. Tragedy can take us no farther; but if we persevere with the mythos of irony and satire, we shall pass a dead center, and finally see the gentlemanly Prince of Darkness bottom side up”.

Thus Frye (1957) designates that there are four archetypal mythoi derived from the four seasons. Frye (1957) indicates that there is a story-telling procedure that has a cyclical

movement and thus the Romance mythos (summer) is against the Irony mythos (winter) and the Tragedy Mythos (autumn) is against the Comedy (spring mythos (see figure 3.4.1).

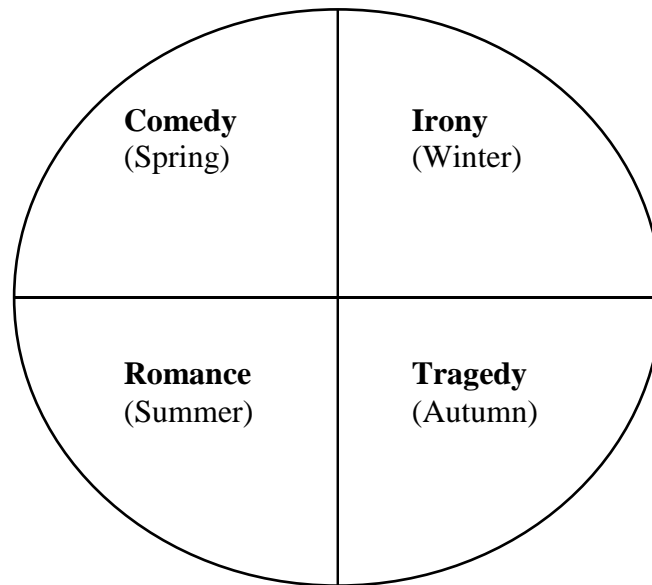


Figure 3.4.1: *Frye's (1957) "Theory of Mythos"*

The "Theory of Mythoi" emphasises the primary outline of the narrative cyclical movement. This theory indicates that even though there are four dominant themes based on each narrative, there will be several hybrids, as one theme merges into another. Frey's (1957) theory of correlating each mythos with the seasonal cycle further demonstrates the natural cyclical movement that pushes every narrative theme onto the next, known as the circular order. As a consequence, this circumplex arrangement is used regularly in facet studies indicating the existence of both dominant and hybrid themes. Frey's model represents stories that may develop individually and in a subset. For example, the hero may play an active role of diverse levels on each story. Still, the stories may share

common aims inside the hero's quest. For instance, narratives of irony and tragedy demonstrate the hero as reacting to a specific incident or situation; either worried about the world he lives or fighting the evil gods till death as in tragedy. On the other hand, tales of romance and comedy demonstrate the hero as defeating the powers of darkness for a pleasing resolution and a happy finale (Frey, 1957).

Even though Frey's (1957) model is related to several fictional narratives in conjunction with the cyclical movement, it is questionable whether these can be applied in real life narratives; Frey's theory of *Mythoi* was proposed as a non-scientific theory. Nabokov (1997) indicated the term literary criticism, which is the study, the evaluation and the interpretation of literature. Supporters of literary criticism indicate the inconsistency that may occur when evaluating works of literature regarding its concepts and terms hence implying that the interpretation of the results of such work can not be scientifically applied. Despite the fact that further analysis is required to define concepts based on the literary criticism, Frey's (1957) theory yet stays one of the most powerful advocates of literary criticism and his "Theory of *Mythoi*" has been fruitfully put into practice in the comprehension of fictional narrative structures for years.

McAdams (1988) and Polkinghorne (1988) indicated that a person's narrative should have an identical form to fictional scenarios and consequently the procedure of investigating the structure of narratives has shown the way to a comparable process in personal narratives. As a result, psychologists have brought into play personal narratives as a tool to investigate conception of mental frameworks, such as anger, regret, shame and interpersonal conflict.

Additionally, several studies indicated that personal narratives help to understand the underlying motivation and purpose of an individual, as they portray their beliefs about

what is important in their lives (see Baumeister, Stillwell & Heatherton, 1995; Leith & Baumeister, 1998).

In general, human beings arrange their experiences on a daily basis in a storyline structure in order to make such experiences meaningful (Baumeister & Newman, 1994); i.e. offenders try to explain the reason behind a crime in conjunction with attempting to interpret and give explanation for the events in terms of their personal codes they live by. In addition, Baumeister and Newman (1994) suggest that people can impersonate themselves with specific roles based on their personal narratives in order to increase their self-value. Eventually, by comprehending the underlying cognition and motivation of human beings, we are able to explain several characteristics of their actions. New studies are focusing on the relationship that such archetypical forms of narratives have with actions, such as offences and whether these narratives are dominated by one or more themes of the four Mythoi. Thus, by exploring the criminals' personal narratives, we can understand the underlying cognitive procedures that led these individuals to commit a crime (Canter & Youngs, 2009).

3.5 Criminal Narratives

Over the last years, it has been suggested that narrative themes might be categorised within criminal protagonists' accounts of their offending activities (i.e. McAdams, 2001) and this framework can indicate a new aetiological standpoint to develop associated with the direct mental procedures involved in criminal incidents.

A great variety of studies focused on narratives based on a non-criminal population (i.e. McAdam, 1988), while quite a few studies focused exclusively on criminal narratives (i.e. Maruna, 2001; Ioannou, 2006; Presser, 2009; Youngs & Canter, 2011, 2012; Ioannou et al, 2015). The work of McAdams (1988) was exclusively focused on the narratives of

non-offenders and Canter (1994) was the first to investigate offending actions based on the narrative theory.

Canter (2008) proposed that the narrative approach may offer a deeper understanding of criminal behaviour, as it facilitates collaboration between the discipline of psychology and the law. While criminals are active agents of their own acts, social and behavioural sciences explore other factors regarding the causation of criminal actions based on the social and genetic, neurological or hormonal approaches, which indicate that criminals are rather passive mediators of their acts. Canter (2010) argues that the implication of the personal narrative framework concerning criminal actions will underline criminals as active agents within their actions and thus proposes an association with legal examinations of “mens rea” and motivation.

The potentiality of an offender narrative approach in order to understand the procedures involved in offending activities and certain criminal categories need to be further explored.

Several researchers recently started to combine personal narratives with criminal actions and understand in depth either the causation of crime or cessation from a criminal career, designating the growth and operation of a systematic way of studying these notions; i.e Maruna (2001) proposed thematic notions that offered insight regarding the reason humans choose to retreat from a criminal career, while others do not. Canter (1994) suggested that narrative theory may conduce to the stories in order to disclose offending actions; in order to understand such criminal actions it is helpful to take into account the self-formed narratives that aid to give form and meaning to their actions.

The embodiment of the unfolding personal story is described by Canter (1994) as the “inner narrative” that investigates several facets of offending behaviour. An accurate comprehension of offending activities may only derive from a thorough analysis of such

stories, by attaching those stories to behaviours and roles. These offenders' narratives are formed by their experience during the crime and are represented in their behaviour. The reason behind these criminal activities involves an examination and comprehension of such narrations. Canter (1994, p. 299) indicates that "Through his actions the criminal tells us about how he has chosen to live his life. The challenge is to reveal his destructive life story, to uncover the plot in which crime appears to play such a significant part". Canter (1994) found that the way violent offenders treated their victims expressed their role and its association with that particular offence.

A thorough study from Canter and Heritage (1989) regarding adult stranger rape indicated an understandable multivariate structure of criminal activity, which revealed the ways of interaction between the victim and the sex offender regardless of the sex acts themselves. Canter and Heritage (1989) investigated 66 cases of stranger rape and found that the behaviours that took place during the sex offence indicated five dissimilar interactions between the offender and the victim.

The interpretation of such results, together with McAdams study on narratives, indicated a three-way model (Person, Object and Victim) that offered perspicacity concerning the criminal narrative based on the way the offender deals with the victim. Based on the piece of evidence McAdams (1988) provided regarding the formation on life-stories during adolescence, Canter (1994) concluded that humans decide to begin or stay away from a criminal career when they are adolescents. Thus, the tendency to become violent may explode, when the violent offender is searching for his/her identity; perhaps this is the main cause of violence amongst adolescents. Regarding the future of offending behaviour in puberty, it is very important to decide which narrative will turn out to be dominant. Additionally, Canter (1994, p. 307) developed the findings of McAdams and added that "here is the clue to the hidden nature of the narratives that violent offenders

live; their dominant narratives are confused and sensitive to episodes that most people would ignore”. This gives the impression that violent offenders’ narratives are determined from their first years, as Canter (1994) indicates that a growing human being might be uncertain concerning his/her identity based on which life-stories are suitable to them that frequently contain violence and exploitation of others.

Bamberg (2009) underlines three problematical regions concerning identity inside narratives; firstly, it is the non-stop alteration of self over time, secondly it is the distinctiveness of the self and thirdly is the agency of the self. Bamberg (2009) indicates that all actions necessitate a facet of self-identity and thus the narrative is a process of self-reflection, which can determine a methodological formation of dominant narratives (see White & Epston, 1990). In offending activities, continuity in self-reflection may indicate themes of offending behaviour developing dominant narratives. Moreover, traits that strengthen the dominant narratives may then be applied as methods of differentiating types of offenders. The Narrative Action System used by Canter and Youngs (2009) indicated how offending activity was differentiated by several types of offences; though this study was deeply based on crime scene acts, rather than focusing on certain crimes (see Presser, 2009). Hence, it is very important to mention how dissimilar aspects of self-identity and the identity of other people exist between dissimilar narrative roles (see Youngs and Canter, 2011, 2012); i.e. in the revenger narrative roles, the self identity of the individual is powerful and the identity of other is important. Thus, the narrator’s perception of the self and others may reveal significant mental processes designating the behavioural characteristics of the narrator.

Canter (1994) proposed the link between narrative theory and offending behaviour in his noteworthy book “Criminal Shadows”. “We are each the central character of our own drama. Whether we see ourselves as heroes, victims, villains, losers or superstars

depends on how we see our personal story unfolding. Our early years give us a view of our own worth and whether our personal narratives are romances or tragedies, comedies or melodramas. Not only do we learn to be human but we learn what sort of human being we are” (Canter, 1994, p.324). A large body of empirical studies on narratives have applied this framework to criminal populations.

3.5.1 Research conducted on Criminal Narratives

Maruna (2001) indicates that criminal narratives are predominantly constructive in disclosing particular elements of a criminal’s life. In addition, Maruna suggests that such personal narratives can direct criminals into believing that their actions are acceptable rather than criminal or that such narratives can disclose their participation in particular outlaw groups that live by unconventional rules. Maruna indicates that the altering dynamic characteristics of an offender’s life can be explained by a narrative perspective. Such internalised reports (which are continuously developing) shape and give meaning to human life, by letting them to build up identities. This procedure of building up an identity is formed by the opportunities that every human being has in their societal environment and thus bringing an interface amongst the individual and their environment.

The first research that was conducted regarding the narrative roles in crime was conducted by Canter, Kaouri and Ioannou (2003). The study proposed four separate themes that provided a circular order of offending roles based on Frye’s “Theory of Mythoi”; Adventurer, Revenger, Victim and Professional (Note: Adventurer and Hero are used interchangeably in latest publications). Canter, Kaouri and Ioannou (2003) explored the idea of typifying offender narratives throughout a structured questionnaire that was derived from the criminal’s open-ended report of their offending narrative. They suggested that typifying a complex framework such as a personal narrative could be accomplished

through examination of the roles criminals think they play throughout the commission of an offence; each unfolding story discloses a particular role based on a summary of multifaceted procedures. A criminal's self-perception within a specific role (Hero, Revenger, Victim and Professional) has an effect on the way a narrative unfolds. For example, by asking a perpetrator to think of an offence he/she has committed and then asking him/her to express the extent to which it felt like "I was a victim", that "it was my only choice" or "I knew what I was doing" statistical analysis showed four separate roles.

Subsequently, Ioannou (2006) and Youngs and Canter (2011, 2012) conducted studies in order to identify potential roles that the criminals assign to themselves during a criminal act. They identified four separate roles that the criminals self-perceived to act out; hero, victim, professional and revenger associated with Frye's Mythoi (1957). It is important to say that this was an important finding as Frye's theory was based on a non-criminal notion. The findings showed a sequential structure in offender narratives and offered a further comprehension of narratives corresponding to behaviour and motive. These findings additionally support Presser's (2009) idea that criminal narratives are an immediate forerunner of criminal actions, proposing that narratives have a direct influence on the abetment of offending behaviours. Presser (2012) illustrated the strength that the narrative identity has, and indicated how the role that criminals engage in their lives becomes central to their offending activities.

Hence criminal narratives become interpretive tools that offer insight into a criminal's subjective comprehension of the reasons that stimulate their offending behaviour. Ioannou (2006) and Youngs and Canter (2011, 2012) contributed to criminal narrative research by illustrating a deeper understanding of the four criminal narrative roles and designated a more concrete conceptualisation of the suggested criminal narrative roles. Canter and Youngs (2012) focused on the criminal narrative thinking methods, self

perceptions and emotional components. Thus, research conducted on criminal narratives displayed some fruitful results regarding offending behaviour, but it is questionable whether criminal narratives are the same for each type of offence. For example, Canter (1994) indicates that violent offenders are rather limited in terms of their narratives by showing their treatment of their victims as less than human. Additionally, Opatow (2005) examined the narratives of violent criminals and found that violent offenders morally disengage from their victims by excluding victims from the type of humans that are worthy of moral consideration.

3.5.2 Research conducted on Violent Criminal Narratives

Narrative research indicates that violent individuals are using violence as an act to escape future victimisation (Collings, 2008), to obtain recognition (Jackson-Jacobs, 2004) and/or to gain an economical profit (Anderson, 1999).

Narrative research has been conducted exhibiting its potentiality for comprehending the way harmful and offending behaviours are motivated and continued, and has been illustrated throughout “work street violence” (Brookman et al, 2011) and violence (Brookman, 2015). In Athens’ (1997, p. 98) theory of violence it is proposed that “the type of self-image that people hold is intimately connected to both the range and character of the situations that they will interpret as calling for violent action, underscoring that their self-images are congruent rather than incongruent with their interpretations”. Toch (1993) argues that violence is an enactment of certain storylines and Coupland & Jaworski (2003) propose that fighting stories are a way to make livelier discussions, promote familiarity and build up friendship bonds.

Jackson-Jacobs (2004) argue that violent groups put a high value on having personal fight stories in terms of the personal experience of risks and pain the violent

offender experiences in order to accomplish his goals and certainly such stories are used in order to justify violence. Saarikkomäki (2015) argued that there is a distinction between fair and unfair narrations; whereas fair stories have no aggressive or violent encounters, unfair narrations involve an escalation of violent interactions. Presser (2010) found that the self-meaning of violence may vary. For instance in a case study, the perpetrator says (p. 437) “But if it was just—you know—you kick some- you happen to kick someone because you’re angry at that one second, and then hurt them, I wouldn’t consider that violence”. Furthermore Presser (2010) proposes that researcher’s intervention may influence participants’ words and expression (Presser, 2005, 2008).

In Sandberg’s study (2010), one of the violent offenders self criticises himself by saying that the violent act was not necessary and that there was some fairness and integrity involved, indicating a morally decent self (see Presser, 2004). Sandberg (2009) argues that self-taking responsibility is an important part of the individual’s actions. As Anderson (1999) says, violent offenders are afraid of losing face and thus they commit violent crimes due to the “code of the street” (Sandberg, 2013).

Hochsteler et al (2014) argue that individuals who share fighting stories are expressing their masculinity and this is based on the story pattern of the heroic man. Anderson (2008, p. 152) says that heroic individuals are illustrating “bravery, physical toughness while at the same time the ability to keep calm”. Additionally, studies (Hochsteler et al, 2010; Copes et al, 2013) indicate that fight narrations may also be narrated in order to create an impression of being honourable and thus distinguishing themselves from other violent offenders. Violence and “narratives about violence” are key components in several street subcultures and make a contribution regarding the organisation of social networks and associations with other violent individuals (Anderson, 1999; Bourgois, 2003). Presser (2012) indicates that stories promote collective violence;

common narrations of righteous selves or groups that must annihilate evil others (i.e. Sternberg, 2003; Vetlesen, 2005). In addition, Sandberg (2009) indicates that violence related stories provide humans with a better comprehension of multifaceted sub-cultural aesthetics and codes of conduct (Miller, 1958; Wolfgang and Ferracuti, 1967; Nisbett and Cohen, 1996; Anderson, 1999). Therefore, as long as fight stories promote collective action, those fight stories may contribute to identity construction as well (see for example Morrill et al., 2000).

Ioannou et al (2015) while not examining offending behaviour in general included a violent sample in their studies and found that the predominant narrative role acted out by violent offenders was Revenger identified in more than half the sample (55%) of the 20 violent offenders followed by Hero (20%), Victim (15%) and Professional (10%) (Ioannou et al, 2015). Sandberg, Tutenges and Copes (2015) investigated narratives of violence between imprisoned Norwegian drug dealers and identified four narrative themes; business narratives, intimidation narratives, moral narratives and survivor narratives. The four major narrative themes of violence that were identified from this research are derived from 40 male imprisoned drug-related offenders who were involved in a societal context of street culture. Below its narrative theme is described independently and the similarities with Frye's Theory of Mythoi (1957) are noticeable:

Business narratives

Business narratives involve central characters who perform violent acts in a calculated, organised and knowledgeable matter to achieve particular missions. Sandberg, Tutenges and Copes (2015) indicate that such protagonists have a sense of necessity or a sense of purpose towards well-characterised goals, such as the collections of debts. Fear and confusion does not characterise such violent acts, rather than being characterised by

intention and meaningfulness or coldness (see Arendt, 1964). It is important to mention that the narrators used phrases such as “I had to”, “It is pure business” that are highly related to Ioannou (2006) and Youngs and Canter (2012) narrative questionnaire and with the narrative theme “Professional”. It seems that business narratives tend to be similar with violence-based planned strategies to resolve problems due to normative violations (Morrill et al, 2000). Therefore, Sandberg, Tutenges and Copes (2015) argue that violence derived from business narratives comes from a logical solution to a practical problem. Additionally, Sandberg, Tutenges and Copes (2015) suggest the involvement of emotions, such as irritation, as violence is sometimes inevitable (Jacobs, 2000). To conclude, Sandberg, Tutenges and Copes (2015) indicate that violent perpetrators, who fit into the business narrative theme, are individuals who rationalise being violent based on the necessity of the situation.

Intimidation narratives

Intimidation narratives involve central characters who are dangerous and are ready to become violent regardless of the upcoming risk or cost. Sandberg, Tutenges and Copes (2015) indicate that such violent offenders are rather impulsive and have powerful emotions that are using expressive tales (Morrill et al, 2000) and perceive themselves as “heroes” (i.e. Beck, 1971). Such violent individuals are exaggerating their violent capabilities in order to build a reputation of merciless toughness (i.e. Collins, 2008). Sandberg, Tutenges and Copes (2015) found that such intimidation narratives illustrate circumstances of inter-subjective imbalance involving disrespect and eventually leading to revengeful violent actions. It is important to say that this is rather similar to the “revenger” narrative theme that was found in previous studies (Ioannou, 2006; Youngs and Canter, 2011, 2012). Sandberg, Tutenges and Copes (2015) compare such stories with stories of

people who are possessed by demons (i.e. Sandberg and Tutenges, 2015) who show their evilness when the time has come. Intimidation stories do not focus on making people laugh, rather than focus on the fascination that is derived from fright (i.e. Jackson-Jacobs, 2004). Finally, Sandberg, Tutenges and Copes (2015) signify the role of culture in these narrations, that such cultures justify and legitimate violent acts, such as the Greek Culture (see Koukouris & Stavros, 2009).

Moral narratives

Moral narratives involve protagonists who have a moral character with values in mainstream society and in violent subcultures as well. Such narrations involve stories with well-defined moralities and are used as vehicles to investigate moral dilemmas. Sandberg, Tutenges and Copes (2015) indicate that the significance of the violent act is not violence itself rather than the ethical concerns involved in the act. Sandberg, Tutenges and Copes (2015) argue that the hero in moral narratives ‘is motivated by high ideals and overcomes a series of obstacles, challenges and enemies associated with powers deemed evil’ (Smith 2005, p. 26). It is important to mention that there is a strong similarity with the “Hero” narrative theme that was identified in previous studies (i.e. Ioannou, 2006; Youngs and Canter, 2011, 2012). Sandberg, Tutenges and Copes (2015) suggest that moral narratives involve emotions of self-satisfaction and the central character displays a high amount of willpower, as the drama dissolves and an upcoming happy ending will eventually come. In contrast with the business narratives, where violence is characterised by coldness, violence in moral narratives involves positive emotions as “love, solidarity and compassion” (Cottee & Hayward, 2011, p. 975). Sandberg, Tutenges and Copes (2015) indicate that moral narrative violence is committed for the greater benefit and illustrate the central character as a moral agent who is involved in a series of acts in order to bring back a

situation to moral harmony. Polletta and Lee (2006) argue that such moral narrations may be open for interpretation and investigation compared to other discursive forms. Presser (2004) indicates morality as a central concept of a story.

Survivor narratives

Survivor narratives involve a central character who goes through rough times and is brought to the edge of annihilation, regularly at an early age. The central characters usually survive, though they are both bodily and psychologically stigmatised by the suffering they have experienced. Such narratives frequently connect important events that took place over a long duration, while they bring a meaningful unity to these events (McAdams, 1993). Sandberg, Tutenges and Copes (2015) indicate that narrative survivors move from one crime to another and thus making their life narratives tragic. The protagonist seems entrapped in a twist of negative events by reinforcing such events lacking of a way out. Briggs (2007) argues that violent experiences must be dealt in narrations and thus they are significant components in life narratives somewhat due to their dramatic nature (Sandberg, Tutenges & Copes, 2015). It is important to note that survivor narratives resemble the “Victim” narrative role that was previously identified by Ioannou (2006) and Youngs and Canter (2011, 2012).

Although, Sandberg, Tutenges & Copes’ research (2015) supports the concept that there is a relationship between the criminal narrative experience and violent crimes, it is still questionable whether the narrative experience is related to emotional experience especially in relation to violent offenders from different cultural backgrounds. While previous research (Ioannou, 2006; Ioannou, Canter & Youngs, 2016 in press) has identified a link between the emotions experienced and the narratives roles acted out

(namely the Criminal Narrative Experience) while committing an offence this was only examined in relation to offending in general and only with a British sample.

3.6 Conclusion

In this chapter, narrative theory and its importance in various areas in psychology was introduced. Criminal narratives, as drivers of offending behaviour, and past research on narrative roles in crime related research was presented. In particular, emphasis was placed on the identification of four themes (hero/adventurer, professional, victim, revenger), in previous research. While narrative analysis has been used in a number of studies and its potential for understanding the way harmful and criminal actions are motivated and sustained has been demonstrated through various studies most of them used interviews with offenders based on accounts or used very small samples. On the contrary, the identification of the four themes and subsequent development of the Criminal Narrative Experience framework, mentioned above was done via the administration of a closed questionnaire (Narrative Roles Questionnaire) which operates as a non-threatening summary of a criminal narrative theme revealing the presence of narrative themes of which the individual may not be aware. With this in mind, the Criminal Narrative Experience framework will be utilised to investigate emotions and associated roles of violent offenders.

CHAPTER 4

THE PRESENT STUDY

4.1 Previous Studies

Previous studies (Canter & Ioannou, 2004; Ioannou, 2006; Spruin, 2012) indicated that Russell's (1997) circumplex model can be established in a forensic population, such as offenders. Ioannou (2006) and Youngs and Canter (2011) identified four dominant roles that characterise the personal narratives of several offenders; the revengeful mission roles, the tragic hero role, the professional role and the victim role. The particular mixtures of the parts that interrelate to create these roles present interesting insights into the potential relationships between distinct constructs that come from fundamentally different criminological schools (i.e. Bandura's (1990) moral disengagement theory and Katz's (1988) emotional experience of crime). Previous research (Ioannou, 2006; Ioannou, Canter & Youngs, 2016 in press) has already identified a link between the emotions experienced and the narratives roles acted out while committing an offence (namely the Criminal Narrative Experience).

4.2 Rationale of the study

As it was previously discussed several studies had focused on the societal context, situational factors and personality traits regarding criminality; all factors that have an

external influence on the offender. In addition, most of the studies aimed to explore criminality based on general characteristics, such as demographics, based on a sociological point of view and certainly most of them support theoretical evidence rather than empirical. There has been little attention on individual differences and the experience of crime itself. In addition, all of the previous studies were conducted in Britain and were focused on the general experience of crime and crimes in general. Therefore, there has been no empirical evidence regarding non-British populations and exclusively violent crime. Finally, all of the previous studies gave little to no attention to personality and how it relates to the criminal experience.

4.3 Aim and Objectives of Study

The main aim of this study is to examine whether the Criminal Narrative Experience framework developed for offending experience in general and with a British sample can be applied specifically to violent offending experience in a different context (Greece). Most of the previous studies on violent offenders, as seen in chapters 2 and 3, have focused either on the emotional experience or narrative roles individually. The purpose of this study is to investigate how violent offenders' narratives, emotions, and their correlates with background and personality can shape their violent actions and to unfold violent offending patterns. The Criminal Narrative Experience framework was chosen over others in this study as the identification of themes is based on a closed questionnaire. The reason for this approach is that the implicit quality and fleeting form of day-to-day narrative processes suggests that to discern themes and psychological meaning these need to be given concrete form and examined in specific contexts. Offence event roles provide a medium through which implicit narrative processes are given tangible form and can be related to a given context through descriptions that capture the quality of the agency that is

underpinning the action in that event. A measure that focuses on the role experienced within an offending event may operate as a non-threatening summary of a criminal narrative theme. The focus on the direct descriptions of an offender's experience of the event does not require personal justification or even readily allow the respondent social desirability interpretation or conscious positioning across items (Ioannou et al, 2015, 2016). This technique may help reduce the re-writing of narratives and reveal the presence of narrative themes of which the individual may not be aware. In studies of criminals' experience, where those themes may be less socially acceptable or where respondents may be less articulate, such techniques may prove particularly powerful. Previous studies using this methodology have shown that it does indeed reveal meaningful narrative patterns in the responses.

The experience of committing a violent act, is investigated in four studies:

4.3.1 Study 1: Emotions of Violent Offenders (Chapter 7)

Traditional emotion-research has focused on emotions in non-offending behaviour, while this study is focusing exclusively on criminal behaviours. The examination of criminal emotions during the offence indicates models of the range of emotions that was suggested by Russell's circumplex model (1997) suggesting two axes of pleasantness-unpleasantness and arousal-boredom that have been the main focus of research. Numerous previous studies (Canter & Ioannou, 2004; Ioannou, 2006; Spruin, 2012) have found that the circumplex model of emotions can be applied to the experience of crime in general, but not exclusively on violent crime and Greek perpetrators. In addition, a few studies have examined emotions, with emphasis given in anger, shame and revenge, as drivers of

violent crime but not in a systematic way as was discussed in Chapter 2. The objectives of Study 1 therefore are:

- 1) To examine if the overall framework of emotions that are experienced by violent offenders during a violent offence may be distinguished in relation to different emotional themes, such as elation, calm, distress and depression.
- 2) To determine whether Russell's circumplex model (1997) can be applied to violent offending emotional experience.

Taking into account previous research (Canter & Ioannou, 2004; Ioannou, 2006) it is hypothesised that the emotional experience of violent offending will be distinguished into different emotional themes and these will reflect Russell's Circumplex model (1997).

