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**THE CRIMINAL EXPERIENCE OF MENTALLY
DISORDERED OFFENDERS**

ELIZABETH SPRUIN

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

The University of Huddersfield in collaboration with the International Research
Centre for Investigative Psychology

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Acknowledgements

I have actually completed my PhD! It is an exciting moment but also a surreal one, my dad always told me that once I finished school the umbilical cord would finally be cut. I use to laugh when he said that because I always thought I would never leave school and therefore, the umbilical cord would never really be broken.

To thank all the people that have helped and supported me these past few years would be an impossible task. That being said, there are a few key people I would like to thank as they have been my backbone during my numerous breakdowns, heartaches and moments of pure insanity. First and foremost, I would like to thank Belinda who has supported me and encouraged me over these past few years. She has encouraged me during the low times and motivated me during the better times and without her support, patience and tolerance through many of my breakdowns, I would have not been able to complete my studies. I would also like to thank my PhD supervisors, David and Donna, for teaching me about the various types of stress and the importance of always being prepared.

Most of all I would like to thank my parents for always standing by me through my long and often obscure career search. When I was 5 I am sure I wanted to be a police officer, when I was 12 I recall something about marrying Prince William to become a princess. At 14 I was fixated on becoming a professional hockey player and at 16 I ventured off to Liverpool and came back with the dream of one day working in my very own chippy. At 18 I went off to university with the goal of becoming a lawyer and at 18 ½ I realized I don't really care too much about politics and law. It was at the age of 19 that I decided psychology was for me. When I graduated with my psychology degree at 22 I told my parents my aspiration in life

was to become a Sexologist or perhaps an RCMP officer, needless to say, I ended up in England doing my Masters in Forensic Psychology and went on to do my PhD.

So what is the point of this brief but very important chronology of my career endeavours? It all comes down to this, despite the amount of times I have changed my mind as to my career path and despite the amount of times I have asked my parents to fund my prospective careers. They have supported me, both emotionally and financially and more importantly, they never stopped believing that I could accomplish anything I set my mind to, and for that reason, I am truly thankful and forever grateful. I therefore dedicate this thesis and all the hard work I have put into this Doctorate, to my parents, as a thank you for everything they have done for me.

To say thank you does not feel nearly enough, but for now, its all I can offer and the promise that once I pay back my student loans, find a job, buy a house and eventually settle down, I will pay them back for all that they have given me. Until then however, I think the best I can say is your daughter is a Doctor, a head doctor that is, clearly not a real Doctor as dad will remind me, but a Doctor nonetheless! Dad, you may now officially cut the umbilical cord. Mum, you may now retire – well, let's not get ahead of ourselves, semi-retire.

Abstract

Mentally Disordered Offenders (MDOs) are a distinct population of offenders. In contrast to offenders serving prisons sentences, MDOs are diverted from the Criminal Justice System to services where their mental health needs can be adequately addressed. Despite the distinct management and treatment of these offenders, to date, there has been no research into the personal narratives and emotions that are connected to how MDOs understand their criminal actions. Narratives can be seen as cognitive structures that dynamically filter and order experience in ways that reflect their content. Emotions of criminals are often what propel an offender's thoughts into actions, which subsequently provides the internal motives for the crime and the emotional gratifications which sustain a criminal lifestyle. To that end, this thesis explores the personal narratives and emotions of MDOs, exploring these concepts will subsequently lead to a greater understanding of the unique thought processes and emotions of the criminal experience, and of how these factors vary across crimes and offenders.

Seventy adult male offenders who have been convicted of an offence and were currently sectioned under the Mental Health Act 2007 or recently been released to a housing association, were recruited for the study. The investigation was carried out in three stages. The first stage explored the criminal narratives of the offenders and the association these narratives had with psychiatric diagnoses and offence types. The second stage examined the emotional experience of committing an offence and the relationship these emotions had with psychiatric diagnoses and offence types. The final stage proposed an emotional narrative framework for MDOs; this framework encompassed the psychiatric diagnosis, emotions and narratives which present themselves during the commission of an offence. This framework explored all these variables across offence types and suggested that specific roles, emotions and diagnoses were related to particular offences. The five studies conducted concurrently through these three stages are discussed in the context of theoretical and therapeutic development, and contribution to the investigative discipline. In summary, the findings of this thesis expand on the current literature by uniquely examining the roles and emotions that MDOs experience during the commission of their crimes. These findings also highlight areas for future research.

***Keywords:* Criminal Narratives, Narrative Roles, Emotions During a Criminal Offence, Mentally Disordered Offenders, Investigative Psychology**

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Chapter 1

Mentally Disordered Offenders

1.1 What is a mentally disordered offender?

The aim of this thesis is to explore the thinking processes of Mentally Disordered Offenders (MDO's), by investigating how these offenders view their crimes and the emotions that drove their criminal behaviour. There is very little known about how these offenders view the world and there is even less known about how these offenders perceive and interpret their criminal actions. Nonetheless, before we can analyse MDOs' interpretations of their offending and how these interpretations may be associated or influenced by their mental disorder. It is imperative to first understand the general differences between MDOs and the general offending population. More specifically, it is important to explore the definition of what constitutes a MDO followed by how they are managed and treated. Thereby providing an overview of what makes this population distinct from other offending populations. It is also important to explore the relationship between mental disorder and offending in order to begin to understand how an offender's mental disorder may affect their criminal behaviour and experience.

1.1.1 The definition of 'mental disorder'

Under the 1983 Mental Health Act (MHA), 'mental disorder' was loosely defined as "mental illness, arrested or incomplete development of the mind, psychopathic disorder and any other disorder or disability of mind" (p. 2). Four legal categories were also provided: *Mental Illness*, *Psychopathic Disorder*, *Mental Impairment* and *Severe Mental Impairment*. Although what constituted Mental Illness was not defined in the Act, definitions for the latter three forms of mental disorder were provided. *Psychopathic Disorder* was defined as a "persistent disorder or disability of mind resulting in abnormally aggressive or seriously irresponsible conduct" (p. 2). *Mental Impairment* was defined as a "state of arrested or incomplete development of mind which includes significant impairment of intelligence and social

irresponsible conduct on the part of the person concerned” (p. 1). Finally, *Severe Mental Impairment* was similarly defined to *Mental Impairment*, except that the word ‘significant’ was replaced with ‘severe’ (McMurran, Khalifa, & Gibbson, 2009).

In the MHA 2007, these four forms of mental disorder were abandoned and replaced by an overarching definition of ‘mental disorder’, with the main criteria being that the individual has ‘any disorder or disability of the mind’. As a result, this broad definition of mental disorder encompasses a range of mental disorders and impairments, including: personality disorders, eating disorders, autistic spectrum disorders, mental illnesses and learning disabilities. It has been suggested that these vulnerabilities create an individual who is more likely to develop: poor social skills (Melamed, 2012); impairments in appropriate problem solving and coping mechanisms, emotional deficits, such as shallow affect (Hare, 1993); lack of empathy, guilt and remorse (Mullen, 2006), and emotional impairments (Blair, 2005; Tremeau, 2006). As it can be seen, the range of disorders and impairments classified within the definition of ‘mental disorder’ is vast. Therefore, a vital aspect of the mental health profession and an important issue for individuals who have been diagnosed, is specifying the particular disorder and identifying the psychological and behavioural effects it may have on the individual.

The Mental Health System has developed a particular vocabulary and terminology in order to aid clear professional communication of an individuals’ mental disorder through diagnosis. Specifically, a diagnosis informs clinicians as to the likely aetiology, prognosis and appropriate treatment of a particular mental disorder. Mental health professionals therefore communally use standardised diagnostic criteria to increase the reliability of psychiatric diagnoses and improve professional communication (McMurran et al., 2009). One of the

most widely established classification systems for mental disorders is the Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders –V (DSM-V), created by the American Psychiatric Association (APA, 2012). The DSM classification system is descriptive and thereby enables clinicians from a range of theoretical orientations to use the classification system. The DSM-V defines mental disorder as a “clinically significant behavioral or psychological syndrome or pattern that occurs in an individual...is associated with present distress...or disability...or with a significant increased risk of suffering.”(p. xxxi). The manual further mentions, however, that "...there is no assumption that each category of mental disorder is a completely discrete entity with absolute boundaries dividing it from other mental disorders or from no mental disorder” (p. xxii). This definition therefore implies that, while there is a definition of what constitutes each category of mental disorder, these definitions do not have precise boundaries, and therefore an individual may have several disorders which place them within a number of categories, or that an individual may not have a clear category or diagnosis. Despite this clause, the categorization system does identify two distinct axes on which a mental disorder can be categorised:

Axis I: Clinical Disorders - These diagnoses present with acute symptoms which require specific treatment. Some of the most widely recognised disorders include schizophrenia, depression, anxiety disorders and bipolar disorder (APA, 2012).

Axis II: Personality Disorders and Mental Retardation - These disorders are considered lifelong problems which first arise in childhood, and include: antisocial personality disorder, paranoid personality disorder, obsessive-compulsive personality disorder and schizoid personality disorder to name a few (APA, 2012).

Overall, the term ‘mental disorder’ is an umbrella term used to refer to any abnormality that leads to impaired mental functioning or mental distress. Thus it encompasses everything from mild anxiety to schizophrenia and obsessive compulsive disorder. Accordingly, the DSM is utilised by a wide variety of professionals (e.g. psychiatrists, psychologists, social workers, nurses, occupational therapists and counsellors) in a wide array of contexts and clinical settings (e.g. hospital inpatient/outpatient settings, clinics, private practice and primary care), as a diagnosis provides a common language for the communication and understanding of the complexities of mental disorders for both mental health practitioners and patients.

1.1.2 The definition of a ‘mentally disordered offender’

In line with the above definition of mental disorder, it is equally important to apply this definition within an offending population (mentally disordered offenders (MDO)). The Home Office and Department of Health (1995) defined MDOs as “mentally disordered persons who commit, or are suspected of committing, criminal offences”. Similarly, the Crown Prosecution Service (2013) uses the term ‘mentally disordered offender’ to describe a person who has a disability or disorder of the mind, and has committed or is suspected of committing a criminal offence. As such, an individual is considered responsible for their crime if they are established to be sound of mind, known in criminal law as: *mens rea* (Appelbaum & Gutheil, 1991). *Mens rea*, is the basis for establishing not only criminal accountability, but also the severity of punishment. Thus, if *mens rea* cannot be established due to diminished responsibility (e.g. mental disorder), according to the law, an offender cannot be held liable, and nor can they be punished for their crime (Bal & Koenraadi, 2000).

Accordingly, MDOs are not usually sentenced for their crimes via imprisonment; many MDOs however are initially sent to prison and later diverted to mental health facilities. Such

locations are typically secure hospitals, which implement specialised treatment services emphasising the best welfare for the individual and contribute to addressing offending behaviour whilst improving the MDO's mental health (Bal & Koenraadi, 2000). MDOs therefore receive health and social care within a suitable environment (Riordan, Wix, Kenny-Herbert & Humphreys, 2000). There is however some debate as to whether or not MDOs should enter the criminal justice system at all. In particular, although such individuals require treatment, there is still a lack of clarity as to when a diversion to mental health services should occur given a MDO can be diverted at any stage of the criminal justice process (Soothill, Rogers & Mairead, 2008). The general consensus is that those offenders with less complicated mental health problems are more likely to be treated within the prison environment, as they do not usually require the high level and complexity of care that is provided by specialised hospital units for more complex MDO's (McMurran et al., 2009). This process therefore diverts the more severe MDOs from the criminal justice system to services where their mental health needs can be adequately addressed. When MDOs are sent to mental health facilities for treatment their care is focused on stabilizing the mental disorder, enhancing independent functioning and encouraging the maintenance of internal and external controls that prevent a MDO from committing other offences (Lamb, Weinberger & Gross, 1999).

Once an offender is admitted to a secure hospital, their conviction(s) and sentence, if applicable, becomes superseded by the MHA (2007). This means that the MDO will remain with mental health services until they are considered no longer a danger to themselves or to others (Rutherford & Duggan, 2007) and/or until their condition is 'cured' or remedied (Ashworth & Gostin, 1985). As such, once being sectioned under the MHA, it is possible a MDO can serve more (or less) time in hospital than they would have served if given a

determinate prison sentence. This contrasts to the procedures implemented within a prison environment, as most prisoners, regardless of their mental health, will be released upon completion of their sentence. This however excludes those prisoners who have indeterminate sentences, whereby the Parole Board may grant release on licence once the minimum period imposed to meet the requirements of retribution and deterrence has been served (Ministry of Justice, 2011). In essence, the procedures implemented to secure and control offenders with mental disorders compared to those without complex mental health problems contrasts greatly, overtly illustrating the differences among the two offending populations.

1.2 The difference among the management of offending populations

The two main systems that process and manage offenders (the criminal justice system and mental health system), differ drastically due to the distinct nature of the populations of which they serve. The *criminal justice system* deprives an offender of their liberty through imprisonment, and is designed to: (1) deter the offender from committing further crime; (2) punish the offender for breaking the law; (3) prevent the offender from committing another offence; and (4) to reform and rehabilitate the offender (Morris & Rothman, 1995). In particular, the prison regime was developed to provide punishment by removing an offender from society, to exercise maximum control over the offender's life and seeks to deter the offender from offending again on release (Knight & Stephens, 2009). That being said, it is well known that there is a high prevalence of mental disorder among prisoners (Singleton, Meltzer & Gatward, 1998). Singleton and colleagues conducted a study for the Office of National Statistics and found that 90 per cent of prisoners suffered one or more mental disorders. This high rate of mental disorder among prisoners has led to provisions of healthcare within the prison system to aid those prisoners who have mental health problems. These provisions however have been repeatedly criticised, particularly in relation to the

quality of care provided and failure to meet the treatment needs of MDOs (Birmingham, 2003). As such, those prisoners diagnosed with severe or complex mental health problems are usually transferred to secure hospital environments where their mental health needs can be prioritised.

Whilst offenders within prison are also offered rehabilitation programmes and provided with sentence plans that focus on their risk of offending, the main focus within a prison is security. For example, 'Lockdowns' (a course of action to control the movement of inmates) in prisons are the epitome of security and control and overrule all other activities, including therapeutic treatment (The Sainsbury Centre for Mental Health, 2006). Furthermore, research has shown that there is a 30–35% non-attendance rate at in-reach treatment programmes, with it suggested that prison security contributes significantly to this statistic. As Knight and Stephens (2009) explain, prison 'culture' is based on the principles of punishment, security and control and these codes conflict with the health service's emphasis on welfare.

The mental health system on the other hand is designed with an integration of security measures and therapy in order to provide treatment that is the best interest of the patient whilst still protecting the public. As such, although security also takes priority in hospitals, the forensic service 'culture' is based on principles that underpin the treatment program for the individuals mental disorder, which is supported and implemented by a multidisciplinary team through a biopsychosocial approach – a model which postulates that biological, psychological, and social factors, all play a significant role in human functioning in the context of a mental disorder (McMurran et al., 2009). Therefore, unlike prisons, the mental health system is more able to provide a person-centred approach to treatment for complex mental disorders using evidence based models.

In essence, the ethos of prison is focused on the security and control of offenders, whereas the ethos within secure hospitals is founded on care and treatment of MDO's. It can therefore be suggested that these drastically different approaches across environments delineate the distinct differences between offenders with mental disorders and those without. It is these differences which will be explored throughout this thesis; investigating the effects of 'mental disorder' on offender's personal accounts of their crimes and the emotions which they exhibited during their offences. In particular, the population that was recruited for the current thesis are more disturbed and exhibit more complex cases of MDO's, as they are from hospitals and not suited to prisons. It is these offenders which have been vastly neglected within the investigative psychology discipline and specifically in regards to the criminal narrative approach. As such, the criminal narratives of the MDO's within this thesis will be compared to previous research conducted with prison populations. The differences between the various types of mental disorders within the current population will also be explored (e.g., Axis 1, Axis II, and no formal diagnosis).

1.3 The role of mental health and offending

Whilst the association between mental disorder and offending is not a new concept, there has been growing consideration around the prevalence of offenders with mental disorders and their contact with the criminal justice system (Hodgins, Mednick, Brennan, Schulsinger & Engberg, 1996). Previous research offers some suggestions on the relationship between individuals with mental disorders and their contact with the criminal justice system, including mental disorder being a risk factor for offending. In particular, it has been suggested that there are no predisposing factors in regards to mental disorder that inherently increase the propensity for offending. Rather, it is the lack of mental health services within the community that have contributed to the increased interaction of individuals with mental health problems

and the criminal justice system (Hartford, Heslop, Stitt, & Hoch, 2005; Riordan, 2004).

Despite the reasons as to why mental health often appears to play a role in offending, over the past few decades, many researchers have suggested that individuals with certain mental disorders (e.g., schizophrenia, antisocial personality disorder, affective disorder) are at a higher risk of being in contact with the criminal justice system compared to those individuals without these mental disorders (McMurran et al., 2009; Soothill et al., 2008). However, establishing the association between mental disorder and offending is a difficult and often controversial issue due to: a) complexities of defining each factor b) the heterogeneous nature of each factor and c) the fact that both are partially determined by culture (Gunn, 1977). Nonetheless, the following section will discuss the role various mental disorders are considered to play within criminality.

1.4 The relationship between mental illness and offending

There has been an abundance of research over the years which has explored the relationship between offenders with ‘major mental illness’ (e.g., schizophrenia, psychosis, depression and bipolar disorder) and criminality (e.g., Brennan, Mednick & Hodgins, 2000; Hodgins, 1992; Hodgins et al., 1996; Steadman, Holzer, Ganju & Jono 1998; Swanson, Holzer, Ganju & Jono, 1990; Tiihonen, Isohanni, Rasanen, Koiranen & Moring, 1997). The vast majority of this research has indicated that those with ‘severe mental illness’; medical conditions that disrupt a person's thinking, feeling, mood, ability to relate to others and daily functioning, are at an increased risk to commit violent crimes compared to the general population (McMurran et al., 2009). This is a robust finding that has been reported by numerous independent research groups in both industrialised (Areseneault, Moffitt, Caspi, Taylor & Silva, 2000; Brennan et al.) and underdeveloped countries (Volavka, Laska, & Baker, 1997). These findings have also been observed in research within distinct cultures, social services and

criminal justice systems, who have investigated various cohorts and samples implementing a number of experimental designs, such as prospective longitudinal investigations on birth cohorts (Arseneault et al. 2000; Brennan et al. 2000) and population cohorts (Wallace et al. 2004), follow up studies comparing patients and their neighbours (Belfrage, 1998), random samples of incarcerated offenders (Fazel & Danesh, 2002) and complete cohorts of homicide offenders (Erb, Hodgins, Freese, Müller-Isberner, Jöckel, 2001).

While this heterogeneous group has often been indicated as having a high association with criminal activity, the majority of participants within the present thesis that exhibited a major mental illness were diagnosed with either schizophrenia or an affective disorder, accordingly, the specific relationship between these mental illnesses and offending will be explored as they have also been found to be some of the most heavily associated with offending.

1.4.1 Schizophrenia

Schizophrenia is a complex chronic mental illness that is characterised by disturbances in thinking, emotion, behaviour and perception (McMurran et al., 2009). According to Perala et al. (2007), the prevalence rate of schizophrenia in the general British population is approximately 1 per cent, with an average age of onset being between 15 and 45 years old (Gelder, Cowen, & Harrison, 2006). Within an offending populations however, the prevalence rate is approximately 6 per cent (Shaw, Appleby & Amos, 1999; Tiihonen & Hakola, 1995). Although the specific symptoms of schizophrenia differs for each patient, in general, those with the disorder typically present with persistent delusions, hallucinations, disturbed thinking and bizarre behaviour (McMurran et al.). These symptoms are usually classified as positive symptoms (e.g., hallucinations or delusions) or negative symptoms (e.g. behaviors such as a withdrawal or lack of functioning) (APA, 2000).

Prior to the 1980s, most mental health professionals believed there was no link between schizophrenia and crime (Mullen, 2001). However over the past few decades the symptoms of schizophrenia has created an abundance of research, whereby researchers have explored the possible link between schizophrenia and offending. There is now evidence indicating an association between schizophrenia and offending behaviour, in particular, violent offending (Brennan et al., 2000; Lindqvist & Allebeck, 1990), with some studies also demonstrating an association between schizophrenia and non-violent offending (Modestin & Ammann, 1996; Tiihonen et al., 1997). For instance, Modestin and Ammann investigated the lifetime prevalence of criminal behaviour in 282 schizophrenic patients. The same number of control subjects were also drawn from the general population and matched with the patients for sex, age, marital status, occupational level and community size. The results showed that schizophrenic patients were 5 times more likely to have been convicted of violent crimes, 2.5 times more likely to have been convicted of crimes against property, and almost 3 times more likely to have violated drug laws than the control subjects. Similarly, Tiihonen & Hakola (1995) found that the risk of homicidal behaviour for schizophrenic men was 6.5 times higher than that of the general population. More recently, researchers at the Karolinska Institute, one of Europe's largest and most prestigious medical universities, carried out the largest study in the field of schizophrenia and crime to date. They compared the rate of violent crime in over 8,000 individuals diagnosed with schizophrenia between 1973 and 2006, and compared this to a control group of 80,000 people from the general population. They found that 28% of people with schizophrenia were convicted of a violent crime, compared to 5% of the general population (Fazel & Danesh, 2002).

Although there appears to be an association between schizophrenia and offending behaviour, the research also indicates that offences committed by those with schizophrenia contributes relatively little to overall societal violence. According to the Department of Health (2011), between April 1996 and April 1999 there were 1,564 people convicted of homicide in England and Wales; of these, 164 (10%) were found to have symptoms of schizophrenia during the commission of their offence. Similarly, Shaw et al (1999) found that only 5 per cent of individuals convicted of homicide had schizophrenia. Thus in general, whilst research has indicated that a diagnosis of schizophrenia is associated with an increased risk of violent offending, the magnitude of this risk is small, for instance, those with schizophrenia only have a 1 in 10,000 annual risk of committing homicide (Wallace, Mullen, & Burgess, 2004), and in any given year, 99.97 per cent of those with schizophrenia will not be convicted of serious violence (Walsh, Buchanan, & Fahy, 2002). Despite the overall low base rates, there is some evidence of a relationship between schizophrenia and violence, taking a more narrative and inquisitive approach in understanding this link in these low base rate populations may be important in further understanding the complexities of schizophrenia and offending behaviour, as it is an area that has yet to be explored by researchers, specifically, understanding, through an offenders eyes, why their mental illness may impact their criminal behaviour.

1.4.2 Affective disorders

While schizophrenia is probably the most researched mental disorder in relation to criminality, other clinical disorders have also been explored in relation to criminal activity. Previous research has suggested that individuals with affective disorders are more likely to act in an aggressive or violent manner, with the prevalence of affective disorders in the general population considered to be approximately 1 per cent, with a mean age onset of 21

years old (McMurran et al., 2009). Affective is a term used to describe an individual's externally displayed mood, accordingly, affective disorders are characterised by severe and disabling mood disturbances (Soothill et al., 2008). There are two main categories of affective disorder, these being: depression and mania. Depressive disorders include dysthymia and major depression, with some of the symptoms including low mood, reduced energy and decrease in activity (Eaves, Tien & Wilson, 2000). Mania is much less common than depression and can be seen as the opposite of prolonged low mood, instead individuals with mania exhibit prolonged elated moods. These elevated moods are usually accompanied by over-activity, grandiose ideas, and unrealistic plans (McMurran et al). Bipolar affective disorder is considered a severe mental illness whereby those affected have prolonged episodes of severe mood disturbances (e.g., depression and mania). The term 'bipolar' is used to highlight the fact that these patients have mood disturbance at both poles of the spectrum in that they have episodes of both mania and depression (McMurran et al).

Over the past few decades these characteristics of affective disorders (e.g., depression and mania) have created an abundance of research, with researchers exploring the possible link between a mood disorder and offending behaviour. For example, Modestin Hug and Ammann (1997) studied 267 men who were diagnosed with an affective disorder, such as bipolar affective disorder, and major, minor or intermittent depressive disorder. These participants were matched with a control sample from the general population; results indicated that the individuals with the affective disorder were more frequently criminally registered in all types of crimes, excluding sexual offences and violations of traffic law. Furthermore, 42 per cent of individuals with affective disorder had a criminal record, compared to only 31 per cent of the matched controls. Another study conducted by Hodgins, Lapalme and Toupin (1999), carried out a two year follow-up study of 30 participants with affective disorder and 74 participants

with schizophrenia after discharge from one of three secure hospitals in Canada. They found that twice as many participants with affective disorders (33%) were convicted of a criminal offence than those with schizophrenia (15%). More recently, researchers compared the rate of crime in over 3,700 patients with affective disorder between 1973 and 2004. The findings showed that 21 per cent of the patients with affective disorder and a concurrent diagnosis of severe substance abuse were convicted of violent offences (Fazel, Grann, Goodwin & Långström 2009).

