**THE CRIMINAL NARRATIVE EXPERIENCE OF CONVICTED MALE PERPETRATORS OF INTERPERSONAL CRIME**

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

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**Abstract**

The aim of the study was to explore the Criminal Narrative Experience (CNE) of male perpetrators of interpersonal crime located in the high security prison estate. In order to do this, a number of factors were considered: Criminal Narratives, Emotions, Victim Roles, Schemas, and Offence Type. 89 participants were recruited from one of the high security prisons in the United Kingdom; all of which had been convicted for interpersonal crime. The data was analysed using Smallest Space Analysis and subsequent analyses were conducted to explore relationships between variables (t-tests and Pearson’s Product Moment correlation).

Results showed that criminal narratives could be categorised using the Criminal Narrative Framework (Professional, Hero, Victim, and Revenger) and emotions could be categorised using Russell’s Circumplex Model of Affect (Calm, Elation, Depression, and Distress). Additionally, criminal narratives and emotions could be amalgamated and distinguished using the Criminal Narrative Experience (CNE) Framework (Calm Professional, Elated Hero, Depressed Victim, and Distressed Revenger). The results also showed that victims could be categorised using Canter’s Victim Roles model (Object, Vehicle, and Person). Further analysis showed that CNE themes and Victim Roles could be linked; specifically, the Calm Professional and Elated Hero with the Object Victim Role. Additionally, CNE themes could be linked with schemas (core beliefs); specifically, the Elated Hero with the ‘approval/recognition’ schema. There were no significant differences in CNE between crime type (sex and violence).

The study has made a significant contribution to the understanding of criminal behaviour and supports previous research. It has also made some unique discoveries. No other studies have explored victim role assignment from a first-person perspective; nor have they explored links between Victim Roles and CNE themes. Additionally, no other research has considered the role of schemas alongside the experience of crime from a narrative perspective. The research has several theoretical and practical implications which are discussed throughout the report whilst outlining limitations and ideas for future research.

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**Preface**

Interpersonal crime makes up the majority of serious offending and constitutes a diverse population. Broadly speaking interpersonal crime can be categorised as an offence against the person; specifically, violent or sexual offending. It involves the intention to “use physical force or power, threatened or actual, against a person or group that results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation” (Rosenberg, Butchart, Mercy, Narasimhan, Waters & Marshall, 2019, p.755). Various theories and typologies have been proposed to explain this type of offending, but little attention has been given to the way perpetrators viewed themselves and others, the emotions they felt, and how interpersonal crimes differ.

The primary aim of the research is to explore the Criminal Narrative Experience of male perpetrators of interpersonal crime in the high security estate. Various factors are considered to meet the aim: Criminal Narratives, Emotions, Victim Roles, and Offence Type. The Criminal Narrative Experience framework developed by Ioannou (2006) and Ioannou, Canter and Youngs (2016) has been chosen because it explores offending from a first-person perspective, in a relatively non-threatening way, through the use of questionnaires. The study expands on previously published research submitted by the researcher as an MSc thesis entitled “The Criminal Narrative Experience of Psychopathic and Personality Disordered Offenders” (Goodlad, 2016; Goodlad, Ioannou & Hunter, 2018). The focus of the thesis was a small sample (N=22) of offenders from a discrete unit diagnosed with psychopathy and/or personality disorder. It used the Narrative Roles and Emotions questionnaires and data was analysed using Smallest Space Analysis (SSA).

The current research differs and has broadened the target population to all male perpetrators of interpersonal crime. The focus has been taken away from psychopathy and personality disorder and participants were recruited from the entire establishment. It was also felt that focusing solely on narrative roles and emotions did not fully capture the experience of crime. Therefore, other factors have been considered in the current research, namely: Victim Roles, Schemas, and Offence Type. The addition of these variables provides a richer understanding of how crime is experienced. The study makes a significant contribution to the literature base and in understanding criminal behaviour. No other studies have incorporated Victim Role assignment into the Criminal Narrative Experience, nor have they looked at the role of Schemas. A similar methodology was adopted in relation to the use of SSA.

The thesis is organised into three key parts: 1. Introduction, 2. Methodology and Results, and 3. Discussion and Conclusions. Part I, or the Introduction section, incorporates 7 chapters penned to provide an overview of the literature in relation to each variable, as well as the rationale for the current research. Chapter 1 defines interpersonal crime and differentiates between violent and sexual offending. Chapter 2 provides an overview of the theory behind Narrative Theory and how it has been applied to offending behaviour to produce the Criminal Narrative Framework. Chapter 3 describes the theory behind emotions and how it has been somewhat ignored within offending behaviour. It goes on to outline Russell’s Circumplex Model of Affect and how it can be used to explore offending behaviour. Chapter 4 explains how criminal narratives and the role of emotions can be amalgamated and outlines the Criminal Narrative Experience Framework. Chapter 5 introduces the idea of Victim Roles and the need to explore how this contributed to the experience of crime. It specifically outlines Youngs and Canter’s Victim Roles Model and how this has been demonstrated in crime scene analysis. Chapter 6 describes schemas and how these have been used to understand offending behaviour. Chapter 7 presents the aim and objectives of the current study as well as the rationale for this.

Part II, or the Methodology and Results section, features 8 chapters aimed to provide a detailed account of how the study was conducted and what the analysis showed. Therefore Chapter 8 outlines the study methodology and Chapter 9 outlines the descriptive statistics of the population. Chapters 10 to 15 presents each of the 6 studies. Chapter 10 outlines Study 1 which aimed to explore the criminal narratives of male perpetrators of interpersonal crime in the high security estate. Chapter 11 outlines Study 2 which aimed to explore the emotions of male perpetrators of interpersonal crime in the high security estate. Chapter 12 outlines Study 3 which aimed to explore the Criminal Narrative Experience of male perpetrators of interpersonal crime in the high security estate. Chapter 13 outlines Study 4 which aimed to explore the assignment of Victim Roles in male perpetrators of interpersonal crime in the high security estate, and to explore whether there is a relationship between the Criminal Narrative Experience and Victim Roles. Chapter 14 outline Study 5 which aimed to explore whether there were any links between schemas and the Criminal Narrative Experience. Finally, Chapter 15 outlines Study 6 which aimed to explore whether offence type influences the Criminal Narrative Experience or Victim Roles assignment.

Part III, or the Discussion and Conclusion section, includes Chapter 16 which is an overall discussion of the findings and conclusions from the research. The chapter restates the aims and objectives, summarises the key findings, and puts these into perspective of the current literature base. It also comments on implications of the research, both theoretical and practical. Additionally, it considers the limitations of the research and outlines ideas for future research.

**Part 1**

**Introduction**

**Chapter 1**

**Interpersonal Crime**

Not all types of crime have direct victims. For example, offences against property may have secondary victims where the consequences may be financial but there is no direct physical harm caused to a primary victim. Interpersonal crimes, however, refer to those crimes which are perpetrated directly against a person. This type of crime makes up the majority of serious offending and has been identified as a key public health problem (World Health Organisation, 2020). It involves the intention to “use physical force or power, threatened or actual, against a person or group that results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, maldevelopment, or deprivation” (Rosenberg, Butchart, Mercy, Narasimhan, Waters & Marshall, 2019, p. 755). Broadly speaking, interpersonal crime can be grouped as being either violent or sexual. It is accepted that the act of sexual offending is violent in nature but, for the purposes of this review, violent and sexual offending will be explored separately.

**Violent Offending**

The terms violence and aggression are used interchangeably within the literature and there are various definitions used to describe the behaviour, all of which bare similarities. A key commonality is that violence is a behaviour rather than an emotion or attitude. Furthermore, it is any behaviour directed with the aim of harming another person who wants to avoid the harm (Baron & Richardson, 1994; Berkowitz, 1993; Bushman & Anderson, 2001; Gilbert & Daffern, 2010). For the purpose of this study, the researcher has elected to use the official definition of violent offending as proposed by the violence risk assessment tool used to assess offenders (the Historical Clinical Risk Management-20 Scale; HCR-20). Therefore, violence is defined as the “actual, attempted, or threatened physical harm that is deliberate and non-consenting”. It includes the perpetration of violence against victims who cannot give consent, and includes behaviour intended to cause fear whether direct or implicit. It does not, however, include violence perpetrated in a law enforcement or military context (Douglas, Hart, Webster & Belfrage, 2013). Therefore, violent behaviour includes, but is not limited to, wounding, murder, and robbery.

The value of differentiating between acts of violence is prevalent within the literature (e.g. Meloy, 2006; Chambers, 2010). Two key distinctions have been made which can be categorised as either instrumental or reactive in nature. Instrumental violence refers to premeditated or pre-planned acts which tend to be goal-oriented rather than emotionally driven (Bushman & Anderson, 2011). Conversely, reactive violence refers to violence perpetrated on impulse and often in response to provocation (Bushman & Anderson, 2001; Vitaro, Barker, Boivin, Brendgen & Tremblay, 2006). This distinction has been shown in various studies with male offenders (e.g. Tapscott, Hancock & Hoaken, 2012; Ennis, Toop, Jung & Bois, 2017), female offenders (e.g. Flynn, 2013), young offenders (e.g. Hutton & Woodworth, 2014), and children (Hartrup, 1974; Dodge et al., 1997). The distinction has also been used within early psychological theory. For example, the Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis (Dollard et al., 1939; Berkowitz, 1962, 1969) explains reactive but ignores instrumental violence.

Although distinguishing violence as being either instrument or reactive has been helpful in differentiating crimes and offenders, limitations have been proposed. It is argued that this distinction oversimplifies a complex phenomenon which has various motivations (Bushman & Anderson, 2001). One proposal was to view violence as a single dimension and consider violence as a continuum based on the severity of harm inflicted (Woodworth & Porter, 2002). This would serve to encompass all aspects of violence, both instrumental and reactive. Another proposal was to explore proximate and ultimate goals of behaviour (Bushman & Anderson, 2001). Proximate goals refer to the immediate intent whereas ultimate goals are those achieved by carrying out the harm. This would allow for consideration of the distinction between instrumental and reactive violence.

Additionally, despite the distinction made between instrumental and reaction violence, there are similarities between them in terms of offenders having a combination of risk factors (Walters, 2005). Instrumental offenders are more likely to view violence positively, have peers who support violence, and experience limited victim empathy (Chambers, Ward, Eccleston & Brown, 2008). Conversely, reactive offenders are more emotionally led. They may be prone to anger and be sensitive to perceived threat of harm or mistreatment (Kockler, Stanford, Meloy, Nelson & Sanford, 2006). Offenders who engage in both instrumental and reactive violence are likely to have a combination of these risk factors (Walton, Ramsay, Cunningham & Henfrey, 2017). For this reason, more recent theories of violence have focused on understanding the motives behind violence rather than focusing on the nature of the behaviour itself.

Historically, various explanations of why people engage in acts of violence have been proposed. The main distinction between theories is the theoretical perspective to which it has been approached (Heron, 2012). Broadly speaking, perspectives include biological, environmental, psychodynamic, and learning and behavioural.

*Biological*

Biological perspectives offer insights into behaviour in relation to how the brain developed and the influence of genes. Early research argued that aggression served as a means of survival both to maintain and manage the population (e.g. the Universal Instinct for Aggression theory, Lorenz, 1966). Other approaches take more of an evolutionary approach. They argue that anger serves as a motivator to prompt aggressive responses to wrongdoings in an attempt to prevent further and future wrongdoings (Fessler, 2010). In contrast, Wilson (1978) proposed that humans have a predisposition to violence, but it is the role of social learning that dictates its application. This indicates that the use of violence may not be fully explained by a biological approach and other factors need to be considered.

In relation to genetics, Rushton’s (1986) early research using twin studies provided some evidence but it was largely inconclusive. However, more recent research into neuropsychology has indicated links between violence and specific brain regions and impairments (Fabian, 2010). For example, low frontal lobe activity (Surguy & Bond, 2006), lesions in the pre-frontal cortex (Houston & Stanford, 2004), abnormalities in the temporal lobe (Elst, Woermann, Lemieux, Thompson & Trimble, 2000), and the functioning of the right hemisphere (Raine, 2002). Again, the role of neurological problems is empirically supported but it does not offer a full explanation for the use of violence (Heron, 2012). Deficits in relation to impulsivity and disinhibition may explain reactive violence but it cannot account for premeditated violence which is planned and goal oriented. Furthermore, Fabian (2010) noted that few individuals convicted of violence have deficits in their neurological functioning and similarly neurological problems do not necessarily lead to violence.

Biological perspectives have been criticised for being reductionist meaning that it breaks behaviours down into their component parts (Ray, 2016). However, in the case of violence, it has highlighted its complex nature and the need to consider predispositions to the use of violence rather than looking at causation (Lee, 2015). Biological factors can influence the use of violence but do not account for a full explanation of why the behaviour occurred because it ignores the role of outside factors (Heron, 2012). As such, other theories such as those drawing upon an environmental perspective have to be considered. Lee (2015) argued that these biological complexities interact with environmental factors and trying to differentiate the too was untenable, both from a practical and theoretical standpoint. Caspi et al. (2002) also asserted that biological and environmental factors influence behaviour as a whole rather than independently, and it is environmental factors which determine how genes are expressed.

*Environmental*

Environmental factors include pain, noise, and temperature (e.g. Mueller, 1983; Anderson, Anderson, Dorr, DeNeve & Flanagan, 2000; Berkowitz, Cochran & Embree, 1981). Correlations between violence and these factors have been found but again, a causal link is unclear (Heron, 2012). Instead, it is argued that environmental factors increase the likelihood of violence because they act as stressors affecting cognitive functioning (Blackburn, 1993) rather than them directly explaining violence.

The Cultivation Theory (Gerbner et al., 2002; Shrum, Burroughs & Rindfleisch, 2004) is one such theory which draws on an environmental perspective. The theory suggests that media exposure serves to foster internalisation of particular attitudes, values, and perceptions. When this media exposure relates to violence, such attitudes can be reinforced making violence more acceptable in response to interpersonal conflict. This is known as ‘mean world syndrome’ which is a type of cognitive bias where the world is perceived to be more dangerous than it is. This is due to long-term exposure to violent content from mediums such as media (Gerbner, 1980). This theory has remained and has been applied more recently to the influence of social media (Gerbner, 2010). However, the current evidence base is inconsistent with little agreement as to the actual influence on physical violence (Ferguson & Beresin, 2017).

Although the environmental perspective has some merit in relation to links that have been found with violence, it is argued that environmental explanations are too simplistic to adequately account for all types of violence (Heron, 2012). It is accepted that environmental factors can contribute to the perpetration of violence in terms of increasing its likelihood (Blackburn, 1993) but they have to be considered in the context of other factors such as biological (Caspi et al., 2002) and even psychodynamic factors (Wortley, 2016). Environmental factors have contributed to wider explanations of violence such as that encompassed within multi-factorial theories (Heron, 2012).

*Psychodynamic*

The psychodynamic approach originated with Freud’s (1939) Catharsis Theory. This was developed into the Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis (Dollard et al., 1939). The premise of the hypothesis is that individuals are driven to maximise pleasure and minimise pain. Therefore, when this goal is hindered, frustration occurs which leads to violent behaviour. The original proposition of the frustration-aggression hypothesis only accounted for frustration. However, Robarchek (1977) highlighted that frustration was not the only proponent. The hypothesis was therefore expanded to include aversive events such as fear more generally (Berkowitz, 1962, 1969). The psychodynamic approach has been applied to offences such as hate crime where it is argued that racial difference symbolises things the perpetrator wishes to disown (Gadd, 2009; Gadd & Dixon, 2011). For example, unacceptable aspects of the perpetrator such as shame and inadequacy are projected onto the victim. This is purely an unconscious process which gives rise to feelings of anger and persecution (Heron, 2012).

In essence, the psychodynamic approach characterises violent offenders as being impulsive, easily frustrated, and controlled by childhood experiences (Wortley, 2016). The psychodynamic perspective is important because it emphasises the value in understanding the relationship between external behaviour and internal psychological processes (Heron, 2012). Although psychodynamic models provide insight into perpetration of violence in relation to reactive violence, it does not provide insight into instrumental violence (Heron, 2012). It is argued that such theories are unsophisticated and do not consider the role cognition has in controlling violent urges (Sestir & Bartholow, 2007). Perhaps the biggest critique of psychodynamic theories is that they cannot be verified scientifically. This is because the data consists of therapist interpretations of a small number of patients and is therefore subjective (Englander, 2007; Wortley, 2016) and because it relies on abstract concepts such as the unconscious mind (Sammons, 2019). However, the psychodynamic perspective should not be overlooked because it had a significant influence on the development of other theories which focus of the impact of childhood experiences in the development of behaviour (Blackburn, 1993; Hollin, 1989; Sammons, 2019; Wortley, 2016).

*Learning and Behavioural Perspectives*

Learning and behavioural perspectives have transformed the Frustration-Aggression Hypothesis outlined previously. The hypothesis has been adapted to account for the diversity and complexity of people while incorporating behavioural perspectives, conditioning, and observation (Heron, 2012). Violence has historically been considered a learned behaviour. This idea is encompassed by the Social Learning Theory (Bandura, 1978) which argues that violence is learned through reward and punishment. It is also accepted that violence is more likely from those who have aggressive or violent role models or witness this behaviour from others (Patterson, 1982; Blackburn, 1993). The Social Learning Theory is highly regarded as a comprehensive account of behaviour, but it ignores the role of cognition (Hollin, 1989). Its biggest criticism lies in the fact that it ignores the influences of individual factors such as emotion and personality and instead focuses on external learning. It was therefore suggested that this theory should be considered alongside other factors (Feldman, 1993).

Another key critique of social learning theory is the premise that antisocial attitudes are developed through associations with antisocial peers. Instead of developing attitudes through association, it is argued that those with existing antisocial attitudes seek out others who share similar attitudes (Green, 2016). Furthermore, Siegel and McCormick (2006) found that the frequency of engagement in crime is consistent throughout the person’s life but opportunities to engage in crime differs. As such, it is accepted that there is a relationship between antisocial attitudes and association with antisocial peers, but a causal link cannot be made (Green, 2016). However, this argument was countered with the proposition that the development of antisocial attitudes prior to peer association is not inconsistent with the theory. This is because association with groups can still influence behaviour and in some cases, can encourage it (Akers & Sellers, 2004).

Deterrence Theory (Zimring & Hawkins, 1973; Gibbs, 1975) also draws on the learning and behavioural perspective and argues that suitable punishment should inhibit violent behaviour. As such, the costs and benefits of behaviour are considered, and a rational choice made whether or not to engage in the behaviour. The support in relation to this theory is mixed. Paternoster (2010) was an advocate and provided supporting evidence based on deterrence due to legal sanctions. Additionally, Baker and Piquero (2010) found a relationship between crime and the perceived benefits of offending. In contrast, Nagin (2013) argued that there was a weak relationship between deterrence and punishment which he said was partly due to perception of risk in offenders. Furthermore, effects of punishment are dictated by the perception of the recipient in terms of fairness (Zillman, 1979; Averill, 1982). Additionally, it is argued that the potential of being apprehended is rarely considered and therefore there is little motive to alter behaviour based on this possibility (Heron, 2012).

*Multi-Factorial Theories*

As a collective, the theoretical perspectives outlined above have been individually critiqued for having a relatively narrow focus on how violence is viewed (Heron, 2012). As such, multi-factorial models were proposed. McGuire (2008) argued that explaining violence is difficult because such acts result from a complex interaction of factors, e.g. cognitive, situational, biological, and developmental factors. More recent theories of violence explore the behaviour from multiple perspectives while acknowledging the interaction that occurs between factors. Theorists are in agreement that individual factors cannot provide a full understanding of violence and multiple factors should be considered (Anderson & Bushman, 2002; Dodge, Coie & Lynam, 2006; Rappaport & Thomas, 2004). Such models include the Cognitive Neoassociationist Aggression Model (Berkowitz, 1984; 1990; 1998), Social Cognitive Information Processing Model (Crick & Dodge, 1994), Social Cognitive Theory, Unified Social Information Processing Theory, and the General Aggression Model (Bushman & Anderson, 2002). The General Aggression Model is the most influential throughout the literature and more recently, the Biopsychosocial Model has been applied.

*General Aggression Model*

Bushman and Anderson’s (2002) General Aggression Model (GAM) aimed to amalgamate previous theories and account for multiple factors involved in motivating violence. The underpinning argument being that the person and situation interact to produce behaviour. The theory contends that every individual is unique and therefore has unique experiences, biological predispositions, and personality factors. These directly influence thoughts, feelings, and arousal in each situation. Likewise, each situation varies based on the presence of threat and incentives for violence. Behavioural responses result from an interaction of all of these factors. It is argued that this model better explains violence by considering the underlying motivation of behaviour rather than factors in isolation (Heron, 2012). The GAM is highly regarded within the literature (Gilbert & Daffern, 2010; Sestir & Bartholow, 2007). It is a comprehensive model used to explain violence and is easily applicable to behaviour (Heron, 2012).

Allen, Anderson and Bushman (2017) valued the GAM for its organisation and incorporation of key theoretical perspectives, and how these interact with each other. Specifically, they commented on how the GAM explains how biological and environmental factors interact to influence personality. The GAM has also been used to direct the focus of research and in the development of treatment programmes aimed at addressing violent offending (Heron, 2012). Despite the wealth of positive reviews of the GAM, Ferguson and Dyck (2012) were strong critics and felt that it is time to retire the GAM. They specifically took issue with its underlying assumptions and inconclusive findings arguing that the theory could compromise the understanding of violence rather than help. They went further and accused supporters of risking confirmation bias in an attempt to keep the theory in favour. Regardless, the GAM is highly regarded within the literature and continues to be implemented in the understanding and treatment of violence.

More recently, the Biopsychosocial model (Grinker, 1954; Engel, 1978) has been applied to understand violence. The model is well established within medicine and mental health in order to consider the person rather than just the illness (e.g. Havelka, Lucanin & Lucanin, 2009). Although the model has been heavily criticised for trying to accommodate all theoretical perspectives at the expense of a dominant theory (Benning, 2015) it has persisted and has been applied to various disciplines outside of medication, one of which being to understand offending behaviour (e.g. Golding & Fitzgerald, 2019). Meloy (2018) applied the biopsychosocial model to violence and found it was a useful way of understanding how the behaviour originated. It is argued that the relationship between biological, psychological, and social factors provide a good basis for understanding violence (Eriksen, Faerden, Lockertsen & Birkly, 2018). A simple yet comprehensive model was needed to explore how biological factors such as genes, psychological factors such as cognition, and social factors such as victimisation and attachment interact to produce behaviour (Walton et al., 2017). The biopsychosocial model is the current theory underpinning high intensity violence reduction programmes within Her Majesties Prison and Probation Service. The effectiveness of such programmes is yet to be evaluated. The biopsychosocial model is much simpler to understand and apply in comparison to the GAM and incorporates various theoretical perspectives in order to understand the phenomenon.

Violent offending is well researched in the literature and has been used to inform both understanding and treatment approaches to this type of crime. Various theoretical approaches have been taken to develop this understanding. The most influential theories have been the General Aggression Model and the Biopsychosocial model. Research is continuing to advance.

**Sexual Offending**

Sexual offending is defined as “actual, attempted, threatened sexual contact that is deliberate, and non-consenting” which is committed “against a person who cannot give full and informed consent”. It can include “communications of a sexual nature, fear-inducing behaviour, and non-contact offences” (Hart, Kropp & Laws, 2003). The idea of sexual offending covers a whole host of crimes. These include indecent assault, sexual assault, and rape. Furthermore, various different offender typologies have been devised to reflect this. Typologies classify offenders by characteristics, motivations, and recidivism (Jeglic, 2019). Generally, sex offenders can be categorised as rapists, child sexual offenders, sexual murderers, internet offenders, and juvenile sex offenders. I have outlined those relevant to the current research below.

*Rapists*

Four main types of rapists have been identified within the literature (Groth, 1979; Berger, 2000). These are ‘power-reassurance (compensatory) rapist, ‘power-assertive (power, impulsive) rapist, ‘anger-retaliatory (power, control) rapist, and ‘anger-excitement (sadistic)’ rapist’.

The power-assurance rapist is described as inadequate, has poor social skills, and courtship disorder. The offence serves to restore feelings of masculinity, it is premeditated and fuelled by rape fantasies, the offender does not wish to harm the victim, and they spend time with the victim (Berger, 2000; Blasko, 2016; Groth, 1979; Hazelwood, 1995). Conversely, the power-assertive rapist is described as confrontational, arrogant, and they falsely view themselves as socially competent. They use aggression during the offence in order to gain compliance, they display power and control, and it is opportunistic. The offence reinforces their manhood and ability to dominate women (Berger, 2000; Blasko, 2016; Groth, 1979).

The anger-retaliatory rapist has a general disdain for women and believe they cannot be trusted. The offence is an extension of their anger and rage, sex is a punishment or humiliation, excessive force is used, and it tends to be planned and targeted (Blasko, 2016; Groth, 1979; Hazelwood, 1995; Knight, 1999; Robertiello & Terry, 2007). Conversely, the anger-excitement rapist is manipulative, and they become sexually aroused by fear, pain, and suffering inflicted on victims. The offence is motivated by this desire to harm, inflict fear, and make the victim entirely submissive. It tends to be planned and involves significant elements of torture where death is often the outcome. The offender is described as detached and lacking remorse (Blasko, 2016; Groth, 1979; Hazelwood, 1995; Knight, 1999; Robertillo & Terry, 2007).

A fifth classification was identified in terms of the opportunistic-antisocial rapist. These rapists tend to offend whilst committing another, non-sexual crime. Their predominant offence type is non-sexual in nature, but they do engage in sexual crime on impulse (Amir, 1971; Blasko, 2016; Groth, 1979; Hazelwood, 1995; Knight, 1999).

*Child Sexual Offenders*

Typologies of child sexual offenders have tended to separate offenders using the categories ‘fixated’ and ‘regressed’ (Blasko, 2016). Fixated offenders have a primary sexual interest in children whereas regressed offenders do not have a preference but use children as a sexual outlet (Groth, 1979). Additionally, Lanning (2010) proposed that child sex offenders could be viewed on a continuum from ‘situational’ to ‘preferential’. Situation child sex offenders include ‘regressed’, ‘morally indiscriminate’, and inadequate. Preferential child sex offenders include ‘seduction’, ‘introverted’, ‘sadistic’, and ‘diverse’.

Encompassed under ‘situational’, regressed offenders have low self-esteem, they have poor coping skills, and the offence results from some sort of life crisis (Groth et al., 1982; Lanning, 2010). The morally indiscriminate offender both uses and abuses people (Knight, 1992). Inadequate offenders are described as withdrawn misfits, the offence is motivated by curiosity and insecurity and can result in death (Lanning, 1986, 2010). Conversely, encompassed under ‘preferential’, seduction offenders have a high level of congruence with children. They have authority and seduce victims over a long period of time (Lanning, 2010). The introverted offender lacks interpersonal skills and may seek partners for access to children (Knight, 1992). The sadistic offender uses psychological or physical harm to inflict pain and suffering which leads to sexual arousal. They tend to abduct and murder victims whilst recording their behaviour (Groth et al., 1982). The diverse offender is likely to have a paraphilia but no real preference for children. The offence results from sexual experimentation and boredom (Blasko, 2016; Lanning, 2010).

*Sexual Murderers*

Hazelwood and Douglas (1980) proposed the ‘organised/disorganised’ model of sexual murderers. Organised offenders plan the offence, they are controlled, high functioning, socially competent, actively avoid detection, they are manipulative, and they collect trophies or souvenirs. Conversely, disorganised offenders are opportunistic, sloppy, low functioning, they do not avoid detection, they are socially inadequate and sexually incompetent, there is little planning where the offences appear random, and they tend to use more physical violence.

Keppel and Walters’ (1999) proposed four typologies of sexual murderers: ‘power reassurance’, ‘power-assertive’, ‘anger-retaliatory’, and ‘anger-excitement’. The power reassurance offenders tend to be impotent, have obsessive fantasies, isolated, fear rejection, inadequate sex life, use sexual fantasies to overcome dysfunction, underachievers, immature, lack confidence, feel inferior, and are unable to tolerate criticism. Their intention was not to murder the victim, but murder occurs because the offence does not live up to the fantasy, and they need to reassure themselves of power and control. Conversely, power-assertive offenders have a sense of superiority which is expressed to the victim, lack emotion intelligence, and project a macho image. The intention is not to murder but it results from an increase in violence. Anger-retaliatory offenders are self-centred with poor temper control. The offence is an expression of anger and hatred towards women. The murder is planned, the sexual assault involves extreme violence, and the offence continues until the perpetrator obtains emotional satisfaction. Conversely, anger-excitement offenders are socially competent and able to live law abiding lives. The offence is planned, and the key focus is to derive sexual pleasure from inflicting pain and suffering on the victim.

Typologies offer valuable insight into offenders themselves and have contributed to a classification system to understand and research sexual offending (Blasko, 2016). However, research into the different typologies have shown varying results leading to typologies being criticised (Doran, Lobanov-Rostovsky & Simons, 2015). Bickley and Beech (2001) highlight problems in relation to the methodology used in developing typologies. Specifically, they took umbrage with sampling methods, self-report methods, and low base rates (Blasko, 2016). Other critiques of typologies include the premise that sex offenders have diverse characteristics which cannot always be accounted for (Robertiello & Terry, 2007). Additionally, it is argued that typologies are inadequately defined and research into their validity is inconsistent (Doran et al., 2015), as a result they should be used with caution.

Offenders perpetrating multiple different types of offences also causes problems for typologies as the offender cannot be categorised into a single typology. Heil, Ahlmeyer & Simons (2003) found that over 50% of perpetrators who took responsibility for sexually assaulting adults also took responsibility for assaulting children. Similarly, over 70% of perpetrators who took responsibility for sexually assaulting children also took responsibility for assaulting adults. As a result, Robertiello and Terry (2007) argued that sex offending should be viewed on a continuum instead of distinguishing clear categories. However, typologies are still fundamental in understanding characteristics associated with sexual offending.

There are also problems in relation to perpetrators committing both sexual and non-sexual crime. Researchers such as Harris, Mazerolle and Knight (2009), Lussier, Proulx and LeBlanc (2005), and Smallbone and Wortley (2004) were opposed to the assumption made by typologies that sexual and non-sexual offenders differ. It is accepted that there are differences in relation to motivation and characteristics of sex offenders but that this is no different to those committing other types of offences. Furthermore, it is argued that sex offenders and non-sex offenders are similar in that they commit different types of crimes across their life including those related to drugs and property (Blasko, 2016; Blumstein et al., 1986; Gottfredson & Hirschi, 1990). Harris et al. (2009) and Harris, Knight, Smallbone and Dennison (2011) concluded that most sex offenders rarely only commit sex offences and instead engage in other types of offending. This has implications for typologies because it needs to be decided whether sex offenders should be thought of similarly to non-sexual offenders but there is no agreement on this issue (Blasko, 2016).

Finally, traditional typologies are developed from official records which can lack detail and do not account for unconvicted offending. Doran et al. (2015) argue that further research is needed to develop extensive models which can have utility in understanding offending. This could be done through exploring the first-person perspective of those convicted for sexual offending.

**Theories of Sexual Offending**

As well as offender typologies, various theories have been proposed to explain sexual offending. Ward and Hudson (1998) depicted three levels of theory which were level 1 (multifactorial), level 2 (single factor), and level 3 (micro-level or offences process) theories.

Multifactorial theories are comprehensive accounts of offending which aim to consider key features in order to fully explain offending. Such theories include Finkelhor’s (1984) Precondition Model, Marshall and Barbaree’s (1990) Integrated Theory and Marshall, Anderson and Fernandez (1999) revised Integrated Theory, Hall and Hirschman’s (1992) Quadripartite Model, Ward and Sierget’s Pathway Model, and Malamuth’s (1993) Confluence Model of Sexual Aggression.

Conversely, single factor theories explain offending using single factors such as an empathy deficit which are believed to promote sexual offending. Such theories describe the structures and processes which make up the factor and how they relate to each other. Essentially, single factor theories build on the factors identified within multifactorial theories of sexual offending. Single factor theories include theories of cognitive distortions, deficient victim empathy, deviant sexual preferences, intimacy deficits, risk, and feminist theories of child sexual abuse.

Micro-level or offence process theories on the other hand are descriptive models of offending and relapse. Such theories tend to describe cognitive, behavioural, motivational, and social factors linked with sexual offending. They also include dynamic and temporal theories. These theories include relapse prevention and self-regulation models, offence chains, offence cycles, and offence process models.

For the purposes of this thesis, the theories have not been outlined in detail. However, Ward, Polaschek and Beech (2006) provide a detailed account of these theories. There is substantial research into the area of sexual offending which has focused on developing an understanding of this type of crime and what motivates it.

**Summary**

There is a wealth of research into violent and sexual offending both in terms of offender characteristics and motivations behind the offence. Many advances have been made and the research continues to expand. Anecdotally speaking, violent and sexual offending is viewed in very different ways yet there is some consistency in risk factors between them. Understanding how interpersonal crime is experienced may help to determine whether these types of offending should be viewed differently or whether they can be addressed in similar ways.

**Chapter 2**

**Criminal Narratives**

In order to develop insight into how crime is experienced, exploration from a first-person perspective has been proposed as a useful strategy (e.g. Dedeloudis, 2016; Goodlad et al., 2018; Ioannou, 2006; Ioannou et al., 2016; Spruin, Canter, Youngs, & Coulson, 2014). This can serve to uncover the unconscious processes driving behaviour (Yang & Mulvey, 2012). There are many benefits of looking at crime from a first-person perspective. A key benefit is that looking at an inner narrative (a personal story) contributes to exploring the individual and the experience without categorising by personality factors (Youngs & Canter, 2009). Furthermore, the formation of identity is argued to be underpinned by personal stories encompassing factors such as setting, character, and plot (Bruner, 1990; McAdams, 1985). As noted by Youngs and Canter (2009) these are believed to evolve over time and incorporate the past, present, and anticipated future. Likewise, another consideration is that life stories are factual but specific features are selected by the individual (Booker, 2005). This serves to form the story and makes it meaningful to them and others. Therefore, underlying attitudes and beliefs can be identified, and cultural norms are imitated in life stories (McAdams, 2006).

**Narrative Theory**

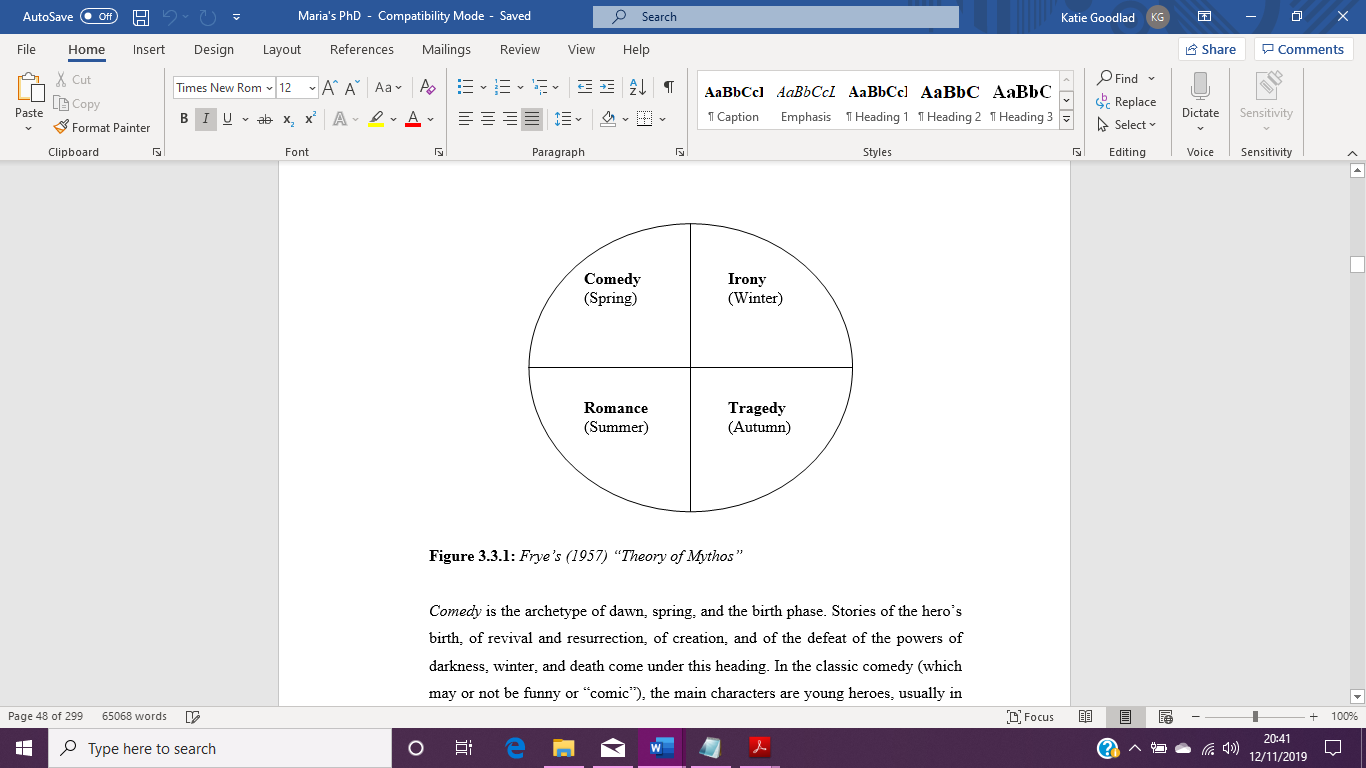
This idea developed and became known as Narrative Theory. It is underpinned by the notion that the construction of stories serves to help individuals understand the world and where they fit within it (Baumeister & Newman, 1994; Habermas & Bluck, 2000; Singer, 2004). The main character represents the individual and their narrative consists of particular sequences of events, experiences, and mental states exclusive to them (Bruner, 1990). The basis of narrative data therefore consists of the stories people convey about themselves in general and about the incidents and experiences they face throughout life. Singer (2004) argued that these stories indicate the importance that the individual places on certain events and experiences. Furthermore, exploring these can help provide meaning and understanding. A key tool people use when explaining things about themselves and their lives is stories. Polkinghorne (1996) therefore suggested they form a rich dataset which could be used to explore how people understand their lives.

It is argued that personal narratives are a key factor that drive behaviour. Furthermore, there is an underlying structure of motivation that dictate life stories. McAdams (1993; 2001) argued that this structure can be described as ‘agency’ and ‘communion’. Agency refers to the power and control that individuals try to assert, whereas communion represents connection to others. Helgeson and Fritz (1999) and Abele and Wojciszke (2007) used McAdams’ research as the basis for their work. Abele and Wojciszke (2007) for example noted that agency and communion relate to the interests and desirability of the self and others. Moreover, agency was associated more with self-interest whereas communion related more to the interests of others. It is argued that this distinction between agency and communion is what defines narrative roles (McAdams, 1993). Furthermore, it is proposed that within each culture, there is only a limited number of narrative roles (McAdams, 2001). It is suggested that this is due to there being limits to the way life stories can be conceptualised (Canter & Youngs, 2009; McAdams, 1993).

**Frye’s Theory of Mythoi**

Narrative theory is derivative from the works of literature; specifically, Frye’s (1957) ‘Theory of Mythoi’. Frye (1957) took inspiration from the works of Aristotle and authored the book “Anatomy of Criticism” where he proposed a classification system for stories from ancient times to modern day. The theory suggested that all stories take on one of four ‘mythic archetypes” labelled ‘comedy’, ‘romance’, ‘tragedy’, and ‘irony’. This classification system conveyed the way the main character was presented to others as well as within their own environment. Frye extended this premise and held the opinion that civilisation progressed in similar ways and furthermore, similar progress took place in Western civilisation throughout medieval and modern times. Frye’s original labels have been modified to account for societal changes where today comedy would be considered a romantic comedy, and Frye’s romance would be considered an adventure (Jacobs, 2000; Smith, 2005). Murray (1985) highlighted that these themes can be illustrated in media portrayals. For example, he linked the television programme MASH with the romantic comedy theme, the Star Wars films represent an adventure theme, Monty Python’s Life of Brian depicts the irony theme, and The Elephant Man can be considered a tragedy.

Although the archetypes are different, Frye noted that they form a ‘cyclical movement’ meaning that each archetype was linked. He likened this to the seasons of the year where he associated comedy with spring, romance with summer, tragedy with autumn, and irony with winter. Like spring grows into summer, comedy grows into romance. This then changes to the coldness of autumn (tragedy) which falls into winter (irony). This concept of cyclical movement highlights the significance of these archetypes merging into each other. As such, one archetype will dominate but due to archetypes combining, there will also be hybrids between them. Frye’s model is displayed in the figure below.