4.3.2 Study 2: Narrative Roles of Violent Offenders (Chapter 8)

A previous study by Canter, Kaouri and Ioannou (2003) was conducted in order to examine whether criminals could provide their own understanding regarding the roles they played during offence commission. The results indicated, that a structured questionnaire that was created by the initial interviews with the criminals and additionally explored Frye's (1957) narrative roles (romance, irony, tragedy and comedy) upon criminal behaviour, identified that narrative roles can be applied to offending experience. Additionally, Ioannou (2006) and Youngs and Canter (2011) suggested four narrative roles that were related to Frye's Theory of Mythoi; Hero, Professional, Revenger, Victim. These four narrative roles were applied to the criminal experience as a whole and not specifically to violent offending. There is although evidence from one previous study (Ioannou et al.) that for a subset of violent offenders, using a British sample, the same narrative roles are applied to those offenders as well. The objectives of Study 2 therefore are:

- 3) To examine if the overall framework of roles that are experienced by violent offenders, in Greece, during a violent offence may be distinguished in relation to separate narrative themes, such as hero, professional, revenger and victim; extending previous criminal narrative studies (Presser, 2004, 2009, 2010; Ioannou, 2006; Youngs & Canter, 2011, 2012).
- 4) To investigate the relationship of these narratives with Frey's (1957) archetypal stories.

Taking into account previous research (Ioannou, 2006; Ioannou et al, 2015; Youngs & Canter, 2011, 2012) it is hypothesised that the narrative roles acted out by violent offenders will be distinguished into different themes and these will relate to Frye's archetypal stories.

4.3.3 Study 3: The Criminal Narrative Experience of Violent Offenders (Chapter 9)

It has been found that emotions depend on the current role that a person has (Mancuso, 1985). In addition, Sarbin, (1995) indicated the importance of the relationship between the role of the actors and the emotional experience they have. Moreover, Presser's study (2009) on criminal narratives proposed that a narrative consists of cognitive interpretations, self-identities and emotions. Thus these roles signify the impact they have upon the emotional experience that underlies the individual's actions. Ioannou (2006) and Ioannou, Canter & Youngs (2016 in press) have identified a link between the emotions experienced and the narratives roles acted out while committing an offence (namely the Criminal Narrative Experience).

Even though there are several studies that have explored emotions and narrative roles perceived by the offender themselves individually, there is no research that has focused

exclusively on the criminal narrative experience of violent offending in a Greek sample.

The objective of Study 3 therefore is:

- 5) To investigate the relationship between the emotions and narrative roles experienced by violent offenders.

The narratives suggest particular ways in which the specific emotions that have been implicated in criminality (Katz, 1988) may combine. Hypotheses can therefore be generated about the emotional states that may be associated with different roles offenders act out during offending (Youngs and Canter, 2012). It is therefore expected that the structure of the emotions experienced and narrative roles acted out by criminals when committing their crimes would form four distinct Criminal Narrative Experience themes.

The Hero seeks pleasures, is optimistic and the recurrent emotions that he experiences are positive. It is therefore expected that the emotion associated with this role is one of elation.

The Professional role is one of calm, expertise and competency. The Professional is a master of the environment. It is therefore expected that the emotion associated with this role is one of calm.

The Revenger sees himself as strong and powerful. He is generally pessimistic; distress and blame feature strongly in this role. It is therefore expected that the emotion associated with this role is one of distress.

The Victim attributes responsibility to others. He sees the offence as a consequence of external factors and he is in a negative emotional state, confused and helpless. Interpreting the crime as a result of him being confused and helpless. It is therefore expected that the emotion associated with this role is one of depression.

4.3.4 Study 4: The Correlates of the Criminal Narrative Experience of Violent Offenders (Chapter 10)

McCarthy (1995) argued that Katz (1988) focused exclusively on the sensual experience of crime, while there are several other factors, such as the family background, criminal background of the offender and so on that needs to be taken into account. Previous study (Ioannou, 2006) has shown the importance of the background (general, social and criminal) of the offenders in relation to the different Criminal Narrative Experience themes. The objectives of Study 4 are:

- 6) To examine the relationship between the Criminal Narrative Experience (Emotions and Narrative Roles) and the general and social backgrounds of violent offenders.
- 7) To examine the relationship between the Criminal Narrative Experience (Emotions and Narrative Roles) and the criminal backgrounds of violent offenders.
- 8) To examine the relationship between the Criminal Narrative Experience (Emotions and Narrative Roles) and the personality of violent offenders.

Hypotheses were not generated as, to the author's knowledge, this is the first study to explore the relationship between the Criminal Narrative Experience and the general, social, criminal background as well as personality of violent offenders.

PART 2

METHODOLOGY AND RESULTS

CHAPTER 5

METHODOLOGY

5.1. Participants/Sample

A total of 50 violent offenders from the North of Greece participated in the study. The male participants in the study were 41 (82% of the sample) and the female participants were 9 (18% of the sample) with an age range of 18-63 ($M=30$, $SD=7.51$). They had committed a wide variety of violent offences including robbery, gang fights and grievous bodily harm (GBH).

5.2. Measures

A questionnaire was used in this study and participants replied to 289 questions. The questionnaire consisted of five sections. They are:

5.2.1. Description of Crime

There was a listing of seven main questions integrating events leading up to a violent offence. The first one was a narrative concerning the violent offence that the participant has committed including detailed information of what happened, who else was involved and what impact it had on his/her life. It is important to mention that participants were told

to exclude murder and rape. The next two main questions asked information about what happened before and during the violent incident. In the next part, participants were asked to write about the alternatives of the crime; i.e. “What else could you have done that you didn’t? If so why?”.

The final part indicated what they did to evade getting caught, what they did after the crime and so on. The purpose of the description of the crime part of the questionnaire was for the participants to recall in detail the offence that they were going to be asked about afterwards as they would have to illustrate how they felt and the narratives roles they saw themselves playing while they were committing it. This was an opportunity to make stronger their memories, since they were trying to recall describe and narrate it in detail, the memories would be stronger. The reason that they were not simply asked to recall the crime freely rather than answer structured questions was to ensure there was uniformity across conditions i.e. all offenders were asked the same.

5.2.2. Emotions questionnaire

This questionnaire consisted of twenty-six emotional statements, representing emotions selected to cover the full gamut of Russell’s (1997) ‘circumplex of emotions’ model. Previous studies (Oldale, 1997; Cross, 1998; Murray, 1998; Ioannou, 2001; Canter & Ioannou, 2004; Ioannou, 2006; Spruin, 2012) have shown that there is a link between the offenders’ emotions and their crime descriptions that they could clearly remember. Canter and Ioannou (2004) were the first who initially constructed the questionnaire via the full gamut of Russell’s (1997) circumplex of emotions, by using the emotional experience of eighty three convicted offenders during their index offence.

Each item is scored on a five-point Likert-type scale (not at all = 1, just a little = 2, some = 3, a lot = 4, very much = 5). It is significant to mention that such a scale is

undoubtedly deeper than a simple yes/no format. Thus, participants answered 26 questions for the crime that they have just talked about and how they felt (i.e. lonely, scared, worried, depressed, enthusiastic etc).

5.2.3. Narrative roles questionnaire

Presser (2010), has emphasised the absence of a systemic method of bringing together and examining the narratives of criminals. During the late 1990's Canter and his students first conducted several pilot studies that investigated offending experience based on the role the offenders see themselves acting out during their crimes. From these studies a number of statements provided by the offenders were transformed into questionnaire items. The earliest version of the NRQ (Canter, Kaouri & Ioannou, 2003) had only 20 items and it was scored with a five-point Likert scale (from strongly disagree to strongly agree) as a measure of dominant narrative roles. However, the NRQ was revised later (Ioannou, 2006; Youngs & Canter, 2012) by adding 13 questionnaire statements and by changing the measurement scale ("Not at all" to "Very much indeed" with the midpoint being "Some").

The role of the victim includes emotional responses, such as "confused", "being the victim", "I was helpless" etc. The role of the professional consists of routine-based responses such as "I was doing a job", "It was routine" etc. The role of the hero is characterised by responses such as "being manly", "looking for recognition etc". And finally, the role of the revenger includes statements such as "I was trying to get revenge", "I couldn't stop myself" etc. A total of thirty-three statements comprised this section of the questionnaire.

5.2.4. The D60 Self-Report Offending Questionnaire

This questionnaire was developed by Youngs (2001) based on several studies (Nye & Short, 1957; Shapland, 1978; Elliot & Ageton, 1980; Hindelang, Hirschi & Weis, 1981; Furnham & Thompson, 1991) and it consists of 60 statements that portray criminal and illegal actions using a five-point Likert-type scale (1=Never, 2=Once or Twice, 3=A few times – less than 10, 4=Quite Often – between 10 and 50 times, 5=Very often – more than 50 times). At this point, it is important to mention that such responses from the offenders would overcome ambiguity (Youngs, 2001). There is a great variety of those behaviours that represent a large variety of criminal actions such as theft, vandalism, drugs, robberies and violence. The questionnaire's items provide great detail concerning the above types of crimes. For instance, there were several types of violent incidents, illustrated in the questionnaire, such as "Beat up someone who did something to one of your mates?" "Beat someone up so badly they probably needed a doctor", ".Had to take part in a fight your mates were having with another group of kids even though you didn't want to?" and "Got a bit violent with your family at home?".

5.2.5. The HEXACO personality inventory

Furr (2009) discusses the link between the aetiology of a behaviour and personality and indicates that personality can influence behaviour in specific circumstances. In addition, it is documented that narratives are associated with issues that are considered within the realms of personality (Canter & Youngs, 2012). Thus it is essential to investigate the relationship of personality to the criminal narrative experience of violent offenders.

In order to examine personality, the present study used a short personality inventory that assesses the 6 dimensions of the HEXACO model of personality structure. Ten items of each of the 6 scales from the longer HEXACO personality inventory-revised (Lee & Ashton, 2004, 2006; Ashton & Lee, 2008) were selected, with the aim of

representing the broad range of content that defines each dimension. The HEXACO model of personality combines facets of honesty and humility with those of emotionality, extraversion, conscientiousness, agreeableness, and openness to experience within a unifying framework of personality. Each factor is composed of traits with characteristics indicating high and low levels of the factor. The questionnaire comprised of sixty statements using a five point Likert scale from strongly disagree (1) to strongly agree (2).

The HEXACO offers a number of developments in personality research that are relevant to criminal behaviour. Offenders, are shown to experience more intense negative emotions of anger and irritability that are better covered by HEXACO. In addition, indirect evidence proposes that the sixth dimension included in HEXACO, honesty/humility, may be important aspects of offending personality (Rolison, Hanoch, Gummerum, 2013). Moreover, emotion processing, relates more closely to the emotionality dimension of the HEXACO than other personality measures. Studies (Pailing, Boon & Egan, 2013; Rolinson, Hanoch & Gummerum, 2013) have shown that the HEXACO questionnaire can be used efficiently amongst offenders compared to other personality instruments, such as the big five personality questionnaire. In addition, Pailing, Boon and Egan (2013) indicated that antisocial behaviour and aggression can be productively explained through this personality tool. For the above reasons, the HEXACO was deemed the best possible tool to use in the current study.

5.2.6. Demographics questionnaire

This questionnaire consisted of information about the personal background, family background and criminal history. The questions about personal background included age, ethnicity, level of education, vocational and other qualifications and information about siblings. Family background included questions about parents' occupation and family

criminality. Questions referring to offender's criminal history included the offenders' age at the time of the first conviction, number of convictions, types of convictions and so on.

The full questionnaire can be found in Appendix II.

5.3 Procedure

Due to the complexity of the study this section is split into three subsections relating to access to offenders, actual procedure and the translation of the questionnaire.

5.3.1 Access to violent offenders

All data used in the present study were collected in a lawyer's office in the Northern part of Greece. The researcher was asked by the lawyer not to reveal his name for ethical reasons. The lawyer, who is an acquaintance of the researcher, contacted individually other lawyers and asked them whether their clients want to participate in a research that is conducted by a PhD student from the University of Huddersfield. It is important to mention that all participants were asked to participate voluntarily and anonymously with strict confidentiality. All the participants were clients from other lawyers who were willing to help the researcher for his current research. These Greek participants were involved in acts of individual and collective violence and they were accused by the Greek court to be a part of a criminal organisation, accused of collective group violence. Moreover, those who participated in this study were members of either football/hooligan and/or extreme political groups (extreme right wing). At this point, it is important to mention that the name of football teams and political parties will not be named due to confidentiality and security reasons. It was clearly stated, from the beginning, that the whole project would never make known the identity of such groups.

The cooperation between the researcher and the lawyers regarding the access to the Greek offenders were initially obtained by informal conversations during which the researcher explained the nature and purpose of the research. The researcher then was asked to present a paper explaining the procedures for data collection including a copy of the questionnaire, the duration of the participation and ethical considerations (including confidentiality). Permission was approved after the primary lawyer and the researcher agreed to the condition that there would be no access to the questionnaires by the police or any other related authorities. A lawyer (who is related to the researcher) was present for reasons of security and confidentiality.

The gathering of the data was conducted over a period of 15 months, since it was difficult to conduct a meeting with participants and find those who were willing to participate. Most of the participants were highly suspicious and distrustful regarding the whole process, as the representation of the questionnaire reminded them of a police-based questioning. The researcher had to explain that this was part of a study, no names or groups would be identified in any published work and those who agreed took part in the study.

5.3.2 Procedure

Greek violent participants ($N = 50$) in the north of Greece were given interview-based questionnaires to fill in. All individuals, agreed to participate with no reward. Each participant took approximately one hour to fill in the questionnaire. Anonymity and confidentiality was guaranteed by giving the participants to sign an inform consent explaining that the data will be used only for a thesis.

Participants who agreed to participate in this study were invited to fill in the questionnaires at the lawyer's office (acquaintance of the researcher) in Thessaloniki,

Greece. Inside the lawyer's office, the questionnaires were distributed to each participant together with the information sheet and the informed consent. The lawyer assisted the researcher, as he was responsible for asking the participants to volunteer to participate in the research, making them to understand that it was a PhD thesis. All the participants who agreed to participate were brought to see the researcher.

It was also called in attention that their responses were entirely confidential to the researcher and the only other individuals that will have access to the data obtained from the questionnaires will be qualified academic and research associates and the International Research Center for Investigative Psychology (IRCIP) and would not be made available to the law enforcement agencies. It was clarified to them that their responses could not play any role in any legal proceedings that they might be involved. On the other hand, it was indicated that if they mention any severe crimes, such as sex offences or murders, of which the police was not aware of or an intention to commit a serious offence then the researcher would be lawfully bound to report that to a law enforcement agency; this was clearly stated in the questionnaire; that they should mention a violent incident that they were involved except murder or rape as previous research has shown that emotions and associated roles for these types of offences are distinct from more 'traditional' violent offenses (Ioannou, 2006).

5.3.3 Greek Translation

All of the above questionnaires were translated by both the researcher and supervisor from English to Greek, as there are no Greek versions of the questionnaires. In order to test the accuracy of the translation, both translations (researcher vs supervisor) were compared. Moreover, a pilot study with a Greek sample of family and friends (N=12) was carried out in order to test the interpretation of the items and how long it would take to complete in

order to inform the participants. The questionnaire took about an hour to complete and no revisions were required to it.

5.4 Analysis

Data generated from the questionnaire responses were analysed using SSA – I (Lingoes, 1973). Smallest Space Analysis is a non-metric multidimensional scaling procedure based upon the assumption that the underlying structure, or system of behaviour, will most readily be appreciated if the relationship between every variable and every other variable is examined.

Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) represents the co-occurrence of variables as distances in a geometrical space. The SSA program computes association coefficients between all variables. It is these coefficients that are used to form a spatial representation of items with points representing variables. The closer any two points are to each other on the spatial configuration, the higher their associations with each other. Similarly, the farther away from each other any two points are, the lower their association with each other. In the present study Pearson's correlation was the measure of association used as the most appropriate with this kind of data (Likert scale).

A number of studies from intelligence (Guttman, 1954) to criminal actions (e.g., Canter & Fritzon, 1998; Canter & Heritage, 1989; Salfati, 2000) have found such MDS models to be productive. The particular power of SSA-I comes from its representation of the rank order of co-occurrence as rank orders of the distances in the geometric space (the use of ranks leads to it being considered non-metric MDS).

To test hypotheses, an SSA configuration is visually examined to determine the patterns of relationships between variables and identify thematic structures. For example, narrative roles and emotions with similar underlying themes are hypothesised to be more

likely to co-occur than those that imply different themes. These similarly themed roles and emotions are therefore hypothesised to be found in contiguous locations, i.e. the same region of the plot. The hypothesis can therefore be tested by visually examining the SSA configuration. The coefficient of alienation (Borg & Lingoes, 1987) indicates how well the spatial representation fits the co-occurrences represented in the matrix. The smaller the coefficient of alienation is the better the fit, i.e. the fit of the plot to the original matrix. Guttman (1968) indicates that a perfect fit would be zero, while in practice coefficient alienation between 0.15 and 0.20 would be regarded as a good fit. However, as Borg & Lingoes (1987) emphasise there is no simple answer to the question of how “good” or “bad” the fit is. This will depend upon a combination of the number of variables, the amount of error in the data and the logical strength of the interpretation framework.

Shye (1978) proposed that the SSA procedure is correlated with the Facet Theory Approach, which searches for variable groups that represent different facets. Hence, we can test a hypothesis based on the regional illustrations of the SSA matrix. Hence, the Facet Theory Approach and the SSA statistical process provide an additional way of investigating correlations amongst variables by showing them in a geometrical visual plot.

Despite the fact that there are several facets in common amongst factor analysis and Smallest Space analysis, there are numerous dissimilarities amongst them. One of the most significant dissimilarities is how the structure is characterised in a correlation matrix. As said by Donald (1985), factor analysis is unsuccessful in revealing the qualitative aspect of the inter-associations flanked by variables. On the other hand, SSA mainly decodes the matches in the correlation matrix into distances in the geometrical visual plot. Moreover, Guttman (1968) indicates that a Smallest Space Analysis functions on the rank order of the associations amongst variables and not on their fixed values and therefore an SSA is capable to generate an illustration in the smallest dimensionality or a representation

in the real world; Canter and Heritage (1989) indicated, that this arrangement may be investigated directly.

SSA was the preferred methods of analysis here, as it was utilised in all previous studies (Canter & Ioannou, 2004; Canter, Kaouri & Ioannou, 2003; Ioannou, 2006; Ioannou et al, 2015; Ioannou et al, (2016); Spruin, 2012; Youngs & Canter, 2011) that examined emotions, narrative roles and the Criminal Narrative Experience. In order to make comparisons the same method of analysis needed to be utilised.

5.5 Ethical considerations

The study sought and gained ethical approval by the School Research Ethics Panel (SREP), School of Human and Health Sciences, University of Huddersfield. Due to the nature of the study ethical considerations, especially in relation to self-incrimination were taken into account. Participants were informed that the researcher does not want to know about any details that would incriminate them and that the whole process will be totally anonymous (the researcher did not know the names of the participants). Admission of a crime would only require reporting if there were enough details (i.e. information about date, location and any victims) to allow an investigation to be pursued. Answering a multiple choice questionnaire in which the respondent is anonymous would never be the basis of a police enquiry and certainly not of a court case.

CHAPTER 6

DESCRIPTIVE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

6.1 Sample Description

In order to become familiar with the sample, before displaying the results of the analyses, the descriptive characteristics of the sample are provided below. Most of the sample is white Greek males, young and educated. It is very important to mention that half of the sample studied at a university. Regarding the socio-economic status, most of the participants come from a middle-class family (based on their parent's working occupation). The sample of the present research is very unique and this is illustrated in more detail below.

6.2 Personal Background

6.2.1 Age

The sample of this study consisted of 50 participants. There were 41 males (82%) and 9 females (18%), aged 18-63. The mean age of the sample was 30.06 (SD=7.51), with a median age of 28. It is very important to mention that most of the sample were aged between 25-35 (76% of the whole sample population).

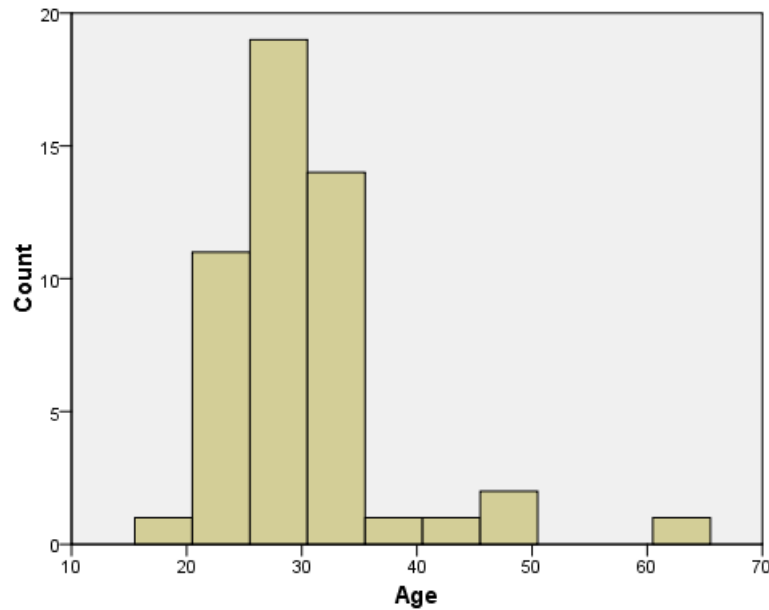


Figure 6.2.1.1 *Age distribution of the offenders*

6.2.2 Ethnicity

In terms of ethnicity 98% of the violent offenders were white and 2% Tuareg (North African). Thus, the study's sample is unique, as it is the first time that such research is conducted with such a Greek homogenous offender sample.

6.2.3 Education

Table 6.2.3.1 shows the educational qualifications of the offenders. It can be seen that most of the participants (96% of the sample) have finished high school (a standard educational qualification in Greece) and 50% have a university degree. Again, the current sample is different regarding the educational level of the participants compared to previous studies (i.e. Ioannou, 2006).

6.2.4. Military Training

It is important to indicate that 40% of the population had military training, while 22% of the sample had been in the Special Forces of Greece.

6.3 Family Background

6.3.1 General Characteristics

Table 6.3.1.1 below indicates that more than half of the sample lived with both parents during their childhood (56%). Four percent of the sample reported living with only one parent as a child.

Table 6.3.1.1: *Where Offenders Lived as Children*

Living with	N (% of sample)
Mum and Dad	28 (56)
One parent	2 (4)
Mum and Step-dad	2 (4)
Dad and Step-mum	1 (2)
Other	3 (6)

Most of the participants (72%) had siblings and 58% had brothers and sisters living with them. Six percent of this sample was living with three or more siblings as children.

6.3.2. Family criminality

Concerning family criminality only 8% of the offenders' parents and 6% of their siblings had criminal convictions. This indicates that there might be no correlation between their criminal family background and the participant's offending behaviour.

6.3.3 Socio-economic Status

Social Class Based on Occupation (1991) was assessed in this study in order to examine the social class status of the participants, based on their parent's occupation. There are six categories, a) Professional, b) Managerial and Technical, c) Skilled-non manual, and e) unskilled.

Forty percent of participants' fathers and 32% of participants' mothers are classed above the category c) "Skilled non-manual". In addition, 18% of participants' fathers and 38% of participants' mothers were not employed (Tables 6.3.3.1 and 6.3.3.2).

Table 6.3.3.1: *Socio-economic Status on Basis of Father Occupation*

Occupational Category	Percentage of Sample
(i)Professional	34
(ii)Managerial and Technical	4
(iii)Skilled non-manual	2
(iv)Skilled manual	2
(v)Partly skilled	8
(vi)Unskilled	10
Unemployed-never employed	18
Participant did not mention	22

Table 6.3.3.2: *Socio-economic Status on Basis of Mother Occupation*

Occupational Category	Percentage of Sample
(i)Professional	22
(ii)Managerial and Technical	8
(iii)Skilled non-manual	2
(iv)Skilled manual	0
(v)Partly skilled	0
(vi)Unskilled	0
Unemployed-never employed	30
Offender did not mention	38

6.4. Criminal Background

6.4.1 First Warning

Few of the study's population sample had been convicted, though many of the offenders had problems with the law. The mean age at first official warning by the police was 15.4 ($SD=2.409$), the median age was 15 and the modal age was 11. Figure 6.4.1.1 displays the age distribution at first warning. It is significant to mention that 36% of the sample had never been given an official warning by the police.

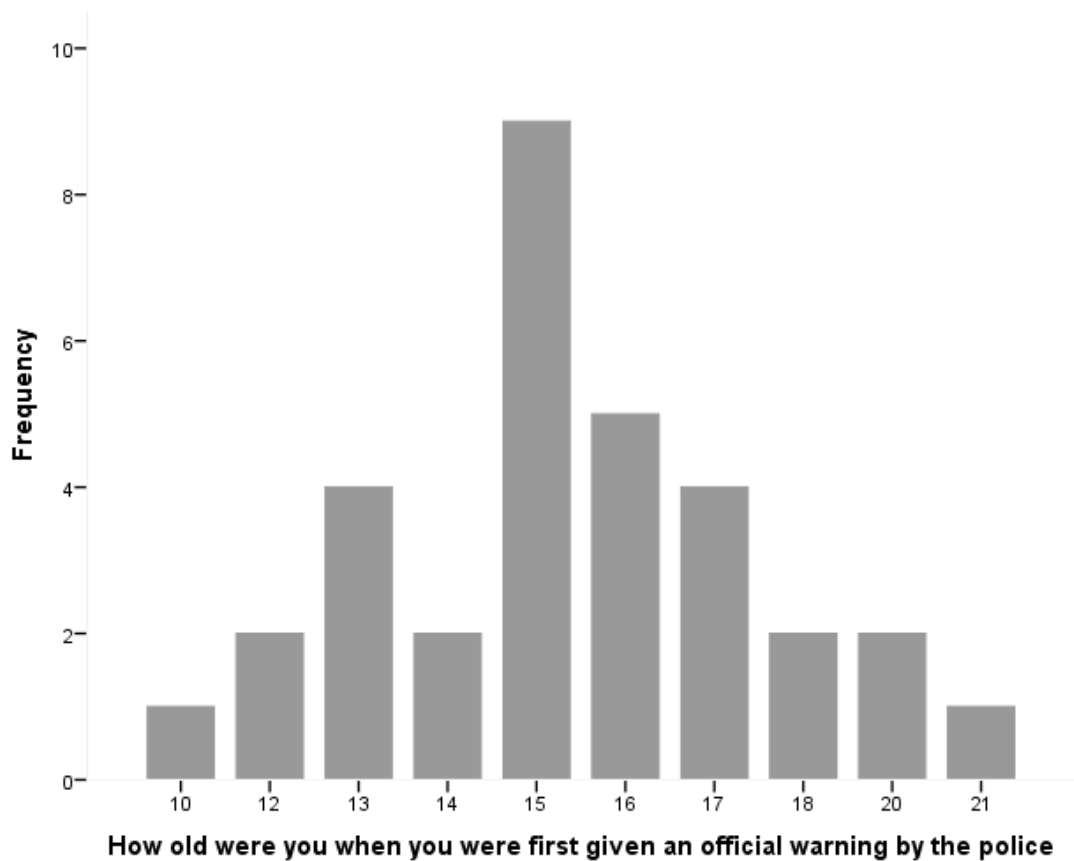


Figure 6.4.1.1: *Age of Sample at First Official Warning*

6.4.2 First Conviction

The first conviction mean was higher than the first warning mean. Specifically speaking the age of first found guilty on a court had a mean of 19.6 ($SD=3.961$), a median of 19 and a modal age of 14.