Although the above studies do indicate some evidence suggesting an increase risk of offending for those with an affective disorder, there has been relatively little research focusing specifically on the different types of affective disorders and affective disorders without co-morbidity or dual diagnosis. As a result, it is difficult to disentangle links between different affective disorders and offending behaviour (Short, Lennox, Steverson, Senior, & Shaw, 2012), thus making the exploration of these types of disorder an ongoing area for future research. Accordingly, implementing a narrative perspective in understanding the association between the specific types of affective disorders and criminal behaviour, will allow for a more personal understanding into the specific characteristics which are motivational forces behind offending behaviour.

1.4.3 Conclusions: Mental illness and offending

These studies have highlighted a number of conclusions in regards to mental illness and offending. Firstly, a small percentage of individuals with a mental illness are at increased risk of violent behaviour and minor offences compared to those without a mental illness, with the magnitude of this risk varying depending on the specific disorder. Secondly, the violent offences committed by those with a mental illness contributes relatively little to the overall

societal violence. Lastly, the role that mental illness plays in regards to offending behaviour is a complicated relationship, as such, further research investigating the impact mental illness may have on offending behaviour through the narrative process may be vital in understanding this association further.

Overall, whilst the vast majority of researchers have now accepted that there is an association between some types of mental illness and offending, the nature of this association is still being explored. It is likely that no single aetiological pathway can explain the link between certain mental disorders and offending, as these pathways are likely to vary from individual to individual. For example, some individuals offending are directly driven by their mental disorder (e.g. assaulting a family member as they have a delusion that they believe this person is plotting to murder them). Whilst for other individuals, their offending maybe an indirect result of their mental disorder, for instance, an individual with an affective disorder may become frustrated that they are unable to sustain employment due to their disturbances in mood, thus leading them to commit crimes to vent their frustration. In essence, the relationship between mental illness and offending is complex and sometimes controversial, whilst there is speculation and evidence to suggest that those with severe mental illness are more likely to commit an offence than those without severe mental illness, the literature which supports these claims often exhibits low base rate percentages, as indicated in the above examples. As such, whilst the association between mental illness and crime has been establish within previous research, the extent of this association is still widely speculative.

1.5 The relationship between personality disorder and offending

Personality can be defined as the characteristic manner in which an individual acts, thinks and feels in a variety of circumstances. Whereas personality disorder, is a diagnostic term

used to describe an individual whose difficulties arise from the characteristic ways they act, think and feel. As a result of these difficulties, individuals diagnosed with a personality disorder are considered to have trouble managing their emotions and relating to others (McMurran et al., 2009). According to the APA (2000), personality disorders are “an enduring pattern of inner experience and behaviour that deviates markedly from the expectations of the individual’s culture,” (p. 629) and that this pattern is manifested in two or more areas of cognition, affect, interpersonal functioning and impulse control. Furthermore, the behavioural pattern must be pervasive across a number of personal and social situations; lead to clinically significant distress or impairment in social, occupational, or other vital areas of functioning; be stable; of long duration; and its onset traced back to adolescence or early adulthood (Short et al., 2012).

The prevalence of personality disorder in the UK general population is approximately 4.4 per cent, with men more likely to have been diagnosed with a personality disorder (5.4%) than women (3.4%) (Coid et al., 2006a). Furthermore, it has been well established that people in forensic mental health settings have higher rates of personality disorder, especially Antisocial Personality Disorder (ASPD), than people in the general community (Fazel & Danesh, 2002). These associations between personality disorder and offending are not surprising given the rather tautological definition (e.g., traits of hostility, law breaking and impulsivity). That being said, the vast majority of research exploring these associations has typically focused on individuals with ASPD, of whom are at the greatest elevated risk of offending. This is primarily due to the characteristics associated with ASPD, which include; pervasive pattern of socially irresponsible, exploitative, and guiltless behaviour (Black, Gunter, & Loveless, 2010). Although, those with Borderline Personality Disorder (BPD) have also been shown to be heavily associated with offending, in particular, violent offending, this relationship is

primarily due to the characteristics associated with BPD, such as; emotional instability, disturbed patterns of thinking and impulsive behaviour (Raine, 1993). Due to these two specific personality disorders showing high associations with criminal activity, and given the majority of participants within the present thesis exhibited either ASPD or BPD, the specific relationship between these two personality disorders and offending will be explored in the proceeding sections.

1.5.1 Antisocial personality disorder

Although criminal behaviour, and in particular, violent behaviour, has been associated with a number of mental disorders, ASPD is most commonly associated with all types of criminal behaviour and is known to be heavily associated with a criminal lifestyle (e.g., Fridell, Hesse, Jaeger, Kuhlhorn, 2008). ASPD is characterised by a pervasive pattern of disregard for, and violation of, the rights of others; these characteristics begin in childhood and develop to create an impulsive and aggressive individual who has a pattern of early law-breaking behaviours (Erikson, 2008). Accordingly, there has been a significant amount of research which has indicated that ASPD is a predictor of violent offending (e.g. Hare, 1996a; Hare, 1996b; Hodgins & Côte, 1993; Moran, Walsh, Tyrer, Burns, Creed & Fahy, 1993; Rasmussen & Levander, 1995), and non-violent offending (Hare & Neumann, 2008), as well as recidivism (e.g., Coid, 2008; Rice, 1997). ASPD has also been associated with number of previous convictions (e.g., Joyal, Putkonen, Paavola & Tiihonen, 2004); the time incarcerated (e.g., Mueser, Bond, Drake & Resnick 1998); early onset of offending (e.g., Tengström, Hodgins & Kulggren, 2001), and committing more crimes and a greater variety of crimes (e.g. Porter, Birt & Boer 2001; Porter, Woodworth, Earle, Drugge & Boer 2003).

Fazl and Danesh (2002) carried out a systematic review of psychiatric surveys on the serious mental disorders within offending populations. The researchers found that of the 62 surveys from 12 countries, which included 22,790 offenders, 65 per cent of offenders had a personality disorder, of this 65 per cent, 47 per cent had ASPD. It was subsequently concluded that offenders are 10 times more likely to have ASPD compared to the general population. Moffit (1993) also found that early-onset offenders displayed a persistent pattern of antisocial behaviour, suggesting that ASPD offenders are also more likely to begin their criminal career earlier compared to the average offending population. Further research has also found that those with ASPD are 16 times more likely to commit homicide (Laajasalo, 2007), with around 11 per cent of homicide offenders having a diagnosis of ASPD, compared to 1 per cent within the general population (Eronen, Hakola & Tiihonen, 1996). Similarly, Coid et al (2006a) investigated 511 MDO's with personality disorders and 2,575 MDO's diagnosed with mental illness who had been admitted to secure forensic psychiatry services in England and Wales. They found that of those MDO's with ASPD, 22 per cent had previous convictions for major violence, 52 per cent for minor violence and 59 per cent for any violence. It was further found that those with ASPD were 3 times more likely than those without the ASPD diagnoses to have previous convictions for both major and minor violence. More recently, Jamieson & Taylor (2004) carried out a 12 year follow-up of a cohort of 204 patients discharged from UK high security hospitals in 1984. Their results indicated that patients with ASPD were seven times more likely to commit a serious offence than patients with a major mental illness.

Thus in general, research has indicated that a diagnosis of ASPD is associated with an increased risk of offending. That being said, the understanding as to why those offenders with ASPD are at a greater risk have primarily focused on the characteristics associated with

ASPD, taking a more narrative approach in understanding the specific personal reasons as to why those with ASPD are at a higher risk may allow for an a greater understanding into another dimension of ASPD, in regards to the personal experiences of those that are often seen to be at greatest risk of offending.

1.5.2 Borderline personality disorder

BPD is characteristically associated with poor self-image, feeling of emptiness, and great difficulty coping with being alone, along with a broad variety of psychiatric symptoms (e.g distortions of perceptions or beliefs) and aberrant behaviours (e.g., impulsive actions) (Raine, 1993). BPD has also been found to be associated with the perpetration of impulsive and violent crimes, along with comorbid antisocial traits and incarceration for domestic violence (Sansone & Sansone, 2009). Howard, Husband, Duggan and Mannion (2008) sought to identify those personality and criminal history features associated with a combination of ASPD and BPD in 224 community residents. The results showed that those participants who had a personality disorder (ASPD or BPD) were more likely than those without a personality disorder to have received a conviction for violence and a custodial sentence. These participants also showed higher traits of anger and impulsivity and a greater history of aggression, which are also characteristics that form part of the diagnostic criteria for BPD and ASPD. As such, the researchers concluded that ASPD/BPD represents a certain criminogenic blend of traits that are likely to be overrepresented in high-secure forensic samples.

Similarly, Raine (1993) found that people with BPD were predisposed to commit extreme forms of violence, and Coid (1998) suggested that there was an association between BPD and homicide. More recently, Newhill, Eack and Mulvey (2009) conducted a longitudinal study to examine the degree to which BPD constitutes a risk marker for future violence. Their findings showed that 73 per cent of BPD subjects engaged in physical violence during the

one-year study period. These reported incidences of violence were mostly characterised by disputes with acquaintances' or significant others. Such findings point to violence as a serious and prevalent problem among those MDO's diagnosed with BPD. Accordingly, similar to taking a narrative perspective with offenders diagnosed with ASPD, implementing a narrative perspective in understanding the association between BPD and criminal behaviour, will allow for a more personal understanding into the specific characteristics which often increase the risk of offending in these individuals.

1.5.3 Conclusions: Personality disorders and offending

The above studies have illustrated that certain personality disorders are more commonly associated with a criminal lifestyle (e.g., ASPD), whilst other personality disorders are particularly prevalent for certain offences (e.g. BPD and domestic abuse). Despite these studies showing an association between personality disorder and offending, a causal link between the two has yet to be established, which is primarily due to the complicated nature of the link. In particular, criminal behaviour arises from a complex interaction between individual predisposing characteristics and a particular set of circumstances, for example, a physical and social context. Accordingly, a diagnosis of personality disorder does not render an individual as a criminal, it is just one of many factors that may increase their likelihood of offending. Furthermore, similar to the research carried out on mental illness and offending behaviour, although there is an accepted association between personality disorders and offending, the nature of this association is still being explored.

1.6 Chapter summary

This chapter provided an overview of offenders with mental disorders, with a specific focus on understanding the differences between these offenders and those without mental disorders. In particular, the chapter firstly explored how a mental disorder may affect the way an

offender views their experiences and crimes, which has a subsequent affect on the way they are processed and treated. Furthermore, the diverse nature of MDOs has led to the development of a specific system of social control (e.g., mental health system), which is a major divide from the traditional method of control for non MDO's (e.g. criminal justice system). As discussed in the chapter, there are considerable differences to how MDOs and the general offending population are processed and managed within these two systems, with this distinction primarily due to the vast differences and needs between the two offending populations.

The chapter further investigated the association between mental disorder and offending. The results from this exploration suggested that the association between mental disorder and criminal behaviour has been widely explored, with the emerging consensus suggesting an association between offending behaviours involving violence and certain forms of mental illness, such as schizophrenia or bipolar affective disorder (Brennan et al., 2000; Swanson et al., 1990; Tiihonen et al., 1997). Alongside this, the population of chronic criminal offenders are more likely to be diagnosed with/or have a personality disorder (Montanes-Rada, Ramirez & Taracena, 2006). That being said, it has further been inferred that the interrelationship between crime and mental disorder is complex. Whilst most mentally disordered individuals are neither criminal nor violent, most criminals have endured poor mental health at one time or another, and thus, there continues to be an ongoing dispute about the association between mental disorder and crime. The complexity of this relationship is largely due to the various factors that play a role in criminal activity which often work alongside mental disorders. Of particular note are the individual variables and situational variables, as well as the surrounding social environment, all of which contribute to the risk of offending. Although offending behaviour is complex, there are certain mental disorders (e.g., schizophrenia,

affective disorder, ASPD, BPD) that have been more likely to be associated with offending behaviour. However, it is unlikely that a single mental disorder can explain a complex behavioural phenomena such as offending, without also taking into consideration the psychological, socio-cultural and biological aspects of the individual. Nonetheless, that should not take away from the fact that research has established that the rate of violence and offending among the some mental disorders is higher than that of those who are not mentally disordered.

Whilst it is recognized that those deemed to have a mental disorder may view their crimes differently, for example, someone who is diagnosed with depression may resort to killing his family and attempt to kill himself as a way of relieving his family from a hopeless situation, they are still capable of explaining the processes of their crimes. As we all do, MDOs still make sense of their lives in some way; and even though this narrative may be corrupted or influenced by their mental state, the internal dialogue and emotional experience it is still how they view their lives and actions. Thus, whilst research has concentrated on investigating the relationship between mental disorders and crime and psychology-oriented theories have focused on the analysis of the crime, the investigation into the inner workings of MDOs' minds has yet to be explored. This information could further contribute to the understanding of the psychological process underlying the motivation behind MDOs and if there is in fact any variation in an offenders action/reaction sequence based on diagnosis. Specifically, similar to the general offending population, MDOs are active agents in their crimes and have therefore gone through a process of engaging in a crime. Whilst their reconstructive narrative of the event may be different from those of other offenders, they still view themselves and their lives in a particular way. This thesis will therefore seek to explore the personal narratives of MDOs through implementing the criminal narrative framework, which has been

successfully applied to offending populations without severe mental disorders. This hopefully will help to assist in gaining further knowledge in understanding the emotional and cognitive processes that actively drive MDO's criminal actions.

Overall, the potential to expand the criminal narrative framework into a MDO population is invaluable to not only understanding, from an offender's own perspective, how they view their crimes, but also from an investigative psychology perspective, about how MDO's perceptions differ from those of the general offending population. In particular, to date, research carried out by investigative psychologists has paid little attention to the specific sub-population of MDOs and instead primarily concentrated on prison populations, thus resulting in a gap of knowledge of the criminal narrative framework of these offenders. This thesis is the first piece of research that examines the concepts of the criminal narrative framework within a mentally disordered population, thereby aiding in the development of a more encompassing and diverse framework in understanding offending behaviour.

Chapter 2

Exploration of Narratives and Roles

2.1 Narrative theory

The narrative theory proposes that individuals make sense of their lives by developing a story or narrative with themselves as the central character (Baumeister & Newman, 1994). This process of embedding the view of the self in an unfolding personal story is referred to as an ‘inner narrative’ (Canter & Youngs, 2009). These ‘narratives’ comprise an individual’s unique sequence of events, their mental states and their experiences involving human beings as characters or actors (Bruner, 1990). As such, the stories that people combine to make sense of their lives are fundamentally about their struggle to reconcile who they imagine they were, are, and might be within the social contexts of family, community, the workplace, ethnicity, religion, gender, social class and culture (McAdams, 1985). Accordingly, stories are the most natural way in which people describe almost everything that happens in their lives; consequently, we are all experts within our own storylines, because nothing is clearer to us than how we view our own lives (Booker, 2005).

Advocates of narrative theories suggest that the notion that people can resemble, or can be made to resemble, characters in a logical and coherent story indicates a great deal of intuitive appeal (McAdams, 2006). Theorists further propose that these concepts offer a strong alternative to the overused dogmas of psychoanalysis when interpreting case studies, biographies and the in-depth study of single experiences over a lifetime (Josselson, 2004; McAdams, 2004). It is likely that people have been telling and sharing their stories about their lives for thousands of years; it has only been within the last few decades, however, that researchers and practitioners have begun to investigate these stories and the method of storytelling in a systematic and analytical manner (McAdams, 2006).

Once upon a time, researchers considered personal life stories as holding little scientific value for understanding human behaviour and experience. Rather, these stories were viewed as

nothing more than a literary tale, a type of fictional account set out to entertain, inspire, motivate, and enchant our imagination (McAdams, 2000). During the first half of the 20th century, however, researchers became vastly interested in exploring the various aspects of individuals' personal stories. These notions of narrative theory developed into important concepts within the realm of the human and social sciences, as psychologists have emphasised that narratives are the vehicle by which 'meaning' can be communicated and links can be explored between these experiences and social structures (e.g., Mishler, 1986; Polkinghorne, 1988; Sarbin, 1986).

2.1.1 Early narrative researchers

Adler (1927) examined narrative accounts of earliest memories, proposing that the 'earliest memory' of an adult is a myth which forecasts a style of life; similarly, the 'fictional finalism' of an adult represents a vision for the individual's future which is constructed from their past and present. Murray (1938) identified recurrent themes, stories and autobiographical accounts through his work, *Explorations in Personality*. Within his work, Murray suggested that a detailed understanding of human behaviour can only be reached through an in-depth study of an individual's life. Freud (1953) wrote about dream narratives which could reveal concealed personal truths; he also published case studies about his patients to delineate his theory of the dynamic interactions among the tripartite structure of the psyche (Polkinghorne, 1988). Jung (1969) explored university life myths by viewing human development as an intrapsychic adventure story; over time, these explorations allow the hero to confront a number of personal 'archetypes', such as villains or beasts. Jung proposed that it is these narrative challenges of the unconscious domain of life which create a person's individualism.

Despite these early attempts to understand personal stories, these theorists failed to explicitly envision human beings as storytellers and human lives as stories to be told (McAdams, 2000). Nonetheless, these early explorations presented researchers with the idea that personal narratives are more than just ‘stories’; rather, they play significant roles in our lives. We spend an exceptional amount of time following stories: telling them; listening to them; reading them, and watching them. Even our daily conversations are taken up with reciting the images of everyday life in the form of a story. In essence, these structured sequences of imagery tell us how our human nature interacts, and why we think and behave in the manner that we do.

The vision of a ‘narrative psychology’ view of human lives slowly began to emerge in the 1980s, as philosophers and scientists from various disciplinary backgrounds and perspectives, such as those relating to personality (McAdams, 1985; Tomkins, 1979), social (Bruner, 1990; Murray & Holmes, 1994), cognitive (Schank & Abelson, 1995), clinical (Howard, 1991) and counselling (Polkinghorne, 1988), directed their attention to the concepts of ‘stories’, ‘narratives’ and ‘life scripts’, when trying to understand the meaning of individuals’ lives. These researchers proposed that people make sense of their lives through an integrative narrative of themselves which is reconstructed by the past and perceived future, thereby providing people with a life story which encompasses an identity, meaning and coherence (McAdams, 2001). Overall, psychology in general became progressively more interested in the concepts of narrative methodologies and stories. Alongside that, from a scientific practitioner perspective, ‘narrative therapy’ (White & Epston, 1990) began to emerge, which considered therapy as a process of life-story re-formation and revision (Schafer, 1981; Spence, 1982). The development of ‘narrative therapy’ has since increased over the years, with psychologists expanding narrative therapy to explore individuals’ life stories

(McAdams, 1999), intimate life stories (Sternberg, 1998), and stories focusing on family (Fiese, Sameroff, Grotevant, Wamboldt, Dickstein & Fravel, 1999).

The increase in consideration of narrative theory, and understanding of subjective accounts of what happened from one individual's point of view, has led to more investigative research within the area of life stories. In particular, researchers have begun to analyse the structure of these personal narratives in terms of their key components, plots, settings and scenes, as well as characters and their dominant roles (Canter & Youngs, 2009). The outcome of these analyses may reveal a number of patterns in an individual's behaviours, experiences, and beliefs. Consequently, these patterns can be seen as falling into different themes, reflecting the role that the key individual takes within the overall context. Analysing the structure of narratives is thus vital in understanding the story that people create for themselves. At the same time, however, many leading narrative psychologists (e.g., McAdams, 1988; Polkinghorne, 1988) have argued that there are limits to the range of possible structures for every life story that is told (Canter & Youngs). Polkinghorne highlights that there are relatively few compelling ways of telling a story. Similarly, McAdams argues that life stories can be conceptualised by one of four archetypal story forms. The origins of these proposed structures developed from Frye's (1957) "Theory of Mythoi".

2.2 Frye's 'theory of mythoi'

Within Frye's (1957) book entitled *Anatomy of Criticism*, he suggests a classification system for a number of classic stories ranging from ancient times to modern day; the origins of these suggested classifications derived from Aristotle's *Poetics*. Frye states that all stories take one of four dominant forms, which Frye calls 'mythic archetypes': 'comedy', 'romance', 'tragedy' and 'irony'. Each story is viewed as either a hybrid of two or more of the archetypes, or as a pure manifestation a single type. This categorization system is a

representation of ‘ethos’, and relates to how the protagonist is portrayed in respect to the rest of humanity and the protagonist's environment. Frye suggests that classical civilizations progressed through the development of these modes, and that similar progression also occurred within Western civilization during medieval and modern times. These labels have been slightly revised over the years to accommodate the dynamic changes of society. For instance, today, Frye's comedy would be seen as a romance comedy, and what he called romance would be understood as an adventure. Examples of these themes can be shown by theorists such as Murray (1985), who associates the romance comedy theme with the television programme *M.A.S.H.*, and suggests that the adventure story can be illustrated through the *Star Wars* films, *The Elephant Man* can be seen as a classic story of tragedy, and that Monty Python's *Life of Brian* represents a typical story of irony.

Although these four dominant themes developed separately, Frye (1957) argues that these themes are also related, claiming that the primary structure of the narrative process is ‘cyclical movement’, which is similar to the changing sequence of the four major seasons. Therefore, Frye (1957) offers four archetypal mythoi that relate to the four seasons of the year: Comedy (spring), Romance (summer), Tragedy (autumn) and Irony (winter). From this argument he develops the ‘Theory of Mythoi’, which highlights his fundamental form of the narrative process: cyclical movement. Specifically, comedy, represented by spring, grows into the summer of romance, which can turn into the briskness of autumn tragedy, which is followed closely by the fall of winter and the decay into irony. This model illustrates the propulsion of each narrative theme into the next, indicating the strong associations between each archetype. The model further implies that, although there will be a dominant theme within any narrative, there will also be many hybrids as one type merges into another. The figure below illustrates Frye's model of circular order.

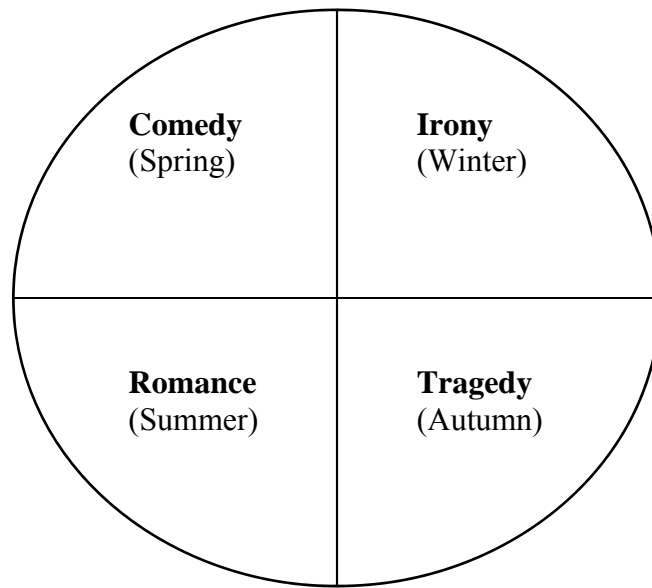


Figure 2.2. Frye's (1957) "Theory of Mythoi"

'Comedy' emerges out of the awakening and birth of spring; this season delineates social harmony and inspiration after the harsh winter that has passed. This mode is thus concerned with the protagonist's revival and integration into society. The protagonist overcomes adversity and defeats the powers of darkness for a satisfying resolution and a happy ending. From this perspective, the protagonist in the story is one of a young hero who constructs their own society by brute force and fending off the opposition in the pursuit of true love and happiness. While on this journey, the protagonist minimises all interference from the environment, to seek the simple and pure pleasures that await him at the end of the journey. These types of central characters are generally optimistic and free from guilt and anxiety; their experiences of their quest are positive and content (Frye, 1957).

'Romance' emulates the sun's zenith and the tranquil of the summer days, which is understood as the triumphant phase. Stories of the hero's triumph over evil, leading the

protagonist into paradise, are manifested within the archetype. The story of a romance is configured as a triumphant hunt which consists of three stages: a dangerous journey with minor adventures, leading into some kind of battle in which either the hero or his foe, or both, must die, and finally a happy ending for the hero. The protagonist is thus an adventurer who tries to overcome adversity and take control of the challenges that they embark upon, to emerge victorious within their journey (Frye, 1957).

‘Tragedy’ is depicted by the mythic archetype of autumn and the death phase. Stories set in tragedy are characterised by angry gods or deceitful villains who use their power in an attempt to bring the hero of the story to a tragic end. The protagonist attempts to avoid the dangers that obscure their life and, as a result, often develops a pessimistic and ambivalent demeanour. Additionally, within this role, the feelings of the main character are obscured by positive and negative emotional contrasts such as pain and pleasure, happiness and sadness; these obscured emotions result in bouts of sadness and fear. Stories of tragedy often include aspects such as a great ‘fall’; dying gods and heroes; vicious deaths; sacrifice; inescapable dangers, and isolation. In the classic tragedy, the hero finds himself separated from the natural order of things. This feeling of separation affects the balance of nature and, in turn, leads the hero on a journey to counter this perceived imbalance, ultimately leading to the tragic downfall of the hero. Although it is inevitable that the tragic hero encounters defeat, he is nonetheless perceived as the ‘extraordinary victim’, who attempts to confront inescapable dangers pursued by life’s nemesis. This defeat is often brought on by the attainment of wisdom or the ability to ‘see’ the real truth (Frye, 1957).