**Figure 2.1**: Frye’s (1957) ‘Theory of Mythoi’

*Comedy*

The ‘comedy’ theme is characterised by social harmony and inspiration which occurs at the passing of winter and into the birth of spring. The focus is therefore on the main character’s renewal and them being integrated into society. The central character overcomes adversity by defeating a dark power to achieve a happy ending. The story encompassed by this theme is that of a young hero forging a society by fighting off opposition to find true love and happiness. The main concern is that of seeking out simple pleasures from completing the journey while minimising the impact from the environment. The main character tends to be optimistic and rarely experiences guilt or anxiety. Their journey is characterised by positivity and content (Frye, 1957).

*Romance*

Romance is characterised by victory and is associated with the tranquillity of summer. These stories depict the hero conquering evil resulting in the main character experiencing paradise. The romance story incorporates three stages whereby the main character is engaged in a dangerous journey involving small adventures, this leads to a battle to the death for the hero and/or his enemy, which in turn results in a happy ending for the hero. The adventure undertaken by the central character is that of triumph by overcoming adversity and embracing and controlling challenges (Frye, 1957).

*Tragedy*

The tragedy theme is characterised by autumn and death. Such stories are encapsulated by villains using their powers against the central character in order to ensure their tragic end. The central character often develops a sense of pessimism as they must avoid dangers that affect their life. This role is also characterised by conflict of positive and negative emotions, e.g. pleasure and pain, and happiness and sadness. As a result of this the main character experiences periods of fear and sadness. Represented within such stories are elements of sacrifice, danger, isolation, death, and falling heroes. The character in this role feels separated from normality which leads them on a journey to rectify the natural imbalance they perceived themselves in. The ending of this journey is their tragic downfall where they are defeated. However, they are perceived as a victim attempting to confront inevitable danger while being pursued by the antagonist. However, this defeat provides the acquisition of wisdom and a realisation of truth (Frye, 1957).

*Irony*

Irony is characterised by darkness where the main character attempts to find order within a chaotic world. Their underlying vulnerability and inadequacy are revealed through events throughout the story. Such stories depict the prevailing chaos which results in confusion for the main character which erodes their strength to reveal their vulnerability (Frye, 1957).

In order to reflect the changes in society and maintain its relevance to literary criticism, these labels have been revised over the years. A key example is Alexander (2002) who revised the way events such as the Holocaust were seen over time. Additionally, Jacobs (2000) and Smith (2005) for example expanded the original narrative descriptions to incorporate stories of war.

Although this theory has been applied to a psychological context, concerns have been raised. In a literary context, Frye (1957) was able to demonstrate these themes as well as the ‘cyclical movement’ of them, however, it is argued that fiction is clearer and benefits from a well-defined structure unlike real life (Canter & Youngs, 2009). Further to this, it is argued that the Theory of Mythoi is not a scientific theory and is therefore not in a position to contribute to scientific evaluation (Spruin, Canter, Youngs, & Coulson, 2014). Nabokov (1980) for example was a strong critic of literary criticism who highlighted problems with the limited theory and explanations presented within literature. This is unlike the scientific approach of collating information, generating hypotheses, and analysing and interpreting data which is challenging to apply to more abstract terms and concepts. In literature, such terms and concepts are not always clearly defined which can make following scientific theory difficult (e.g. in formulating questions and hypotheses, and in drawing conclusions). However, the primary goal of scientific methodology is to generate explanations for reality. This is in terms of proposing reasonable and evidence-based theories. These theories are never conclusive because learning is a continuous process and the assumption of omniscience cannot be made. With that, all theories can be falsified, and any scientific concept is still a hypothesis.

In order to strengthen the study of literature and model a scientific methodology, a more systematic approach was adopted (Zechmeister & Romero, 2002). This made attempts to develop set rules and a common language. These new methods for the investigation of literature caused conflict within literary criticism in terms of its goal. Frye had concerns that a conceptual framework was not applied to the study of literature and he argued that literature is governed by an underlying structure. He believed that this structure could reveal themes within individual pieces of work. Frye was the key proponent in the development of a systematic theory and drew consistencies with natural sciences. As outlined in the Anatomy of Criticism, he argued the words within literature formed order which can be observed and analysed. It is this that formed an initial framework. Furthermore, using inductive methods, Frye found that literature followed a system and he identified common themes in stories which underpinned his theory (Frye, 1957).

Whilst it is acknowledged Frye’s Theory of Mythoi requires further development with regards to identifying a common language and a consistent coding system, the theory has merits where its validity can be tested through research. Despite concerns, the theory is held in high esteem and continues to influence research within and outside of literary criticism (Spruin et al., 2014). Within a psychological context it has been applied to explain behaviour and the individual’s internal state (i.e. thoughts, feelings, and beliefs) that motivates this behaviour. The benefits of exploring subjective accounts of personal experiences with a view of understanding underlying beliefs, roles adopted, and the decision of what detail to enhance rather than focusing on objective facts has been demonstrated within research conducted on narratives (Zechmeister & Romero, 2002). Applying narrative theory contributes to the development of a fuller comprehension of a person’s internal world as well as uncovering factors which should be targeted for change (Youngs & Canter, 2009). This idea is demonstrated in numerous studies within the medical profession (e.g. Kalitzkus & Matthiessen, 2009). Moreover, narrative theory has been applied in a criminal context and the archetypes outlined by Frye have been useful in exploring criminal behaviour. The application of narrative theory to offending developed into the idea of criminal narratives.

**Criminal Narratives**

Criminal Narratives are the application of Narrative Theory to offending behaviour. They can be described as the way individuals view themselves while they are committing their offences and how they make sense of that (Canter, 1994; Canter et al., 2003). Salience in offending behaviour can be identified from these as there are distinct narratives (Youngs & Canter, 2009). Not only can criminal narratives uncover what motivated offending, Maruna (2001) noted that they can also identify pertinent factors in the individual’s life. Furthermore, it is proposed that offending can be justified by certain narratives rather than it being considered criminal (Youngs & Canter, 2009).

It is acknowledged that it has been suggested there is a limited value in investigating an offender’s personal interpretation of their offences (Presser, 2012). However, there is substantial research emphasising the importance of narrative approaches (e.g. Ferrell, 1999; Presser, 2009, 2012; Maruna, 2001). A narrative approach is underpinned by the assumption that a person’s unique perspective on what happens in their life has a direct impact on their environment and situations they find themselves in (Presser, 2012). As such, it is essential to have a good understanding of the person’s background, as well as how they understand their offences (Ferrell, 1999). The way the offender’s narrative role is played out in their behaviour was shown by Presser (2012). He explored Jim David Adkisson’s story of mass murder and suggested that his narrative identify was the proponent to his offending. The way he portrayed himself, the situation he was in both personally and politically, and his hatred of others, fuelled his urge to do harm. This story describes the justification to cause harm to conquer a depersonalised enemy, and the inevitability of harm. This research went on to argue that the exploration of narratives can explain crime, as well as its appeal.

A narrative approach to exploring offending has received increasing attention within the literature as a valid way of exploring and understanding offending behaviour (e.g. Canter et al., 2003; Youngs & Canter, 2009; Youngs & Canter, 2012). However, it is not without limitations.

Perhaps the most pertinent one is in terms of authenticity of an offender’s account of what happened (Presser, 2009). It is routine for offenders to be asked to explain themselves and their actions. They may want to present in a certain way and they therefore have to balance what they did with how they want to be viewed now (McKendy, 2006; Presser, 2009). Given that offenders are rewarded for presenting in certain ways (e.g. good and responsible) which may result in them gaining parole, this notion of authenticity is important. As a result, it is argued that the explanations or narratives given by offenders may be deliberate in order to present themselves in a particular way (Goffman, 1971). Other researchers, however, have taken an opposite stance. Presser (2009) highlighted that the value of narratives is not in determining whether an offender is telling the truth but rather how they viewed themselves. The important factor is placed on the recall of experience which narrative theory can be applied to. Based on this, it is argued that data gathered regarding criminal narratives is not unlike other data sources such as victim statements and crime reports. This being that there will be inherent limitations in regard to authenticity (Presser, 2009) but exploring it is beneficial for the understanding of certain phenomena.

The narrative approach does not, however, consider factors such as an offender’s background, individual differences, environmental, biological, and social factors, demographics, or gender. Other theories of crime have demonstrated their validity in explaining offending. For example, as outlined within chapter one, the General Aggression Model (Bushman & Anderson, 2002) sets out a clear way of explaining violent behaviour whilst also accounting for the differences between instrumental and reactive violence. Within this model, biological factors, environmental factors, and individual differences are incorporated. There are also single factor theories such as the frustration-aggression hypothesis (Dollard et al., 1939) which explains how individuals are driven to maximise pleasure and minimise pain.

It is apparent that there is no single theory of crime which offers a full explanation, and each have their own strengths and limitations. This is not to say that one theory is right, and another is wrong (Scottish Centre for Crime and Justice, 2020). Narrative theory is a novel approach which has been shown to contribute to the understanding of crime (Presser, 2009; Youngs & Canter, 2012). Again, this is not to say that this is the right, or only way, of understanding crime but it may certainly provide another perspective. Given that research has identified how factors such as biology, sociology, and the environment can contribute to the perpetration of offending, further research may be needed to explore how a narrative approach fits in with and enhances the understanding of crime. The limitations of narrative theory are acknowledged but, as outlined by many other researchers, they are a fruitful line of enquiry (e.g. Ward, 2012; Youngs & Canter, 2012).

Canter was a strong proponent in the value of applying a narrative approach to understanding crime. He believed offenders to be a distinct subset of the wider population where their narratives are restricted (Canter, 1994). This means that there are specific underlying themes applicable to their population and a particular criminal narrative will dominate behaviour. It is also argued that such narratives reflect Frye’s (1957) Theory of Mythoi. Canter, Kaouri and Ioannou (2003) provided evidence for this in their research which revealed that the narratives adopted by offenders depicted a circular order. This order showed how themes opposed each other and therefore formed a cyclical format.

In an attempt to provide structure to the idea of criminal narratives, Youngs and Canter (2011) presented the Criminal Narrative Framework (CNF). This was the first model developed which aimed to provide insight into offending behaviour, specifically, why offenders engaged in, and abstained from, crime. The model proposed four key themes labelled: ‘victim’, ‘professional’, ‘hero’, and ‘revenger’. As highlighted by Canter et al. (2003), these themes reflect the roles presented by Frye (1957).

*Victim (Irony)*

The victim role reflects Frye’s concept of ‘irony’. Stories considered as irony are characterised by a main character who hides behind their tough exterior to cover a sense of inadequacy. Such stories tend to be set in a corrupt and violent world. For an offender identifying with the victim role, they feel both helpless and powerless. Their world does not make sense to them and nothing matters (Youngs & Canter, 2009). This sense of helplessness and powerlessness instil a sense of victimisation which is the key factor within this role. This narrative role is therefore linked with negative emotions and there is a sense of being condemned to being vulnerable and powerless. Typical responses applicable to this narrative role are “nothing else mattered”, “I was helpless”, and “I was getting my own back”.

*Professional (Adventurer)*

The professional role reflects Frye’s concept of ‘adventurer’ which he referred to as ‘romance’. The adventurer opposes the idea of the victim in the irony role. The main character in an adventurer role is a professional who conquers obstacles in order to achieve paradise (Frye, 1957). The main character tries to overcome some sort of adversity in their life in order to achieve victory. Within this, new challenges arise and circumstances change. An offender fitting this role has a strong desire for control over their environment and offending provides them with satisfaction (Youngs & Canter, 2009). Offenders in this role therefore view themselves as a risk-taker or an adventurer. However, what is parallel to this is that offenders also view their actions as routine and planned. This is consistent with their calm demeanour which helps them to successfully complete the job. This role is very much linked with positive emotions (Canter et al., 2009).

*Hero (Quest)*

The hero role reflects Frye’s concept of ‘quest’ which he referred to as ‘comedy’. This role is characterised by a hero on a quest for a happy ending in the form of love or contentment. In order to achieve this the hero must manage environmental obstacles and limitations that get in their way. This role is characterised by positive emotion because offending is part of a mission seeking a happy ending. There is little guilt or anxiety about offending (Youngs & Canter, 2009). The experience tends to be a positive one and offending is justified through the view that it is part of their mission because it was manly, or they could not stop it. Further to this, if the offender feels they have been dishonoured in some way, there must be consequences in order to satisfy their sense of pride and they may be looking for recognition. Within this role, there is a strong sense of indifference and an element of boasting which is key to this role. This is illustrated by responses describing behaviour as nothing special (Canter et al., 2009).

*Revenger (Tragedy)*

The revenger role reflects Frye’s concept of ‘tragedy’. These stories consist of “wrathful gods or villains trying to manipulate the hero for evil purposes”. The hero is characterised by pride, passion, and high intelligence which are attributes which differentiate him from society. These attributes ultimately lead to his defeat (Frye, 1957). This storyline is also considered quite paradoxical in that there is a sense of righteousness where the hero must be defeated, and a sense of wrong as it is a shame this must be the case. The story is one of inescapable revenge by the person who was mistreated and deprived. There is no choice but to enact this revenge and fulfil this role. Responses captured in this role justify the behaviour as the “only thing to do”, it being “fate”, and “it was right”. Like most tragedies, the main character is ill-fated (Canter et al., 2009).

Being able to identify distinct themes emphasises the value of narrative theory. Its application in a criminal context exceeds more traditional approaches. This is because traditional exploration of offending behaviour focuses on retrospective interpretation of involvement in crime. It is argued that there is value in exploring an individual’s personal views of themselves whilst committing crime as this can identify salient features involved (Youngs & Canter, 2009). Narrative methodologies are in themselves explorative. They are therefore useful in understanding motivation, specifically uncovering behavioural patterns and themes that differentiate between offenders. The behaviour can be considered the narrative being acted out whereas the motivation is characterised by the pursuit of the narrative (Presser, 2009). An important point to consider, however, is that life stories evolve over time which means that narratives change (Canter, 1994). Therefore, Presser (2009) argued that accurately measuring narratives may be difficult due to them changing too rapidly to be captured. Ward (2012) particularly raised concerns about Youngs and Canter’s (2012) proposition of narrative roles in offending. There specific issues related to “definitional vagueness, lack of clarity concerning the nature of the self and its relationship to narrative roles, and methodological problems involving reliability and validity” (p.1).

In relation to definitional vagueness, Ward (2012) felt that Youngs and Canter did not adequately define narrative roles and terms were used interchangeably. They also took issue with what they refer to as ‘theoretical redundancy’ questioning the benefits of narrative approaches in comparison to concepts such as self-accounting and interpretations (Strawson, 2004). They also identified differentiating between psychological and ethical narrativity. Psychological narrativity refers to the concept that “human beings typically see, or live, or experience their lives as a narrative or story of some sort, or at least as a collection of stories” (Strawson, 2004, p.428). Ethical narrativity refers to the concept “that experiencing or conceiving one’s life as a narrative is a good thing; a richly narrative outlook is essential to well-lived life, to true or full personhood” (Strawson, 2004, p. 428). Ward (2012) criticised Youngs and Canter (2012) for being unclear as to whether they were drawing from psychological or ethical narrativity. He noted that they appear to be drawing from psychological narrativity but at times there is some evidence of ethical narrativity with little explanation. This causes problems for the theory in relation to expectations of how offenders construct narratives and Ward argued that Youngs and Canter needed to be more explicit.

With regards to a “lack of clarity concerning the nature of the self and its relationship to narrative roles”, Ward (2012) felt that it was unclear if Youngs and Canter viewed the self as being storied and founded on the narratives created, or whether they consider narrative identities as consisting of an organised set of beliefs in relation to the self which are structured in a coherent manner. If it is the former, then Ward argued that there are problems linking the self and self-concept. However, the latter way of viewing narratives is more helpful because it allows for the exploration of beliefs with offenders and it would be possible to develop accurate and adaptive self-conceptions (Ward, 2012).

Ward (2012) also took issue with Youngs and Canter’s view of emotions and felt that they inaccurately summarise the relationship between narrative roles, self-conceptions, and emotions due to the reduction of emotions to two dimensions. Ward felt that having a clearer focus on how emotions contribute to the development of self-narratives would simplify the narrative roles presented. In essence, Ward (2012) argued that viewing emotions as core components of narrative roles would remove the need to draw on the wider emotion literature. The role of emotions is reviewed in chapter three and the link with criminal narratives is reviewed in chapter four.

In relation to the methodology, Ward (2012) questioned the presence of the four narrative roles within case studies given the absence of a second coder or set criteria for each role. They also questioned the construct validity arguing that a lack of specification of each role raises concerns. This is in relation to whether narrative roles demonstrate the underlying psychological processes involved in offending or whether the categories are so broad that it is not difficult to fulfil them. Ward (2012) suggested that work was needed to strengthen core concepts and to develop criteria to allow for narrative roles to be evaluated. Additionally, Ward (2012) questioned whether researchers were imposing their own predetermined categories on offence accounts. He felt that researchers needed to demonstrate how the actions of perpetrators were governed by narrative roles and that this could not be done through identifying themes within an offence account. In contrast, Canter (1994) acknowledged early on that there were problems in relation to narrative theory and research. In overcoming them, he argued that concentrating on narratives attached to specific offences provided a narrower focus which meant that identifying specific narrative roles was possible. He explained how people live many different narratives throughout their life but within offending, they are limited (Youngs & Canter, 2012). Therefore, it was argued that it is possible to measure these narratives quantitatively without the complexity of exploring a person’s entire storyline (Youngs & Canter, 2012).

Youngs and Canter (2012) countered Ward’s (2012) critiques through the development of the Narrative Role Questionnaire (NRQ). They argued that Ward’s critique focused on personal life stories rather than specific narratives linked to offending. This clarification largely mitigates Ward’s critiques and highlights the power of applying narrative theory within a criminal context. Focusing on accounts related to specific offences means that a standardised measure could be created in the form of the NRQ. The NRQ allowed respondents to outline what roles they think they play when perpetrating crime. Moreover, multivariate analysis revealed the four narrative roles initially outlined (Canter et al., 2003; Youngs & Canter, 2012). These narratives are characterised by the underlying psychological processes driving offending including thinking styles, self-concept, and emotions. Various studies have applied the Criminal Narrative Framework and Narrative Role Questionnaire to a criminal context. For example, Ioannou, Canter, Youngs and Synnott (2015) investigated whether crime type influences narratives. The themes that emerged were consistent with the Criminal Narrative Framework (hero, professional, victim, revenger) and specific roles appeared to relate to specific crime types. The hero and professional roles linked with robbery, drug offences, and property offences. The revenger and victim roles linked with violent offending, sexual offences, and murder. It is acknowledged that there were only six broad crime types present in this sample, but significant practical implications of the research were revealed. This encompasses the treatment of offenders in terms of dictating techniques used in interview and the identifying treatment pathways based on narrative roles and crime types (Youngs & Canter, 2009). Consistent with other research, this study highlighted the significance of using a narrative approach to explore criminal behaviour and how useful it can be in developing insight (Ioannou et al., 2015). Furthermore, this study set a precedent for using this method in understanding what drives criminal behaviour across crimes. The results from research in this area indicates its usefulness and provides strong evidence of the potential criminal narratives have in understanding offending behaviour. As Youngs and Canter (2012) pointed out, the identification of four narrative roles provide a basis for understanding the factors underpinning the perpetration of crime.

**Summary**

Narrative theory originates from Frye’s Theory of Mythoi and the idea of criminal narratives have developed significantly since then. A working framework has been proposed which has identified four narratives specific to offenders (professional, hero, victim, and revenger). Research has shown how these roles can be used to explore and understand offending behaviour.

**Chapter 3**

**The Emotional Experience of Crime**

A powerful force in the commissioning of any behaviour is often the role of emotions (Pecher, Lemercier & Cellier, 2011). This is perhaps an area that has been overlooked in previous research, particularly with regard to criminal behaviour (Ioannou, 2006). Before considering the role of emotions in crime, it is important to fully understand what is meant by emotion and the theory behind it. Although no unified definition has been agreed, emotions can generally be defined as “a complex state of feeling that results in physical and psychological changes that influence thought and behaviour” (Cherry, 2019, p. 1). Emotions are associated with various areas of psychology including personality, temperament, and motivation (Cherry, 2019). Myers (2004) contended that human emotion was characterised by physiological arousal, expressive behaviours, and conscious experience.

A number of theories have been proposed with regard to emotions, their structure, and function. Major theories can be categorised as having a physiological, neurological, or cognitive basis (Strongman, 2003). Theories underpinned by a physiological approach contend that bodily responses generate emotions. Those underpinned by a neurological approach argue that brain activity is responsible for emotion. Theories underpinned by a cognitive approach propose that it is thoughts and mental activity that form emotions. Early researchers explored the role of basic emotions which later developed and dimensional models were proposed.

**Basic Theory of Emotions**

The earliest record of basic emotions was in a Chinese encyclopaedia dating back to the first century (Burton, 2016). The ‘Book of Rites’ identified seven ‘feelings of men’ which were joy, sadness, fear, love, like, and dislike. The basis of discrete emotion theories is that there are innate core emotions which produce pre-determined responses that are universal. Therefore, they are the same for every individual irrespective of ethnic or cultural differences. This idea grew out of the realisation that certain emotions were innate to every species (e.g. fear) and is linked with a primal response for survival. This is unlike complex emotions like pride and guilt which are not experienced by infants or animals. A number of researchers have proposed what these core emotions are. Ekman (1957) proposed six basic emotions: anger, disgust, fear, happiness, sadness, and surprise. Whereas Tomkins (1962) proposed eight basic emotions: surprise, interest, joy, rage, fear, disgust, shame, and anguish. Moreover, using factor analysis, Izard (1992) suggested twelve basic emotions: interest, joy, surprise, sadness, anger, disgust, contempt, self-hostility, fear, shame, shyness, and guilt. A problem with this is that there is no consensus regarding the number of core emotions present. Ekman (1992) argued that emotions were an evolutionary occurrence which were useful in dealing with key life events. Emotions have unique features in terms of messages, physiology, and activating events. However, emotions have certain commonalities in terms of quick onset, short duration, automatic assessment, and consistency of responses (Barrett, Lewis & Haviland-Jones, 2016).

Darwin (1872) applied an early theory, the basic category structure, which argued that every emotion can be categorised into groups and that specific neural structures support their functioning. Thus, this theory proposed that emotions and neural systems are linked (Posner et al., 2009). The view of distinct emotions developed from research on animals whereby behaviour was observed after neural pathways were stimulated. The results indicating that specific neural pathways linked to individual basic emotions (Pankseep, 1998).

Plutchik (2000) identified eight basic emotions and recognised that they could be grouped into four pairs which were polar opposites of each other. These were joy and sadness, anger and fear, trust and distrust, and surprise and anticipation. Plutchik (2000) argued for the primitive and biological nature of these basic emotions and he discussed how they evolved over time to aid survival. This is demonstrated with the emotion of fear and how it triggers the fight-or-flight response in animals.

Although basic emotions are thought to combine to produce complex emotions (e.g. contempt resulting from anger and disgust), not all complex emotions can be broken down in this way (Posner, Russell, and Peterson, 2005). Therefore, it is argued that theories of basic emotions are too simplistic and do not explain why complex emotions are not experienced by all animals and infants (Russell, 2003). To account for this, it was suggested that basic emotions interact with cognitions and it is this that produces the emotional state. For example, frustration could develop from anger and the belief of having a lack of control (Posner et al., 2009). However, this cannot be said for all complex emotions and basic emotions can develop as a result of cognitions (e.g. the basic emotion of fear could develop from the belief of being in danger). Posner therefore argued that these basic emotions are susceptible to cultural influences as different cognitions would not produce the same emotion in all cultures (e.g. beliefs in witchcraft).

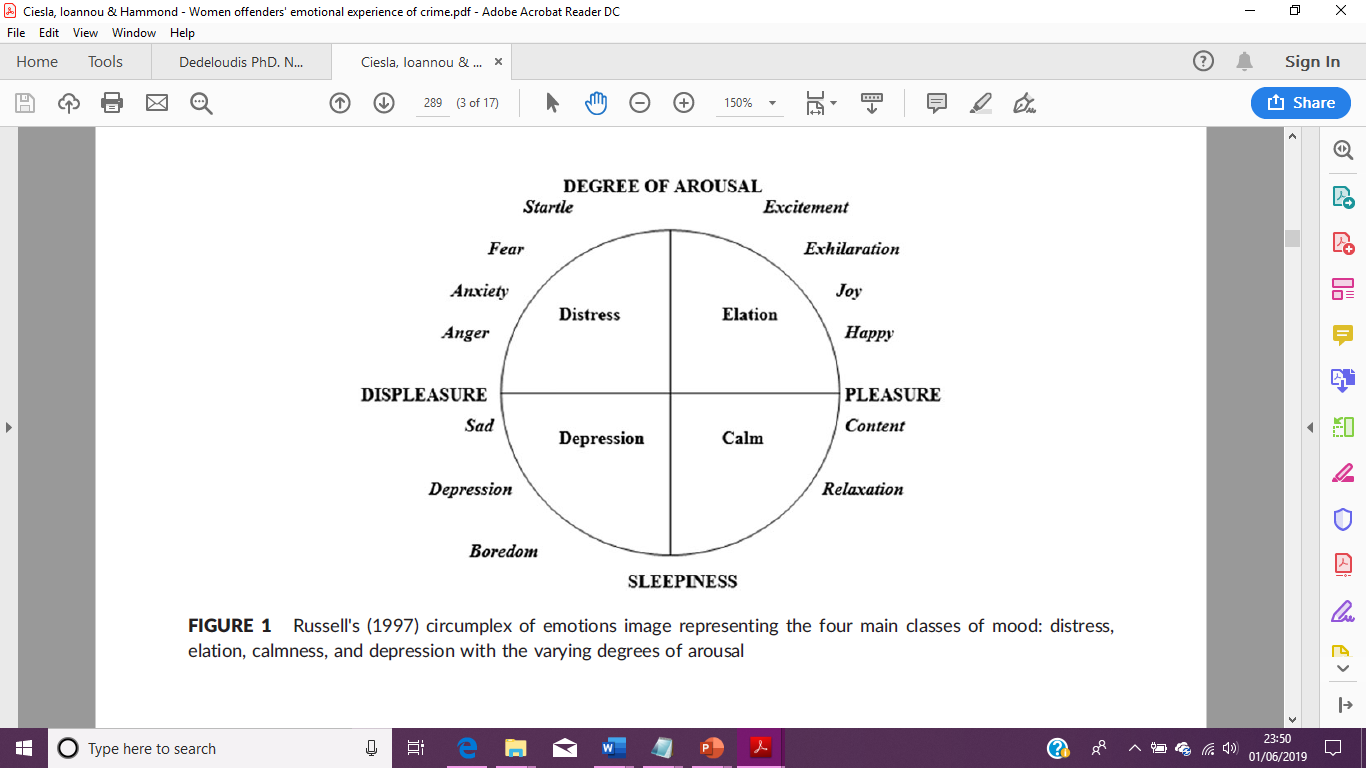
**Dimensional Models of Emotions**

Given the limitations of theories of basic emotions, researchers began to develop dimensional models. Dimensional models differ to basic models as they argue that an interconnected structure is responsible for all emotions (Faith & Thayer, 2001; Eerola & Vuoskoski, 2010). This is unlike basic models which argue that distinct emotions are formed through distinct systems (Rubin & Talarico, 2009; Harmon-Jones, Harmon-Jones & Summerell, 2017). Various dimensional models were proposed including Plutchik (1980) who developed his ‘wheel of emotions’. This used a circle of emotions to demonstrate how they related to each other. It grew from his original proposal for the existence of eight basic emotions which he argued were polar opposites of each other (i.e. joy and sadness, anger and fear, trust and distrust, and surprise and anticipation). Plutchik’s theory argued that all emotional experiences result from a combination of these basic emotions, emotions vary in intensity and similarities between emotions vary.

*Circumplex Model of Affect*

Perhaps the most widely accepted and researched dimensional model is Russell’s (1979) circumplex model of affect. Posner, Russell, and Peterson (2005) were one supporter who suggested that it was a useful framework to examine affective experiences. The model contends that emotions can be seen on two dimensions of mood. He labelled these ‘valence’ which referred to pleasantness and unpleasantness, and ‘level of arousal’ from excited or tense to relaxed and calm. It is this idea of valence that decides whether the emotion is a positive or negative experience. Therefore, emotions range from pleasant states like joy and happiness to unpleasant states like grief and despair (Russell, 2003; Posner et al., 2005). The arousal level dictates how strongly an emotion is felt which in turn influences behaviour. This level of intensity ranges from excited or panic to coma or sleep (Posner et al., 2005).

Further to this, Russell (2003) expanded his original framework and proposed that there was a circular order to emotions. He argued that emotional states merge into each other and that this circumplex formed around the dimensions or axes of valance (pleasantness-unpleasantness) and level of arousal. The model considers the role of cognitions in that when the emotional state is experienced, it is interpreted, and this is what determines where the emotion is placed on the valance and arousal dimensions. When changes are detected, an organisation process occurs taking into account the stimuli, experiences, behavioural responses, and knowledge (Posner et al., 2005; Russell, 2003). Therefore, when emotional states are triggered, they activate valance and arousal dimensions to different degrees based on the scope of the trigger. As such, certain emotions develop due to the activation of these dimensions as well as the way the emotion is interpreted.



**Figure 3.1:** Russell’s (1997) Circumplex Model of Affect

Russell (1980) argued that this model was superior to other models in the understanding of emotional states. To support the claim, he completed research which demonstrated the circular structure of emotions. In this study, 28 words or phrases were used that are commonly used to describe mood and emotions and these were analysed using a number of scaling techniques. These findings were replicated in a number of further studies. For example, Knez (2001) applied Larsen and Diener’s (1992) suggestion that a labelling system could be used to characterise eight affective states. They applied this system to a Swedish sample and, with revisions, found support for the circumplex model. However, other studies found mixed results (e.g. Remmington, Fabrigar and Visser, 2000).

Despite these mixed findings, the circumplex model of affect has demonstrated its validity in being able to recognise emotional states across a range of stimuli. Posner et al. (2005) highlighted how the axes of mood have been demonstrated in judgements of emotional language throughout cultures and in different response formats. They also highlighted that the two axes could be seen in perceptions of facial expressions as well as in studies of emotion using physiology, electroencephalography (EEG), and Functional Magnetic Resonance Imaging (fMRI). In comparison to previous theories of emotions, the circumplex model of affect has received a wide range of support and the findings have been replicated in a number of different contexts. Moreover, the model has contributed to the understanding of how emotions interact and how emotions are experienced in the general population as well as offenders (Ioannou, 2006; Ioannou, Canter & Youngs, 2016).

A key limitation of the model is the notion that all emotions and experiences can be depicted on two dimensional axes. Reducing emotions and experiences in this way creates a significant limitation because it is argued that emotions are too complex to be reduced in this way (Russell, 1997). To illustrate the point, Spruin (2012) looked at anger and anxiety and noted that although they were both characterised by displeasure and high arousal, there were discrete differences between them. This is in terms of resulting behaviour, physiological responses, and facial expressions. These differences are not captured by the circumplex model and it is suggested that the unique nature of each emotion may be lost. Dedeloudis (2016) illustrated a similar point using the emotions of fear and startle.

A second limitation of the model is that emotional intensity is not wholly reflected within the model. This is in terms of emotions affecting people in different ways and therefore each emotion may be experienced to different degrees. Ioannou (2006) suggested that it is this that is not accounted for in the model as emotions appear in the same place. Spruin (2012) illustrated this point using depression. She noted that depression ranged from mild to severe and the differences between these produced different mental states which in turn resulted in different behaviours. Dedeloudis (2016) illustrated a similar point using anxiety. He noted that anxiety ranged from mild to severe and again, this affected both cognition and behaviour.

Despite there being some limitations to the circumplex model in terms of accounting for the full range of emotions, it makes significant contributions in the understanding of emotional experience. It has been consistently applied to research and has been used to inform theory regarding emotions. Plutchik (2000) argued that the circumplex model of affect incorporates key features aiding the understanding of emotional experience. Its value is consistently evidenced in its continued empirical support (e.g. Posner, Russell & Peterson, 2005; Remington, Fabrigar & Visser, 2000; Macy, 2016).

**Emotions and Crime**

As eluded to earlier, the role of emotions in crime has been somewhat overlooked and yet tend to be present throughout offending. Katz (1988) was the first proponent in the exploration of this and noted in his book ‘Seductions of Crime’ how emotional states are key to offending behaviour. The concepts explored in this book forced the re-evaluation of research and methods in the exploration of crime (Turk, 1991). Katz (1988) argued that ignoring the role of emotions in offending prevents the development of a full understanding of how, why, and under what circumstances offending occurs. Using phenomenological analysis, Katz explored the seductions of offending behaviour. The results indicated that the most common motivating factor in this was the experience of positive emotions such as excitement. He considered these behaviours as ‘sneaky thrills’ and commented on the role that these had in offending behaviour. For example, in the offence of robbery, the motivation is not always financial gain but rather the thrill of carrying out the act itself and not getting caught. The role of personal emotions is also important in promoting offending behaviour. For example, humiliation was also a motivating emotion as he found that this emotion can change to rage which in turn encourages some sort of retribution (Katz, 1988).

In order to complete this research, Katz used narrative accounts of crime from unconvicted offenders and university students. The results revealed that there were a range of emotions that encourage offending. For violent crime, these range from humiliation and righteousness to violation and vengeance which give permission for the use of violence. Katz referred to this as ‘righteous slaughter’. Conversely, the emotion attached to acquisitive offences was a ‘sneaky thrill’. Katz argued that offenders are seduced, whether this is by objects, people, or the very act of criminality itself. He substantiated this with the example of theft and highlighted that it is not always driven by need. Both McCarthy (1995) and Flemming (1999) supported this view. McCarthy found that stealing in young people tended to reflect wanting fashionable items rather than necessity and Flemming found that car theft was perpetrated for recreation rather than profit. Indermaur (1993) looked at property offenders with slightly different findings. Emotions tended to relate to justifiable anger and being in an impossible position. In fact, a range of emotions were identified including fear, excitement, frustration, and anger.

Collins (2009) proposed that violence can be explained using the ‘interactional ritual theory’. This being that perpetration of violence violates fundamental human tendencies. He argues that in order to commit violence, significant emotional barriers have to be overcome. Additionally, violence can be driven by emotion in terms of it being a response fuelled by fear and panic.

Anecdotal understandings of crime regularly make reference to the role of emotions. A common example of this is a ‘crime of passion’ which refers to violent offences against a partner. Offenders are also commonly referred to as ‘angry’. Clay-Warner (2014) argued that these references served to distinguish offenders from others. In contrast to this, some offenders are considered to lack emotion, particularly with regards to empathy and shame. It is clear that there are distinct perspectives on how emotion contributes to offending. Thus, outlining the salience that emotions can identify in relation to offending behaviour (Ioannou, 2006; Ioannou et al., 2016). Extreme emotion is seen as a driving factor behind offending and therefore desistance (e.g. Howells, Day & Wright, 2003; Tonnaer et al., 2017). However, a full understanding of this is unclear and further research is needed.

Several researchers have highlighted the need to explore emotions in order to fully understand offending behaviour (e.g. De Haan & Loader, 2002; Canter & Iannou, 2004; Ioannou, 2006; Ioannou et al., 2016). In fact, some researchers have commented on the lack of emotion in theories of crime (e.g. Frazier & Meisenhelder, 1985). In order to fully understand crime, exploring the role of emotions is a fundamental part and although some advances have been made, there is no consistency throughout the literature. Ignoring the role of emotions within theories results in an inadequate and incomplete understanding of offending behaviour (Ioannou, 2006; Ioannou et al., 2016).

Most research into emotions has concentrated on a non-criminal population and Ioannou (2006) and Ioannou et al. (2016) argued that there was a need to explore the emotions experienced by offenders during the perpetration of crime. Various studies have investigated the link between emotions and crime in terms of how crime may have been triggered by emotion (DeHaan & Loader, 2002; Giordano, Schroeder & Cernkovich, 2007). Additionally, Canter and Ioannou (2004a) made a link with Russell’s (1997) Circumplex Model of Affect. Finally, they argued that emotions could be explored in much the same way as narrative roles.

There has been some research to this effect where attention was given to investigating how offenders experienced their emotions whilst committing crime. For example, Ciesla, Ioannou and Hammond (2018) focused on the emotions of female offenders. This study showed how emotions mirrored those outlined by Russell’s Circumplex of Affect. Canter and Ioannou (2004) were the first, however. They used a questionnaire where respondents had to indicate either way whether they were present. The outcome of their analysis indicated that emotions experienced mirrored those of a non-offending sample in terms of Russell’s (1997) circumplex of affect. This study indicated that there was a more pronounced difference between the pleasure and non-pleasure experiences for offenders in comparison to non-criminal experiences. However, the differences in the level of arousal dimension was less clear. In terms of exploring the different emotions attributed to different crimes, Canter and Ioannou (2004) found that property offences generated more pleasurable emotions in comparison to offences against a person. This supports their argument that emotions are fundamental in the understanding of crime and the psychological processes that accompany it. Moreover, their study highlighted how the emotions experienced during offending could be explored in much the same way as typical emotional experiences. Bernasco (2010) highlighted the benefits of exploring emotions from a first-person perspective and noted that offenders are the ‘experts’. For this reason, asking offenders what drove their offending is key in understanding why they offended, and the factors that drove it.

**Summary**

Although once ignored, the research has shown the value in exploring the role of emotions in driving offending. It is this area that has been missing from various explanations of crime and has potential to provide much needed insight. Research has shown how models of emotions can be applied to offending behaviour. The most influential model to this end is Russell’s Circumplex of Affect. Research has also shown how emotions can be explored in similar ways as criminal narratives which provides a new avenue of investigation.

**Chapter 4**

**The Criminal Narrative Experience**

Research has illustrated the benefits of exploring criminal narratives to develop insight into offending behaviour. The flaw in this technique, however, is that it ignores the role of emotions which are experienced whilst committing crime (Ioannou, Canter, & Youngs, 2016). Understanding these emotions are key in fully understanding offending (Ioannou, 2006; Ioannou et al., 2016). Katz (1988) originally hypothesised that affective states are fundamental to offending behaviour. Based on this proposal, Canter and Youngs (2012) contended that they were also key in understanding and distinguishing criminal narratives.

To address the limitations of criminal narratives, i.e. ignoring the role of emotions, Ioannou (2006) and Ioannou et al. (2016) developed the Criminal Narrative Experience (CNE) framework. This amalgamated the criminal narratives acted out and the emotions experienced during crime. The framework encompassed four themes which they labelled the ‘elated hero’, ‘calm professional’, ‘distressed revenger’, and ‘depressed victim’. In order to produce this framework, Ioannou combined the Criminal Narrative Framework (Youngs & Canter, 2011) and Russell’s (1980; 1997) Circumplex of Affect (see Chapter 2 and 3 respectively). The elated hero and calm professional themes can be considered positive experiences whereas the distressed revenger and depressed victim themes can be seen as more negative experiences.

*Elated Hero*

The elated hero contains elements of the comedy story form and combines Russell’s elation with Canter’s idea of the hero role. The elated hero is concerned with overcoming obstacles in an attempt to keep their interest and have fun and achieve their goal. Their criminal behaviour is viewed as an adventure where pleasure is derived. Engaging in crime gives them a sense of euphoria and an appreciation of its significance (Ioannou et al., 2016).

*Calm Professional*

The calm professional reflects the irony story form and combines Russell’s calm with Canter’s idea of the professional role. The calm professional is an expert and refers to offending as a job where they are merely performing a task. The consequences of offending are ignored, and offences are justified because it is routine (Ioannou et al., 2016).

The elated hero and calm professional themes are characterised by positive experiences. However, the key differences between the two is that the elated hero is trying to overcome obstacles to achieve a goal whereas the calm professional is simply performing a task. Moreover, the elated hero experiences euphoria through their captivating adventure whereas the calm professional is unconcerned by the consequences of their behaviour and see it as part of their routine.

*Distressed Revenger*

The distressed revenger reflects the romance story form and combines Russell’s distress with Canter’s idea of the revenger role. As a result of feeling wronged, the distressed revenger must get revenge in order to avoid humiliation and maintain moral equality. This offender believes he is doing the right and manly thing and is tied to a sense of being unable to help himself. This role is characterised by a struggle for revenge or victory which involves gaining control over challenges to get what is rightfully his (Ioannou et al., 2016).

*Depressed Victim*

The depressed victim reflects the romance story form and combines Russell’s depression with Canter’s idea of the victim role. This role is characterised by a feeling of being defeated and that fate is against them. When they confront this danger; they provoke pity and fear. They view their situation negatively but believe that this misfortune or punishment is not entirely deserved (Ioannou et al., 2016). As such, they attribute their behaviour to fate, circumstance, necessity, fortune, and God (Frye, 1957).