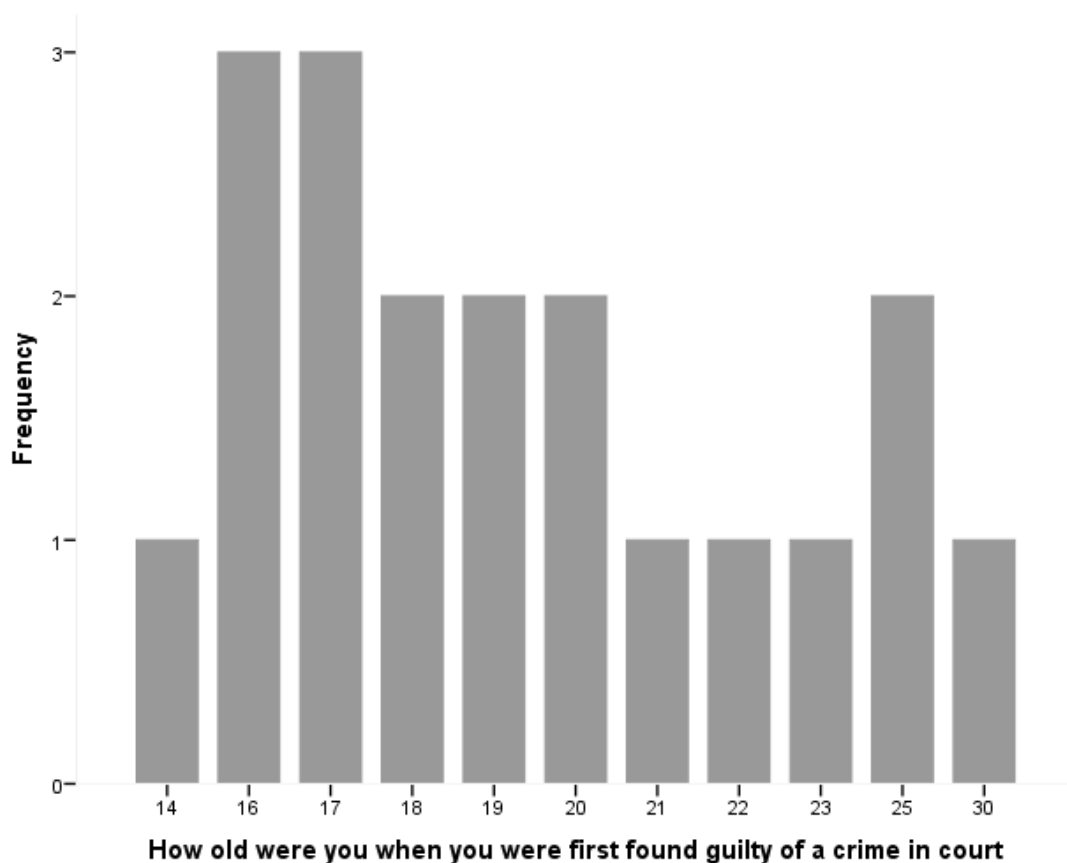


Figure 6.4.2.1: *Age of Sample at First Conviction*

6.4.3. Number of convictions

Only 14 (28%) had criminal convictions, while the majority (72%) had never been convicted. And only two individuals (4%) had been in prison before and eight (16%) on probation.

Table 6.4.3.1: Number of Convictions

No of convictions	N (% of sample)
1	6 (12)
2	4 (8)
4	2 (4)
5	1 (2)
15	1 (2)
No convictions	36 (72)

6.4.4. Types of convictions

In the types of convictions only 12 offenders provided a response from the 14 in total who admitted a conviction (two individuals did not respond to that question).

Table 6.4.4.1: Types of Convictions Reported by Offenders

	N (% of sample)
Violence	5 (10)
Property offences	3 (6)
Driving Offence	2 (4)
Drug offences	1 (2)
Robbery	1 (2)

6.4.5. Self-reported criminal activity (D60)

The criminal activity reported by the sample is illustrated in Table 6.4.5.1, which displays the frequency of involvement in each of the 60 criminal activities. The table indicates that the sample was involved in a high level of offending behaviour, especially violent behaviour. The highest proportion of the population's criminal activity included "Beat up someone who did something to one of your mates?" (reported by 94% of the sample), "Had to take part in a fight your mates were having with another group of kids even though you didn't want to?" (reported by the 86% of the sample), "Sprayed graffiti on a building or public wall?" (reported by the 84% of the sample), "Beat someone up so badly

they probably needed a doctor?” (reported by the 82% of the sample), “Been involved in gang fights?” (reported by the 80% of the sample), “Acted as ‘watch’ or ‘lookout’?” (reported by the 80% of the sample), “Bought pirate videos or CDs to keep for yourself?” (reported by the 80% of the sample), “Parked in a disabled space?” (reported by the 80% of the sample), “Prepared an escape route before you carried out a crime?” (reported by the 78% of the sample), “Taken care not to leave evidence (like fingerprints) after carrying out a crime?” (reported by the 78% of the sample), “Got a bit violent with your family at home?” (reported by the 78% of the sample), “.Got others to act as ‘watch’ or ‘lookout’?” (reported by the 76% of the sample), “Bought something you knew had been stolen?” (reported by the 70% of the sample) and “Carried a gun in case you needed it” (reported by the 68% of the sample).

The above frequencies indicate that the majority of the sample population is involved in violent behaviour acts, which supports their violent identity as they were members of either football/hooligan and/or extreme political groups (see 5.3.1). Still, it is questionable that most of the offenders (72%) have never been convicted and it illustrates the fact that they had committed crimes undetected by the police.

On the other hand, the lowest proportion of the population’s criminal activity included “Made new credit cards with stolen card numbers?” (reported by the 4% of the sample), “Used a firearm” (reported by the 6% of the sample), “Done a burglary on the house of someone you knew?” (reported by the 8% of the sample), “Sexually harass without their permission?” (reported by the 8% of the sample), “Done a burglary on the house of someone you knew?” (reported by the 8% of the sample), “Pretended that you had lost stuff to the insurance company?” (reported by the 14%), “Sold heroin?” (reported by the 14%), “Taken heroin?” (reported by the 18% of the sample), “Made a shop assistant give you money from the till?” (reported by the 18% of the sample), “Nicked the purse of

someone you knew?” (reported by the 18% of the sample), “Set fire to a building when people were still in there?” (reported by the 20% of the sample) and “Actually shot at someone with a gun?” (reported by the 20% of the sample). Hence the above results indicate that the sample is less involved in drug-related crimes and offences against people they knew.

Table 6.4.5.1: Percentage of Sample Reporting Involvement in D60

Full Question	NO	YES	Full Question	NO	YES
1.Broken into a house, shop or school and taken money or something else you wanted?	50	50	20.Acted as ‘watch’ or ‘lookout’?	20	80
2.Broken into a locked car to get something from it?	70	30	21.Taken special tools with you to help you carry out a crime?	34	66
3.Threaten to beat someone up if they didn’t give you money or something else you wanted?	36	64	22. Sexually harass without their permission?	92	8
4. Actually shot at someone with a gun?	80	20	23.Stolen a car to ring it?	68	32
5.Pulled a knife, gun or some other weapon on someone just to let them know you meant business?	36	64	24.Nicked a car to go for a ride in it and then abandoned it?	78	22
6.Beat someone up so badly they probably needed a doctor?	18	82	25.Stolen things you didn’t really want from a shop just for the excitement of doing it?	48	52
7.Taken heroin?	82	18	26.Nicked things from a shop and then sold them on?	70	30
8.Broken the windows of an empty house or other unoccupied building?	26	74	27.Carried a gun in case you needed it	32	68
9.Bought something you knew had been stolen?	30	70	28.Stolen something to eat because you were so hungry?	64	36
10.Intentionally started a building on fire?	46	54	29.Made a shop assistant give you money from the till?	82	18
11. Been involved in gang fights?	20	80	30.Helped your mates smash up somewhere or something even though you really didn’t want to?	56	44
12.Taken things of large value (worth more than £100) from a shop without paying for them?	56	44	31.Beat up someone who did something to one of your mates?	6	94

13.Taken Ecstasy (Es)?	56	44	32.Nicked stuff you didn't want just because all your mates were doing it?	54	46
14.Broken into a house, shop, school or other building to break things up or cause other damage?	34	66	33.Done a burglary in a place that you knew would be hard to get into?	64	36
15.Sniffed glue or other solvents (e.g. tippex thinner)?	56	44	34.Stolen stuff from a shop that had a lot of security?	64	36
16.Used or carried a gun to help you commit a crime?	32	68	35.Had to take part in a fight your mates were having with another group of kids even though you didn't want to?	14	86
17.Prepared an escape route before you carried out a crime?	22	78	36.Taken drugs you didn't want because everyone else there was having them?	78	22
18.Taken care not to leave evidence (like fingerprints) after carrying out a crime?	22	78	37.Nicked a badge or something from an expensive car (like a BMW) to keep for yourself?	50	50
19.Got others to act as 'watch' or 'lookout'?	24	76	38.Pretended your giro had been nicked because you needed a bit more money?	84	16
39.Actually used a knife to hurt someone?	42	58	50.Parked in a disabled space?	20	80
40.Bought pirate videos or CDs to sell on?	76	24	51Got a bit violent with your family at home?	22	78
41.Bought pirate videos or CDs to keep for yourself?	20	80	52.Pretended that you had lost stuff to the insurance company?	86	14
42. Sold heroin?	86	14	53.Drawn benefit when you were working?	74	26
43.Sprayed graffiti on a building or public wall?	16	84	54.Gone to a sauna or massage place to get sex?	53	47
44.Done a burglary on a really big, posh house?	78	22	55.Nicked the purse of someone you knew?	82	18
45.Broken into a warehouse and stolen goods worth more than £1000?	78	22	56.Done a burglary on the house of someone you knew?	92	8
46.Smashed the glass of a bus shelter or phone box?	42	58	57.Sold marijuana (pot/grass)?	48	52
47.Set fire to a bin?	40	60	58.Threatened someone you knew with a knife?	52	48
48.Set fire to a car even though you didn't know whose it was?	74	26	59.Set fire to a building when people were still in there?	80	20
49.Used firearm?	94	6	60.Made new credit cards with stolen card numbers?	96	4

CHAPTER 7

STUDY 1: EMOTIONS OF VIOLENT OFFENDERS

The following chapter presents study 1 which investigates the emotions a violent offender experiences during the commission of his/her crime. The objectives of study 1 were:

- 1) To examine if the overall framework of emotions that experienced by violent offenders during a violent offence may be distinguished in relation to different emotional themes, such as elation, calm, distress and depression.
- 2) To determine whether the circumplex model of Russell (1997) can be applied to violent offending emotional experience.

7.1. Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) of Emotions

To test the above objectives the MDS process of Smallest Space Analysis (SSA-I) was employed as it has been proven to be the most efficient method of analysis in order to reveal the emotional experience of offending in previous studies (see Canter & Ioannou, 2004; Ioannou, 2006). Likewise, in this study SSA is used with the twenty-six emotional statements, representing emotions selected to cover the full gamut of Russell's (1997) "circumplex of emotions" model.

The 2-dimensional SSA solution has a Guttman – Lingoes coefficient of alienation 0.15891, showing an exceptionally good fit between the Pearson's coefficients of the emotion variables and their corresponding geometric distances in the configuration. The

two-dimensional solution was adopted as it was found to have a very satisfactory coefficient of alienation and was considered to describe the pattern of relationships better than the three-dimensional solution. Figure 7.1.1 shows the projection of vector 1 by vector 2 of the two dimensional space. The labels are brief summaries of the full questions. For ease of interpretation these are presented in table 7.1.1.

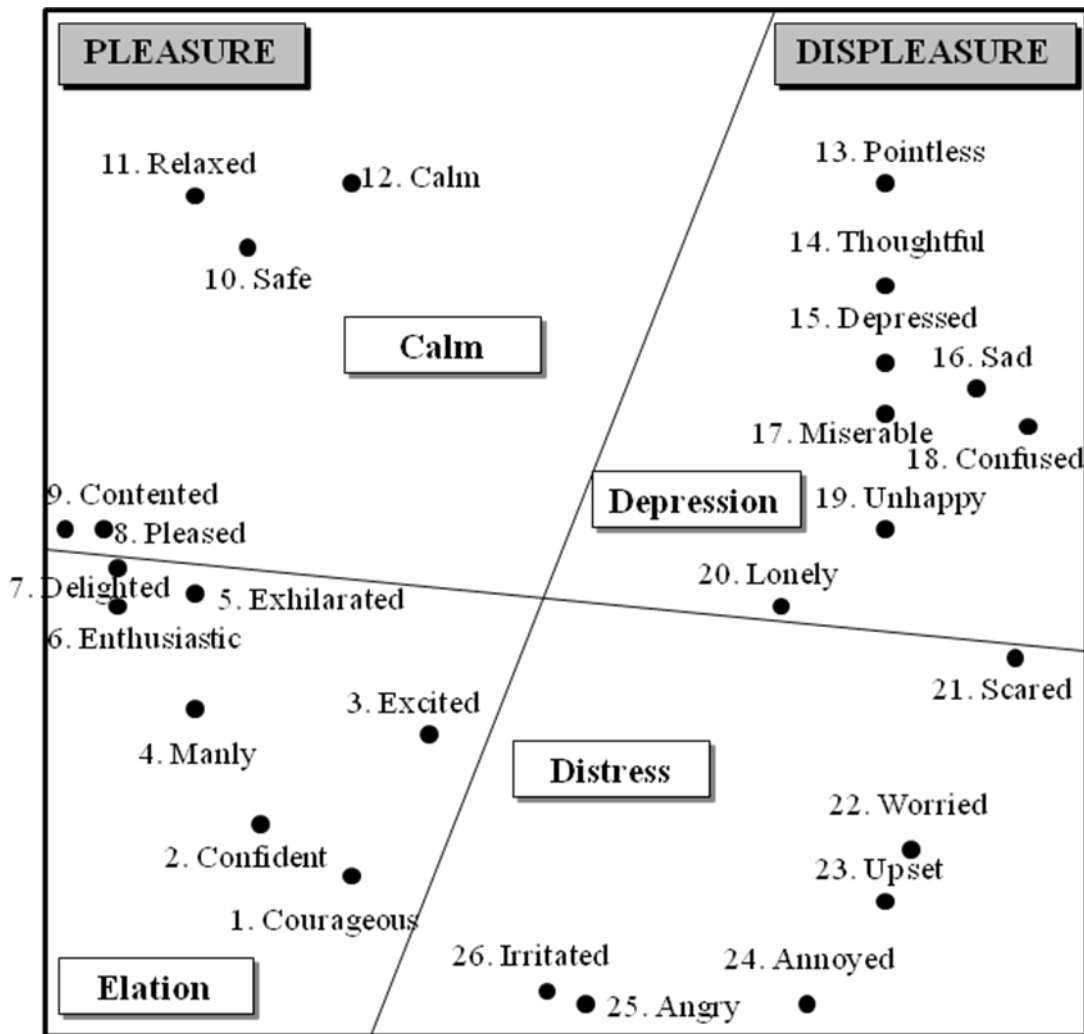


Figure 7.1.1: 1 by 2 Projection of the Two-Dimensional Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) of Emotions with Regional Interpretation
Coefficient of Alienation = 0.15891

Table 7.1.1: *The Emotions and Analysis Labels*

Quest. Number	Full Question	Analysis label
1	I felt manly	manly
2	I felt courageous	courageous
3	I felt enthusiastic	enthusiastic
4	I felt pleased	pleased
5	I felt excited	excited
6	I felt delighted	delighted
7	I felt exhilarated	exhilarated
8	I felt safe	safe
9	I felt contented	contented
10	I felt relaxed	relaxed
11	I felt confident	confident
12	I felt calm	calm
13	I felt thoughtful	thoughtful
14	I felt confused	confused
15	I felt pointless	pointless
16	I felt unhappy	unhappy
17	I felt lonely	lonely
18	I felt miserable	miserable
19	I felt sad	sad
20	I felt depressed	depressed
21	I felt scared	scared
22	I felt annoyed	annoyed
23	I felt upset	upset
24	I felt angry	angry
25	I felt irritated	irritated
26	I felt worried	worried

7.2. Themes of Emotions of Violent Offending

The first objective of study 1 was to examine if the overall framework of emotions that experienced by violent offenders during a violent offence may be distinguished in relation to different emotional themes, such as elation, calm, distress and depression.

In order to understand the SSA, the investigator needs to test the hypothesised formation of the emotional experience regarding violent offending. It is hypothesised that commonly themed items will be found in the same area of the geometrical plot. This method was used in order to investigate the thematic structure and classify whether or not the “emotion-items” can shape different themes. Primary investigation of the points indicated four different emotion themes (Figure 7.1.1). Furthermore, the grouping items were investigated in order to see whether or not they are classified by a similar theme. For instance, the emotions that are present at the upper left quadrant are “relaxed”, “calm”, “safe”, “contented” and “pleased” that indicate calm and that is how this region was classified. It is important to say that the correlation amongst the items and themes can be spherical; signifying that the interpretation of the variables creates the foundation for the classification of the themes and this theme-classification influences the interpretation of the variables. Obviously, the consequential SSA plot might have been entirely diverse. The emotion-items might all be grouped closely and that could propose that the emotion-items would not be separated and that each item was equally possible to co-exist with all other items or a dissimilar pattern would come out that could alter the interpretation of the them. Bellow, the four emotion-themes are presented based on the grouping of the emotion-variables. Case studies are used to illustrate the themes.

Calm

The upper left quadrant of the plot indicates the emotions of calmness. The five emotions in this area are:

- Relaxed
- Calm
- Safe
- Contented
- Pleased

Case 4:

The offender described a violent incident where he took an iron-fist and attacked three persons from a rival political group. He was facing the rival group and in a few seconds he was brutally beating the other person, together with his friends. He reported that he just left as nothing happened, totally calm, safe and pleased.

Case 6:

The offender described a violent incident between him and a rival neighbourhood gang. He reported that it was a settled appointment in order to show who is more powerful in the area. He was calmly narrating his story, where he indicated the fact that he was stabbing or hitting anyone who was in his way. Afterwards, the offender returned to his house by throwing his “weapons” in the garbage can and he watched TV with his friends.

Elation

The bottom left quadrant of the plot indicates the emotions of elation. The seven emotions in this area are:

- Delighted
- Exhilarated
- Enthusiastic
- Excited
- Manly
- Confident
- Courageous

Case 18:

The offender was involved in a fight outside of a musical show. He was with his girlfriend, when he encountered someone who had some personal problems. He was punching and kicking the victim on his face several times and he reported that he was showing his manliness in front of his girlfriend, while he was delighted that he won the fight. He reported that after the violent incident he returned to his house and had a sexual intercourse with his girlfriend.

Case 22:

The offender was involved in a fight with one of his colleagues because he felt insulted. He reported that it was the right thing to do and that this violent incident was some sort of punishment. He reported that he felt superior and that he had a feeling of exhilaration when the victim was on the ground.

Depression

The upper right quadrant of the plot indicates the emotions of depression. The eight emotions in this area are:

- Pointless
- Thoughtful
- Depressed
- Sad
- Miserable
- Confused
- Unhappy
- Lonely

Case 13:

The offender was involved in a violent incident when two other people accidentally spilled her drink. Then she reported that she was waiting for the right moment and thus when the victim went to the bathroom, the offender grabbed the victim's hair and smacked the victim's head on the wall by asking her to say "sorry". The offender reported that she was sad and confused when she returned to her house, because as she said "it was not a big deal".

Case 43:

The offender had an argument at a bus station and after her argument she hit the face of the victim on the station wall. She indicated the fact that she obfuscated and she was trying to make the victim suffer. After the violent incident the offender reported that she was crying a lot and she was extremely unhappy regarding her impulsive behaviour.

Distress

The bottom right quadrant of the plot indicates the emotions of distress. The seven emotions in this area are:

- Scared
- Worried
- Upset
- Annoyed
- Irritated
- Angry

Case 39:

The offender was involved in a neighbourhood gang fight in order to show the strength of his gang. He was equipped with a baseball bat and he was hitting the rival gang members with fury. The perpetrator reported that he was annoyed and irritated because he felt that this neighbourhood belongs to him and his team.

Case 41:

The offender was involved in a violent incident against members of the Greek Police. He was extremely irritated because the police force was using tear gas against him and his political group. He was throwing rocks towards the police and he even used a wooden stick pole against a police officer. He justified his behaviour, as he was totally irritated and annoyed by the behaviour of the police.

7.3. Relationship between Themes of Emotions and Russell's Circumplex (1997)

The second objective of the study was to determine whether Russell's circumplex of emotions (1997) can be applied to the emotional experience of violent offending. Figure 7.1.1. revealed the four emotion themes that Russell (1997) identified (calm, elation, depression and distress). Furthermore, we can see that those emotions that belong to the pleasure group are to the left of the SSA plot, while those that belong to the displeasure group are on the right. The results did not indicate a very strong degree of differentiation amongst the emotions that are of higher or lower arousal, therefore the SSA plot did not clearly identify a distinct and clear level of the activation dimension (arousal).

7.4. Means of Emotions Variables

The items that form these themes are given below in Table 7.4.1 together with the means and the standard deviations for every emotion in the entire sample. It is important to say that most of the mean scores indicate that the emotions were rather intense. The highest mean scores were for being confident (4.30), angry (4.06), irritated (3.96), courageous (3.82), contented (3.82), pleased (3.74), manly (3.64), exhilarated (3.60), delighted (3.54), excited (3.50), upset (3.36), annoyed (3.28) and worried (3.12), indicating that the emotion-regions of elation and distress were more powerful. In addition, the mean scores indicate that the offenders depression feelings were lower compared to previous studies. It is significant to mention again that all items were based on a five-point Likert scale (ranging from (1) Not at all , (3) Mid point, to (5) Very much indeed).

Table 7.4.1: *The Emotions Making up the Four Regions of the SSA with Means and Standard Deviations (in Parentheses).*

<i>Pleasure</i>		<i>Displeasure</i>	
ELATION:		DEPRESSION:	
Courageous	3.82 (1.19)	Depressed	1.66 (1.08)
Confident	4.30 (.76)	Confused	2.06 (1.14)
Excited	3.50 (1.50)	Sad	1.82 (1.20)
Manly	3.64 (1.48)	Lonely	1.66 (1.20)
Exhilarated	3.60 (1.26)	Miserable	1.38 (.90)
Enthusiastic	3.10 (1.40)	Pointless	1.72 (1.07)
Delighted	3.54 (1.43)	Unhappy	1.48 (.90)
		Thoughtful	2.50 (1.38)
CALM:		DISTRESS:	
Pleased	3.74 (1.27)	Angry	4.06 (1.36)
Contented	3.82 (1.32)	Scared	2.00 (1.10)
Safe	2.92 (1.25)	Annoyed	3.28 (1.55)
Calm	2.34 (1.22)	Irritated	3.96 (1.39)
Relaxed	2.22 (1.18)	Worried	3.12 (1.25)
		Upset	3.36 (1.41)

7.5. Reliability Analysis - Scales of Emotion Themes

Cronbach's alpha (α) was executed in order to verify the reliability of the four themes. The reliability coefficient of Cronbach's alpha ranges between 0 and 1. Thus, the closer the Cronbach's alpha value is to 1, the greater the internal consistency of the emotion-items in the scale. As displayed in the Figure 7.3.1, there are four themes (elation, calm, distress, depression) that consist of several items each. Analysis showed that all scales had high internal consistency: The elation theme consisting of seven items has an alpha coefficient of .82, the calm theme consisting of five items an alpha coefficient of .78, the distress theme with six items an alpha coefficient of .77 and finally the depression theme with eight items an alpha coefficient of .83.

Table 7.5.1: *Scales of Emotions Themes (with Alpha if Item Deleted in Parentheses)*

	THEME			
	ELATION	CALM	DISTRESS	DEPRESSION
ITEMS	Courageous (.81) Confident (.81) Excited (.82) Manly (.78) Exhilarated (.77) Enthusiastic (.76) Delighted (.78)	Pleased (.74) Contented (.71) Safe (.77) Calm (.74) Relaxed (.71)	Angry (.70) Scared (.81) Annoyed (.74) Irritated (.70) Worried (.74) Upset (.72)	Depressed (.78) Confused (.82) Sad (.79) Lonely (.84) Miserable (.79) Pointless (.82) Unhappy (.82) Thoughtful (.83)
No of items	7	5	6	8
Cronbach's alpha	.82	.78	.77	.83

7.6. Assigning Cases to Themes

To investigate the four thematic regions of emotion (see figure 7.1.1), every case was independently tested to determine whether it might be allocated to a specific theme based on the emotions that the perpetrators experienced during violent offending. Moreover, it is significant to mention that while the SSA indicates that the offender's emotion during the violent incident might be categorised in terms of the four regions, it does not indicate the emotions reported by the perpetrators themselves; a perpetrator can experience more than one emotion during the crime as well. Therefore, with the aim of examining this framework of emotional experience, we need to test whether we could possibly categorise individually the 50 cases to one of the four regions. Taking into account the results from the SSA plot and the identification of four themes, four new variables (elation, calm, distress, depression) with the scores of every offender in each theme were created using SPSS. Every case was given a percentage score for each of the four narrative offence roles,

reflecting the proportion of Elation, Calm, Distress and Depression. Percentages were used rather than actual numbers because the four themes contained unequal numbers of variables. Thus, a percentage score (based on each of the four regions) was created in order to identify the proportion of Calm, Elation, Depression and Distress. A case was classified as belonging to a particular theme if the percentage for that dominant theme was greater than the other percentages for the other themes. This method of classification was also employed by Canter & Fritzon (1998), Salfati (2000) and Ioannou (2006).

For instance, in case 39, 97% of the variables occurred in the Elation theme, 57% in the Distress theme, 44% in the Calm theme and 30% in the Depression theme, hence classifying it as an Elation theme. On the other hand, a hybrid case was identified when it had the same percentage of two higher variables in those themes.

Nearly all cases (96%, $n = 48$) were categorised as pure types and the rest (4%, $n = 2$) were hybrid types. The most frequent pure type was Elation (46%, $n = 23$), then Distress (34%, $n = 17$), then Calm (14%, $n = 7$) and then Depression (2%, $n = 1$) of all the 50 cases. Additionally, there were two hybrid cases (Calm Depression and Calm Elation) representing 4% ($n = 2$) of the whole population.

Table 7.6.1: *Number of Cases Allocated to Each Emotion Region*

Theme	N	%
Elation	23	46
Distress	17	34
Calm	7	14
Depression	1	2
Calm - Depression	1	2
Calm - Elation	1	2

It is very important to indicate that nearly all cases (96%) were categorised into one of the four emotion regions and thus it confirms the hypothesis that the proposed framework

stands for the emotional experience of the violent offence and very few (4%) were classified as hybrid cases, indicating the fact that this population was mostly experiencing one type of emotion during the crime.

7.7 Summary

Results presented in this chapter confirm that the emotions experienced by violent offenders may be distinguished in relation to different emotional themes (elation, calm, distress and depression) and that Russell's circumplex of emotions (1997) can be applied to violent offending emotional experience. In addition, it was possible to assign 96% of the cases into one of the emotion themes with Elation being the most frequent type.

CHAPTER 8

STUDY 2: NARRATIVE ROLES OF VIOLENT OFFENDERS

The following chapter presents study 2 which investigates the narrative roles a violent offender acts out during the commission of his/her crime. The objectives of study 2 were:

- 1) To examine if the overall framework of roles that experienced by violent offenders during a violent offence may be distinguished in relation to separate narrative themes, such as hero, professional, revenger and victim; extending previous criminal narrative studies (Presser, 2004, 2009, 2010; Youngs & Canter, 2011, 2012).
- 2) To investigate the relationship of these narratives with Frey's (1957) archetypal stories.

8.1. Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) of Narrative Roles

To test the above objectives the MDS process of Smallest Space Analysis (SSA-I) was employed as it has been proved to be the most efficient method of analysis in order to reveal the narrative roles of offending in previous studies (see Canter, Kaouri & Ioannou, 2003; Ioannou, 2006; Youngs & Canter, 2011, 2012). Likewise, in this study SSA is used with the thirty-three narrative roles statements.

The 3-dimensional SSA solution has a Guttman – Lingoes coefficient of alienation 0.17289, showing an exceptionally good fit between the Pearson's coefficients of the

narrative roles variables and their corresponding geometric distances in the configuration. The three-dimensional solution was adopted as the 2-dimensional illustration has a high coefficient of alienation of 0.24369 and was considered to describe the pattern of relationships better than the two-dimensional solution. Figure 8.1.1 shows the projection of vector 1 by vector 2 of the three dimensional space. The labels are brief summaries of the full questions. For ease of interpretation these are presented in table 8.1.1.