‘Irony’ is perceived as the archetype of darkness, where the protagonist is viewed as always being inadequate to the task of overcoming the dark force of death. Within this mode, the individual tries to restore order in the chaotic and corrupt world. Included in these stories,

however, is the triumph of the chaos, which brings confusion to the protagonist and tears away at his tough exterior, unveiling his vulnerability (Frye, 1957).

Frye's (1957) method of associating each mythoi with the cycle of the seasons further illustrates the natural cyclical movement which propels each narrative archetype into the next, also referred to as 'circular order'. The circumplex structure is utilised frequently within facet studies, which often implies that there are both dominant themes and hybrid themes, as one type merges into another. These concepts of a circumplex model are reflected within Frye's 'Theory of Mythoi', where stories develop both separately and in a subset. For instance, each story seeks power in various forms and places the protagonist in active roles of different degrees. However, the stories also share commonalities within the protagonist's quest. For example, stories of romance and comedy show the protagonists as overcoming adversity for a satisfying resolution and a happy ending. In contrast, tales of tragedy and irony exhibit the protagonist as reacting to a specific event or circumstance: either a general disquiet with society as in irony, or a struggle with the gods as in a tragedy (Frye).

Although Frye (1957) illustrates the range of themes and plots that are often associated with various fictional accounts, along with the 'cyclical movement' of the themes, these components are not as clearly structured in real-life narratives. It is further proposed that the 'Theory of Mythoi' is not a scientific theory; literary criticism, in general, is not viewed as a well-substantiated explanation for scientific evaluation. The value of literary criticism has therefore been questioned by artists such as Nabokov (1980), who question the lack of scholarly guides, theories and intricate explanations often presented by literary criticism. Literary criticism is the study, evaluation and interpretation of literature. Followers of literary criticism therefore argue that, when evaluating the works of literature, concepts and terms are

not well defined, and thus, following a scientific approach of gathering information, formulating a hypothesis, analysing data and interpreting the results is difficult to implement with abstract concepts and terms. Accordingly, literary theorists have developed methods and approaches to investigate literature in a more systematic manner, and these steps have resulted in disagreements over the goals and methods of literary criticism.

While further exploration needs to be carried out to improve the coding system of defined concepts and terms within literary criticism and Frye's 'Theory of Mythoi', Frye (1957) still remains one of the most influential advocates of literary criticism and his work has been successfully implemented in the understanding of fictional narrative forms for many years.

The success of pioneering research in the area of narratives and stories has led many theorists to explore beyond the objective truth of an event and, instead, to investigate an individual's subjective accounts of an event, resulting in a thorough understanding of an individual's beliefs, roles and motivated choices regarding which details to emphasise (Zechmeister & Romero, 2002). Narrative psychologists have thus adopted Frye's theory for real life narratives. Researchers such as McAdams (1988) and Polkinghorne (1988) have advocated the view that an individual's personal narrative will have a similar structure to fictional accounts. As a result, the process of analysing the structure of storylines has led to a similar procedure in personal narratives.

Consequently, theorists have proposed the use of personal narratives as an instrument for exploring the phenomenology of psychological constructs; for instance, how people experience anger, remorse, disgrace and interpersonal conflicts. Baumeister and colleagues (e.g., Baumeister, Stillwell & Heatherton, 1995; Baumeister, Stillwell, & Wotman, 1990; Leith & Baumeister, 1998) suggest that personal narratives are useful as tools to understand

an individual's motives, as they describe what they believe to be important events in their lives. Baumeister & Newman (1994) argue that people structure their everyday experiences in a storyline format to make sense of these experiences. For example, in personal narratives regarding unpleasant events, such as interpersonal offences, people may attempt to explain the purpose behind the offence, along with trying to interpret and justify the events in terms of their own principles. Furthermore, narratives can also provide a sense of efficacy and control as individuals attribute the causes of particular events to internal or external determinants. Finally, Baumeister & Newman propose that individuals may place themselves within certain roles within their personal narratives to aid in maximising their self-worth. Ultimately, understanding the internalised thoughts and motives of individuals can help in explaining various aspects of human behaviour.

Most recently, theorists have utilised the major formulations of the archetypal forms that stories can take, and the work of narrative psychologists, to explore criminal activity and offenders' personal narratives, proposing that every assertion or statement they make corresponds to their overall narratives, which may be dominated by one of the four mythic themes. More specifically, as with the great majority of accounts of criminality, merely considering the actions of a criminal fails to connect with the offender's own agency and understanding of their actions. Therefore, investigating the offender's personal narratives is one pathway into beginning to understand the underlying thought processes which have led to their criminal actions (Canter & Youngs, 2009).

2.3 *Criminal narratives*

"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).

In more recent years, it has been proposed that if narrative themes generated from narrative psychology literature (e.g., McAdams, 2001) can be identified within offending protagonists’ accounts of their criminal actions, this framework may allow a new aetiological perspective to develop in regard to the immediate psychological processes implicated in criminal events. More specifically, the narrative approach can aid in the further understanding of criminality, as it helps to bridge the gap between the disciplines of psychology and the law (Canter, 2008). The law seeks to identify the narrative which explains how a crime occurred; within this view, offenders are active agents in their own actions. In contrast, however, social and behavioural sciences seek to understand the external forces, such as genetic, neurological or hormonal factors, and upbringing or social pressures, which give rise to criminal actions; within this view, offenders are passive agents within their actions. Therefore, the implementation of the personal narrative approach within criminality will emphasise offenders as active agents within their actions, thereby connecting with legal explorations of *mens rea* and ‘motive’ (Canter, 2010). The potential of a criminal narrative framework for understanding the processes that actively drive certain criminal actions and particular types of offenders (McAdams, 1988) has yet to be fully explored. Investigative psychologists have only recently begun to identify a criminal narrative framework, informing understanding of why offenders engage in, as well as desist from, crime.

The challenge that this emerging framework is confronted with is conceptualising the notion of a criminal’s personal narrative, along with the development and implementation of a systematic way of studying these concepts. The abundance of research carried out on

narratives within English literature is an approach that has been most readily utilised in determining the identified narrative within real-life populations. For example, Frye's (1957) 'Theory of Mythoi', which presents individuals within fictional stories, may be productive within non-fictional accounts. McAdams further explains, however, that life stories are not always composed in clear sequences of events, but rather, they can be constructed in terms of 'well-formed' or 'ill-formed' stories, with the ill-formed stories being occupied mostly with tension and confusion, along with episodes of inconsistent narrative and changes in the role of the central character. Canter (1995) takes these ideas of McAdams' further by exploring this framework within the context of criminal actions, proposing that these ill-formed narratives are clues to the hidden nature of violent offenders' lives. He suggests that the actions which the offender carries out during a crime may be regarded as one reflection of a personal narrative.

2.3.1 Research conducted on criminal narratives

Canter (1994) was the first to begin exploring criminal behaviour using narrative theory. Instead of breaking the offender down into aspects of personality or hormonal processes, Canter proposed a perspective which treated him as an active agent. He proposed that criminal activity can only be understood through in-depth analysis and understanding of 'criminals' narratives', and by connecting those narratives to characteristic roles and actions. In particular, Canter advocated the idea that the roles which are central to any storyline give meaning to offenders' lives. They are not just personal and private accounts, but rather, they are embedded in a social matrix, refined in the contacts the criminal has with others. In addition, they also connect with the concepts of antagonist and protagonist that are present in the larger culture in which the criminal is an active participant. This enables the criminal to justify, in his own eyes and those of his associates, the acts he performs and to neutralise the destructive consequences of his actions (Canter & Youngs, 2009). Canter further suggests

that the narratives of violent offenders are often distorted from early childhood, as the child grows; these distortions cause the child to become unsure of their identity and of which life story is appropriate. As a result, the offender will often turn to narratives that consist of violence and exploitation of others.

Following Canter's (1994) initial explorations into criminal narratives, a number of theorists have begun to further explore these aspects of criminality. For instance, Maruna (2001) asserts that criminal narratives are particularly useful in revealing specific components of an offender's life. In particular, he argues that such personal narratives may lead offenders to believe their actions to be acceptable rather than criminal, or they may reveal their participation in certain 'outlaw' groups which live by unconventional society rules. Maruna further proposes that a narrative perspective helps in explaining the changing dynamic features of a criminal's life. Specifically, these internalised accounts are constantly evolving, giving shape and meaning to individuals' lives, ultimately allowing them to develop identities. This process of developing an identity, however, is shaped by the opportunities which each individual has in their social environment, therefore resulting in an interaction between the individual and their environment. The proposition that both the individual and their environment influence the formation of an identity can be supported by McAdams (1988), who advocated the view that individual identity takes shape in late adolescence; as a result, most criminal acts appear to erupt during this period of time, when the perpetrator is en route to developing their identity. This notion is consistent with the fact that, during the late teens, criminals often begin to either devote themselves to a life of crime or to evade this career path (Canter, 1994). The late stages of adolescence are thus critical in terms of future crimes, and for an offender to determine which narrative will become their overriding identity: the criminal, or the law-abiding citizen.

Canter, Kaouri & Ioannou (2003) were the first to explore Canter's (1994) initial hypothesis that criminals may see their crimes in terms of one of Frye's mythoi. These researchers investigated the notion of characterising criminal narratives through a structured questionnaire, which was developed based on the offender's open-ended account of their criminal story. Canter and colleagues proposed that characterising something as complex as a personal narrative could be achieved through exploration of the 'roles' offenders think they play during the commission of a crime. Within every unfolding story lie certain roles that act as summaries to more complex processes. An offender's perception of themselves within a particular role, such as a *Professional* or a *Revenger*, a *Victim* or a *Hero*, affects the way a narrative unfolds. For instance, by asking an offender to think of a crime they had committed and then asking them to express the extent to which it felt like 'being on an adventure', that 'nothing else mattered', or was 'something I couldn't stop myself from doing', it was possible to collect quantitative answers that were open to statistical analysis. The results found that the roles played by criminals could be categorised into four distinct themes that supported a circular order of criminal roles.

Following Canter et al.'s (2003) investigation into characterising the criminal narratives experience through the roles offenders play, Canter, Youngs and Ioannou (2009) carried out a study to establish the potential for exploring the roles which offenders assign to themselves during the commission of a crime. Specifically, the study developed a questionnaire exploring the role which offenders saw themselves as acting out during a crime. The questionnaire was based on information collected through previous interviews with offenders carried out by Canter et al (2003). The results of the study found four distinct patterns that offenders fell into, which correlated to four separate roles that the offenders believed themselves to play: irony (the *victim*); adventure (the *professional*); quest (the *hero*), and

tragedy (the *revenger*) (these roles are discussed in detail within the subsequent section). This structure of roles which emerged was significantly related to Frye's mythoi (i.e., romance, comedy, irony and tragedy). These patterns were unexpected, given that Frye's mythoi were derived from studies conducted on law-abiding citizens. As such, Frye's mythoi revealed different emphases to those summarised in Frye's writings (Canter & Youngs, 2009). Nonetheless, the results illustrated a sequential structure within criminal narratives and contributed to the further understanding of criminal narratives in relation to motivation and behaviour. These results also complement Presser's (2009) notion that an offender's narrative is an immediate antecedent of offending, suggesting that narratives have a direct impact in the instigation of criminal actions. Thus, narratives can be seen as interpretive devices that provide insight into an individual's subjective understanding of the factors that motivate their behaviour.

Recently, using case study interviews, Youngs and Canter (2011) extended the criminal narrative research further by articulating a more in depth understanding of the four thematic narrative roles (*hero*, *professional*, *victim* and *revenger*) believed to be active within offenders during their criminal events. The case studies presented by Youngs and Canter allowed for direct descriptions of offender's experiences, thereby providing a more tangible conceptualisation of the proposed narrative roles. Subsequent to Youngs and Canter's research, Canter and Youngs (2012) further discussed the development of the narrative approach, of particular note was their emphasis on the importance of qualitative narrative accounts to enhance understanding of the more complex processes which underlying the four narrative roles. The researchers specifically focused on the narrative accounts of offenders' index offence which allowed for enhanced insight into the many components that are inherently captured within an offence narrative, including psychological processes, such as

thinking styles, self concepts and affective components. In essence, these developments enhanced the understanding of offence narratives by generating a more in-depth and personal understanding into the narrative roles that were initially generated by Canter et al. (2009). The proceeding sections provide a more detail account of the four narrative roles which have been developed and the role the victim plays within specified roles.

2.3.2 *Victim (irony)*

As previously discussed, according to Frye (1957), a story set in irony is characterised by a corrupt and violent world, and the tough exterior of the main character hides away their self-deprecating state of mind. Similarly, in the theme of irony in Canter et al.'s (2003) study, the offender was found to play the role of a 'victim' who lives in a world where nothing makes sense and nothing matters (Canter et al., 2009). This general view of life produced offenders who inverted the belief that their powerlessness and helplessness made them the main victim in an event. This feeling of victimisation is the main characteristic of irony; thus, offenders of this nature are associated with negative emotions, and endings which dissolve into emptiness. The role of the victim is depicted by responses which point to helpless despair, such as, '*nothing else mattered*', '*I was helpless*', or '*I was getting my own back*'. Overall, these responses illustrate the significance behind all ironic storylines: the protagonist is ultimately doomed to a vulnerable and powerless state.

2.3.3 *Professional (adventure)*

The 'adventure' narrative contrasts greatly with the ironic life story played by a hopeless victim. The plot of an adventure narrative (which Frye refers to as 'romance') consists of a professional's exploits, triumphing over various obstacles and entering into paradise (Frye, 1957). In essence, the protagonist is an adventurer who attempts to overcome adversity

throughout their life journey to emerge victorious, often embarking on long and difficult journeys in which circumstances readily change and new challenges arise. The actions in this narrative are rooted in control and mastery of an offender's environment, with offending being seen as an opportunity to gain satisfaction. Therefore, the roles that offenders see themselves playing are those of an 'adventurer' or 'risk taker'. Alongside this, however, offenders also describe their criminal activities in terms of '*doing a job*', a '*usual day's work*', being '*all to plan*' or '*routine*'. This outlook works in parallel with the offender's calm and composed demeanour in relation to getting the job done successfully. Generally, the roles in the adventure narrative are essentially associated with the positive emotions of a professional (Canter et al., 2009).

2.3.4 *Hero (quest)*

The 'quest' narrative, which Frye (1957) calls 'comedy', or what might be more clearly understood as a love story, is often portrayed by a character who takes on the role of a hero in pursuit of love, contentment and a happy-ever-after lifestyle. These goals are achieved by the hero's attempt to minimise interference from environmental and individual obstacles and constraints. As a result, these types of offenders are generally optimistic individuals, who experience positive emotions such as joy and happiness. These offenders are also free from guilt and feel no anxiety or concern over their actions; all they seek is a fairytale ending for their criminal activities (Canter et al., 2009). The idea of a heroic quest can therefore also be seen as an offender's 'voyage and return' journey in an attempt to find a happy ending. The responses of offenders within this section justify their actions by seeing them as part of a 'mission', which drives the offender to act, illustrated by responses such as, '*couldn't stop*' or '*it was a manly thing to do*'. In addition, the offender may feel he has been dishonoured, so now his pride demands that there will be consequences, which are portrayed through

responses in terms of '*looking for recognition*'. There is also a sense of bravado and nonchalance which is vital to this narrative; this theme is revealed in the offender's description of the actions as '*nothing special*' (Canter et al.).

2.3.5 *Tragedy (revenger)*

The plot of the 'revenger' narrative, or what might be viewed as Frye's 'tragedy' story, is characterised by wrathful gods or hypocritical villains who attempt to manipulate the tragic hero to evil ends. The tragic hero may be an extremely proud and passionate individual, with a soaringly intellectual mind; it is these very attributes which separate him from the rest of society and evidently lead to his downfall (Frye, 1957). Overall, Frye summarises the storyline of a tragedy as evoking in the audience 'a paradoxical combination of a fearful sense of rightness (the hero must fall) and pitying sense of wrongness (it is too bad that he falls).' In essence, the tragedy narrative is ultimately a story of the unavoidable revenge of the individual who has been wrongfully treated and deprived. The protagonist has no choice but to take on the role of the revenger; this role is captured by responses which justify the actions, for example, it was seen as the '*only thing to do*', it '*was just fate*', or '*it was right*'. These types of responses capture the meaning in an avenging storylines; just like in all tragedies, the protagonist is ultimately doomed (Canter et al., 2009).

2.4 *Role of victim*

These different narrative themes not only imply roles that the offender sees himself playing, but also roles which he assigns to his victims. The nature of the victim's role reveals certain characteristics and experiences of the offender, including the psychological purpose of the offence. Consequently, a variety of strategies can be adopted in attacking a victim; the psychological distinctions underlying these strategies reflect earlier work on the different forms of murders described by Bolitho (1926) and Katz (1988). Bolitho describes crimes of

murder as a means of achieving a distinct result, such as monetary gain. Within this form of interaction, the effect which the offender's actions have on the victim is incidental. Katz, on the other hand, identifies these crimes as rage-driven 'righteous slaughter', which constitutes an act of emotional expression. In these crimes the offender has direct interaction with the victim and the offence reflects the impact on the victim. In psychological terms, the underlying distinction between these forms of murder lies in the recognition of the victim: Bolitho's murder involves ignoring the victim, while Katz is focused on the murderer having a direct impact on the victim as a person.

Through these early writings on the nature of crime and criminals, researchers began to suggest that, when considering the salience of criminal actions, consideration of any single action in isolation may prove to be misleading, as single actions could be common across various offences, thereby offering little of importance to the distinction between offenders. Therefore, the process of differentiation needs to be rooted in understanding the procedures that give rise to co-occurring patterns of criminal activity (Canter, 2000). When the notion of a criminal narrative framework was initially presented, it was further suggested that the actions which the offender carries out during a crime may be regarded as one indication of a personal narrative (Canter, 1995). It was argued that the offender's narrative was implicit in whether the victim was treated as a 'person', 'vehicle' or 'object'. This perspective further implied that all crimes have an interpersonal element attached to them; in other words, crimes involve the acting out of a relationship between the offender and explicit or implicit victims (Canter, 2010). Canter (1994) argued that victim roles are products of the offender's distorted approach in maintaining control while he carries out his offence, and also in the offender's style of interpersonal treatment of the victim. The interactions of these products consequently distinguish offending styles and generate a multifaceted structure which Canter simplified

into three main roles: victim as 'object', victim as 'vehicle' and victim as 'person'. This model was an elaboration of the model that Canter & Frizton (1998) put forth as the "locus of desired effects", the locus within this perspective representing the role which the offender assigns his victim during the crime. This model was also a representation of the five-fold model proposed by Canter & Heritage (1990).

Theorists have subsequently found evidence to support Canter's model of interpersonal treatment of the victim. For example, Canter et al. (1998) showed that the model was supported using data from 97 paedophiles. Similarly, Salfati & Canter (1999) found an analogous three-fold model in their study of 82 stranger homicides. More recently, Hodge (2000) carried out MDS analysis of 39 crime-related actions of 88 US serial killers; the results showed the three-fold model to be of value within the study. In particular, she found that specific crime scene behaviours reflected a strong or weak emotional element within the interpersonal interactions. For instance, the role of the victim as a vehicle reflects more overtly emotional reactions, perhaps subjecting the victim to extreme violence, similar to the offender who sees his victim as an object. The difference between these roles relates to how the offender will view the victim as representing an individual within his personal life. Therefore, associated crime scene behaviours may include restraining the victim, or keeping the victim alive for a period of time. In contrast, the role of the victim as a person will reflect the importance of the victim as a particular individual. Hodge proposes that this will be reflected in the co-occurrence of variables that indicate the degree and style of interaction between the two. Associated crime scene behaviours may include sexual activity with the victim and violence directed at a specific body area.

2.4.1 *Victim as object*

In those offences where the victim is seen as an 'object', the offender has little, if any, significant emotional feelings towards the victim. Rather, the victim is merely viewed as something for him to act upon, an object which holds no credited value (Canter & Youngs, 2009). This view of their victims leads offenders to seek out specific targets to attack. Furthermore, it has been argued that this perception of the victim generates some of the most sadistic criminal acts of disfigurement, cannibalism and mutilation. Canter (1994) suggests that the social contact of these offenders is limited, which results in an absence of a normal human existence. This lack of contact with human reality is often reflected in the mental instability of these offenders. Particularly, these offenders are often expected to have a record of psychiatric illness and may be diagnosed as psychotic.

2.4.2 *Victim as vehicle*

In contrast to perceiving the victim as a mere 'object', some offenders view their victim as a 'vehicle' of expression for their desires and anger. During these types of offences, the victim is seen as more than just a body to act upon, but rather he/she symbolises something significant in the offender's life. As a result, the offender's attack on the victim, and his exploitation of him/her, serves a purpose in the offender's life. This style of offending is also characterised by the offender's initial 'confidence' approach towards the victim, whereby the offender utilises interpersonal experience and skills to gain access to a particular victim on some type of pretence. This selective approach by the offender reflects the significance of the victim; careful selection and targeting of victims is a vital characteristic in these offences (Canter, 1994). More specifically, the victims that are targeted, as a group, represent a society against which the offender desires to express his anger and frustration. Overall, the violence

in these offences is extreme and, as Canter (1994) depicts, “in the ferocity of the assault the victim is forced to carry the burden of some of the offender’s anger.”

2.4.3 *Victim as person*

Violent offences in which there is full human recognition of the victim constitute a large proportion of criminal offences. What makes these types of offences distinct is the way in which they surface from human interactions whereby others are to be taken advantage of, and violence is the natural approach for attaining this. Accordingly, in ‘victim as person’ offences, the offender’s target is a particular person from whom they are directly trying to gain something, whether this be materialistic gain or merely the opportunity to hunt their victim as part of an unfolding destructive relationship. Even in those cases where the victim is not a particular, known individual, but rather a stranger, the offender still has the assumption that the offence is somehow part of a normal interaction between himself and the victim (Canter, 1994). The type of criminal actions that are carried out within this method can range from domestic murders or pub fights, to burglary in which the offender seizes the opportunity to sexually assault the victim. These types of offences may also include ‘recreational’ rapes, whereby the offender attempts to relate on a personal level to their victim. They may further include crimes where the offender takes advantage of an elderly person’s frailty and may even go so far as to murder his victim and steal what he can from him/her. Canter further suggests that offenders who carry out these types of interactions often have an extensive and diverse criminal background.

2.5 *Interaction of narrative and victim roles*

Interestingly, the roles which offenders assign to their victims interact with the four distinct themes that offenders play into. For example, Canter (1994) suggests that, within an

adventure narrative, the offender seeks control and mastery of his environment, and therefore his actions are focused completely on achieving his objectives. Consequently, the victim is not perceived as fully human, but rather as an insignificant object in the commission of his offence. In contrast, Canter proposes that within an irony narrative, the offender attempts to address the emptiness they feel by searching for intimacy with the victim. In an attempt to achieve this level of intimacy, the offender relies on an abusive treatment of the victim. Within this context, the victim is recognised as fully human, a person, who bears significance to the offender.

Different styles of the 'victim as vehicle' role are assigned to victims within the 'quest' and 'tragedy' narratives. Offenders on a 'quest' view their offences as a heroic mission; therefore the victim is a vehicle for the expression of his desires. The overall focus within a quest is entirely on the victim's expression; thus, there is recognition of his/her humanity, which is a vital part of the purpose he/she serves for the offender (Canter, 1994). Within 'tragic' narratives, the victim's role as 'vehicle' symbolises a target upon which he can exact his vengeance. Similar to the quest narrative, there is recognition of his/her humanity, and through the exploitation of him/her, the offender can extract his revenge (Canter).

2.6 Chapter summary

In essence, the potential importance of establishing a criminal narrative framework which includes MDOs and implements a mixed method approach for data analysis can be invaluable for the further progression of both forensic and investigative psychology. Firstly, it offers the possibility of informing the formulation of mentally disordered offending profiles by providing investigators with a better understanding of the psychological processes of an offender and their possible characteristics. Secondly, the interviewing of MDOs can be better

informed by understanding the storyline to which the offenders relate within their crimes. Thirdly, the mixed method approach is an innovative concept which has been suggested by previous researchers (e.g., Canter & Youngs, 2012), but yet to be tested and integrated on an offending sample. The use of both quantitative and qualitative procedures could be vital not only from a researcher development perspective, but also from offenders personal understanding of their crimes. For instance, a more encompassing framework enables offenders to not only understand in broad terms the various roles they perceive themselves to play during the commission of their crimes, but also allows offenders to reconstruct their personal narratives and relate these narratives to their criminal actions, thereby aiding in their personal understanding of their crimes. This process could subsequently encourage offenders to review their thinking processes and enable them to create functional new thoughts when antecedent events arise in the future. Some of these progressive factors, such as informing offending profiles and interviewing techniques, have already been successfully implemented within the general offending population (e.g., Canter, 2010) and therefore the next logical step would be to expand what we already know to offending populations which need further exploration within the investigative discipline.