The distressed revenger and depressed victim themes are characterised by negative experiences. The main differences between them are that the distressed revenger is seeking to restore the balance of power due to being humiliated or wronged whereas the depressed victim is self-pitying, they feel defeated by the world and like their situation is undeserved and out of their control.

The CNE draws from narrative theory and criminal narratives and as such shares similar limitations which are outlined within Chapter 2. However, the CNE framework makes substantial progress in addressing the limitations of criminal narratives and provides a unique perspective on offending behaviour (Goodlad, 2016; Goodlad et al., 2018; Ioannou, 2006; Ioannou et al., 2016). This is because the data was obtained from offenders themselves. The framework also illustrates the interaction between the criminal narrative and the emotions which highlights the necessity of exploring both (Ioannou et al., 2016). As the CNE framework is relatively new, there is limited research around it. Further exploration around its reliability and validity is needed and it would benefit from being implemented in different populations. Ioannou et al. (2016) highlighted that the implementation of the CNE framework provides insight into how both criminal narratives and emotions contribute to the development and maintenance of offending behaviour. However, they also noted that further exploration is needed. For example, it would be beneficial to explore different types of offending, the personality characteristics of offenders, as well as background characteristics (Goodlad, Ioannou & Hunter, 2018). Furthermore, the sample used in Ioannou et al.’s (2016) study comprised of male offenders from the North West of England. Further research is needed to extend the framework to female offenders, other cultures, and other types of offences (Ioannou et al., 2016). As well as assessing whether themes are consistent across offences and over time.

**Application of the Criminal Narrative Experience (CNE) Framework**

There have been some attempts to apply the CNE framework thus adding validity to the concept. Spruin (2012) investigated mentally disordered offenders with the aim of exploring their CNE. Participants were recruited from a medium secure hospital and psychiatric hostels. They comprised of 70 adult male offenders detained under the Mental Health Act 2007. Results indicated four themes consistent with Ioannou et al.’s CNE framework: the calm professional, elated hero, depressed victim, and distressed revenger. Given that participants were recruited from two separate sites due to a low response rate, this may have acted as a confounding variable. Those residing in hostels had subsequently been released from the medium secure hospital and therefore it can be assumed that their mental health had improved. Their mental health being more stable may have impacted the results and Spruin (2012) advised caution when interpreting the results. However, the study added to the conceptualisation of the CNE framework and provided evidence of its existence in mentally disordered offenders.

Dedeloudis (2016) completed an extensive study into the CNE of violent offenders in Greece. Participants consisted of 50 offenders (41 males and 9 females) who had been linked with criminal organisations and had been convicted of hooliganism or political acts of violence. Offences therefore included robbery, grievous bodily harm, and gang fighting. They completed a battery of questionnaires including the Narrative Roles Questionnaire and the Emotions Questionnaire which had been translated into Greek. Although measures were put in place to ensure correct translation, there could be some errors within this which may have influenced the results. However, the results were consistent with the CNE framework. The elated hero emerged as the most dominant theme for these offenders which contradicts previous research by Ioannou (2006). Ioannou (2006) found that the most dominant theme for violent offending was the distressed revenger. However, for the offence of robbery, the elated hero (referred to as elated adventurer in their study) was the most dominant followed by the calm professional. Although this study provided evidence for the existence of the CNE and how the framework can be applied, there were some limitations. Firstly, questionnaires used to measure narrative roles and emotions were translated into Greek. Precautions were taken to ensure correct translation but there were no guarantees regarding accuracy. Furthermore, due to the small sample size, it cannot be considered representative of all violent offenders in Greece. That being said, the area of study was unique and provides a starting point where replications can be made to provide further evidence in relation to the CNE.

An important point to consider in this study is the sample size used. Consideration should be given to the influence of group and political violence on an individual’s CNE compared to violent acts perpetrated alone. Dedeloudis (2016) found that the elated hero was the most dominant theme which was contrary to findings from Ioannou (2006). This may be explained by the fact that a large proportion of participants had been convicted of extreme political violence. Although this area is relatively under researched, it does suggest that these offenders have different viewpoints in terms of motivation, circumstances, nature, and object of offence in comparison to typical offenders (Silke, 2014).

Additionally, given that research suggests differences between male and female offending in terms of motivation (e.g. Prison Reform Trust, 2017; Barlow & Weare, 2019), it is important to consider the effect of including participants from both sexes and what impact that this had on the results. Is it that male and females have similar CNE for similar offences or do they differ and have the results been skewed?

This research provided further evidence of the existence of the CNE framework and showed that it can be applied to other cultures (i.e. offenders in Greece). However, there are some areas that need further exploration in order to fully validate the CNE and address unanswered questions regarding this population. For example, can the view of offending as a positive experience be attributed to cultural differences or the nature of the offences themselves (i.e. group and extreme political violence).

Goodlad et al. (2016; 2018) applied the CNE framework to psychopathic and personality disordered (PD) offenders. Their sample consisted of 22 high-risk male offenders who had been diagnosed with psychopathy and/or PD using the Psychopathy Checklist-revised (PCL-r) and International Personality Disorder Examination (IPDE) assessments respectively. It was acknowledged by the authors that the sample size was small, but this does not detract from the findings given that it was such a unique area of study. The findings demonstrated that the CNE framework was applicable to this population and revealed the four consistent themes. There were some conceptual differences in the structure of each theme, but they were essentially the same. For example, the calm professional felt confident and thoughtful, and saw offending as a job and themselves as a professional. The elated hero saw themselves as being on a mission, offending was routine and like a job, but it also gave them a sense of adventure and fun. The depressed victim felt scared and upset but also courageous for acting and were looking for recognition for that. In Ioannou et al.’s (2016) sample, the distressed revenger also included feelings of scared and worried, viewing offending as right, a mission, and they had power and control. Some links were found between PDs and CNE themes but there was no relationship with psychopathy. This is believed to be due to the sample size rather than there being no relationship (Goodlad et al., 2016; 2018). As a result, the authors suggested that the study should be replicated on a much larger scale. Significant insight can be provided about this population by attributing them to specific CNE themes. Doing this would contribute to factors such as the treatment of offenders.

**Summary**

In an attempt to amalgamate the role of criminal narratives and emotions, Ioannou et al. (2016) proposed the idea of a Criminal Narrative Experience and a subsequent framework to explore it. This framework incorporated Youngs and Canter’s Criminal Narrative Framework and Russell’s Circumplex Model of Affect. The themes were labelled the ‘calm professional’, ‘elated hero’, ‘depressed victim’, and ‘distressed revenger’. This framework has proved to be a fruitful line of enquiry in relation to understanding offending behaviour from a first-person perspective. It has been applied to various offender populations and it continues to receive validation within the literature.

**Chapter 5**

**Victim Roles**

In understanding how someone can hurt another person; especially to the degree that many interpersonal crimes occur, it is useful to explore the morality literature. Delisi et al. (2014) commented that morality serves to deter perpetrators of serious crime. This is due to the negative emotions often attributed to a criminal act, harm caused to the victim, and consequences from the criminal justice system which tend to deter criminal behaviour. Moreover, moral development occurs as a process by which individuals learn to adjust their cognition to focus on achieving common goals instead of being motivated by personal desires. Additionally, this is where they learn to recognise the impact of behaviour on others. Bandura (1986, 1999) is perhaps the biggest advocate of this concept and he proposed that disengagement from morality can occur. Bandura’s (1986, 1999) social-cognitive theory of moral agency postulates that people have internalised codes of conduct which, for the majority of the time, prevent them from antisocial behaviour. This is due to the internal and external consequences of such acts. Internal factors include feelings of shame, guilt, and remorse, whereas external factors refer to punishment, and consequences from the criminal justice system, and disapproval and exclusion from others. In order to avoid these internal consequences, justifications are formulated for behaviours that go against moral standards, i.e. moral disengagement. This process of restricting cognition making the behaviour more acceptable serves to evade internal emotional processes that prevent antisocial behaviour. The theory suggests that this can occur for a wide range of behaviour from minor wrongdoings such as downloading illegal music to serious acts such as murder (Shulman, Cauffman, Piquero & Fagan, 2011). This has been linked to psychopathy. Delisi et al. (2014) for example, concluded that mechanisms present to prevent misconduct were inadequate in youth offenders diagnosed with high levels of psychopathy and this was due to their emotional deficits.

The process of disengaging morally may be tied to the way victims are viewed by perpetrators of crime. Integral to the idea of an offender’s perception of crime is the way they viewed the victim throughout the offence. Canter (1994) proposed that the concept of victim roles naturally followed the idea of criminal narratives in that not only would offenders assign roles to themselves but also to their victims. The roles assigned to victims are of interest in the understanding of the experience of the offender throughout their crimes. It was suggested that the role played by the victim feeds into the offender’s psychological purpose of the crime and different strategies can be chosen to achieve this (Spruin, Canter, Youngs & Coulson, 2014). This concept was alluded to previously by Bolitho (1926) and Katz (1988). Bolitho (1926) explored murder and suggested such crimes are committed to achieve a specific outcome, e.g. monetary gain. The result of the actions of the offender on the victim is therefore incidental and serves a purpose. In contrast to this, Katz (1988) saw these crimes as being driven by rage which was considered a form of emotional expression. The offender has a direct impact on the victim which is reflected in the offence. The underlying differences between these accounts of murder is the offender’s recognition of the victim.

Based on this early work, it became clear that certain actions were common in a number of different crimes. Therefore, looking at it in isolation was unhelpful in differentiating between offenders. Canter (2000) argued that distinguishing between offenders was dependent on gaining a thorough understanding of the procedures that produce a pattern of offending which can then be explored. From this, Canter (1989, 1994) proposed that a key way of differentiating between offender styles was by exploring the interpersonal treatment of the victim. Moreover, that meaning, and significance of the offenders’ actions can be extracted from the relationship they imposed on the victim. Canter and Heritage (1989) explored narratives of victim statements to produce a multivariate model of offence behaviour with regards to stranger rape. They analysed 66 accounts which revealed a pattern of offence behaviour which could be separated into five ways the offender interacted with the victim. Although this model cannot be generalised to other offences, it provided a basis for subsequent research. To further understand this and identify the different interpersonal treatment of victims and how this contributes to an offenders’ experience of crime, Canter (1994) reflected on the narrative approach and how this could be employed. He applied the works of McAdams (1993, 2001) in terms of the notion of power and intimacy. McAdams argues that the quest for power and intimacy is what explains and differentiates between narratives. As such, Canter proposed that victim roles are a reflection of this quest for power and intimacy. The offender’s method of controlling the victim reflects the quest for power and the degree to which the victim is viewed and treated as a person reflects the intimacy.

To further understand this idea of control and intimacy which Canter regarded as an empathy deficit, he proposed that the way an offender achieves control and intimacy can be differentiated qualitatively into three forms. He identified three forms of control which would allow the victim to achieve power over the victim; 1) the direct possession and subjugation of the victim allowing physical control, 2) abuse (physical, verbal or psychological) allowing emotional and psychological control, and 3) coercion and manipulation of the victim allowing the perpetrator to control the behaviour of the victim. Likewise, Canter identified that there were three ways an offender can lack empathy; 1) objectification of the victim through a lack of awareness of their humanity, 2) exploitation of the victim stemming from a disregard for the suffering of the victim, and 3) a willingness to take advantage of the victim due to an undervaluing of the victim as a person.

This interpersonal treatment of the victim (i.e. control and empathy deficit) can be seen as three coherent storylines which drive and shape the offending behaviour. Canter (1994), therefore, proposed the Victim Roles Model whereby offenders assign one of three roles to the victim which he labelled ‘object’, ‘vehicle’, and ‘person’. Each victim role represents different degrees of control and empathy deficit. This proposition was based on earlier works by Canter and Frizton (1998) and Canter and Heritage (1990). Canter and Frizton (1998) proposed the ‘locus of desired effects’ model where the locus referred to the role that was assigned to the victim. The Victim Roles model also reflected the five-fold model outlined by Canter and Heritage (1990).

**Victim as Object**

The victim as object role revolves around the complete objectification of the victim. The victim is regarded as a mere object to act upon and they are attributed with little significance or emotions. The offender therefore has no feelings towards them nor are they given an active role in the situation. This role amalgamates the idea of control in the form of the direct possession and subjugation of the victim and the empathy deficit which manifests through the objectification of the victim (Canter, 1994).

Canter and Youngs (2009) linked the victim as object role to the adventure narrative. Given that an offender acting out an adventure narrative is interested in mastery over the situation, they seek to control the victim. There is an unshifting focus on fulfilling goals and the victim is immaterial. They are merely an object without significance or feeling and are there to be managed for the offender to get what they want.

**Victim as Vehicle**

In the victim as vehicle role, the victim bares the expression of the offender’s anger and desires. They are more than just bodies to be acted upon and victims generally represent symbolic people in the offender’s life. The offender acknowledges the humanity of the victim but exploiting and attacking them achieves their goal. Victims are usually targeted and carefully selected due to the symbolic significance they represent, and they tend to be given a role within the offending. This role amalgamates the idea of control in the form of abuse and a lack of empathy characterised by exploitation (Canter, 1994).

Canter and Youngs (2009) linked the victim as vehicle role to both the tragedy and quest narratives. An offender acting out a tragedy role attributes symbolic meaning to the victim who is targeted as a means to gain revenge and to fulfil desires. As such, there is recognition of the victim’s humanity as the exploitation of their reactions serves to provide a sense of retaliation. An offender acting out a quest role focuses on the expression of anger which the victim serves to provide. Again, there is recognition of their humanity which further supports the offender’s expression.

**Victim as Person**

Within the victim as person role, the victim is acknowledged as a ‘person’ but there is a belief that they are there to be controlled and manipulated. This comes from a generic interpersonal style characterised by a belief that others should be abused or taken advantage of, and violence is a normal and successful way of doing this. The victim is generally targeted as a means of obtaining something (i.e. money, sex, or purely to inflict pain upon that person). In cases where the victim is not known to the offender, the offender makes the assumption that the offence is part of a customary interaction between them. This role amalgamates the idea of control in the form of coercion and an empathy deficit characterised by a devaluation of the person (Canter, 1994).

Canter and Youngs (2009) linked the victim as person role to the irony narrative. Given that the irony narrative involves the offender seeking intimacy with the victim, they are seen as a human being. This intimacy is an attempt to compensate for a sense of desperate emptiness and the intimacy is sought through inappropriate social conduct such as abusive and coercive treatment.

Each victim role is unique and differs to one another in terms of the interpersonal style of the perpetrator. This is in terms of the empathy shown to the victim and the method of control used to subdue and gain compliance from the victim. These roles can be seen on a spectrum whereby the victim as person role is perhaps most similar to ‘normal’ relationships because it acknowledges that the victim is a person who has thoughts and feelings. At the opposite end of the spectrum is the victim as object role whereby the victim is simply an object to act upon. Sitting between these is the victim as vehicle which acknowledges the victim as a person, but they serve the offender’s purpose.

**Interaction between Criminal Narratives and Victim Roles**

Canter (1994) considered criminal narratives and victim roles to be interlinked. He proposed that the four criminal narrative themes would interact with victim roles. Given that offenders fitting with the adventure narrative are focused on achieving their goals, Canter (1994) proposed that the victim is likely to be viewed as an insignificant object and not fully human (victim as object). Counter to this, an offender fitting with an irony narrative seeks to manage their feelings of emptiness and therefore Canter (1994) proposed that they would look for intimacy with the victim. This intimacy is achieved through abusive treatment and the victim is considered fully human and the offender views them as having some significance to them (victim as person). The victim as vehicle role linked with both the quest and tragedy narratives. Offenders fitting a quest narrative view their actions as a heroic mission. As such, the victim acts as a vehicle for them to express their desires. Due to this, the humanity of the victim is recognised which is fundamental to their purpose. Offenders fitting a tragic narrative seek the victim as a conduit to target their emotions (e.g. vengeance). Consistent with the quest narrative, the humanity of the victim is recognised. Exploiting the victim means the offender can exact their revenge (Canter, 1994).

There is evidence endorsing the Victim Roles Model. Hodge (2000) used multidimensional scaling to examine the actions of serial killers which showed emotional elements to the interpersonal treatment of the victim. They therefore suggested that these behaviours could be linked to different roles which was underpinned by the way the victim was viewed within the offender’s personal life. Salfati and Canter (1999) also supported this model in the exploration of stranger homicides. They proposed a three factor model: ‘instrumental opportunistic’, ‘instrumental cognitive’, and ‘expressive impulsive’. Finally, Canter, Hughes and Kirby (1998) analysed data from 97 child sex offenders and were able to classify them into three themes: ‘intimate’, ‘aggressive’, and ‘criminal-opportunist’. These themes have similarities with the Victim Roles Model. Those fitting the intimate theme showed victims affection and reassurance which could be seen as the ‘victim as person’ role. Those fitting the aggressive theme used violence beyond what was necessary to gain compliance, they were undeterred by the victim’s reaction, and used sexual or abusive language which could be seen to fit with the ‘victim as vehicle’ theme. Those fitting the criminal-opportunist theme targeted strangers which could be seen as the ‘victim as object’ role.

**Victim Role Assignment**

More recently, Canter and Youngs (2012) made an attempt to evaluate the Victim Roles Model and applied it to the offences of stranger rape, stalking, and serial murder. They found that each victim role identified in Canter’s (1994) framework could be distinguished into different regions of the Smallest Space Analysis (SSA). This provides evidence that the victim roles framework can be used to differentiate interpersonal crimes from the assignment of roles.

*Rape*

Behaviours that were found to be present in the object role for the offence of rape include self-gratification and a focus on certain body parts, concealing identity, removing clothing, and blocking contact through blindfolding and gagging the victim. In the vehicle role, behaviours include expressive violence such as punching and kicking and may target specific body parts which may be seen as sadistic. Cruelty is heavily featured and sexual activity is likely to be demeaning such as anal penetration. For the person role, behaviours include those that occur in ‘normal’ relationships such as compliments, and the offender will try to relate to the victim. The offender expects normal responses and therefore behaviours include physical and verbal participation from the victim. There are also behaviours such as apologising reflecting the offender empathising with the victim.

*Stalking*

Behaviours that were found to be present in the object role for the offence of stalking include forcing a relationship. This is by watching the victim and contacting family and friends. The offender believes they can force a relationship by controlling external conditions which manifests as contacting and threatening those who are close to the victim and ignoring legal sanctions. Behaviours can also escalate to confrontation of the victim, threats and physical violence. In the vehicle role, behaviours include imposing feelings on the victim, sending letters, gifts and invitations, stealing personal property and gaining access to property through subterfuge. For the person role, behaviours include ‘stealing’ a normal relationship through researching the victim, asking other people personal information about the victim, using surveillance such as spying, bugging or filming, and threatening suicide as a manipulative tool.

*Serial Murder*

Behaviours that were found to be present in the object role for the offence of serial murder include physical destruction of the body involving mutilation and dismemberment, displaying the body, quick methods of killing such as cutting the throat and shooting the victim, burning and disposing of the body. In the vehicle role, behaviours include frenzied behaviour such as ransacking and scattering clothes and belongings. This approach involves cruelty and is often prolonged, behaviours therefore include torture and manual strangulation, and involves more violence than is necessary to cause death. Therefore, behaviours include bludgeoning and beating the victim. For the person role, behaviours revolve around destroying the social identity of the victim rather than destruction of the body. Therefore, behaviours include facial disfigurement and gagging. It would also include covering the body.

The victim roles framework focuses on an offender’s interpersonal interaction with the victim and is therefore only applicable to offences that involve interpersonal crime. It is the first model of its kind to emerge that is able to differentiate between offending styles. Given the uniqueness of the model, it is largely untested, and further research is needed to assess its validity. Canter and Youngs (2012) were able to demonstrate the value of the model for female victims but it would be helpful to explore other types of crime, for example those against male victims and children.

There are limitations of the framework which have to be acknowledged. For example, the data used to assess the victim roles framework was from crime scene data documented by the police. Consequently, the quality of data may have fluctuated and was dependent on how information was documented and what behaviours were deemed worthy of recording by investigators. This may have meant that certain behaviours were not documented which could be relevant to the assignment of victim roles.

Additionally, victim role assignment is a theoretical construct where meaning is inferred from behaviour in order to tap into underlying psychological processes driving behaviour (Youngs, 2008). Consequently, there is an element of subjectivity within this and there could be differences between researchers. Additionally, behaviours within crime scenes could be explained in a many number of ways. For example, an offender may have panicked due to the potential of being caught leading to an unintended extreme reaction. This may skew the assignment of victim roles. Additionally, there are other situational factors to consider including the presence of peers potentially influencing behaviour, and substance use leading to psychosis. All of these factors could act as confounding variables leading to behaviours which are unfitting with a perpetrator’s assignment of a true narrative. In order to mitigate against these biases, it could be helpful to explore victim roles from a first-person perspective and explicitly ask perpetrators how they viewed victims.

Given that the victim roles framework is derived from narrative theory, it shares the same characteristics and considerations as criminal narratives. Specifically, the notion that narratives change over time and are influenced by circumstances and experience of the offender within their story. Consequently, victim role assignment could change as the perpetrator commits more crime (Youngs & Canter, 2012). These limitations have been outlined within chapter two.

Despite the limitations of the model, it has potential in generating a classification system of offending behaviour that is psychologically informed. This is beneficial and moving away from an understanding based on legal categorisation (Youngs & Ioannou, 2013). Furthermore, Canter and Youngs’ (2012) study showed the benefits of employing a narrative based approach to the classification of offending based on psychologically informed concepts rather than focusing on specific behaviours. Their research showed that the victim roles framework can be used to distinguish between the offending style of sexual and violent perpetrators. The current study proposes that this can be expanded through exploring victim roles from a first-person perspective.

**Application of the Victim Roles Framework**

Since the development of this framework, it has been applied to violence against sex-workers and human trafficking. Youngs and Ioannou (2013) investigated the violence inflicted on female sex workers and were able to differentiate between the violence used in different cases. They applied the VRF and found evidence that the different victim roles were able to theoretically explain the behaviours present in the attacks. The authors recommended caution when interpreting the results given that they used a relatively small sample size of predominantly white females and the data was collected 12 years prior to the study being conducted. That being said, the behaviours exhibited still feature in this type of offence which makes the data relevant. However, the framework still requires testing with a more diverse sample, and it would be beneficial to incorporate other data sources. This would allow the exploration of the link between the assignment of victim roles and offender characteristics which would be beneficial for police investigations.

Ioannou and Oostinga (2015) examined the methods used to control victims of human trafficking for sexual exploitation. Again, they were able to apply the VRF in order to separate interpersonal styles used in the offending. Similar to Youngs and Ioannou’s (2013) research there were limitations regarding the data source. The data was derived from police files and therefore only captured those classified as victims by the police. This is a limitation because, as Tyldum and Brunovskis (2005) pointed out, this data represents only a small selection of victims which is likely subject to selection bias and is not representative of the population. Also, the sample was predominantly females although it did include a small proportion of males which may have been a fair representation given that the majority of victims of this type of crime are females (Voronova & Radjenovic, 2016). However, exploring gender differences would be beneficial and contribute to our overall understanding and strengthen the conceptualisation of the assignment of victim roles.

Applicable to both of the above studies is the suggestion by Ioannou and Oostinga (2015) that the studies did not consider the offender or whether the methods of control used were typical for this offender or were the result of a group of offenders in general. Therefore, it would be beneficial to incorporate a range of data sources including interviews with offenders in order to understand their perspective. This would help to highlight the motivation behind offending as well as for the control methods used. That being said, both studies provide support for the existence of Canter’s victim roles framework and have shown its applicability to other interpersonal offences (i.e. offences against street-sex workers, and victims of human trafficking).

Central to the concept of victim roles is the recognition that narratives are dynamic and subject to change over time. This is in response to changing circumstances and ideas regarding an individuals’ unfolding narrative. There is an expectation that the roles assigned to victims will develop over time if offending continues. Therefore, it was suggested that future studies should look at the consistency of offending behaviour for those who committed a number of offences (Youngs & Ioannou, 2013; Ioannou & Oostinga, 2015).

**Summary**

In summary, Canter (1994) proposed that interpersonal crime could be explored by understanding the concept of control and empathy. He identified three forms of control which would allow the offender to achieve power over the victim and three ways in which offenders would lack empathy towards victims. He placed these into a model of victim roles which he labelled ‘object’, ‘vehicle’, and ‘person’. Canter (1994) believed that victim roles and criminal narratives were interlinked but little research has been completed to this affect. The idea of victim role assignment has been explored by investigating crime scene behaviours with promising results. However, exploration from a first-person perspective has been ignored.

**Chapter 6**

**Schemas**

The notion of schemas was first introduced by Beck (1976) where he defined cognitive schemas as “…a cognitive structure for screening, coding, and evaluating the stimuli that impinge on the organism…” (p.283). In an attempt to explain depression, Beck (1979) proposed a cognitive theory whereby he suggested the existence of cognitive structures (schemas) which allow the processing and interpretation of information and experiences in a meaningful way (Beck, Rush, Shaw & Emery, 1979). Furthermore, these schemas are triggered by stressful events which results in problematic emotions, cognitions, and behaviours (Beck et al., 1979). Since its first application to depression, it has been revised and applied to a number of other conditions including personality disorder (Young, 2009).

The terms schemas and core beliefs tend to be used interchangeably and although there has been extensive research into underlying core beliefs (e.g. through Beck’s Cognitive Theory), there is little research into the level of processing required for schemas. This may be attributed to the fact that, as a concept, schemas are hard to define (Oei & Baranoff, 2007). Additionally, there are problems assessing schemas due to them being embedded in the unconscious (Oei & Baranoff, 2007).

**Early Maladaptive Schemas (EMS)**

Young (1995) adapted Beck’s original concept of schemas and developed his theory of Early Maladaptive Schemas (EMS). He defined these as broad and persistent themes about oneself and relationships with others which are developed in childhood and expanded throughout life. The key element in them is that they are dysfunctional to some degree (Young, Klosko & Weishaar, 2003). A child’s relationship with parents, siblings, and peers coupled with their innate nature and temperament form the basis of such EMS. As such, perceptions of situations become distorted to fit with existing schemas and to validate them. Until they are activated by particular events, EMS tend to be dormant.

Consistent with Beck’s (1967) concept, Young et al. (2003) maintained that schemas are essentially templates for the processing of information and shape the way a situation is experienced. As such they have a number of core characteristics: 1) beliefs about the self, others, and the world are rigid and go unchallenged; 2) they are resistant to change and reinforce themselves; 3) they exist outside of conscious awareness; 4) events pertaining to specific EMS act as triggers which is accompanied by extreme negative emotions; 5) behaviour is driven by schemas rather than behaviours driving schemas; and 6) the severity of schemas differ, they develop early or late in life, and can be positive or negative.

Through clinical observation, and a wealth of experience, Young (1990) began to identify specific maladaptive schemas and schema domains. He then went on to produce the Young Schema Questionnaire (YSQ) in an attempt to adequately measure them. After a number of studies exploring the reliability of this questionnaire (see ‘measurement of schemas’ section), Young expanded his list of EMS. There are currently 18 EMS identified and categorised into five schema domains (Young, 1990; 1994): 1) Disconnection and Rejection; 2) Impaired Autonomy and Performance; 3) Impaired Limits; 4) Other-Directedness; and 5) Over-Vigilance and Inhibition. These are outlined below.

**Disconnection and Rejection**

Schemas categorised under this domain incorporate some form of attachment problems. They are associated with a lack of safety and reliability in interpersonal relationships. Individuals presenting with schemas in this domain expect that their needs will not be consistently met. These needs include safety, nurture, and empathy. These schemas develop from early experiences where the family environment has either been abusive or unpredictable, explosive, or unpredictable. Schemas characterised under this domain include ‘abandonment’, ‘mistrust’, ‘emotional deprivation’, ‘defectiveness’, ‘social isolation’, ‘social isolation’, ‘social undesirability’, and ‘failure to achieve’ (Young, 2012).

*Abandonment/Instability*

An individual with this schema expects to lose those who they are emotionally attached to and they believe close relationships will ultimately end. This schema tends to result from an inconsistency of parents in meeting the child’s needs (Young, 2012).

*Mistrust/Abuse*

A mistrust schema incorporates the expectation of being intentionally taken advantage of. There is an expectation that people will hurt, cheat, or ridicule them. This tends to result when a child has been abused either emotionally or sexually and their trust has been betrayed (Young, 2012).

*Emotional Deprivation*

This schema develops when a child has been emotionally deprived. It incorporates the belief that primary emotional needs will go unmet. It includes deprivation of nurturance, deprivation of empathy, and deprivation of protection (Young, 2012).

*Social Isolation/Alienation*

Individuals feel that they are different, isolated, and not part of community. This tends to result from experiences where a child sees that they or their family are different from others (Young, 2012).

*Defectiveness/Shame*

An individual with this schema holds the belief that they are intrinsically flawed. Therefore, if other people get close to them, they will discover this and subsequently withdraw from them. This is accompanied by a feeling of shame due to being inadequate. The development of this schema often originates from overly critical parents who made the child feel unworthy of love (Young, 2012).

**Impaired Autonomy and Performance**

Schemas categorised under this domain are characterised by feelings of dependency, insecurity, and a lack of self-determination. Individuals with these schemas expect that their environment will negatively influence them, and their decision making might negatively affect their relationships. They also expect that they will ultimately fail in difficult situations. The development of these schemas tends to originate from parents who undermined the child’s judgement, or who were overprotective. Schemas in this domain include ‘dependence/incompetence’, ‘vulnerability to harm and illness’, ‘enmeshment/undeveloped self’, and ‘failure’ (Young, 2012).

*Dependence/Incompetence*

Individuals with this schema believe that they are incapable of dealing with everyday responsibilities effectively. They tend to over-rely on others for making decisions and starting new tasks. This tends to develop from parents who did not encourage independence and therefore did not build confidence in their abilities (Young, 2012).

*Vulnerability to Harm and Illness*

Resulting from an extremely fearful parent, this refers to the belief that the world is a dangerous place. The individual feels that they are on the cusp of a major disaster whether it is financial, medical, or criminal for example. As a result, individuals try to protect themselves which can sometimes be in an excessive manner. A vulnerability schema tends to have developed from an extremely fearful parent (Young, 2012).

*Enmeshment/Undeveloped Self*

This schema is characterised by a lack of identity or direction and feelings of emptiness. Development of this schema tends to originate from controlling, abusive, or overprotective parents who discouraged children from developing a sense of self that was separate from them (Young, 2012).

*Failure*

Individuals with this schema feel inadequate in comparison to others and believe they have or will fail. The development of this schema is thought to be from limited support from parents, expectations that they will fail, being treated as stupid, or not being taught good discipline to allow them to succeed (Young, 2012).

**Impaired Limits**

Schemas in this domain are characterised by difficulty accepting normal limits. This is in regard to having respect for others, responsibility, and being realistic with personal goals. The development of these schemas tends to originate from parents who were permissive and indulgent. Schemas in this domain include ‘entitlement’ and ‘insufficient self-control’ (Young, 2012).

*Entitlement/Self-Centredness*

Individuals presenting with this schema believe that they should immediately be able to do, say, and have whatever they want irrespective of the consequences in terms of hurting others or it being unreasonable. There is a total disregard for the needs of others or the long-term consequences of alienating others. These schemas tend to develop from overindulgent parents who failed to set appropriate boundaries regarding what is socially acceptable. Alternatively, they can develop in order to compensate for other factors such as feeling defective, socially undesirable, and emotionally deprived (Young, 2012).

*Insufficient Self-Control/Self-Discipline (Low Frustration Tolerance)*

Individual presenting with this schema struggle to tolerate frustration regarding reaching their goals and suppressing their impulses or feelings. In its extreme form, this lack of self-control can result in both criminal and addictive behaviour. A predisposition to this schema develops from parents who did not model self-control or who did not sufficiently discipline children (Young, 2012).

**Other-Directedness**

Schemas encompassed in his domain are characterised by a preoccupation to meet the needs of others. This is often at the expense of personal needs. The development of these schemas tends to result from conditional acceptance whereby the suppression of needs and emotions led to attention, approval, and love. Schemas categorised within this domain are ‘subjugation’, ‘self-sacrifice’ and ‘approval-seeking’ (Young, 2012).

*Subjugation*

To avoid negative consequences, individuals believe they must let others control them. This is based on a fear that if they do not then they will be rejected by others. This control is often at the expense of their own needs. A subjugation schema tends to develop from an over-controlling parent (Young, 2012).

*Self-Sacrifice*

This schema encompasses a feeling of guilt when focusing on personal needs. Therefore, individuals with this schema sacrifice personal needs to facilitate the needs of others. This self-sacrifice often serves to increase self-esteem or provides a sense of meaning and purpose. The development of this schema generally comes from feeling that as a child they were responsible for the well-being of parents (Young, 2012).

*Approval-Seeking*

Individuals presenting with this schema need recognition and to gain approval from others which often hinders their own ideas. This schema may also be characterised by a focus on status, money, and success. An approval-seeking schema tends to develop from parents who offered conditional acceptance or who were focused on appearance and social status (Young, 2012). This schema was added in response to the evaluation of the YSQ and was found to improve reliability and validity (Young, 2012; Waller, Meyer & Ohanian, 2001; Oei & Baranoff, 2007; Hoffart et al., 2005; Cui et al., 2011; Calvete et al., 2013).

**Over-Vigilance and Inhibition**

The essence of this domain is that of individuals trying to suppress, control or ignore emotions in an effort to avoid making mistakes or meeting inflexible internalised rules. Those with these schemas try to avoid expressing impulsive emotions and needs. These schemas tend to develop from a dominating family who tended to suppress feelings, or an environment where performance and self-control were favoured over pleasure (Young, 2012).

*Negativity/Vulnerability to Error*

Individuals presenting with this schema consistently expect the worst and believe that things will go wrong at any time. They are also fearful of making mistakes which could contribute to everything going wrong. This excessive worrying can include humiliation, financial loss, and making mistakes. This schema develops from the experience of parents who worried, expected the worst, and held a pessimistic view of the world (Young, 2012). This schema was added in response to the evaluation of the YSQ and was found to improve reliability and validity (Young, 2012; Waller, Meyer & Ohanian, 2001; Oei & Baranoff, 2007; Hoffart et al., 2005; Cui et al., 2011; Calvete et al., 2013).

*Over-Control/Emotional Inhibition*

Individuals presenting with this schema believe that expression of their feelings would be detrimental to others or would negatively impact their self-esteem, lead to “embarrassment, retaliation, or abandonment”. They must therefore inhibit impulses and their emotions. This schema is developed by parents who discouraged emotional expression (Young, 2012).

*Unrelenting Standards/Hyper-Criticalness*

This schema covers two different but related beliefs. The first is the belief of never being good enough which leads to a need to try harder. The second belief is about values and how much emphasis is placed on factors such as status and power at the detriment of health, happiness, and social interaction. This schema develops from the experience that love was conditional depending on achievement (Young, 2012).

*Punitiveness*

When others do not meet expectations, an individual with a punitiveness schema believes that they must be harshly punished. This belief is extended to themselves. The schema tends to develop from parents who were verbally abusive in response to mistakes or blamed and punished children (Young, 2012). This schema was added in response to the evaluation of the YSQ and was found to improve reliability and validity (Young, 2012; Waller, Meyer & Ohanian, 2001; Oei & Baranoff, 2007; Hoffart et al., 2005; Cui et al., 2011; Calvete et al., 2013).

As well as outlining specific schemas, Young (1990; 1994) proposed that their severity differs. Furthermore, EMS develop conditionally and unconditionally (Young et al., 2003). Unconditional schemas develop in childhood and represent unconditional beliefs about the self, others, the world, and the future. These beliefs become entrenched in the sense of self, others, and the world, and are rigid and resistant to change. The only way to change these schemas is to change a person’s self-concept. Therefore, these schemas are perpetuated by an individual’s thoughts, feelings, and behaviours that serve to reinforce the schema and produce maladaptive patterns of behaviour. Conversely, conditional schemas are considered secondary and are in response to unconditional schemas. For example, approval/recognition seeking in response to dependence/incompetence, or as Young (2003) proposed, self-sacrifice in response to defectiveness. He provided an example of this: “I’ll fulfil all of this person’s needs and ignore my own, then they will love me despite my flaws” (p.23). The conditional unconditional EMS identified by Young (1999) are outlined in Table 6.1 below.

Table 6.1: Unconditional and Conditional EMS as identified by Young (1999).

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| Unconditional EMS | Conditional EMS |
| Abandonment/Instability  Mistrust/Abuse  Emotional Deprivation Defectiveness/Shame  Social Isolation  Dependence/Incompetence  Vulnerability to Harm or Illness  Enmeshment/Undeveloped Self  Failure  Negativity/Pessimism  Punitiveness  Entitlement/Grandiosity  Insufficient Self-Control/Self-Discipline. | Subjugation  Self-Sacrifice  Emotional Inhibition  Approval Seeking/Recognition Seeking  Unrelenting Standards/Hyper-criticalness. |

Not only did Young (1990) propose the idea of EMS but he also suggested the presence of Coping Styles and Schema Modes.

**Coping Styles**

Young (1990) suggested that there were three processes by which schemas were reinforced: ‘schema maintenance’, ‘schema avoidance’, and ‘schema compensation’. Within these there were 10 coping styles.

*Schema Maintenance*

Schema maintenance occurs because information is processed in such a way that if it challenges existing schemas, it is rejected through cognitive distortions and by a pattern of behaviour that is self-defeating. Information that challenges a person’s beliefs about themselves or others is automatically discounted or ignored. Processing information in this way has been linked with personality disorder (Young, Klosko & Weishaar, 2006). This leads to surrender where a person gives into the schema and continues to repeat them. The coping response attributed to this is:

* Compliance, Dependence: Individuals present as passive, dependent, and submissive, they avoid conflict, try to please, and rely on others.

*Schema Avoidance*

Schema avoidance involves an individual automatically trying to suppress schemas or trying to avoid trigger situations. This avoidance can occur at different levels, i.e. cognitive, affective, and the behavioural level. Therefore, speaking or thinking about trigger events is avoided, emotion suppressing behaviours such as self-harm is implemented in an attempt to stop or lessen the impact of negative emotions, and situations are avoided generally to avoid triggering schemas. This escaping from, and blocking schemas, leads to the following coping responses:

* Social Withdrawal, Excessive Autonomy: Individuals cope by withdrawing, disconnecting, and isolating themselves. They focus on independence rather than association with others.
* Compulsive Stimulation-Seeking: Individuals seek excitement or distraction through various compulsions, e.g. sex, risk-taking, and gambling.
* Addictive Self-Soothing: Individuals use avoidance strategies through addiction, e.g. substance use, eating, and masturbation.
* Psychological Withdrawal: Individuals use psychological escape to cope, e.g. dissociation, denial, and fantasy.

*Schema Compensation*

When a schema is triggered, overcompensation can occur when an individual acts in the opposite way to the schema’s content. This is in contrast to the behaviour that would be expected. This process can be adaptive given that it is an attempt to challenge dysfunctional schemas. Nevertheless, this process may serve to complicate matters as these compensatory behaviours can mask the actual underlying core beliefs and create problems in identifying and addressing them. As Young (2012) noted, this overcompensation in terms of going against what the schema is telling us results in the following coping responses:

* Aggression, Hostility: Individuals counterattack through behaviours such as blame, abuse, and criticism.
* Dominance, Excessive Self-Assertion: Individuals try to control others directly in order meet their goals.
* Recognition-Seeking, Status-Seeking: Individuals use over-compensatory behaviours in an attempt to impress, display status, and get attention.
* Manipulation, Exploitation: Individuals use behaviours such as covert manipulation and seduction to meet their needs.
* Passive-Aggressive, Rebellion: Individuals present as compliant but use punishing as a means of rebellion, e.g. complaining, pouting, gossiping, and procrastination.

**Schema Modes**

A schema mode refers to the state when schemas, coping responses, or healthy behaviours are active. Individuals have numerous schema modes which are dormant. A schema mode becomes active when it is triggered by situations which an individual is oversensitive to. Shifting between schema modes is common and a shift activates other schemas or coping responses (Young, Klosko & Weishaar, 2006). Young (2003) identified 10 schema modes which he categorised into four groups: ‘Child Modes’, ‘Maladaptive Coping Modes’, ‘Maladaptive Parent Modes’, and ‘Healthy Adult Mode’. As suggested, some modes are healthy whereas others are maladaptive.

*Child Modes*

1. Vulnerable Child: The vulnerable child feels a range of negative emotion including lonely and isolated, defective, misunderstood, incompetent, helpless, worthless, unlovable, worried, weak, and powerless (Young, 2012).
2. Angry Child: The angry child feels a range of emotions centred around anger (e.g. frustration, rage, and impatience) in response to unmet emotional or physical needs of the vulnerable child (Young, 2012).
3. Impulsive/Undisciplined Child: The impulsive or undisciplined child presents as selfish or unrestrained due to acting on desires or impulses that cannot be considered core needs. The goal is to get their own way and they are unable to delay gratification. This results in feelings of anger, fury, and impatience (Young, 2012).
4. Contented Child: Young (2012) described how the contented child feels loved, protected, nurtured, validated, resilient, confident, controlled, and accepted.