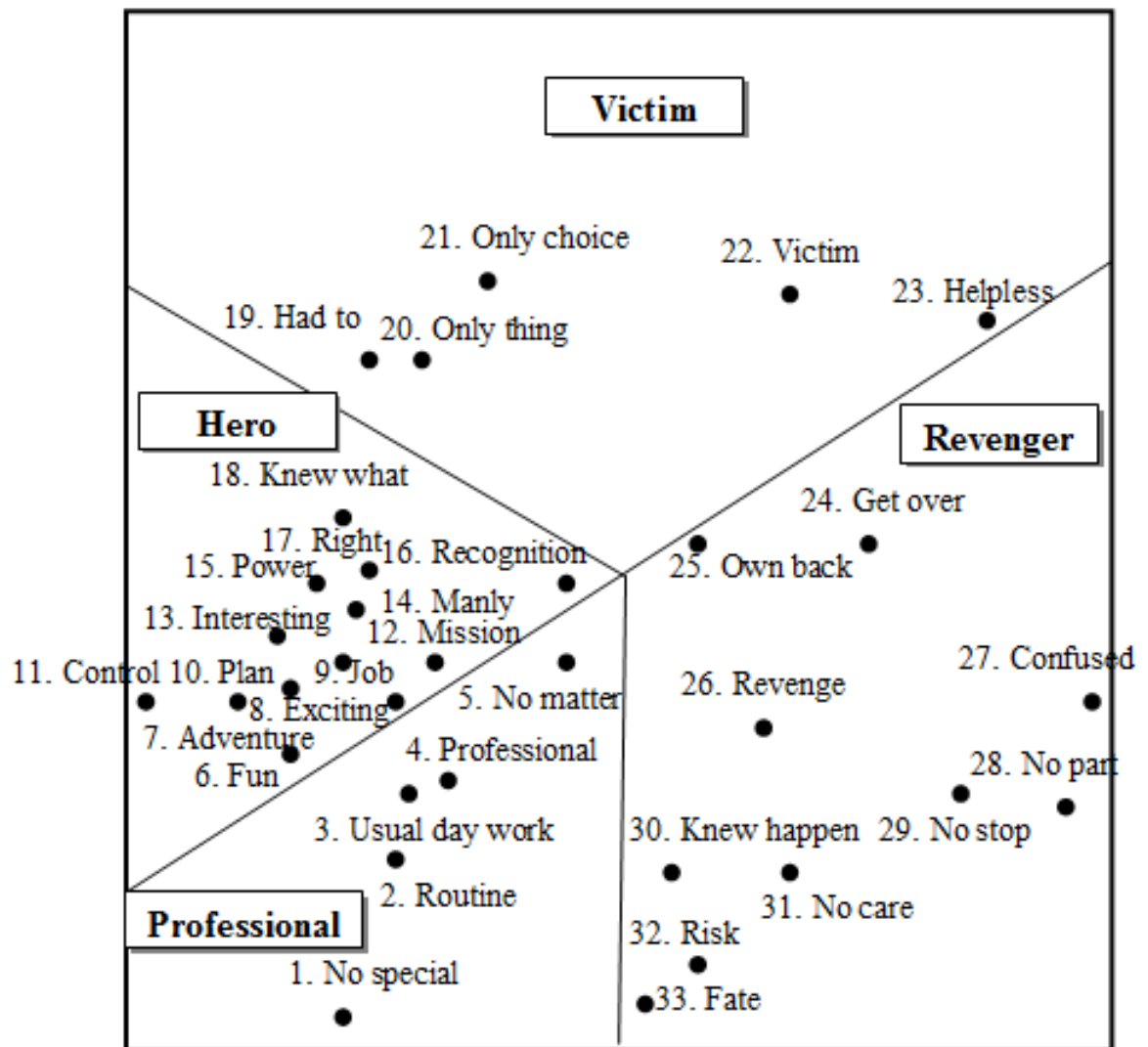


Figure 8.1.1: 1 by 2 Projection of the Three -Dimensional Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) of Narrative Roles with Regional Interpretation

Coefficient of Alienation = 0.17289

Table 8.1.1: *The Narrative Roles and Analysis Labels*

Question Number	Full Question	SSA Label
1	It was interesting	interesting
2	It was fun	fun
3	I knew I was taking a risk	risk
4	It was like an adventure	adventure
5	It was exciting	exciting
6	I was looking for recognition	recognition
7	It was a manly thing to do	manly
8	It all went to plan	Plan
9	I was in control	Control
10	It was right	Right
11	I had power	Power
12	I was trying to get revenge	Revenge
13	I just wanted to get it over with	Get over
14	It was a mission	Mission
15	I was getting my own back	Own back
16	I couldn't stop myself	No stop
17	I had to do it	Had to
18	It was my only choice	Only choice
19	I didn't care what would happen	No care
20	It was like I wasn't part of it	No part
21	I guess I always knew it was going to happen	Knew
22	What was happening was just fate	Fate
23	I was helpless	Helpless
24	It was the only thing I could think of doing	Only thing
25	I was confused about what was happening	Confused
26	I was a victim	Victim
27	Nothing else mattered	No matter
28	I knew what I was doing	Knew what
29	I was doing a job	Job
30	For me it was just like a usual days work	Work
31	I was like a professional	Professional
32	There was nothing special about what happened	No special
33	It was routine	Routine

8.2. Themes of Narrative Roles of Violent Offending

The first objective of study 1 was to examine if the overall framework of roles that experienced by violent offenders during a violent offence may be distinguished in relation to separate narrative themes, such as hero, professional, revenger and victim; extending previous criminal narrative studies (Presser, 2004, 2009, 2010; Ioannou, 2006; Youngs & Canter, 2011, 2012).

In order to understand the SSA, the investigator needs to test the hypothesized formation of the narrative roles of violent offending. It is hypothesized that common themed items will be found in the same area of the geometrical plot. This method was used in order to investigate the thematic structure and classify whether or not the “narrative role-items” can shape different themes. Primary investigation of the points indicated four different narrative role themes. Furthermore, the grouping items were investigated in order to see whether or not they are classified by a similar theme. For instance, the narrative roles that were at the bottom left quadrant were “No special”, “routine”, “usual day work”, “professional” and “no matter” that indicate the professional theme and that is how this region was classified. It is important to say that the correlation amongst the items and themes can be spherical; signifying that the interpretation of the variables creates the foundation for the classification of the themes and this theme-classification influences the interpretation of the variables. Obviously, the consequential SSA plot might have been entirely diverse. The narrative role-items might all be grouped closely and that could propose that the narrative roles-items would not be separated and that each item was equally possible to co-exist with all other items or a dissimilar pattern would come out that could alter the theme interpretation. Bellow, the four narrative role-themes are presented based on the grouping of the narrative roles-variables. Case studies are used to illustrate the themes.

Hero

The 13 narrative roles in this area are:

- It was fun
- It was like an adventure
- It was exciting
- I was doing a job
- It all went to plan
- I was in control
- It was a mission
- It was a manly thing to do
- It was interesting
- I had power
- It was right
- I was looking for recognition
- I knew what I was doing

This type of violent offender experiences a violent incident as a heroic exciting adventure, as a manly thing to do, as a mission for enjoyment looking for recognition as he/she believes that it was the right thing to do.

Case 2:

The offender described a violent incident between him and another soldier inside a Greek army camp. The victim provoked the offender by abusing a dog that was fed by the soldiers at that time. The offender accepted the challenge and threw the victim on the ground by punching him viciously on the face. When the incident ended, the offender

reported that it was the manly thing to do and that he was the hero of the army camp and thus everyone would remember him.

Case 21:

The offender described a violent incident between him and another person that was identified as “emo-goth” person. The perpetrator indicated the fact that he did not like such persons inside the club he was and thus he approached the victim by asking money from him. The victim refused to give his money and the offender grabbed the victim’s neck and eventually stole his money. Afterwards, the offender reported that he felt powerful and found the whole incident was exciting and fun.

Revenger

The 10 narrative roles in this area are:

- What was happening was just fate
- I knew I was taking a risk
- I didn’t care what would happen
- I couldn’t stop myself
- I guess I always knew it was going to happen
- It was like I wasn’t part of it
- I was trying to get revenge
- I was confused about what was happening
- I was getting my own back
- I just wanted to get it over with

This type of offender feels that his violent behaviour is based on revenge, that it was his/her fate to react violently, that he/she would not care about the outcome as he was getting his/her own back. The offender sees himself as someone who would know the risk and that he/she wanted to get it over with.

Case 14:

The offender was involved in a violent incident inside the victim's house. He reported that sometime ago, a rival political group attacked one of his friends and that his friend was seriously injured. Afterwards, the offender together with two other persons went to the house of one of the persons that injured his friend. The offender burned the whole apartment and he reported that he didn't care whether the victim would die or not. He justified his behaviour as an act of revenge and that he wanted to take the risk for his beloved friend.

Case 18:

The offender was involved in a violent fight outside of a musical gig. He reports that the victim was spreading rumours in the past and that now it was his fate to face the negative consequences. He knew that he was taking the risk to beat him in front of other people, but it was the fact that he was trying to take revenge. Eventually, the perpetrator brutally punched and kicked the victim and he reported that he could not stop himself.

Victim

The 5 narrative roles in this area are:

- It was the only thing I could think of doing
- I had to do it

- It was my only choice
- I was a victim
- I was helpless

The type of violent offender can be identified as the victim of circumstances, who was doing the only thing that he could do, as it was his only choice and he was helpless.

Case 17:

The offender was involved in a violent incident when someone was making fun of him. Then the perpetrator, who was a master of martial arts, punched him immediately several times and the victim collapsed and he continued to kick the victim's stomach. He reported that he was the victim of the situation and that it was the only thing to do.

Professional

The 5 narrative roles in this area are:

- There was nothing special about what happened
- It was routine
- I was like a professional
- For me it was just like a usual days work
- Nothing else mattered

This type of violent offender could be identified as a person, who is acting as a professional in harming persons, who experiences violence as a routine in his daily life, who perceives the whole incident as nothing special.

Case 34:

The offender committed a grievous bodily harm attack inside the victim's house. He was wearing a full face mask together with two other people and entered a house that was owned by the victim. When they entered the house, the perpetrator was equipped with a baseball bat and he used it against the victim in order to send a message. After the incident he returned to his house and ate a meal. He reported that this was a routine in his life, as he was doing business.

Case 50:

The offender was equipped with an iron fist and together with some other gang members broke the door of a rival club's warehouse. He reported that this was nothing special regarding his violent act, as he did the same in the past. In addition, he stated that nothing else matters than harming people from the rival football club.

8.3. Relationship between Themes of Narrative Roles and Frye's Theory of Mythoi (1957)

The second objective of the study was to investigate the relationship of the above narratives with Frey's (1957) archetypal stories. Further examination revealed that the Hero narrative theme reflects the Comedy story form where the main character overcomes obstacles in order to pursue joyful objectives. The Professional narrative reflects the Romance story form whose main character sees himself as simply carrying out a task. The Revenger narrative reflects the Tragedy story form where the protagonist struggles for revenge feeling that he has to bring back what belongs to him to avoid humiliation. Finally, the Victim narrative reflects the Irony story form whose main character has been defeated by fate and circumstances and arouses pity and fear.

8.4. Means of Narrative Roles Variables

The items that form these themes are given below in Table 8.4.1 together with the means and the standard deviations for every narrative role in the entire sample. It is important to say that most of the mean scores indicate that the narrative roles were rather intense. The highest mean scores were for being “I had to do it” (4.46), “I knew what I was doing” (4.04), “it was right” (4.00), “I was trying to get revenge” (3.86), “it was interesting” (3.82), “It was a manly thing to do” (3.74), “it was like an adventure” (3.66), “it was the only thing to do” (3.64), “it was exciting” (3.54), “it was fun” (3.46), “I had power” (3.40), “I knew I was taking a risk” (3.38), “it was my only choice” (3.36), “I was in control” (3.30), “I couldn’t stop myself” (3.20), “nothing else mattered” (3.10), “it all went to plan” (3.08), and “I didn’t care what would happen” (3.06), indicating that the narrative role-regions of hero and revenger were more powerful. In addition, the mean scores indicate that the offenders had a more positive experience of violent offending compared to previous studies. It is significant to mention again that all items were based on a five-point Likert scale (ranging from (1) Not at all , (3) Mid point, to (5) Very much indeed).

Table 8.4.1 *The Narrative Roles forming the Four Themes of the SSA with Mean Scores and Standard Deviations (in Parentheses).*

PROFESSIONAL: 1. There was nothing special about what happened 2.72 (1.38) 2. It was routine 2.02 (1.28) 3. For me it was just like a usual days work 1.94 (1.40) 4. I was like a professional 2.28 (1.31) 5. Nothing else mattered 3.10 (1.51)	HERO: 6. It was fun 3.46 (1.35) 7. It was like an adventure 3.66 (1.30) 8. It was exciting 3.54 (1.29) 9. I was doing a job 2.56 (1.65) 10. It all went to plan 3.08 (1.56) 11. I was in control 3.30 (1.35) 12. It was a mission 2.78 (1.65) 13. It was interesting 3.82 (1.17) 14. It was a manly thing to do 3.74 (1.63) 15. I had power 3.40 (1.53) 16. I was looking for recognition 1.90 (1.34) 17. It was right 4.00 (1.22) 18. I knew what I was doing 4.04 (1.10)
VICTIM: 19. I had to do it 4.46 (.93) 20. It was the only thing I could thing of doing 3.64 (1.53) 21. It was my only choice 3.36 (1.58) 22. I was a victim 2.16 (1.43) 23. I was helpless 1.68 (1.26)	REVENGER: 24. I just wanted to get it over with 2.06 (1.28) 25. I was getting my own back 2.68 (1.55) 26. I was trying to get revenge 3.86 (1.35) 27. I was confused about what was happening 1.92 (1.06) 28. It was like I wasn't part of it 1.98 (1.20) 29. I couldn't stop myself 3.20 (1.41) 30. I guess I always knew it was going to happen 2.82 (1.38) 31. I didn't care what would happen 3.06 (1.34) 32. I knew I was taking a risk 3.38 (1.22) 33. What was happening was just fate 2.56 (1.48)

8.5. Reliability analysis - Scales of Narrative Roles Themes

Cronbach's alpha (α) was executed in order to verify the reliability of the four themes. The reliability coefficient of Cronbach's alpha ranges between 0 and 1. Thus, the closer Cronbach's alpha value is to 1, the greater the internal consistency of the role-items in the scale. As displayed in Figure 8.3.1, there are 4 themes (hero, professional, victim, and revenger) that consist of several items each. Analysis showed that all scales had high

internal consistency: The professional theme consisting of five items has an alpha coefficient of .73, the hero theme consisting of 13 items an alpha coefficient of .88, the victim theme consisting of five items has an alpha coefficient of .69 and finally the revenger theme with 10 items an alpha coefficient of .64.

Table 8.5.1: *Scales of Roles Themes (with Alpha if Item Deleted in Parentheses)*

	THEME			
	PROFESSIONAL	HERO	VICTIM	REVENGER
ITEMS	1. No special (.72) 2. Routine (.66) 3. Usual day (.64) 4. Professional (.62) 5. No matter (.76)	6. Fun (.87) 7. Adventure (.88) 8. Exciting (.88) 9. Job (.87) 10. Plan (.87) 11. Control (.88) 12. Mission (.88) 13. Interesting (.87) 14. Manly (.87) 15. Power (.87) 16. Recognition (.88) 17. Right (.87) 18. Knew what (.87)	19. Had to (.63) 20. Only thing (.60) 21. Only choice (.51) 22. Victim (.67) 23. Helpless (.74)	24. Get over (.65) 25. Own back (.64) 26. Revenge (.60) 27. Confused (.66) 28. No part (.61) 29. No stop (.61) 30. Knew happen (.60) 31. No care (.57) 32. Risk (.62) 33. Fate (.61)
No of items	5	13	5	10
Cronbach's alpha	.74	.88	.69	.64

8.6. Assigning cases to themes

In order to investigate the four thematic regions of roles (see figure 8.1.1), every case was independently tested to determine whether it might be allocated to a specific theme based on the narrative roles that the perpetrators experienced during violent offending. Moreover, it is significant to mention that while the SSA indicates that the offender's role during the

violent incident might be categorised in terms of the four regions, the SSA does not indicate the narrative roles reported by the perpetrators themselves; a perpetrator can experience more than one role during the crime as well. Therefore, with the aim of examining this framework of role-experience, we need to test whether we could possibly categorize individually the 50 cases to one of the four regions. Taking into account the results from the SSA plot and the identification of four themes, four new variables (hero, professional, revenger, victim) with the scores of every offender in each theme were created using SPSS. Every case was given a percentage score for each of the four narrative offence roles, reflecting the proportion of Hero, Professional, Revenger and Victim. Percentages were used rather than actual numbers because the four themes contained unequal numbers of variables. Thus, a percentage score (based on each of the four regions) was created in order to identify the proportion of Hero, Professional, Revenger and Victim. A case was classified as belonging to a particular theme if the percentage for that dominant theme was greater than the other percentages for the other themes. This method of classification was also employed by Canter & Fritzon (1998), Salfati (2000) and Ioannou (2006).

For instance, in case 1, 80% of the variables happened in the Victim theme, 60% in the Professional theme, 58% in the Hero theme and 46% in the Revenger theme, hence classifying it as a Victim theme. On the other hand, a hybrid case was identified when it had the same percentage of two higher variables in those themes.

Nearly all cases (94%, $n = 47$) were categorized as pure types and the rest (6%, $n = 3$) were hybrid types. The most frequent pure type was Hero (46%, $n = 23$), then Victim (32%, $n = 16$), then Revenger (10%, $n = 5$) and then Professional (6%, $n = 3$) of all the 50 cases. Additionally, there were two hybrid cases (Professional-Revenger, Hero-Victim and Professional Victim) representing 6% ($n = 3$) of the whole population.

Table 8.6.1: *Number of Cases Assigned to Each Narrative Roles Theme*

Theme	Cases	
	N	%
Hero	28	56
Victim	15	30
Revenger	5	10
Professional	2	4

It is very important to indicate that nearly all cases (94%) were categorised into one of the four narrative role regions and thus it confirms the hypothesis that the SSA framework stands for the role experience of the violent offence and very few (6%) were classified as hybrid cases indicating the fact that this population was mostly acting out one type of narrative role during the crime.

8.7 Summary

Results presented in this chapter confirm that the roles that experienced by violent offenders during a violent offence were distinguished in relation to separate narrative themes (hero, professional, revenger and victim) and these relate to Frey's (1957) archetypal stories. In addition, it was possible to assign 94% of the cases into one of the narrative roles themes with Hero being the most frequent type.

CHAPTER 9

STUDY 3: THE CRIMINAL NARRATIVE EXPERIENCE OF VIOLENT OFFENDERS: LINKING EMOTIONS TO NARRATIVE ROLES

The following chapter presents study 3 which objective was to investigate the relationship between the emotions and narrative roles experienced by violent offenders. Until now study 1 has identified four emotions themes (elation, calm, distress and depression) and study 2 has identified four narrative roles themes (Professional, Hero, Victim and Revenger) similar to findings from previous studies (Canter, Kaouri & Ioannou, 2003; Canter & Ioannou, 2004; Ioannou, 2006; Youngs, 2011, 2012) that were based on offending in general.

9.1. Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) of Emotions and Narrative Roles

To test the above objectives the MDS process of Smallest Space Analysis (SSA-I) was employed as it has been proved to be the most efficient method of analysis in order to reveal the relationship between emotions and narrative roles of offending in previous studies (Ioannou, 2006). Likewise, in this study SSA is used with the twenty-six emotions statements and thirty-three narrative roles statements.

Based on previous findings (Ioanou, 2006) the main hypothesis is that there is a significant correlation between the four emotion themes and the four narrative roles and

that both emotions and narrative roles will create identifiable themes that will identify different offending experiences. The null hypothesis is that there would not be a relationship amongst the emotional experience and the criminal narrative roles.

The 2-dimensional SSA solution has a Guttman – Lingo coefficient of alienation 0.17641, showing an exceptionally good fit between the Pearson's coefficients of the emotions and narrative roles variables and their corresponding geometric distances in the configuration. The two-dimensional solution was adopted as the 2-dimensional illustration has a high coefficient of alienation of 0.24369 The two-dimensional solution was adopted as it was found to have a very satisfactory coefficient of alienation and was considered to describe the pattern of relationships better than the three-dimensional solution. Figure 9.1.1 shows the projection of vector 1 by vector 2 of the two dimensional space. The labels are brief summaries of the full questions. For ease of interpretation these are presented in table 9.1.1.

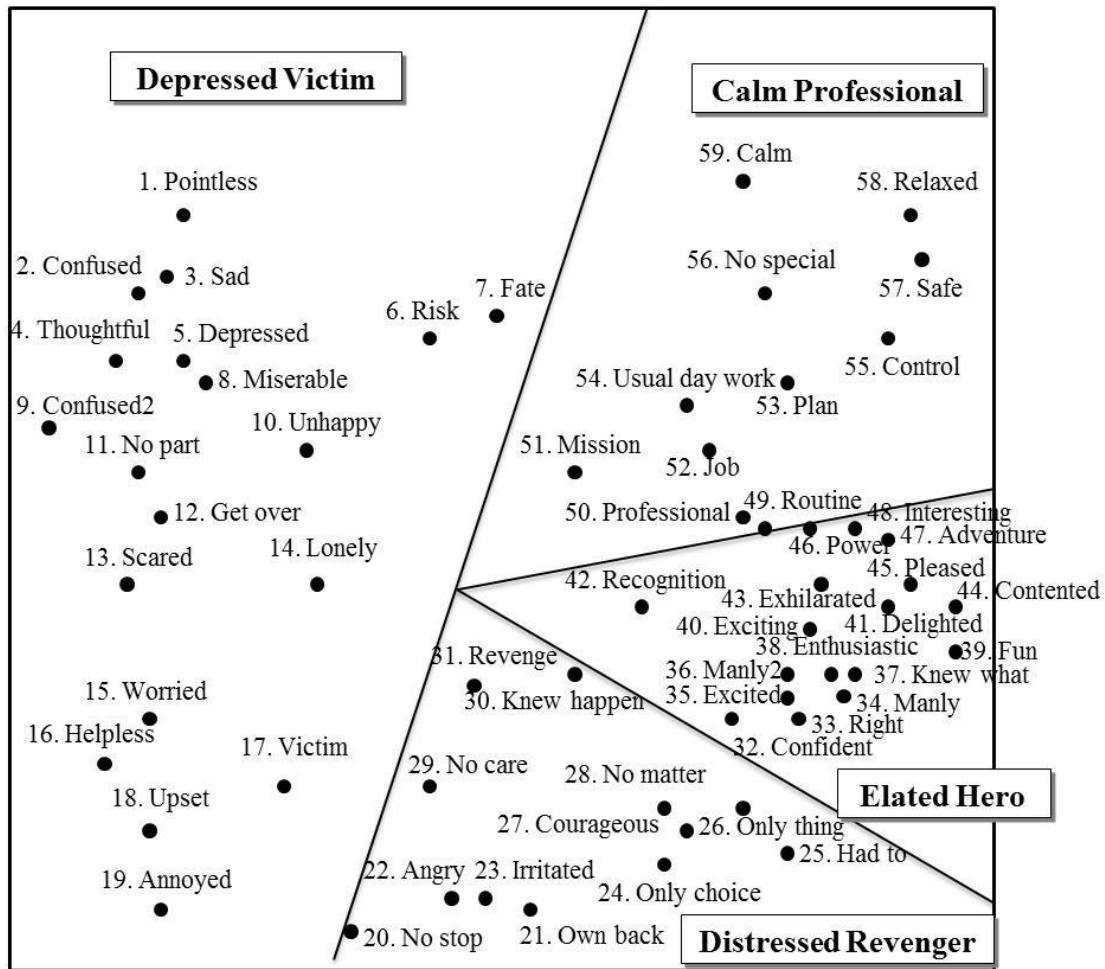


Figure 9.1.1: 1 by 2 Projection of the Two -Dimensional Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) of Emotions and Narrative Roles with Regional Interpretation

Coefficient of Alienation = 0.17641

Table 9.1.1: *The Emotions and Narrative Roles and Analysis Labels*

Quest. Number	Full Question	Analysis label
1	I felt pointless	Pointless
2	I felt confused	Confused
3	I felt sad	Sad
4	I felt thoughtful	Thoughtful
5	I felt depressed	Depressed
6	I knew I was taking a risk	Risk
7	What was happening was just fate	Fate
8	I felt miserable	Miserable
9	I was confused about what was happening	Confused2
10	I felt unhappy	Unhappy
11	It was like I wasn't part of it	No part
12	I just wanted to get it over with	Get over
13	I felt scared	Scared
14	I felt lonely	Lonely
15	I felt worried	Worried
16	I was helpless	Helpless
17	I was a victim	Victim
18	I felt upset	Upset
19	I felt annoyed	Annoyed
20	I couldn't stop myself	No stop
21	I was getting my own back	Own back
22	I felt angry	Angry
23	I felt irritated	Irritated
24	It was my only choice	Only choice
25	I had to do it	Had to
26	It was the only thing I could think of doing	Only thing
27	I felt courageous	Courageous
28	Nothing else mattered	No matter
29	I didn't care what would happen	No care
30	I guess I always knew it was going to happen	Knew happen
31	I was trying to get revenge	Revenge
32	I felt confident	Confident
33	It was right	Right
34	I felt manly	Manly
35	I felt excited	Excited

36	It was a manly thing to do	Manly2
37	I knew what I was doing	Knew what
38	I felt enthusiastic	Enthusiastic
39	It was fun	Fun
40	It was exciting	Exciting
41	I felt delighted	Delighted
42	I was looking for recognition	Recognition
43	I felt exhilarated	Exhilarated
44	I felt contented	Contented
45	I felt pleased	Pleased
46	I had power	Power
47	It was like an adventure	Adventure
48	It was interesting	Interesting
49	It was routine	Routine
50	I was like a professional	Professional
51	It was a mission	Mission
52	I was doing a job	Job
53	It all went to plan	Plan
54	For me it was just like a usual days work	Usual day work
55	I was in control	Control
56	There was nothing special about what happened	No special
57	I felt safe	Safe
58	I felt relaxed	Relaxed
59	I felt calm	Calm

9.2 Themes of Emotions and Narrative Roles of Violent Offending

The SSA configuration (see Figure 9.1.1.) indicates that emotions and narrative roles can be distinguished into four distinct themes of Criminal Narrative Experience of Violent Offenders; the Calm Professional, the Elated Hero, the Depressed Victim and the Distressed Revenger. Case studies are used to illustrate the themes.

Calm Professional

The eleven elements that can be conceptually linked as Calm Professional are:

- Routine
- Professional
- Mission
- Job
- Plan
- Usual day work
- Control
- No special
- Safe
- Relaxed
- Calm.

This SSA area has the Calm theme of emotion experience and the Professional theme of narrative roles. Hence this category of offender can be illustrated as someone who acts as a professional, experience the incident as a routine, as a job and/or as a mission, he/she has a plan and perceives the offence as a usual day at work, he/she perceives it as something no special, the individual feels safe, relaxed and/or calm. In relation to Russell's circumplex

of emotions (1997) and Frye's mythoi (1957) the Calm Professional experiences pleasant and positive emotions and the theme reflects the Romance story form.

Case 33:

The offender described a violent incident where he and his friends arranged to attack members of another group. He claimed his actions as an everyday routine and that he is a professional “hooligan”. Then, he indicated the fact that he felt completely safe and relaxed during the violent incident as he always has his “backup” friends.

Case 40:

The offender was involved in a robbery. He said that due to his drug addiction he perceived the whole incident as his everyday activities. Then, he explained how safe he felt and that he was completely calm during his offence.

Elated Hero

The seventeen elements that can be conceptually linked as Elated Hero are:

- Confident
- Right
- “I felt manly”
- Excited
- It was a manly thing to do
- Knew what
- Enthusiastic
- Fun
- Exciting

- Delighted
- Recognition
- Exhilarated
- Contented
- Pleased
- Power
- Adventure
- Interesting

This SSA area has the Elated theme of emotion experience and the Hero theme of narrative roles . Hence this category of offender can be illustrated as someone who acts as a confident person and has the right to do it, someone who feels excited, enthusiastic and delighted, a person who finds it manly to do it and a person who perceives the offence as an interesting adventure. In relation to Russell's circumplex of emotions (1997) and Frye's mythoi (1957) the Elated Hero experiences pleasant and positive emotions and the theme reflects the Comedy story form.