Therefore, as Youngs & Canter (2011) suggest, the potential of particular narrative themes for improving understanding of the immediate instigators of criminal actions could also aid in extending current contributions of narrative psychology to treatment approaches, in addition to the investigation, capture and prosecution of offenders. Accordingly, if distinct narrative themes drawn from the general narrative psychology literature can be identified within various offending populations, this may create an innovative aetiological perspective on the direct psychological processes implicated in criminal action. It will also allow for greater

insight into how various subsets of offenders personally view and analyze their crimes, leading to a greater understanding of the inner workings of offenders' minds.

Chapter 3

The Emotional Experience of Crime

3.1 Models of emotion

The concept of emotions has always been a significant and important component of human behaviour; they are at the forefront of every experience we have, they manipulate our behaviour, they affect our mood and they influence our decisions - sometimes preventing us from making rational decisions. Emotions are also complex entities, governed by biological mechanisms which, at times, develop well beyond our control. We can be overcome by anger in situations which infuriate us, possessed by happiness when goals have been achieved, defeated by anxiety if placed in uncomfortable situations or taken over by sadness when someone close to us passes away. In essence, emotions make us who we are; they are at the very centre of our mental life (Oatley & Jenkins, 1996) and define us into the person we are (Katz, 1999). There is no clear definition of what an emotion is; the complexity is far too broad to place within a single meaning.

Despite the complex nature of emotions, the 21st century has been the era in which the topic of human emotions has emerged as a fundamental issue within scientific inquiry. With that, although the increased importance placed on the role of human emotions, and the vast amount of research which has studied a range of topics relating to the association between emotions and human behaviour (e.g., Albelson & Sermat, 1962; Izard, 1972, 1977; Larsen & Diener, 1992; Plutchik, 1980; Oatley & Jenkins, 1996; Posner, Russell & Peterson, 2005; Russell, 1978; 1980; Schlosberg, 1952), understanding the structure of human affect has still remained a vague and uncertain issue (Cropanzan, Rupp & Byrne, 2003; Seo, Barrett & Bartunek, 2008). Conceptualising the structure of emotions is not only vital to quantify the definition of emotions, but also to help indicate the basic building blocks of emotional life that support the study of emotional science (Seo et al.). Although there is little consensus on what the structure and the central definition of emotions should be, there are two main

approaches within the area which have been predominantly utilised in prior research: the basic category structure (e.g., Izard, 1977; Plutchik, 1980) and the dimensional structure (e.g., Larsen & Diener, 1992; Russell, 1980; 2003; Thayer, 1989; Schlosberg, 1952).

3.1.1 Theory of basic emotions

The basic category structure was one of the earliest theories to be developed (applied by Darwin, 1872). This theory advocates the idea that each type of emotion is allocated into a small set of mutually exclusive categories, and that specific neural structures aid in the functioning of each emotional category; thus, this theory postulates that each specific emotion maps to one neural system (Posner et al., 2009). The conceptualisation of emotions as distinct and independent entities was suggested, to a large extent, in relation to affect research with animals. Specifically, certain neural pathways were stimulated in animals, after which their subsequent behaviours were observed. Through these studies, animal researchers proposed that specific neural pathways were associated with specific basic emotions (Panksepp, 1998).

In addition to the studies carried out on animals, basic emotions theorists also explored the affective process in humans through facial expressions and peripheral physiological reaction to emotional stimuli. Researchers conducting these studies alleged that facial responses are specific to each type of basic emotion (Ekman, Levenson & Friesen 1983). The theory of basic emotions was also studied through investigation of the emotional expressions of infants. Theorists argue that infants show basic emotions shortly after birth, before language or other cognitive mechanisms develop (Kopp & Neufeld, 2003). These researchers suggest that the cognitive interactions required for emotional responses, as portrayed by dimensional models, cannot be present in infants, as they have neither the verbal nor the cognitive capacity (Posner et al.). Basic emotion theorists have concentrated on the exploration of the behavioural and

expressive components of emotion. These subjective mechanisms pose significant challenges to the theory of basic emotions.

3.1.2 Limitations to the theory of basic emotions

While the theory of basic emotions has paved the way for significant advancements and understanding in the field of psychology, there are various criticisms in regard to this approach. A common criticism of this model is the sense that it does not facilitate the measurement of the non-primary emotions, such as satisfaction or delight; rather, it merely emphasises eight prime emotions (Ortony & Turner, 1990; Richins, 1997). As a result, clinical psychologists argue that the approach fails to explain issues such as co-morbid illnesses in mood disorders. Similarly, it does not yield an answer to the neurophysiological underpinnings of affective disorders. In addition, the notion behind basic emotions theory contrasts greatly with more recent findings in both behavioural genetics and temperament research (Posner et al., 2005).

Furthermore, the evidence and research that supports this theory is not only questionable, but also limited. For example, the neural foundation of basic emotions is an area that has yet to be fully established. Similarly, peripheral physiological correlates for the basic emotions have not been established; rather, measures associated with a single emotion differ substantially depending on the eliciting stimuli (Hamm, Gerlach, Globisch & Vaitl, 1992). Moreover, specific facial expressions associated with each basic emotion have not been identified to associate with specific patterns of automatic activation (Cacioppo et al., 2000). Ekman (1993) argues that if characteristic facial expressions were associated with basic emotions, then these expressions would provide the necessary criteria for classifying and categorising basic emotions; thus, emotions could be defined by the mere presence of a facial expression.

Similar problems are found in the support given by animal models of emotion; for example, contrasting physiological responses are found in relation to a single basic emotion (Iwata & LeDoux, 1988).

Some researchers argue that labelling affective states to animals based on their behavioural reactions to stimuli is not an effective method of characterising emotional states (Panksepp, 1998). For instance, as Posner and colleagues (2005) explain, the emotion of anxiety can be felt by an animal without any observable change in behaviour; in a similar way, affective behaviours such as frowning and smiling can be elicited without any overt change in an animal's subjective feeling. Therefore, animals could experience feelings without showing drastic changes in behaviour, and similarly, could exhibit affective behaviour without exhibiting direct feelings. Researchers became aware of these limitations and the difficulties that developed with interpreting and validating the results of animal research; researchers subsequently attempted to confirm findings from animal research with human studies, but found the findings to be inconsistent in the two populations (Berridge, 2003; Davidson, 2003).

3.1.3 Dimensional model of emotions

Based on the various limitations of the theory of basic emotions, researchers advocated that a new direction needed to be implemented. Basic emotion theorists mainly focused on the behavioural and expressive elements of emotions, failing to explore the subjective or experiential components. These theorists also neglected the aspect of the dimensionality of emotions, with early research concentrating on discrete emotional descriptions, viewing each affective state as a separate independent facet with distinct facial expressions and cognitive representation (Daly, Lancee & Polivy, 1983). Researchers thus began to explore these often

neglected areas, and turned the focus away from a one-to-one relationship between a discrete emotion and an underlying neural system, to adopting a model which advocated the idea that emotions arise from cognitive interpretations of core physiological experiences (Cacioppo et al., 2000; Russell, 2003). Studies investigating these subjective elements ultimately instigated the development of dimensional models of emotion in understanding affective experiences, whereby attention is given to affective states arising from common, overlapping neurophysiological systems, rather than distinct systems (Posner et al., 2005).

Focus was ultimately directed to more relaxed types of systems, because clinicians began to note the difficulty people have in assessing and describing their own emotions; most people fail to isolate one particular emotion, but rather, the majority of the time, recognise various overlapping emotions (Saarni, 1999). These experiences suggest that emotions seem to lack distinct borders which would clearly distinguish one emotion from another, as the basic theory of emotions would advocate (Russell & Fehr, 1994). Accordingly, theorists who have explored the experiences of emotions have argued that emotions are highly intercorrelated; for example, when describing a particular positive emotion, people subsequently tend to feel other positive emotions (Watson & Clark, 1992). Furthermore, through major research carried out on affective structures, results of various studies have commonly indicated that there are two bipolar dimensions within the proposed structure (Larsen & Diener, 1992; Posner et al., 2005); these dimensions have been conceptualised in various ways, for instance: positive and negative affect (Watson, Clark & Tellegen, 1988); tension and energy (Thayer, 1989); approach and withdrawal (Lang, Bradley, & Cuthbert, 1998), or valence and arousal (Russell, 1980). Although there are various labels placed on these dimensions, there is a general consensus among researchers that these dimensions, regardless of labels, are consistent throughout numerous studies (Posner et al., 2005). Accordingly, while early

models of emotions suggested independent monopolar factors of affect, with most of these researchers concluding that there were between six and twelve types of emotions (e.g., Borgatta, 1961; Hendrick & Lilly, 1970; Izard, 1972), theorists began to change their perspective, viewing affective states as bipolar dimensions, which are related to one another in a systematic relationship (Russell, 1978; Daly et al., 1983)

3.2 Circumplex model of affect

One of the most recognised dimensional models which have been heavily researched is the circumplex model of affect (Russell, 1980); researchers believe that this model provides a useful framework for further exploration of affective experiences (Posner et al., 2005). This particular model incorporates the notion that all affective states arise from two broad dimensions of mood, which Russell conceptualises as valence (pleasantness versus unpleasantness), and degree of arousal or activation (excited or tense versus relaxed and calm). More specifically, the valence system determines the degree to which the experienced emotions are positively or negatively felt. These emotional feelings vary from highly pleasurable experiences, such as joy or happiness, to highly unpleasant experiences, such as grief or despair (Russell, 2003; Posner et al). The arousal system determines the degree to which the experienced emotions activate certain behaviours. The level of arousal can vary from intense arousal, such as excitement or panic, to minor arousal, such as coma or sleep (Posner et al.).

Russell (2003) further expands this framework by arguing that while there is a circular order or 'circumplex' of emotions which tend to form around these dimensions, these emotional states also merge into each other. Therefore, within this model, emotional states are firstly experienced and communicated, upon which cognitive interpretation identifies the affective

changes in the valence and arousal systems. Once these changes have been identified, they are organised based on the stimuli, prior experiences, behavioural responses and semantic knowledge (Posner et al., 2005; Russell, 2003). Consequently, as an affective state arises, it subsequently stimulates the two dimensions to various degrees depending on the extent of activation. Specific emotions therefore arise from the two neurophysiological systems in conjunction with the interpretation of these emotions. An illustration of this model can be shown with the emotion of joy, for example: this emotional state is the product of stimulation of the positive valence of pleasure, in association with moderate stimulation of the arousal dimension (Posner et al).

Russell's (1980) proposition that emotional terms cluster around axes, and tend to form circular patterns around the dimensions, led Russell to argue that the circumplex model was the best method to utilise when trying to understand emotional states. Accordingly, Russell carried out a study in which he used a list of 28 words or phrases that people apply when trying to describe their moods, feelings, affects or emotions. The emotional terms were then analysed using five distinct scaling techniques (direct circular scaling, MDS, unidimensional scaling, regression analysis and principal components analysis) to illustrate the circular pattern that forms within the structure of emotions. Results found that, while the circular patterns that formed demonstrated some variation, the overall structure was similar. These findings provided verification for Russell's proposal regarding the structure of emotions, and the evidence supporting these findings has since been verified by other research (e.g., Plutchik, 1991; Remington, Fabrigar & Visser, 2000). In particular, research utilising factor analysis and multidimensional scaling has indicated that numerous psychological assessments also verify two underlying dimensions of emotions, which present themselves as individuals

label and communicate their own emotional states and those of other individuals (Posner et al., 2005).

Accordingly, the circumplex model has been shown to be highly robust in identifying a full range of affective stimuli within various self-reports. For example, as Posner and colleagues noted, the two structures of mood indicated by the model have been repeatedly found in judgements of emotional language across various cultural samples and response formats (e.g., Barrett, 2004; Barrett & Fossum, 2001; Bush, 1973; Feldman, 1995; Feldman, Barrett & Russell, 1998). Moreover, two-dimensional models of emotion have also been identified in perceptions of facially expressed affective states (e.g., Cliff & Young, 1968; Dittmann, 1972; Green & Cliff, 1975; Schlosberg, 1952; 1954; Shepard, 1962), along with physiological (e.g., Cacioppo et al., 2000; Lang, Greenwald, Bradley & Hamm, 1993), electroencephalographic (EEG) (e.g., Davidson, 1984) and fMRI (e.g., Anderson et al., 2003; Small et al., 2003) studies of emotion. Overall, in contrast to the discrepancies reported from research carried out on the theories of basic emotions, the validity of the circumplex model of affect has been heavily supported by robust and often replicated findings.

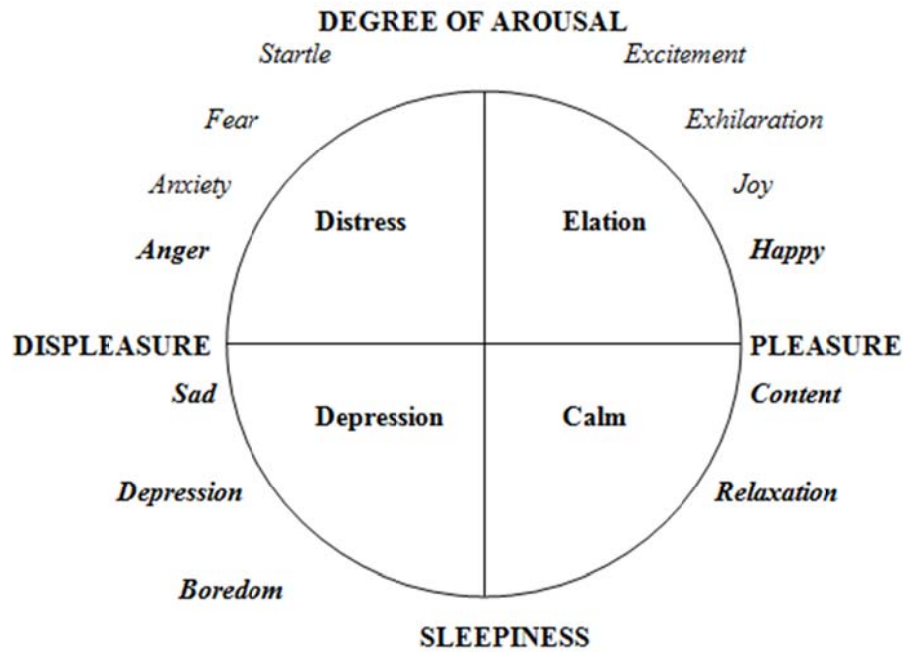


Figure 3.2. Russell's (1997) Circumplex of Emotions

Figure 3.2 is a graphical representation of the circumplex model of affect with the horizontal axis representing the valence dimension (pleasantness – unpleasantness) and the vertical axis representing the arousal or activation dimension (arousal – sleepiness). The affective states that fall in a continuous order around the two dimensional model are positioned to indicate the degree of stimulation from each dimension. The affective states that are more comparable will appear closer together within the circumplex; similarly, those emotions that are semantic or behavioural opposites will be located directly opposite within the spectrum of the circumplex, and those emotions which indicate no relative association are separated by ninety degree angles. Thus, the relationship between variables is stated as circular, as the ordering of variables has no defined beginning or end. The model identifies four quadrants that delineate four broad classes of mood: distress, elation, calmness and depression. The centre of the space represents a neutral point or adaptation level. Within a circumplex, the shortest distance from the neutral point to the location of a certain emotion establishes the intensity of that particular emotion. This circular model is one example of a broader class of models which

represents aspects of human experience and personal attributes. These concepts were first proposed by Guttman (1954) as the basis of his Facet Theory (Canter, 1985).

Although the circumplex model has aided in further understanding the emotional experience of both offending and non-offending populations, along with a better perception of the relationship between particular emotions, there are a number of limitations to this approach. In particular, the model assumes that all emotions and emotional experiences can be captured by the two-dimensional axes (Pleasure-Displeasure and Arousal-Sleepiness). This assumption has several faults, as some argue that the complexity of emotions cannot be manifested in two dimensions (Russell, 1997). For instance, as indicated in the figure above, the emotions of anger and anxiety are both high in displeasure and arousal; however, it could be argued that these two emotions are distinct in a number of ways, such as in physiological response, facial expression and behavioural reaction.

Despite these differences, they are not illustrated within the circumplex and therefore the uniqueness of specific emotions is often lost. In addition, the intensity of the emotional experience is also not reflected within the circumplex. More specifically, certain emotions may have a more intense element within any one individual, yet this intensity does not affect the location of the emotion within the circumplex (Ioannou, 2006). For instance, the emotion of depression can vary in intensity from mild depression to severe depression; the difference between mild and severe depression has a significant impact on an individual's mental state and can impact on their behavioural responses in a variety of ways. Although the circumplex model shows a few limitations in understanding the full gamut of emotions, it does still capture significant aspects of the emotional experience. The significant contributions which the circumplex model has provided in the development of theory and research on emotions

has been illustrated through its continued empirical support, as it is one of the most widely studied representations of affect.

3.2.1 History of the circumplex model

In conjunction with the more recent findings verifying the circumplex model, the notion that affective states are not independent entities, but rather relate and integrate within one another, had a long history of support before it was brought forth by Russell as one of the concepts behind the circumplex model of affect. The theoretical framework is rooted in work carried out by Wundt (1924); this research proposed that affective states could be classified within three dimensions: pleasant-unpleasant, calm-excited and relaxation-tension. In addition, Schlosberg (1952) was one of the first to propose that emotions can be structured in a circular arrangement which is represented by three dimensions: pleasantness-unpleasantness, attention-rejection and sleep-tension. Following these initial explorations, Abelson & Sermat (1962) carried out a study of the similarities and dissimilarities in pairs of facial expressions. The data was analysed by a multidimensional scaling procedure which resulted in a two-dimensional space; one axis consisted of pleasantness-unpleasantness, while the second was a combination of the sleep-tension and attention- rejection axes, which were found to be vastly similar. Subsequent researchers conducted similar studies of facial expressions utilising multidimensional procedures, and found similar results in the structures of the same two dimensions (e.g., Cliff & Young, 1968; Royal & Hays, 1959; Shepard, 1962).

Along with research carried out on facial expressions, studies of the affective structure implicit within English language have also found evidence to support the notions presented by Schlosberg (1952). Semantic differential studies have specified that meaning of affective terminology within the English language relies heavily on the dimensions of evaluation,

activity and potency, which are all major factors of affective language (Osgood, May & Miron, 1975; Russell, 1980). For example, researchers have explored semantic differential ratings relating to emotional terms and phases. Results of these studies support the evaluation (pleasant-unpleasant) and activity (degree of arousal) dimensions (e.g., Russell & Mehrabian, 1977); however, inconsistent findings have been found in terms of potency. While some researchers have found two dimensions related to potency, control and depth or importance (e.g., Averill, 1975), other researchers have indicated dimensions of dominance-submissiveness related to potency (e.g., Russell & Mehrabian). Research carried out using multidimensional scaling provides more conclusive evidence on the structure of the language of affect (Russell, 1980). In particular, this type of analysis provides evidence which suggests that there are two distinct dimensions of the cognitive representation of affect: the pleasantness-unpleasantness and arousal-sleep dimensions, which provide the majority of variance in the judged similarities among emotion words. While further dimensions are also often obtained, they only account for a small percentage of variance and, as previously mentioned, there is little agreement with regard to their interpretation (e.g., Bush, 1973; Dittmann, 1972). Furthermore, research has also found consistent and strong evidence to indicate that the dimensions of affect are bipolar (e.g., Block 1957; Bush, 1973); with that, although less direct evidence has been found, research has also demonstrated that affect terms also appear to be bipolar (e.g., Lundberg & Devine, 1975).

Despite the vast amount of evidence proclaiming that there are two dimensions in the cognitive representation of emotions, the ability for these dimensions to accurately represent the numerous emotional feelings and experiences was not entirely understood. Consequently, following Schlosberg's (1952) proposition and the various studies supporting Schlosberg's

notion of a circular arrangement of emotions, Russell (1980) began to elaborate on the initial proposition of a circular structure of emotions, leading to the development of the circumplex.

3.2.2 *Application of circumplex model to criminal behaviour*

The vast amount of support provided by various studies, not only in the development of the circumplex model, but also with more recent findings, has subsequently allowed this model to be an effective source for future research. For instance, this framework provides new theoretical and empirical insight into the exploration and understanding of criminal behaviour. In particular, utilising the circumplex model of affect, Canter & Ioannou (2004) carried out groundbreaking research on the emotions of criminals. The study was one of the first to use self-reported procedures with incarcerated offenders to determine the emotions they had experienced while committing a specific crime. Their research was carried out on 83 incarcerated offenders who were asked to describe the emotions they had experienced during the commission of a specific crime which they clearly remembered. This information was collected through the *Emotions Felt During Crime Questionnaire*; this tool represented emotions selected to cover the full range of Russell's (1997) circumplex. Canter & Ioannou's study was also the first study to implement the questionnaire, which was developed from pilot research that had found the emotions made sense to criminals as possible descriptions of their feelings during a crime they could clearly recall. The distribution of the questionnaire was followed by an extended interview in which various background characteristics and offence history aspects were documented.

The findings of the study mirrored the circumplex structure of emotions originally proposed by Russell (1997) for non-criminal experiences, with dominant axes of pleasure and arousal. This subsequently allowed the identification of four modes of emotion: 'elation', 'calm',

‘distress’ and ‘depression’. These findings thus provide support for the view that criminal reactions are a form of normal emotional functioning displayed in a different context. That being said, the offenders also exhibited stronger contrasts between bipolar emotions (e.g., pleasure and displeasure) compared to non-criminal experiences. Further analyses indicated that perpetrators of different subsets of crime are more likely to experience distinct emotions. For example, results found that property crimes produced more pleasurable emotions compared to crimes against the person.

Overall, the findings of Canter & Ioannou’s (2004) study appeared to support the ideas originally proposed by Katz (1988), that emotions play a vital role in criminality and need to be further researched before the psychological processes that maintain crime can be fully understood. Furthermore, the results also indicated that the emotions experienced by offenders during an offence can be conceptualised in a similar context to other emotional experiences, thereby providing support for the hypothesis that the structure of emotions in criminals mirrors those activities and experiences felt by the general population. Nonetheless, this study is one of very few which have implemented self-report methods in an attempt to understand the role which emotions play in the occurrence of offending. As a result, while the results of this study are important and promising, further research needs to be carried out on the criminal emotional framework before any reliable conclusions can be drawn. Specifically, further research needs to be conducted utilising the *Emotions Felt During Crime Questionnaire*.

In addition, future research also needs to investigate the intensity of the emotions being experienced by the offenders. A crucial factor in understanding these emotions is the degree of variation in the intensity of affective states. Prior studies have not emphasised the notion

that, within the circumplex, emotions which fall towards the centre of the structure are considered more intense, and that this intensity decreases as the variable retreats further from the centre. While Canter & Ioannou found preliminary evidence to suggest that the experience of crimes may be more strongly bipolar than the usual range of emotions, the intensity of these emotions needs to be further examined, especially in the context of criminal behaviour; this consideration is important, because it could be that the extreme intensity of feelings is what ultimately encourages offenders to commit offences, and this could also be the component which separates the emotions felt by this population from those of the general public.

3.3 The role of emotions within crime

As previously discussed, while most social science explanations of offending behaviour focus on the various external factors, legal processes emphasise the internal purpose of the offence, attempting to understand the agencies within the offender which cause them to engage in such activities. Canter & Ioannou (2004) suggest that, to bridge these internal and external agencies, the actual experience of the offender carrying out the offence should be considered. Furthermore, while there is an ample amount of research on the emotional experience of non-offending populations, this area has been vastly neglected in criminal literature. There is a limited amount of research investigating the role of emotions as causal or associated features of crime. Despite the lack of empirical knowledge in regard to criminals' emotional experiences, various researchers have constantly suggested that the emotions of criminals during an offence are an important element to explore.

Elias (1994) argued that investigations into crimes need to consider not only the reasons or ideas behind the offence, but also the structure that propels these ideas; in other words, the

form of human affects that direct criminals to these offences. More recently, Canter & Ioannou (2004) have argued that the offender's experience is an important element to explore because the experience is what encourages the offender to carry out the offence, which subsequently provides the internal motives for the crime and the emotional gratifications that maintain their criminal lifestyle. It cannot, therefore, be denied that criminal behaviour with reference to the emotional state of an offender during these actions is a vital topic to explore. Taking this type of emotional perspective could help construct new and innovative explanations for criminal behaviour that may perhaps be more simplistic than one would expect. This new insight into an offender's experience will also assist in a better understanding, both of the external causes, and of how these factors are internalised by criminals.