*Maladaptive Coping Modes*

1. Compliant Surrenderer: The compliant surrenderer fears rejection or conflict. They therefore present in passive, approval seeking, or self-disparaging ways. As such, they accept ill treatment from others and do not express healthy needs or desires to others (Young, 2012).
2. Detached Protector: The detached protector ignores personal feelings and needs. They emotionally detach from others and are unwilling to accept help. They are also withdrawn and bored. Additionally, self-soothing or stimulation becomes a compulsion (Young, 2012).
3. Over-compensator: The over-compensator feels and behaves in various unfavourable ways. Young (2012) notes that they can manifest in aggression and dominance, competitiveness, condescension, arrogance, manipulation, over-control, status seeking, and attention seeking.

*Maladaptive Parent Modes*

1. Punitive Parent: The punitive parent enforces rules. They feel that either themselves or others deserve punishment. In acting on these feelings, they blame, abuse, or punish themselves or others (Young, 2012).
2. Demanding or Critical Parent: The demanding or critical parent has an internal drive for perfection and strives for order, status, and efficiency. They also put other people’s needs before their own, are reluctant to be spontaneous, and are unwilling to express feelings (Young, 2012).

*Healthy Adult Mode*

1. Healthy Adult: The healthy adult functions suitably by being responsible, works, parents, and engages in healthy activities. It does this through nurturing the vulnerable child mode. It also puts boundaries in place for the angry and undisciplined child modes and supports the healthy child mode. Additionally, the healthy adult opposes and replaces the maladaptive coping modes, and changes the maladaptive parent modes (Young, 2012).

This idea of maladaptive schemas, coping styles and schema modes have developed into a highly influential treatment known as ‘Schema Therapy’. Therefore, ways of measuring schemas, coping styles, and schema modes have been developed. For the purposes of this thesis, I have focused solely on schemas.

**Measurement of Schemas**

Despite Young (1990) developing a classification system, there are problems measuring schemas. Being able to accurately assess the presence of schemas has important implications for treatment in terms of being targets for change (Young, 1994; Young et al., 2003). The Young Schema Questionnaire (YSQ) was developed to assess the presence of EMS. This had benefits in a clinical setting in helping clients identify their core beliefs and contributed to case formulation (Young, 2012). Since its first development, it has been revised several times accounting for emerging theory and addressing reliability and validity problems as a result of factor analytical studies. The original YSQ measured 16 EMS using 206 items. The existence of these schemas was supported in clinical (Lee, Taylor & Dunn, 1999) and non-clinical samples (Schmidt, Joiner, Young & Telch, 1995). However, there was limited support for the five schema domains proposed.

The length of the original YSQ was also a limitation in itself which led to the development of a shorter version; the Young Schema Questionnaire – Short Form (YSQ-SF; Young & Brown, 1994). This measured 15 EMS using 75 items and research showed that this shorter version maintained its validity and was more applicable to clinical samples (Stopa, Thorne, Waters & Preston, 2001). It therefore became a widely used tool to measure EMS. However, it still had the same limitations as the original YSQ with regards to the structure of the domains and the suggestion was that fewer domains may provide a better explanation of EMS (Calvete et al., 2005; Hoffart et al., 2005).

To address some of the limitations, Young et al. (2003) proposed a further three schemas (‘approval-seeking’, ‘negativity/pessimism’, and ‘punitiveness’) which was incorporated into the latest version of the YSQ. The long (YSQ-L3, Young, 2003) and short version (YSQ-S3, Young, 2005) measure all 18 schemas using 232 and 90 items, respectively.

There is a wealth of evidence in support of the psychometric properties of the YSQ in regard to its reliability and validity. However, there is limited research into the latest YSQ-S3 (Young, 2005). Despite this, it has become the most widely used tool in clinical and non-clinical settings. The majority of research has been conducted on a non-clinical sample, yet it is used as a measure of pre- and post- treatment intervention, particularly in a forensic psychological setting. More research is needed into the reliability and validity of this scale in a clinical setting to ensure that conclusions that are drawn from it are accurate (Qayum, 2013). Calvete, Orue and Gonzalez-Diez (2013) concluded that the YSQ-S3 was satisfactory with regards to its “structure, consistency, stability, and concurrent validity”. The study found evidence of the existence of the Disconnection and Rejection and Impaired Autonomy and Performance domains, but it was suggested that the other three domains could be amalgamated. However, the finding needs replicating in a clinical sample to support this.

Bach et al. (2015) examined the psychometric properties of the YSQ-S3 in a sample of clinical and non-clinical participants in Denmark. They found the measure to be both a reliable and valid measure of schemas and concluded it is a valuable tool for the assessment of schemas in clinical, non-clinical, and research settings.

**General Research into Schemas**

Research has embraced the idea of schemas and applied it to a number of different areas, e.g. peer connectedness in university students (Yoo, 2014), anxiety and depression (Sirota, Moskovchenko, Yaltonsky & Talktonskaya, 2018), eating disorder (Elmquist, Shorey, Anderson & Stuart, 2015), substance use (Shorey, Stuart, Anderson & Strong, 2013), and personality disorder (Young, 1995). Yoo (2014) for example explored Young’s schemas in university students; specifically, whether peer connectedness was influenced by the disconnection and rejection domain. The findings indicated that having schemas in this domain meant that there is a tendency to avoid or place a disproportionate value on interpersonal relationships. As a result of this there may be difficulties developing relationships in adulthood.

**Application to Offenders**

The idea of schemas and the role they play in offending was first explored in relation to personality disorder and psychopathy (e.g. Young, 1995). It has since been applied to offending in general and specific focus has been on the role of schemas in sexual offending. Chakhssi, Ruiter and Bernstein (2013) explored schemas of sex offenders while comparing those who offended against children, those who offended against adults, and non-sexual offenders. The findings showed how schemas play a role in offending and how they could inform treatment. Carvalho and Nobre (2014) looked at the relationship between the two using the YSQ. They found that those convicted for sex offences against a child identified with more schemas from each of the five schema domains in comparison to non-offenders. Moreover, those convicted of rape identified with more schemas from the impaired autonomy and performance domain than non-offenders. There were differences identified between these two types of sex offenders; specifically, pessimism was more characteristic of child sex offenders than rapists. Although the sample size used was small, the study showed large effect sizes and the authors concluded that schemas appear to influence perceptions of self and the world in relation to sex offenders. The study employed the use of self-report measures to assess behaviours considered as sexual abuse. This is therefore reliant on open disclosure and an understanding of these behaviours as abusive. Richardson (2005) found similar results in adolescent sex offenders. Other studies of interest include Sigre-Leiros, Carvalho and Nobre (2015), and Szlachcic, Fox, Conway, Lord and Christie (2015). Violent offenders have been somewhat neglected in relation to understanding the role of schemas in offending.

Schemas have been a key interest in the area of personality disorder (PD). There is strong agreement between researchers and clinicians that PD can be explained by schemas; specifically, maladaptive schemas (Young, 1999; Young et al., 2003). Young (1990) argued that schemas were integral to the very nature of PD and it is the coping strategies used that are fundamental to PD (Rafaeli, Bernstein & Young, 2011). It is proposed that traits presented in PDs are representations of these coping mechanisms for the expectation that core emotional needs will not be met which results in distress. These responses then become automatic. It is therefore proposed that schemas should be able to predict individual PDs. Although Young (1999) did not make any hypotheses regarding psychopathy, Daffern, Gilbert, Lee and Chu (2016) suggest that the role of schemas may be applicable to psychopathy in much the same way as PD. This is due shared traits between them.

A number of studies have explored this relationship and found strong links. For example, Chakhssi, Bernstein and de Ruiter (2014) explored the link between schemas and psychopathy. They found that there was a positive relationship between factor two (lifestyle and antisocial features) psychopathy and the mistrust and abuse, and insufficient self-control schemas. Moreover, there was a negative relationship with the subjugation schema. However, they did not find a relationship between factor one (affective and interpersonal factors) psychopathy and the schemas.

Such studies have historically focused on small clinical samples and it is proposed that this affects their generalisability (e.g. Ball & Ceccero, 2001; Nordahl, Holthe & Haugum, 2005; Petrocelli, Glaser, Calhoun & Campbell, 2001). Furthermore, they have not controlled for comorbidity of PDs meaning that any relationships found could be the result of shared traits as opposed to one particular schema being related to each PD. This is further concerning given that research indicates there is extensive overlap between PDs (e.g. Farabaugh, Mischoulon, Fava, Guyker & Alpert, 2004; Kavoussi & Siever, 1992; NOMS, 2015).

With that in mind, several studies explored the relationship between schemas and PDs in non-clinical samples. The benefits of this was access to a larger sample size meaning that comorbidity of PDs could be addressed. Carr and Francis (2010) explored the relationship between schemas and PD in a sample of students and patients independently. They found that paranoid PD linked with the mistrust/abuse schema, dependent PD linked with the dependence/incompetence schema, borderline PD linked with the insufficient self-control schema, and obsessive-compulsive PD linked with the unrelenting standards schema. This study did not, however, control for comorbidity of PDs or gender which has been found to cause bias due to the gender differences related to some PDs. Chun et al. (2017), for example, found that females are more frequently diagnosed with borderline PD whereas males are more frequently diagnosed with antisocial PD.

Reeves and Taylor (2007) made efforts to control for gender and comorbidity of PDs in a sample of university students. They found that schemas could predict PDs, e.g. the unrelenting standards schema linked with obsessive-compulsive PD. However, Carr and Francis (2010) identified methodological flaws in this study. They acknowledged that the study attempted to control for comorbidity of PDs, but this was only for those PDs within the same cluster. This ignores the comorbidity of PDs between clusters. To demonstrate this point, research showed that borderline PD co-occurred with antisocial and dependent PD, and schizotypal PD co-occurred with paranoid and schizoid PD (McGlashan et al, 2000). Further to this, research also shows comorbidity between PDs and conditions such as depression (Fornaro et al., 2016) and anxiety (Friborg et al., 2013).

Carr and Francis (2010) therefore questioned the validity of previous research given that it did not control for comorbidity within PDs and with other conditions. They set out to rectify these methodological flaws. They aimed to explore the relationship between schemas and PDs in a non-clinical sample while controlling for gender, within and between cluster PD and other schemas, anxiety, depression, and eating disorder symptoms. Using a series of multiple regression analyses, they found that schemas were able to predict PD with the exception of borderline and antisocial PD. Furthermore, they found that specific schemas could differentially predict PD subtypes. As such, the study supported the claim that PDs and schemas are linked and that there is a specific relationship between each.

Despite some of the flaws in previous research, there is agreement that there is a relationship between schemas and PD. Petrocelli et al (2001) noted that PD subtypes can be distinguished by patterns of cognition. Moreover, research has pointed towards those with PD scoring higher on the YSQ (Bach et al., 2015). Further to this, research has been able to assign specific schemas to specific PDs and the YSQ appears to be a useful tool to differentiate between PDs (Jovev & Jackson, 2004). For example, Reeves and Taylor (2007) found that men diagnosed with antisocial PD obtained higher scores on the YSQ for defectiveness and shame, emotional deprivation, emotional inhibition, and social isolation. Additionally, Nordahl, Holthe and Haugum (2005) found a relationship between narcissistic PD and emotional inhibition, insufficient self-control, and vulnerability to harm.

Gilbert and Daffern (2013) noted that research into the relationship between PD and schemas in an offending population had been neglected. They therefore aimed to address this with a focus on antisocial and borderline PD. In a sample of 87 offenders, they found a distinct relationship between antisocial PD and the Impaired Limits domain, and borderline PD and the Disconnection and Rejection domain. Prior to this, Specht, Chapman and Cellucci (2009) explored this relationship in female prisoners; again, focusing on antisocial and borderline PD. Their findings somewhat echoed that of Gilbert and Daffern (2013) but they found that symptom severity influenced the relationship. When this was accounted for, they found a positive relationship between borderline PD and the Disconnection and Rejection, and Impaired Limits domains.

**Summary**

The idea of schemas has been embraced in the literature and in understanding and treating psychological problems. Young identified 18 maladaptive schemas, categorised into five domains, which he believed were responsible for driving unhelpful behaviour. Furthermore, he developed a measure to assess the presence of schemas using the Young Schema Questionnaire. In order to address these maladaptive schemas, a whole treatment approach was devised (Schema Therapy) which outlines early maladaptive schemas, schema modes, and schema coping mechanisms.

Schemas have been applied to offending behaviour with promising results and the research has shown how schemas have played a role in driving offending behaviour. Exploring this idea further and understanding how schemas influence a person’s view of themselves would contribute to fully understanding the experience of crime.

Please note that Early Maladaptive Schemas are referred to as ‘schemas’ through the thesis.

**Chapter 7**

**The Present Study**

Understanding the way crime is experienced by offenders is one way of developing rich data which can be used to identify salience within offending. This therefore has the potential to develop theoretical understanding which can in turn have practical applications. For example, it could help to differentiate between offending, identify offenders, and contribute to treatment approaches. The Criminal Narrative Experience (CNE) framework has provided a basis for the exploration of the way offenders experience crime. However, it is proposed that other factors should be explored to obtain a more comprehensive understanding of crime.

The primary aim of the research is to explore the Criminal Narrative Experience of male perpetrators of interpersonal crime located in the high security estate. In order to do this, a number of factors will be considered: Criminal Narratives, Emotions, Victim Roles, Schemas, and Offence Type.

***Study 1: The Criminal Narratives of male perpetrators of interpersonal crime.***

Youngs and Canter (2012) previously outlined the Criminal Narrative Framework (CNF) and various pieces of research have shown how it can be applied to help understand offending. Specifically, how offenders viewed themselves whilst carrying out crime which provides some insight into motivation. Being able to differentiate between offenders based on how they view themselves can help to provide insight into how to work with different types of offenders and potential treatment methods. Studies such as Youngs and Canter (2012) set a precedent of how crime could be understood. Their approach was unlike others which tend to rely on an individual’s interpretation of why they offended which is influenced by their level of insight into both themselves and their offending behaviour. The CNF has not been applied solely to perpetrators of interpersonal crime. The objective of the first study is therefore to:

* Explore the criminal narratives of male perpetrators of interpersonal crime located in the high security estate.

In line with previous findings (e.g. Canter & Ioannou, 2004; Ioannou, 2006), it is hypothesised that criminal narratives will be categorised into distinct regions consistent with Youngs and Canter’s Criminal Narrative Framework (professional, hero, victim, and revenger).

***Study 2: The emotional experience of male perpetrators of interpersonal crime.***

Although once ignored, it is now widely accepted that emotions play a key role in driving behaviour. Having an understanding of the role of emotions in offending is essential in order to develop insight into the way crime is experienced as a whole. Historically, research into emotions has focused on non-offending behaviour but more recently, there has been some research focusing on criminality. This has been done by applying Russell’s Circumplex Model of Affect (1997) with promising results. Such research has shown how this model can be applied to crime generally but has not focused solely on interpersonal crime. The objective of the second study is therefore to:

* Explore the emotions of male perpetrators of interpersonal crime located in the high security estate.

It is hypothesised that emotions will be categorised into distinct regions consistent with Russell’s (1997) Circumplex Model of Affect (calm, elation, distress, and depression).

***Study 3: The Criminal Narrative Experience (CNE) of male perpetrators of interpersonal.***

In an attempt to amalgamate the role of criminal narratives and emotions in offending, Ioannou (2006) and Ioannou et al. (2016) developed the Criminal Narrative Experience (CNE) framework. It has been applied to various offending populations with positive results. Further application to other populations will help to validate the framework and highlight the benefits of exploring offending in this way. The framework also has the potential to provide significant insight into the current population and understand how interpersonal crime is experienced. The objective of the third study is therefore to:

* Explore the CNE of male perpetrators of interpersonal crime located in the high security estate.

It is hypothesised that separate CNE themes will be categorised into distinct regions as outlined by Ioannou (2006) and Ioannou et al.’s (2016) CNE framework (calm professional, elated hero, depressed victim, and distressed revenger).

***Study 4: Assignment of Victim Roles by male perpetrators of interpersonal crime.***

When the idea of criminal narratives was first proposed, Canter contended that not only do offenders assign roles to themselves, but they also assign roles to victims. Canter and Youngs (2012) were able to show this through examining behaviours present within crime scenes. However, given this was based on crime scene evidence, the perspective of the offender is ignored. It is important to explore the offender’s perception of their crimes and the way they viewed the victim as this provides further insight into their motivation and subsequent treatment needs. This has the potential to highlight salient points applicable to the apprehension and rehabilitation of offenders. The first objective of the fourth study is therefore to:

* Explore the assignment of Victim Roles by male perpetrators of interpersonal crime in the high security estate from a first-person perspective.

Although there is little research into this area, it is hypothesised that victim roles will be distinguished into object, vehicle, and person roles as outlined by Canter (1994).

Additionally, understanding the relationship between CNE themes and victim role assignment also has potential to further understand the experience of crime and identify salience within offending. The second objective is therefore to:

* Explore whether there is a relationship between CNE themes and Victim Roles.

Given the limited research into his area, no hypotheses have been made.

***Study 5: The relationship between CNE themes and Schemas.***

In his book, Criminal Shadows, Canter stated: *“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).* What is missing in the exploration of criminal narratives thus far is an offender’s “view of their own worth”. It is proposed that the way an offender views their worth will influence the way they view themselves when committing crime and contribute to a full understanding of the experience of crime. Given that schemas encompass core beliefs about the self, others, and the world which develop in childhood, it seems logical to explore the role they play and how they link with the criminal narrative experience. The objective of the fifth study is therefore to:

* Explore whether there are any links between schemas and the CNE themes.

To the researcher’s knowledge, there is no research exploring the links between CNE themes and schemas. No hypotheses have therefore been made.

***Study 6: The impact of Offence Type on the Criminal Narrative Experience and Victim Role assignment.***

Various different models and theories have been proposed to explain interpersonal offending. There is some consistency between them but there is also significant variance. Understanding interpersonal crime based on the CNE may help researchers and practitioners differentiate between the two types of crime (sexual and violent offending). Some previous research has been completed exploring whether crime can be differentiated but this comparison has tended to be with acquisitive crime. Additionally, this has focused on either narrative roles or emotions in isolation. Exploring whether the CNE differs based on offence type can add to the existing understanding of interpersonal crimes and develop insight into whether there are differences between the way violent and sexual offences are experienced. The objectives of the sixth study are therefore to:

* Explore whether offence type influences the identification of CNE themes;
* Explore whether offence type influences Victim Role assignment.

Given there is little research into this area, no hypotheses have been made.

**Part 2**

**Methodology and Results**

**Chapter 8**

**Methodology**

**The High Security Prison Estate**

Prior to 1966 there were no high secure prisons in England and Wales. The volatile nature of this high risk population was therefore uncontrolled. Resulting from public anxiety and the number of escaped prisoners, Earl Mountbatten (HO, 1966) made recommendations regarding the organisation and management of the prison estate. He proposed the development of high security prisons which were purpose built and escape proof which would house those considered most dangerous. Although no single building was constructed, a number of high security prisoners were built doing just that.

Mountbatten also recommended a categorisation system which would rate offenders on dangerousness. This system is still used today but has been revised (Learmont Report, 1995) and informs what security classification of establishment an offender is located. In order to accurately assign a category, the security risk will depend on: “1) the nature of the crime, 2) the likelihood he would try, and have the resources, to engineer an escape, and 3) the danger to the police, public, or the State should he be successful in escaping” (Mitchell, 2016, p. 7). Category A prisoners are defined as “an offender whose escape would be highly dangerous to the public or the police or the security of the State, and for whom the aim must be to make escape impossible” (Prison Service Instruction, PSO, 09.10.13). Category B prisoners are defined as “prisoners for whom the very highest conditions of security are not necessary, but for whom escape must be made very difficult” (PSO, 09.10.13). Category C prisoners are defined as “prisoners who cannot be trusted in open conditions, but who do not have the resources and will to make a determined escape attempt” (PSO, 09.10.13). Category D prisoners are defined as “prisoners who present a low risk; can be reasonably trusted in open conditions and for whom open conditions are appropriate” (PSO, 09.10.13). The current research study is based on offenders residing in the high security estate and are therefore Category A and B prisoners.

Due to the complex nature of these prisoners especially with regard to their risk and management, there is a requirement that they are housed in high security conditions. The high secure estate in England and Wales consists of eight high security establishments; five of these serve as dispersal prisons (which distribute the most high risk long-term prisoners across the estate) and three of these are local and remand prisons (for those who have either not been sentenced or have short sentences).

As a result of the complex nature of these prisoners including their risk and management, a number of initiatives have been put in place to meet the needs of this population. These include the Offender Personality Disorder (OPD) Pathway (formerly Dangerous and Severe Personality Disorder Services), Closed Supervision Centres, Segregation Units, and Separation Centres. Separation Centres are newly developed to house extremist offenders detained under the Terrorism Act. These units are designed to separate these prisoners from the rest of the prison population in an effort to prevent radicalisation.

*Dangerous and Severe Personality Disorder (DSPD)*

In 1999 documentation was published outlining reforms to the Mental Health Act. Within this, there were proposals to better manage, assess, and treat offenders considered to have ‘Dangerous and Severe Personality Disorder’. Given that these offenders were historically considered untreatable, the aim was to develop interventions to challenge this. The core belief being that public protection would be best served through appropriately addressing the treatment needs of this neglected group. Four pilot treatment sites were developed as a joint initiative between the Ministry of Justice (MoJ) and Department of Health targeting offenders identified as dangerous due to their severe PD. Two of these sites were located in the high security prison estate, and two were located within high secure hospitals. The DSPD programme ultimately aimed to ensure public protection, provide assessment and treatment services promoting mental health and reducing risk, and develop better insight into what works in the treatment and management of this population whose personality disorder influences the risk of serious reoffending (Department of Health, MoJ & HMPS, 2008).

*Offender Personality Disorder (OPD) Pathway*

The OPD Pathway was developed in 2011 and replaced Dangerous and Severe Personality Disorder (DSPD) services. It is a joint initiative between the Ministry of Justice (MoJ) and the Department of Health. Research showed that those with severe personality disorder were complex and challenging to manage. They also pose a high risk of reoffending, and of harm to others (NOMS, 2015). The aim of the OPD pathway was therefore to use psychologically informed services to manage such offenders.

The OPD pathway is based on a ‘whole systems’ approach. Therefore, offenders are supported throughout their sentence and in the community. The development of the pathway meant that new sites were created to identify need early in sentence, to allow progression, and facilitate multidisciplinary support. The aims of this initiative are to reduce recidivism of serious violent and sexual offences, promote psychological well-being and pro-social behaviour, and to develop staff abilities to work with this population. Within the OPD pathway model, Personality Disorder Treatment Service and Psychologically Informed Planned Environment (PIPE) sites were implemented.

**Access to the Prison**

The data used in the present study was collected from one of the five high security dispersal prisons in England. These prisons were established to house the most high-risk offenders, dispersed across the high security estate. For ethical reasons, the establishment has not been named. As the researcher was a Prison Service employee at this establishment, initial permission was obtained through informal conversations with the clinical leads of the main prison, Personality Disorder Treatment Service (PDTS), and the Psychological Informed Planned Environment (PIPE). The researcher was then asked to provide a project proposal outlining the aims of the study, procedures for data collection, and ethical considerations. Permission was granted subject to ethical clearance from the University of Huddersfield’s Ethics Committee and National Offender Management Service Research Ethics Committee. The establishment itself consists of the general population and three discrete units; PDTS, PIPE, and the Separation Centre. The Separation Centre has not been featured in the sample due to the political and ethical issues related to this population.

*Main Prison*

The main prison is divided to separate vulnerable prisoners from the mainstream population. Vulnerable prisons are characterised by those whose safety would be at risk if housed with the general population of prisoners. They are predominantly sex offenders although there are prisoners without sexual offences who cannot be housed with mainstream prisoners for safety and security reasons. There are four wings housing vulnerable prisoners (approximately 432), three wings housing mainstream prisoners (approximately 362), and a segregation unit (approximately 28).

*Personality Disorder Treatment Service (PDTS)*

The PDTS is a purpose-built unit which is divided into three sub-units housing 65 prisoners in total. This unit provides assessment and treatment to male offenders who are high and very high risk of reoffending due to complex personality disorder and psychopathy. Furthermore, their complex personality has meant that mainstream treatment and prison environments are ineffective (Kiehl & Hoffman, 2011; NOMS, 2015).

*Psychologically Informed Planned Environment (PIPE)*

Although there are different PIPE units throughout the prison estate, this unit is designed to help prisoners consolidate their learning from treatment. It is designed to support prisoners in putting the skills they have gained from treatment into practice. There is a high staff to prisoner ratio to ensure there are ample opportunities for support, feedback, and reflection. Staff working in these environments are given training to develop their psychological understanding and help them work with these offenders. The environment is designed to monitor and test prisoners to determine whether they are presenting with behavioural changes and to aid their progression through the system (Joseph & Benfield, 2012). There are certain criteria prisoners must meet in order to be eligible to engage in the PIPE unit. They must be classified as Category A, they must have completed high intensity offending behaviour work, any mental health problems must be stable and well managed, it must adhere to their sentence planning targets, they must have at least 12 months left to serve of their sentence or have an indeterminate sentence, and they must be intellectually capable of engaging in mainstream prison programmes and regimes.

**Selection of Participants**

All prisoners in the establishment were given the opportunity to participate in the research (with the exception of those location on the Separation Centre). There was no inclusion or exclusion criteria as such, but all respondents had been convicted for interpersonal crimes. Furthermore, it was important that the sample used was representative of the general criminal population. Although it is acknowledged that the sample was recruited from one prison, given that this was a dispersal site, offenders were from all over the country. A female sample was not obtained due to issues around access to participants. However, a small number of those considered transgender were included in the sample (N=1). Young offenders were also excluded from the study because there are more stringent regulations in place regarding ethics and specifically informed consent (Youth Justice Board, 2016).

**Role of the Researcher**

The researcher was a Prison Service employee who worked within the establishment where data was collected. Prisoners therefore associated her with the psychology department which may have influenced decisions on whether or not to participate. Some prisoners expressed concern about how data in relation to their offending may be used, particularly in relation to negative consequences for them. If the researcher was independent to the establishment then this may have been less of a concern. Conversely, some respondents knew the researcher personally through treatment which again could have influenced their decision, making participation more likely. This has to be acknowledged as a confounding variable.

**Participants**

The sample consisted of 89 high risk male offenders (including 1 pre-operative transgender offender) located in a high security prison. They were sentenced for a range of serious interpersonal crimes from indecent assault and wounding to rape and murder. There were 35 participants categorised as sex offenders and 54 offenders categorised as violent offenders. Participants were categorised as being either a sex offender or violent offender based on the type of offence they described when completing the ‘offence account’ questionnaire. Offenders had received determinate, indeterminate, and life sentences ranging from 2 to 99 years. Twenty-two participants were recruited from the PDTS and were therefore diagnosed with psychopathy and, or, personality disorder. See ‘Descriptive Statistics’ section for more details. It should be noted that there were only 64 respondents who completed the Victim Roles Scale. This was due to an administration error where the Victim Roles Scale was not given to participants on the Severe Personality Disorder Unit. Given the relatively low number of prisoners located on the unit (N=65), and the number of respondents (N=23), it was not felt that this negatively impacted the research.

**Materials**

*Demographics Questionnaire (see Appendix D).*

The demographics questionnaire was designed to gather general information about respondents in terms of their age and ethnicity, and details of their index offence. Respondents were specifically asked how old they were and what their ethnicity was, rather than asking for categorical responses. They were also asked to indicate what their index offence was, and the length of sentence they received. Finally, they were asked to indicate the type of sentence they received which was categorised as ‘determinate’, ‘life’, and ‘indeterminate for public protection’.

*Offence Account (see Appendix D).*

In order to encourage respondents to think of a specific offence and answer subsequent questionnaires based on that offence, participants were asked to provide an offence account. Identifying one offence was important because subsequent questionnaires needed to be answered based on a specific incident to allow for the exploration of how that crime was experienced. Respondents were instructed to think of a crime they committed which they remembered clearly, and which was most typical of their offending behaviour. They were asked to specify what it was, briefly describe what happened, and describe events leading up to committing the crime. They were also asked to indicate whether this was their index offence. In order to gauge how strong their memory of the offence was, and in order to account for potential confounding variables, respondents were asked to rate the strength of their memory. Possible ratings were ‘very strong’, ‘strong’, ‘quite strong’, ‘weak’, and ‘very weak’.

*Narrative Roles Questionnaire (see Appendix D).*

Canter et al (2003; 2009) developed the Narrative Roles questionnaire through extensive research with offenders. They drew on the works of Frye (1957) and McAdams (1985). The aim of the questionnaire is to determine how respondents viewed themselves whilst they were committing crime using 36 statements. Examples of statements are “I had to”, “I was in control”, “I was acting out revenge”, and “It was my only choice”. Such statements should then be able to be categorised into four themes consistent with the Criminal Narrative Framework (professional, hero, victim, and revenger).

*Emotions Questionnaire (see Appendix D).*

Canter and Ioannou (2004a) developed the Emotions questionnaire from pilot research which aimed to incorporate Russell’s (1997) Circumplex of Emotions. The questionnaire consists to 26 statements which are thought to cover the range of emotions experienced during offending. Statements include “I felt lonely”, “I felt angry”, “I felt courageous” and “I felt excited”.

A 5-point Likert scale is used for both the narrative roles and emotions questionnaires. Respondents are asked to rate items based on how much they apply to them (1 = not at all, 2 = just a little, 3 = some, 4 = a lot, 5 = very much). A 5-point Likert scale was chosen because it generates more detailed data than a yes or no rating scale.

*Victim Roles Scale (see Appendix D).*

The Victim Roles Scale (VRS) was developed as part of the research project. The purpose of the scale was to assess how perpetrators of interpersonal crime viewed their victims. In order to create the scale, the notion of victim roles had to be operationalised. Therefore, victim roles were defined as the way an offender viewed the victim during the commissioning of crime (Canter & Youngs, 2009). Canter (1994) focused on the interpersonal treatment of victims and argued that meaning and significance placed on the offender’s actions could be extracted from the relationship imposed. He drew on McAdams’ (1993, 2001) concept of power and intimacy where the quest for power and intimacy differentiates between narratives. Canter (1994) proposed three forms of control to gain power over victims and three ways in which an offender can lack empathy. This idea of control and empathy was used to develop questions which were included in the scale.

*Control*

Canter (1994) contended that victim roles could be distinguished by the control used to gain compliance from victims. This included physical control resulting from direct possession and subjugation of the victim, emotional and psychological control resulting from physical, verbal, or psychological abuse, and behavioural control resulting from manipulation and coercion. The items identified are outlined below:

* The victim was there to be exploited
* The victim was there to be played with
* I wanted to humiliate the victim
* The victim as a possession to me
* I wanted to dominate the victim
* I took advantage of the victim

*Empathy/Intimacy*

Canter (1994) also contended that victim roles could be distinguished by the empathy shown towards the victim. This included objectification through lack of awareness of humanity, exploitation stemming from disregard for suffering, and a willingness to take advantage due to an undervaluing of the victim as person. The items identified are outlined below.

* The victim deserved what happened
* I tried to comfort the victim
* I felt the victim understood me
* I wanted to be close to the victim
* I wanted the victim to suffer
* I felt nothing towards the victim
* I cared about how the victim felt

*Targeting*

The concept of victim targeting was also considered because it was referenced within the literature when victim roles were described (Canter & Youngs, 2009). The items identified are outlined below.

* I targeted this specific victim
* The victim was carefully selected
* The victim was significant to me

The final scale contained 16 items and responses were measured on a 5-point Likert scale which was chosen to align with the emotions and narrative roles questionnaires. Participants were asked to rate their answered based on how much they agreed with the statement (1 = Strongly Disagree; 2 = Disagree; 3 = Neither Agree nor Disagree; 4 = Agree; 5 = Strongly Agree). A reliability analysis was carried out on the scale and Cronbach’s alpha showed the questionnaire to reach acceptable reliability, α = 0.773. All items appeared to be worthy of retention, resulting in a decrease in the alpha if deleted.

*Young Schema Questionnaire – Short Form (YSQ-S3) (see Appendix D).*

The YSQ-SF is a self-report questionnaire using 90 items to assess the presence of 18 schemas. There are 5 items assigned to each of the schemas where participants are asked to rate on a Likert scale of 1 to 6 (1 = completely untrue of me, 2 = mostly true of me, 3 = slightly more trust than untrue, 4 = moderately true of me, 5 = mostly true of me, 6 = describes me perfectly) the degree to which they identify with each statement. Examples of these statements are ‘I feel that people take advantage of me’, ‘I don’t fit in’, ‘I find it embarrassing to express my feelings to others’, ‘I must meet all my responsibilities’, and ‘I am usually on the lookout for other people’s ulterior or hidden motives’. Research has shown that this YSQ is reliable and valid in measuring schemas (e.g. Bach et al., 2015; Phillips, Brockman, Bailey & Kneebone, 2017).

**Procedure**

Prior to collecting data, the researcher was required to obtain ethical clearance from the National Offender Management Service Research Ethics Committee (NOMS REC). The committee review applications on a monthly basis and are responsible for quality assurance, and considering potential demand on resources, overlap with other research projects, methodology, data protection and security, applicant skill level, whether projects meet NOMS strategic research priorities, and what impact the research may have on policy and practice (NOMS, 2018).

The researcher completed the NOMS REC application where she was required to provide details about the aims and objectives of the study, proposed methodology, access to prisons, data protection, research ethics, and dissemination of findings. Once it was reviewed, and initially approved by NOMS REC, it was then reviewed by the Head of the Long Term High Security Estate. As no issues where identified, ethical clearance was granted. At this stage, no amendments could be made to the project without approval.

The researcher had already gained permission from Clinical Leads within the prison and once ethical clearance was obtained, the process of data collection could begin. The procedure in relation to the collection of data differed slightly between the PDTS, PIPE unit, and main prison. This is detailed below.

*Personality Disorder Treatment Service (PDTS).*

In order to promote the research on the PDTS, the researcher attended community meetings in order to discuss the study and distribute information sheets (see Appendix a). Included on the information sheets, was an option for prisoners to express interest in participating in the research. Following promotion, the researcher attended association periods whereby written consent was obtained (see Appendix b) from those willing to participate and questionnaires were provided. The Narrative Roles Questionnaire and Emotions Questionnaire were counterbalanced to avoid order effects. A debrief sheet (see Appendix c) was given to participants upon completion of the questionnaires and they were also given an opportunity to ask questions.

*PIPE Unit.*

The researcher attended a community meeting which was attended by all prisoners residing on the unit. An outline of the study was given, and information sheets were distributed. Every prisoner was given a questionnaire booklet where they were given the option of whether to participate. The researcher agreed a date to collect completed questionnaires for those who were willing to complete the study (a period of 1 week).

*Main Prison.*

A memo was sent to all prisoners describing the study, outlining the aims, and detailing what participation would involve. An information sheet and consent form were provided, and prisoners were asked to sign the consent form and return it through the internal post if they were interested in participating in the research. Once they had done this, they were provided with the questionnaire booklet to complete. Upon completion, they were asked to place them in the complaints box. This is a locked box which is only accessible to certain staff members. Doing this meant that the responses remained confidential as only the researcher had access to them.

If respondents required assistance completing questionnaires, the researcher met with them in a private room on their residential wing. This was with a view of answering any questions, clarifying the meaning of certain words, and helping to complete questionnaires. Providing this option was important because the reading level of prisoners is known to be lower than that of the general population. In fact, research has shown that 60% of prisoners have the reading skills which are expected of 9 to 10 years olds (Clark & Dugdale, 2008).

The response rate differed between the main prison and discrete units, but it was within the expected 10% range (Patten, 1998). In order to increase the number of responses, the researcher considered expanding the project to include other establishments. However, she was unable to gain permission from the establishments which were contacted. This was due to a range of factors including security, logistics, and resources.

All data was entered into SPSS and subsequently transferred to Hudap (a specialised software package) in order for the analysis to be carried out.

**Ethical Considerations**

The BPS Code of Ethics and Conduct (2009) and Code of Human Research Ethics (BPS, 2014) was adhered to throughout the study. The research was approved by the University of Huddersfield’s Ethics Committee and the National Offender Management Service Research Ethics Committee (NOMS REC).

The participants included in the study are considered a vulnerable population. Due to the nature of the study, this was necessary, but it means that additional ethical considerations needed to be made. BPS guidance for working with this population was consulted to assist with this and care was taken to ensure informed consent was obtained. When recruiting participants, and detailed within the information sheet, it was made clear that participation would not result in any advantages or disadvantages to them (i.e. they would not get any special privileges for participation nor would they be penalised) (NOMS, 2014). Participants were asked to give written consent before they started the study and they were given information about having the right to withdraw their consent up to a certain point (this was one month after returning the completed questionnaires). After this time, the data was anonymised and removing single participants was not possible.

The collected data was securely stored on a password protected computer and all paper records were stored in a locked filing cabinet accessible only to the researcher. No participants were identified within the research and the data was coded to ensure anonymity. The data will be held for a period of 10 years before being destroyed.

**Data Analysis**

*Smallest Space Analysis (SSA)*

Smallest Space Analysis (SSA; see Guttman, 1968) was used to analyse the data. SSA is a non-metric multidimensional scaling technique used to examine the relationship between variables. SSA has been employed in other similar research (e.g. Ioannou et al., 2015; Ioannou et al., 2016; Dedeloudis, 2016; Goodlad et al., 2016; 2018) and was considered the most appropriate technique to understand the CNE of this population, and well as Victim Roles. Factor Analysis was considered but SSA provides a visual representation which was thought to be beneficial within the research. SSA calculates the association coefficients between all variables and represents them visually in a geometric space. It does this using a data matrix which is the rank order of correlations. When these correlations are plotted, they form regions in the geometric space which can be analysed thematically, and facets can be extracted. The coefficient of alienation provides a measure of fit in relation to how well the spatial representations meet the correlations detailed in the data matrix. The association coefficients, or rank orders, attributed to correlations are compared with the association coefficients of the distance between points in the geometric space. The closer together they are, the better the fit and the process is repeated until the best fit for the data is found. SSA allows for visual exploration of the data to determine whether items are correlated. If items are correlated, then they are displayed in similar regions in the SSA plot. These regions would provide evidence for the existence of a distinct criminal narrative experience or victim role assignment in male offenders residing in the high security estate.

*CNE, Victim Roles, Schemas, and Offence Type*

Once a model was established, t-tests were used to explore whether the presence of schemas influenced the assignment of CNE themes. Each schema (present or not present) represented an independent variable where the dependent variables was CNE theme which had four levels (Calm Professional, Elated Hero, Depressed Victim, and Distressed Revenger). Given that multiple t-tests were completed, Bonferroni corrections were applied to avoid error. Although there are eighteen schemas in total, ‘subjugation’ was excluded due to there being no participants having a diagnosis for this schema. As such, seventeen t-tests were completed in total to reflect the remaining schemas. T-tests were also completed to explore whether offence type affected the identification of CNE themes. Finally, Pearson’s Product Moment correlation was used to explore the relationships between the CNE themes and the Victim Roles.

**Chapter 9**

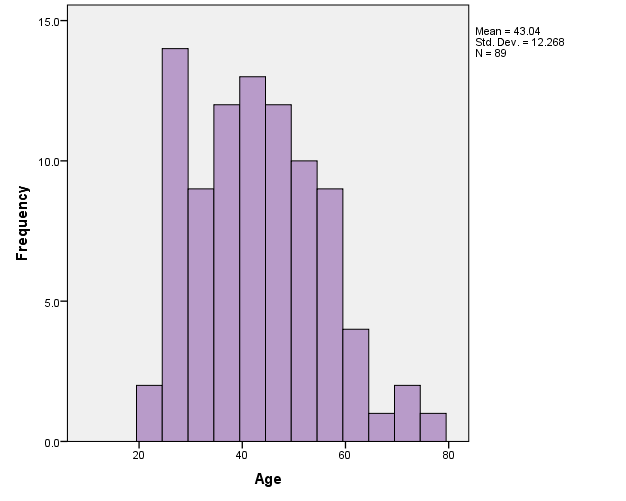
**Descriptive Characteristics of the Sample**

**Sample Description**

Descriptive statistics were explored in order to gain clarity of what the sample characteristics consisted of. These are outlined below. A large proportion of the sample was White British men identifying with the Christian faith.

**Personal Background**

*Age*

The sample consisted of 89 participants in total. There were 88 males (98.9%) and 1 pre-op transgender offender who was biologically male (1.1%), aged 22 to 77. The mean age of the sample was 43.04 (SD = 12.268), with a median age of 43. The age distribution of participants is displayed in Figure 9.1 below.