Case 14:

The offender was involved in a fight with another rival man concerning his relationship status. He described himself as a confident person who knew that it was right to smash the head of the rival man. Eventually, he concluded that it was a manly thing to do.

Case 18:

The offender was involved in a fight outside a live concert. He found a person who was spreading rumours about his girlfriend and he said that it was felt manly enough to protect

his dignity. He claimed that he felt like a hero that night and that everyone around recognized his power.

Depressed Victim

The nineteen elements that can be conceptually linked as Depressed Victim are:

- Pointless
- Confused
- Sad
- Thoughtful
- Depressed
- Risk
- Fate
- Miserable
- Confused
- Unhappy
- No part
- Get over
- Scared
- Lonely
- Worried
- Helpless
- Victim
- Upset
- Annoyed.

This SSA area has the Depressed theme of emotion experience and the Victim theme of narrative roles. Hence this category of offender can be illustrated as someone who acts as a victimized person, who felt pointless and sad, who was confused and felt unhappy about what was happening, who felt that he/she wasn't part of it, who felt lonely, worried and helpless and who felt upset and annoyed. In relation to Russell's circumplex of emotions (1997) and Frye's mythoi (1957) the Depressed Victim experiences unpleasant and negative emotions and the theme reflects the Irony story form.

Case 24:

The offender was involved in a fight against someone who was non-Greek. The victim asked him for a cigarette and the offender felt threatened. Immediately the offender reported that he felt helpless because it was dark and he attacked viciously the victim. He claimed that he was feeling lonely and depressed during the incident and that he was extremely annoyed and upset.

Distressed Revenger

The twelve elements that can be conceptually linked as Distressed Revenger are:

- No stop
- Own back
- Angry
- Irritated
- Only choice
- Had to
- Only thing
- Courageous

- No matter
- No care
- Knew happen
- Revenge.

This SSA area has the Distressed theme of emotion experience and the Revenger theme of narrative roles. Hence this category of offender can be illustrated as someone who acts as a revengeful person who is angry and irritated, who was getting his/her own back, who acts like it is his/her only choice, who knew what was happening but he/she did not care and a courageous person who has to do it. In relation to Russell's circumplex of emotions (1997) and Frye's mythoi (1957) the Distressed Revenger experiences unpleasant and negative emotions and the theme reflects the Tragedy story form.

Case 1:

The offender reports a violent incident when someone misbehaved towards his girlfriend. He said that he had to do it and that he was extremely irritated and angry because someone tried to harm his girlfriend. Additionally, he claimed that he couldn't stop himself from kicking the victim to his head and that if he finds him again he would do the same.

Case 12:

The offender was involved in a violent incident with his brother. The offender claims that his brother attacked him in the past and that he wanted to take his revenge. When an argument started the offender wanted to take his revenge and thus he used a frying pan and a toast-maker in order to hit his brother's face and eventually he did it. The offender indicated that he was "watching his back" as a reason to his violent behaviour.

9.3 Reliability analysis - Scales of Emotions and Narrative Roles Themes

Cronbach's alpha (α) was executed in order to verify the reliability of the four themes. The reliability coefficient of Cronbach's alpha ranges between 0 and 1. Thus, the closer Cronbach's alpha value is to 1, the greater the internal consistence of the emotion-items in the scale. As displayed in figure 9.1.1, there are 4 themes (Elated Hero, Calm Professional, Depressed Victim and Distressed Revenger) that consist of several items each. Analysis showed that all scales had high internal consistency:

The Depressed Victim theme consisting of 19 items has an alpha coefficient of .78, the Distressed Revenger theme consisting of 12 items has an alpha coefficient of .74, the Elated Hero theme consisting of 17 items has an alpha coefficient of .92 and finally the Calm Professional theme with 11 items has an alpha coefficient of .82.

Table 9.3.1: *Scales of Emotions and Narrative Roles Themes (with Alpha if Item Deleted in Parentheses)*

	THEME			
	DEPRESSED VICTIM	DISTRESSED REVENGER	ELATED HERO	CALM PROFESSIONAL
ITEMS	1. Pointless (.77) 2. Confused (.76) 3. Sad (.76) 4. Thoughtful (.76) 5. Depressed (.75) 6. Risk (.79) 7. Fate (.81) 8. Miserable (.76) 9. Confused2 (.78) 10. Unhappy (.76) 11. No part (.76) 12. Get over (.77) 13. Scared (.76) 14. Lonely (.77) 15. Worried (.77) 16. Helpless (.77) 17. Victim (.78) 18. Upset (.77) 19. Annoyed (.79)	20. No stop (.73) 21. Own back (.72) 22. Angry (.69) 23. Irritated (.69) 24. Only choice (.73) 25. Had to (.72) 26. Only thing (.71) 27. Courageous (.71) 28. No matter (.70) 29. No care (.71) 30. Knew happen (.72) 31. Revenge (.72)	32. Confident (.92) 33. Right (.91) 34. Manly (.92) 35. Excited (.92) 36. Manly2 (.91) 37. Knew what (.92) 38. Enthusiastic (.91) 39. Fun (.91) 40. Exciting (.91) 41. Delighted (.91) 42. Recognition (.92) 43. Exhilarated (.92) 44. Contented (.92) 45. Pleased (.91) 46. Power (.92) 47. Adventure (.92) 48. Interesting (.92)	49. Routine (.80) 50. Professional (.79) 51. Mission (.81) 52. Job (.78) 53. Plan (.78) 54. Usual day work (.79) 55. Control (.80) 56. No special (.80) 57. Safe (.80) 58. Relaxed (.82) 59. Calm (.81)
No of items	19	12	17	11
Cronbach's alpha	.78	.74	.92	.82

9.4 Assigning Cases to Themes

Consecutively to investigate the four thematic regions of Emotion linked Narrative Roles (see figure 9.1.1), every case was independently tested to determine whether it might be allocated to a specific theme based on the relationship between the emotions that the perpetrators experienced during violent offending and their criminal narrative roles. Moreover, it is significant to mention that while the SSA identifies that the offender's emotion-roles during the violent incident might be categorized in terms of the four regions, the SSA does not indicate the emotions and narrative roles reported by the perpetrators themselves; a perpetrator can experience more than one emotion-role during the crime as well. Therefore, with the aim of examining this framework of role-experience, we need to test whether we could possibly categorize individually the 50 cases to one of the four regions. Taking into account the results from the SSA plot and the identification of four themes, four new variables (calm professional, elated hero, distressed revenger, depressed victim) with the scores of every offender in each theme were created using SPSS. Every case was given a percentage score for each of the four narrative offence roles, reflecting the proportion of Calm Professional, Elated Hero, Distressed Revenger and Depressed Victim. Percentages were used rather than actual numbers because the four themes contained unequal numbers of variables. Thus, a percentage score (based on each of the four regions) was created in order to identify the proportion of Calm Professional, Elated Hero, Distressed Revenger and Depressed Victim. A case was classified as belonging to a particular theme if the percentage for that dominant theme was greater than the other percentages for the other themes. This method of classification was also employed by Canter & Fritzon (1998), Salfati (2000) and Ioannou (2006).

For instance, in case 1, 80% of the variables happened in the Distressed Revenger theme, 74% in the Elated Hero theme, 43% in the Depressed Victim theme and 40% in the

Calm Professional theme, hence classifying it as a Distressed Revenger. On the other hand, a hybrid case was when a case had the same percentage of two higher variables in those themes.

Nearly all cases (98%, $n = 49$) were categorized as pure types and the rest (2%, $n = 1$) were hybrid types. This supports the initial hypothesis that there is a significant correlation between the four emotion themes and the four narrative roles and that both emotions and roles will create identifiable themes that will identify different offending experiences.

The most frequent pure type was Elated Hero (54%, $n = 27$), then Distressed Revenger (36%, $n = 18$), then Calm Professional (6%, $n = 3$) and then Depressed Victim (2%, $n = 1$) of all the 50 cases. Additionally, there was one hybrid case (Elated Hero – Calm Professional) representing the 2% ($n = 1$) of the whole population.

Table 9.4.1: *Number of Cases Assigned to Each Emotions and Narrative Roles Theme*

Theme	Cases	
	N	%
Elated Hero	27	54
Distressed Revenger	18	36
Calm Professional	3	6
Depressed Victim	1	2
Elated Hero – Calm Professional	1	2

9.5 Summary

Results presented in this chapter showed that there is a relationship between the emotions and narrative roles experienced by violent offenders and that the Criminal Narrative Experience framework is applicable to violent offenders as four themes were identified (Elated Hero, Distressed Revenger, Calm Professional, Depressed Victim). In addition, it was possible to assign 98% of the cases into one of the themes with Elated Hero being the most frequent type.

CHAPTER 10

STUDY 4: THE CORRELATES OF THE CRIMINAL NARRATIVE EXPERIENCE OF VIOLENT OFFENDERS

10.1 The Background to the Criminal Narrative Experience

The following chapter presents study 4 which examines the correlates of the Criminal Narrative Experience of violent offending. While the correlation of the background of the Criminal Narrative Experience has never been investigated exclusively with Greek violent criminals, previous study (Ioannou, 2006) has indicated that the criminal narrative experience would differ depending on the general background of the individual.

The study of Katz (1988) was criticised by McCarthy (1995) regarding his whole rejection of other aspects and argued that the desirability to offend is not merely as a result of sensual dynamics but numerous other background traits. Hence, this chapter investigates whether violent criminals with different backgrounds normally experience different roles and associated emotions. The objectives of study 4 were:

- 1) To examine the relationship between the Criminal Narrative Experience (Emotions and Narrative Roles) and the general and social backgrounds of violent offenders.
- 2) To examine the relationship between the Criminal Narrative Experience (Emotions and Narrative Roles) and the criminal backgrounds of violent offenders.
- 3) To examine the relationship between the Criminal Narrative Experience (Emotions and Narrative Roles) and the personality of violent offenders.

All correlations and t-tests at the following sections were performed between the different themes identified in Chapter 9 and various general, social, criminal and personality characteristics. When referring to Elated Hero, Calm Professional, Distressed Revenger and Depressed Victim this is based on the mean score for the variables falling within each theme.

10.2 The Background of Elated Hero

10.2.1 The General and Social Background to Elated Hero

The relationship between Elated Hero and the age of the violent criminal was examined using Pearson's correlation. No significant relationship between the Elated Hero offender narrative experience and the age was found. This indicates that age does not impact upon the likelihood that an offender will display the characteristics of the Elated Hero. Table 10.2.1.1 below compares the mean scores of the Elated Hero theme via samples of the violent criminals who reported the type of qualification. The results supported previous findings that there is no significant relationship between the Elated Hero theme and qualification.

Table 10.2.1.1: *Comparison of Mean Levels of Elated Hero Across Qualification/Training Groups (t-test)*

Grouping Variable	N	MEAN FOR OFENDERS WITHOUT QUALIF.	SD	N	MEAN FOR OFENDERS WITH QUALIF.	SD	T-VALUE	df
LYKEUM (SECONDARY EDUCATION)	2	45.00	15.55	48	61.46	15.09	-1.510	48
UNIVERSITY DEGREE	25	63.00	15.89	25	58.60	14.66	1.017	48
MILITARY TRAINING	30	58.57	14.48	20	64.15	16.23	-1.272	48
MILITARY: SPECIAL FORCES	39	58.85	15.25	11	67.73	13.96	-1.735	48

Significance: * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Note: Equal variances assumed (on basis of Levene's test for equality of variance).

a Equal variances not assumed (on basis of Levene's test for equality of variance).

(Please note that this applies to all following tables)

Table 10.2.1.2 displays the dissimilarities in the Elated Hero theme via different family background groups. The results indicate that there is no significant relationship between the Elated Hero them and whether they lived with both parents or lived with one parent.

Table 10.2.1.2: *Comparison of Mean Levels of Elated Hero Across Family Background Groups (t-test)*

Grouping Variable	N	MEAN FOR OFENDERS WITHOUT BACKGR.	SD	N	MEAN FOR OFENDERS WITH BACKGR.	SD	T-VALUE	df
BOTH PARENTS	10	65.20	16.57	28	60.39	16.25	.799	36
LIVING WITH ONE PARENT	36	60.61	16.02	2	80.50	6.36	-1.729	36

Significance: * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

10.2.2 The Criminal Background to Elated Hero

The relationship between the Elated Hero theme with the number of convictions and the age at first conviction was examined using Pearson's correlation. Results indicated that the number of convictions and the age at first conviction are not significantly related to the Elated Hero narrative experience theme.

Table 10.2.2.1 below displays the comparison of mean levels of the Elated Hero across three conviction types. The t-test indicated that only violent offenders with convictions of Violence offences reported significantly ($p < .05$) higher levels of Elated Hero offender experience compared to those with no convictions.

Table 10.2.2.1: *Comparison of Mean Levels of Elated Hero Across Conviction Types*

	N	MEAN FOR OFFENDERS WITHOUT CONVICTION	SD	N	MEAN FOR OFFENDERS WITH CONVICTION	SD	T- VALUE	df
Property offences	47	60.72	14.92	3	62.00	24.75	-.139	48
Violence	45	59.09	15.02	5	76.20	7.46	-2.496*	48
Driving offences	48	60.52	15.37	2	67.50	16.26	-.628	48

Significance: * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 10.2.2.2 shows the comparison of mean levels of Elated Hero across Family Criminal History groups and the t-tests indicate that there is no significant relationship.

Table 10.2.2.2: *Comparison of Mean Levels of Elated Hero Across Family Criminal History Groups (t-test)*

Grouping Variable	N	NO FAMILY CONVICTION GROUP MEAN	SD	N	FAMILY CONVICTION GROUP MEAN	SD	T-VALUE	df
PARENTS WITH CONVICTIONS	46	60.54	15.62	4	63.75	12.25	-.399	48
SIBLINGS WITH CONVICTIONS	47	61.34	14.73	3	52.33	25.02	.988	48

Significance: * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 10.2.2.3 shows the comparison of mean levels of Elated Hero across the criminal justice sanction groups and the t-tests indicate that there is no significant relationship.

Table 10.2.2.3: *Comparison of Mean Levels of Elated Hero Across Criminal Justice Sanction Groups (t-test)*

Grouping Variable	N	MEAN FOR OFFENDERS WITHOUT SENTENCE	SD	N	MEAN FOR OFFENDERS WITH SENTENCE	SD	T-VALUE	df
PRISON	48	60.42	15.43	2	70.00	9.89	-.866	48
PROBATION	42	60.02	15.00	8	68.13	13.59	-1.416	48

Significance: * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 10.2.2.4 (see Appendix II) displays the comparison of mean levels of Elated Hero theme across the D60 Self-Reported Offending Behaviour. The t-tests indicated that there is a significant relationship between the Elated Hero theme and several offending behaviours; “Broken into a house, shop or school and taken money or something else you wanted?” [$t(48) = -3.35, p < .01$], “Broken into a locked car to get something from it?” [$t(48) = -2.81, p < .01$], “Threaten to beat someone up if they didn’t give you money or something else you wanted?” [$t(48) = -2.78, p < .01$], “Pulled a knife, gun or some other weapon on someone just to let them know you meant business?” [$t(48) = -3.87, p < .001$],

“.Beat someone up so badly they probably needed a doctor?” [t(48) = - 2.17, p< .05],
 “.Intentionally started a building on fire?”, [t(48) = - 2.26, p< .01], “Been involved in gang
 fights?” [t(48) = - 2.75, p< .01], “Taken things of large value (worth more than £100) from
 a shop without paying for them?” [t(48) = - 2.10, p< .05], “Broken into a house, shop,
 school or other building to break things up or cause other damage?” [t(48) = -2.15, p< .05],
 “Used or carried a gun to help you commit a crime?” [t(48) = -4.51, p< .001], “.Prepared
 an escape route before you carried out a crime?” [t(48) = - 2.56, p< .05], “Taken care not
 to leave evidence (like fingerprints) after carrying out a crime?” [t(48) = - 3.00, p< .01],
 “Acted as ‘watch’ or ‘lookout’?” [t(48) = - 3.16, p< .01], “Taken special tools with you to
 help you carry out a crime?” [t(48) = - 2.90, p< .05], “.Stolen a car to ring it?” [t(48) = -
 2.53], p< .05], “Nicked a car to go for a ride in it and then abandoned it?” [t(48) = - 2.24,
 p< .05], “Carried a gun in case you needed it” [t(48) = - 2.86, p< .05], “Stolen something
 to eat because you were so hungry?” [t(48) = -2.23, p< .05], “Made a shop assistant give
 you money from the till?” [t(48) = -2.03, p< .05], “Taken drugs you didn’t want because
 everyone else there was having them?” [t(48) = - 2.20, p< .05], “Actually used a knife to
 hurt someone?” [t(48) = - 3.85, p< .001], “Threatened someone you knew with a knife?”
 [t(48) = - 2.44, p< .05]. Finally the results indicate that carrying a gun or a knife is a
 pattern (significance level .001) for the offenders who belong to the Elated Hero theme.

10.2.3 Personality of the Elated Hero

The HEXACO model of personality structure was used to identify domains and facets of
 the offenders who belong to the Elated Hero theme. Table 10.2.3.1 below shows the
 correlations between the Elated Hero theme and the HEXACO domain & facet level
 scales. The results showed that there is a negative significant relationship (p< .005)
 between the Elated Hero theme and the HEXACO facet levels of “fairness”, “fearfulness”

and “creativity”. It is significant to mention that when there is a negative significant relationship, the offenders scored low in the HEXACO inventory, while those who scored high there is a positive significant relationship. Therefore, Elated Hero offenders are willing to gain by cheating or stealing, feel little fear of injury and are relatively tough, brave, and insensitive to physical pain and have little inclination for original thought (Lee & Ashton, 2006).

Table 10.2.3.1: *Correlations Between Elated Hero Theme and HEXACO Domain & Facet-Level Scales*

	Elated Hero
<i>Honesty Humility</i>	-.140
Sincerity	-.011
Fairness	-.288*
Greed-Avoidance	.017
Modesty	-.091
<i>Emotionality</i>	-.248
Fearfulness	-.302*
Anxiety	-.201
Dependence	-.050
Sentimentality	-.084
<i>Extraversion</i>	.106
Social Self-Esteem	.095
Social Boldness	.107
Sociability	-.088
Liveliness	.149
<i>Agreeableness</i>	-.248
Forgiveness	-.147
Gentleness	-.258
Flexibility	-.031
Patience	-.242
<i>Conscientiousness</i>	.005
Organisation	-.052
Diligence	-.090
Perfectionism	.109
Prudence	.011
<i>Openness to Experience</i>	-.155
Aesthetic Appreciation	-.101
Inquisitiveness	-.006
Creativity	-.303*
Unconventionality	.023

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level

10.3 The Background of Calm Professional

10.3.1 The General and Social Background to Calm Professional

The relationship between Calm Professional and the age of the violent criminal was examined using Pearson's correlation.. No significant relationship between the Calm Professional offender narrative experience and the age was found. This indicates that age does not influence the criminal narrative experience. Table 10.3.1.1 below compares the mean scores of the Calm Professional theme via samples of the violent criminals who reported the type of qualification. The results supported previous findings that there is no significant relationship between the Calm Professional theme and qualification.

Table 10.3.1.1: *Comparison of Mean Levels of Calm Professional Across Qualification/Training Groups (t-test)*

Grouping Variable	N	MEAN FOR OFENDERS WITHOUT QUALIF.	SD	N	MEAN FOR OFENDERS WITH QUALIF.	SD	T-VALUE	df
LYKEUM (SECONDARY EDUCATION)	2	26.00	14.14	48	28.25	9.12	-.337	48
UNIVERSITY DEGREE	25	30.60	9.50	25	25.72	8.30	1.933	48
MILITARY TRAINING	30	26.57	8.22	20	30.55	10.18	-1.525	48
MILITARY: SPECIAL FORCES	39	27.87	8.46	11	29.18	11.76	-.415	48

Significance: * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 10.3.1.2 displays the dissimilarities in the Calm Professional theme via different family background groups. The results indicate that there is no significant relationship

between the Calm Professional theme and whether they lived with both parents or lived with one parent.

Table 10.3.1.2: *Comparison of Mean Levels of Calm Professional Across Family Background Groups (t-test)*

Grouping Variable	N	MEAN FOR OFENDERS WITHOUT BACKGR.	SD	N	MEAN FOR OFENDERS WITH BACKGR.	SD	T-VALUE	df
BOTH PARENTS	10	29.80	11.74	28	27.86	9.54	.520	36
LIVING WITH ONE PARENT	36	28.03	9.51	2	34.50	21.92	-.451a	1.021

Significance: * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

10.3.2 The Criminal Background of the Calm Professional

The relationship of the Calm Professional theme with the number of convictions and the age at first conviction was examined using Pearson's correlation.. Results indicated that the number of convictions and the age at first conviction are not significantly related to the Calm Professional narrative experience theme.

Table 10.3.2.1 below displays the comparison of mean levels of the Calm Professional across three conviction types. The t-test indicated that only violent offenders with convictions of Violence offences reported significantly [$t(48) = -2.25, p < .05$] higher levels of Calm Professional offender experience compared to those with no convictions.

Table 10.3.2.1: *Comparison of Mean Levels of Calm Professional Across Conviction Types*

	N	MEAN FOR OFFENDERS WITHOUT CONVICTION	SD	N	MEAN FOR OFFENDERS WITH CONVICTION	SD	T-VALUE	df
Property offences	47	27.66	9.19	3	36.00	4.00	-1.549	48
Violence	45	27.22	8.74	5	36.60	9.45	-2.258*	48
Driving offences	48	27.75	9.07	2	38	7.07	-1.572	48

Significance: * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 10.3.2.2 shows the comparison of mean levels of Calm Professional across Family Criminal History groups and the t-tests indicate that there is no significant relationship.

Table 10.3.2.2: *Comparison of Mean Levels of Calm Professional Across Family Criminal History Groups (t-test)*

Grouping Variable	N	NO FAMILY CONVICTION GROUP MEAN	SD	N	FAMILY CONVICTION GROUP MEAN	SD	T-VALUE	df
PARENTS WITH CONVICTIONS	46	27.74	8.96	4	33.00	11.63	-1.103	48
SIBLINGS WITH CONVICTIONS	47	28.28	9.03	3	26.33	13.31	.353	48

Significance: * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 10.3.2.3 shows the comparison of mean levels of Calm Professional across the criminal justice sanction groups and the t-tests indicate that there is significant relationship [t(48) = -2.13, $p < .05$] between the Calm Professional theme and probation.

Table 10.3.2.3: *Comparison of Mean Levels of Calm Professional Across Criminal Justice Sanction Groups (t-test)*

Grouping Variable	N	MEAN FOR OFENDERS WITHOUT SENTENCE	SD	N	MEAN FOR OFENDERS WITH SENTENCE	SD	T-VALUE	df
PRISON	48	28.02	9.12	2	31.50	13.43	-.522	48
PROBATION	42	26.80	8.41	8	34.13	11.12	-2.135*	48

Significance: * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 10.3.2.4 (see Appendix II) displays the comparison of mean levels of Calm Professional theme across the D60 Self-Reported Offending Behaviour. The t-tests indicated that there is a significant relationship between the Calm Professional theme and several offending behaviours; “Broken into a house, shop or school and taken money or something else you wanted?” [t(48) = -2.10, $p < .05$], “Threaten to beat someone up if they didn’t give you money or something else you wanted?” [t(48) = - 3.43, $p < .001$], “Actually shot at someone with a gun?” [t(48) = -2.08, $p < .05$], “Pulled a knife, gun or some other weapon on someone just to let them know you meant business?” [t(48) = - 2.77, $p < .01$], “Broken the windows of an empty house or other unoccupied building?” [t(48) = -2.99, $p < .01$], “Bought something you knew had been stolen?” [t(48) = -3.08, $p < .01$], “Intentionally started a building on fire?” [t(48) = -2.38, $p < .05$], “Been involved in gang fights?” [t(48) = -3.12, $p < .05$], “Taken things of large value (worth more than £100) from a shop without paying for them?” [t(48) = -3.28, $p < .01$], “Broken into a house, shop, school or other building to break things up or cause other damage?” [t(48) = - 3.81, $p < .001$], “Used or carried a gun to help you commit a crime?” [t(48) = - 5.22, $p < .001$], “Prepared an escape route before you carried out a crime?” [t(48) = - 3.19, $p < .01$], “Taken care not to leave evidence (like fingerprints) after carrying out a crime?” [t(48) = - 4.07, $p < .01$], “Acted as ‘watch’ or ‘lookout’?” [t(48) = -3.02, $p < .01$], “Taken special tools with you to help you carry out a crime?” [t(48) = -2.80, $p < .01$], “Stolen a car to ring it?” [t(48) = -2.17, $p < .05$], “Nicked a car to go for a ride in it and then abandoned it?” [t(48) = -2.85, $p < .05$], “Made a shop assistant give you money from the till?” [t(48) = -2.76, $p < .01$], “Done a burglary in a place that you knew would be hard to get into?” [t(48) = -2.09, $p < .05$], “Taken drugs you didn’t want because everyone else there was having them?” [t(48) = -2.12, $p < .05$], “Pretended your giro had been nicked because you needed a bit more money?” [t(48) = -2.51, $p < .05$], “Actually used a knife to hurt someone?” [t(48) = -3.38,

$p < .05$], “Done a burglary on a really big, posh house?” [$t(48) = -2.60, p < .05$], “Broken into a warehouse and stolen goods worth more than £1000?” [$t(48) = -2.97, p < .01$], “Set fire to a car even though you didn’t know whose it was?” [$t(48) = -2.64, p < .05$], “Threatened someone you knew with a knife?” [$t(48) = -3.32, p < .01$].

10.3.3 Personality of the Calm Professional

Table 10.3.3.1 below shows the correlations between the Calm Professional theme and the HEXACO domain & facet level scales. The results showed that there is a negative significant relationship ($p < .005$) between the Calm Professional theme and the HEXACO Domain “Honesty-Humility” and the facet level of “Aesthetic Appreciation”. Also, the results showed that there is a negative significant relationship ($p < .01$) between the Calm Professional theme and the HEXACO facet level of “fairness” and “creativity” and the Domain of “Openness to Experience”.

Thus, based on the HEXACO scale descriptions, Calm Professionals will flatter others to get what they want, are inclined to break rules for personal profit, are motivated by material gain, and feel a strong sense of self-importance, are persons rather unimpressed by most works of art, feel little intellectual curiosity, avoid creative pursuits, and feel little attraction toward ideas that may seem radical or unconventional, are willing to gain by cheating or stealing, tend not to become absorbed in works of art or in natural wonder and have little inclination for original thought.

Table 10.3.3.1: *Correlations Between Calm Professional Theme and HEXACO Domain & Facet-Level Scales*

	Calm Professional
<i>Honesty Humility</i>	-.279*
Sincerity	-.199
Fairness	-.372**
Greed-Avoidance	-.120
Modesty	-.055
<i>Emotionality</i>	-.133
Fearfulness	-.152
Anxiety	-.162
Dependence	-.064
Sentimentality	.031
<i>Extraversion</i>	-.007
Social Self-Esteem	.083
Social Boldness	-.112
Sociability	-.160
Liveliness	.167
<i>Agreeableness</i>	.019
Forgiveness	-.098
Gentleness	-.090
Flexibility	.186
Patience	-.100
<i>Conscientiousness</i>	.032
Organisation	.104
Diligence	-.212
Perfectionism	.052
Prudence	.101
<i>Openness to Experience</i>	-.367**
Aesthetic Appreciation	-.324*
Inquisitiveness	-.091
Creativity	-.390**
Unconventionality	-.169

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level

10.4 The Background of Distressed Revenger

10.4.1 The General and Social Background to Distressed Revenger

The relationship between Distressed Revenger and the age of the violent criminal was examined using Pearson's correlation.. No significant relationship between the Distressed Revenger offender narrative experience and the age was found. This indicates that age does not influence the criminal narrative experience. Table 10.4.1.1 below compares the mean scores of the Distressed Revenger theme via samples of the violent criminals who reported the type of qualification. The results supported previous findings that there is almost no significant relationship between the Distressed Revenger theme and qualification. However, a t-test indicates that there is a significant relationship [$t(48) = -2.01, p < .05$] between the Distressed Revenger theme and secondary education.