Accordingly, Canter & Ioannou (2004) argued that exploring the feelings associated with particular crimes offers a link between external and internal characteristics and how these translate into actions. Furthermore, the implication that emotions and emotional deficits play a significant role within criminal actions has been well documented (e.g., Bumby & Hansen, 1997; Garlick, Marshall & Thornton, 1996; Marshall, Champagne, Brown & Miller, 1997; Marshall & Hambley, 1996; Seidman, Marshall, Hudson, & Robertson, 1994). Despite the view that the emotions felt by an offender during their offence is a significant factor which needs to be further explored, only a few studies have investigated this principle.

3.3.1 Research on emotions and crime

For generations, crime scholars have tended to neglect the possibility that offenders' emotions and emotional arousal play an important role. It has only been more recently that researchers have directed their attention towards these components. To date, however, there

has only been one published book which truly captures the importance of the emotional quality within crime: *Seductions of Crime* (Katz, 1988) vividly explores the feelings exhibited by offenders in the process of committing a crime. Through narrative accounts from university students, along with first-hand experiences from convicted offenders, this book explains the different types of crime and the prominent roles which emotional states play in the commission of various criminal activities, illustrating overall that crime is a heavily emotional event. More specifically, Katz argues that, in general, criminological theorising is flawed by the ignorance that criminologists possess in trying to explain the correlates of crime. These theorists often lack first-hand knowledge and, as a result, attempt to attribute the casual forces of crime to factors such as demographics and social life, while neglecting the emotions in models of crime causations. Katz therefore contends that theorists fail to acknowledge the importance of emotions, an omission which can become misleading and destructive within criminological theorising.

Accordingly, Katz (1988) states that these shortcomings can be countered by directing attention towards not only cognition, but also towards emotions such as anger, rage and hopelessness, to name a few. Furthermore, Katz proclaims that, in general, offenders are seduced by objects, people and by the actual crime itself. In particular, according to Katz, at the moment of an offence the criminal feels seduced and compelled to commit the offence. At this moment of the crime, Katz suggests that there is a transition from the rational choice to commit the act, to a compulsion to do so; this compulsion is driven by the seductive thrill of crime. For example, in violent crimes, Katz focuses on feelings such as humiliation, righteousness, arrogance, ridicule, cynicism, defilement and vengeance. These feelings create a sense of seduction in the entitlement the offender feels, and a compulsion which makes

them believe it is a moral right to attack. It is therefore these types of emotions within similar contexts that need more direct attention.

Correspondingly, Katz (1988) developed an alternative theoretical strategy which specifically focused on the emotions directly involved in committing an offence, along with those emotions that are indirectly implicated during criminal activity, and how these emotional reactions may induce or sustain criminal activity. For instance, becoming a habitual street robber entails more than making a calculated choice as to the most efficient way to earn money. To fully understand the appeal of robbery, you must grasp more than the demographic and social appeals; you have to understand the emotions felt both prior to and after the offence. An example of how important these suggestions by Katz are can be illustrated in the research carried out by De Haan and Loader (2002), who explored the emotions of crime; during their investigation they found a statement which was provided to the police by a 68-year-old woman who had been the victim of a street robbery:

I was followed by a white male, approximately 22-years-old, who had come from behind. In his hand he held a six-inch long knife. I heard him say: 'Your money or I'll stab you.' I took my purse from my left coat pocket, showed him there were only two bills of ten and one of twenty-five in it and gave him the forty-five guilder. Then he wanted my necklace as well, but I told him it was a fake. After this I saw him lean against the inner court wall and he started crying. I heard him say: 'I've never done this before and I need a hundred guilder for my mother.' Then he gave me back my money. I then gave him twenty guilders and went into my house.

While this case may be an exception to the average street robber who hides their feelings during the course of a robbery, the example demonstrates that the offender clearly showed mixed emotions over his criminal activity. Furthermore, although the example does not

clearly illustrate whether his crying represented emotions such as shame, guilt or hopelessness, it nevertheless vividly depicts the importance of considering emotions in offending. In summary, the work carried out by Katz (1988) advocates the view that, within explanations of crime, emotions need to be considered as important explanatory factors in criminal offending. Therefore, although theorists have not incorporated the emotional states of offenders in prior exploratory studies, future research needs to address these omissions because, as Katz has suggested, emotions are intuitive and play an important role in crime.

The groundbreaking research carried out by Katz (1988) was subsequently supported by numerous other researchers. Feeney (1999) explored the motivation behind robbers' criminal actions; the results indicated that these crimes are often not motivated by the desire for monetary gain, but rather, are committed in order to achieve a certain affective state. Wright Decker, Redfern & Smith (1999) also found evidence to support the notion that a criminal's decision to carry out an offence is largely influenced by an emotional state. Similarly, Adler (1999) investigated the careers of drug dealers to try and understand more about their criminal experience. The results illustrated that the emotions of excitement and thrill seeking were major factors within their criminal experiences and characteristic of their lifestyles.

The research carried out by Katz (1988), and the subsequent support for the researcher's emotion-specific theories for various types of other crimes (e.g., Fleming, 1999; McCarthy, 1995), raised the question of whether an overall structure depicting the various emotions experienced by offenders could be developed and, moreover, of whether there is a significant correlation between particular emotions and certain crimes. The suggestion of this structure resulted in the creation of two contrasting hypotheses: (1) the proposed structure of emotions will reflect emotions in general. In other words, criminality mirrors those activities and

experiences felt by the general population. (2) The proposed structure of emotions will reflect a limited range of emotional experiences. In other words, criminality is a product of an exclusive subset, which is reflected in the distinctive ways in which they relate to others. These contrasting hypotheses reflect the distinct areas of research which have supported each proposition: specifically, analyses of facial and vocal emotional expressions have been widely studied in prior research (e.g. Albelson & Sermat, 1962; Schlosberg, 1954), along with judging similarities among mood words (Russell, 1980).

3.4 Chapter summary

The importance of exploring the emotions of offenders while they are committing their crimes is essential in further understanding the motives which drive these crimes and therefore provide the emotional gratification which also sustains these crimes. It has been established within this chapter that there is little research exploring the relationship between emotions during criminal offences, and that there is currently no research which has explored this concept within MDOs. Therefore, establishing a similar model of emotions for MDOs, to aid in understanding not only the emotional context of their crimes, but also the intensity of this emotion, will lead to greater insight into the criminal behaviour of MDOs. Further exploration will also be vital in the offenders own understanding of their crimes, as many MDOs often struggle to understand, interpret and control their emotions.

While Canter & Ioannou's (2004) study was the first step towards providing a methodology and theoretical framework for the emotional experience behind criminal behaviour, the results were based on incarcerated offenders and, as established in chapter one, MDOs are a unique subset of offenders. Further investigation is therefore required to explore the emotional experience of MDOs, thereby allowing for a better understanding of the emotional

experience of all types of criminals. More specifically, when compared to the average criminal population, MDOs demonstrate emotional abnormalities; such as shallow affect (Hare, 1993), lack of empathy, guilt and remorse (Mullen, 2006) and emotional impairments (e.g. Blair, 2005; Treméau, 2006). These discrepancies in emotional regulation, compared to offenders without mental disorders, are important elements in understanding criminal behaviour and generating inferences about the emotions of MDOs during their crimes. These differences will therefore be taken into consideration throughout the investigation of the present thesis.

More specifically, one of the aims of this thesis is to explore the emotions of MDOs during their offences. It is suggested that the results generated from this exploration will be of value for the further development of treatments programmes which specifically target the emotions of MDOs, such as Cognitive-Behavioural Therapy (CBT). In particular, if offenders took a narrative approach to understanding their emotions at the time of their offence, it may help many MDOs understand the complex nature of high intensity CBT programmes, as it allows offenders to view their emotions from a new perspective via the narrative approach. The results will also be of value for law enforcement agencies to better understand the actions and motives of those they seek to detect and ultimately capture. Thus, the study offers the foundations for a bridge between the concern with agency that is central to the legal process, and the concern with cause that is at the heart of social science studies of crime (Canter & Ioannou, 2004).

Chapter 4

Methodology

The previous chapters examined the literature on narrative theory and emotions in relation to the criminal experiences of MDOs. They also explored the mental health factors which could contribute to an offender's perception of their criminal experience. Thus the above exploration resulted in five studies; the current chapter presents the methodological procedures conducted for these studies.

4.1 Access to medium secure units

The data was collected from seven Forensic Medium Secure Units (MSU's) (across two hospital sites) which are part of an NHS Foundation Trust in London. Due to a number of factors, such as the low response rate and the limited number of patients that met the inclusion criteria within the MSUs, the researcher recruited further participants from three medium secure residential hostels in south London that worked in partnership with the NHS Trust. The residents of the hostels that were approached were all released from the MSUs that had been accessed by the researcher. The residents had therefore all been recently released from the two hospital sites that were approached, as such; it was felt that the population was similar to those that were recruited within the MSUs. All residential hostels were associated with the same housing association which worked in partnership with the NHS trust where ethics was granted. Within the MSU's, there was a total of 107 available beds, of which 100 (95%) were occupied. Within the three residential hostels, there were a total of 51 beds with 100% occupancy at the time of the study. The researcher was asked by the housing association not to identify their name within any written work pertaining to the information gathered within the establishment. The researcher is also obliged by ethical considerations not to identify the psychiatric hospitals where participants were recruited or the NHS Trust associated with these hospitals.

Access to the MSUs was granted through several ethical procedures. The researcher first applied for ethical approval from the School of Human and Health Sciences Research Ethics Panel at the University of Huddersfield. Once ethical approval was granted through the university, the researcher applied directly to NHS Research Ethics through the Integrated Research Application System (IRAS). After ethical approval was granted from the NHS Committee, the researcher applied for Research and Development (R&D) and Clinical Academic Group (CAG) approval with the specific NHS Foundation Trust. Upon access approval of R&D and CAG, the researcher began data collection within the medium secure psychiatric hospitals in London. As the housing association worked in partnership with the NHS Trust, once ethical approval was granted by the NHS, the researcher presented the letter of approval to the human resources director and regional service manager of the housing association. The researcher was also asked to submit a research proposal, which included details of the aims of the study, the procedures for data collection and copies of the questionnaires, as well as details of how long the study would take, the number of participants and ethical issues such as confidentiality. Permission was subsequently granted by the HR director and regional service manager.

4.2 Participants

The inclusion criteria for participants to engage in the study included individuals who were: adult males, aged 18 years or older; not appealing their conviction and with no other pending legal issues; mentally stable; fluent in the English language; willing to discuss an identified offence, and had been convicted (in the past or currently). Within the MSUs 69 (69%) of individuals met the basic inclusion criteria, of which, 19 (27%) declined to partake in the study. As previously mentioned, due to the small population that was recruited, the researcher extended recruitment to the residential forensic hostels that were associated with

the NHS trust in order to generate more participants for the research. Within the forensic residential hostel 46 (90%) individuals met the basic inclusion criteria, of which, 26 (56%) declined to take part in the study. In total, 70 participants who had been convicted of an offence and were currently sectioned under the Mental Health Act 2007, or had recently been released to a housing association, were recruited for the current study. The 70 participants included 50 (71%) forensic MSU patients, and 20 (29%) residential hostel service users. Eight participants of this 70 were approached and agreed to engage in semi-structured interviews regarding their identified offence.

The mean age of the sample was 38.6 years ($SD = 10.7$, range = 20 – 66), with a variety of ethnicities including: Black British (38.6%); White British (38.6%); Black African (10%); Black Caribbean (8.6%), and Asian (2.9%). A large portion of the sample reported being single (75.7%); 11.4% reported being divorced; 7.1% were separated; 2.9% were married, and 1.4% were divorced. Participants also had a range of mental health problems, with a mean age of onset of 26.42 ($SD = 9.11$, range = 15 – 49). The participants' convictions ranged from sexual (e.g., rape, sexual assault) and violent (e.g., murder, manslaughter) to other (e.g., robbery, theft, etc.).

Participants were randomly recruited as there was no identified system for deliberate participant identification. Specifically, participants were identified by the researcher providing NHS staff and support workers within the recruitment locations a copy of the inclusion and exclusion criteria for the study. These staff were then asked to approach individuals who met the study's inclusion criteria and to provide them with an *Information Sheet for Participation in Research* (see Appendix A). If potential participants required assistance with reading, the researcher or a staff member assisted with this. NHS staff and

support workers were identified to act as providers of information as requested by NHS ethics, as opposed to taking on the role of a gate-keeper, in an attempt to reduce bias and ensure randomised selection. Once potential participants were identified and provided with the *Information Sheet for Participation in Research*, they were asked to approach staff if they were interested in taking part in the study.

4.3 Measures

Participants completed three separate questionnaires: a *Demographic Sheet* (see Appendix B), a *Criminal Narrative Role Questionnaire* (see Appendix C) and an *Emotions Felt During a Criminal Offence Questionnaire* (see Appendix D).

4.3.1 Demographic sheet.

The demographic sheet comprised of sixty-four items regarding: the participants' personal details (e.g., "current age", "marital status", "where were you living at the time of the offence?", etc.); their offending history (e.g., "number of prior convictions", "age of first conviction", "number of times in prison/hospital", etc.); index offence details (e.g., "date of offence", "sentence length", "where did the offence occur?", etc.), and victim details (e.g., "number of victim(s)", "gender of victim(s)", "injury to victim(s)", etc.). The information from the demographic sheet was aimed to collate as much information about the individual's circumstances at the time of the offence, their offending history and offending behaviour to further assist in developing an understanding of their offending narrative. Basic demographic details were also collected in order to be able to describe the sample.

4.3.2 *The criminal narrative role questionnaire (Canter et al., 2009)*

This is a 36-item measure with each item scored on a five-point Likert-type scale (not at all = 1, just a little = 2, some = 3, a lot = 4, very much = 5). Such a scale allows for more elaboration on the participants' answers, providing more detail than a dichotomy format. This questionnaire was designed to represent the type of role an offender saw themselves 'playing' during the commission of their offence. The role statements were developed through the researchers (Canter et al., 2003; Canter et al., 2009) reviewing Frye's archetypal mythoi (1957) and narrative theory (McAdams, 1988). The questionnaire is based on four themes, which correlate to four roles which the offenders believed themselves to play: *irony (the victim)*, *adventure (the professional)*, *quest (the hero)* and *tragedy (the revenger)*. The role of *irony (the victim)* encompasses responses such as feeling: "helpless", "confused", being a "victim" and that they "wanted it over". *Adventure (the professional)* is characterised by variables such as "taking a risk", "doing a job", and feeling their actions to be "routine" and "professional". The *quest (the hero)* theme includes statements such as: being on a "mission", "looking for recognition", feeling they "couldn't stop" and being "manly". *Tragedy (the revenger)* incorporates responses which include: wanting "revenge", the action being the "only thing to do", feeling that "it was right" and "fate".

At the time of the study, the current instrument had yet to be rigorously tested within a wider clinical and/or research setting, therefore conclusions about the quality of the measure, as key indicators such as reliability and validity have yet to be fully explored. Specifically, to date, the instrument had been applied to one previous study carried out by Canter et al. (2009). These researchers tested the four criminal narratives proposed (*hero*, *professional*, *revenger* and *victim*) by asking 161 convicted offenders to complete the *Criminal Narrative Roles*

Questionnaire based on their experience of committing a specific crime, the results supported these proposed narratives.

That being said, the wider use of the measure to validate the overall quality is still being investigated and there are issues that need to be further addressed. Ward (2012) noted that there is a concern with the construct validity of the narrative roles that are presented in the questionnaire, and suggested there was a lack of theoretical or empirical justification for how the four narrative themes were developed. These critiques however have been responded to by Canter and Youngs (2012) who indicated that whilst the reliability and validity of the *Criminal Narrative Role Questionnaire* needs to be further explored, the instrument was developed and based on narrative theory research (e.g., Theory of Mythoi: Frye, 1957). Canter and Youngs (2012) also noted that many followers of the narrative approach acknowledge the subjective element to the concepts and terms that are evaluated, and are aware of the inherently weakened methodological properties of narrative measures. Furthermore, despite these criticisms the current study showed an overall good measure of reliability and internal consistency for the majority of subscales that were generated (see Study 1), this was validated through Cronbachs Alpha analyses. Accordingly, this study contributes to the current knowledge of the questionnaire by assessing the reliability and internal consistency of such a measure and how the questionnaire is applied to a clinical population which it has yet to be implemented upon.

4.3.3 *Emotions felt during a criminal offence questionnaire (Canter & Ioannou, 2004).*

This questionnaire consists of 26 emotional statements, representing emotions selected to cover the full gamut of Russell's (1997) 'circumplex of emotions' model. Each item is scored on a five-point Likert-type scale (not at all = 1, just a little = 2, some = 3, a lot = 4, very much

= 5). Russell's Circumplex of emotions model gives rise to four quadrants that capture four broad classes of mood: distress, elation, calmness and depression. Examples of the emotion statements include: "I felt excited"; "I felt scared"; "I felt safe"; "I felt depressed", etc. Each item is aimed to measure the extent to which offenders feel the emotions apply to their experience of crime, with a likert scale allowing for more elaboration on the participants' answers as opposed to a dichotomy yes/no format.

The questionnaire was originally developed from research carried out by Canter and Ioannou (2004). They initially constructed the questionnaire using the full gamut of Russell's (1997) circumplex of emotions and tested the emotional experience of 83 convicted criminals during their index offence. Their research showed that the emotions of the circumplex made sense to criminals as feelings they could clearly remember during a crime. Since this initial exploration the questionnaire was refined and used in further research carried out by Ioannou (2006) who also found that the emotions of criminals covered the full range of Russell's circumplex of emotions. One of the current limitations of the *Emotions Felt During a Criminal Offence Questionnaire* is that it is still a relatively new measure, and the psychometric properties have yet to be vigorously explored within a wide clinical forensic population. However, the research that has been carried out to date has indicated good reliability and validity across studies. Within the current study an overall good measure of reliability and internal consistency was found within the subscales (see Study 2), this was validated through Cronbachs Alpha analyses. Nonetheless, these properties need to be explored in further research which incorporates broader clinical populations before any conclusions can be drawn in regards to the psychometric properties of the instrument. Accordingly, this study contributes to the development of assessing these norms and how it is applied to a clinical population which it has yet to be tested on.

4.4 Procedure

As previously mentioned, the data in the present study was collected from MSUs which were part of an NHS Foundation Trust in London. Due to the low recruitment numbers from these establishments, participants were further recruited from medium secure residential hostels. Access to these establishments was granted through the ethical procedures described above.

A randomised sampling approach was implemented within the recruitment of participants as the researcher presented staff at the psychiatric hospitals and residential hostels with the inclusion criteria for the study, upon which, staff identified potential participants for the study. The researcher was not involved in the selection of potential participants; this was to ensure that the sample was not biased by the preferences of the researcher nor by the sample itself. Following identification of potential participants (those who met the inclusion criteria), identified staff members approached these individuals and requested them to take part in the study by providing them with an *Information Sheet for Participation in Research*, which informed them of the following: who was doing the research; the purpose of the study; what would happen if they took part; what would happen if they changed their mind; what would happen with the information they gave, and when they would be debriefed. Participants willing to engage in the research approached staff members about the research, who notified the researcher; the researcher subsequently arranged a scheduled meeting to conduct the research at a mutually convenient time.

If participants agreed to engage in the study, they were provided with a *Consent Form for Participation in Research* (see Appendix E) by the researcher, which they were asked to read and sign, at which point they were also allocated a participant number to ensure anonymity. If participants had any difficulties with reading, the researcher assisted them with this. While the *Consent Form for Participation in Research* made clear all the briefing information that

was necessary for the participants to consider prior to giving consent, the researcher also verbally explained to all participants that their responses were completely confidential and anonymous. This was particularly significant to emphasise, as it was important to ensure that participants provided truthful answers on all the questionnaires. According to research (e.g., Kulik, Stein & Sarbin, 1968; Leonhard, Gastfriend, Tuffy & Neill, 1997), reliability is greater under anonymous conditions than under non-anonymous conditions. It was therefore essential to give respondents a guarantee that their admissions would be confidential. It was further explained that their participation was completely voluntary and that they could leave at any time without giving any reason, and that there would be no repercussions following their withdrawal. It was also important to explain to participants the limits of confidentiality, and that if they expressed any intention to harm themselves or others during the course of the research, or disclosed past offences for which they had not been convicted, or disclosed that they were involved in, or planned to be involved in, the commission of an offence, the researcher was under obligation to report this information to the appropriate authorities.

At the stage of signing the consent form, all 70 participants were asked via the consent form if they would be willing to engage in a one hour interview (*Offence Analysis Semi-Structured Interview*) (see Appendix F) with the researcher, following completion of the allocated psychometric questionnaires. Of the 70 participants, 62 (89%) agreed to take part in a succeeding interview. The researcher subsequently selected eight participants to take part in the semi-structured interview based on purposive sampling. More specifically, participants who agreed to take part in the interview were grouped according to pre-selected criteria relevant to their mental disorder (Axis I, Axis II, No Formal Diagnosis), from this criteria the researcher selected two participants from each of the mental disorder categories at random for interview, a subsequent two participants were selected at random based on offence type

(Property and Person offences). Participants were determined by the above criteria to ensure that a full range of individuals were recruited for interview. Purposive sampling was implemented as it is one of the most commonly used sampling strategies for qualitative data and sample sizes are determined on the basis of theoretical saturation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). In particular, the qualitative data was collected to help in defining the patterns of criminal experiences which emerged through SSA and the relationship these patterns had to mental disorder and offence type, accordingly, eight interviews were chosen to ensure that the relationship of the criminal narrative experience was highlighted within each of the above categories (Axis I, Axis II, No Formal Diagnosis, Property Offence, Person Offence).

Therefore, the interviews were not collected for analysis but rather as descriptive elements to highlight major themes emerging from the analysis. This notion of using qualitative data to enhance the themes that emerge from quantitative results has been found to be an important element in enhancing and enriching understanding of SSA outcomes. For example, Youngs & Canter (2011) implemented a similar mixed method approach when using interview descriptions to illustrate specific components of the criminal narrative roles which had been established in previous research. These researchers also recruited a small sample size (4 participants).

All eight participants that agreed, via the consent form, to take part in the semi-structured interview were informed that the researcher would approach them to schedule an interview after they had completed the initial psychometrics. After signing the consent form, the participants were requested to think about the particulars of an offence for which they had been convicted, preferably their index offence. They were further instructed to recall the details of this offence and their thoughts, feelings and thinking processes during the

commission of the offence, while completing the following questionnaires: *Demographic Sheet*, *Criminal Narrative Role Questionnaire* and *Emotions Felt During a Criminal Offence Questionnaire*. The researcher was present for the duration of each participant's completion of the allocated psychometrics sheets in order to assist with any reading or literacy problems or difficulties with any of the questions asked. The questionnaires took approximately 60 to 90 minutes to complete, after which participants were debriefed verbally and provided with £5 for their assistance with the research. Participants were also asked if they would like any additional support following the outcome of the research. Those who said they would like support were referred to the appropriate clinical team for support and thanked for their time. Those who did not believe they required any support were also thanked for their time.

The eight participants who were selected and had previously agreed to take part in the one hour semi-structured interview, as identified by the consent form, were asked again at the end of their psychometric questionnaires if they were still willing to engage in the semi-structured interview. All eight participants verbally consented; as such, they were allocated an interview time and date with the researcher in one of the rooms allocated by the staff. The purpose of this semi-structured interview was to explore the participant's perception of their narrative role and emotions felt during a specified offence, as well as conducting an offence analysis, which included personal circumstances leading up to the offence, details of the offence and post-offence examination. The interview lasted 30 – 45 minutes. The researcher asked the questions presented in the *Offence Analysis Semi-Structured Interview* whilst another PhD researcher, who agreed to assist in the transcription of the interviews, wrote down the participants answers verbatim. Once participants had completed the semi-structured interview, they were again thanked for their time, debriefed and provided with an additional

£5 for their assistance with the research. Participants were also asked if they would like any additional support following the outcome of the interview.

All data collection, from the demographic sheet, both questionnaires and the semi-structured interviews, was completed in the interview room made available for the researcher within the psychiatric hospitals and hostels; this was both for security reasons for the researcher and convenience for participants. It was important to conduct all data collection with participants in a secure environment, such as a private interview room, as these methods are likely to maximize the validity of self-reports (Farrington, 2010). While only the researcher and participant were in the interview rooms, the researcher completed specific training prior to the collecting of data, in order to ensure that safety was adhered to at all times; staff were also made aware of the researcher's location during the data collection process. Participants were also aware that all interview rooms were monitored by the camera in the room; no speakers were on the camera, as it was strictly to monitor the researcher's safety. The researcher was accompanied by another member of staff during all visits to the psychiatric hospital; the only time the researcher was left alone with participants was during the actual data collection process. Similar procedures were adhered to during data collection at the housing association.

4.5 Self-Report versus Official Records

Research on offenders' criminal careers has most widely implemented two methods of data collection: self-report and official records. The data obtained in the *Demographic Sheet* was primarily based on self-reported information provided by the participant. While the researcher had access to each patient's official file held by the NHS or the housing association (access to these files was applied for and granted during the NHS ethics application), various parts of participants' official records were often incomplete. The researcher therefore cross-referenced the data that could be cross-referred by official records.