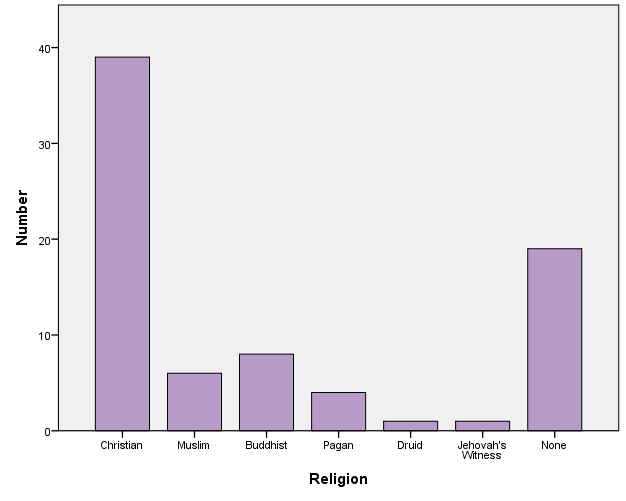
**Figure 9.1:** Age distribution of offenders.

*Ethnicity*

Participants’ ethnicity was categorised into seven ethnic groups, with the largest ethnic group, White British, accounting for 84.3% of the sample. Other ethnic groups were Black British (2.2%), Mixed British (1.1%), British Irish (1.1%), Arabic (1.1%), Traveller (1.1%), and Latvian (1.1%).

*Religion*

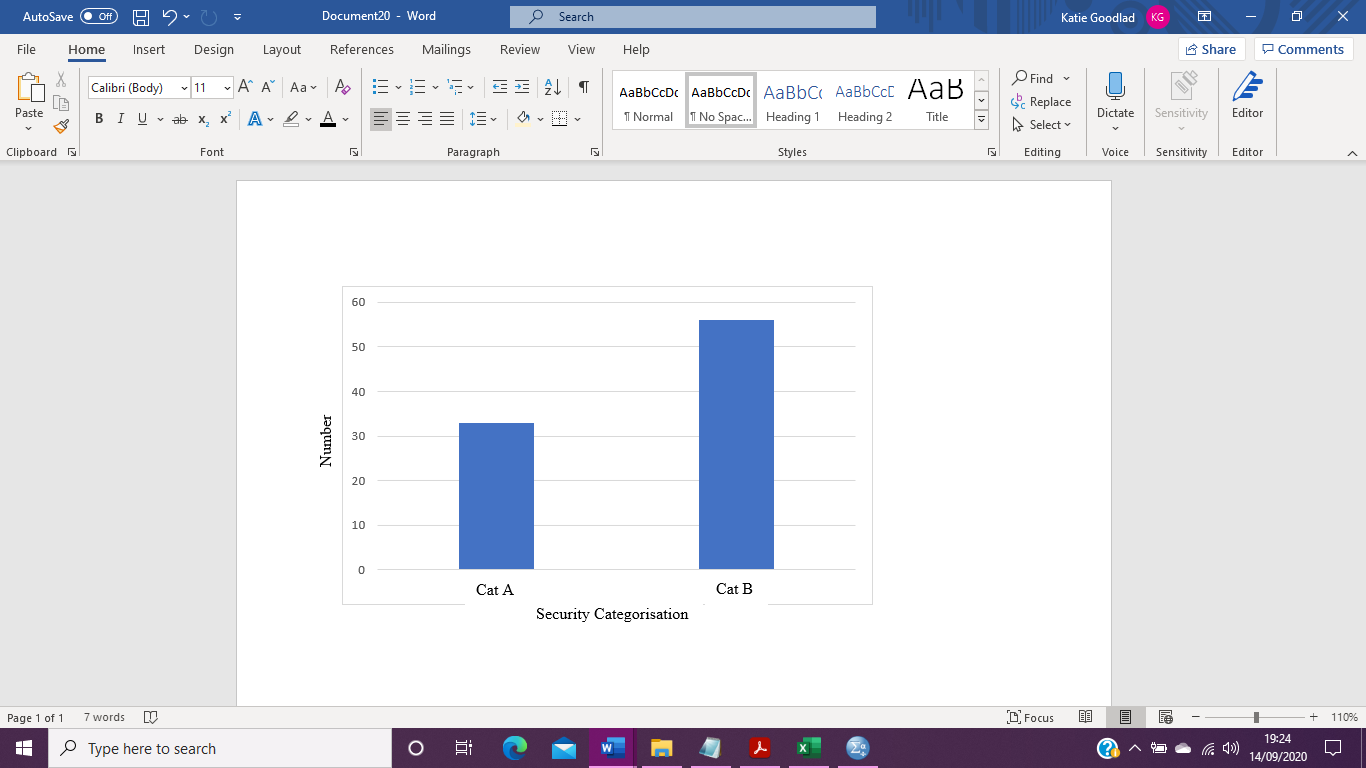
Participants’ religion was categorised into seven groups. The largest group was Christianity, accounting for 50% of the sample. The next largest group was those of no religion (24.359%), followed by Buddhist (10.256%), Muslim (7.692%), Pagan (5.128%), Druid (1.282%), and Jehovah’s Witness (1.282%). This is displayed in Figure 9.2 below.



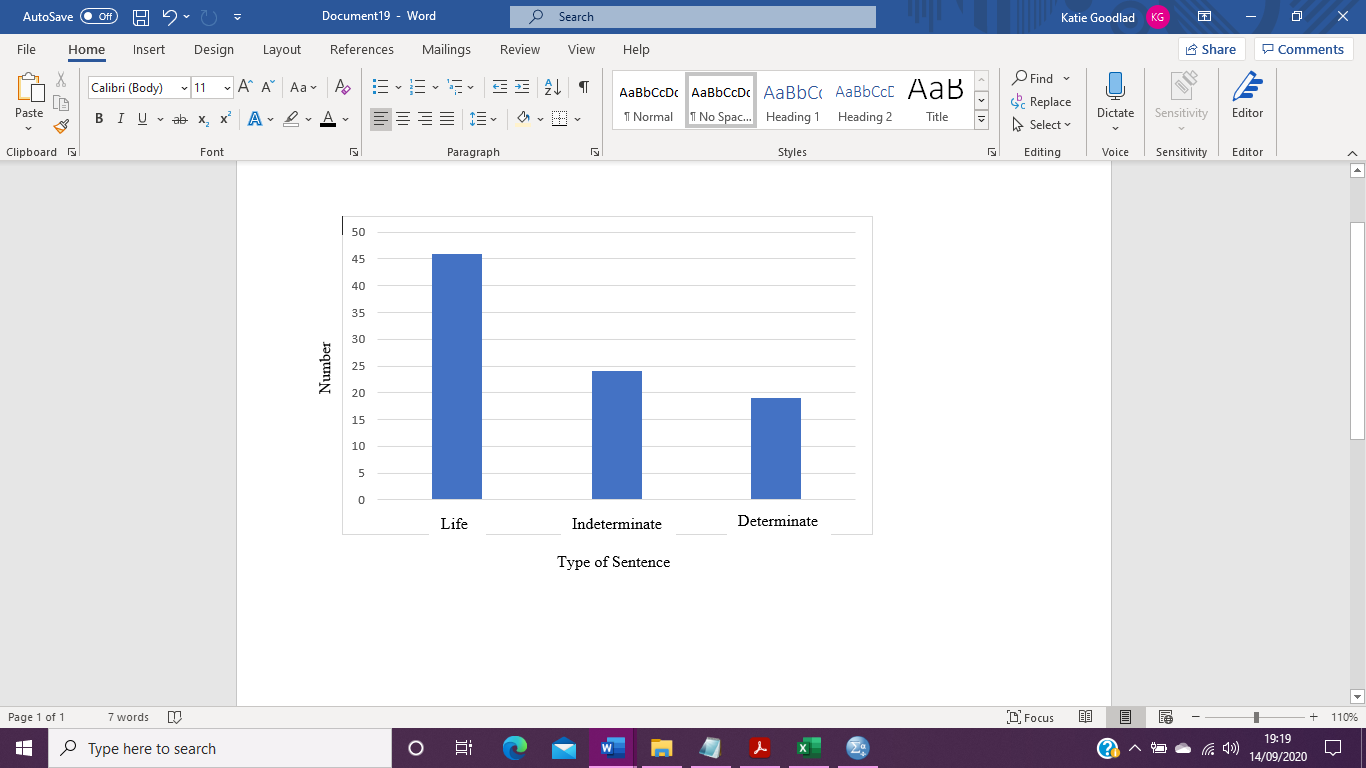
**Figure 9.2:** Religion of offenders.

**Criminal Background**

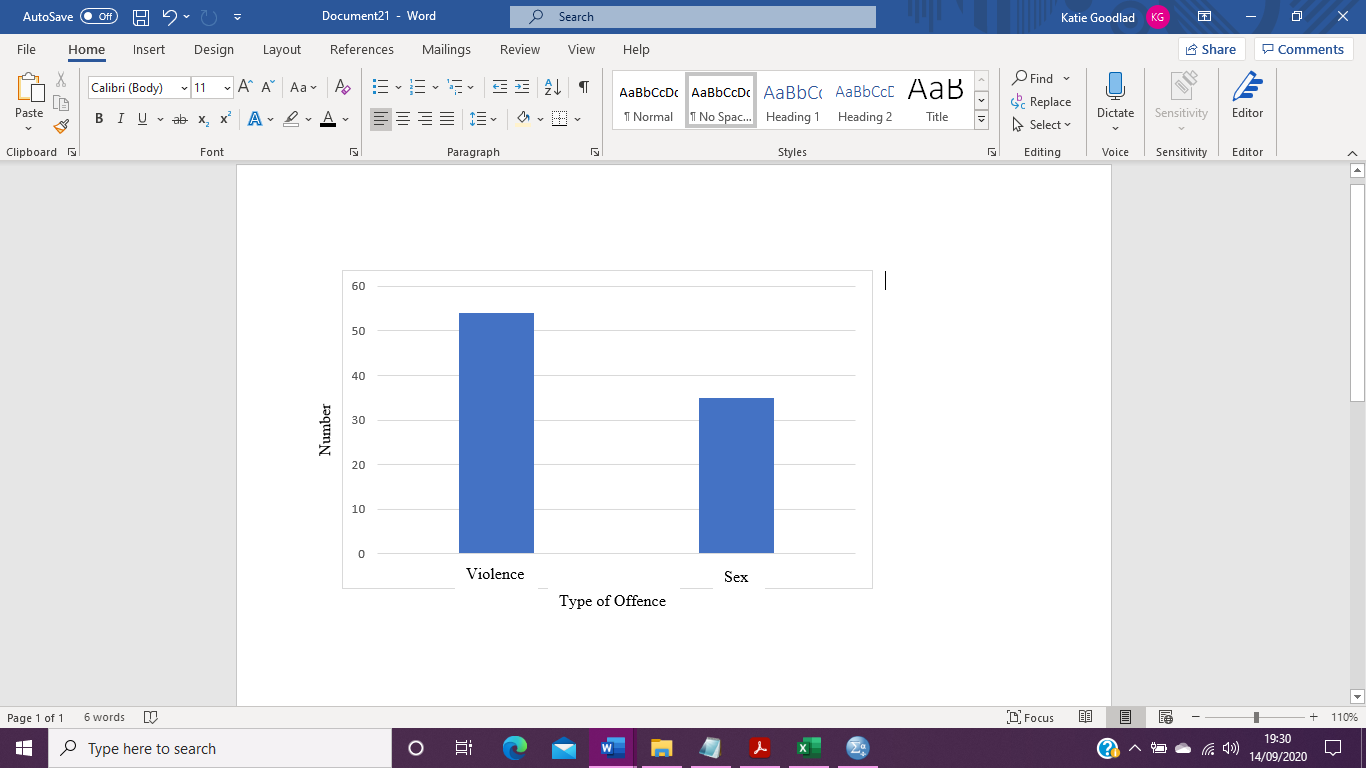
Although most participants had a range of pre-convictions, their current sentences (index offence) related to sexual (39.33%, N = 35) and violent (60.67%, N = 54) offending which is displayed in Figure 9.5. They received life (51.69%, N = 46), indeterminate (26.96%, N = 24), or determinate (21.34%, N = 19) sentences. Sentences ranged from 2 years to 99 years (M = 22.30, SD = 22.31) as displayed in Figure 9.4. Additionally, 37.07% (N = 33) of the sample were placed as Category A prisoners (highest level of dangerousness) and 62.92% (N = 56) of the sample were placed as Category B prisoners as displayed in Figure 9.3.



**Figure 9.3:** Risk classification of offenders.



**Figure 9.4:** Sentence received by offenders.



**Figure 9.5:** Type of offence.

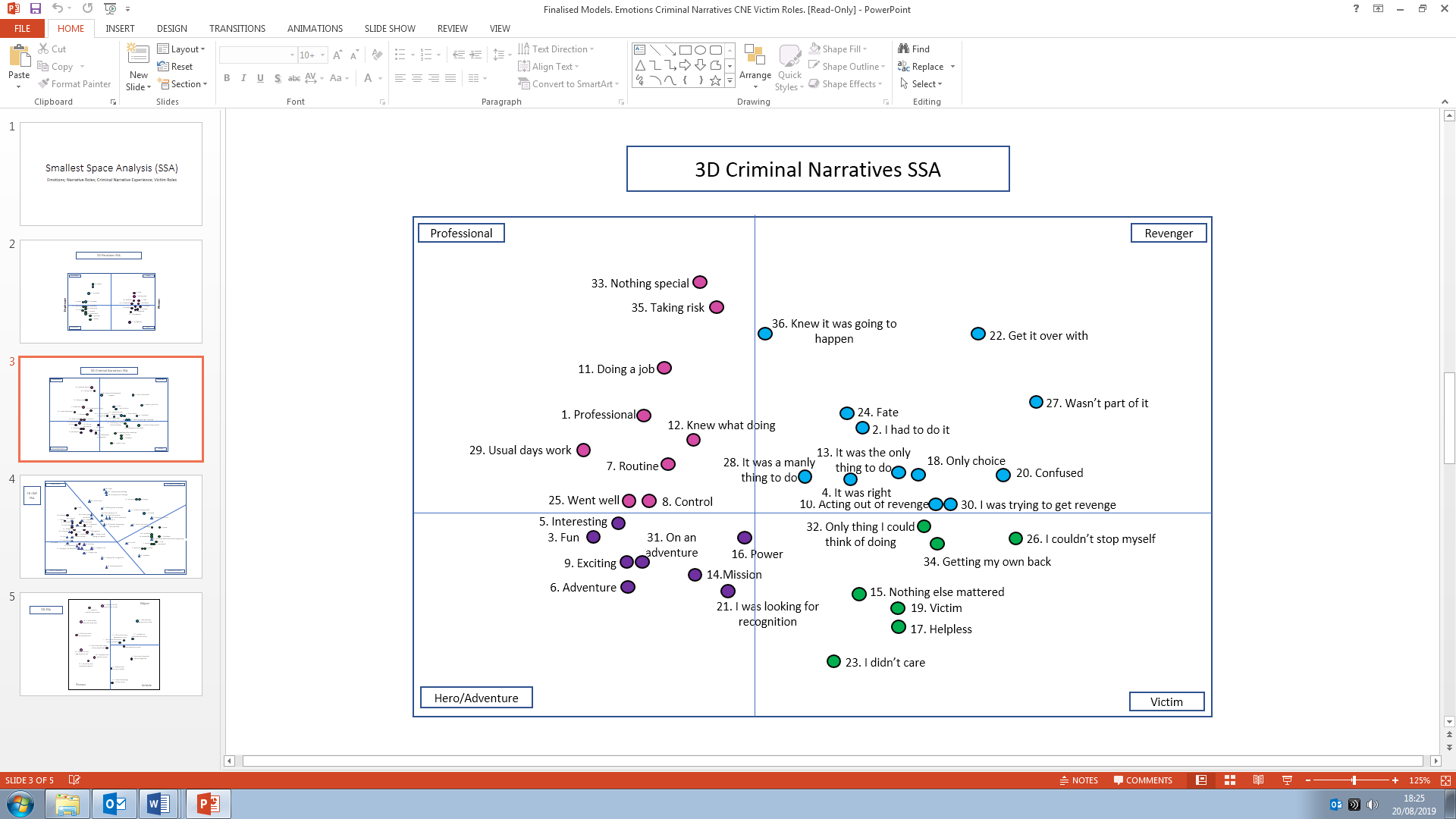
**Chapter 10**

**Study 1: The Criminal Narratives of Male Perpetrators Convicted of Interpersonal Crime**

This chapter outlines study one which aimed to explore the way offenders viewed themselves during the commissioning of their crimes. In line with previous findings (e.g. Canter & Ioannou, 2004; Ioannou, 2006), it was hypothesised that criminal narratives would be categorised into distinct regions. These regions would represent Youngs and Canter’s (2012) Criminal Narrative Framework (professional, hero, victim, and revenger). The null hypothesis was that no distinctions would be able to be drawn in relation to distinguishing specific narrative roles.

**Smallest Space Analysis**

Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) was used to test the above objective. It was chosen because previous studies have shown its effectiveness in exploring narrative roles whilst offending (e.g. Canter & Ioannou, 2004; Ioannou, 2006). Therefore, SSA was completed on the 36 items featured in the narrative roles questionnaire. Figure 1 shows the distribution of the items across 85 cases. The two-dimensional SSA solution has a Guttman-Lingoes coefficient of alienation of 0.14655, showing a good fit between the Pearson’s coefficients of narrative role variables and their corresponding geometric distances in the configuration. The two-dimensional solution was chosen over the three-dimensional solution because it was found to fit the data better and seemed to be a better visual representation of the relationships between variables. The labels presented in figure 10.1 summarise the items (see Appendix E).



**Figure 10.1.** One by two projection of the three-dimensional smallest space analysis of criminal narrative role themes with regional interpretation of themes.

Note. Coefficient of Alienation = 0.14655

**Themes of Criminal Narrative Roles**

It was hypothesised that narrative roles would form distinct regions in the SSA plot. The plot was examined, and four distinct regions were identified. These regions mirror the four narrative roles previously outlined: professional, hero, victim, and revenger.

*Professional*

The 9 items that characterise Professional are (1) I was like a professional, (2) it was routine, (3) I was in control, (4) I was doing a job, (5) I knew what I was doing, (6) it all went to plan, (7) for me it was just like a usual days work, (8), there was nothing special about what happened, and (9) I knew I was taking a risk. Case 45 and 21 below shows an example of an offender categorised as ‘professional’.

*Case 45: Sexual Exploitation.* The offender explained how he ran a brothel/escort agency where he would book out sex workers for clients. He reported that he was like a professional, it was routine, he was in control, he was doing a job, he knew what he was doing, it was a usual days work, there was nothing special about what happened, and he knew he was taking a risk.

*Case 21: Rape.* The offender explained how the victim was a stranger who was walking home from work. He approached her, threatened her, and coerced her into a field where he raped her. He reported that he knew what he was doing, it all went to plan, and he knew he was taking a risk.

*Hero*

The 8 items that characterise the Hero are (1) it was fun, (2) it was interesting, (3) it was like an adventure, (4) it was exciting, (5) it was a mission, (6) I had power, (7) I was looking for recognition, and (8) it was like being on an adventure. Case 76 below shows an example of an offender categorised as ‘hero’.

*Case 76: Grievous Bodily Harm with Intent.* The participant explained how he tried to steal a handbag from two females but ended up assaulting them. He said he wanted money for alcohol and felt “pissed off”. He reported that it was fun, it was like an adventure, it was exciting, he had power, and it was like being on an adventure.

*Victim*

The 7 items that characterise the Victim are (1) nothing else mattered, (2) I was helpless, (3) I was a victim, (4) I didn’t care what would happen, (5) I couldn’t stop myself, (6) it was the only thing I could think of doing, and (7) I was getting my own back. Case 5 below shows an example of an offender categorised as ‘victim’.

*Case 5: Grievous Bodily Harm with Intent.* The participant described how he got into a fight on the way home from a pub. He said he hit someone with a piece of wood and blinded them in one eye. He reported that nothing else mattered, he was helpless, he didn’t care what would happen, he couldn’t stop himself, and it was the only thing he could think of doing.

*Revenger*

The 12 items that characterise the Revenger are (1) I had to do it, (2) it was right, (3) I was acting out of revenge, (4) it was the only thing to do, (5) it was my only choice, (6) I was confused about what was happening, (7) I just wanted to get it over with, (8) what was happening was just fate, (9) it was like I wasn’t part of it, (10) it was the manly thing to do, (11) I was trying to get revenge, and (12) I guess I always knew it was going to happen. Case 59 below shows an example of an offender categorised as ‘revenger’.

*Case 59: Murder.* The participant explained how a friend told him that the victim raped his sister and asked him to provide ‘back-up’ and he therefore intended to rob and beat the victim. However, the victim “looked at me with evil eyes” which resulted in him stamping on his head while his co-defendant stabbed and disembowelled the victim. He reported that he had to do it, it was right, he was acting out of revenge, it was the only thing to do, it was his only choice, he wanted to get it over with, it was fate, it was like he wasn’t part of it, it was the manly thing to do, and he was trying to get revenge.

**Scales of Criminal Narrative Roles**

Four criminal narrative roles were identified as representing distinct themes of criminal behaviour. Therefore, the narrative roles linked to each theme should create a scale characterising an underlying dimension. To test the reliability of each scale, Cronbach’s alpha was performed on each of the themes. These are presented in table 1 where Cronbach’s alpha shows a high degree of association between the items in each of the four themes.

Table 10.1. Scales of Criminal Narrative Roles

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Emotion Theme | Number of items | Cronbach’s α |
| Professional  Hero  Victim  Revenger | 9  8  7  12 | .831  .878  .629  .803 |

**Testing the Framework**

Cases were analysed separately in order to explore the regional thematic split of the SSA plot. This was to determine whether cases should be classified into specific themes. Irrespective of the offence committed, the SSA assigned cases into four thematic themes. It is acknowledged that offenders may relate to more than one theme, however, the majority of cases would be expected to identify with one specific theme. In order to validate the framework, it is therefore important to determine whether individual cases can be categorised into one of the four themes.

Each case was assigned a percentage to represent the extent to which it related to each theme. It was felt that the use of percentages was most suited to reflect the dominant theme because there was a different number of items in each theme (Ioannou et al., 2016). Furthermore, Ioannou (2006) outlined two criteria to test the framework. Criterion I dictated themes based on which had the highest percentage. Conversely, Criterion II was much more stringent where the dominant theme must be greater than, or proportionately equal to (+ 5%), the percentages of the other themes added together.

*Criterion I*

Based on criterion I, the most dominant theme in each case was the theme which had the highest percentage attributed to it. For example, in case number 59, professional scored 55.56%, hero scored 35%, revenger scored 93.33%, and victim scored 40%. Therefore, the dominant theme was revenger.

*Criterion II*

Based on criterion II, the most dominant theme in each case was determined if the highest percentage was larger, or fairly equal to (+ 5%), the other themes added together. For example, in case number 71, professional scored 86.67%, hero scored 20%, revenger scored 35%, and victim scored 20%. Therefore, the dominant theme was professional.

If a case had a similarly high percentage (within 5%) in two themes then it was considered a hybrid, e.g. case number 9, professional scored 24.44%, hero scored 32.5%, revenger scored 45%, and victim scored 45.7%. This case was therefore considered a hybrid between revenger and victim. This method has been used in various studies in this type of research (e.g. Canter & Fritzon, 1998; Salfati, 2000; Ioannou, 2006; Goodlad et al., 2016; 2018).

Using Criterion I, the results show that 98.82% of cases could be classified as either pure type or hybrid themes, 96.47% (N = 82) could be classified as pure type and 2.35% (N = 2) could be classified as a hybrid. The most frequent pure type was ‘victim’ representing 43.53% of cases. Few cases were classified as a hybrid indicating that narrative roles experienced during offending tended to be restricted to only one. See table 10.2 for the number of cases assigned to each theme.

Using Criterion II, which was much more stringent than Criterion I, only 5.9% (N=5) of cases could be classified, all of which were pure type and no hybrids were identified. 2.35% (N=2) of cases could be classified as victim, 2.35% (N=2) could be classified as professional, and 1.18% (N=1) could be classified as hero. See table 10.2 for the number of cases assigned to each theme.

Table 10.2. Number of cases assigned to each criminal narrative theme according to Criterion I and Criterion II.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Criterion I | | Criterion II | |
| Theme | N | % | N | % |
| Victim | 37 | 43.53 | 2 | 2.35 |
| Professional | 22 | 25.88 | 2 | 2.35 |
| Revenger | 15 | 17.65 | 0 | 0 |
| Hero | 8 | 9.41 | 1 | 1.18 |
| Revenger-Victim | 2 | 2.35 | 0 | 0 |
| Unclassified | 1 | 1.18 | 0 | 0 |

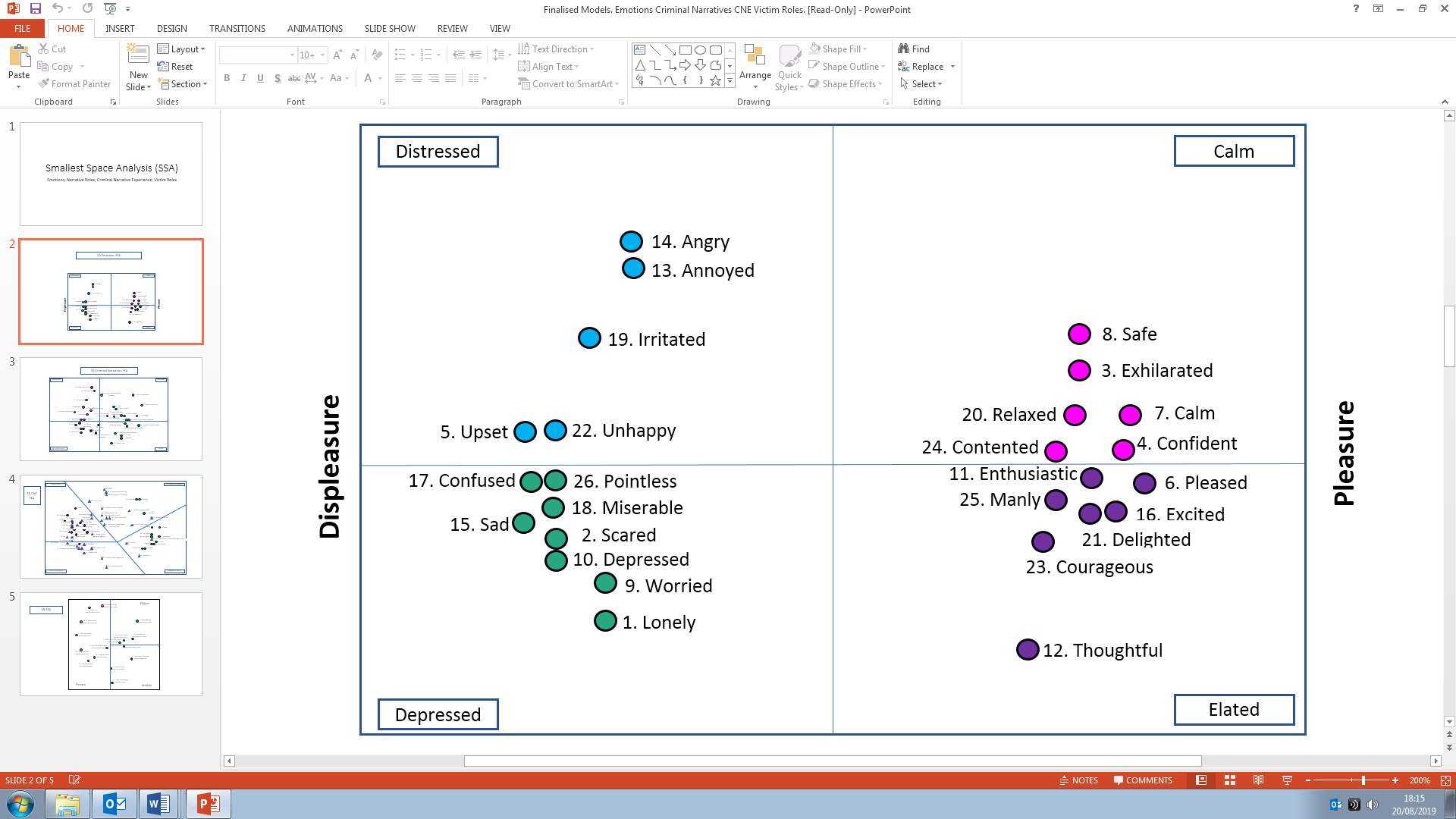
**Chapter 11**

**Study 2: Emotions of Male Perpetrators Convicted of Interpersonal Crime**

This chapter outlines study two which aimed to explore the emotions offenders felt whilst committing crime. In line with previous findings (e.g. Canter & Ioannou, 2004; Ioannou, 2006), it was hypothesised that emotions would be categorised into distinct regions. These regions would encompass a range of emotions with resultant themes inclusive of calm, elation, distress, and depression. Thus, consistent with Russell’s (1997) Circumplex Model of Affect. The null hypothesis was that there would be no relationship between emotions and therefore no structure could be applied.

**Smallest Space Analysis**

Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) was used to test the above objective. It was chosen because previous studies have shown its effectiveness in exploring the emotional experience of crime (e.g. Canter & Ioannou, 2004; Ioannou, 2006). Therefore, SSA was completed on the 26 emotions featured in the emotions questionnaire. Figure 1 shows the distribution of the items across 86 cases. The two-dimensional SSA solution has a Guttman-Lingoes coefficient of alienation of 0.07095, showing an excellent fit between the Pearson’s coefficients of emotion variables and their corresponding geometric distances in the configuration. The two-dimensional solution was chosen over the three-dimensional solution because it was found to fit the data better and seemed to be a better visual representation of the relationships between variables. The labels presented in figure 1 summarise the items.



**Figure 11.1.** One by two projection of the two-dimensional smallest space analysis of emotion themes with regional interpretation of themes.

Note. Coefficient of Alienation = 0.07095.

**Themes of Emotions**

The first task was to determine whether the overall framework of emotions could be distinguished into core themes, e.g. calm, elation, distress, and depression. To understand the SSA, it was important to test the hypothesis that items with strong correlations would be presented in a similar region in the geometric space. Therefore, related emotions would form to produce distinct themes whose thematic structure could be examined. For example, the upper left quadrant included a*ngry, annoyed, irritated, upset,* and *unhappy* which can be categorised as distress thus creating a region. Each of the four regions are outlined below.

*Calm*

The upper right quadrant of the plot depicts the emotions characterised as ‘calm’. The 6 items are (1) exhilarated, (2) confident, (3) calm, (4) safe, (5) relaxed, and (6) content. The presence of ‘exhilarated’ in this theme seems peculiar and will be addressed in the discussion section. Case 33 below shows an example of an offender classified as ‘calm’.

*Case 33: Rape and Buggery.* The offender described perpetrating sexual violence over several hours involving multiple sexual incidents. Leading up to the offence, the participant noted that his employment gave him access to “drunk stranger women”, and that his previous sexual offences had not “lived up to my expectations”. He reported feeling exhilarated, confident, calm, and content.

*Elation*

The bottom right quadrant of the plot depicts the emotions characterised as ‘elation’. The 7 items included are (1) pleased, (2) enthusiastic, (3) thoughtful, (4) excited, (5) delighted, (6) courageous, and (7) manly. The presence of ‘thoughtful’ in this theme seems peculiar and will be addressed in the discussion section. Case 44 below shows an example of an offender classified under ‘elated’.

*Case 44: Indecent Assault.* The offender described how he would see females walking towards him with either “large breasts or bra-less and their breasts would be bouncing”. He noted that he would follow these females until he had an opportunity to approach them from behind where he would “squeeze” their breasts before running away. He reported feeling pleased, enthusiastic, thoughtful, excited, delighted, courageous, and manly.

*Depression*

The bottom left quadrant of the plot depicts the emotions characterised as ‘depressed’. The 8 items are (1) lonely, (2) scared, (3) worried, (4) depressed, (5) sad, (6) confused, (7) miserable, and (8) pointless. The items included in this theme seem to be emotions directed inward and represent a general sense of depression in comparison to those included in the distressed theme such as anger which can be directed outward. Case 23 below shows an example of an offender classified under ‘depression’.

*Case 23: Murder.* The participant described how he booked a taxi with the intention of robbing the driver. However, he said the victim fought back which resulted in him stabbing him with a knife. In the lead up to the offence, the participant said he had unmanageable debt, depression, stress from life, and emotional troubles from relationships. He reported feeling lonely, scared, worried, depressed, sad, confused, miserable, and pointless.

*Distress*

The upper left quadrant of the plot depicts the emotions characterised as ‘distressed’. The 5 items are (1) upset, (2) annoyed, (3) angry, (4) irritated, and (5) unhappy. The items in this theme seem more reactive than those in the depressed theme. The emotions ‘upset’ and ‘unhappy’ have been included in this theme because they seem to be the lowest intensity of distress whereas ‘angry’ is the highest intensity. Case 22 below shows an example of an offender classified under ‘distress’.

*Case 22: Murder.* The participant noted that he had been sexually abused by the victim in the past. He described how he had flashbacks, “lost the plot and battered him to death”. He reported feeling scared, upset, annoyed, angry, irritated, and unhappy.

**Relationship between Themes of Emotions and Russell’s Circumplex (1997)**

Russell’s (1997) Circumplex Model of Affect can be applied to the emotional experience of crime. As shown in Figure 1, the four themes consistent with the model were identified: calm, elation, depression, and distress. There is a clear pronounced separation between pleasant and unpleasant emotions with pleasant emotions depicted on the right of the plot and unpleasant emotions on the left. The separation between emotions on the arousal axis were less pronounced although could be distinguished.

**Scales of Emotions**

Once themes had been identified, it was important to determine whether they were reliable; the assumption being that items combine to explain an underlying dimension. As such, items should relate to each other. Cronbach’s alpha was used to test the reliability of themes where reliability coefficients range from 0 and 1. Therefore, themes showing internal consistency would have a value closer to 1. Researchers (e.g. Tavakol & Dennick, 2011) advise a value of .7 and above shows acceptable internal consistency. The results are displayed in table 1 which shows that all four themes have high internal consistency.

Table 11.1. Scales of Emotions

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Emotion Theme | Number of items | Cronbach’s α |
| Calm  Elation  Depression  Distress | 6  7  8  5 | .86  .88  .91  .85 |

**Testing the Framework**

Cases were analysed separately in order to explore the regional thematic split of the SSA plot. This was to determine whether cases should be classified into specific themes. Irrespective of the offence committed, the SSA assigned cases into four thematic themes. It is acknowledged that offenders may relate to more than one theme, however, the majority of cases would be expected to identify with one specific theme. In order to validate the framework of emotions, it is therefore important to determine whether individual cases can be categorised into one of the four themes.

Each case was assigned a percentage to represent the extent to which it related to each theme. It was felt that the use of percentages was most suited to reflect the dominant theme because there was a different number of items in each theme (Ioannou et al., 2016). Furthermore, Ioannou (2006) outlined two criteria to test the framework. Criterion I dictated themes based on which had the highest percentage. Conversely, Criterion II was much more stringent where the dominant theme must be greater than, or proportionately equal to (+ 5%), the percentages of the other themes added together.

*Criterion I*

Based on criterion I, the most dominant theme in each case was the theme which had the highest percentage attributed to it. For example, in case number 6, calm scored 93.33%, elation scored 68.57%, distressed scored 52%, and depression scored 20%. Therefore, the dominant theme was distress.

*Criterion II*

Based on criterion II, the most dominant theme in each case was determined if the highest percentage was larger, or fairly equal to (+ 5%), the other themes added together. For example, in case number 22, calm scored 20%, elation scored 20%, distress scored 100%, and depression scored 42.5%. Therefore, the dominant theme was distress.

If a case had a similarly high percentages (within 5%) in two themes then it was considered a hybrid, e.g. case number 36, calm scored 20%, elation scored 20%, distress scored 100%, and depression scored 100%. This case was therefore considered a hybrid between distress and depression. This method has been used is various studies in this type of research (e.g. Canter & Fritzon, 1998; Salfati, 2000; Ioannou, 2006, Goodlad, Ioannou & Hammond, 2018).

Using Criterion I, all cases could be classified as either pure type or hybrid themes, 93.02% (N = 80) could be classified as pure type and 6.98% (N = 6) could be classified as a hybrid. The most frequent pure type was ‘distress’ representing 41.86% of cases. Few cases were classified as a hybrid indicating that emotions experienced during offending tended to be restricted to only one. See table 11.2 for the number of cases assigned to each theme.

Using Criterion II, which was much more stringent than Criterion I, only 12.79% of cases could be classified as either pure type or as a hybrid between two. 6.98% (N=6) could be classified as distress, 1.16% (N=1) could be classified as elation, 1.16% (N=1) could be classified a depression, and 3.49% (N=3) could be classified as a hybrid between distress and depression. See table 11.2 for the number of cases assigned to each theme.

Table 11.2. Number of cases assigned to each emotion theme according to Criterion I and Criterion II.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Criterion I | | Criterion II | |
| Theme | N | % | N | % |
| Distress | 36 | 41.86 | 6 | 6.98 |
| Calm | 18 | 20.93 | 0 | 0 |
| Elation | 14 | 16.28 | 1 | 1.16 |
| Depression | 12 | 13.95 | 1 | 1.16 |
| Distress-Depression | 6 | 6.98 | 3 | 3.49 |

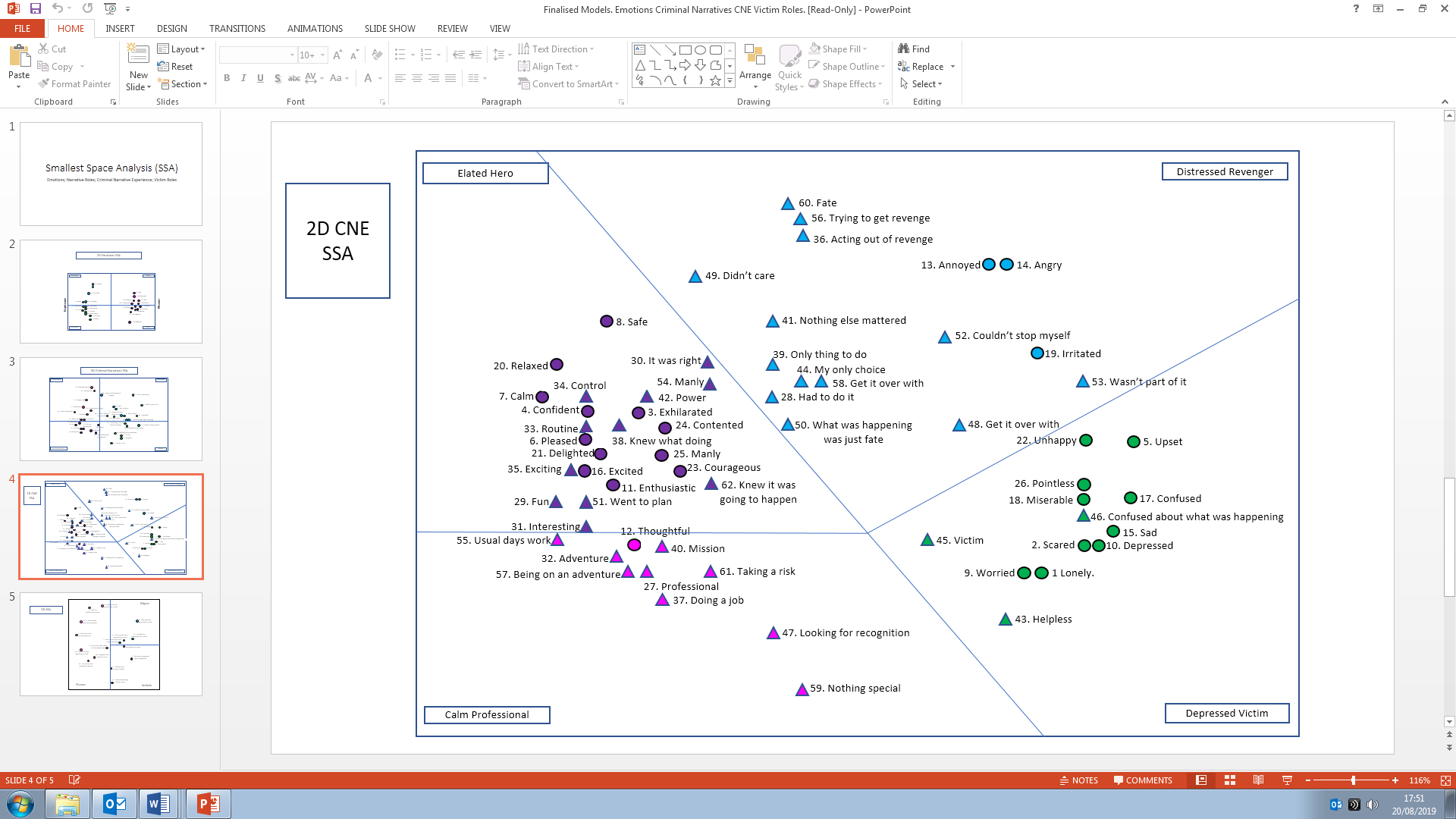
**Chapter 12**

**Study 3: The Criminal Narrative Experience of Male Perpetrators Convicted of Interpersonal Crime**

This chapter outlines study three which aimed to explore the CNE (criminal narratives and emotions together) of male perpetrators of interpersonal crime in the high security estate. In line with previous findings (e.g. Ioannou, 2006; Spruin et al. (2014), Dedeloudis, 2016; Goodlad et al., 2018), it was hypothesised that separate CNE would be categorised into distinct regions. These regions would represent Ioannou et al.’s CNE framework (calm professional, elated hero, depressed victim, and distressed revenger). The null hypothesis was that no distinctions would be able to be drawn in relation to distinguishing specific CNE themes.