Table 10.4.1.1: Comparison of Mean Levels of Distressed Revenger Across Qualification/Training Groups (*t*-test)

Grouping Variable	N	MEAN FOR OFENDERS WITHOUT QUALIF.	SD	N	MEAN FOR OFENDERS WITH QUALIF.	SD	T-VALUE	df
LYKEUM (SECONDARY EDUCATION)	2	30.50	4.95	48	42.46	8.26	-2.019*	48
UNIVERSITY DEGREE	25	41.68	9.71	25	42.28	7.18	-.248	48
MILITARY TRAINING	30	42.23	7.68	20	41.60	9.71	.257	48
MILITARY: SPECIAL FORCES	39	41.85	8.24	11	42.45	9.61	-.209	48

Significance: * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 10.4.1.2 displays the dissimilarities in the Distressed Revenger theme via different family background groups. The results indicate that there is no significant relationship between the Distressed Revenger them and whether they lived with both parents or lived with one parent.

Table 10.4.1.2: *Comparison of Mean Levels of Distressed Revenger Across Family Background Groups (t-test)*

Grouping Variable	N	MEAN FOR OFENDERS WITHOUT BACKGR.	SD	N	MEAN FOR OFENDERS WITH BACKGR.	SD	T- VALUE	df
BOTH PARENTS	10	44.40	9.16	28	42.21	8.34	.693	36
LIVING WITH ONE PARENT	36	42.19	8.32	2	53.50	.707	-1.895	36

Significance: * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

10.4.2 The Criminal Background to Distressed Revenger

The relationship between the Distressed Revenger theme with the number of convictions and the age at first conviction was examined using Pearson's correlation.. Results indicated that the number of convictions and the age at first conviction are not significantly related to the Distressed Revenger narrative experience theme.

Table 10.4.2.1 below displays the comparison of mean levels of the Distressed Revenger across three conviction types. The t-test indicated that only violent offenders with convictions of Violence offences reported significantly [$t(48) = -2.80, p < .05$] higher levels of Distressed Revenger offender experience compared to those with no convictions.

Table 10.4.2.1: *Comparison of Mean Levels of Distressed Revenger Across Conviction Types*

	N	MEAN FOR OFFENDERS WITHOUT CONVICTIO N	SD	N	MEAN FOR OFFENDERS WITH CONVICTIO N	SD	T- VALUE	df
Property offences	47	42.40	8.37	3	35.33	8.50	1.418	48
Violence	45	40.93	8.12	5	51.40	5.27	-2.801**	48
Driving offences	48	41.96	8.59	2	42.50	6.36	-.088	48

Significance: * $p<.05$ ** $p<.01$ *** $p<.001$

Table 10.4.2.2 shows the comparison of mean levels of Distressed Revenger across Family Criminal History groups and the t-tests indicate that there is no significant relationship.

Table 10.4.2.2: *Comparison of Mean Levels of Distressed Revenger Across Family Criminal History Groups (t-test)*

Grouping Variable	N	NO FAMILY CONVICTIO N GROUP MEAN	SD	N	FAMILY CONVICTIO N GROUP MEAN	SD	T- VALU E	df
PARENTS WITH CONVICTIONS	46	42.09	8.30	4	40.75	11.52	.300	48
SIBLINGS WITH CONVICTIONS	47	42.23	8.65	3	38.00	2.64	.838	48

Significance: * $p<.05$ ** $p<.01$ *** $p<.001$

Table 10.4.2.3 shows the comparison of mean levels of Distressed Revenger across the criminal justice sanction groups and a t-test indicates that there is no significant relationship with imprisonment, while it indicates that there is a significant relationship [t(48) = -2.55, $p<.05$] with probation.

Table 10.4.2.3: *Comparison of Mean Levels of Distressed Revenger Across Criminal Justice Sanction Groups (t-test)*

Grouping Variable	N	MEAN FOR OFFENDERS WITHOUT SENTENCE	SD	N	MEAN FOR OFFENDERS WITH SENTENCE	SD	T-VALUE	df
PRISON	48	41.52	8.25	2	53.00	7.07	-1.931	48
PROBATION	42	41.02	7.56	8	48.75	9.17	-2.553*	48

Significance: * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 10.4.2.4 (see Appendix II) displays the comparison of mean levels of Distressed Revenger theme across the D60 Self-Reported Offending Behaviour. The t-tests indicated that there is a significant relationship between the Distressed Revenger theme and several offending behaviours; “Broken into a house, shop or school and taken money or something else you wanted?” [$t(48) = -2.12, p < .01$], “Pulled a knife, gun or some other weapon on someone just to let them know you meant business?” [$t(48) = -2.31, p < .05$], “Taken special tools with you to help you carry out a crime?” [$t(48) = -2.10, p < .05$], “Set fire to a car even though you didn’t know whose it was?” [$t(48) = -2.82, p < .01$].

10.4.3 Personality of the Distressed Revenger

Table 10.4.3.1 below shows the correlations between the Distressed Revenger theme and the HEXACO domain & facet level scales. The results showed that there is a negative significant relationship between the Distressed Revenger theme and the HEXACO facet levels; sociability, agreeableness and creativity ($p < .005$) and gentleness ($p < .001$). Thus, based on the HEXACO description scale, Distressed Revengers hold grudges against those who have harmed them, are rather critical of others' shortcomings, are stubborn in defending their point of view, and feel anger readily in response to mistreatment. In addition, Distressed Revengers generally prefer solitary activities and do not seek out

conversation have little inclination for original thought and tend to be critical in their evaluations of others

Table 10.4.3.1: *Correlations Between Distressed Revenger Theme and HEXACO Domain & Facet-Level Scales*

	Distressed Revenger
<i>Honesty Humility</i>	-.023
Sincerity	.191
Fairness	-.091
Greed-Avoidance	.002
Modesty	-.208
<i>Emotionality</i>	-.225
Fearfulness	-.139
Anxiety	-.081
Dependence	-.098
Sentimentality	-.212
<i>Extraversion</i>	-.069
Social Self-Esteem	.021
Social Boldness	.101
Sociability	-.304*
Liveliness	-.095
<i>Agreeableness</i>	-.340*
Forgiveness	-.107
Gentleness	-.383**
Flexibility	-.248
Patience	-.182
<i>Conscientiousness</i>	.020
Organisation	-.069
Diligence	.099
Perfectionism	-.005
Prudence	.034
<i>Openness to Experience</i>	-.222
Aesthetic Appreciation	.014
Inquisitiveness	-.028
Creativity	-.297*
Unconventionality	-.262

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level

10.5 The Background of Depressed Victim

10.5.1 The General and Social Background to Depressed Victim

The relationship between Depressed Victim and the age of the violent criminal was examined using Pearson's correlation.. No significant relationship between the Depressed Victim offender narrative experience and the age. This indicates that age does not influence the criminal narrative experience. Table 10.5.1.1 below compares the mean scores of the Depressed Victim theme via samples of the violent criminals who reported the type of qualification. The results supported previous findings that there is no significant relationship between the Depressed Victim theme and qualification. However, a t-test indicated that there is a significant relationship [$t(48) = 2.08, p < .05$] between the Depressed Victim theme and military training in the Greek Special Forces.

Table 10.5.1.1: *Comparison of Mean Levels of Depressed Victim Across Qualification/Training Groups (t-test)*

Grouping Variable	N	MEAN FOR OFFENDERS WITHOUT QUALIF.	SD	N	MEAN FOR OFFENDERS WITH QUALIF.	SD	T-VALUE	df
LYKEUM (SECONDARY EDUCATION)	2	43.50	7.77	48	41.71	10.76	.232	48
UNIVERSITY DEGREE	25	41.96	11.21	25	41.60	10.19	.119	48
MILITARY TRAINING	30	43.50	11.89	20	39.20	7.91	1.418	48
MILITARY: SPECIAL FORCES	39	43.38	10.95	11	36.09	7.06	2.081*	48

Significance: * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 10.5.1.2 displays the dissimilarities in the Depressed Victim theme via different family background groups. The results indicate that there is no significant relationship

between the Depressed Victim theme and whether they lived with both parents or lived with one parent.

Table 10.5.1.2: *Comparison of Mean Levels of Depressed Victim Across Family Background Groups (t-test)*

Grouping Variable	N	MEAN FOR OFENDERS WITHOUT BACKGR.	SD	N	MEAN FOR OFENDERS WITH BACKGR.	SD	T-VALUE	df
BOTH PARENTS	10	38.10	6.24	28	41.79	10.18	-1.069	36
LIVING WITH ONE PARENT	36	41.31	9.24	2	32.00	9.89	1.383	36

Significance: * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

10.5.2 The Criminal Background to Depressed Victim

The relationship between the Depressed Victim theme with the number of convictions and the age at first conviction was examined using Pearson's correlation.. Results indicates that the number of convictions and the age at first conviction are not significantly related to the Depressed Victim narrative experience theme.

Table 10.5.2.1 below displays the comparison of mean levels of the Depressed Victim across three conviction types. The t-test indicated that there is no significant relationship between the Depressed Victim theme and conviction types, which is different when compared to the other three types of offender narrative experience.

Table 10.5.2.1: Comparison of Mean Levels of Depressed Victim Across Conviction Types

	N	MEAN FOR OFFENDERS WITHOUT CONVICTION	SD	N	MEAN FOR OFFENDERS WITH CONVICTION	SD	T-VALUE	df
Property offences	47	41.34	10.78	3	48.67	2.51	-.139	48
Violence	45	41.60	9.98	5	43.40	16.72	-.357	48
Driving offences	48	41.98	10.58	2	37.00	14.14	.646	48

Significance: * p<.05 ** p<.01 * p<.001**

Table 10.5.2.2 shows the comparison of mean levels of Depressed Victim across Family Criminal History groups and the t-tests indicate that there is no significant relationship.

Table 10.5.2.2: Comparison of Mean Levels of Depressed Victim Across Family Criminal History Groups (t-test)

Grouping Variable	N	NO FAMILY CONVICTION GROUP MEAN	SD	N	FAMILY CONVICTION GROUP MEAN	SD	T-VALUE	df
PARENTS WITH CONVICTIONS	46	41.83	10.93	4	41.25	6.70	.103	48
SIBLINGS WITH CONVICTIONS	47	41.68	10.72	3	43.33	10.40	-.259	48

Significance: * p<.05 ** p<.01 * p<.001**

Table 10.5.2.3 shows the comparison of mean levels of Depressed Victim across the criminal justice sanction groups and the t-tests indicate that there is no significant relationship.

Table 10.5.2.3: *Comparison of Mean Levels of Depressed Victim Across Criminal Justice Sanction Groups (t-test)*

Grouping Variable	N	MEAN FOR OFFENDERS WITHOUT SENTENCE	SD	N	MEAN FOR OFFENDERS WITH SENTENCE	SD	T-VALUE	df
PRISON	48	41.92	10.80	2	38.50	3.53	.443	48
PROBATION	42	42.22	11.05	8	38.63	8.38	.869	48

Significance: * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ *** $p < .001$

Table 10.5.2.4 (see Appendix II) displays the comparison of mean levels of Depressed Victim theme across the D60 Self-Reported Offending Behaviour. The t-tests indicated that there is a significant relationship between the Depressed Victim theme and one offending behaviour; “Had to take part in a fight your mates were having with another group of kids even though you didn’t want to?” [$t(48) = 2.30, p < .05$].

10.5.3 Personality of the Depressed Victim

Table 10.5.3.1 below shows the correlations between the Depressed Victim theme and the HEXACO domain & facet level scales. The results showed that there is a significant relationship between the Depressed Victim theme and the HEXACO Domain-facet levels; “emotionality”, “fearfulness”, “anxiety” ($p < .005$) and “liveliness” ($p < .001$). Therefore, based on the HEXACO description list, Depressed Victims experience fear of physical dangers, experience anxiety in response to life's stresses, feel a need for emotional support from others, feel empathy and sentimental attachments with others. In addition, they are strongly inclined to avoid physical harm, tend to become preoccupied even by relatively minor problems and tend not to feel especially cheerful or dynamic.

Table 10.5.3.1: *Correlations Between Depressed Victim Theme and HEXACO Domain & Facet-Level Scales*

	Depressed Victim
<i>Honesty Humility</i>	-.046
Sincerity	.097
Fairness	.027
Greed-Avoidance	-.112
Modesty	-.196
<i>Emotionality</i>	.319*
Fearfulness	.344*
Anxiety	.337*
Dependence	-.038
Sentimentality	.119
<i>Extraversion</i>	-.210
Social Self-Esteem	-.290*
Social Boldness	.017
Sociability	.112
Liveliness	-.404**
<i>Agreeableness</i>	-.002
Forgiveness	.062
Gentleness	.022
Flexibility	-.096
Patience	.013
<i>Conscientiousness</i>	-.250
Organisation	-.208
Diligence	-.216
Perfectionism	-.204
Prudence	-.131
<i>Openness to Experience</i>	.079
Aesthetic Appreciation	.042
Inquisitiveness	-.123
Creativity	.224
Unconventionality	.027

** Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level

* Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level

10.6 Summary

This chapter examined the relationship between the Criminal Narrative Experience (Emotions and Narrative Roles) and the general and social and criminal backgrounds as well as personality of violent offenders. Results revealed that Elated Hero violent

offenders, had been involved in various self-reporting offending behaviours (such as burglary, threats, violence, arson, gang fights, weapon use, robbery), are willing to gain by cheating or stealing, feel little fear of injury and are relatively tough, brave, and insensitive to physical pain and have little inclination for original thought. Calm professional violent offenders had a previous conviction for violence, had not been on probation before, had been involved in various self-reporting offending behaviours (such as burglary, threats, violence, arson, gang fights, weapon use, robbery, drug use, fraud, other property crimes), will flatter others to get what they want, are inclined to break rules for personal profit, are motivated by material gain, and feel a strong sense of self-importance, are persons rather unimpressed by most works of art, feel little intellectual curiosity, avoid creative pursuits, and feel little attraction toward ideas that may seem radical or unconventional, are willing to gain by cheating or stealing, tend not to become absorbed in works of art or in natural wonder and have little inclination for original thought. Distressed revengers had all finished secondary education, had a conviction for violence, had not been on probation before, had been involved in various self-reporting offending behaviours (such as burglary, threats, arson), hold grudges against those who have harmed them, are rather critical of others' shortcomings, are stubborn in defending their point of view, and feel anger readily in response to mistreatment, prefer solitary activities and do not seek out conversation have little inclination for original thought and tend to be critical in their evaluations of others. Finally, Depressed Victims had not served in the special forces of the Greek Military, had been involved in fights according to their self-reporting offending behaviour, experience fear of physical dangers, experience anxiety in response to life's stresses, feel a need for emotional support from others, feel empathy and sentimental attachments with others, are strongly inclined to avoid physical harm, tend to become preoccupied even by relatively minor problems and tend not to feel especially cheerful or dynamic.

PART 3

DISCUSSION & CONCLUSIONS

CHAPTER 11

DISCUSSION - CONCLUSIONS

11.1 General Discussion

The main aim of this study was to examine whether the Criminal Narrative Experience framework developed for offending experience in general and with a British sample can be applied specifically to violent offending experience in a different context (Greece). Most of the previous studies on violent offenders, as seen in chapters 2 and 3, have focused either on the emotional experience or narrative roles individually. The purpose of this study was to investigate how violent offenders' narratives, emotions, and their correlates with background and personality can shape their violent actions and to unfold violent offending patterns. The experience of committing a violent act, was investigated in four studies. Below, the findings of each study are discussed separately.

11.1.1 Findings on Emotions of Violent Offending (Study 1)

The objectives of this study were to examine if the overall framework of emotions that experienced by violent offenders during a violent offence may be distinguished in relation to different emotional themes, such as elation, calm, distress and depression and to determine whether the circumplex model of Russell (1997) can be applied to violent offending emotional experience. Previous studies (Canter & Ioannou, 2004; Ioannou, 2006; Spruin, 2012) identified the establishment of the circumplex model of emotions upon the experience of crime, but not exclusively on violent crime and Greek perpetrators.

Thus the current study examined the overall framework of emotions that was experienced by Greek violent offenders during a violent episode. Results revealed that the emotional experience of violent offending reflected successfully Russell's Circumplex of emotions (1997) and identified four emotional themes based on two categorised emotions of pleasantness and unpleasantness; Calm and Elation (Pleasure) and Distress and Depression (Displeasure). Analysis showed that items forming each one of these themes had high internal consistency. In accordance with previous research (Ioannou, 2006), the arousal axis was less differentiated than the pleasure axis. Ioannou (2006) found that the experience of crime might be more bipolar than the usual range of emotions, particularly regarding the dominance of pleasure-displeasure axis, while Spruin (2012) found a degree of separation amongst the emotional experience during an offence that are of higher and lower arousal. In general, the research proposes that the full range of emotions based on the Russell's model (1997) is partially established upon mentally disordered offenders.

In addition, the mean scores indicated that the offenders experienced lower levels of depression feelings compared to previous studies (see Ioannou, 2006). Looking into the means in more detail, we see that the highest scores were for the emotions of confident, angry, irritated, courageous. While anger as instigator of violence has been identified in previous studies (Birkley & Eckhardt, 2015; Pendersen, Bushman, Vasquez & Miller, 2008), confidence and courage are very prominent in this sample. Perhaps this is a result of the offenders belonging to a group/organisation that provides them with safety.

Further analysis showed that 96% of the cases could be assigned into one of the emotion themes with Elation being the most frequent type. This finding is very similar to the findings of Katz (1988) regarding the pleasure skinheads (a subcultural group) felt during their violent offences. As discussed before in Chapter 2, studies (i.e. Slovic, Finucane, Peters, & MacGregor 2002; Finucane, Peters, & Slovic, 2003) indicate a link

between pleasantness and decision preparation, as humans select risky options because they have an average expectation of positive emotions (Mellers, 2000).

11.1.2 Findings on Narrative Roles of Violent Offending (Study 2)

The objectives of this study were to examine if the overall framework of roles that experienced by violent offenders during a violent offence may be distinguished in relation to separate narrative themes, such as hero, professional, revenger and victim; extending previous criminal narrative studies (Presser, 2004, 2009, 2010; Ioannou, 2006; Youngs & Canter, 2011, 2012) and to investigate the relationship of these narratives with Frey's (1957) story forms (mythoi).

Previous studies by Canter, Kaouri and Ioannou (2003) and Ioannou (2006) examined whether criminals could provide their own understanding regarding the roles that they acted out while they were committing their offences and identified four narrative roles Hero, Professional, Revenger, Victim that correspond to Frye's (1957) theory of mythoi (romance, irony, tragedy and comedy). These results suggested that these narrative roles can be applied to offending experience as a whole.

The results of the present study demonstrated that this thematic variation can be also applied to violent offenders through the identification of the same narrative roles and that these narrative roles are associated with Frye's story forms supporting previous literature (Kaouri & Ioannou 2003; Ioannou, 2006; Canter & Youngs, 2009; Youngs & Canter 2011, 2012). Analysis showed that items forming each one of these themes had high internal consistency.

In addition, the mean scores indicated that the offenders in their majority felt that they knew what they were doing, what they were doing was the right thing to do and they were trying to get revenge. This is not surprising, as revenge has been previously identified

in violent crime (Indermaur, 1995; Katz, 1988). Katz (1988) explored the emotions and feelings involved in violent crimes, and found the emotion of revenge to be one of the most frequent. Indermaur (1995) concluded that quite a few violent offenders had feelings of revenge. Sandberg, Tutenges and Copes (2015) found that such intimidation narratives illustrate circumstances of inter-subjective imbalance involving disrespect and eventually leading to revengeful violent actions. It is important to say that this is rather similar to the “revenger” narrative theme that was identified in previous studies. In addition, a gang-related study from Vasquez, Lickel and Hennigan (2010) showed that motivation to retaliate against outgroup members is increased when the ingroup social identity is strong.

Although, revenge seemed to be an important aspect in their decision to commit crime, when cases were assigned into one of the narrative role themes (overall 94% of the cases were assigned into one of the themes), the theme of Revenger came second. The most frequent type was Hero. This finding contradicts previous study (Ioannou et al, 2015) that found that Revenger was the main narrative role acted out by violent offenders. Hochsteler et al (2014) argue that individuals who share fighting stories are expressing their masculinity and this is based on the story pattern of the heroic man. In addition, the “hero” narrative theme represents a resemblance to the intimidation narrative theme identified by Sandberg, Tutenges and Copes (2015) who argue that the hero in moral narratives is fighting the enemies who are evil.

To conclude, Greek Violent Offenders of this study mainly acted out the role of a Hero or Revenger. This may lead to the following three conclusions regarding the narrative roles of the current sample

- 1) Greek Violent Offenders are individuals who have certain moral codes (based on the subculture they belong) and feel like heroes in a battle against rival groups along with their moral justification of their violence.

- 2) Greek Violent Offenders are individuals who want to take revenge because of their group and are exaggerating their violent capabilities in order to build a reputation of merciless toughness
- 3) Greek Violent Offenders are individuals who may have to become violent based on their moral codes of the groups they belong to.

11.1.3 Findings on the Criminal Narrative Experience of Violent Offending (Study 3)

The objective of this study was to investigate the relationship between the emotions and narrative roles experienced by violent offenders. It has been found that emotions depend on the current role that a person acts out (Mancuso, 1985). In addition, Sarbin (1995) indicated the importance of the relationship between the role of the actors and the emotional experience they have. Moreover, Presser's study (2009) on criminal narratives proposed that a narrative consists of cognitive interpretations, self-identities and emotions. Following Presser's study (2009), Youngs and Canter (2012) argued that there is an emotional quality of the particular narrative role the offender has. In addition, Kolb (2014) argued that subcultural membership depends on knowing how to talk, act and experience emotions and in order to fit in an emotional subculture is not a passive accomplishment; the ethnic group (Kang 2003), the gender (Pierce 1995) and the race (Wilkins 2012) can have an impact on which emotions the individual must follow in order to attain subcultural membership. Moreover, Pennebaker and Seagal (1999) designate the association of negative-experienced stories with positive psychological health. Ioannou (2006) and Ioannou, Canter and Youngs (2016, in press) identified a link between the emotions experienced and the narratives roles acted out (namely the Criminal Narrative Experience) while committing an offence.

The exploration of the Greek Violent offending population indicated that there are four distinct narrative roles (Professional, Hero, Victim and Revenger) and four themes of emotions (Calm, Elation, Depression and Distress) and further confirmed the identification of four criminal narrative experience themes that are made up of the four emotions themes and the four narrative roles themes, namely Calm Professional, Elated Hero, Depressed Victim and Distressed Revenger, in support of previous research (Ioannou, 2006). While previous research has identified the four themes this was done on the offending experience as a whole and not exclusively on the criminal narrative experience of violent offending. The identification of the Criminal Narrative Experience framework lends support for this model and its potential and significance for various areas as discussed below in the implications. The four themes are described below:

Calm Professional

This theme contains the Calm theme of emotion experience and the Professional theme of narrative roles. This offender can be illustrated as someone who acts as a professional, experience the incident as a routine, as a job and/or as a mission, he/she has a plan and perceives the offence as a usual day at work, he/she perceives it as something no special, the individual feels safe, relaxed and/or calm. In relation to Russell's circumplex of emotions (1997) and Frye's mythoi (1957) the Calm Professional experiences pleasant and positive emotions and the theme reflects the Romance story form.

Elated Hero

This theme contains the Elated theme of emotion experience and the Hero theme of narrative roles. This offender can be illustrated as someone who acts as a confident person and has the right to do it, someone who feels excited, enthusiastic and delighted, a person

who find it manly to do it and a person who perceives the offence as an interesting adventure. In relation to Russell's circumplex of emotions (1997) and Frye's mythoi (1957) the Elated Hero experiences pleasant and positive emotions and the theme reflects the Comedy story form. In relation to Russell's circumplex of emotions (1997) and Frye's mythoi (1957) the Depressed Victim experiences unpleasant and negative emotions and the theme reflects the Irony story form.

Depressed Victim

This theme contains the Depressed theme of emotion experience and the Victim theme of narrative roles. This offender can be illustrated as someone who acts as a victimized person, who felt pointless and sad, who was confused and felt unhappy about what was happening, who felt that he/she wasn't part of it, who felt lonely, worried and helpless and who felt upset and annoyed. In relation to Russell's circumplex of emotions (1997) and Frye's mythoi (1957) the Depressed Victim experiences unpleasant and negative emotions and the theme reflects the Irony story form.

Distressed Revenger

This theme contains the Distressed theme of emotion experience and the Revenger theme of narrative roles. Hence this category of offender can be illustrated as someone who acts as a revengeful person who is angry and irritated, who was getting his/her own back, who acts like it is his/her only choice, who knew what was happening but he/she did not care and a courageous person who has to do it. In relation to Russell's circumplex of emotions (1997) and Frye's mythoi (1957) the Distressed Revenger experiences unpleasant and negative emotions and the theme reflects the Tragedy story form.

Analysis showed that items forming each one of these themes had high internal consistency.

In addition, it was possible to assign 98% of the cases into one of the themes with Elated Hero (54%) being the most frequent type followed by Distressed Revenger (36%). This finding contrasts with Ioannou 's findings (2006) who found that the most frequent pure type for a small subgroup of violent offenders she examined was Distressed Revenger (60%) followed by Depressed Victim (15%) and Elated Hero (15%). Thus, it is concluded that Greek Violent Offenders are experiencing more positive emotions and are persons who enjoy violence compared to non-Greek criminal populations who experience negative emotions. This can be interpreted by the fact that the current sample was not comprised by violent offenders who committed individual acts of violence but belonged to a group/organisation and most of them participated in collective violence which confers a heroic status to its members. In addition, it is possible that constructions of masculinity are different in the Greek culture as it is evident by the presence of the 'manly' variable in the Elated Hero theme.

11.1.4 Findings on the Correlates of the Criminal Narrative Experience of Violent Offending (Study 4)

The objectives of this study were to examine the relationship between the Criminal Narrative Experience (Emotions and Narrative Roles) and the general and social backgrounds of violent offenders, the relationship between the Criminal Narrative Experience (Emotions and Narrative Roles) and the criminal background of violent offenders and the relationship between the Criminal Narrative Experience (Emotions and Narrative Roles) and the personality of violent offenders.

The relationship of the background of the Criminal Narrative Experience has never been investigated exclusively with Greek violent criminals. Previous literature (Canter & Ioannou, 2004; Ioannou, 2006) has indicated that the narrative experience would differ depending on the general background of the individual.

In general, the sample as a whole, were mostly young adults who have siblings and had an official warning by the police at age of fifteen and almost all had to take part in a fight with another group of individuals. It is questionable that most of the offenders (72%) have never been convicted and while they have been involved in various criminal activities they go undetected by the police. Most of them were quite educated with half of them holding a university degree. Again, the current sample is different regarding the educational level of the participants compared to previous studies (i.e. Ioannou, 2006). It is important to indicate that 40% of the population has military training, while 22% of the sample has been in the Special Forces of Greece. Below the background of the offenders is discussed separately for each theme:

Elated Hero

The current study found that there is no significant relationship between the Elated Hero offender narrative experience and age. This indicates that age does not have a relationship with this theme. In addition, the results supported previous findings that there is no significant relationship between the Elated Hero theme and other demographic characteristics, such as qualification, whether they lived with both parents or lived with one parent, age at first conviction, Family Criminal History, and criminal justice sanction (Ioannou, 2006). Also, only violent offenders with convictions of Violence offences reported significantly higher levels of Elated Hero offender experience compared to those with no convictions. Moreover, there is a significant relationship between the Elated Hero

theme and several offending behaviours, such as robbery, burglary, GBH, threats, gang fights, theft, weapon possession and drugs. It is important to mention that the results indicate that carrying a gun or a knife is a pattern for the offenders who belong to the Elated Hero theme. These are offenders, for whom violence seems to feature prominent in their lives. Finally, the HEXACO model of personality (Lee & Ashton, 2006) structure was used to identify domains and facets of the offenders who belong to the Elated Hero theme and showed that Elated Heroes are willing to gain by cheating or stealing, feel little fear of injury and are relatively tough, brave, and insensitive to physical pain and have little inclination for original thought.