This was to ensure, to the best of the researcher's ability, that the large majority of the demographic information was verified by official records.

Nonetheless, although data was cross-referenced, not all data on the *Demographic Sheet* could be verified by official files. For example, questions pertaining to personal circumstances and victim details were not always recorded in the official files. Therefore, there were various limitations to accessing official information. Accordingly, as the research primarily concentrated on the participants' index offence, the researcher was able to cross-reference the self-reported information with official NHS documents that recorded the relevant offence details (e.g., number of convictions, sentence length, type of offence, age at time of offence, etc). In the context of the index offence, the researcher found a high degree of agreement between participants' official files and their self-reports. These findings have been illustrated in various other studies (e.g., Farrington, 1989; Hollin, 1989), which have used self-report data from offences as a verification technique (Hollin).

While all the participants' index offences were cross-referenced by official records, other information pertaining to their offence history could not be verified by official files. The researcher therefore only cross-referenced the details in relation to the offence which participants were asked to recall when answering the questionnaires, and relied on self-report for the remainder of the demographic questions.

There is a collaborate view among many researchers, arguing that self-report data is a valid measure of criminal history; this notion is based on an awareness of the limitations of official records (Farrington, 2010; Hindelang, Hirschi, & Weis 1981). A major criticism of official records as a primary data source is the narrowness of the office details. Criminal offences are

often reduced to charges or police reports, thereby omitting information such as victim injury, precedents, victim-offender relationship, substance misuse and the mental state of the offender (Convit, O'Donnell & Volavka, 1990; Nieves, Draine & Solomon, 2000). Another criticism of official records is the frequent inaccuracies due to human error: records being lost; incorrect recording during data entry; under-reporting, and even assigning information to the wrong individual. Despite these criticisms, some researchers believe that official records may be the best available criteria to measure the validity of alternative sources of criminal history (Nieves et al).

Self-report data has consistently demonstrated acceptable reliability and validity in prior studies by exhibiting high correlations with other criterion-related measures of criminal frequency and arrest histories (Farrington, 1973; Hardt & Hardt, 1977; Huizinga & Elliott, 1986; Maddux & Desmond, 1975; Mieczkowski, 1990; Nieves et al., 2000). The range of correlations found between self-report of criminal offences and official records of criminal offences in the general offender population vary between 0.66 (Wyner, 1977) and 0.80 (Hindelang et al., 1981) Based on prior research and the data available to the researcher, it was determined that the self-report method was the most valid and reliable method in obtaining accurate demographic information, as some aspects of participants' criminal history and personal circumstances were absent within official documents.

Although there are various advantages to using self-report data, the methodology implemented within the present study can create several methodological flaws that need to be considered when viewing the demographic information. In particular, researchers have reported that offenders may conceal or exaggerate information; there is also the possibility of response errors due to memory problems in relation to their criminal history (Farrington,

2010). In addition, self-reported data can be distorted through the design of the questionnaire, leading to problems in reliability, and falsification may occur owing to social desirability (Huizinga & Elliot, 1986).

One could also argue that mental health factors could affect the quality and accuracy of self-reported data. This could be a major issue for the present study, as the participants are from a psychiatric population. While there has been limited research to investigate these factors, the research that has been carried out has found that self-reported offence history data provided by a psychiatric offender population is as valid as that given by general offender populations. Convit et al. (1990) found the concurrent validity between the self-reported criminal activity of forensic psychiatric inpatients, and their official records, to be significantly better than chance alone, therefore indicating that mental illness factors do not affect the quality and accuracy of self-reported offence history; that being said, it was not as high as that of non-psychiatric respondents (Nieves et al., 2000). Nevertheless, the applicability of these findings to offenders with mental illness has not yet been sufficiently examined nor verified.

Overall, the data collected in the present study was based primarily on self-reporting; the only section of the data that was based on official records was the index offence. Self-reporting was preferred for the remainder of the study, as the aim of the *Demographic Sheet* was to acquire detailed information which is not usually recorded by official records. This technique is also supported by various other research studies, indicating that self-reporting can produce reliable and valid data.

Chapter 5

Method of Analysis

5.1 Approach for data analysis within the present study

The quantitative data within the present study was analysed using Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) (Lingoes, 1973), which is a form of Multidimensional scaling (MDS). The use of the SSA procedure was implemented to allow for a test of hypotheses concerning the co-occurrence of every variable with every other variable, thereby allowing for the underlying structure of the offenders' narratives to be identified, and enabling an investigation of the relationship (if any) that the offender narratives may have with criminal emotions and psychiatric diagnosis. The technique used to identify the themes from the qualitative data obtained through interviews was lead by the specific patterns or themes that were identified within the SSA. As such, it was the underlying structure which emerged through the quantitative analysis which was used as operational indicators for the themes that were explored within the interviews. As such, there was no specific approach used to analyse the qualitative data, as this information was used to highlight the key themes that were presented from the SSA analysis.

Accordingly, this chapter will present an overview of the statistical technique of MDS and how the non-metric MDS method (SSA) was applied as the method of analysis within the current study. The chapter will also introduce the justifications of the mixed method approach that was implemented within the proceeding chapters. The chapter will further explore SSA and how the structure of these analyses provides a model which is both visually understandable and interpretable, and is also consistent with the data, providing a simplistic expression of complicated data. The widespread use of this procedure in various types of research investigations and its history within the investigative psychology discipline will also be discussed. The closing section of the chapter presents the use of the qualitative data and

its integration within SSA to help enhance the understanding and illustration of the resulting patterns which emerged from the quantitative analyses.

5.1.1 Multidimensional scaling (MDS)

Multidimensional scaling (MDS) comprises of statistical techniques that are often applied to data as a method of providing information about the underlying structures within the data set. MDS also provides a visual element when exploring data, which could be expressed in various units, including distances (ratio and interval data), or differences and similarities (nominal and ordinal data). The latter type is treated as relative geometrical distances. Consequently, MDS procedures implement similarities (or dissimilarities) between variables in a data set as input. A similarity is a number indicating how similar or different two variables are in terms of relatedness (Sturidsson et al., 2006). The output from an MDS analysis is often presented visually, where the N -dimensional spatial representation is reflected into two or three dimensions, producing a geometric configuration of all variables and their interrelationships. Therefore, every point in an MDS solution corresponds to one variable (Sturidsson et al.). Overall, the MDS output provides a clearer and easier interpretation of the possible latent structures of data. More specifically, the MDS algorithm process begins with a matrix of item similarities, upon which locations are assigned to each item in the N -dimensional space. MDS algorithms fall into a particular classification based on the meaning of the input matrix.

Within investigative psychology, the non-metric MDS method is one of the most widely used method in published articles. Louis Guttman's (1954) SSA is one of the most commonly used non-metric MDS procedures. SSA is distinct from most MDS procedures because it maximizes the fit between the rank order of the associations between variables, and the rank

order of the distances in the MDS space (Borg & Shye, 1995). The emphasis placed on comparing rankings instead of absolute values is the distinguishing feature of a 'non-metric' procedure. It facilitates the interpretation of the resulting MDS space in relation to regions rather than dimensions, because it is the relative relationships between variables that is emphasised.

5.1.2 *Smallest space analysis (SSA)*

SSA is a procedure first introduced as an alternative to factor analysis; the newly formulated procedure differed from factor analysis in that it would not require any assumptions about underlying dimensions being linear or orthogonal (Guttman, 1954). Furthermore, the SSA procedure is an effective statistical method as it examines the association between every variable in relation to each other and displays the correlations between variables as distances in a statistically derived geometric space (Guttman, 1968). Following this visually patterned display, inferences can be drawn from the patterns or themes that consequently form. The primary construct of the SSA method is based on the assumption that the underlying structure will be more readily visible if the relationship between every variable and every other variable is examined (Canter & Alison, 1997). The SSA plot generated from this procedure is a spatial representation of the relationship that each variable has with every other variable. These relationships are calculated utilising association coefficients, the rank order of which is visually represented as distances in geometric space (Canter & Heritage, 1990). It is the ranking order of the coefficients, rather than their absolute values, that are used to form the spatial representation of variables. Therefore, by using these rank-ordered coefficients, SSA is able to represent the variables in the smallest possible dimensionality (Canter & Heritage, 1990). In order to truly represent and optimize all variables, SSA performs iterations that compare the rank order assigned to the original associations with the rank order of the

distances between the plotted points. Accordingly, with each iteration, amendments are carried out on the geometric representation to minimize the differences between the plot and the original associations; these iterations continue until the differences between the two matrices are minimal.

Consequently, the higher the association between any two variables, the closer together the points representing them will appear within the geometric space. Thus, points that appear closer within the spatial SSA plot will represent variables which occur more frequently together (Canter & Alison, 1997). In addition, the SSA plot also generates the coefficient of alienation (Borg & Lingoes, 1987), which is a general indicator of how accurately the spatial configuration represents the co-occurrences in the matrix. The coefficient of alienation provides an indication of stress, or the “fit” between the geometric representation and the ranked correlation matrix. The coefficient ranges between 0 and 1, with zero indicating a perfect ‘fit’. In general, a coefficient smaller than 0.15 would be considered a good fit, while a coefficient between 0.15 and 0.20 is considered a reasonably good fit (Guttman, 1968); accordingly, the smaller the coefficient of alienation, the better the fit of the plot to the original association matrix. Association matrices of Pearson’s correlations were used in the present SSA calculations. This was considered to be the most appropriate measure of association for the type of data being analyzed (e.g., Likert scale/questionnaire). A coefficient of alienation of below 0.2 will be used to indicate an acceptable fit for the data. That being said, as discussed in a number of studies (e.g., Borg & Lingoes, 1987; Salfati & Canter, 1999; Shye, Elizur & Hoffman, 1994) overall fitness of the coefficient heavily depends on a number of factors: the number of variables, the level of error within the data and the logic and validity of the interpretation framework used. Therefore, a relatively high coefficient of alienation could be accepted, if the SSA plot could be interpreted in a meaningful way.

The resulting configuration of the variables within the geometric space can subsequently be analyzed without assuming underlying dimensions as in factor analyses (Canter & Heritage, 1990). This process of analyzing and classifying the plotted variables within the SSA is part of the facet theory approach (Canter, 1985). The variables that are presented within the classified ‘facets’, or themes, are more than just elements belonging to a particular group; rather, these variables empirically support the facets within which they fall. Furthermore, variables which are more similar in their facet structure will be more empirically similar. Thus, variables within the same facets are more highly correlated; similarly, variables that appear in different facet elements are less correlated (Canter). Within the studies presented in the following chapters, these ‘facets’ refer to the overall classification of the distinct narrative roles (e.g., Hero, Professional, Victim, Revenger).

According to Lingoes (1973), the clear advantage of SSA in relation to similar algorithms is its robustness and rational step-size. SSA attempts to find the best fit between the ranks of the association coefficients and the ranks of the distances within the geographic space. This method of matching ranks has been found to produce more efficient solutions, along with being less sensitive to extreme values. Furthermore, although there are various aspects in common between SSA and factor analysis, there are several distinct differences between the two analyses, the most important of which is the difference in the way they model the structure in a correlation or association matrix and how this structure is represented.

Within SSA, the information about the structure is contained in the order of similarities among the variables in the association matrix. In contrast, factor analysis considers the linear combination of the factors, which fails to reveal the qualitative nature of the inter-

relationships between variables (Donald, 1985). In factor analysis, the linear combinations of variables (factors) are extracted to satisfy extrinsic mathematical criteria of variance maximisation; however, variance must be ignored to obtain a suitable number of factors. The representation of the factors is further skewed by “rotation” to improve post hoc the factor structure. Furthermore, variance is lost by ignoring variables that do not correlate highly with these mathematical solutions (Ioannou, 2006). SSA, however, translates the similarities in the association matrix into distances in the geometric representation. SSA further operates on the rank order of the correlations between variables rather than their absolute values (Guttman, 1968), thereby producing solutions in the smallest dimensionality and compensating for noise found within the data. Ultimately, the SSA configuration is developed from relationships among variables, contrasting with factor analysis which relies on their relationship to a given axis (Ioannou, 2006). Therefore, the configuration can be examined directly without assuming underlying orthogonal dimensions (Canter & Heritage, 1989).

That being said, while SSA is an appropriate method for circumplexity, it has been found to be one of the less effective techniques. This is due to the fact that the SSA can only test for circumplexity through visually inspecting the geometric output of the variables and the original association matrix. In addition, while the coefficient of alienation does provide a general index as to the model of ‘best fit’, it does not evaluate circumplexity. Nonetheless, in the context of the present study, SSA was the preferred method rather than factor analysis, as it was related to an association matrix rather than to linear combinations of factors. Also, the SSA procedure considers low and highly correlated variables grouped according to facet/theme, while factor analysis tends to ignore variables that do not correlate with the factors extracted. Moreover, the method has been used to investigate similar data, such as

police information, in a number of prior studies (e.g., Canter & Heritage, 1990; Salfati & Canter, 1999).

5.1.3 Application of SSA within investigative psychology

The Investigative Psychology discipline has produced numerous studies over recent years examining how offenders and offences are conceptualised. The majority of these studies have investigated crime scene behaviours and offender characteristics with the use of MDS procedures, with the most frequent method for these analyses being SSA. According to Canter (2000), MDS analysis examines offender behaviour within the context of behavioural themes or patterns that trigger a group of individual variables; these variables are associated by a common psychological or theoretical construct. Therefore, this method of analysis builds thematic models of crime scene behaviours founded on the co-occurrence variables (Trojan & Gabrielle, 2008). There are numerous events that occur in a crime; it is therefore the challenge of researchers to identify the salient and important features that have the most relevance to developing inferences about the offender. Within the MDS analysis, the salience of criminal actions is revealed through the location and distances of the actions in relation to the centroid of the pattern.

Canter and Heritage's (1990) was the first published study to thematically analyse crime scene behaviour in a group of sexual offenders utilising SSA, thereby demonstrating the existence of the radial structure of crime. Since their initial research, there has been a substantial increase in research carried out on crime scene behaviours and offender characteristics using MDS analyses. More specifically, this thematic approach of Investigative Psychology has led to the development of empirical models of crime scene behaviours and offender characteristics for a number of offences, such as: rape and serial rape

(e.g. Canter & Heritage, 1990; Canter et al., 2003; Hakkanen, Lindlof & Santtila, 2004); homicide and serial homicide (e.g. Bateman & Salfati, 2007; Salfati & Canter, 1999; Santtila, Hakkanen, Canter, & Elfgren, 2003); arson and juvenile arson (e.g. Canter & Fritzson, 1998; Santtila, Hakkanen, Alison, & Whyte, 2003); robbery (e.g. Porter & Alison, 2006), and burglary and serial burglary (e.g. Bennell & Jones, 2005; Santtila, Ritvanen, & Mokros, 2003).

5.1.4 Analysis of qualitative data

The technique used to identify themes within the interviews was led by the specific patterns or themes that were generated from the SSA. Key statements that defined each theme were used as main elements and operational indicators for the themes explored within the interviews. For example, as Canter and Youngs (2012) illustrated within their study, the proposed roles which had been investigated quantitatively in previous research (e.g., Canter et al., 2009), were more explicitly explored within Canter and Youngs study by using these themes as indicators to explore further within interviews. Specifically, the *Revenger* role was hypothesised to emerge out of an offence identity whereby the offenders actions are created through a story of tragedy, with items such as; '*I was trying to get revenge*', '*I didn't care what would happen*', and '*It was my only choice*', being found within the region. In contrast, the role of the *Professional* emerged out of the adventure narrative, whereby items such as '*I was like a professional*', '*it was routine*' and '*I was doing a job*' were found in the region. These specific patterns and themes were then identified within the interviews that the researchers conducted. Once the themes were identified by one researcher, the second researcher would go through a similar process to allow for consistency with the identified themes. This method was subsequently found to be highly effective in illustrating the more complex and focused elements of the narrative themes found within the study.

Consequently, the researcher chose to utilise the above method within the current study as it had been successfully implemented in previous research conducted on criminal narratives. Furthermore, as previously mentioned, the qualitative data was not collected for rigorous thematic analysis, but rather to loosely explore the major themes that were generated from the four scales and to help provide a more precise operational definition of the narrative themes. This approach was therefore used over other more traditional and common qualitative procedures, such as thematic analyses, as these types of analyses emphasis pinpointing and examining patterns within qualitative data, with the coding being the primary process for developing themes within the raw data (Virginia & Clarke, 2006), whilst the primary coding process within the present thesis was generated from the structural themes which emerged from the SSA rather than the qualitative data.

The themes that were identified by the researcher within the current study were verified by their supervisor to allow for consistency with the identified themes, similar to the procedures carried out by Canter and Youngs (2012). This method is thought to provide a deeper understanding into the themes compared to the qualitative analysis of the interviews (Canter & Youngs). In essence, the *Criminal Narrative Role Questionnaire* provides a more objective account of the dominate theme in a criminals actions, the qualitative data that emerges from the free-flowing account, enhances the themes and enriches understanding of the defined themes.

5.1.5 *Integration of qualitative data within SSA outcomes*

The use of SSA has a long and fruitful history within the practice of investigative psychology. Most recently however, researchers (e.g., Canter & Youngs, 2012; Youngs & Canter, 2011) have begun to use quotations taken from interviews to enhance the

understanding of specific themes that emerge from SSA outcomes. More specifically, Canter and Youngs noted that direct descriptions of offender's experiences provide a medium through which implicit narrative processes are provided with a tangible form. These personal descriptions can be further conceptualised to capture the quality of the agency that is underpinning the narrative theme in the event. Early indications therefore suggest that the focus on the segments of direct descriptions of an offender's experiences of events, rather than an overt life story interview, may be particularly useful in narrative research as they do not require the individual to make explicit the underlying themes within their narrative or to provide a coherent 'life story' account.

Elaborating on previous studies, the author suggests that perhaps the inclusion of this technique can also aid in helping the offender understand their own criminal narratives more clearly. In particular, specific descriptions of offenders own account of their crimes may reveal narrative themes of which the individual may not be fully aware, this may be particularly relevant for respondents who are less able to articulate their behaviours. Overall, the qualitative analysis of the motifs that emerge from a free-flowing account can enhance theory and enrich understanding not only for researchers but also offenders. As such, the use of a mixed method approach within the current thesis expands on what is currently known about the criminal narrative framework by formally investigating the criminal experience through a mixed method approach. More specifically, whilst the topic of criminal narratives and the criminal experience has been explored more vigorously in recent years (e.g., Canter et al., 2003; Canter et al., 2009) and the notion of using a mixed method approach (Canter & Youngs, 2012; Youngs & Canter, 2011) has been suggested as crucial in understanding the complexities of the criminal narrative process, the use of a mixed method approach has only been suggested by researchers and yet to be formally tested within a population sample. This

research study therefore represents a way in which that concept can move forward and be more formally investigated and thus contributing to the growing knowledge of the area.

Chapter 6

The Present Study

6.1 Contribution to knowledge

It has been well recognised, both in the United Kingdom and internationally, that poor mental health is more prevalent among those who commit crimes than the general population (e.g., Butler & Allnutt 2003; Fazel & Danesh 2002); the prevalence of poor mental health among offenders has also been found to increase the likelihood of criminal recidivism (Smith & Trimboli, 2010). Such evidence leads to the question as how these offenders who experience such poor mental health during their crimes view their offending behaviour at the time, more importantly, how understanding these factors can aid in helping offenders become active agents in their treatment plans. Despite the importance of further exploration into the distinctive minds of MDOs, there has been, to date, relatively little understanding of these factors and therefore limited insight into the underlying thought processes and implicit emotions which lead MDOs to commit their crimes. Thus, the rationale behind this thesis is to explore the narratives of MDOs to aid in understanding internal aspects of their crimes, thereby allowing for criminal actions to be seen as part of a personal narrative, which leads to a clear understanding of the dynamics behind why offenders carry out their crimes.

The overall aim of the present thesis is therefore to investigate the unique criminal experiences of MDOs, and to propose a framework for the criminal experience of those offenders who exhibit mental health problems during their offence. As previously mentioned, most social science explanations of crime consider external processes, such as the social context or antecedent events; these explanations are external to the decisions that an offender makes as an active agent within their crime (Ioannou, 2006). Personal narratives, however, can be seen as cognitive structures that dynamically filter and order experience in ways that reflect their content, or themes (Ward, 2011). Exploring these concepts will therefore lead to a greater understanding of the unique thought processes and emotions of the criminal

experience, and of how these factors vary across crimes and people. Furthermore, to develop more effective treatment programmes for MDOs, it is imperative to first understand their behaviour through their eyes. Whilst these ideas of new treatment programmes driven by offenders narratives is beyond the scope of this thesis, the clinical impact of this thesis will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

This aim of this thesis is also to indirectly examine the reliability and validity of two novel measures, the *criminal narrative role questionnaire* and the *emotions felt during a criminal offence questionnaire*, specifically exploring how these questionnaires are applied to a clinical population which they have yet to be implemented upon. At the time of the present study, the two psychometric questionnaires had only been tested within one offending sample. More specifically, the *criminal narrative role questionnaire* developed from data collected by Canter and colleagues (2003), who recruited 161 male offenders from various prisons within England. Similarly, the *emotions felt during a criminal offence questionnaire* developed from research carried out by Canter and Ioannou (2004) who investigated the emotions of 83 incarcerated male offenders from a local prison in the North West of England. The limited use of these two psychometrics therefore suggests that further use of the measures within a wider clinical and research setting needs to be carried out before external validity can be established and the reliability of the measures can be verified. Accordingly, this study contributes to assessing the psychometric properties of the questionnaires by utilising them within a mentally disordered criminal population, thereby extending the use of the measures to a wider, clinical population. The results of the study will therefore help in testing whether these measures are reliable within clinical populations.

6.2 Summary

So far, this thesis has discussed the literature in relation to MDOs, and established that they are a distinct subset of offenders. The author has also reviewed the literature relating to emotions, particularly the relevance emotions have within a criminal context. Therefore, the remaining chapters will consist of five studies, which will further explore the experience of crime through the eyes of offenders with mental disorders; by (i) exploring the relationship between criminal narrative and mental disorder (ii) exploring any variation of emotions felt during a criminal offence and mental disorder (iii) investigating the association between criminal narratives and offence type (iv) investigating the variation of emotions across offence type and (v) introducing an emotional narrative framework of mentally disordered offenders.

6.2.1 Study one: *The relationship between criminal narratives and mental disorder*

Study one explores prior research on criminal narratives (e.g., Canter et al., 2003; Canter et al., 2009) in order to determine whether similar narratives are replicated within the perceptions of MDOs, and whether certain diagnoses are associated with specific narratives. In particular, Canter et al.'s (2003) study indicated that offenders drew on four dominant forms of narratives to give accounts of their crimes (*hero, professional, revenger* and *victim*), which were modelled from Frye's (1957) literary studies (tragedy, irony, romance and comedy). As such, this study will investigate whether these narratives may be replicated with offenders who have mental disorders, thereby aiding in the further understanding of the differences in narratives between MDOs and those of the general offending population. This study also intends to consider the relationship between these narratives with Frye's archetypal stories (comedy, romance, tragedy and irony) and his proposal that these four story forms develop into each other in a circular order. The reliability and internal consistency of the *criminal narrative role questionnaire* will also be discussed within the context of a mentally

disordered population. This particular area of research is crucial in understanding MDOs and further developing the criminal narrative framework, as the process will ultimately promote a greater understanding of the distinctive way in which MDOs view their offences, and the roles which they take on during the commission of their crimes. The aims of the study therefore include:

1. To establish whether a specific structure of criminal narratives, as presented in previous research, exists for MDOs;
2. To establish whether specific psychiatric diagnoses are associated with particular narrative roles;
3. To examine the relationship of these narratives to Frye's (1957) archetypal stories (comedy, romance, tragedy and irony).

6.2.2 *Study two: Emotions felt during a criminal offence and mental disorder*

Study two investigates the emotional experience of committing an offence, specifically to explore whether a particular structure of emotions, as presented in previous research (e.g., Canter & Ioannou, 2004; Ioannou, 2006) exists for MDOs, and whether inferences can be drawn about the psychiatric diagnoses that may be associated with particular emotions. The present study also considers the relationship of criminals' emotional experiences to the circumplex of emotions (Russell, 1997), and whether MDOs show similar trends in emotional experiences as depicted by the circumplex. The reliability and internal consistency of the *emotions felt during a criminal offence questionnaire* will also be discussed within the context of a mentally disordered population. These results will aid in developing an empirically tested theory encapsulating the variations in emotional experience shown by MDOs. This research could therefore be extremely beneficial in providing a starting point for offenders to reflect on the emotional components of their crimes, which could aid in them

having a greater understanding into their crimes and the emotional factors involved. The aims of the study therefore include:

1. To determine whether the structure of emotions felt during a criminal offence (elation, calm, distress, depression), which has been found within previous research (Canter & Ioannou, 2004), can be established with MDOs;
2. To establish whether specific psychiatric diagnoses are associated with particular emotional experiences during crimes;
3. To determine whether the circumplex of emotions established for non-criminal experiences (Russell, 1997) can be established for MDOs;
4. To explore and compare the intensity of emotions between MDOs and the general offending population.