**Smallest Space Analysis**

Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) was completed on both 26 items in the emotion questionnaire, and the 36 items in the criminal narrative roles questionnaire. Figure 1 shows the distribution of all 62 items across 84 cases. This was completed to identify the CNE of male offenders in the high security estate. The resulting two-dimensional SSA has a Guttman-Lingoes coefficient of alienation of 0.17277 indicating a good fit between the Pearson’s coefficients of the narrative roles and emotions variables and their location represented in the geometric space. The labels presented in figure 1 summarise the items (see Appendix E).

**Figure 12.1.** One by two projection of the two-dimensional smallest space analysis of emotions and criminal narrative roles with regional interpretation of CNE themes.

Note. Coefficient of Alienation = 0.17277

**Themes of Emotions and Criminal Narrative Roles**

It was hypothesised that the emotions and criminal narrative roles would present in distinct regions and the SSA plot was examined to test this. Four distinct regions can be identified which are consistent with those previously identified by Ioannou (2006) and Ioannou et al. (2016) in the CNE framework (Calm Professional, Elated Hero, Depressed Victim, and Distressed Revenger).

*Calm Professional*

Located in the lower left quadrant of the plot, the 10 items which characterise the Calm Professional are (1) thoughtful, (2) I was like a professional, (3) it was like an adventure, (4) I was doing a job, (5) it was a mission, (6) I was looking for recognition, (7) for me it was just like a usual days work, (8) it was like being on an adventure, (9) there was nothing special about what happened, and (10) I knew I was taking a risk. This region incorporates the Calm theme of emotions and the Professional theme from narrative roles. Case 87 below shows an example of an offender categorised as ‘calm professional’.

*Case 87: Robbery.* The participant described how he and his friends went on a ‘robbing spree’. He reported feeling thoughtful, and that he was like a professional, it was like an adventure, he was doing a job, it was a mission, he was looking for recognition, it was a usual days work, it was like being on an adventure, and he knew he was taking a risk.

*Elated Hero*

Located in the upper left quadrant of the plot, the 23 elements forming the Elated Hero are (1) exhilarated, (2) confident, (3) pleased, (4) calm, (5) safe, (6) enthusiastic, (7) excited, (8) relaxed, (9) delighted, (10) courageous, (11) contented, (12) manly, (13) it was fun, (14) it was right, (15) it was interesting, (16) it was routine, (17) I was in control, (18) it was exciting, (19) I knew what I was doing, (20) I had power, (21) it all went to plan, (22) it was the manly thing to do, and (23) I guess I always knew it was going to happen. This region incorporates the Elated theme of emotions and Hero theme of narrative roles. Case 54 below shows an example of an offender categorised under ‘elated hero’.

*Case 54: Grievous Bodily Harm with Intent.* The participant said he had been told by his co-defendant that the man sitting next to him had raped a child. He said that because of what had happened to his sister when she was younger, all of his emotions surfaced, and he tortured the victim for 18 hours using different weapons. He reported that he felt exhilarated, confident, pleased, calm, enthusiastic, safe, excited, delighted, courageous, contented, and manly. He also reported that it was fun, right, interesting, routine, he was in control, it was exciting, he knew what he was doing, he had power, it was the manly thing to do, and he always knew it was going to happen.

*Depressed Victim*

Located in the lower right quadrant of the plot, the 13 items which characterise the Depressed Victim are (1) lonely, (2) scared, (3) upset, (4) worried, (5) depressed, (6) sad, (7) confused, (8) miserable, (9) unhappy, (10) pointless, (11) I was helpless, (12) I was a victim, and (13) I was confused about what was happening. This region incorporates the Depressed theme of emotions and the Victim theme of narrative roles. Case 9 below shows an example of an offender categorised as ‘depressed victim’.

*Case 9: Arson with Intent to Endanger Life.* The participant described how he set fire to a piece of carpet and put it in the letterbox. He said he was mentally and physically exhausted, had no one to turn to, and took his feelings out on society. He reported feeling lonely, scared, upset, worried, depressed, sad, confused, miserable, unhappy, and pointless. He also said he was a victim and he was confused about what was happening.

*Distressed Revenger*

Located in the upper right quadrant of the plot, the 16 items which characterise the Distressed Revenger are (1) annoyed, (2) angry, (3) irritated, (4) I had to do it, (5) I was acting out of revenge, (6) it was the only thing to do, (7) nothing else mattered, (8) it was my only choice, (9) I just wanted to get it over with, (10) I didn’t care what would happen, (11) what was happening was just fate, (12) I couldn’t’ stop myself, (13) it was like I wasn’t part of it, (14) I was trying to get revenge, (15) it was the only thing I could think of doing, and (16) I was getting my own back. This region incorporates the Distressed theme of emotions and the Revenger theme of narrative roles. Case 7 below shows an example of an offender categorised as ‘distressed revenger’.

*Case 7: Kidnapping and Threats to Kill.* The participant described how he tied a woman and her lodger up and was ready to kill them. He said she was a “piss-taker” and she was taking the piss out of the person he was caring for. He reported feeling annoyed, angry, irritated. He also said he had to do it, he was acting out of revenge, it was the only thing to do, nothing else mattered, it was his only choice, he just wanted to get it over with, he didn’t care what would happen, it was just fate, he couldn’t stop himself, it was like he wasn’t part of it, he was trying to get revenge, it was the only thing he could think of doing, and he was getting his own back.

**Scales of CNE Themes**

Four CNE themes were identified as representing distinct themes of criminal behaviour. Therefore, the emotions and narrative roles linked to each should create a scale characterising an underlying dimension. To test the reliability of each scale, Cronbach’s alpha was performed on each of the themes. These are presented in table 1 where Cronbach’s alpha shows a high degree of association between the items in each of the four themes.

Table 12.1. Scales of CNE Themes.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| CNE Theme | Number of items | Cronbach’s α |
| Calm Professional  Elated Hero  Distressed Revenger  Depressed Victim | 10  23  13  16 | .798  .974  .919  .852 |

**Testing the Framework**

Cases were analysed separately in order to explore the regional thematic split of the SSA plot. This was to determine whether cases should be classified into specific themes. Irrespective of the offence committed, the SSA assigned cases into four thematic themes. It is acknowledged that offenders may relate to more than one theme, however, the majority of cases would be expected to identify with one specific theme. In order to validate the CNE framework, it is therefore important to determine whether individual cases can be categorised into one of the four themes.

Each case was assigned a percentage to represent the extent to which it related to each theme. It was felt that the use of percentages was most suited to reflect the dominant theme because there was a different number of items in each theme (Ioannou et al., 2016). there was a different number of items in each theme (Ioannou et al., 2016). Furthermore, Ioannou (2006) outlined two criteria to test the framework. Criterion I dictated themes based on which had the highest percentage. Conversely, Criterion II was much more stringent where the dominant theme must be greater than, or proportionately equal to (+ 5%), the percentages of the other themes added together.

*Criterion I*

Based on criterion I, the most dominant theme in each case was the theme which had the highest percentage attributed to it. For example, in case number 63, calm professional scored 24%, elated hero scored 22.61%, depressed victim scored 53.75%, and distressed revenger scored 89.23%. Therefore, the dominant theme was distressed revenger.

*Criterion II*

Based on criterion II, the most dominant theme in each case was determined if the highest percentage was larger, or fairly equal to (+ 5%), the other themes added together. For example, in case number 78, calm professional scored 20%, elated hero scored 0%, distressed revenger scored 0%, and depressed victim scored 76.92%. Therefore, the dominant theme was depressed victim.

There were no cases where they could have belonged to more than one theme. If there was, it would have been classed as a hybrid. However, using criterion I, 100% of cases could be classified under the CNE themes. The most frequent theme was the Distressed Revenger (33.3%) followed by the Depressed Victim (32.1%). Using criterion II, 8.33% of cases could be classified under the CNE themes. The most frequent themes were the distressed revenger (3.57%) and depressed victim (3.57%). There were no cases assigned as calm profession using criterion II. See table 2 for the number of cases assigned to each theme.

Table 12.2. Number of cases assigned to each criminal narrative experience theme according to Criterion I and Criterion II.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Criterion I | | Criterion II | |
| Theme | N | % | N | % |
| Distressed Revenger | 28 | 33.33 | 3 | 3.57 |
| Depressed Victim | 27 | 32.14 | 3 | 3.57 |
| Elated Hero | 18 | 21.43 | 1 | 1.19 |
| Calm Professional | 11 | 13.1 | 0 | 0 |

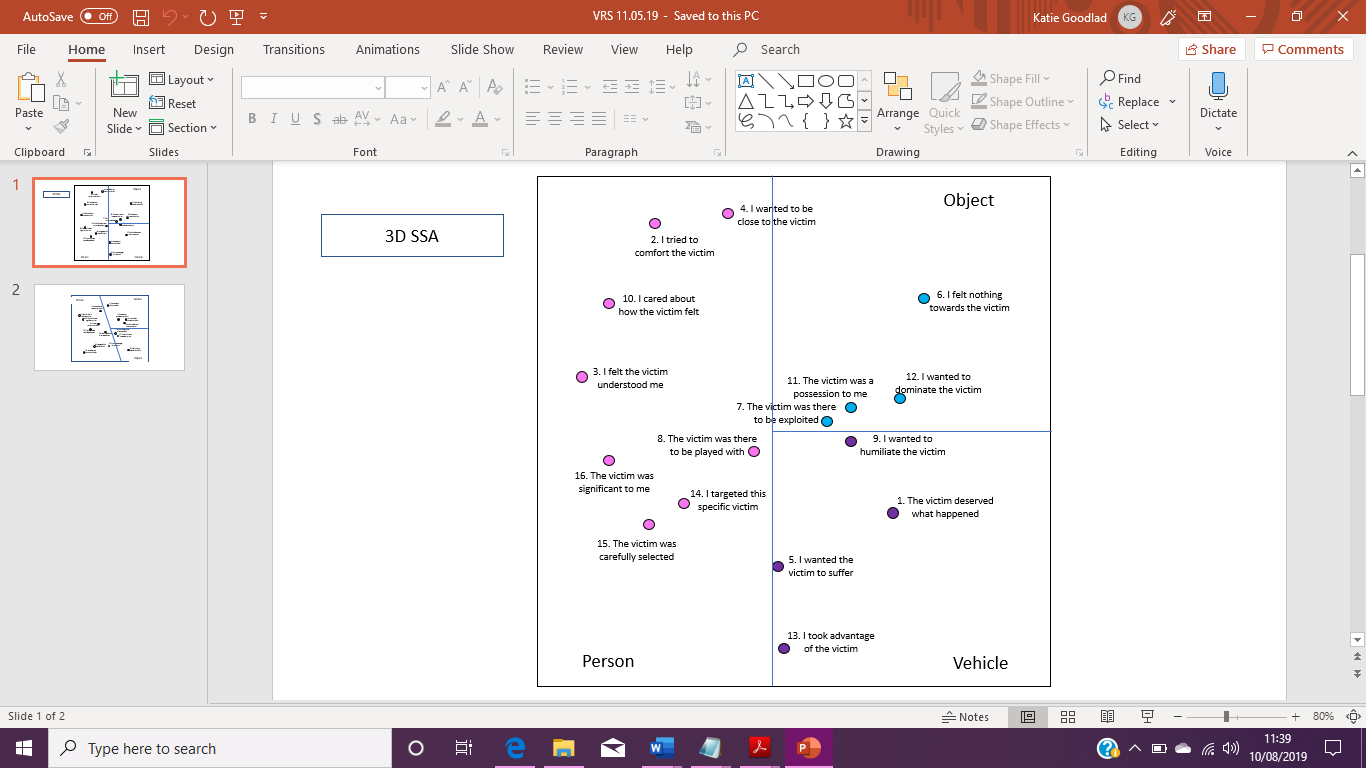
**Chapter 13**

**Study 4: Assignment of Victim Roles by Male Perpetrators Convicted of Interpersonal Crime**

This chapter outlines study four which aimed to explore the victim roles offenders assigned to victims during the commissioning of their crimes. There is little research into this area, but it was hypothesised that victim roles would be distinguished in line with Canter’s Victim Role Model (object, vehicle, and person). The null hypothesis was that victim roles could not be distinguished from each other. A secondary objective was to explore the relationship between CNE themes and victim roles.

**Smallest Space Analysis (SSA)**

SSA was conducted on the 16 items of the Victim Roles Scale. Figure 13.1 shows the distribution of items across 64 cases. This was completed in order to identify what victim roles offenders assign to victims. As outlined in the methodology, not all participants completed the Victim Roles Scale meaning that there were fewer cases to analyse. The resulting three-dimensional SSA has a Guttman-Lingoes coefficient of alienation of 0.14024 indicating an adequate fit between the Pearson’s coefficient of victim role variables and their location represented in the geometric space. The labels presented in figure 1 summarise the items (see Appendix E).



**Figure 13.1.** One by two projection of the three-dimensional smallest space analysis of victim roles with regional interpretation of victim role themes.

Note. Coefficient of Alienation = 0.14024.

**Themes of Victim Roles**

To test the hypothesis that victim roles would present in distinct regions, the SSA plot was examined. From this, victim roles appear to form three themes previously suggested by Canter (1994) in the Victim Role Model: ‘Object’, ‘Vehicle’, and ‘Person’.

*Object*

Located in the upper right quadrant in the plot, the 4 elements that can be conceptually linked as ‘victim as object’ are (1) I felt nothing towards the victim’, (2) the victim was there to be exploited, (3) the victim was a possession to me, and (4) I wanted to dominate the victim. Case 55 below shows an example of an offender who saw his victim as an ‘object’.

*Case 55: Rape.* The participant described how he was play fighting with an 8-year-old boy and he thought it was ok to touch him to ‘get myself hard’. He also described how he thought it was ok to insert his penis inside him because his Dad raped him when he was young. He reported that he felt nothing towards the victim, he was there to be exploited, he was a possession, and he wanted to dominate him.

*Vehicle*

Located in the lower right quadrant of the plot, the 4 elements that can be conceptually linked as ‘victim as vehicle’ are (1) The victim deserved what happened, (2) I wanted the victim to suffer, (3) I wanted to humiliate the victim, and (4) I took advantage of the victim. Case 43 below shows an example of an offender who viewed his victim as a ‘vehicle’.

*Case 43: Robbery and Assault.* The participant stated that someone owed him money for drugs, so he hit and robbed him. He reported that the victim deserved what happened and he took advantage of him.

*Person*

Located in the left quadrant of the plot, the 8 elements that can be conceptually linked as ‘victim as person’ are (1) I tried to comfort the victim, (2) I felt the victim understood me, (3) I wanted to be close to the victim, (4) the victim was there to be played with, (5) I cared about how the victim felt, (6) I targeted this specific victim, (7) the victim was carefully selected, and (8) the victim was significant to me. Case 80 below shows an example of an offender who viewed his victim as a ‘person’.

*Case 80: Murder.* The participant described how he went to a house to collect money he was owed. He said the victim attacked him, so he picked up a knife and stabbed him once. He reported that he tried to comfort the victim, he felt the victim understood him, he cared about how the victim felt, he targeted that specific victim, and the victim was significant to him.

**Scales of Victim Role Themes**

Given that three Victim Role themes were identified to represent distinct themes of any given crime, the items attributed to each theme should form a scale representing some underlying dimension. To test the reliability of each theme, Cronbach’s alpha was applied. The results are presented in table 1 which show a high degree of association between the variables in each of the three themes.

Table 13.1. Scales of Victim Role Themes.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Victim Role Theme | Number of items | Cronbach’s α |
| Object  Vehicle  Person | 4  4  8 | .757  .666  .808 |

**Testing the Framework**

Cases were analyses separately in order to explore the regional thematic split of the SSA plot. This was to determine whether cases should be classified into specific themes. Irrespective of the offence committed, the SSA assigned cases into three thematic themes. It is acknowledged that offenders may relate to more than one theme, however, the majority of cases would be expected to identify with one specific theme. In order to validate the victim roles framework, it is therefore important to determine whether individual cases can be categorised into one of the three themes.

Each case was assigned a percentage to represent the extent to which it related to each theme. It was felt that the use of percentages was most suited to reflect the dominant theme because there was a different number of items in each theme (Ioannou et al., 2016). Furthermore, Ioannou (2006) outlined two criteria to test the framework. Criterion I dictated themes based on which had the highest percentage. Conversely, Criterion II was much more stringent where the dominant theme must be greater than, or proportionately equal to (+ 5%), the percentages of the other themes added together.

*Criterion I*

Based on criterion I, the most dominant theme in each case was the theme which had the highest percentage attributed to it. For example, in case number 23, object scored 25%, vehicle scored 8.33%, and person scored 16.67%. Therefore, the dominant them was victim as object.

*Criterion II*

Based on criterion II, the most dominant theme in each case was determined if the highest percentage was larger, or fairly equal to (+ 5%), the other themes added together. For example, in case number 56, object scored 0%, vehicle scored 8.33%, and person scored 75%. Therefore, the dominant them was victim as person.

If a case had a similarly high percentage in two themes, then it was considered a hybrid. Using criterion I, 95.24% of cases could be classified as either pure type or hybrid themes, 79.37% (n=50) could be classified as pure type and 15.87% (N=10) could be classified as hybrid. Using criterion II, 98.04% of cases could be classified. The most frequent pure type was person representing 31.75% of cases using criterion I and II. See table 13.2 for the number of cases assigned to each theme.

Table 13.2. Number of cases assigned to each Victim Role theme according to Criterion I and Criterion II.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Criterion I | | Criterion II | |
| Theme | N | % | N | % |
| Person | 20 | 31.75 | 20 | 31.75 |
| Object | 16 | 25.4 | 15 | 23.44 |
| Vehicle | 14 | 22.22 | 14 | 22.22 |
| Vehicle-Person | 4 | 6.35 | 3 | 4.76 |
| Object-Vehicle | 4 | 6.35 | 4 | 6.35 |
| Object-Person | 3 | 4.76 | 3 | 4.76 |
| Unclassified | 3 | 4.76 | 3 | 4.76 |

**The relationship between the Criminal Narrative Experience and Victim Roles**

The relationship between the Criminal Narrative Experience themes and Victim Roles were investigated using Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient. Preliminary analyses were performed to ensure no violation of the assumptions of normality, linearity, and homoscedasticity. There was a small, positive correlation between the calm professional CNE and the object victim role, r = .291, N = 61, p = .02, with those identifying with the calm professional also assigning the object role to victims.

There was also a small, positive relationship between the elated hero CNE and the object victim role, r = .292, N = 55, p = .03, with those identifying with the elated hero also assigning the object role to victims. There were no significant relationships between CNE themes and the vehicle or person victim role. The results are presented in table 13.3.

Table 13.3. Correlations between the CNE themes and Victim Roles.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Variables | Object | Vehicle | Person | CP | EH | DR | DV |
| Object  Vehicle  Person  Calm Professional (CP)  Elated Hero (EH)  Distressed Revenger (DR)  Depressed Victim (DV)  Mean  Standard Deviation  N | 1  .63\*\*  .42\*\*  .29\*  .29\*  -.01  -.21  18.75  24.85  64 | 1  .42\*\*  .19  .15  .15  -.2  18.01  20.37  62 | 1  .36  -.1  -.1  .07  23.57  23.76  61 | 1  .74\*\*  .042  -.21  19.95  8.7  84 | 1  .23  -.45\*\*  53.79  23.7  77 | 1  .23\*  43.13  14.06  76 | 1  30.93  13.8  83 |

\* significant at <.05 level

\*\* significant at <.01 level

**Chapter 14**

**Study 5: The Criminal Narrative Experience and Schemas**

This chapter outlines study five which aimed to explore whether there are any links between schemas and the CNE themes. Given that, to the researcher’s knowledge, no research has been completed into this, no hypotheses were made.

**Criminal Narrative Experience and Early Maladaptive Schemas**

In order to explore whether the presence of schemas influenced an offenders’ CNE, independent samples t-tests were completed with each of the schemas separately with the CNE themes. Given the way the data was coded (i.e. present or not present) and the co-morbidity of schemas, this test was identified as most appropriate. The potential of this being a confounding variable will be addressed in the discussion section. A Bonferroni adjusted alpha level of .003 was applied (.05/17) due to the number of t-tests completed. Subjugation was not included as none of the participants had this schema. The results are presented in tables 14.1, 14.2, 14.3, and 14.4.

*Elated Hero*

Table 14.1. Independent samples t-test results for the Elated Hero CNE with each schema.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Schema |  | N | M | SD | *t* | *Df* | p (two-tailed) |
| Abandonment | Not Present | 10 | 52.80 | 24.85 | .07 | 51 | .95 |
| Present | 43 | 52.26 | 22.57 |
| Mistrust | Not Present | 46 | 53.48 | 23.23 | -.99 | 52 | .33 |
| Present | 8 | 44.88 | 17.85 |
| Emotional Deprivation | Not Present | 7 | 40.14 | 13.56 | -1.53 | 52 | .13 |
| Present | 47 | 54.00 | 23.20 |
| Defectiveness | Not Present | 16 | 52.63 | 23.58 | -.03 | 51 | .98 |
| Present | 37 | 52.81 | 22.25 |
| Social Isolation | Not Present | 5 | 41.80 | 21.93 | -1.18 | 49 | .25 |
| Present | 46 | 54.24 | 22.54 |
| Dependence | Not Present | 8 | 50.50 | 12.32 | -.47 | 18.17 | .64 |
| Present | 45 | 53.16 | 23.86 |
| Vulnerability | Not Present | 9 | 40.22 | 17.03 | -1.88 | 51 | .07 |
| Present | 44 | 55.32 | 22.69 |
| Enmeshment | Not Present | 12 | 3.08 | 3.94 | -1.07 | 51 | .29 |
| Present | 47 | 6.45 | 5.99 |
| Failure to Achieve | Not Present | 22 | 54.86 | 22.97 | .57 | 51 | .57 |
| Present | 31 | 51.26 | 22.30 |
| Entitlement | Not Present | 5 | 43.40 | 23.73 | -1. | 49 | .32 |
| Present | 46 | 54.17 | 22.71 |
| Insufficient Self-Control | Not Present | 8 | 44.38 | 22.56 | -1.16 | 50 | .25 |
| Present | 44 | 54.46 | 22.54 |
| Self-Sacrifice | Not Present | 6 | 57.00 | 21.15 | .49 | 51 | .63 |
| Present | 47 | 52.21 | 22.75 |
| Approval-Seeking | Not Present | 10 | 36.20 | 11.81 | -4.01 | 26.76 | .000\* |
| Present | 43 | 56.61 | 22.64 |
| Negativity | Not Present | 8 | 49.00 | 21.58 | -.51 | 51 | .61 |
| Present | 45 | 53.42 | 22.75 |
| Emotional Inhibition | Not Present | 4 | 44.75 | 15.56 | -.74 | 51 | .46 |
| Present | 49 | 53.41 | 22.89 |
| Unrelenting Standards | Not Present | 5 | 39.80 | 17.54 | -1.38 | 50 | .18 |
| Present | 47 | 54.32 | 22.79 |
| Punitiveness | Not Present | 7 | 52.29 | 21.04 | -.06 | 51 | .95 |
| Present | 46 | 52.83 | 22.85 |

\*\*\* significant at the <.001 level.

There was a significant difference between offenders with and without the approval seeking/recognition schema, *t*(26.76) = -4.01, p < .001, with those with approval seeking/recognition schema scoring higher (M = 56.61, SD = 22.64) than those without the approval seeking/recognition schema (M = 36.2, SD = 11.81) on the Elated Hero CNE theme. The magnitude of the differences in means (mean difference = -20.4, 95% CI: -30.85 - -9.96) was large (eta squared = .49).

*Distressed Revenger*

Table 14.2. Independent samples t-test results for the Distressed Revenger CNE with each schema.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Schema |  | N | M | SD | *t* | *Df* | p (two-tailed) |
| Abandonment | Not Present | 9 | 40.89 | 17.14 | .13 | 49 | .89 |
| Present | 42 | 40.24 | 12.25 |
| Mistrust | Not Present | 7 | 38 | 11.89 | -.5 | 50 | .62 |
| Present | 45 | 40.64 | 13.17 |
| Emotional Deprivation | Not Present | 6 | 42.5 | 11.95 | .34 | 51 | .74 |
| Present | 47 | 40.55 | 13.54 |
| Defectiveness | Not Present | 15 | 41.87 | 14.75 | .56 | 50 | .58 |
| Present | 37 | 39.65 | 12.27 |
| Social Isolation | Not Present | 3 | 48.67 | 9.29 | 1.16 | 49 | .25 |
| Present | 48 | 39.71 | 13.14 |
| Dependence | Not Present | 5 | 38 | 11.23 | -.41 | 50 | .68 |
| Present | 47 | 40.53 | 13.18 |
| Vulnerability | Not Present | 10 | 40 | 11.8 | -.08 | 50 | .94 |
| Present | 42 | 40.36 | 13.31 |
| Enmeshment | Not Present | 16 | 39.13 | 12.35 | -.43 | 50 | .67 |
| Present | 36 | 40.81 | 13.31 |
| Failure to Achieve | Not Present | 19 | 39.84 | 14.09 | -.19 | 50 | .85 |
| Present | 33 | 40.55 | 12.43 |
| Entitlement | Not Present | 4 | 41 | 5.1 | .18 | 48 | .86 |
| Present | 46 | 39.87 | 12.64 |
| Insufficient Self-Control | Not Present | 10 | 34.1 | 8.81 | -1.82 | 49 | .08 |
| Present | 41 | 42.17 | 13.28 |
| Self-Sacrifice | Not Present | 5 | 40 | 14.3 | -.05 | 50 | .96 |
| Present | 47 | 40.32 | 12.94 |
| Approval-Seeking | Not Present | 12 | 37.5 | 9.28 | -.85 | 50 | .4 |
| Present | 40 | 41.13 | 13.82 |
| Negativity | Not Present | 7 | 40.14 | 8.47 | -.03 | 50 | .98 |
| Present | 45 | 40.31 | 13.56 |
| Emotional Inhibition | Not Present | 3 | 38.33 | 7.1 | -.27 | 50 | .79 |
| Present | 49 | 40.41 | 13.23 |
| Unrelenting Standards | Not Present | 5 | 35.4 | 11.93 | -.9 | 49 | .38 |
| Present | 46 | 40.89 | 13.17 |
| Punitiveness | Not Present | 5 | 40.4 | 10.07 | .02 | 50 | .98 |
| Present | 47 | 40.28 | 13.28 |

There were no significant results indicating a link between the Distressed Revenger and any of the schemas.

*Calm Professional*

Table 14.3. Independent samples t-test results for the Calm Professional CNE with each Schema.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Schema |  | N | M | SD | *t* | *Df* | p (two-tailed) |
| Abandonment | Not Present | 11 | 17.91 | 8.77 | -.61 | 57 | .54 |
| Present | 48 | 19.52 | 7.69 |
| Mistrust | Not Present | 9 | 19.00 | 7.95 | -.08 | 58 | .93 |
| Present | 51 | 19.24 | 7.84 |
| Emotional Deprivation | Not Present | 8 | 19.25 | 7.72 | -.01 | 59 | .99 |
| Present | 53 | 19.28 | 7.82 |
| Defectiveness | Not Present | 17 | 21.00 | 9.17 | 1.01 | 24.12 | .32 |
| Present | 43 | 18.49 | 7.16 |
| Social Isolation | Not Present | 5 | 14.80 | 7.16 | -1.34 | 56 | .19 |
| Present | 53 | 19.72 | 7.90 |
| Dependence | Not Present | 8 | 21.25 | 4.43 | .80 | 58 | .43 |
| Present | 52 | 18.89 | 8.16 |
| Vulnerability | Not Present | 12 | 17.08 | 6.91 | -1.05 | 58 | .3 |
| Present | 48 | 19.73 | 7.97 |
| Enmeshment | Not Present | 18 | 19.28 | 7.19 | -.01 | 57 | 1. |
| Present | 41 | 19.29 | 8.17 |
| Failure to Achieve | Not Present | 23 | 21.35 | 8.41 | 1.71 | 58 | .09 |
| Present | 37 | 17.87 | 7.17 |
| Entitlement | Not Present | 5 | 18.60 | 11.35 | -.18 | 56 | .86 |
| Present | 53 | 19.25 | 7.53 |
| Insufficient Self-Control | Not Present | 11 | 19.46 | 10.11 | .15 | 12.48 | .89 |
| Present | 48 | 18.98 | 7.28 |
| Self-Sacrifice | Not Present | 6 | 23.17 | 9.83 | 1.32 | 58 | .19 |
| Present | 54 | 18.76 | 7.51 |
| Approval-Seeking | Not Present | 13 | 17.15 | 7.49 | -1.07 | 58 | .29 |
| Present | 47 | 19.77 | 7.85 |
| Negativity | Not Present | 9 | 18.56 | 8.10 | -.27 | 58 | .79 |
| Present | 51 | 19.31 | 7.81 |
| Emotional Inhibition | Not Present | 4 | 17.50 | 6.61 | -.45 | 58 | .66 |
| Present | 56 | 19.32 | 7.90 |
| Unrelenting Standards | Not Present | 6 | 15.50 | 6.57 | -1.23 | 57 | .22 |
| Present | 53 | 19.64 | 7.93 |
| Punitiveness | Not Present | 7 | 20.71 | 7.91 | .54 | 58 | .59 |
| Present | 53 | 19. | 7.82 |

There were no significant results indicating a link between the Calm Professional and any of the schemas.

*Depressed Victim*

Table 14.4. Independent samples t-test results for the Depressed Victim CNE with each Schema.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Schema |  | N | M | SD | *t* | *Df* | p (two-tailed) |
| Abandonment | Not Present | 11 | 23.73 | 15.13 | -2.07 | 57 | .04 |
| Present | 48 | 33.48 | 13.91 |
| Mistrust | Not Present | 9 | 22.67 | 15.40 | -2.01 | 58 | .049 |
| Present | 51 | 32.96 | 13.95 |
| Emotional Deprivation | Not Present | 8 | 26.88 | 16.03 | -.91 | 59 | .37 |
| Present | 53 | 31.89 | 14.28 |
| Defectiveness | Not Present | 18 | 28.61 | 16.25 | -.98 | 58 | .33 |
| Present | 42 | 32.62 | 13.75 |
| Social Isolation | Not Present | 5 | 27.00 | 20.46 | -.66 | 56 | .51 |
| Present | 53 | 31.55 | 14.14 |
| Dependence | Not Present | 8 | 30.13 | 18.83 | -/27 | 58 | .79 |
| Present | 52 | 31.62 | 13.97 |
| Vulnerability | Not Present | 12 | 28.67 | 16.46 | -.73 | 58 | .47 |
| Present | 48 | 32.10 | 14.11 |
| Enmeshment | Not Present | 18 | 32.50 | 17.87 | .33 | 25.12 | .74 |
| Present | 42 | 30.95 | 13.05 |
| Failure to Achieve | Not Present | 24 | 28.21 | 14.34 | -1.41 | 58 | .16 |
| Present | 36 | 33.56 | 14.44 |
| Entitlement | Not Present | 5 | 27.40 | 19.14 | -.65 | 56 | .52 |
| Present | 53 | 31.89 | 14.27 |
| Insufficient Self-Control | Not Present | 11 | 27.36 | 14.42 | -1.09 | 57 | .28 |
| Present | 48 | 32.65 | 14.51 |
| Self-Sacrifice | Not Present | 6 | 25.83 | 15.09 | -.99 | 58 | .33 |
| Present | 54 | 32.04 | 14.47 |
| Approval-Seeking | Not Present | 13 | 29.54 | 16.16 | -.52 | 58 | .60 |
| Present | 47 | 31.94 | 14.18 |
| Negativity | Not Present | 9 | 26.89 | 18.76 | -1.02 | 58 | .31 |
| Present | 51 | 32.22 | 13.72 |
| Emotional Inhibition | Not Present | 4 | 23.50 | 10.08 | -1.13 | 58 | .26 |
| Present | 56 | 31.98 | 14.69 |
| Unrelenting Standards | Not Present | 6 | 25.67 | 17.73 | -1.07 | 57 | .29 |
| Present | 53 | 32.34 | 14.16 |
| Punitiveness | Not Present | 7 | 24.43 | 16.39 | -1.36 | 58 | .18 |
| Present | 53 | 32.34 | 14.17 |

There were no significant results indicating a link between the Depressed Victim and any of the schemas.

**Chapter 15**

**Study 6: The Impact of Offence Type on the Criminal Narrative Experience and Victim Role Assignment**

**Criminal Narrative Experience and Offence Type**

As previously outlined, the study has explored both emotions and criminal narratives across the entire sample. Consequently, it has not distinguished offence types and how it may influence an offender’s CNE. This chapter therefore explores whether there are differences in CNE based on offence type. Offence types have been classified as either sexual or violent in nature. Sexual offences include offences from indecent assault to rape whereas violent offences include offences from wounding to murder.

Independent samples t-tests were completed to compare CNE themes between offence types (sex and violence). There were no significant results indicating a difference between offence type on the criminal narrative experience themes. The results are presented in Table 15.1.

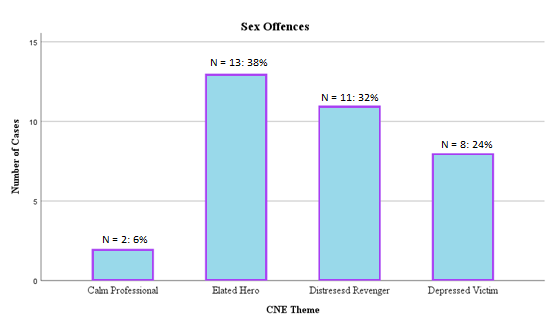
Table 15.1. Independent samples t-test results for offence type with the criminal narrative experience themes.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Theme | Offence Type | N | M | SD | *T* | *df* | p (two-tailed) |
| Elated Hero | Sex | 32 | 58.75 | 24.31 | 1.56 | 75 | .12 |
| Violence | 45 | 50.27 | 22.88 |
| Distressed Revenger | Sex | 29 | 41.97 | 15.93 | -.57 | 74 | .57 |
| Violence | 47 | 43.85 | 12.91 |
| Calm Professional | Sex | 35 | 19.69 | 7.52 | -.24 | 82 | .81 |
| Violence | 49 | 20.14 | 9.53 |
| Depressed Victim | Sex | 33 | 28.52 | 12.88 | -1.3 | 81 | .2 |
| Violence | 50 | 32.52 | 14.27 |

**Assigning Cases to Themes According to Offence Type**

In chapter three, the 84 cases were assigned to themes which showed how many cases identified with each of the CNE themes. Table 15.2 and 15.3 explores this further and breaks down the number of cases assigned to each theme based on offence type.

Figure 15.1 shows that the most common CNE theme for sex offenders is the elated hero (38.24%), followed by the distressed revenger (32.35%), depressed victim (23.53%), and calm professional (5.88%). Conversely, figure 15.1 shows that the most common CNE them for violent offenders is the depressed victim (38%), followed by the distressed revenger (34%), calm professional (18%), and elated hero (10%).



N=9; 18%

Figure 15.1: Number of sex offences assigned to each Criminal Narrative Experience theme.

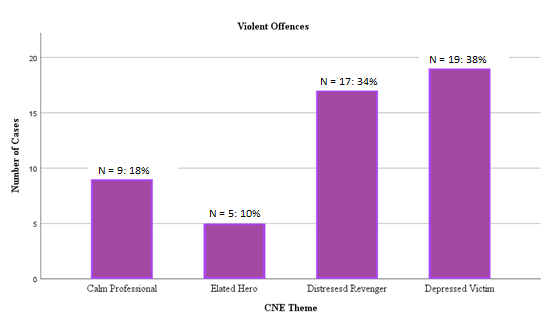


Figure 15.2: Number of violent offences assigned to each Criminal Narrative Experience Theme.

**The Relationship between Victim Roles and Offence Type**

Independent samples t-tests were completed to compare Victim Roles between offence types (sex and violence). There were no significant results indicating a difference between offence type on victim role assignment. The results are presented in Table 15.2.

Table 15.2. Independent samples t-test results for offence type with the victim role themes.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| Theme | Offence Type | N | M | SD | *t* | *df* | p (two-tailed) |
| Object | Sex | 24 | 2.71 | 3.14 | .95 | 62 | .35 |
| Violence | 40 | 1.98 | 2.89 |
| Vehicle | Sex | 22 | 2.00 | 1.69 | -.38 | 60 | .70 |
| Violence | 40 | 2.25 | 2.79 |
| Person | Sex | 22 | 5.32 | 5.01 | -.35 | 59 | .73 |
| Violence | 39 | 5.85 | 6.12 |

**Assigning Cases to Themes According to Offence Type**

In chapter 13, study four, the 64 cases were assigned to themes which showed how many cases identified with each of the victim role themes. Table 15.3 and 15.4 explores this further and breaks down the number of cases assigned to each theme based on offence type.

Table 15.3: Sexual Offences and their scores for each Victim Role.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Theme | N | % |
| Object  Person  Vehicle  Object-Person  Object-Vehicle  Vehicle-Person  Unclassified | 8  6  5  2  1  1  1 | 33.33  25  20.83  8.33  4.17  4.17  4.17 |

Table 15.4: Violent Offences and their scores for each Victim Role.

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Theme | N | % |
| Person  Vehicle  Object  Object-Vehicle  Vehicle-Person  Object-Person  Unclassified | 14  9  8  3  3  1  2 | 35  22.5  20  7.5  7.5  2.5  5 |

Table 15.3 shows that the most common victim role for sex offenders is the object (33.33%), followed by person (25%), vehicle (20.83%). Conversely, table 15.4 shows that the most common victim role for violent offenders is the person (35%), followed by vehicle (22.5%), object (20%).

**Part 4**

**Discussion and Conclusion**

**Chapter 16**

**Discussion**

The overall aim of the study was to explore the Criminal Narrative Experience of male perpetrators of interpersonal crime located in the high security prison estate. In order to do this, the following factors were considered: 1) Criminal Narratives, 2) Emotions, 3) Victim Roles, 4) Schemas, and 5) Offence Type. These factors were explored in separate studies which are outlined below.

**Criminal Narratives**

The first study aimed to explore the way offenders viewed themselves during the commissioning of their crimes. The results indicate the presence of four distinct themes consistent with the Criminal Narrative Framework: professional, hero, victim, and revenger. There was a high degree of association between variables in each of the themes as shown using reliability analysis. These findings mirror other studies into criminal narratives (e.g. Canter et al., 2003; Ioannou, 2006; Spruin, 2012; Ioannou et al., 2016; Dedeloudis, 2016) which provides further evidence to validate the framework. Most of the cases (98.82%) in the sample could be classified into one of the four themes or as a hybrid between two. Few cases were classified as a hybrid (2.35%) which indicates that narrative roles tended to be restricted to only one in this population.

The professional and hero themes were more positive constructs. The professional is in control and knows what they are doing in comparison to the hero who see offending as a fun adventure and seeks recognition. The victim and revenger themes were more negative constructs. On the one hand, the victim feels helpless, but offending was the only thing they could think of doing and they could not stop themselves. In contrast, the revenger was actively seeking revenge and offending was their only choice. Although two distinct themes were identified, there were some crossover between the two. For example, ‘I was getting my own back’ was captured in the victim theme. It could be argued that this is more fitting with the ‘revenger’ theme, but equally, it could be argued that the offender was getting their own back for being victimised and it acted as a justification for behaviour. The item ‘confused’ also seems unfitting with the revenger theme. It could be that this sense of confusion occurred after the offence where the offender has potentially reacted impulsively, and it is not until after the event that they are able to process the situation. If the behaviour is a loss of control, then maybe they are confused at how it happened.