Calm Professional

As with the Elated Hero theme no significant relationships and/or differences were identified between Calm Professional and age of offender, social, general and family background. Only violent offenders with convictions of violence offences reported significantly higher levels of Calm Professional offender experience compared to those with no convictions and no probation. Calm professional violent offenders had been involved in various self-reporting offending behaviours such as burglary, threats, violence, arson, gang fights, weapon use, robbery, drug use, fraud, other property crimes. This group of offenders reported more property crimes in relation to the Elated Hero. This can be explained by the fact that the calm professional is the type of offender who sees crime as a part of his everyday life and engages in crime in a qualified and specialised manner necessary for the commission of many property offences. Based on the HEXACO scale descriptions (Lee & Ashton, 2006), Calm Professionals will flatter others to get what they want, are inclined to break rules for personal profit, are motivated by material gain, and feel a strong sense of self-importance, are persons rather unimpressed by most works of

art, feel little intellectual curiosity, avoid creative pursuits, and feel little attraction toward ideas that may seem radical or unconventional, are willing to gain by cheating or stealing, tend not to become absorbed in works of art or in natural wonder and have little inclination for original thought.

Distressed Revenger

As with the previous themes no significant relationships and/or differences were identified between Distressed Revenger and age of offender, family, social and general background. It was although found that Distressed Revengers had a secondary education and a conviction for violence. Also, there was a significant relationship between the Distressed Revenger theme and several self-reported offending behaviours, such as burglary, arson, possession of a weapon and threats. It should be noted that this type of offender reported less offending behaviours in relation to the elated hero and the calm professional. This may be explained by the fact that the distressed revenger commits crimes due to feelings of revenge and because he seeks retaliation therefore crime in general does not feature strongly in his life. Based on the HEXACO description scale, Distressed Revengers hold grudges against those who have harmed them, are rather critical of others' shortcomings, are stubborn in defending their point of view, and feel anger readily in response to mistreatment. In addition, Distressed Revengers generally prefer solitary activities and do not seek out conversation have little inclination for original thought and tend to be critical in their evaluations of others.

Depressed Victim

Again, no significant relationships and/or differences were identified between the depressed victim theme and age of offender, family, social and general background. No

significant relationship was identified between the Depressed Victim theme and conviction types, which is different when compared to the other three types of offender narrative experience. The depressed victim was the only type with no conviction for violence. In addition, he didn't serve in the special forces of the Greek Military and he reported only one significant offending behaviour; fighting a rival group. These results can be interpreted by the fact that for the depressed victim crime does not feature in his everyday life. He is a confused and depressed individual, usually not powerful or having the sense of manliness as is also evident by the fact that he did not join or was not selected to join the special forces. Based on the HEXACO description list, Depressed Victims experience fear of physical dangers, experience anxiety in response to life's stresses, feel a need for emotional support from others, feel empathy and sentimental attachments with others. In addition, they are strongly inclined to avoid physical harm, tend to become preoccupied even by relatively minor problems and tend not to feel especially cheerful or dynamic.

11.2 Implications

The current study has several theoretical and practical implications and applications.

11.2.1. Theoretical Implications

Canter (2004) proposed that the narrative approach may offer a deeper understanding of criminal behaviour, as it facilitates the collaboration between the discipline of psychology and the law. By this viewpoint criminals are energetic mediators of their own acts, as the law identifies the narrative that describes how an offence was committed. The findings of this study have theoretical implications regarding the general conceptualisation of violent offending activities as it explores in depth the experiences of violent offenders compared to the traditional approach.

The current thesis on the Criminal Narrative Experience proposes a theoretical framework for the investigation of offending violent behaviour and an empirical examination of individual and collective violence amongst subculture individuals.

This thesis provides a new standpoint on subculture violent offenders as the information was taken directly from Greek Violent Offenders who belonged to subcultural groups (hooligans, extreme right wing) concerning the violent offences they committed. Also, it provides an insight into the emotional experience and the narrative roles they acted out indicating their importance relative to violence, while such perpetrators were committing violent offences. Finally, the current study makes a significant contribution to knowledge supporting previous relevant studies. It was the first time that a theoretical framework of Criminal Narrative Experience was combined with personality and the first time that was applied to a Greek population. Also, it was the first time that this framework focused exclusively on violent offenders compared to previous studies that focused on general offenders and included violent offenders that were involved in collective violence.

11.2.2. Practical Implications

Except for the theoretical implications, this thesis demonstrates several practical implications regarding the treatment of violent offenders.

11.2.2.1 Treatment

Treatment programs towards aggression and violence could treat violent offenders based on the four types of violent offenders indicated by this study. The findings of this study may help the therapist to understand in depth the emotions and narrative roles violent offenders experience during their violent acts together with their personality traits. Specifically, the current findings indicate which emotions, roles and personality

characteristics influenced the individual to commit such violent crimes. For instance, a violent offender who likes to gain by cheating and experiences pleasant emotions during violent acts may show the therapist to guide the intervention on other pleasant activities such as sports or martial arts. On the other hand, when a violent offender prefers solitary activities and experiences revengeful thoughts and emotions, the therapist may treat his/her frustration in such group based tasks. Furthermore, it would be helpful if the therapist is aware of the subculture the violent offender belongs to and perhaps gather some relevant information before the actual intervention; storytellers speak in 'borrowed words' (Frank 2012, p. 35). Additionally, it would be essential for the violent offenders to join other groups that they might be interested to join. McGloin et al (2011) argue that the construction of new identities offer human beings a landing spot where they can either change an identity or alter their present identity and that this identity framework indicates the development of new social and political groups. Finally, it would be helpful for the therapist to follow a systemic approach of family therapy, especially for Greek violent offenders. Kourakis (1988) found that Greek violent perpetrators are coming from broken-up families something that was not identified here but it is worth of further exploration.

11.2.2.1 Police Investigations

The study's findings may help police investigations. Firstly, they help law enforcement agencies to comprehend in depth how violent offenders think, feel and behave in order to find and capture them. These findings offer police officers with a different and unique framework for violent offending patterns regarding individuals who belong to subcultural and/or extreme groups. In addition, it offers a way to predict future violent offences and thus it designates a fundamental aspect in offender profiling. For example, Shuman (2005) argues that personal narratives of violence might be connected to the past, but may indicate

future acts of violence. Also, McGloin et al' study (2011) indicated that constant favourable values towards violence predict general criminal behaviour. Moreover, the current results indicate a way for the police to understand in depth the personalities of violent offenders and thus indicate the creation of new personality-based interviewing techniques. Finally, since the offenders were hooligans and/or extreme right wing individuals, the current study may promote anti-violence policies from the Greek government in order to reduce hate crime and sports violence.

11.3 Limitations and Future Directions

The current study supported the Criminal Narrative Experience that was previously identified in relevant studies and exclusively focused on violent crimes. It is essential to investigate separately other types of crimes, such as burglary, fraud, cybercrime and sexual offenses. In addition, it would be fruitful to develop a new Criminal Narrative Experience questionnaire taking into account Sandberg, Tutenges and Copes's (2015) narrative framework.

The current study had certain limitations. First of all, the questionnaires are translated in Greek for the first time and although they were translated by two persons (back translation), there is no certainty that this was accurate. Secondly, as multiple comparisons were made and multiple tests utilised caution should be exercised when interpreting the findings. In addition, while the sample was very unique and matchless, the number of participants was not representative of the violent population of Greece. Although it is nearly impossible to find individuals who are accused of being a member in a violent criminal organization, there are plenty of opportunities to replicate the study with other types of violent offenders who are not involved with an organisation. It is important to mention here that there are some cases where violence is perceived as meaningless

(Yakeley and Meloy, 2012). Moreover, it would be very interesting to investigate other forms of revengeful acts of violence, such as predatory violence. In addition, while most offenders were accused of collective violence by the courts, the description of the violent episode that they described was not always as part of a group activity but an individual act of violence. The current study did not investigate the differences between violent episodes of collective violence and individual acts of violence. Future studies on violent offenders belonging to a criminal or other organisation that promotes collective violence should also examine the influence of the group on individual acts of violence something that was not investigated here.

Studies from Meloy (2004, 2011) and Yakeley & Meloy (2012) use the term “predatory” violence, as an extreme form of aggressive behaviour, where the violent predator is ready to take his own life and the lives of others in order to benefit a particular political belief system. In addition, it would be very interesting to see a replication of the study with serial offenders. Also, it is important to mention that most of the offenders were males and it would be very interesting to see narrative studies conducted upon females exclusively.

Thus, future research will display a deeper understanding of several types of offenders based on the Criminal Narrative Experience combined with another narrative framework and personality characteristics regarding both genders.

11.4 Conclusions

The current study supported that the Criminal Narrative Experience framework developed for offending experience in general and with a British sample can be applied specifically to violent offending experience in a different context (i.e. a Greek sample). Interestingly though, it was revealed that contradictory to previous research the Greek violent offenders,

in their majority, saw their violent offending as a positive and pleasant experience as the dominant theme identified was that of the Elated Hero. What is not clear from the current findings is whether this is as a result of their cultural background or the fact that they belonged to either football/hooligan and/or extreme political groups (extreme right wing) something worth exploring in further studies.

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APPENDIX I



CONSENT FORM

Title of Research Project:

It is important that you read, understand and sign the consent form. Your contribution to this research is entirely voluntary and you are not obliged in any way to participate, if you require any further details please contact your researcher.

I have been fully informed of the nature and aims of this research ☐

I consent to taking part in it ☐

I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research at any time ☐
without giving any reason

I give permission for my words to be quoted (by use of pseudonym) ☐

I understand that the information collected will be kept in secure conditions ☐

at the International Research Centre of Investigative Psychology (IRCIP) archive. Also, the data may used to explore cross cultural differences across narrative themes based on the findings of other studies of the IRCIP.

I understand that no person other than the researcher/s and facilitator/s of IRCIP will have access to the

information provided. ☐

I understand that my identity will be protected by the use of pseudonym in the ☐
report and that no written information that could lead to my being identified will
be included in any report.

If you are satisfied that you understand the information and are happy to take part in this project please put a tick in the box aligned to each sentence and print and sign below.

Signature of Participant: <hr/>	Signature of Researcher: <hr/>
Print: <hr/>	Print: <hr/>
Date: <hr/>	Date: <hr/>

(one copy to be retained by Participant / one copy to be retained by Researcher)

Narrative experience and of violent offending in Greece

INFORMATION SHEET

You are being invited to take part in this study..... Before you decide to take part it is important that you understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it me if you wish. Please do not hesitate to ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information.

What is the study about?

The purpose of this study is to explore the experience of committing a violent offence.

Why I have been approached?

You have been asked to participate because you have committed a violent offence in the past.

Do I have to take part?

It is your decision whether or not you take part. If you decide to take part you will be asked to sign a consent form, and you will be free to withdraw at any time or not answer any questions you dot want to. .

What will I need to do?

If you agree to take part in the research, you should complete the questionnaire. It lasts approximately 90 minutes.

Will my identity be disclosed?

All information within the questionnaire will be kept confidential. In addition, the questionnaires will be anonymous without any identifiable characteristics (name and so on).

Am I safe to share with you criminal activities that I have not been convicted for?

All information within the questionnaires will be strictly confidential and anonymous. You are asked to fill in the questionnaires without writing any kind of identification on it (name etc) and

thus no one will know who completed the questionnaire. As a result, there is no obligation of the researcher to reveal any of your crimes to the authorities.

What will happen to the information?

All information collected from you during this research will be kept secure and any identifying material, such as names will be removed in order to ensure anonymity. It is anticipated that the research may, at some point, be published in a journal or report. However, should this happen, your anonymity will be ensured, although it may be necessary to use your answers or words in the presentation of the findings and your permission for this is included in the consent form.

Who can I contact for further information?

If you require any further information about the research, please contact me on:

Name: Sotiris Dedeloudis

E-mail: sdedeloudis@gmail.com

Telephone: 0044 07415346997 & 0030 6931655665

Crime narrative.

I would like you to tell me about and a violent offence that you have committed and can remember clearly. Describe one that is typical of the type of violent offences you have carried out in the past (excluding murder and/or rape). Please tell me in as much details about the event.

- Describe what happened.
- Describe who else it involved
- Describe what impact it had on your life

Please use space below to give your answers

Description of a Violent Crime

Please could you tell me about what you did in a bit more detail.....

BEFORE

What were the events leading up to you committing the crime?

What preparations, if any, did you make?

What type of place or person did you pick?

Who did you go with?

What did you take with you?

What did you do before you started?

How did you start the crime?

Did anyone see you starting the crime? Yes_____ No_____

If someone saw you starting the crime what did you do?

What happened next?

DURING: THE DETAIL OF THE MAIN EVENT

What were your reasons for doing this crime/ what was the main purpose? How did you go about trying to achieve this?

So what did you actually do? what did you actually do to the person?

Alternatives

You could have done this offence in a different way. What other ways might you have done it in? Why didn't you do it in these ways?

Sometimes you might decide to do a crime differently- can you think when and what you would have to adjust?

What else could you have done that you didn't? If so why?

So why did you stop/ leave it there?

Why did you choose this by doing this particular crime, rather than another type?

CHANGES due to SITUATIONAL FACTORS or INTERACTIONS

Did you change what you planned to do during the course of the crime at all? (if so how and why)

Did anything unexpected happen? How did this change what you did?

Did anyone/ the person do anything you didn't expect? So what did you do?

Was there anything in the place or about the place that you didn't expect? So what did you do?

ENDING

What did you do to make sure you didn't get caught?

How did you get out or away?

What did you do as soon as you got out or away?

Where did you go?

OVERVIEW

How long did the incident last?

How strong are your memories of the incident? Please tick a box

VERY STRONG	STRONG	QUITE STRONG	WEAK	VERY WEAK

For the **crime that you have just talked about**, please tell me how you felt.
Indicate the extent to which you felt each of the following:

	Not at all	Just a little	Some	A lot	Very Much
1. Lonely	1	2	3	4	5
2. Scared	1	2	3	4	5
3. Exhilarated	1	2	3	4	5
4. Confident	1	2	3	4	5
5. Upset	1	2	3	4	5
6. Pleased	1	2	3	4	5
7. Calm	1	2	3	4	5
8. Safe	1	2	3	4	5
9. Worried	1	2	3	4	5
10. Depressed	1	2	3	4	5
11. Enthusiastic	1	2	3	4	5
12. Thoughtful	1	2	3	4	5
13. Annoyed	1	2	3	4	5
14. Angry	1	2	3	4	5
15. Sad	1	2	3	4	5
16. Excited	1	2	3	4	5

17. Confused	1	2	3	4	5
18. Miserable	1	2	3	4	5
19. Irritated	1	2	3	4	5
20. Relaxed	1	2	3	4	5
21. Delighted	1	2	3	4	5
22. Unhappy	1	2	3	4	5
23. Courageous	1	2	3	4	5
24. Contented	1	2	3	4	5
25. Manly	1	2	3	4	5
26. Pointless	1	2	3	4	5

For the **crime that you have just talked about**, please indicate the extent to which each of the statements below describes what it was like.

	Not at all	Just a little	Some	A lot	Very Much
1. I was like a professional	1	2	3	4	5
2. I had to do it	1	2	3	4	5
3. It was fun	1	2	3	4	5
4. It was right	1	2	3	4	5
5. It was interesting	1	2	3	4	5
6. It was like an adventure	1	2	3	4	5
7. It was routine	1	2	3	4	5
8. I was in control	1	2	3	4	5
9. It was exciting	1	2	3	4	5
10. I was doing a job	1	2	3	4	5
11. I knew what I was doing	1	2	3	4	5
12. It was the only thing to do	1	2	3	4	5
13. It was a mission	1	2	3	4	5

14. Nothing else mattered	1	2	3	4	5
15. I had power	1	2	3	4	5
16. I was helpless	1	2	3	4	5
17. It was my only choice	1	2	3	4	5
18. I was a victim	1	2	3	4	5
19. I was confused about what was happening	1	2	3	4	5
20. I was looking for recognition	1	2	3	4	5
21. I just wanted to get it over with	1	2	3	4	5
22. I didn't care what would happen	1	2	3	4	5
23. What was happening was just fate	1	2	3	4	5
24. It all went to plan	1	2	3	4	5
25. I couldn't stop myself	1	2	3	4	5
26. It was like I wasn't part of it	1	2	3	4	5
27. It was a manly thing to do	1	2	3	4	5
28. For me, it was like a usual days work	1	2	3	4	5
29. I was trying to get revenge	1	2	3	4	5
30. There was nothing special about what happened	1	2	3	4	5
31. I was getting my own back	1	2	3	4	5
32. I knew I was taking a risk	1	2	3	4	5
33. I guess I always knew it was going to happen	1	2	3	4	5

Below you will find a series of statements about you. Please read each statement and decide how much you agree or disagree with that statement. Then write your response in the space next to the statement using the following scale:

5 = strongly agree

4 = agree

3 = neutral (neither agree nor disagree)

2 = disagree

1 = strongly disagree

Please answer every statement, even if you are not completely sure of your response

- 1 _____ I would be quite bored by a visit to an art gallery.
- 2 _____ I plan ahead and organize things, to avoid scrambling at the last minute.
- 3 _____ I rarely hold a grudge, even against people who have badly wronged me.
- 4 _____ I feel reasonably satisfied with myself overall.
- 5 _____ I would feel afraid if I had to travel in bad weather conditions.
- 6 _____ I wouldn't use flattery to get a raise or promotion at work, even if I thought it would succeed.
- 7 _____ I'm interested in learning about the history and politics of other countries.
- 8 _____ I often push myself very hard when trying to achieve a goal.
- 9 _____ People sometimes tell me that I am too critical of others.
- 10 _____ I rarely express my opinions in group meetings.
- 11 _____ I sometimes can't help worrying about little things.
- 12 _____ If I knew that I could never get caught, I would be willing to steal a million dollars.
- 13 _____ I would enjoy creating a work of art, such as a novel, a song, or a painting.
- 14 _____ When working on something, I don't pay much attention to small details.
- 15 _____ People sometimes tell me that I'm too stubborn.
- 16 _____ I prefer jobs that involve active social interaction to those that involve working alone.
- 17 _____ When I suffer from a painful experience, I need someone to make me feel comfortable.
- 18 _____ Having a lot of money is not especially important to me.
- 19 _____ I think that paying attention to radical ideas is a waste of time.
- 20 _____ I make decisions based on the feeling of the moment rather than on careful thought.
- 21 _____ People think of me as someone who has a quick temper.

- 22 _____ On most days, I feel cheerful and optimistic.
- 23 _____ I feel like crying when I see other people crying.
- 24 _____ I think that I am entitled to more respect than the average person is.
- 25 _____ If I had the opportunity, I would like to attend a classical music concert.
- 26 _____ When working, I sometimes have difficulties due to being disorganized.
- 27 _____ My attitude toward people who have treated me badly is “forgive and forget”.
- 28 _____ I feel that I am an unpopular person.
- 29 _____ When it comes to physical danger, I am very fearful.
- 30 _____ If I want something from someone, I will laugh at that person's worst jokes.
- 31 _____ I’ve never really enjoyed looking through an encyclopedia.
- 32 _____ I do only the minimum amount of work needed to get by.
- 33 _____ I tend to be lenient in judging other people.
- 34 _____ In social situations, I’m usually the one who makes the first move.
- 35 _____ I worry a lot less than most people do.
- 36 _____ I would never accept a bribe, even if it were very large.
- 37 _____ People have often told me that I have a good imagination.
- 38 _____ I always try to be accurate in my work, even at the expense of time.
- 39 _____ I am usually quite flexible in my opinions when people disagree with me.
- 40 _____ The first thing that I always do in a new place is to make friends.
- 41 _____ I can handle difficult situations without needing emotional support from anyone else.
- 42 _____ I would get a lot of pleasure from owning expensive luxury goods.
- 43 _____ I like people who have unconventional views.
- 44 _____ I make a lot of mistakes because I don’t think before I act.
- 45 _____ Most people tend to get angry more quickly than I do.
- 46 _____ Most people are more upbeat and dynamic than I generally am.
- 47 _____ I feel strong emotions when someone close to me is going away for a long time.
- 48 _____ I want people to know that I am an important person of high status.
- 49 _____ I don’t think of myself as the artistic or creative type.
- 50 _____ People often call me a perfectionist.
- 51 _____ Even when people make a lot of mistakes, I rarely say anything negative.
- 52 _____ I sometimes feel that I am a worthless person.
- 53 _____ Even in an emergency I wouldn’t feel like panicking.
- 54 _____ I wouldn’t pretend to like someone just to get that person to do favors for me.
- 55 _____ I find it boring to discuss philosophy.
- 56 _____ I prefer to do whatever comes to mind, rather than stick to a plan.

- 57 _____ When people tell me that I'm wrong, my first reaction is to argue with them.
- 58 _____ When I'm in a group of people, I'm often the one who speaks on behalf of the group.
- 59 _____ I remain unemotional even in situations where most people get very sentimental.
- 60 _____ I'd be tempted to use counterfeit money, if I were sure I could get away with it.
- _____

GENERAL BACKGROUND

Have you ever....

	NEVER	ONCE OR TWICE	A FEW TIMES (LESS THAN 10)	QUITE OFTEN (10- 50 TIMES)	VERY OFTEN (MORE THAN 50)
1.Broken into a house, shop or school and taken money or something else you wanted?					
2.Broken into a locked car to get something from it?					
3.Threaten to beat someone up if they didn't give you money or something else you wanted?					
4. Actually shot at someone with a gun?					
5.Pulled a knife, gun or some other weapon on someone just to let them know you meant business?					
6.Beat someone up so badly they probably needed a doctor?					
7.Taken heroin?					
8.Broken the windows of an empty house or other unoccupied building?					
9.Bought something you knew had been stolen?					
10.Intentionally started a building on fire?					
11. Been involved in gang fights?					
12.Taken things of large value (worth more than £100) from a shop without paying for them?					
13.Taken Ecstasy (Es)?					
14.Broken into a house, shop, school or other building to break things up or cause other damage?					
15.Sniffed glue or other solvents (e.g. tippex thinner)?					

16.Used or carried a gun to help you commit a crime?					
17.Prepared an escape route before you carried out a crime?					
18.Taken care not to leave evidence (like fingerprints) after carrying out a crime?					
19.Got others to act as 'watch' or 'lookout'?					
20.Acted as 'watch' or 'lookout'?					
21.Taken special tools with you to help you carry out a crime?					
22. Sexually harass without their permission?					
23.Stolen a car to ring it?					
24.Nicked a car to go for a ride in it and then abandoned it?					
25.Stolen things you didn't really want from a shop just for the excitement of doing it?					
26.Nicked things from a shop and then sold them on?					
27.Carried a gun in case you needed it					
28.Stolen something to eat because you were so hungry?					
29.Made a shop assistant give you money from the till?					
30.Helped your mates smash up somewhere or something even though you really didn't want to?					
31.Beat up someone who did something to one of your mates?					
32.Nicked stuff you didn't want just because all your mates were doing it?					
33.Done a burglary in a place that you knew would be hard to get into?					
34.Stolen stuff from a shop that had a lot of security?					
35.Had to take part in a fight your mates were having with another group of kids even though you didn't want to?					
36.Taken drugs you didn't want because everyone else there was having them?					

37.Nicked a badge or something from an expensive car (like a BMW) to keep for yourself?					
38.Pretended your giro had been nicked because you needed a bit more money?					
39.Actually used a knife/cutting object to hurt someone?					
40.Bought pirate videos or CDs to sell on?					
41.Bought pirate videos or CDs to keep for yourself?					
42. Sold heroin?					
43.Sprayed graffiti on a building or public wall?					
44.Done a burglary on a really big, posh house?					
45.Broken into a warehouse and stolen goods worth more than £1000?					
46.Smashed the glass of a bus shelter or phone box?					
47.Set fire to a bin?					
48.Set fire to a car even though you didn't know whose it was?					
49.Used a firearm?					
50.Parked in a disabled space?					
51Got a bit violent with your family at home?					
52.Pretended that you had lost stuff to the insurance company?					
53.Drawn benefit when you were working?					
54.Gone to a sauna or massage place to get sex?					
55.Nicked the purse of someone you knew?					
56.Done a burglary on the house of someone you knew?					
57.Sold marijuana (pot/grass?)					

58.Threatened someone you knew with a knife?					
59.Set fire to a building when people were still in there?					
60.Made new credit cards with stolen card numbers?					

Now please tell me about yourself....

Male_____ **or Female**_____

How old are you? _____

What ethnicity are you? Please tick below.

White	Black-Caribbean	Black-African	Indian	Chinese	Pakistani	Bangladeshi	Other Please say what

What qualifications did you get at school? (GCSEs/ O levels/ CSEs)

Do you have any A-Levels? Yes_____ No_____

Write down any other qualifications or training that you have? (Things like NVQs or military training or sports skills)

What courses/ sessions have you attended in prison if any?

How old were you when you were first given an official warning by the police?

How old were you when you were first found guilty of a crime in court?

What was this for? _____

About how many convictions have you got in total (include everything)? _____

About how many times have you been up in court? _____

What do you have convictions for? Please write **all the different types** of convictions that you have.

What are **most** of your convictions for?

What was your **first** conviction?

Do either of your parents or step-parents have convictions? Yes _____ No _____

If yes, what for? _____

Have you been to a prison or a Young Offender's Institution before?

Yes _____ No _____

If yes, how long were you away for before? _____ months

How long was the sentence you were given (this time)? _____ months

How much of this have you served so far? _____ months

Have you been on probation before? Yes _____ No _____

As a child did you live? (If you lived in different places please tick all those that apply) :-

with my Mum and Dad	- _____
with just one of my parents	- _____
with my Mum and step-Dad	- _____
with my Dad and step-Mum	- _____
with other relatives	- _____
with foster parents	- _____
in a Children's or Community Home	- _____
Other (please say)	- _____

Did any brothers or sisters (or step brothers or step sisters) live with you?

Yes _____ No _____

If yes, how many lived with you? - _____

What ages are they now?

Do they have any criminal convictions? Yes_____ No_____

If so, what are these for?

If you know, please tell me what job your parents (or step-parents) do.