6.2.3 Study three: The relationship between criminal narratives and offence type

Study three examines the relationship between the criminal narratives of MDOs and the type of offence; specifically, the study explores whether the criminal narrative experience is a product of the nature of transaction with others. Although this relationship has never been explored with MDOs, previous research (e.g., Canter & Ioannou, 2004; Ioannou, 2006; Katz, 1988) has suggested that the narrative experience would differ depending on the criminal offence. Therefore, the advantage of understanding the link between offence type and criminal narratives is that it further develops the criminal narrative framework and postulates that the criminal narrative experience may be moderated by offence type. This will subsequently contribute to the broader knowledge of the criminal narrative perspective, as the study investigates whether the narrative experience is a static or dynamic factor based on offence type.

The aims of the study therefore include:

1. To explore whether the criminal narrative experience is a product of the interaction with others;
2. To determine whether offences showing direct and indirect interpersonal relationships correspond to specific narrative experiences.

6.2.4 *Study four: The relationship between emotions felt during a criminal offence and offence type*

Study four examines the relationship between emotional experience and offence type, specifically exploring whether a particular structure of emotions exists within certain offences (person versus property crimes), and whether inferences can be made about the emotional experience of property-centred and person-centred offences within a mentally disordered population. Research has indicated that in crimes against the person, offenders experience feelings of righteousness and vengeance, whereas in crimes against property, offenders express a sense of thrill and satisfaction from material gains (Katz, 1988). Nonetheless, these types of findings have yet to be explored with MDOs.

This study contributes to the greater understanding of the emotional experience of MDOs across offence type, specifically exploring whether the emotions exhibited by MDOs and the intensity of these emotions during their crimes remain consistent. This study can therefore be viewed as the first step in helping offenders understand the various emotions they may exhibit during different offences and the likely triggers which led to those emotions and subsequently a specific offence type. This study could be particularly beneficial for those offenders who have a long history of both person-centred and property-centred crimes, as it may provide the first step into allowing them to reflect on the emotional elements of various crimes and the likely causes of those emotions.

The objectives of the study therefore include:

1. To determine whether the interpersonal relationships within a crime impacts on the emotional experience of an offence;
2. To establish whether the intensity of MDOs' emotional experiences will vary across offence types.

6.2.5 *Study five: The emotional narrative framework of mentally disordered offenders*

The final study proposes an emotional narrative framework for MDOs; this framework will encompass the emotions and roles which present themselves during the commission of an offence, along with the specific diagnoses which are associated with the proposed themes. This framework will explore all these variables across offence types and explore whether specific roles, emotions and diagnoses are more intense within particular offences. The narrative and emotional experiences of offenders is also considered to help shape their criminal offences (Ioannou, 2006); therefore, if a specific structure can be identified to distinguish the different types of criminal experience, this structure can offer a causal process that encompasses the offender's personal agency and implicit feelings about a crime. If this is the case, then one can gain a greater understanding into the actions of MDOs, as well as develop insight into the mediating forces, such as mental disorders, which contribute to the MDOs specific criminal behaviour(s). Therefore, the objectives of this study include:

1. To establish whether a specific structure of emotions and roles can be found within MDOs' experiences of crime;
2. To explore whether specific psychiatric diagnoses are associated with particular criminal experiences (emotions and roles);

3. To explore the intensity of the proposed emotional narrative framework across offence types.

Chapter 7

Descriptive Characteristics

Prior to examining the results of the SSA analysis and the findings exhibited within the present thesis, the descriptive components of the current sample will be explored. Understanding a study's descriptive data is essential as it allows for the basic features of the data to be represented. This chapter explores the descriptive characteristics of the data set to help describe and summarise the sample, therefore allowing for a more thorough understanding of the population sample.

7.1 Personal information

7.1.1 Current age

The mean age of the 70 adult male participants was 38.6 years ($SD = 10.7$, range = 20 – 66), with a median age of 40. As shown in Figure 7.1.1, 8.6% of the population was between the ages of 20 – 24; 18.6% between 25 – 29; 15.7% between 30 – 34; 5.7% between 35 – 39; 18.6% between 40 – 44; 17.1% between 45 – 49; 8.6% between 50 – 54; 4.3% between 55 – 59, and 2.9% of participants were aged 60 and above. The figure indicates a widely distributed age range within the current sample.

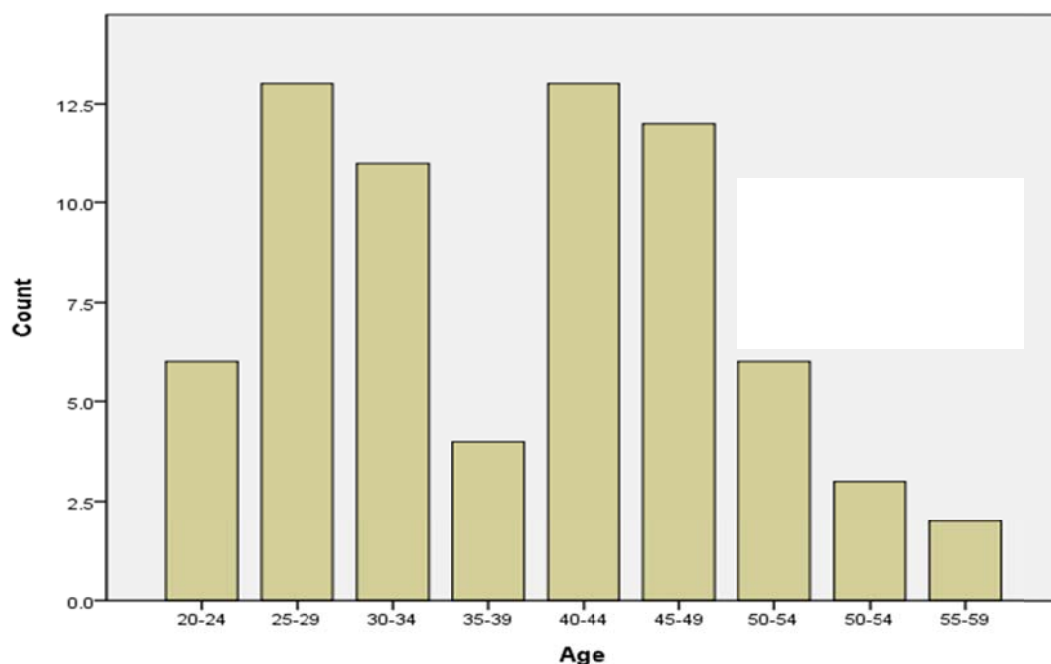


Figure 7.1.1. Age of sample

7.1.2 *Marital status*

As presented in the table below (Table 7.1.2), a large majority of participants were single (75.7%), followed by those who were divorced (11.4%); separated (7.1%); had a partner (2.9%); were married (1.4%) and widowed (1.4%).

Table 7.1.2. *Marital status of sample*

Marital Status (%)	Total
Single	53 (75.7)
Divorced	8 (11.4)
Separated	5 (7.1)
Partner	2 (2.9)
Married	1 (1.4)
Widowed	1 (1.4)

7.1.3 *Ethnicity*

Participants' ethnicity was categorised into five ethnic groups, with the largest ethnic group, Black British, accounting for 40% of the sample. The next largest ethnic group (White British) accounted for 38.6% of the population, followed by Black African (10%). The remaining groups, Black Caribbean (8.6%) and Asian (2.9%), accounted for just over 10% of the total population (Table 7.1.3).

Table 7.1.3. *Ethnicity of sample*

Ethnicity (%)	Total
Black British	28 (40)
White British	27 (38.6)
Black African	7 (10)
Black Caribbean	6 (8.6)
Asian	2 (2.9)

7.1.4 Education

The table below (Table 7.1.4a) summarises the educational qualifications of the sample. As shown, 52.9% of the sample did not complete high school, while 47.1% completed high school.

Table 7.1.4a. *High school education of sample*

High School Qualification (%)	Total
No	37 (52.9)
Yes	33 (47.1)

20% of those participants that completed mainstream education also completed some form of higher education, with 14.3% completing a vocational certificate; 1.4% obtaining a diploma; 2.9% having an undergraduate education, and 1.4% completing A-Levels (Table 7.1.4b).

Table 7.1.4b. *Higher education of sample*

Higher Education	Total
Total (%)	14 (20)
Certificate	10 (14.3)
Diploma	1 (1.4)
Undergraduate	2 (3.9)
A-Level	1 (1.4)

7.1.5 *Psychiatric diagnosis*

Figure 7.1.5 shows the frequency of participant's diagnoses, which varied across Axis I - clinical syndrome, Axis II - developmental disorders and personality disorders, and No Formal Diagnoses. Axis I disorders included: schizophrenia (39%); PTSD (2.9%); schizoaffective disorder (2.9%); bipolar (4.3%), and psychosis (1.4%). Axis II disorders included: ASPD (15.7%); schizoid (4.3%); BPD (5.7%), and histrionic (1.4%). Although 20% of participants had no formal diagnosis, they had traits of various disorders and were currently being assessed, however at the time of data collection they had no formal diagnosis.

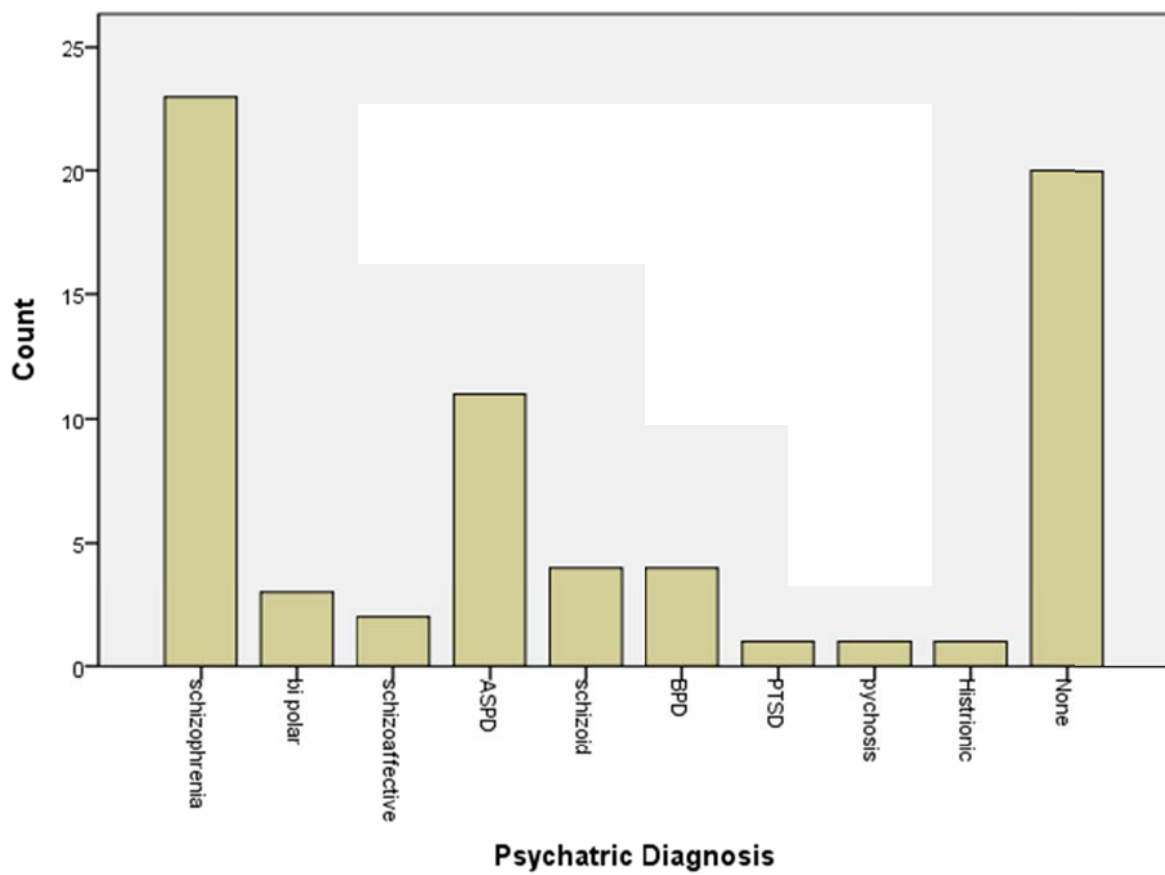


Figure 7.1.5. Psychiatric diagnosis within the sample

7.2 Offending history

7.2.1 Age of first conviction

As shown in Figure 7.2.1, the mean age of first conviction was 19.4 years ($SD = 7.53$, range = 10 – 52), with a median age of 17. For almost half of the participants, their first conviction (48.6%) was when they were between the ages of 14 – 17. The differences in age of first conviction between violent offenders, sexual offenders and other offenders were further examined. Results indicated that the mean age for first conviction for the sex offenders ($n=17$) and violent offenders ($n=37$) were quite close, with the mean age of first convictions being 18.65 and 18.69 respectively. These mean ages were slightly lower than for other types of offenders ($n=21$), which had a mean of 20.95.

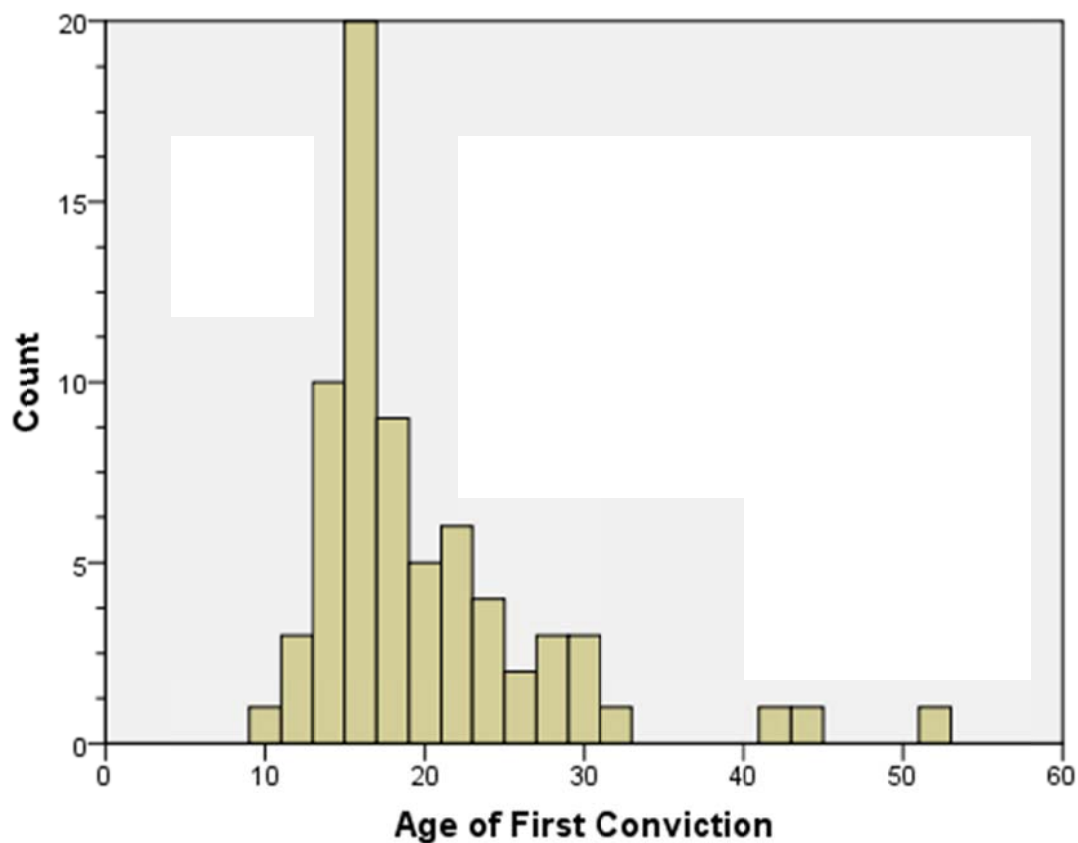


Figure 7.2.1. Age of first conviction within the sample

7.2.2 Number of prior convictions

The mean number of self-reported prior convictions was 12.17 ($SD = 15.12$, range = 0 – 94). As illustrated in Table 7.2.2, 12.9% reported no prior convictions; 45.7% had 1 – 10 prior convictions; 24.3% of the population reported 11 – 20 prior convictions, and 17.1% reported 21 or more convictions. These results therefore show that a large majority (87.1%) of the participants were persistent offenders. These figures are supported by the self-reported data pertaining to the number of times participants had been in prison and/or hospital, with the vast majority (74.3%) having been in prison or hospital in the past for an offence. This therefore also indicated that just 25.7% of participants had only served time for their index offence, having no prior convictions.

Table 7.2.2. *Prior convictions of sample*

Prior Convictions	Total (%)
None	9 (12.9)
1 – 10	32 (45.7)
11 – 20	17 (24.3)
21 or more	12 (17.1)

7.2.3 *Types of prior offences*

The table below (Table 7.2.3) presents the prior convictions reported by the participants. Most participants had convictions for property offences; specifically, more than half (55.7%) had previous convictions for theft and almost half the sample (47.1%) had previous burglary convictions. Participants also had a number of prior violent convictions, including ABH (47.1%); common assault (27.1%); GBH (24.3%), and other types of violent offences (14.3%). Sexual offences were less frequently reported by the sample, with less than a quarter having previous convictions of rape (11.4%); indecent assault (10%); exposure (8.6%); attempted rape (5.7%), and other sexual (5.7%) offences. Other previous convictions included: criminal damage (31.4%); drugs (41.4%); robbery (32.9%); arson (10%); driving offences (17.1%), and other offences (51.4%).

Table 7.2.3. *Types of prior convictions within the sample*

Offence Type	Total (%)	Offence Type	Total (%)
GBH	17 (24.3)	Burglary	33 (47.1)
ABH	33 (47.1)	Theft	39 (55.7)
Common Assault	19 (27.1)	Arson	7 (10)
Other Violent	10 (14.3)	Driving Offence	12 (17.1)
Rape	8 (11.4)	Criminal Damage	22 (31.4)
Attempted Rape	4 (5.7)	Drugs	29 (41.4)
Indecent Assault	7 (10)	Robbery	23 (32.9)
Exposure	6 (8.6)	Other	36 (51.4)
Other Sexual	4 (5.7)		

7.3 *Index offence details*

7.3.1 *Number of index convictions*

The mean number of convictions for participants' index offences, which were self-reported and verified through official documentation, was 1.73 ($SD = 1.24$, range = 1 – 6). As illustrated in Figure 7.3.1, 60% reported one conviction; 20% had two convictions; 12.9% of the population reported three convictions; 4.4% had four convictions and 2.9% had six convictions for their index offence.

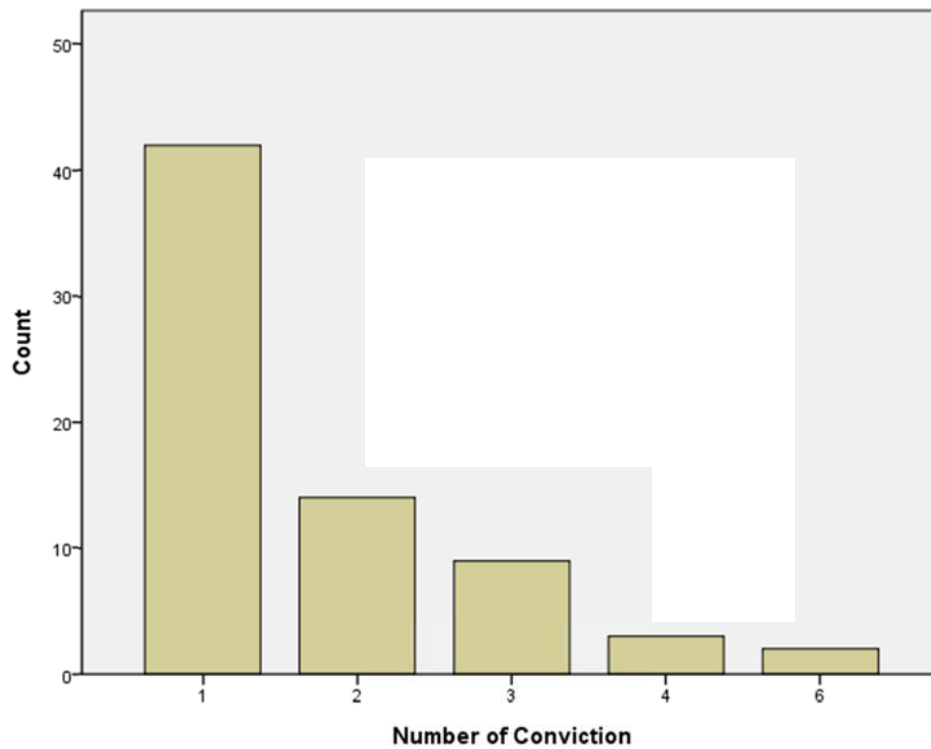


Figure 7.3.1. Number of index convictions within the sample

7.3.2 Age at offence

The mean age of the 70 adult male participants at the time of their index offence was 29.79 years ($SD = 10.7$, range = 20 – 66), with a median age of 28. As shown in Figure 7.3.2, 35.7% of the population had been between the ages of 15 – 24; 38.6% between 25 – 34; 17.1% between 35 – 44, and 8.6% between 45 – 54. The figure indicates a widely distributed age range at the time of index offence.

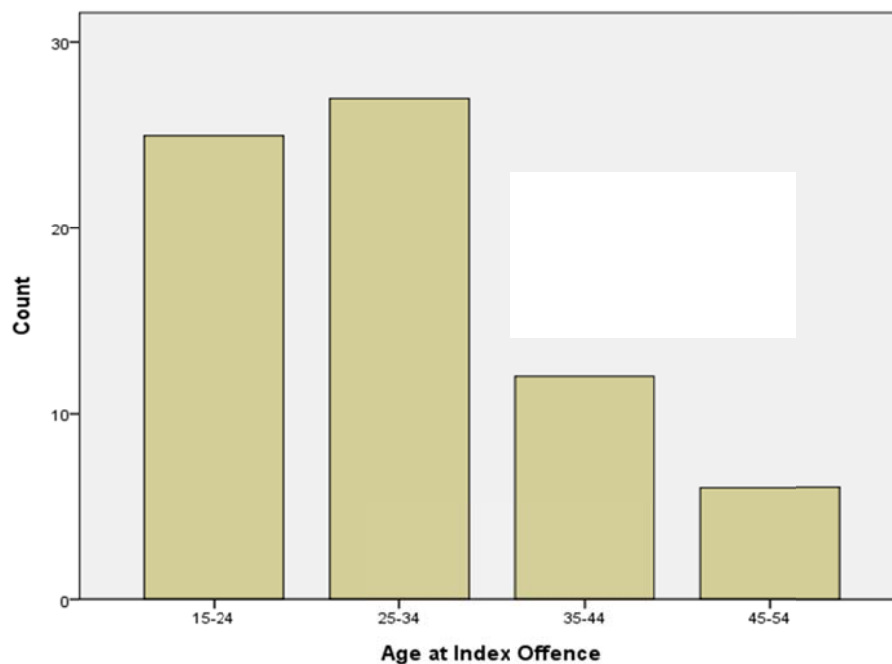


Figure 7.3.2. Age at index offence within the sample

7.3.3 Type of index offence

As previously mentioned, the sentence lengths indicated above correspond with the severity of the index offences which were reported (see Table 7.3.4). Almost half the sample (45.7%) had convictions for violent offences, including: ABH (17.1%); GBH (17.1%); GBH with intent (4.3%); manslaughter (5.7%); murder (2.9%); common assault (4.3%), and other violent offences (10%). Sexual offences were reported in 24.3% of cases, including: rape (15.7%); attempted rape (1.4%); indecent assault (4.3%); exposure (5.7%), and other sexual offences (5.7%). A quarter (30%) of offenders reported other types of offences, such as: robbery (14.3%); burglary (8.6%); theft (8.6%); arson (4.3%); criminal damage (1.4%); drugs (5.7%), and other types of offences (14.3%)

Table 7.3.4. *Types of index offences within the sample*

Offence Type	Total (%)	Offence Type	Total (%)
GBH	12 (17.1)	Exposure	4 (5.7)
GBH with Intent	3 (4.3)	Other sexual	4 (5.7)
Manslaughter	4 (5.7)	Burglary	6 (8.6)
Murder	2 (2.9)	Theft	6 (8.6)
ABH	12 (17.1)	Arson	3 (4.3)
Common Assault	3 (4.3%)	Criminal Damage	1 (1.4)
Other Violent	7 (10%)	Drugs	4 (5.7)
Rape	11 (15.7)	Robbery	10 (14.3)
Attempted Rape	1 (1.4)	Other	10 (14.3)
Indecent Assault	3 (4.3)		

7.4 *Personal circumstances*

7.4.1 *Employment*

The socio-economic status of the sample was assessed through participants' employment status at the time of their index offence. Over half of the sample (67.1%) were unemployed (see Table 7.4.1a) and sought finances through: job seekers' allowance (34.3%); disability benefits (25.7%); crime (8.6%); family (2.9%), and other means (7.1%) (see Table 7.4.1c). 32.9% of participants indicated some type of employment, with 18.6% working full-time, 11.4% part-time and 4.3% doing casual work (see Table 4).