In relation to the potential crossover between victim and revenger, instead of representing two separate themes, it could be argued that the victim and revenger roles could be merged to create one overarching theme. However, two separate themes have been presented in the current study because causes could be directly assigned to both themes. This indicates the presence of two separate narratives of offending which needed to be captured. The original theory, Frye’s (1957) Theory of Mythoi, proposed a cyclical movement where themes merge into each other to create hybrids. It would therefore be expected that victim and revenger roles could merge but distinctions can be made between the two.

The most frequent narrative role was the victim representing 43.53% of cases. This indicates that a large proportion of this population felt helpless, that nothing mattered but the offending incident, they were unable to stop themselves, and it was their only option. Considering this in the context of interpersonal crime, it could be that their actions were in response to something the victim had done which pre-empted the offending. This finding is partially consistently with Ioannou et al.’s (2015) research which attributed the revenger and victim roles with violence, murder, and sexual offences (thus, interpersonal crimes). This study has provided further support for the existence of Criminal Narratives and how it can be used to understand offending.

**Emotions**

The objective of the second study was to explore the emotions offenders felt whilst committing crime. The results indicate the presence of four distinct themes which mirror Russell’s (1997) Circumplex Model of Affect: calm, elation, depression, and distress. There was a high degree of association between variables in each of the themes as shown using reliability analysis. All cases (100%) could be classified into one of the four themes or as a hybrid between two. It is clear that Russell’s (1997) Circumplex Model of Affect can be applied to the emotional experience of crime in this population. There was a clear and pronounced distinction between positive and negative emotions along the pleasure axis. However, the distinction on the arousal axis was less pronounced which is consistent with other research. Ioannou (2006) found a clear distinction between pleasure and displeasure and noted that there was little variation between extremes of emotions. Similar to the current finding, Ioannou (2006) also noted that the arousal axis was less pronounced but that it could be distinguished. Spruin (2012) also found a clear distinction along the pleasure-displeasure axis and a less pronounced distinction on the arousal axis with regards to a mentally disordered population. Additionally, Dedeloudis (2016) found the same results in a population of violent offenders in Greece.

The calm and elation themes can be described as positive constructs. There is a general sense of confidence and contentment within the calm theme whereas the elation theme is characterised by a sense of excitement and positivity. Encompassed within the calm theme was the emotion ‘exhilarated’ which seems peculiar. It may be that there was a confounding variable that offenders identified exhilaration as a feeling which occurred after the offence, or that they were looking back in hindsight and viewed the incident in a positive light. See ‘limitations’ section for details regarding the impact of potential confounding variables. Similarly, ‘thoughtful’ was found in the elation theme which the researcher is unable to explain. Given the position of the item in the SSA plot, it could be that it is unfitting with either the calm or elated themes. It could be argued that ‘thoughtful’ is a state of mind/mood rather than an emotion (Beedie, Terry & Lane, 2005). Emotions are temporary where they can change gradually or quickly whereas states of mind are persistent and longer lasting. It could be helpful to explore this subtle difference between emotions and states of mind and consider how they impact on offending.

The distress and depression themes can be described as negative constructs. Depression seems to be characterised by emotions such as lonely which are directed inwardly and contribute to a sense of general depression. This is in contrast to distress which seems to be a more reactive state and shows a continuum from upset to anger.

Katz (1988) was a key figure in arguing how emotional states are key to offending behaviour. The most frequent emotion theme for this population was distress (40%). This suggests that a common driver of interpersonal crime is a range of negative feelings which serve to motivate the offender into action. Having insight into the role of distress in driving interpersonal crime is an important revelation to understand crime where the presence of distress is one situation where offending is more likely. Considering this in the context of the ‘interactional ritual theory’ (Collins, 2009), it seems that the presence of distress serves to help offenders overcome barriers and drives the resulting behaviour. This is also consistent with Katz’ (1988) proposal that emotions such as humiliation and vengeance act as permission givers for violent crime. This study shows the benefits of considering the role of emotions in offending and provides evidence of how the Circumplex Model of Affect can be applied to an offending population.

**Criminal Narrative Experience**

The objective of the third study was to explore the Criminal Narrative Experience of male perpetrators of interpersonal crime in the high security estate; that being, both criminal narratives and emotions as a whole. Similar work has been done with other populations which showed that the CNE framework (Ioannou, 2006; Ioannou et al., 2016) could be applied to different offender groups. For example, a personality disordered (PD) and psychopathic population (Goodlad et al., 2018), mentally disordered offenders (Spruin et al. 2012), Greek offenders (Dedeloudis, 2016), young offenders (Ioannou, Synnott, Lowe & Tzani-Pepelasi, 2018), and female offenders (Ciesla, Ioannou & Hammond, 2019).

Consistent with the above research, the current study found that the CNE framework could be applied to this population. The results indicated the presence of four distinct themes: the calm professional, elated hero, depressed victim, and distressed revenger. There was a high degree of association between variables in each of the themes as shown using reliability analysis. All cases (100%) could be classified into one of the four themes; none of which could be classified as a hybrid between two. The four CNE themes are outlined below.

*Calm Professional*

The calm professional can be described as someone feeling thoughtful and viewing themselves as a professional who was either on an adventure, a mission, or was doing a job. They were looking for recognition but did not see anything special about what happened, and they knew they were taking a risk. The conceptualisation of this theme differs to that of Ioannou et al.’s (2016) sample which included emotions such as calm, confident, relaxed, contented, and safe. Offenders in Ioannou et al.’s sample also viewed their offending as routine, they knew what they were doing, and nothing else mattered. What was included in this theme that was not included in Ioannou et al.’s sample is the view that offending was like an adventure, a mission, and they were looking for recognition. The theme somewhat reflects Frye’s (1957) romance archetype in relation to offending being viewed as routine but is inconsistent with the idea of the offender having control.

It is interesting to note that the calm professional lacks emotion, the only emotion present being ‘thoughtful’. This is unlike Ioannou et al.’s (2016) sample which also included emotions such as calm, relaxed, confident and safe. The lack of emotion in the current study is consistent with the idea that those identifying as a calm professional may be linked to psychopathy. Goodlad et al. (2018) made this link but was unable to reveal significant results due to a small sample size. The research around psychopathy and the various personality traits involved (e.g. callousness) fits with the idea of an offender conducting themselves as a calm professional. Despite the lack of emotion attached to this CNE theme, Meffert, Gazzola, den Boer, Bartels and Keysers (2013) argued that psychopathic offenders did not lack empathy. Instead, they argued that psychopaths have a switch which allows them to choose whether to be empathic. Using brain scanning, the study found that the area of the brain linked with pain activated when the individual was asked to imagine and sympathise with those in pain. This idea is consistent with the calm professional theme and it could be argued that they are able to control whether they experience empathy. Exploring the idea of an ‘empathy switch’ may further contribute to the understanding of crime and whether it affects CNE identification. This therefore remains an area in need of further research.

*Elated Hero*

The elated hero can be described as someone feeling exhilarated, confident, pleased, calm, safe, enthusiastic, excited, relaxed, delighted, courageous, contented, and manly. They viewed their offending as fun, right, interesting, and exciting. However, it was also routine, they were in control, they knew what they were doing, they had power, it went to plan, they viewed it as manly, and they always knew it was going to happen. Unlike Ioannou et al.’s sample, confident, calm, and safe is included in this theme which is captured by the calm professional theme in their study. The implications of this are discussed in the ‘limitations and future research’ section. There were also differences in relation to the narrative roles where Ioannou et al. linked the perception of an adventure, recognition, planning, and risk taking. However, this theme is similar to that outlined in a personality disordered and psychopathic population (Goodlad et al., 2018). The theme reflects Frye’s (1957) comedy archetype whereby offenders seek to overcome obstacles in order to obtain positive rewards.

The calm professional and elated hero are positive experiences and although not the case with this population, other research has shown how the two themes merge with each other (e.g. Ioannou et al., 2016). These themes are located on adjacent regions in the SSA plot and show a clear distinction between each. The key differences between them are the limited emotions featured in the calm professional compared to the volume of emotions featured in the elated hero. Additionally, the calm professional is thoughtful, and offenders were either on an adventure, a mission, or were doing a job. Conversely, the elated hero experienced a range of positive emotions from calm and safe to excited and manly. They also viewed offending as routine, where they had power and were in control. Unlike the calm professional, the elated hero theme consists of a range of positive emotions; it seems to be more emotionally driven. Again, entertaining the idea of psychopathy being linked with the calm professional theme, this would make sense.

*Depressed Victim*

The depressed victim can be described as someone feeling a range of negative emotion such as lonely, scared, upset, worried, depressed, sad, confused, miserable, unhappy, and pointless. They also viewed themselves as helpless and as a victim. This differs to Ioannou et al.’s sample which included significantly more narrative roles, e.g. I had to, it was my only choice, I did not care what would happen, it was fate, it was like I was not part of it, and I knew it was going to happen. However, it is consistent with a PD and psychopathic population (Goodlad et al., 2018). The theme also reflects Frye’s (1957) irony archetype whereby the offender is overcome by negative emotion.

*Distressed Revenger*

The distressed revenger can be described as someone feeling annoyed, angry, and irritated. Their perception was that they had to do it and it was their only choice, nothing else mattered, and they wanted to get it over with. They also believed it was fate, they were unable to stop themselves, they were seeking revenge, and they were unconcerned with consequences. Consistent with a PD and psychopathic population (Goodlad et al., 2018), in the current sample, the distress was more related to anger and variations on that whereas Ioannou’s sample also included feeling worried and upset. There were also differences in perception where Ioannou et al.’s sample included viewing offending as right, a mission, and they had power and control which belonged to the depressed victim theme in the current sample. The theme does reflect Frye’s (1957) tragedy archetype as the offender’s primary aim is to seek revenge regardless of consequences in order to restore the imbalance.

The depressed victim and distressed revenger are negative experiences and although not the case with this population, other research has shown how the two themes merge with each other (e.g. Ioannou, 2006; Ioannou et al., 2016; Ioannou et al., 2018). These themes are located on adjacent regions in the SSA plot and show a clear distinction between each. The depressed victim experiences a wider range of negative emotion in comparison to the distressed revenger. Where the emotions attributed to the distressed revenger centre around anger, the depressed victim is more related to fear, confusion, and depression. Additionally, the majority of negative emotion is attached to the depressed victim and it could be argued that they are overcome with emotion whereas there are fewer emotions attached to the distressed revenger. Fewer narratives are attached to the depressed victim and they very much saw themselves as helpless victims. Conversely, the distressed revenger did not have a choice but to get revenge, nothing else mattered, and they were unable to stop themselves.

With regards to the distressed revenger, it seems to have been their perception of their situation that drove their reaction rather than their emotions. For example, perceiving themselves as having no choice but to get their own back. The distinction between the depressed victim who is driven by their perception of the situation in comparison to the depressed victim who is driven by the feelings is an interesting one. Research has explored the link between crime and emotion dysregulation. Tonnaer, Siep, van Zutpen, Arntz and Cima (2017) specifically found a link between emotion dysregulation and violence. They proposed that cognitive resources are exhausted due to efforts made trying to regulate negative affect leading to difficulties with self-control. This could apply to the depressed victim whereby the offender is overcome by negative emotion resulting in offending. This could also be considered in the context of the distinction between reactive and instrumental violence (see Chambers, 2010; Meloy, 2006; Bushman & Anderson, 2011). It is possible that the volume of emotions depicted in the depressed victim led to a more reactive response whereas the elated hero was calmer and could therefore consider their actions. This consideration, however, requires further exploration which could be a focus of future research.

The differences in the conceptualisation of CNE themes between the current sample and Ioannou (2006) and Ioannou et al. (2016) could be explained by the population used. Ioannou’s sample included those with acquisitive offences ranging from theft and burglary to interpersonal crimes involving rape and murder. The sample in the current study were all convicted for interpersonal crimes. It may be the case that offence type (specifically a comparison between interpersonal and acquisitive crimes) dictate CNE themes. There has been some early research to this affect in relation to emotions. For example, Katz (1988) found that positive emotions were a motivating factor in acquisitive crime whereas humiliation resulting in rage was a motivating factor in seeking retribution. However, this is an area which may benefit from further exploration.

The most frequent CNE themes for the population in the current study was the depressed victim and distressed revenger which are the more negative experiences. This indicates that interpersonal crime is predominantly driven by negative states and potentially a desire to change their situation; whether that is to gain satisfaction and revenge, or to express negative emotion. Given there are victims in interpersonal crimes, negativity is understandable especially in the context of the Interactional Ritual Theory (Collins, 2009). Negativity therefore serves to help offenders overcome barriers to offending (or of harming others) and drives the resulting behaviour.

**Victim Roles**

The objective of fourth study was to explore the victim roles offenders assigned to victims during the commissioning of their crimes. The results indicate the presence of three victim roles consistent with Canter’s (1994) original proposal of the Victim Roles Framework (VRF); victim as object, vehicle, and person. There was a high degree of association between variables in each of the themes as shown using reliability analysis. Ninety-five percent of cases could be classified into one of the three themes or as a hybrid between two. The three victim roles are outlined below.

*Victim as Object*

Where an offender placed a victim in the object role, they felt nothing towards them and wanted to dominate them. The victim was very much a possession which was there to be exploited. This theme reflects Canter’s (1994) original conceptualisation of victim as object and mirrors the idea of complete objectification of the victim. There is a clear empathy deficit and control is gained through direct possession of the victim.

*Victim as Vehicle*

Where an offender placed a victim in the vehicle role, they wanted to humiliate the victim and cause suffering. They took advantage of the victim but felt that they deserved what happened. Consistent with Canter’s (1994) original conceptualisation, the victim is forced to endure the offender’s feelings where they seek to inflict suffering and humiliation. Control is gained through abuse and a lack of empathy is characterised by exploitation.

*Victim as Person*

Where an offender placed a victim in the person role, they felt the victim understood them, they cared about how the victim felt, they tried to comfort the victim, and they wanted to be close to them. Additionally, the victim was significant to them, they targeted them, they were carefully selected, and they were there to be played with. This is consistent with Canter’s (1994) original conceptualisation of victim as person where the victim is there to be used but they recognise and see them as a person. Control is gained through coercion and an empathy deficit is characterised by a devaluation of the person.

The differences between the three themes lie in the interpersonal treatment of victims. Where a victim is seen as an object, the offender is unconcerned about the feelings of victims and instead they are focused on their own goals. Conversely, where a victim is seen as a person, the offender is concerned with their feelings and very much wants to relate to them whilst also achieving their goals. Different again, where the victim is seen as a vehicle, the offender’s goal is almost to punish the victim. The offender seems somewhat vengeful where the offender wants to humiliate and cause suffering because the victim deserves it. The VRF takes a different approach to previous attempts to explore victim roles. For example, Salfati (2003) was interested in exploring the offender-victim interaction in homicide. Like Canter (1994), she argued that patterns could be extracted from the treatment of the victim. Focusing on crime scene behaviours, Salfati proposed an instrumental-reactive distinction whereby there was a continuum of the perpetrator reacting impulsively or in a much more detached way. However, the VRF is applicable to all types of interpersonal crime rather than just homicide.

Previous studies have applied Canter’s CRF to different types of offending (e.g. Canter & Youngs, 2012; Youngs & Ioannou, 2013; Ioannou & Oostinga, 2015) which they were able to do through crime scene analysis. A limitation of both of these studies, however, was that they did not consider the offender and it was suggested that understanding their perspective is important (Ioannou & Oostinga, 2015). The current study has been able to validate the framework from a first-person perspective; by exploring the way offenders viewed their offending themselves. The finding gives weight to the existence of specific victim roles which provides a viable way of exploring and understanding that aspect of offending. An idea for future research may be to try to link crime scene analysis with personal perspective to see if they match. In doing this, it would indicate whether crime scene behaviours which have been classified as a certain victim role would be matched with the way the offender described it. For example, the use of excessive violence in crime scenes might link with beliefs around wanting to humiliate the victim and thinking they deserve it. This example would reflect a vehicle victim role. Conducting research like this would validate the model further.

The most frequent victim role for male perpetrator of interpersonal crime was the victim as person. However, it should be noted that frequencies between each of the three themes were similar. This shows that victims are assigned to a range of roles during the commissioning of interpersonal crimes. Having an indication of how victims are viewed during the commissioning of crime is beneficial for understanding interpersonal crime, differentiating between offenders, and identifying both risk and protective factor. Refer to ‘implications’ section for further details.

**The relationship between CNE themes and Victim Roles**

The second objective of the fourth study was to explore whether there was a relationship between CNE themes and victim role assignment. Results show that both the calm professional and elated hero CNE themes linked with the object victim role. This is inconsistent with Youngs and Canter’s (2009) suggestion that the object would link with an adventurer (professional) narrative. The calm professional and elated hero are more positive themes. They may be linked with the object role because they have a lower level of empathy and arguably a lower level of shame and remorse. To the researcher’s knowledge, there has been no other research exploring the link between CNE themes and victim roles. Being able to link them highlights salience within, and between offenders, and contributes to the overall experience of crime. Further research in this area would be beneficial to enhance the understanding of crime. This could be done through interviews with offenders exploring the details of their crimes both in terms of how they viewed themselves and how they viewed victims. Using interviews would allow researchers to delve into disclosures and gather explicit data regarding personal views and perceptions on victims. Analyses could then be conducted to explore the links between CNE themes and victim roles.

**Criminal Narrative Experience and Schemas**

The aim of the fifth study was to explore whether there are any links between schemas and the CNE themes. To the researcher’s knowledge, no similar research has been completed. Results indicate that there were no links between schemas and the calm professional, distressed revenger, and depressed victim CNE themes. However, there were links between schemas and the elated hero CNE theme.

*Elated Hero*

Results indicated that there was a link between the approval/recognition schema and elated hero CNE. Thus, those identifying as an elated hero were more likely to have the approval/recognition schema. The approval/recognition schema is someone who needs recognition and approval from others which can often hinder their own ideas. There is also a key focus on status, money, and success. Therefore, gaining approval and recognition is a positive experience. Considering this in the context of the elated hero, the elated hero feels a range of positive emotion and views their offending in a positive light. As such, embracing an elated hero narrative may lead to approval or recognition from others. Alternatively, it may be that they hope to receive recognition for acting.

It should be noted that there are eighteen schemas classified into five domains and there are four CNE themes. As such, it is possible that there was not enough power in the study to detect differences between groups. A much larger sample size may be needed to fully explore this area and understand whether there are links between schemas and CNE themes, other than what has been identified within the current research. One option would be to explore links between schema domains and CNE themes rather than each individual schema which would reduce the number of statistical analyses that would be conducted. This may be a fruitful area for future research and could be conducted in much the same way as the current research.

**Offence Type**

The objective of the sixth study was to explore whether there were differences in CNE and victim role assignment based on offence type. Offence types were classified as either sexual or violent in nature where sexual offences ranged from indecent assault to rape, and violent offences ranged from wounding to murder. The results did not indicate any significant differences between offence type on the CNE themes or victim role assignment.

*Violent Offending*

The most frequent CNE theme for those classified as violent offenders was the depressed victim. To the researcher’s knowledge, there are no typologies of violent offending, but it could be considered in relation to the General Aggression Model (Andrews & Bushman, 2002), specifically person and situation factors which interact to fuel the person’s internal state and produce action. The result could also be considered in the context of the Interactional Ritual Theory (Collins, 2009) where negative experiences help to overcome barriers to offending resulting in behaviour.

The most frequent victim role for violent offenders was person and the most frequent CNE was negative. This seems logical and it could be that because offenders acknowledge the humanity of the victim, there is more negativity attached to the offending. Considered in the context of the Interactional Ritual Theory (Collins, 2009), this negativity is needed to overcome barriers to offending.

*Sexual Offending*

The most frequent CNE theme for those classified as sex offenders was the elated hero. This could link with both Groth’s (1979) and Berger’s (2000) typology of sex offenders. Specially, it could be that there are similarities with the ‘power-reassurance’ offender. These offenders are confrontational, arrogant, and see themselves as socially competent. They use aggression to gain compliance, display power and control, and the offence reinforces their manhood and ability to dominate. Captured within the elated hero CNE theme were factors such as confident, calm, enthusiastic, I was in control, I had power, and it was the manly thing to do.

The most frequent victim role for sex offenders was object and the most frequent CNE theme was positive. It could be that offenders have positive experiences because they do not regard the victim as a person and therefore there may be less shame and remorse attached to the offending.

The results in relation to violent offending mirror Ioannou’s (2006) research in that negative CNE themes were attached to crimes against the person, but sexual offending does not. This could be due to the fact that Ioannou (2006) did not distinguish between sex and violence which could explain the findings. It may be that sexual and violent offenders need to be viewed differently and that these distinct crimes are experienced differently. In order to substantiate this, further research is needed. This could be conducted through replication studies using a similar methodology to the current research and applying it to different populations.

**Implications**

The study set out to explore the CNE of male perpetrators of interpersonal crime whilst considering the role of various factors: criminal narratives, emotions, victim roles, schemas, and crime type. The six individual studies have shown how each of the factors contribute to the way an offender experiences crime. It has shown how criminal narratives and emotions work together to produce Ioannou et al.’s idea of the CNE, demonstrated how victims are viewed, and it has incorporated the idea of schemas and offence type in relation to how they may have influenced the experience of crime. The study has both theoretical and practical implications for working with and understanding offending.

*Theoretical*

Since it was first developed, the CNE framework has become a valuable tool to help understand the experience of offending from a first-person perspective. It has been successfully applied to various populations including adult males (Ioannou et al., 2016), females (Ciesla et al., 2019), Greek (Dedeloudis, 2016), and young offenders (Ioannou et al., 2018). Although there is some variation between the conceptualisation of each CNE themes between populations, its validity in exploring and understanding crime has been demonstrated. The value of exploring crime from a first-person perspective lies in the fact that each individual knows themselves, and their own experiences whereas it is difficult to judge that from observation. This is unlike the approach that previous research has taken such as the analysis of crime scene behaviour (e.g. Canter, 2000).

The current study has applied the CNE framework to male perpetrators convicted of interpersonal crime who are located in the high security prison estate. It has shown how this population experiences interpersonal crime and has provided further validation for the CNE framework. Additionally, the current study has specifically explored the assignment of victim roles. A Victim Roles Scale was developed in order to assess how offenders viewed their victims during the commissioning of crime. This provides another theoretical tool which can be used in the goal of understanding crime.

In relation to schemas, the current study has explored how core beliefs influence the identification of CNE themes. The results showed that there were some links which could be taken forward in future research. It has therefore not fully explored the connection between the CNE framework and schemas but has set precedent. Additionally, the study has added to the understanding of the differences between violent and sexual offending; and has shown how the CNE framework can be used to explore offence type in more detail.

Developing a comprehensive understanding of how crime is experienced, while accounting for factors such as the role of victims, core beliefs, and offence type helps to inform risk and risk management. The way an offender experienced crime can indicate both risk factors and lifestyle factors and can help offenders develop insight into their own risk and future management. This could in turn, contribute to rehabilitation in terms of need for custody and treatment intervention (Davies, Hollin & Bull, 2008).

*Practical*

It is clear that there are strong theoretical implications, and this could also extend to practical applications in relation to the treatment of offenders and contribute to police investigations.

*Treatment of Offenders*

Information in relation to a person’s narrative could be used within a therapeutic setting. Understanding how perpetrators viewed themselves, and the emotions they felt whilst committing crime can give an indication into their perception of reality and crime. This understanding could help facilitators support the person in making change (Ioannou et al., 2018). Additionally, being able to identify dominant roles and emotions particularly in relation to specific offences means they could be explored and targeted directly in treatment. Having insight into victim role assignment could also contribute to this. Understanding what role the victim played and how that contributed to the offender’s experience could also indicate factors which could be addressed through treatment. Therefore, identifying an offender’s CNE, as well as victim roles, could help programme facilitators target specific needs and work with clients in different ways. For example, a depressed victim CNE is characterised by intense emotion driving offending. This could indicate the need to develop emotion management skills which could be facilitated in treatment. Additionally, viewing the victim as an object may indicate treatment needs in relation to perspective taking. Youngs and Canter (2012) also pointed out that understanding narrative roles could lead to the possibility of developing counternarratives much like Ward’s (2002) approach in his proposal of the Good Lives Model. The Good Lives Model helps offenders to develop positive life stories (Ward, Mann & Gannon, 2007). Youngs and Canter (2012) also argued that focusing on narratives is a less threatening approach than exploring specific thoughts and beliefs driving offending. This may therefore promote a therapeutic alliance in treatment which has been shown to increase the effectiveness of treatment outcome (Botella et al., 2008; Zilcha-Mano et al., 2015).

*Police Investigations*

In relation to police investigations, the narrative approach could assist with offender profiling and interviewing suspects. Both the CNE and Victim Roles Model are theoretical in nature but allow for inferences to be made in relation to identifying the underlying psychological processes driving behaviour. As a result, they surpass traditional classifications derived from observed action patterns such as the distinction between instrumental and expressive behaviour (Salfati & Canter, 1999; Youngs, 2004). Drawing from a narrative approach can explain how patterns were established and can lead to the development of hypotheses about other behaviours which may fit in with this pattern. Therefore, inferences can be made in relation to perpetrator characteristics which may link to the identified pattern (Canter, 2011; Youngs & Canter, 2012).

In relation to interviewing suspects, technique is a key factor which can dictate the outcome. Understanding which CNE theme a suspect identifies with, and how they viewed victims, could dictate how an interview is conducted. It would provide the interviewer with knowledge of how the suspect is likely to have viewed themselves and victims and thus, their emotional state, and underlying belief systems. Therefore, having knowledge of the CNE themes and victim roles could help the interviewer build up therapeutic relationships which could again dictate the outcome of the interview. Given that CNE themes and victim roles are distinct, different interview techniques would be more beneficial with each. For example, the calm professional and depressed victim themes are polar opposites and are likely to present and respond in very different ways. An interviewer who has this knowledge could adapt their approach accordingly. For example, it could be assumed that a depressed victim is more likely to respond to an empathic approach unlike a calm professional. With regards to victim roles, a perpetrator viewing a victim as a vehicle believes that they are deserving of humiliation whereas a perpetrator viewing a victim as a person tries to relate to the victim. They may therefore respond to different approaches by interviewers.

With regards to identifying suspects, the CNE could also contribute. The model provides a possibility of distinguishing offenders using a narrative approach rather than relying on legal definitions of offending (Youngs & Canter, 2012; Youngs & Ioannou, 2013). It is not unusual for offenders to engage in different types of offending and it may be that the perpetration of violence and sexual offending was driven by a similar narrative approach rather than there being two distinct motives. As such, having knowledge of the CNE and the Victim Roles Model could help criminal investigators to detect and apprehend offenders. It provides a novel way of viewing offending which could change the way cases are managed. If criminal investigators had insight into the way offenders view themselves and their victims, and are able to differentiate between themes, it would promote their ability to predict behaviour. For these reasons, there are important implications for the idea of offender profiling which could be taken further.

Likewise, first-person accounts of how crime is experienced which reveals key narrative roles, emotions, and victim roles could be linked with specific types of offenders and individual characteristics. Again, this would aid offender profiling and could promote development of more robust strategies. If research showed that the CNE themes can be linked in this way, then specific inferences could be made during investigations. One way of exploring this is through developing a comparison study between a first-person perspective and crime scene behaviours (see ideas for future research).

**Limitations and Future Research**

A central component of the current research was to apply the existing CNE framework to offenders convicted of interpersonal crime. Although distinct themes were identified consistent with the CNE framework, some of the items appeared in different regions in comparison to Ioannou’s (2006) and Ioannou et al’s (2016) research. This means that the conceptualisation of CNE themes differed between researchers and arguably populations. There are many possible reasons for differences between samples including how participants understood items and the types of crimes they committed. However, it could also indicate a difference in interpretation between researchers and could have introduced an element of subjectivity in the research. It could be argued that the labels attached to themes may need to be revised but it is the researcher’s view that this is not the case. Instead, further research is needed to establish the core elements within each theme. To do this, research could be commissioned to amalgamate findings from previous studies using the CNE framework to identify consistent themes. This could be done through a meta-analysis.

A further point to consider in relation to the above is the way cases were assigned to themes. Within the Smallest Space Analysis, when assigning cases to themes, two criteria were used. Using Criterion I, the dominant theme was identified as the theme with the highest percentage. Criterion II was much more stringent where the percentage attributed to the dominant theme had to be higher than the sum of the remaining themes. The number of cases which could be assigned to themes differed greatly depending on the criterion used. For example, 43.5% of cases could be classified into criminal narrative themes using criterion I in comparison to 5.9% using criterion II. Similarly, all cases could be classified into emotion and CNE themes using criterion I in comparison to 12.79% and 8.33% respectively using criterion II. In relation to victim roles, there was little difference in assignment where all cases could be assigned using criterion I and 98.04% could be assigned using criterion II. This has implications for the understanding of the criminal narrative experience and supports the above suggestion regarding the need for further research.

It is acknowledged that the current study is not without limitations. Various statistical analyses were performed on the data and as such, caution should be given to the interpretation of the findings. Other limitations include those in relation to the participants themselves, methodological problems, and confounding variables.

Firstly, the decision of whether to participate in the study was voluntary which may reflect a bias within the sample. It could be that there are underlying traits or social desirability characteristics acting as a confounding variable and promoting participation. For example, some prisoners expressed suspicion regarding the research and choose not to participate. This could have influenced the results because this type of prisoner is not reflected in the sample. To mitigate against these problems, replication of the study could be considered. Additionally, measures could be put in place to provide assurance of anonymity to respondents. Doing this would determine whether similar results are found and add further weight to the CNE framework and understanding of how crime is experienced by offenders.

This social desirability could also have influenced how participants responded to questions. In some cases, participants may have wanted to minimise their offending whereas others may have wanted to inflate their perception of risk. Therefore, factors such as shame may have influenced responses particularly on the victim roles questionnaire. Where an offender felt particularly shameful or remorseful about their offending, they may have wanted to present as viewing victims in a more positive light. Additionally, the data could also have been affected by respondents understanding and interpretation of questions. In relation to understanding, there were words on the emotions questionnaire which were queried by participants. Although there was support available to respondents, factors such as education could have influenced the data, as well as eliminating respondents due to ability. In relation to interpretation, there is variance between people’s views on high and low arousal words. For example, angry compared to annoyed. Again, this has to be included as a limitation of the research.

There are also factors in relation to memory to consider. Whilst participants were asked to choose an offence to explore in detail, their memory of these offences differed. Most participants highlighted that they remembered the offence well, however, there are some limitations in terms of the fallibility of memory, and distortions that present over time (Howe & Knott, 2015). This could be as a result of conviction and has the potential to influence whether the offence is viewed in a positive or negative light, thus influencing the identification with CNE themes. Other researchers have picked up on this point (e.g. Ioannou et al., 2015 and Goodlad et al., 2018). Ioannou et al. (2015) therefore felt that exploration of offence outcomes and how they influence narrative roles should be explored. Another aspect related to this is whether or not participants selected responses based on how they felt at the time of offending, after perpetration of the offence, or how they feel now in hindsight. They were instructed to respond based on how they felt at the time, but this has to be acknowledged as a limitation.

In addition, some of the respondents had completed treatment programmes in order to address their offending behaviour. This is a significant confounding variable in the research. Respondents who had completed offending behaviour programmes may have developed more insight and were therefore able to consider questions in more depth. Participation in treatment may also have changed their views on certain variables, for example, views of victims and core beliefs. Data was not collected in relation to what treatment respondents had engaged in. However, future research could control for this confounding variable and compare those who were pre- and post- treatment. Similarly, some of the participants were diagnosed with psychopathy and/or personality disorder, and many more were likely undiagnosed. Again, this acts as a confounding variable which could be controlled for in future research. That being said, the idea of personality and the impact this may have on the experience of crime is potentially a fruitful area of future research. Exploring this factor will enhance the theoretical understanding of how crime is experienced. Goodlad et al. (2018) completed research to this affect. The results showed some links between personality disorder and CNE themes but there was no relationship with psychopathy. It was the author’s view that this was not due to there being no relationship, but rather there was a lack of power in the study. Future research could therefore replicate the study on a much larger scale to determine how psychopathy and personality disorder affects a person’s CNE.

Although it acknowledged that there are various limitations associated with the research, the study encompassed a unique population. Given the data was collected from a dispersal prison, meaning that high risk offenders are dispersed across multiple sites, it could be argued that the sample was representative of male offenders across the estate. The research has demonstrated the contribution that exploring an offenders’ CNE could have both theoretically and practically.

While the findings of the current research provide further support for the validity of the CNE framework, further research is needed. This is in relation to whether the CNE is consistent between crimes and over time. Given the aforementioned limitation regarding the fallibility of memory and distortions that occur over time, this is a fundamental area to explore. Having a clear understanding of whether there are changes in CNE would provide further insight into how it can be used in future. Efforts have been made to determine whether the CNE framework can be generalised to other populations. This has shown that the framework has utility with females, young offenders, and offenders in other cultures (i.e. Greek). Additionally, Spruin et al. (2014) applied the Criminal Narrative Framework to a mentally disordered population but did not explore the role of emotions. It would be beneficial to explore whether emotions can be mapped onto this in order to provide more insight into this population and validate the CNE framework further.

In relation to the consistency of CNE themes through offences, there were differences between the current sample and Ioannou et al.’s (2016) sample. However, Ioannou’s sample included both acquisitive and interpersonal crimes whereas the current study only focused on interpersonal crime. There may therefore be key differences between crime types (specifically interpersonal and acquisitive crimes) which could be explained by the presence of a direct victim. This is an area of research which requires further exploration in order to fully understand offending and how the CNE can be used. This could be done by asking participants to indicate how they viewed themselves whilst perpetrating various different crimes. A similar methodology could be used to the current study.

Within the sample, there was one respondent who identified as transgender (biologically male). There are many debates surrounding transgender offenders, particularly in relation to treatment. There are many unanswered questions about how suitable gender specific offending behaviour programmes are to this population (Sahota, 2020). The issues lie with the fact that development and evaluation of programme effectiveness has been done based on the target gender (male or female) and has not accounted for transgender. It is unknown what the effects of gender identification is in relation to how offenders viewed themselves at the time of offending compared to now. However, applying the CNE framework could be a novel way of unpicking this and it could develop understanding into the perceptions of this population. It could therefore help to identify what factors need to be considered through treatment and how that can be addressed irrespective of gender. It is acknowledged, however, that the exploration of the CNE in transgender offenders using the approach in the current study would be difficult. This is due to the small number of offenders identifying as transgender. An alternative approach may be to use qualitative methods through semi-structured interviews and interpretative phenomenological analysis. It would be interesting to know whether the CNE framework can be applied to transgender offenders and whether they are more comparable to the CNE of male or female offenders.

The Victim Roles Scale also warrants further investigation and it is recommended that future research apply it to other populations in order to tests its validity as a viable tool for exploring how victims are viewed by offenders. Additionally, these views could be compared with crime scene behaviours in order to develop insight into how these factors interact. As mentioned in the implications section, being able to understand how victims contribute to the experience of crime has direct implications for both police investigations and treatment of offenders.

With reference to victim roles, it could be useful to explore the idea of ‘projection’. Projection is a psychological defence mechanism whereby unpleasant feelings and emotions are projected onto others. This is a subconscious process in order to avoid dealing with these unpleasant emotions (Brenner, 2018). It could be that the idea of projection and victim role assignment have some links and could help to explain the experience of crime. Projective tests are designed to identify hidden emotions and internal conflicts which a person projects onto the test (Miller, 2015). This could be a way of identifying what a person may be projecting onto others and by applying it to victim roles, it could help provide insight into the experience of crime.

Further work is also needed exploring the relationship between schemas and CNE themes, and how schemas contribute to the experience of crime. Analyses showed that there was some influence of schemas on CNE themes, but further investigation is needed. Given there are 18 schemas, it could be that there was not enough power in the study to fully detect the links between each schema and the four themes. Future research could analyse the links between CNE themes and schema domains rather than each schema in isolation. This may reveal links between groups of schemas and particular themes and would also reduce the number of analyses performed on the data increasing its validity. It would also indicate the range of core beliefs that fit with each of the CNE theme.

**Conclusions**

The current study has further validated Ioannou’s CNE framework through its application to male perpetrators of interpersonal crime located in the high security estate. The CNE themes were consistent but there was some variation in the description of each theme for this population. Furthermore, the CNE was considered alongside victim roles, schemas, and offence type. This has provided further insight into how crime is experienced and how the CNE can map onto other factors.

There were both theoretical and practical implications associated with the research. Theoretically these relate to understanding how perpetrators of interpersonal offences experienced crime, as well as developing insight into the role of victims within this. Having this comprehensive understanding leads onto practical implications which relate to the treatment of offenders and police investigations.

The current research has provided further insight into how crime is experienced by offenders by incorporating the idea of victim role assignment and schemas, as well as considering offence type. A key progression of the research is that it has developed a tool which could be used to explore victim roles further. Nevertheless, further research is needed which could centre around validating the Victim Roles Scale, further exploring the links between victim roles and schemas with the CNE themes. Additionally, further research should also control for some of the confounding variables present in the current study. These include the effect of pre- and post- treatment, personality disorder/psychopathy, socially desirable responding, and memory. Other areas to explore would be the utility of the CNE framework in working with transgender offenders and understanding how personality disorder/psychopathy contributes to the experience of crime.

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**Appendices**

**Appendix D: Questionnaire Booklet**

**Offence Account**

The purpose of obtaining an offence account is to gather information about your offending which will inform responses to the following questionnaires.

|  |
| --- |
| Description of Crime |
| Please think of a crime that you have committed which you can remember clearly and which you feel is most typical of your offending behaviour. |
| What was it? |
| Is this your index offence? |
| Please provide a description of this offence. |
| What were the events leading up to you committing this crime? |
| How strong are your memories of the incident? Please tick the appropriate box.  □ Very Strong □ Strong □ Quite Strong  □ Weak □ Very Weak |

**Narrative Roles Questionnaire**

For the same crime as you’ve just described, please tell me the extent to which each of the statements below describes what it was like while you were committing it.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | NOT AT ALL | JUST A LITTLE | SOME | A LOT | VERY MUCH |
| 1. I was like a professional |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. I had to do it |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. It was fun |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. It was right |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. It was interesting |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. It was like an adventure |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. It was routine |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. I was in control |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. It was exciting |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. I was acting out of revenge |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. I was doing a job |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. I knew what I was doing |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. It was the only thing to do |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. It was a mission |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Nothing else mattered |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. I had power |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. I was helpless |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. It was my only choice |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. I was a victim |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. I was confused about what was happening |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. I was looking for recognition |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. I just wanted to get it over with |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. I didn’t care what would happen |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. What was happening was just fate |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. It all went to plan |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. I couldn’t stop myself |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. It was like I wasn’t part of it |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. It was a manly thing to do |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. For me it was just like a usual days work |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. I was trying to get revenge |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. It was like being on an adventure |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. It was the only thing I could think of doing |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. There was nothing special about what happened |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. I was getting my own back |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. I knew I was taking a risk |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. I guess I always knew it was going to happen |  |  |  |  |  |

**Emotions Felt During a Criminal Offence Questionnaire**

For the same crime, please tell me how you felt while you were committing it. Indicate the extent to which you felt each of the following.