If they are unemployed tell me about their most recent job:-

Father/ Step-father:

What is the job called? _____

What do they do? _____

Full time or Part time? _____

Are they unemployed now? Yes_____ No_____

Mother/ Step mother:

What is the job called? _____

What do they do? _____

Full time or Part time? _____

Are they unemployed now? Yes_____ No_____

APPENDIX II

Table 10.2.2.4: *Comparison of Mean Levels of Elated Hero Across D60 Self-Reported Offending Behaviour (t-test)*

Grouping Variable (Offending behaviours)	N	Mean for violent offenders without offending behaviour	SD	N	Mean for violent offenders with offending behaviour	SD	T-value	df
1.Broken into a house, shop or school and taken money or something else you wanted?	25	54.20	16.14	25	67.40	11.25	-3.354**	48
2.Broken into a locked car to get something from it?	35	57.69	16.34	15	68.07	9.47	-2.813**a	48
3.Threaten to beat someone up if they didn't give you money or something else you wanted?	18	53.28	15.54	32	65.03	13.64	-2.781**	48
4. Actually shot at someone with a gun?	40	59.50	15.09	10	66.00	15.79	-1.207	48
5.Pulled a knife, gun or some other weapon on someone just to let them know you meant business?	18	50.94	11.79	32	66.34	14.33	-3.874***	48
6.Beat someone up so badly they probably needed a doctor?	9	51.11	16.52	41	62.93	14.36	-2.177*	48
7.Taken heroin?	41	59.71	15.09	9	65.78	11.60	-1.080	48
8.Broken the windows of an empty house or other unoccupied building?	13	54.69	19.64	37	62.95	13.10	-1.408a	48
9.Bought something you knew had been stolen?	15	54.21	16.27	35	63.51	14.50	-1.959	48
10.Intentionally started a building on fire?	23	55.70	16.41	27	65.15	13.05	-2.267*	48
11. Been involved in gang fights?	10	49.60	12.86	40	63.60	14.68	-2.757**	48
12.Taken things of large value (worth more than £100) from a shop without paying for them?	28	56.89	15.56	22	65.77	13.73	-2.108*	48
13.Taken Ecstasy (Es)?	28	53.39	16.91	22	63.86	12.68	-1.263	48
14.Broken into a house, shop, school or other building to break things up or cause other damage?	17	54.53	14.22	33	64.03	15.02	-2.156*	48
15.Sniffed glue or other solvents (e.g. tippex thinner)?	28	59.89	16.28	22	61.95	14.24	-.469	48
16.Used or carried a gun to help you commit a crime?	16	48.75	14.85	34	66.47	11.99	-4.513***	48

17.Prepared an escape route before you carried out a crime?	11	50.91	15.44	39	63.59	14.24	-2.562*	48
18.Taken care not to leave evidence (like fingerprints) after carrying out a crime?	11	49.18	15.68	39	63.76	13.71	-3.008**	48
19.Got others to act as 'watch' or 'lookout'?	12	54.92	16.44	38	62.66	14.65	-1.550	48
20.Acted as 'watch' or 'lookout'?	10	48.20	13.76	40	63.95	14.12	-3.169**	48
21.Taken special tools with you to help you carry out a crime?	17	52.65	14.81	33	65.00	13.97	-2.902**	48
22. Sexually harass without their permission?	46	60.67	15.66	4	62.25	11.84	-.196	48
23.Stolen a car to ring it?	34	57.24	15.87	16	68.38	10.95	-2.531*	48
24.Nicked a car to go for a ride in it and then abandoned it?	39	58.03	14.43	11	69.36	15.92	-2.243*	48
25.Stolen things you didn't really want from a shop just for the excitement of doing it?	24	56.83	16.09	26	64.46	13.84	-1.801	48
26.Nicked things from a shop and then sold them on?	35	58.69	16.05	15	65.73	12.49	-1.512	48
27.Carried a gun in case you needed it	16	52.31	15.80	34	64.91	13.71	-2.869**	48
28.Stolen something to eat because you were so hungry?	32	57.31	15.27	18	67.00	13.63	-2.235*	48
29.Made a shop assistant give you money from the till?	41	58.80	15.51	9	69.89	10.82	-2.030*	48
30.Helped your mates smash up somewhere or something even though you really didn't want to?	28	58.22	15.35	22	63.57	15.60	-1.189	48
31.Beat up someone who did something to one of your mates?	3	65.00	6.55	47	60.28	15.77	.511	48
32.Nicked stuff you didn't want just because all your mates were doing it?	27	58.35	15.84	23	62.68	14.96	-.969	48
33.Done a burglary in a place that you knew would be hard to get into?	32	58.58	15.91	18	64.06	14.19	-1.206	48
34.Stolen stuff from a shop that had a lot of security?	32	59.69	15.07	18	62.78	15.92	-.682	48
35.Had to take part in a fight your mates were having with another group of kids even though you didn't want to?	7	53.00	13.63	43	62.07	15.32	-1.472	48
36.Taken drugs you didn't want because everyone else there was having them?	39	58.36	15.96	11	69.45	8.57	-2.207*	48

37.Nicked a badge or something from an expensive car (like a BMW) to keep for yourself?	25	58.40	16.55	25	63.20	13.85	-1.112	48
38.Pretended your giro had been nicked because you needed a bit more money?	42	59.93	14.80	8	65.38	18.08	-.921	48
39.Actually used a knife to hurt someone?	21	52.14	14.32	29	67.07	12.88	-3.857***	48
40.Bought pirate videos or CDs to sell on?	38	61.61	14.78	12	58.25	17.27	.658	48
41.Bought pirate videos or CDs to keep for yourself?	10	55.20	17.09	40	62.20	14.71	-1.303	48
42. Sold heroin?	43	60.86	15.01	7	60.43	18.24	.069	48
43.Sprayed graffiti on a building or public wall?	8	56.75	15.96	42	61.57	15.24	-.814	48
44.Done a burglary on a really big, posh house?	39	58.95	15.33	11	66.09	14.78	-1.371	48
45.Broken into a warehouse and stolen goods worth more than £1000?	39	59.79	15.02	11	64.36	16.47	-.873	48
46.Smashed the glass of a bus shelter or phone box?	21	57.24	14.13	29	63.38	15.82	-1.415	48
47.Set fire to a bin?	20	57.95	16.33	30	62.70	14.61	-1.077	48
48.Set fire to a car even though you didn't know whose it was?	37	58.51	15.20	13	67.31	14.15	-1.825	48
49.Killed someone in a fit of anger or emotion?	47	60.64	14.40	3	63.33	30.86	-.150a	48
50.Parked in a disabled space?	10	56.20	13.34	40	61.95	15.69	-1.064	48
51.Got a bit violent with your family at home?	11	53.73	17.12	39	62.79	14.35	-1.774	48
52.Pretended that you had lost stuff to the insurance company?	43	60.19	15.11	7	64.57	17.13	-.700	48
53.Drawn benefit when you were working?	37	61.27	14.34	13	59.46	18.33	.363	48
54.Gone to a sauna or massage place to get sex?	26	63.23	16.71	24	58.91	13.24	.993	48
55.Nicked the purse of someone you knew?	41	60.54	16.17	9	62.00	11.10	-.257	48
56.Done a burglary on the house of someone you knew?	46	60.96	15.62	4	59.00	12.51	.243	48
57.Sold marijuana (pot/grass?	24	57.13	16.20	26	64.19	13.86	-1.661	48
58.Threatened someone you knew with a knife?	26	55.96	15.15	24	66.04	13.92	-2.443*	48

59.Set fire to a building when people were still in there?	40	58.72	15.72	10	68.40	12.03	-1.811	48
60.Made new credit cards with stolen card numbers?	48	60.72	14.53	2	79.00	2.82	-1.759	48

Equal variances assumed (on basis of Levene's test for equality of variance).

a Equal variances not assumed (on basis of Levene's test for equality of variance).

Significance: * $p < .05$ ** $p < .01$ * $p < .001$**

Table 10.3.2.4: *Comparison of Mean Levels of Calm Professional Across D60 Self-Reported Offending Behaviour (t-test)*

Grouping Variable (Offending behaviours)	N	Mean for violent offenders without offending behaviour	SD	N	Mean for violent offenders with offending behaviour	SD	T-value	df
1.Broken into a house, shop or school and taken money or something else you wanted?	25	25.52	8.37	25	30.80	9.32	-2.106*	48
2.Broken into a locked car to get something from it?	35	27.09	9.28	15	30.67	8.68	-1.273	48
3.Threaten to beat someone up if they didn't give you money or something else you wanted?	18	22.78	7.27	32	31.19	8.81	-3.439**	48
4. Actually shot at someone with a gun?	40	26.85	8.74	10	33.40	9.40	-2.088*	48
5.Pulled a knife, gun or some other weapon on someone just to let them know you meant business?	18	23.67	9.19	32	30.69	8.26	-2.770**	48
6.Beat someone up so badly they probably needed a doctor?	9	23.56	10.80	41	29.17	8.59	-1.695	48
7.Taken heroin?	41	27.34	9.13	9	31.89	8.86	-1.359	48
8.Broken the windows of an empty house or other unoccupied building?	13	22.08	8.47	37	30.30	8.51	-2.998**	48
9.Bought something you knew had been stolen?	15	22.57	7.52	35	30.74	8.68	-3.083**	48
10.Intentionally started a building on fire?	23	24.96	9.06	27	30.89	8.49	-2.387*	48
11. Been involved in gang fights?	10	20.70	7.42	40	30.03	8.66	-3.122**	48
12.Taken things of large value (worth more than £100) from a shop without paying for them?	28	24.71	8.73	22	32.55	7.89	-3.283**	48
13.Taken Ecstasy (Es)?	28	27.11	9.40	22	29.50	8.89	-.914	48

14.Broken into a house, shop, school or other building to break things up or cause other damage?	17	22.06	7.36	33	31.30	8.46	-3.815***	48
15.Sniffed glue or other solvents (e.g. tippex thinner)?	28	27.29	9.25	22	29.27	9.15	-.757	48
16.Used or carried a gun to help you commit a crime?	16	20.19	6.58	34	31.91	7.73	-5.229***	48
17.Prepared an escape route before you carried out a crime?	11	21.00	8.77	39	30.18	8.31	-3.196**	48
18.Taken care not to leave evidence (like fingerprints) after carrying out a crime?	11	19.73	7.45	39	30.84	8.09	-4.076***	48
19.Got others to act as 'watch' or 'lookout'?	12	23.67	7.75	38	29.58	9.12	-2.006	48
20.Acted as 'watch' or 'lookout'?	10	20.90	8.14	40	29.98	8.57	-3.022**	48
21.Taken special tools with you to help you carry out a crime?	17	23.41	8.23	33	30.61	8.75	-2.806**	48
22. Sexually harass without their permission?	46	28.20	9.18	4	27.75	10.37	.092	48
23.Stolen a car to ring it?	34	26.29	8.62	16	32.13	9.29	-2.176*	48
24.Nicked a car to go for a ride in it and then abandoned it?	39	26.05	8.27	11	34.36	9.23	-2.859**	48
25.Stolen things you didn't really want from a shop just for the excitement of doing it?	24	26.13	9.47	26	30.04	8.63	-1.528	48
26.Nicked things from a shop and then sold them on?	35	27.00	9.72	15	30.87	7.29	-1.379	48
27.Carried a gun in case you needed it	16	24.44	9.15	34	29.85	8.89	-1.978	48
28.Stolen something to eat because you were so hungry?	32	27.00	9.67	18	30.22	8.03	-1.198	48
29.Made a shop assistant give you money from the till?	41	26.59	8.34	9	35.33	9.82	-2.761**	48
30.Helped your mates smash up somewhere or something even though you really didn't want to?	28	26.78	10.24	22	29.43	7.89	-.980	48
31.Beat up someone who did something to one of your mates?	3	24.67	13.86	47	28.24	9.00	-.647	48
32.Nicked stuff you didn't want just because all your mates were doing it?	27	28.23	9.13	23	28.41	9.11	-.067	48
33.Done a burglary in a place that you knew would be hard to get into?	32	26.48	8.66	18	31.89	8.75	-2.098*	48
34.Stolen stuff from a shop that had a lot of security?	32	26.28	8.38	18	31.50	9.78	-1.989	48

35.Had to take part in a fight your mates were having with another group of kids even though you didn't want to?	7	26.29	8.73	43	28.47	9.30	-.579	48
36.Taken drugs you didn't want because everyone else there was having them?	39	26.74	9.24	11	33.18	7.19	-2.129*	48
37.Nicked a badge or something from an expensive car (like a BMW) to keep for yourself?	25	26.16	9.31	25	30.16	8.75	-1.565	48
38.Pretended your giro had been nicked because you needed a bit more money?	42	26.81	8.87	8	35.25	7.66	-2.512*	48
39.Actually used a knife to hurt someone?	21	23.48	8.89	29	31.55	7.89	-3.386*	48
40.Bought pirate videos or CDs to sell on?	38	28.47	9.06	12	27.17	9.85	.427	48
41.Bought pirate videos or CDs to keep for yourself?	10	24.00	9.80	40	29.20	8.82	-1.631	48
42. Sold heroin?	43	28.09	8.74	7	28.57	12.28	-.127	48
43.Sprayed graffiti on a building or public wall?	8	29.13	12.75	42	27.98	8.51	.322	48
44.Done a burglary on a really big, posh house?	39	26.26	8.23	11	34.00	10.17	-2.601*	48
45.Broken into a warehouse and stolen goods worth more than £1000?	39	26.26	8.45	11	34.91	8.73	-2.977**	48
46.Smashed the glass of a bus shelter or phone box?	21	25.19	8.25	29	30.31	9.33	-2.008	48
47.Set fire to a bin?	20	26.55	10.70	30	29.23	7.99	-1.014	48
48.Set fire to a car even though you didn't know whose it was?	37	26.24	8.61	13	33.62	8.79	-2.641*	48
49.Killed someone in a fit of anger or emotion?	47	27.79	8.31	3	34.00	20.42	-.524a	48
50.Parked in a disabled space?	10	26.80	8.86	40	28.50	9.32	-.520	48
51.Got a bit violent with your family at home?	11	26.36	11.42	39	28.67	8.53	-.732	48
52.Pretended that you had lost stuff to the insurance company?	43	27.77	8.73	7	30.57	12.04	-.747	48
53.Drawn benefit when you were working?	37	28.43	9.12	13	27.38	9.62	.351	48
54.Gone to a sauna or massage place to get sex?	26	28.73	9.61	24	27.57	9.02	.436	48

55.Nicked the purse of someone you knew?	41	27.51	9.36	9	31.11	8.05	-1.068	48
56.Done a burglary on the house of someone you knew?	46	27.98	9.14	4	30.25	10.68	-.471	48
57.Sold marijuana (pot/grass?	24	26.17	8.65	26	30.00	9.41	-1.495	48
58.Threatened someone you knew with a knife?	26	24.38	8.85	24	32.25	7.77	-3.327**	48
59.Set fire to a building when people were still in there?	40	26.79	8.49	10	32.30	10.49	-1.742	48
60.Made new credit cards with stolen card numbers?	48	28.17	8.90	2	36.50	6.36	-1.303	48

Equal variances assumed (on basis of Levene's test for equality of variance).

a Equal variances not assumed (on basis of Levene's test for equality of variance).

Significance: * $p<.05$ ** $p<.01$ *** $p<.001$

Table 10.4.2.4: *Comparison of Mean Levels of Distressed Revenger Across D60 Self-Reported Offending Behaviour (t-test)*

Grouping Variable (Offending behaviours)	N	Mean for violent offenders without offending behaviour	SD	N	Mean for violent offenders with offending behaviour	SD	T-value	df
1.Broken into a house, shop or school and taken money or something else you wanted?	25	39.52	8.39	25	44.44	7.84	-2.128*	48
2.Broken into a locked car to get something from it?	35	40.74	8.60	15	44.87	7.61	-1.604	48
3.Threaten to beat someone up if they didn't give you money or something else you wanted?	18	39.56	7.62	32	43.34	8.71	-1.541	48
4. Actually shot at someone with a gun?	40	41.53	7.94	10	43.80	10.57	-.757	48
5.Pulled a knife, gun or some other weapon on someone just to let them know you meant business?	18	38.44	7.88	32	43.97	8.23	-2.312*	48
6.Beat someone up so badly they probably needed a doctor?	9	40.56	5.94	41	42.29	8.95	-.554	48
7.Taken heroin?	41	41.61	8.44	9	43.67	8.81	-.656	48
8.Broken the windows of an empty house or other unoccupied building?	13	42.31	6.98	37	41.86	9.01	.161	48
9.Bought something you knew had been stolen?	15	41.29	6.62	35	42.17	9.26	-.325	48

10.Intentionally started a building on fire?	23	40.43	7.58	27	43.30	9.07	-1.197	48
11. Been involved in gang fights?	10	41.00	8.89	40	42.23	8.45	-.406	48
12.Taken things of large value (worth more than £100) from a shop without paying for them?	28	40.93	8.31	22	43.32	8.65	-.991	48
13.Taken Ecstasy (Es)?	28	41.57	8.23	22	42.50	8.91	-.382	48
14.Broken into a house, shop, school or other building to break things up or cause other damage?	17	40.76	8.69	33	42.61	8.40	-.725	48
15.Sniffed glue or other solvents (e.g. tippex thinner)?	28	42.32	8.31	22	41.55	8.81	.319	48
16.Used or carried a gun to help you commit a crime?	16	40.13	7.89	34	42.85	8.69	-1.065	48
17.Prepared an escape route before you carried out a crime?	11	42.18	5.99	39	41.92	9.10	.089	48
18.Taken care not to leave evidence (like fingerprints) after carrying out a crime?	11	40.64	8.52	39	42.08	8.44	-.498	48
19.Got others to act as 'watch' or 'lookout'?	12	39.50	7.00	38	42.76	8.81	-1.169	48
20.Acted as 'watch' or 'lookout'?	10	39.20	8.58	40	42.68	8.39	-1.166	48
21.Taken special tools with you to help you carry out a crime?	17	38.59	7.85	33	43.73	8.33	-2.104*	48
22. Sexually harass without their permission?	46	41.87	8.05	4	43.25	13.93	-.195a	48
23.Stolen a car to ring it?	34	40.94	8.20	16	44.19	8.83	-1.273	48
24.Nicked a car to go for a ride in it and then abandoned it?	39	41.24	7.82	11	43.18	9.89	-.684	48
25.Stolen things you didn't really want from a shop just for the excitement of doing it?	24	41.17	8.75	26	42.73	8.28	-.649	48
26.Nicked things from a shop and then sold them on?	35	41.60	8.24	15	42.87	9.18	-.481	48
27.Carried a gun in case you needed it	16	39.69	6.94	34	43.33	8.97	-1.428	48
28.Stolen something to eat because you were so hungry?	32	41.16	8.40	18	43.44	8.61	-.916	48
29.Made a shop assistant give you money from the till?	41	41.02	7.98	9	46.33	9.70	-1.739	48
30.Helped your mates smash up somewhere or something even though you really didn't want to?	28	41.74	7.32	22	42.33	9.99	-.237	48

31.Beat up someone who did something to one of your mates?	3	42.67	6.65	47	41.78	8.65	.173	48
32.Nicked stuff you didn't want just because all your mates were doing it?	27	41.38	8.80	23	41.95	8.20	-.230	48
33.Done a burglary in a place that you knew would be hard to get into?	32	40.71	8.03	18	43.89	9.17	-1.267	48
34.Stolen stuff from a shop that had a lot of security?	32	40.59	8.15	18	44.44	8.66	-1.567	48
35.Had to take part in a fight your mates were having with another group of kids even though you didn't want to?	7	40.43	10.72	43	42.23	8.16	-.519	48
36.Taken drugs you didn't want because everyone else there was having them?	39	41.38	8.50	11	44.09	8.33	-.936	48
37.Nicked a badge or something from an expensive car (like a BMW) to keep for yourself?	25	42.00	8.48	25	41.96	8.61	.017	48
38.Pretended your giro had been nicked because you needed a bit more money?	42	42.31	7.91	8	40.25	11.39	.627	48
39.Actually used a knife to hurt someone?	21	40.10	8.03	29	43.34	8.64	-1.351	48
40.Bought pirate videos or CDs to sell on?	38	42.45	8.68	12	40.50	7.86	.691	48
41.Bought pirate videos or CDs to keep for yourself?	10	40.00	7.86	40	42.48	8.62	-.825	48
42. Sold heroin?	43	41.33	8.05	7	46.00	10.44	-1.367	48
43.Sprayed graffiti on a building or public wall?	8	41.38	7.30	42	42.10	8.74	-.218	48
44.Done a burglary on a really big, posh house?	39	41.13	7.84	11	43.91	10.21	-.965	48
45.Broken into a warehouse and stolen goods worth more than £1000?	39	41.62	8.07	11	43.27	10.04	-.570	48
46.Smashed the glass of a bus shelter or phone box?	21	41.05	7.40	29	42.66	9.22	-.659	48
47.Set fire to a bin?	20	41.05	8.40	30	42.60	8.58	-.631	48
48.Set fire to a car even though you didn't know whose it was?	37	40.11	7.37	13	47.31	9.36	-2.820**	48
49.Killed someone in a fit of anger or emotion?	47	41.49	8.17	3	49.67	11.15	-1.651	48
50.Parked in a disabled space?	10	38.80	9.29	40	42.78	8.17	-1.339	48

51.Got a bit violent with your family at home?	11	41.45	7.38	39	42.13	8.82	-.231	48
52.Pretended that you had lost stuff to the insurance company?	43	41.40	7.78	7	45.57	11.95	-1.217	48
53.Drawn benefit when you were working?	37	42.03	8.38	13	41.85	9.03	.066	48
54.Gone to a sauna or massage place to get sex?	26	42.12	8.22	24	41.78	9.08	.135	48
55.Nicked the purse of someone you knew?	41	41.78	8.64	9	42.89	8.00	-.353	48
56.Done a burglary on the house of someone you knew?	46	41.98	8.21	4	42.00	12.51	-.005	48
57.Sold marijuana (pot/grass)?	24	40.13	8.33	26	43.69	8.37	-1.508	48
58.Threatened someone you knew with a knife?	26	41.27	8.24	24	42.75	8.80	-.614	48
59.Set fire to a building when people were still in there?	40	41.00	8.03	10	46.50	9.22	-1.875	48
60.Made new credit cards with stolen card numbers?	48	41.70	8.36	2	51.00	9.89	-1.533	48

Equal variances assumed (on basis of Levene's test for equality of variance).

a Equal variances not assumed (on basis of Levene's test for equality of variance).

Significance: * p<.05 ** p<.01 * p<.001**

Table 10.5.2.4: *Comparison of Mean Levels of Depressed Victim Across D60 Self-Reported Offending Behaviour (t-test)*

Grouping Variable (Offending behaviours)	N	Mean for violent offenders without offending behaviour	SD	N	Mean for violent offenders with offending behaviour	SD	T-value	df
1.Broken into a house, shop or school and taken money or something else you wanted?	25	43.56	9.03	25	40.00	11.89	1.191	48
2.Broken into a locked car to get something from it?	35	40.71	9.38	15	44.27	13.05	-1.087	48
3.Threaten to beat someone up if they didn't give you money or something else you wanted?	18	43.28	11.80	32	40.94	9.97	.745	48
4. Actually shot at someone with a gun?	40	41.85	10.32	10	41.50	12.28	.092	48

5.Pulled a knife, gun or some other weapon on someone just to let them know you meant business?	18	44.39	9.46	32	40.31	11.07	1.314	48
6.Beat someone up so badly they probably needed a doctor?	9	46.00	15.10	41	40.85	9.35	.982a	48
7.Taken heroin?	41	41.68	10.08	9	42.22	13.43	-.137	48
8.Broken the windows of an empty house or other unoccupied building?	13	45.77	9.62	37	40.38	10.70	1.601	48
9.Bought something you knew had been stolen?	15	42.64	7.67	35	41.29	11.76	.398	48
10.Intentionally started a building on fire?	23	44.26	10.44	27	39.67	10.48	1.547	48
11. Been involved in gang fights?	10	43.10	10.23	40	41.45	10.80	.436	48
12.Taken things of large value (worth more than £100) from a shop without paying for them?	28	41.86	9.49	22	41.68	12.11	.057	48
13.Taken Ecstasy (Es)?	28	41.04	10.42	22	42.73	11.01	-.556	48
14.Broken into a house, shop, school or other building to break things up or cause other damage?	17	42.88	9.44	33	41.21	11.26	.523	48
15.Sniffed glue or other solvents (e.g. tippex thinner)?	28	40.18	9.52	22	43.82	11.76	.284	48
16.Used or carried a gun to help you commit a crime?	16	43.56	10.30	34	40.94	10.80	.812	48
17.Prepared an escape route before you carried out a crime?	11	43.73	10.30	39	41.23	10.76	.685	48
18.Taken care not to leave evidence (like fingerprints) after carrying out a crime?	11	43.82	10.31	39	41.26	10.89	.693	48
19.Got others to act as 'watch' or 'lookout'?	12	42.83	10.63	38	41.45	10.72	.391	48
20.Acted as 'watch' or 'lookout'?	10	42.60	11.69	40	41.58	10.47	.271	48
21.Taken special tools with you to help you carry out a crime?	17	44.53	11.82	33	40.36	9.82	1.325	48
22. Sexually harass without their permission?	46	41.50	10.14	4	45.00	16.69	-.629	48
23.Stolen a car to ring it?	34	42.15	9.22	16	41.00	13.39	.353	48
24.Nicked a car to go for a ride in it and then abandoned it?	39	43.00	9.86	11	38.27	12.88	1.305	48

25.Stolen things you didn't really want from a shop just for the excitement of doing it?	24	43.54	10.92	26	40.15	10.25	1.131	48
26.Nicked things from a shop and then sold them on?	35	43.06	10.59	15	38.80	10.39	1.310	48
27.Carried a gun in case you needed it	16	44.63	11.89	34	40.42	10.00	1.295	48
28.Stolen something to eat because you were so hungry?	32	41.97	11.19	18	41.44	9.78	.166	48
29.Made a shop assistant give you money from the till?	41	41.93	10.25	9	41.11	12.78	.207	48
30.Helped your mates smash up somewhere or something even though you really didn't want to?	28	41.74	11.52	22	41.95	10.15	-.066	48
31.Beat up someone who did something to one of your mates?	3	36.00	2.64	47	42.20	10.94	-.970	48
32.Nicked stuff you didn't want just because all your mates were doing it?	27	42.38	10.81	23	41.41	10.94	.310	48
33.Done a burglary in a place that you knew would be hard to get into?	32	42.42	11.13	18	41.11	10.04	.411	48
34.Stolen stuff from a shop that had a lot of security?	32	40.91	9.61	18	43.33	12.33	-.773	48
35.Had to take part in a fight your mates were having with another group of kids even though you didn't want to?	7	50.00	14.20	43	40.44	9.45	2.305*	48
36.Taken drugs you didn't want because everyone else there was having them?	39	41.51	9.88	11	42.73	13.39	-.332	48
37.Nicked a badge or something from an expensive car (like a BMW) to keep for yourself?	25	42.20	9.40	25	41.36	11.87	.277	48
38.Pretended your giro had been nicked because you needed a bit more money?	42	42.69	10.94	8	37.00	7.48	1.404	48
39.Actually used a knife to hurt someone?	21	45.14	10.78	29	39.34	9.96	1.962	48
40.Bought pirate videos or CDs to sell on?	38	42.08	11.64	12	40.83	6.64	.351	48
41.Bought pirate videos or CDs to keep for yourself?	10	42.90	7.38	40	41.50	11.33	.370	48
42. Sold heroin?	43	42.00	11.14	7	40.43	6.85	.360	48
43.Sprayed graffiti on a building or public wall?	8	39.63	8.73	42	42.19	10.97	-.623	48

44.Done a burglary on a really big, posh house?	39	42.34	11.50	11	39.82	7.52	.684	48
45.Broken into a warehouse and stolen goods worth more than £1000?	39	42.87	11.15	11	37.91	7.59	1.383	48
46.Smashed the glass of a bus shelter or phone box?	21	43.48	10.60	29	40.55	10.62	.961	48
47.Set fire to a bin?	20	43.75	11.37	30	40.47	10.04	1.074	48
48.Set fire to a car even though you didn't know whose it was?	37	41.00	10.46	13	44.00	11.13	-.875	48
49.Killed someone in a fit of anger or emotion?	47	41.98	10.45	3	38.67	15.17	.520	48
50.Parked in a disabled space?	10	42.10	10.34	40	41.70	10.80	.106	48
51.Got a bit violent with your family at home?	11	40.36	8.69	39	42.18	11.15	-.497	48
52.Pretended that you had lost stuff to the insurance company?	43	41.77	10.10	7	41.86	14.28	-.021	48
53.Drawn benefit when you were working?	37	42.19	11.40	13	40.62	8.22	.456	48
54.Gone to a sauna or massage place to get sex?	26	42.50	11.59	24	41.30	9.71	.388	48
55.Nicked the purse of someone you knew?	41	40.71	9.29	9	46.67	15.00	-1.547	48
56.Done a burglary on the house of someone you knew?	46	41.96	10.97	4	39.75	5.18	.395	48
57.Sold marijuana (pot/grass?	24	41.79	10.69	26	41.77	10.74	.007	48
58.Threatened someone you knew with a knife?	26	41.77	9.70	24	41.79	11.72	-.007	48
59.Set fire to a building when people were still in there?	40	43.00	10.72	10	37.70	9.86	1.415	48
60.Made new credit cards with stolen card numbers?	48	41.53	10.72	2	41.00	7.07	.069	48

Equal variances assumed (on basis of Levene's test for equality of variance).

a Equal variances not assumed (on basis of Levene's test for equality of variance).

Significance: * p<.05 ** p<.01 * p<.001**