**I felt...**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | NOT AT ALL | JUST A LITTE | SOME | A LOT | VERY MUCH INDEED |
| 1. Lonely |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Scared |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Exhilarated |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Confident |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Upset |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Pleased |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Calm |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Safe |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Worried |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Depressed |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Enthusiastic |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Thoughtful |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Annoyed |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Angry |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Sad |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Excited |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Confused |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Miserable |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Irritated |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Relaxed |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Delighted |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Unhappy |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Courageous |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Contented |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Manly |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. Pointless |  |  |  |  |  |

**Victim Roles Scale**

**For the crime you described, please tell me the extent to which each of the statements below describes how you viewed the victim.**

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | **Strongly Disagree** | **Disagree** | **Neither Agree nor Disagree** | **Agree** | **Strongly Agree** |
| 1. **The victim deserved what happened** |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. **I tried to comfort the victim** |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. **I felt that the victim understood me** |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. **I wanted to be close to the victim** |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. **I wanted the victim to suffer** |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. **I felt nothing towards the victim** |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. **The victim was there to be exploited** |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. **The victim was there to be played with** |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. **I wanted to humiliate the victim** |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. **I cared about how the victim felt** |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. **The victim was a possession to me** |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. **I wanted to dominate the victim** |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. **I took advantage of the victim** |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. **I targeted this specific victim** |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. **The victim was carefully selected** |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1. **The victim was significant to me** |  |  |  |  |  |

**Appendix E: SSA Labels**

**Appendix E.1: Emotions SSA Labels**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Item** | **Label** |
| 1. I felt lonely | Lonely |
| 1. I felt scared | Scared |
| 1. I felt exhilarated | Exhilarated |
| 1. I felt confident | Confident |
| 1. I felt upset | Upset |
| 1. I felt pleased | Pleased |
| 1. I felt calm | Calm |
| 1. I felt safe | Safe |
| 1. I felt worried | Worried |
| 1. I felt depressed | Depressed |
| 1. I felt enthusiastic | Enthusiastic |
| 1. I felt thoughtful | Thoughtful |
| 1. I felt annoyed | Annoyed |
| 1. I felt angry | Angry |
| 1. I felt sad | Sad |
| 1. I felt excited | Excited |
| 1. I felt confused | Confused |
| 1. I felt miserable | Miserable |
| 1. I felt irritated | Irritated |
| 1. I felt relaxed | Relaxed |
| 1. I felt delighted | Delighted |
| 1. I felt unhappy | Unhappy |
| 1. I felt courageous | Courageous |
| 1. I felt contented | Contented |
| 1. I felt manly | Manly |
| 1. I felt pointless | Pointless |

**Appendix E.2: Criminal Narratives SSA Labels**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Item** | **Label** |
| 1. I was like a professional | Professional |
| 1. I had to do it | Had to |
| 1. It was fun | Fun |
| 1. It was right | Right |
| 1. It was interesting | Interesting |
| 1. It was like an adventure | Like an adventure |
| 1. It was routine | Routine |
| 1. I was in control | Control |
| 1. It was exciting | Exciting |
| 1. I was acting out of revenge | Acting revenge |
| 1. I was doing a job | Doing job |
| 1. I knew what I was doing | Knew what doing |
| 1. It was the only thing to do | Only thing to do |
| 1. It was a mission | Mission |
| 1. Nothing else mattered | Nothing mattered |
| 1. I had power | Power |
| 1. I was helpless | Helpless |
| 1. It was my only choice | Only choice |
| 1. I was a victim | Victim |
| 1. I was confused about what was happening | Confused |
| 1. I was looking for recognition | Looking for recognition |
| 1. I just wanted to get it over with | Get over with |
| 1. I didn’t care what would happen | Didn’t care |
| 1. What was happening was just fate | Fate |
| 1. It all went to plan | Plan |
| 1. I couldn’t stop myself | Couldn’t stop |
| 1. It was like I wasn’t part of it | Want part of it |
| 1. It was a manly thing to do | Manly |
| 1. For me it was just like a usual days work | Usual days work |
| 1. I was trying to get revenge | Get revenge |
| 1. It was like being on an adventure | On an adventure |
| 1. It was the only thing I could think of doing | Only thing |
| 1. There was nothing special about what happened | Nothing special |
| 1. I was getting my own back | Own back |
| 1. I knew I was taking a risk | Taking risk |
| 1. I guess I always knew it was going to happen | Knew going to happen |

**Appendix E.3: Criminal Narrative Experience SSA Labels**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Item** | **Label** |
| 1. I felt lonely | Lonely |
| 1. I felt scared | Scared |
| 1. I felt exhilarated | Exhilarated |
| 1. I felt confident | Confident |
| 1. I felt upset | Upset |
| 1. I felt pleased | Pleased |
| 1. I felt calm | Calm |
| 1. I felt safe | Safe |
| 1. I felt worried | Worried |
| 1. I felt depressed | Depressed |
| 1. I felt enthusiastic | Enthusiastic |
| 1. I felt thoughtful | Thoughtful |
| 1. I felt annoyed | Annoyed |
| 1. I felt angry | Angry |
| 1. I felt sad | Sad |
| 1. I felt excited | Excited |
| 1. I felt confused | Confused |
| 1. I felt miserable | Miserable |
| 1. I felt irritated | Irritated |
| 1. I felt relaxed | Relaxed |
| 1. I felt delighted | Delighted |
| 1. I felt unhappy | Unhappy |
| 1. I felt courageous | Courageous |
| 1. I felt contented | Contented |
| 1. I felt manly | Manly |
| 1. I felt pointless | Pointless |
| 1. I was like a professional | Professional |
| 1. I had to do it | Had to |
| 1. It was fun | Fun |
| 1. It was right | Right |
| 1. It was interesting | Interesting |
| 1. It was like an adventure | Like an adventure |
| 1. It was routine | Routine |
| 1. I was in control | Control |
| 1. It was exciting | Exciting |
| 1. I was acting out of revenge | Acting revenge |
| 1. I was doing a job | Doing job |
| 1. I knew what I was doing | Knew what doing |
| 1. It was the only thing to do | Only thing to do |
| 1. It was a mission | Mission |
| 1. Nothing else mattered | Nothing mattered |
| 1. I had power | Power |
| 1. I was helpless | Helpless |
| 1. It was my only choice | Only choice |
| 1. I was a victim | Victim |
| 1. I was confused about what was happening | Confused |
| 1. I was looking for recognition | Looking for recognition |
| 1. I just wanted to get it over with | Get over with |
| 1. I didn’t care what would happen | Didn’t care |
| 1. What was happening was just fate | Fate |
| 1. It all went to plan | Plan |
| 1. I couldn’t stop myself | Couldn’t stop |
| 1. It was like I wasn’t part of it | Want part of it |
| 1. It was a manly thing to do | Manly |
| 1. For me it was just like a usual days work | Usual days work |
| 1. I was trying to get revenge | Get revenge |
| 1. It was like being on an adventure | On an adventure |
| 1. It was the only thing I could think of doing | Only thing |
| 1. There was nothing special about what happened | Nothing special |
| 1. I was getting my own back | Own back |
| 1. I knew I was taking a risk | Taking risk |
| 1. I guess I always knew it was going to happen | Knew going to happen |

**Appendix E.4: Victim Roles SSA Labels**

|  |  |
| --- | --- |
| **Item** | **Label** |
| 1. The victim deserved what happened | Deserved |
| 1. I tried to comfort the victim | Comfort |
| 1. I felt that the victim understood me | Understood |
| 1. I wanted to be close to the victim | Want to be close |
| 1. I wanted the victim to suffer | Suffer |
| 1. I felt nothing towards the victim | Felt nothing |
| 1. The victim was there to be exploited | Exploited |
| 1. The victim was there to be played with | Played with |
| 1. I wanted to humiliate the victim | Humiliate |
| 1. I cared about how the victim felt | Cared |
| 1. The victim was a possession to me | Possession |
| 1. I wanted to dominate the victim | Dominate |
| 1. I took advantage of the victim | Took advantage |
| 1. I targeted this specific victim | Targeted |
| 1. The victim was carefully selected | Carefully selected |
| 1. The victim was significant to me | Significant |

**Appendix F: Cronbach’s Alpha of Themes**

Scales of Emotion Themes (with Alpha if Item Deleted in Parentheses)

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Theme | | | |
|  | Calm | Elation | Distress | Depression |
| Items | 3. Exhilarated (.841)  4. Confident (.828)  7. Calm (.815)  8. Safe (.822)  20. Relaxed (.821)  24. Contented (.823) | 6. Pleased (.858)  11. Enthusiastic (.848)  12. Thoughtful (.884)  16. Excited (.864)  21. Delighted (.861)  23. Courageous (.863)  25. Manly (.862) | 5. Upset (.838)  13. Annoyed (.813)  14. Angry (.809)  19. Irritated (.806)  22. Unhappy (.838) | 1. Lonely (.907)  2. Scared (.906)  9. Worried (.905)  10. Depressed (.902)  15. Sad (.890)  17. Confused (.907)  18. Miserable (.889)  26. Pointless (.897) |
| No of items | 6 | 7 | 5 | 8 |
| Cronbach’s alpha | .86 (M=14.26; SD=6.747) | .88 (M=14.70; SD=7.728) | .852 (M=14.88; 6.461) | .912 (M=20.25; SD=9.775) |

Scales of Criminal Narrative Themes (with Alpha if Item Deleted in Parentheses)

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Theme | | | |
|  | Professional | Hero | Revenger | Victim |
| Items | 1. I was like a professional (.808)  7. It was routine (.799)  8. I was in control (.805)  11. I was doing a job (.808)  12. I knew what I was doing (.802)  25. It all went to plan (.820)  29. For me it was just like a usual days work (.798)  33. There was nothing special about what happened (.853)  35. I knew I was taking risk (.825) | 3. It was fun (.865)  5. It was interesting (.843)  6. It was like an adventure (.846)  9. It was exciting (.850)  14. It was a mission (.871)  16. I had power (.880)  21. I was looking for recognition (.888)  31. It was like being on an adventure (.885) | 2. I had to do it (.775)  4. It was right (.763)  10. I was acting out of revenge (.787)  13. It was the only thing to do (.761)  18. It was my only choice (.760)  20. I was confused about what was happening (.820)  22. I just wanted to get it over with (.798)  24. What was happening was just fate (.787)  27. It was like I wasn’t part of it (.815)  28. It was the manly thing to do (.783)  30. I was trying to get revenge (.793)  36. I guess I always knew it was going to happen (.808) | 15. Nothing else mattered (.492)  17. I was helpless (.626)  19. I was a victim (.611)  23. I didn’t care what would happen (.577)  26. I couldn’t stop myself (.601)  32. It was the only thing I could think of doing (.525)  34. I was getting my own back (.675) |
| No of items | 9 | 8 | 12 | 7 |
| Cronbach’s alpha | .831 (M=21.83; SD=8.954) | .878 (M=16.67; SD=8.729) | .803 (M=27.47; SD=10.419) | .629 (M=17.74; SD=5.683) |

Scales of Criminal Narrative Experience Themes (with Alpha if Item Deleted in Parentheses)

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Theme | | | |  |
|  | Calm Professional | Elated Hero | Distressed Revenger | Depressed Victim | Distressed Revenger / Depressed Victim |
| Items | E12. Thoughtful (.782)  NR1. I was like a professional (.768)  6. It was like an adventure (.766)  11. I was doing a job (.770)  14. It was a mission (.767)  21. I was looking for recognition (.793)  29. For me it was just like a usual days work (.762)  31. It was like being on an adventure (.760)  33. There was nothing special about what happened (.825)  35. I knew I was taking a risk (.803) | E3. Exhilarated (.944)  4. Confident (.943)  6. Pleased (.943)  7. Calm (.944)  8. Safe (.945)  11. Enthusiastic (.943)  16. Excited (.943)  20. Relaxed (.944)  21. Delighted (.943)  23. Courageous (.945)  24. Contented (.943)  25. Manly (.944)  NR3. It was fun (.944)  4. It was right (.947)  5. It was interesting (.944)  7. It was routine (.945)  8. I was in control (.945)  9. It was exciting (.942)  12. I knew what I was doing (.944)  16. I had power (.945)  25. It all went to plan (.945)  28. It was the manly thing to do (.947)  36. I guess I always knew it was going to happen (.947) | E13. Annoyed (.840)  14. Angry (.842)  19. Irritated (.846)  NR2. I had to do it (.842)  10. I was acting out of revenge (.834)  13. It was the only thing to do (.834)  15. Nothing else mattered (.842)  18. It was my only choice (.834)  22. I just wanted to get it over with (.855)  23. I didn’t care what would  happen (.851)  24. What was happening was just fate (.849)  26. I couldn’t stop myself (.874)  27. It was like I wasn’t part of it (.860)  30. I was trying to get revenge (.838)  32. It was the only thing I could think of doing (.838)  34. I was getting my own back (.844) | E1. Lonely (.915)  2. Scared (.913)  5. Upset (.911)  9. Worried (.914)  10. Depressed (.910)  15. Sad (.905)  17. Confused (.912)  18. Miserable (.905)  22. Unhappy (.910)  26. Pointless (.909)  NR17. I was helpless (.920)  19. I was a victim (.922)  20. I was confused about what was happening (.914) | E1. Lonely (.884)  2. Scared (.883)  5. Upset (.881)  9. Worried (.884)  10. Depressed (.883)  13. Annoyed (.881)  14. Angry (.881)  15. Sad (.878)  17. Confused (.882)  18. Miserable (.879)  19. Irritated (.879)  22. Unhappy (.878)  26. Pointless (.879)  NR2. I had to do it (.886)  10. I was acting out of revenge (.885)  13. It was the only thing to do (.883)  15. Nothing else mattered (.886)  NR17. I was helpless (.884)  18. It was my only choice (.882)  19. I was a victim (.885)  20. I was confused about what was happening (.882)  22. I just wanted to get it over with (.885)  23. I didn’t care what would  happen (.890)  24. What was happening was just fate (.888)  26. I couldn’t stop myself (.884)  27. It was like I wasn’t part of it (.885)  30. I was trying to get revenge (.886)  32. It was the only thing I could think of doing (.883)  34. I was getting my own back (.888) |
| No of items | 10 | 23 | 16 | 13 | 29 |
| Cronbach’s alpha | .798 (M=19.95; SD=8.704) | .974 (M=53.79; SD=23.701) | .852 (M=43.13; SD=14.065) | .919 (M=30.93; 13.799) | .887 (M=73.61; SD=21.688) |

Scales of Victim Role Themes (with Alpha if Item Deleted in Parentheses)

|  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | Theme | | |
|  | Object | Vehicle | Person |
| Items | 6. I felt nothing towards the victim (.799)  7. The victim was there to be exploited (.622)  11. The victim was a possession to me (.662)  12. I wanted to dominate the victim (.712) | 1. The victim deserved what happened (.486)  5. I wanted the victim to suffer (.606)  9. I wanted to humiliate the victim (.574)  13. I took advantage of the victim (.703) | 2. I tried to comfort the victim (.774)  3. I felt that the victim understood me (.775)  4. I wanted to be close to the victim (.805)  8. The victim was there to be exploited (.783)  10. I cared about how the victim felt (.802)  14. I targeted this specific victim (.790)  15. The victim was carefully selected (.784)  16. The victim was significant to me (.776) |
| No of items | 4 | 4 | 8 |
| Cronbach’s alpha | .757 (M=2.25; SD=2.981) | .666 (M=2.16; SD=2.444) | .808 (M=5.66; SD=5.703) |

**Appendix G: Assigning Cases to Themes**

**Emotions**

Proportion of Emotion Themes by Case.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Case** | **Calm** | **Elation** | **Distress** | **Depression** | **Dominant Theme** |
| 1 | 33.33 | 20 | 68 | 27.5 | Distress |
| 2 | 26.67 | 28.57 | 52 | 37.5 | Distress |
| 3 | 83.33 | 51.43 | 56 | 37.5 | Calm |
| 4 | 73.33 | 51.43 | 80 | 40 | Distress |
| 5 | 60 | 22.86 | 100 | 25 | Distress |
| 6 | 93.33 | 68.57 | 52 | 20 | Calm |
| 7 | 83.33 | 65.71 | 84 | 65 | Distress |
| 8 | 33.33 | 22.86 | 68 | 42.5 | Distress |
| 9 | 20 | 20 | 100 | 95 | Distress |
| 10 | 63.33 | 94.29 | 20 | 35 | Elation |
| 11 | 26.67 | 20 | 72 | 45 | Distress |
| 12 | 100 | 88.57 | 84 | 20 | Calm |
| 13 | 63.33 | 65.71 | 56 | 37.5 | Elation |
| 14 | 43.33 | 45.71 | 76 | 70 | Distress |
| 15 | 20 | 20 | 40 | 42.5 | Depression |
| 16 | 36.67 | 28.57 | 60 | 47.5 | Distress |
| 17 | 56.67 | 57.14 | 100 | 95 | Distress |
| 18 | 66.67 | 60 | 48 | 35 | Calm |
| 19 | 20 | 20 | 80 | 75 | Distress |
| 20 | 73.33 | 57.14 | 72 | 25 | Calm |
| 21 | 56.67 | 37.14 | 32 | 20 | Calm |
| 22 | 20 | 20 | 100 | 42.5 | Distress |
| 23 | 26.67 | 25.71 | 80 | 100 | Depression |
| 24 | 26.67 | 20 | 84 | 82.5 | Distress |
| 25 | 50 | 54.29 | 68 | 40 | Distress |
| 26 | 33.33 | 28.57 | 72 | 87.5 | Depression |
| 27 | 86.67 | 60 | 44 | 22.5 | Calm |
| 28 | 73.33 | 74.29 | 40 | 60 | Elation |
| 29 | 56.67 | 65.71 | 64 | 77.5 | Depression |
| 30 | 20 | 20 | 84 | 52.5 | Distress |
| 31 | 23.33 | 20 | 64 | 75 | Depression |
| 32 |  | 34.29 | 20 | 32.5 | Elation |
| 33 | 96.67 | 77.14 | 68 | 25 | Calm |
| 34 |  |  |  |  | Missing data |
| 35 | 80 | 88.57 | 28 | 22.5 | Elation |
| 36 | 20 | 20 | 100 | 100 | Distress – Depression |
| 37 | 70 | 62.86 | 44 | 25 | Calm |
| 38 | 26.67 | 25.71 | 92 | 87.5 | Distress |
| 29 | 20 | 48.57 | 100 | 95 | Distress |
| 40 | 30 | 31.43 | 72 | 52.5 | Distress |
| 41 | 43.33 | 20 | 88 | 67.5 | Distress |
| 42 | 56.67 | 65.71 | 84 | 77.5 | Distress |
| 43 | 40 | 20 | 56 | 20 | Distress |
| 44 | 80 | 100 | 20 | 32.5 | Elation |
| 45 | 70 | 60 | 20 | 32.5 | Elation |
| 46 | 40 | 31.43 | 20 | 32.5 | Calm |
| 47 | 86.67 | 42.86 | 52 | 70 | Calm |
| 48 | 50 | 31.43 | 20 | 20 | Calm |
| 49 | 20 | 22.86 | 52 | 22.5 | Elation |
| 50 | 53.33 | 60 | 28 | 35 | Elation |
| 51 |  | 25.71 | 24 | 37.5 | Depression |
| 52 | 50 | 34.29 | 72 | 20 | Distress |
| 53 | 50 | 54.29 | 68 | 67.5 | Distress – Depression |
| 54 | 86.67 | 97.14 | 28 | 25 | Elation |
| 55 | 50 | 42.86 | 24 | 40 | Calm |
| 56 | 23.33 | 28.57 | 36 | 72.5 | Depression |
| 57 | 63.33 | 48.57 | 52 | 55 | Calm |
| 58 | 36.67 | 71.43 | 20 | 37.5 | Elation |
| 59 |  |  | 76 | 30 | Distress |
| 60 | 23.33 | 28.57 | 60 | 65 | Depression |
| 61 | 20 | 20 | 52 |  | Distress |
| 62 | 43.33 | 34.29 | 60 | 55 | Distress |
| 63 | 20 | 25.71 | 100 | 100 | Distress – Depression |
| 64 | 43.33 | 25.71 | 28 | 25 | Calm |
| 65 |  |  |  |  | Missing data |
| 66 | 40 | 28.57 | 68 | 57.5 | Distress |
| 67 | 66.67 | 40 | 80 | 40 | Distress |
| 68 | 63.33 | 45.71 | 20 | 25 | Calm |
| 69 | 60 | 54.29 | 40 | 27.5 | Calm |
| 70 | 20 | 37.14 | 48 | 47.5 | Distress – Depression |
| 71 | 46.67 | 34.29 | 20 | 30 | Calm |
| 72 | 50 | 54.29 | 20 | 47.5 | Elation |
| 73 |  |  |  |  | Missing data |
| 74 | 30 | 25.71 | 92 | 65 | Distress |
| 75 | 30 | 25.71 | 72 | 30 | Distress |
| 76 | 43.33 | 48.57 | 64 | 55 | Distress |
| 77 | 30 | 25.71 | 28 | 40 | Depression |
| 78 | 63.33 | 22.86 |  | 77.5 | Depression |
| 79 | 20 | 20 | 96 | 85 | Distress |
| 80 | 20 | 20 | 68 | 80 | Depression |
| 81 | 53.33 | 60 | 36 | 35 | Elation |
| 82 | 53.33 | 60 | 100 | 100 | Distress – Depression |
| 83 |  |  | 100 | 100 | Distress – Depression |
| 84 | 23.33 | 20 | 92 | 65 | Distress |
| 85 |  | 20 | 52 | 20 | Distress |
| 86 | 20 | 20 | 72 | 47.5 | Distress |
| 87 | 73.33 | 94.29 | 24 | 47.5 | Elation |
| 88 | 53.33 | 31.43 | 68 | 60 | Distress |
| 89 | 46.67 | 25.71 | 36 | 62.5 | Depression |

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Theme | N | % |
| **Distress**  **Depression**  **Calm**  **Elation**  **Distress-Depression** | 36  12  18  14  6 | 41.86  13.95  20.93  16.28  6.98 |

**Criminal Narratives**

Proportion Criminal Narrative Themes by Case.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Case** | **Professional** | **Hero** | **Revenger** | **Victim** | **Dominant Theme** |
| 1 | 28.89 | 25 | 45 | 60 | Victim |
| 2 | 40 | 32.5 | 31.67 | 51.43 | Victim |
| 3 | 66.67 | 50 | 66.67 | 77.14 | Victim |
| 4 | 86.67 | 90 | 30 | 42.86 | Professional |
| 5 | 31.11 | 20 | 40 | 77.14 | Victim |
| 6 | 60 | 72.5 | 66.67 | 77.14 | Victim |
| 7 | 82.22 | 35 | 98.33 | 74.29 | Revenger |
| 8 | 20 | 20 | 20 | 20 | Unclassified |
| 9 | 24.44 | 32.5 | 45 | 45.71 | Revenger – Victim |
| 10 | 73.33 | 100 | 86.67 | 88.57 | Victim |
| 11 | 35.56 | 35 | 43.33 | 57.14 | Victim |
| 12 | 91.11 | 60 | 73.33 | 65.71 | Professional |
| 13 | 68.89 | 57.5 | 51.67 | 57.14 | Professional |
| 14 | 53.33 | 65 | 63.33 | 71.43 | Victim |
| 15 | 33.33 | 22.5 | 43.33 | 51.43 | Victim |
| 16 | 40 | 25 | 50 | 40 | Revenger |
| 17 | 71.11 | 75 | 73.33 | 88.57 | Victim |
| 18 | 42.22 | 60 | 30 | 31.43 | Hero |
| 19 | 20 | 20 | 28.33 | 31.43 | Victim |
| 20 | 66.67 | 52.5 | 51.67 |  | Professional |
| 21 | 82.22 | 42.5 | 51.67 | 45.71 | Professional |
| 22 | 20 | 20 | 33.33 | 31.43 | Revenger |
| 23 | 31.11 | 30 | 61.67 | 60 | Revenger |
| 24 | 37.78 | 40 | 46.67 | 42.86 | Revenger |
| 25 |  |  | 40 | 60 | Victim |
| 26 | 33.33 | 20 | 40 | 48.57 | Victim |
| 27 | 60 | 45 |  | 40 | Professional |
| 28 | 55.56 | 80 | 43.33 | 57.14 | Hero |
| 29 | 73.33 | 90 | 33.33 | 54.29 | Hero |
| 30 | 28.89 | 20 | 38.33 | 51.43 | Victim |
| 31 | 20 | 20 | 26.67 | 42.86 | Victim |
| 32 | 51.11 | 35 | 26.67 | 37.14 | Professional |
| 33 | 71.11 | 62.5 | 53.33 | 60 | Professional |
| 34 |  |  |  |  | Missing data |
| 35 | 51.11 | 65 | 55 | 80 | Victim |
| 36 | 28.89 | 20 | 53.33 | 71.43 | Victim |
| 37 | 48.89 | 45 | 76.67 | 65.71 | Revenger |
| 38 | 33.33 | 22.5 | 38.33 | 62.86 | Victim |
| 29 | 51.11 | 30 |  | 60 | Victim |
| 40 | 22.22 | 20 |  |  | Professional |
| 41 | 42.22 | 20 | 83.33 | 68.57 | Revenger |
| 42 | 53.33 | 60 | 71.67 | 54.29 | Revenger |
| 43 | 37.78 | 20 | 38.33 | 34.29 | Revenger |
| 44 | 64.44 | 80 | 53.33 | 65.71 | Victim |
| 45 | 91.11 | 62.5 | 25 | 20 | Professional |
| 46 | 35.56 | 40 | 26.67 | 31.43 | Hero |
| 47 | 37.78 | 60 |  | 65.71 | Victim |
| 48 | 42.22 | 75 |  |  | Hero |
| 49 | 33.33 | 35 | 20 | 48.57 | Victim |
| 50 | 73.33 | 42.5 | 30 | 28.57 | Professional |
| 51 | 46.67 | 25 | 20 | 22.86 | Professional |
| 52 | 51.11 | 37.5 | 68.33 | 68.57 | Revenger – Victim |
| 53 | 35.56 | 20 | 48.33 | 54.29 | Victim |
| 54 | 77.78 | 75 | 48.33 | 57.14 | Professional |
| 55 | 37.78 | 55 |  | 54.29 | Victim |
| 56 | 28.89 | 40 | 35 | 51.43 | Victim |
| 57 | 48.89 | 27.5 | 35 | 31.43 | Professional |
| 58 | 46.67 |  | 40 | 37.14 | Professional |
| 59 | 55.56 | 35 | 93.33 | 40 | Revenger |
| 60 | 64.44 | 22.5 | 41.67 | 45.71 | Professional |
| 61 |  |  |  |  | Missing data |
| 62 | 57.78 | 62.5 | 41.67 | 40 | Hero |
| 63 | 24.44 | 20 | 46.67 | 34.29 | Revenger |
| 64 | 37.78 | 40 | 40 | 57.14 | Victim |
| 65 | 22.22 | 20 | 26.67 |  | Revenger |
| 66 | 51.11 | 32.5 | 63.33 | 62.86 | Revenger |
| 67 | 37.78 | 35 |  | 57.14 | Victim |
| 68 | 73.33 | 25 | 41.67 | 34.29 | Professional |
| 69 | 62.22 | 57.5 | 35 | 37.14 | Professional |
| 70 |  | 25 | 31.67 | 34.29 | Victim |
| 71 | 86.67 | 20 | 35 | 20 | Professional |
| 72 | 75.56 | 62.5 | 36.67 | 25.71 | Professional |
| 73 |  |  |  |  | Missing data |
| 74 | 26.67 | 57.5 | 38.33 | 71.43 | Victim |
| 75 | 51.11 | 32.5 | 61.67 | 57.14 | Revenger |
| 76 | 44.44 | 60 | 45 | 40 | Hero |
| 77 | 24.44 |  | 33.33 | 40 | Victim |
| 78 |  | 20 | 46.67 | 77.14 | Victim |
| 79 | 40 | 20 | 35 | 51.43 | Victim |
| 80 | 24.44 | 20 | 46.67 | 48.57 | Victim |
| 81 | 84.44 | 67.5 | 51.67 | 31.43 | Professional |
| 82 | 42.22 | 30 | 53.33 | 62.86 | Victim |
| 83 | 37.78 | 20 |  |  | Professional |
| 84 | 37.78 | 20 | 31.67 | 45.71 | Victim |
| 85 | 20 | 20 | 26.67 | 42.86 | Victim |
| 86 | 24.44 | 27.5 | 23.33 | 48.57 | Victim |
| 87 | 80 | 95 | 31.67 | 34.29 | Hero |
| 88 | 57.78 | 20 | 73.33 | 42.86 | Revenger |
| 89 | 62.22 | 60 | 40 | 48.57 | Professional |

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Theme | N | % |
| **Victim**  **Revenger**  **Professional**  **Hero**  **Revenger-Victim**  **Unclassified** | 37  15  22  8  2  1 | 43.53  17.65  25.88  9.41  2.35  1.18 |

**Criminal Narrative Experience**

Proportion of Criminal Narrative Experience Themes by Case.

|  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Case** | **Calm Professional** | **Elated Hero** | **Distressed Revenger** | **Depressed Victim** | **DR/DV** | **Dominant Theme** |
| 1 | 28 | 32.17 | 57.5 | 35.38 | 47.59 | Distressed Revenger |
| 2 | 26 | 32.17 | 50 | 32.31 | 42.07 | Distressed Revenger |
| 3 | 36 | 73.91 | 77.5 | 36.92 | 59.31 | Distressed Revenger |
| 4 | 76 | 69.57 | 45 | 43.08 | 44.14 | Calm Professional |
| 5 | 20 | 33.04 | 66.25 | 44.62 | 56.55 | Distressed Revenger |
| 6 | 62 | 73.04 | 85 | 20 | 55.86 | Distressed Revenger |
| 7 | 52 | 74.78 | 98.75 | 60 | 81.38 | Distressed Revenger |
| 8 | 20 | 24.35 | 32.5 | 36.92 | 34.48 | Depressed Victim |
| 9 | 26 | 24.35 | 61.25 | 81.54 | 70.34 | Depressed Victim |
| 10 | 90 | 82.61 | 70 | 47.69 | 60 | Calm Professional |
| 11 | 30 | 26.96 | 62.5 | 44.62 | 54.48 | Distressed Revenger |
| 12 | 60 | 96.52 | 80 | 26.15 | 55.86 | Elated Hero |
| 13 | 64 | 62.61 | 60 | 36.92 | 49.66 | Calm Professional |
| 14 | 66 | 49.57 | 68.75 | 69.23 | 68.97 | Depressed Victim |
| 15 | 22 | 26.96 | 48.75 | 40 | 44.83 | Distressed Revenger |
| 16 | 28 | 34.78 | 56.25 | 41.54 | 49.66 | Distressed Revenger |
| 17 | 72 | 59.13 | 91.25 | 89.23 | 90.34 | Distressed Revenger |
| 18 | 24 | 65.22 | 38.75 | 32.31 | 35.86 | Elated Hero |
| 19 | 20 | 20 | 37.5 | 69.23 | 51.72 | Depressed Victim |
| 20 | 54 | 64.35 | 76.25 |  |  | Distressed Revenger |
| 21 | 46 | 60.87 | 51.25 | 20 | 37.24 | Elated Hero |
| 22 | 20 | 20 | 45 | 52.31 | 48.28 | Depressed Victim |
| 23 | 34 | 26.09 | 68.75 | 89.23 | 77.93 | Depressed Victim |
| 24 | 30 | 27.83 | 56.25 | 75.38 | 64.83 | Depressed Victim |
| 25 |  |  | 63.75 | 36.92 | 51.72 | Distressed Revenger |
| 26 | 30 | 25.22 | 48.75 | 80 | 62.76 | Depressed Victim |
| 27 | 36 | 63.48 |  | 23.08 |  | Elated Hero |
| 28 | 50 | 71.3 | 50 | 53.85 | 51.72 | Elated Hero |
| 29 | 66 | 68.7 | 48.75 | 64.62 | 55.86 | Elated Hero |
| 30 | 20 | 20 | 57.5 | 52.31 | 55.17 | Distressed Revenger |
| 31 | 20 | 20.87 | 32.5 | 73.85 | 51.03 | Depressed Victim |
| 32 | 34 |  | 27.5 | 27.69 | 27.59 | Calm Professional |
| 33 | 48 | 83.48 | 72.5 | 23.08 | 50.34 | Elated Hero |
| 34 |  |  |  |  |  | Missing data |
| 35 | 44 | 81.74 | 58.75 | 29.23 | 45.52 | Elated Hero |
| 36 | 20 | 20.87 | 73.75 | 92.31 | 82.07 | Depressed Victim |
| 37 | 42 | 64.35 | 77.5 | 24.62 | 53.79 | Distressed Revenger |
| 38 | 32 | 24.35 | 55 | 84.62 | 68.28 | Depressed Victim |
| 39 | 48 | 42.61 |  | 90.77 |  | Depressed Victim |
| 40 | 28 | 29.57 |  | 52.31 |  | Depressed Victim |
| 41 | 24 | 36.52 | 90 | 63.08 | 77.93 | Distressed Revenger |
| 42 | 32 | 68.7 | 78.75 | 61.54 | 71.03 | Distressed Revenger |
| 43 | 20 | 28.7 | 51.25 | 20 | 37.24 | Distressed Revenger |
| 44 | 60 | 87.83 | 55 | 27.69 | 42.76 | Elated Hero |
| 45 | 68 | 63.48 | 23.75 | 27.69 | 25.52 | Elated Hero |
| 46 | 32 | 36.52 | 26.25 | 32.31 | 28.97 | Elated Hero |
| 47 | 36 | 65.22 |  | 56.92 |  | Elated Hero |
| 48 | 52 | 48.7 |  | 20 |  | Calm Professional |
| 49 | 20 | 31.3 | 42.5 | 21.54 | 33.1 | Distressed Revenger |
| 50 | 50 | 54.78 | 30 | 32.31 | 31.03 | Elated Hero |
| 51 | 28 |  | 21.25 | 32.31 | 26.21 | Depressed Victim |
| 52 | 34 | 52.17 | 80 | 24.62 | 55.17 | Distressed Revenger |
| 53 | 38 | 39.13 | 61.25 | 56.92 | 59.31 | Distressed Revenger |
| 54 | 68 | 92.17 | 45 | 23.08 | 35.17 | Elated Hero |
| 55 | 32 | 54.78 |  | 46.15 |  | Elated Hero |
| 56 | 26 | 29.57 | 37.5 | 67.69 | 51.03 | Depressed Victim |
| 57 | 32 | 48.7 | 40 | 46.15 | 42.76 | Elated Hero |
| 58 | 62 |  | 35 | 30.77 | 33.1 | Calm Professional |
| 59 | 48 |  | 82.5 | 30.77 | 59.31 | Distressed Revenger |
| 60 | 40 | 33.91 | 47.5 | 58.46 | 52.41 | Depressed Victim |
| 61 |  | 20 |  |  |  | Missing data |
| 62 | 48 | 44.35 | 51.25 | 49.23 | 50.34 | Distressed Revenger |
| 63 | 24 | 22.61 | 53.75 | 89.23 | 69.66 | Distressed Revenger |
| 64 | 36 | 38.26 | 46.25 | 26.15 | 37.24 | Distressed Revenger |
| 65 | 28 |  |  |  |  | Missing data |
| 66 | 28 | 40 | 73.75 | 55.38 | 65.52 | Distressed Revenger |
| 67 | 28 | 46.09 |  | 38.46 |  | Elated Hero |
| 68 | 42 | 53.04 | 37.5 | 23.08 | 31.03 | Elated Hero |
| 69 | 66 | 52.17 | 40 | 26.15 | 33.79 | Calm Professional |
| 70 |  | 37.39 | 37.5 | 40 | 38.62 | Depressed Victim |
| 71 | 54 | 39.13 | 31.25 | 26.15 | 28.97 | Calm Professional |
| 72 | 58 | 57.39 | 33.75 | 36.92 | 35.17 | Calm Professional |
| 73 |  |  |  |  |  | Missing data |
| 74 | 36 | 33.91 | 62.5 | 66.15 | 64.14 | Depressed Victim |
| 75 | 32 | 40 | 70 | 32.31 | 53.1 | Distressed Revenger |
| 76 | 56 | 43.48 | 45 | 58.46 | 51.03 | Depressed Victim |
| 77 | 24 |  | 35 | 40 | 37.24 | Depressed Victim |
| 78 | 20 |  |  | 76.92 |  | Depressed Victim |
| 79 | 34 | 25.22 | 53.75 | 73.85 | 62.76 | Depressed Victim |
| 80 | 28 | 21.74 | 50 | 75.38 | 61.38 | Depressed Victim |
| 81 | 70 | 68.7 | 42.5 | 29.23 | 36.55 | Calm Professional |
| 82 | 36 | 49.57 | 62.5 | 95.38 | 77.24 | Depressed Victim |
| 83 | 28 |  |  |  |  | Missing data |
| 84 | 24 | 24.35 | 53.75 | 58.46 | 55.86 | Depressed Victim |
| 85 | 20 |  | 45 | 20 | 33.79 | Distressed Revenger |
| 86 | 24 | 22.61 | 43.75 | 46.15 | 44.83 | Depressed Victim |
| 87 | 88 | 81.74 | 28.75 | 36.92 | 32.41 | Calm Professional |
| 88 | 36 | 46.96 | 65 | 56.92 | 61.38 | Distressed Revenger |
| 89 | 58 | 43.48 | 36.25 | 58.46 | 46.21 | Depressed Victim |

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Theme | N | % |
| **Distressed Revenger**  **Depressed Victim**  **Calm Professional**  **Elated Hero** | 28  27  11  18 | 33.33  32.14  13.1  21.43 |

**Victim Roles**

Proportion of Victim Role Themes by Case.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- | --- | --- |
| **Case** | **Object** | **Vehicle** | **Person** | **Dominant Theme** |
| 23 | 25 | 8.33 | 16.67 | Object |
| 24 | 8.33 | 8.33 | 20.83 | Person |
| 25 | 41.67 |  | 4.17 | Object |
| 26 | 0 | 8.33 | 37.5 | Person |
| 27 | 50 | 16.67 | 0 | Object |
| 28 | 16.67 | 8.33 | 29.17 | Person |
| 29 | 0 | 0 | 0 | Unclassified |
| 30 | 0 | 8.33 | 8.33 | Vehicle - Person |
| 31 | 8.33 | 0 | 0 | Object |
| 32 | 16.67 | 8.33 | 8.33 | Object |
| 33 | 33.33 | 33.33 | 16.67 | Object - Vehicle |
| 34 |  |  |  | Missing data |
| 35 | 33.33 | 25 | 25 | Vehicle - Person |
| 36 | 8.33 | 8.33 | 33.33 | Person |
| 37 | 16.67 | 33.33 | 12.5 | Vehicle |
| 38 | 0 | 25 | 45.83 | Person |
| 39 | 0 | 33.33 | 20.83 | Vehicle |
| 40 | 25 | 25 | 16.67 | Object - Vehicle |
| 41 | 0 | 16.67 | 12.5 | Vehicle |
| 42 | 33.33 | 25 | 20.83 | Object |
| 43 | 8.33 | 58.33 | 4.17 | Vehicle |
| 44 | 33.33 | 16.67 | 16.67 | Object |
| 45 | 16.67 | 8.33 | 29.17 | Person |
| 46 | 0 | 8.33 | 33.33 | Person |
| 47 | 8.33 |  |  | Object |
| 48 | 8.33 |  | 0 | Object |
| 49 | 16.67 | 8.33 | 16.67 | Object - Person |
| 50 | 25 | 8.33 | 12.5 | Person |
| 51 | 0 | 8.33 |  | Vehicle |
| 52 | 58.33 | 33.33 | 58.33 | Object - Person |
| 53 | 8.33 | 25 | 4.17 | Vehicle |
| 54 | 25 | 25 | 20.83 | Object - Vehicle |
| 55 | 100 | 58.33 | 37.5 | Object |
| 56 | 0 | 8.33 | 75 | Person |
| 57 | 8.33 | 8.33 | 16.67 | Person |
| 58 | 50 | 33.33 | 0 | Object |
| 59 | 0 | 8.33 | 12.5 | Person |
| 60 | 0 | 25 | 16.67 | Vehicle |
| 61 | 0 | 0 |  | Missing data |
| 62 | 0 | 33.33 | 4.17 | Vehicle |
| 63 | 0 | 0 | 16.67 | Person |
| 64 | 16.67 | 8.33 | 4.17 | Object |
| 65 |  | 8.33 |  | Vehicle |
| 66 | 0 | 33.33 | 16.67 | Vehicle |
| 67 | 50 | 16.67 | 4.17 | Object |
| 68 | 8.33 | 8.33 | 75 | Person |
| 69 | 100 | 100 | 100 | Unclassified |
| 70 | 25 | 0 | 50 | Person |
| 71 | 0 | 33.33 | 20.83 | Vehicle |
| 72 | 8.33 | 8.33 | 4.17 | Object - Vehicle |
| 73 |  |  |  | Missing data |
| 74 | 8.33 | 0 | 25 | Person |
| 75 | 8.33 | 41.67 | 41.67 | Vehicle - Person |
| 76 | 100 | 100 | 100 | Unclassified |
| 77 | 0 | 0 | 54.17 | Person |
| 78 | 25 | 16.67 | 25 | Object - Person |
| 79 | 75 | 8.33 | 62.5 | Object |
| 80 | 0 | 0 | 58.33 | Person |
| 81 | 25 | 8.33 | 41.67 | Person |
| 82 | 0 | 8.33 | 4.17 | Vehicle |
| 83 | 8.33 | 16.67 | 0 | Vehicle |
| 84 | 0 | 8.33 | 20.83 | Person |
| 85 | 0 | 8.33 | 8.33 | Vehicle - Person |
| 86 | 0 | 0 | 4.17 | Person |
| 87 | 25 | 0 | 0 | Object |
| 88 | 0 | 16.67 | 4.17 | Vehicle |
| 89 | 33.33 | 0 | 8.33 | Object |

|  |  |  |
| --- | --- | --- |
| Theme | N | % |
| **Object**  **Vehicle**  **Person**  **Vehicle – Person**  **Object – Vehicle**  **Object – Person**  **Unclassified** | 16  14  20  4  3  3  3 | 25.397  22.222  31.746  6.349  4.762  4.762  4.762 |