Table 7.4.1a. *Employment status of sample*

Employed	Total (%)
Yes	23 (32.9)
No	47 (67.1)

Table 7.4.1b. *Employment type of sample*

Type of Employment	Total (%)
Full-time	13 (18.6)
Part-time	8 (11.4)
Casual	3 (4.3)

Table 7.4.1c *Financial support of sample*

Financial Support	Total (%)
Job Seekers	24 (34.3)
Disability Benefits	18 (25.7)
Crime	6 (8.6)
Family	2 (2.9)
Other	5 (7.1)

7.4.2 *Living arrangements*

Table 7.4.2 shows that almost half of the sample (44.3%) lived alone in their own accommodation at the time of their offence. 21.4% were living with their parents. 11.4% were in a probation hostel or supported living accommodation, whilst 5.7% were homeless, 4.3% were living with friends, 5.7% were living with a partner and 7.1% had other types of living arrangements.

Table 7.4.2. *Living arrangements of sample*

Living Accommodation	Total (%)
Own accommodation	31 (44.3)
Parents	15 (21.4)
Homeless	4 (5.7)
Partner	4 (5.7)
Friends	3 (4.3)
Probation hostel	8 (11.4)
Other	5 (7.1)

7.4.3 *Substance use during offence*

Participants were further asked if they were under the influence of any substances during the commission of their index offence. The large majority of participants indicated that they were using several different substances during their offence. Table 7.4.3 shows that 65.7% were under the influence of alcohol; 42.9% marijuana; 35.7% cocaine; 12.7% heroin; 5.7% ecstasy; 2.9% amphetamines, and 15.7% indicated other types of substances.

Table 7.4.3. *Substance use of sample*

Substance Use	Total (%)
Alcohol	46 (65.7)
Heroin	9 (12.7)
Cocaine	25 (35.7)
Amphetamines	2 (2.9)
Marijuana	30 (42.9)
Ecstasy	4 (5.7)
Other	11 (15.7)

7.5 *Chapter summary*

This chapter has presented the descriptive characteristics of the data set to aid in the description and summary of the sample. The distinct nature of the current sample will also illustrate the need to understand the results of the present study with caution, as the findings presented in subsequent chapters apply strictly to the population presented above. The next five empirical chapters each outline the findings of a specific study.

Chapter 8

Study One: The Relationship between Criminal Narratives and Mental Disorder

8.1 The relationship between criminal narratives and mental disorder

Criminal behaviour can be understood through in-depth analysis and understanding of ‘criminal narratives’, and by connecting those narratives to characteristic roles and actions which enable criminals to justify, in their own eyes, the acts they perform (Canter 1994; Canter et al., 2003; Canter et al., 2009; Youngs & Canter, 2011). Thus, narratives can be seen as cognitive structures that dynamically filter and order experience in ways that reflect their content, or themes (Ward, 2011). Therefore, as previous researchers have discussed (e.g., Youngs & Canter, 2011; Ward, 2011), the advantage of a narrative viewpoint is that it connects with an offender’s own agency and understanding of their actions. Accordingly, exploring the offender’s personal narrative is one pathway into beginning to understand the underlying thought processes which lead to their criminal actions (Canter & Youngs, 2009). The purpose of this chapter is to examine prior research on criminal narratives, in order to determine whether similar narratives are replicated within a forensic psychiatric population.

As mentioned in chapter one, MDOs are a distinct population of offenders. Specifically, these offenders are detained under the MHA 2007 within secure hospitals which implement specialised treatment services for offenders with mental disorders (Department of Health, 2011). Accordingly, the way MDOs are processed and treated (e.g., mental health system), differentiates from the traditional method of control for non MDO’s (e.g. criminal justice system), this is due to the specific and complex treatment needs of MDOs. Whilst there has been an ample amount of research dedicated to helping understand the distinct differences between how these two offending groups are processed (e.g., Bal & Koenraadi, 2000; McMurren et al., 2009; Soothill et al, 2008). and treated (e.g.. Knight & Stephens, 2009; McMurren et al., 2009; Morris & Rothman, 1995), along with the association between offending and mental disorders such as, major mental illnesses (e.g., Brennan, Mednick &

Hodgins, 2000; Hodgins, 1992; Hodgins et al., 1996; Steadman, Holzer, Ganju & Jono 1998) and personality disorders (e.g., Erikson, 2008; Fazel & Danesh, 2002; Fridell et al., 2008; Joyal et al., 2004), research has yet to be carried out to investigate the internal differences between these two populations. In particular, exploring the differences in these offenders criminal experiences, specifically, MDOs and non-MDOs have distinct experiences in relation to how they are processed and treated, these external factors, along with their internal understanding of these experiences, may differentiate due to the distorted perceptions that MDOs may exhibit in relation to their criminal behaviour. Furthermore, specific diagnoses may influence MDOs personal criminal experiences due to the deficits that are related to particular diagnoses. For example, symptoms of schizophrenia, such as persistent delusions, hallucinations and disturbed thinking, may have an impact on the way an offender perceives their surroundings and subsequently their experiences, including their criminal experiences.

This particular area of research is crucial in not only understanding the cognitive thought processes of MDOs, but also in the further development of the criminal narrative framework. In particular, the roles that these offenders play imply that they are following some form of a script, which dictates the relationship they have with their victim, along with the succession of events to follow. Canter & Youngs (2009) suggest that, even if offenders are not thinking consciously of what happens next in their story, their actions will still be shaped by their previous experiences. Thus, by examining the ways in which offenders' actions and the roles they assign to themselves and their victims differ between distinct types of offenders, such as MDOs and non-MDOs, important characteristics can be inferred with regard to these types of offenders and the differences and similarities between the two groups. This process will ultimately promote a greater understanding of the distinctive ways in which forensic patients view their offences, and the roles they take on during the commission of their crimes.

8.1.1 Study one: hypotheses

It was hypothesised that the variables within the 36-item *Criminal Narrative Role Questionnaire* would form identifiable regions, which would illustrate an integrated system, rather than distinct dimensions of narrative roles. Furthermore, it was thought that these regions would show some similarities to previous findings (e.g., the roles of *Hero*, *Professional*, *Revenger* and *Victim*); however, it was also proposed that distinct differences would be present within the criminal narratives of MDOs.

It was hypothesized that it would be possible to attribute these differences to the psychiatric diagnoses of the offenders within the current population, and that certain psychiatric diagnoses would relate to particular criminal narratives.

It was also hypothesised that these narratives, expressed through the *Criminal Narrative Role Questionnaire*, would reflect a circular order in the structure, equivalent to Frye's suggestion that each mythos develops into the others, analogous to the four seasons.

The null hypothesis was that the variables would have no identifiable relationship or structure relative to each other, and there would be no relationship between psychiatric diagnosis and criminal narratives.

Due to the low frequencies of specific types of psychiatric diagnoses (e.g., PTSD, $n = 1$; histrionic, $n = 1$), in order to investigate relationships between psychiatric diagnosis and criminal narrative experiences, the psychiatric diagnoses were each assigned to one of three categories: Axis I - clinical syndrome ($n = 30$), Axis II - developmental disorders and

personality disorders (n = 20) and 'No Formal Diagnosis' (n = 20). Axis I included: schizophrenia; PTSD; schizoaffective and bipolar disorders, and psychosis. Axis II included: ASPD; schizoid disorders; BPD, and histrionic disorders. The No Formal Diagnosis category included all those participants who were currently being assessed or who exhibited traits for various disorders and did not have a formal diagnosis within the above axes. For example, Participant 2 had traits of ASPD and BPD, however the participant did not have a formal diagnosis within his file information and therefore fell within the 'No Formal Diagnosis' category. With that, if participants disclosed a diagnosis or the clinical staff inferred about particular diagnoses but there was no documentation on the participants file information of the said diagnosis, then the participant was subsequently classed within the 'No Formal Diagnosis' category. These three classifications were used throughout the presented study to investigate the associations and differences between disorders.

8.2 *Smallest space analysis (SSA)*

SSA was used as this method provided the underlying structure of the narrative themes to be uncovered. This form of multivariate analysis also does not require assumptions about the underlying dimensions being linear, rather it shows the co-occurrences of the matrix and the relationship between every variable in relation to every other variable, thereby working more effectively with the extreme variables. As previously mentioned, SSA has also been successfully implemented in previous investigative psychology studies, in particular, multivariate analyses of responses from many offenders (Canter et al., 2003; Youngs & Canter, 2012b) support the identification of four dominant narrative themes. With that, in line with the facet approach (Canter, 1985) from which the SSA methodology is derived, Canter and Youngs (2012) noted that this form of analysis allows development of the pro forma by adding further items that it is hypothesized will enhance the number of items in any particular

theme, allowing a direct test of the central thematic hypotheses with new datasets. Such tests help further to clarify the central concepts and ways of studying them, therefore, all subsequent studies within this thesis which utilise the *Criminal Narrative Role Questionnaire* will be analysed with SSA in order to generate the underlying structure of the presented themes.

Therefore, to test these hypotheses, an SSA was first carried out on responses to the 36-item *Criminal Narrative Role Questionnaire*. It was hypothesised that the identifiable themes (narrative roles) would be configured through each variable's association with every other variable. Underlying roles were therefore likely to form through the variables that were highly correlated, which would be configured within the SSA as points closer together, thereby implying various distinct themes. The relationship between these themes (narrative roles) and Frye's archetypal stories would be illustrated in the overall structure of the SSA configuration.

Figure 8.2 shows the 2-dimensional, vector 1 by vector 2, spatial projection of the 36 variables. The resulting analysis had a Guttman-Lingoes coefficient of alienation of 0.22451 in 16 iterations, indicating a reasonable fit between the Pearson's coefficients of the role variables and their corresponding geometric distances in the configuration. The variable labels are brief summaries of each of the 36 questions; full descriptions of these labels are presented in Table 8.2.

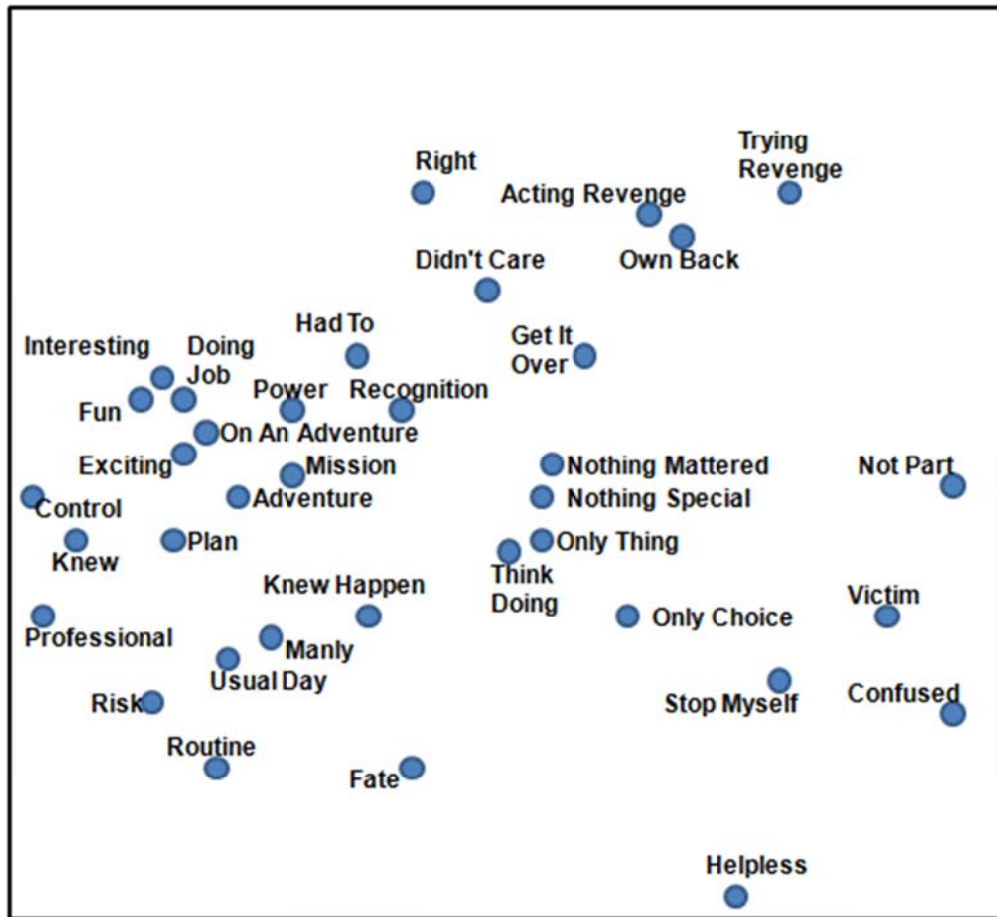


Figure 8.2. SSA-I of 36 narrative roles (N = 70). Variable labels are brief summaries of full questions.

Table 8.2. *Narrative role labels and full descriptions*

Question Number	Full Question	SSA Label
1	I was like a professional	Professional
2	I had to do it	Had to
3	It was fun	Fun
4	It was right	Right
5	It was interesting	Interesting
6	It was like an adventure	Adventure
7	It was routine	Routine
8	I was in control	Control
9	It was exciting	Exciting
10	I was acting out of revenge	Acting Revenge
11	I was doing a job	Doing Job
12	I knew what I was doing	Knew
13	It was the only thing to do	Only thing
14	It was a mission	Mission
15	Nothing else mattered	Nothing matter
16	I had power	Power
17	I was helpless	Helpless
18	It was my only choice	Only choice
19	I was a victim	Victim
20	I was confused about what was happening	Confused
21	I was looking for recognition	Recognition
22	I just wanted to get it over with	Get it over
23	I didn't care what would happen	Didn't Care
24	What was happening was just fate	Fate
25	It all went to plan	Plan
26	I couldn't stop myself	Stop myself
27	It was like I wasn't part of it	Not part
28	It was a manly thing to do	Manly
29	For me it was just like a usual day's work	Usual day
30	I was trying to get revenge	Trying revenge
31	It was like being on an adventure	On an adventure
32	It was the only thing I could think of doing	Think doing
33	There was nothing special about what happened	Nothing special
34	I was getting my own back	Own back
35	I knew I was taking a risk	Risk
36	I guess I always knew it was going to happen	Knew happen

8.3 *Structure of narrative roles*

The first step was to examine the SSA configuration presented in Figure 8.2, in order to investigate the structure of the narrative roles. The SSA was therefore interpreted by studying the resulting pattern, found in Figure 8.2, and identifying whether role descriptors or ‘items’ formed specific themes. Examination of all 36 items within the configuration led to the conclusion that distinct themes could be identified.

The next step in exploring the structure of the SSA was to investigate the initial hypothesis that narrative roles could be split into regions corresponding to the facets suggested in previous research (Canter et al., 2003; Canter et al. 2009). The programme that was used to generate the SSA was the latest version of a statistical programme called Hudap, after generating the results of the SSA, this version of Hudap also suggests the themes that have formed based on the analysis of every variable in relation to every other variable. A suggested split of the space produced by the programme was therefore constructed into four thematically separate regions which can be seen in Figure 8.3. The researcher also examined all 36 items within the configuration, which led to the conclusion that the distinct themes that were suggested by the statistic programme were also identified by the researcher. The top left quadrant encompasses the variables: *doing job, adventure, power, recognition* and *mission*, which indicate a ‘hero’ role. The top right quadrant shows items such as: *didn’t care, acting revenge, own back* and *get it over*, demonstrating a person who is seeking ‘revenge’. The bottom left encompasses variables such as: *professional, control, plan, manly, routine* and *fate*, signifying a ‘professional’ role. The bottom right includes items such as: *victim, nothing mattered, nothing special, confused* and *helpless*, indicating a ‘victim’ role.

The combination of interacting facets gave rise to four themes, conceptually similar to Canter et al.'s (2009) study. In particular, while Figure 8.3 illustrates four narrative themes, *Hero*, *Revenger*, *Professional* and *Victim*, which correspond very closely to research by Canter et al., there are clear distinctions within the displayed findings. The distinctions are further discussed below, and the association of these differences with psychiatric diagnoses is also discussed. A scale reliability analysis, using Cronbach's alpha, was conducted for the actions within each of the proposed four themes, in order to give an indication of the adequacy of the suggested split. The values varied from 0.706 to 0.894 which, considering the nature of the data, were deemed to be very good. Furthermore, quotations from interviews were used to help illustrate the narrative themes that were generated from the analysis. In particular, the narrative themes offer a means of summarising the more complex narrative process. As previously mentioned, recent research (e.g., Canter & Youngs, 2012; Youngs & Canter, 2011), suggests that the quality of these themes are enhanced by providing concrete case illustrations, therefore, by relating the narrative themes to specific qualitative contexts, the underlying storyline that is distilled within the narrative theme can be captured in specific case examples, allowing for a more in-depth understanding of the suggested narrative facets.

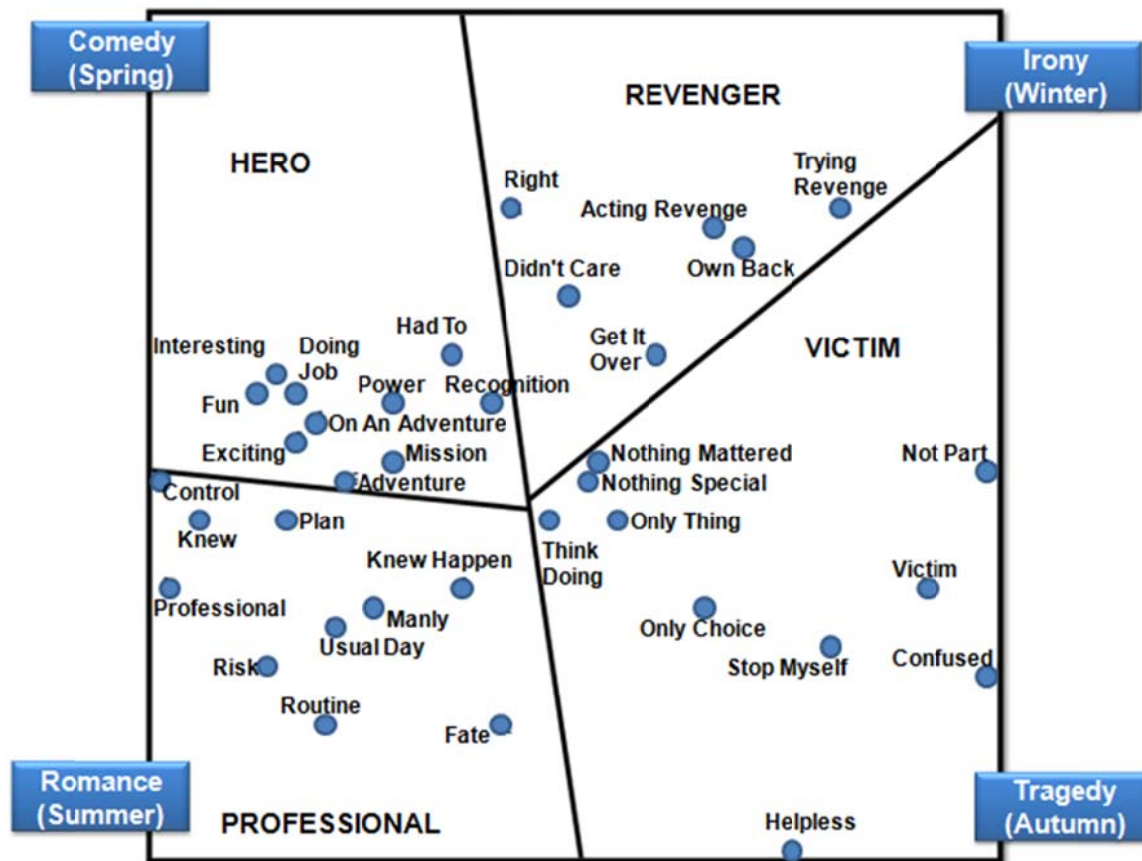


Figure 8.3. SSA-I of 36 narrative roles with set interpretation regions (N = 70). 2-dimensional Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) of narrative roles with regional interpretation. *Coefficient of Alienation* = 0.2245. Variable labels are brief summaries of full questions.

8.3.1 Victim

The bottom right quadrant of the plot contains variables linked to the *Victim* role. As indicated in the figure above, the ten items linked to this role include: *helpless*, *stop myself*, *only choice*, *think doing*, *only thing*, *nothing mattered*, *nothing special*, *victim*, *confused* and *not part*.

The general framework of this narrative role is extremely similar to Canter et al.'s (2009) *Victim (Irony)* narrative; specifically, both narratives view the offenders' accounts of their role in terms of confusion ('*confused*') and powerlessness ('*helpless*') seen in the region. An

extension of this sense of powerlessness is the belief that they are the main ‘victim’ in the event. There are, however, distinct differences between the results found in the present study and those found by Canter et al. Most notably, Canter et al.’s findings suggested that the feeling of victimisation was the main characteristic of this role. While this was a major contributing factor within the role found in the current population, the offenders’ lack of understanding was also a driving force for their offences, with such statements as: it was the ‘*only choice*’, the ‘*only thing*’ to do and the only thing they could think of doing (‘*think doing*’). The role of the *Victim* was also depicted by other responses which pointed to helpless despair and a general lack of understanding; these statements included: *nothing mattered*, ‘*nothing special*’, ‘*not part*’ and ‘*stop myself*’.

In general, the distinction between the *Victim* role as portrayed here and in previous research lies within the offenders’ lack of understanding and comprehension of their inescapable situation, and the belief that their offences were their only choice. These differences could be justified by the distinctive nature of the population (previously examined in Chapter 1); specifically, MDOs are deemed to be vulnerable adults under the MHA 2007, and this vulnerability has a vast impact on their social and problem-solving skills, which accounts for some of their criminal behaviour (Melamed, 2010). For example, poor social problem-solving abilities may lead to criminal behaviours such as violence, sexual offending and arson, an offence being a maladaptive attempt to solve personal or interpersonal problems (Ross, Fabiano & Ross, 1986). These deficits in problem-solving skills also lead MDOs to have a lack of understanding in many aspects of their offending; accordingly, the different responses depicted within this role could correspond to specific mental health problems within the population. In particular, those with schizophrenia, schizoaffective disorder or psychosis often have a deluded perception of reality, thereby lacking complete understanding of their

current environment. In addition, the symptoms of clinical depression, such as feeling hopeless, worthless and helpless, are also associated with the paranoid features of psychosis and schizophrenia. These disorders are included within the clinical syndrome category of Axis I. It could therefore be suggested that offenders who take on the *Victim* role are most likely to have Axis I diagnoses. The participant example below illustrates the above role.

Participant 39

Conviction: Arson

Diagnosis: Schizophrenia

“On the day of my offence I had just been discharged and the hospital didn’t sort out my benefits. I came back to the hospital to ask to come back till my benefits were sorted; they said no, so I thought if I burnt up my flat I could go back.

I didn’t have any support; I couldn’t get my benefits, they were delaying it. I thought to myself, if they are not going to sort it out I will just go back, it was the only thing to do. So I smashed up the flat, I felt upset and helpless; I smashed the windows and set fire to the bed, which flared up. When the fire took hold I just stood there watching it until the fire department came. I stayed because it was warm, I did not consider the fire could get out of control; once it did, I couldn’t do anything to stop it.

I was desperate; the people at the disability allowance let me down. I was looking forward to spending my first Christmas at my flat. I feel that I was persecuted by people, I was trying...I was trying.”

Although Participant 39 was convicted of Arson, he describes the events leading up to his offence as occurrences that were beyond his control. As illustrated within this narrative, he viewed his situation as a powerless and impossible event, one in which rendered him helpless. This confused and distorted perception led the offender to believe he was the main ‘victim’ in his crime, as he lived in a world where nothing made sense and nothing mattered, As Canter et al. (2009) denoted, this feeling of victimisation is the main characteristic of an ironic storyline. And as Frye (1957) further made clear, the essence of the irony narrative is one of darkness, where the protagonist is viewed as an inadequate and vulnerable being that is overcome by life’s ironic and dark forces.

8.3.2 *Professional*

The ten elements found within the bottom left quadrant are linked to the *Professional*; these items include: *control, knew, plan, professional, risk, routine, fate, usual day, manly* and *knew happen*.

The *Professional* is rooted in concepts originally proposed by Canter et al.’s (2009) *Professional (Adventure)* narrative. The offender takes on the role of a ‘professional’ who knows what they are doing and takes necessary ‘*risk*’ as a professional, with offending being seen as ‘*routine*’ or a ‘*usual day*’ of work and all going to plan. The actions within both narratives are therefore rooted in ‘*control*’ and mastery of an offender’s environment. Generally, the roles in these narratives are essentially associated with the positive emotions of a ‘professional’ (Canter et al.).

There are numerous differences, however, between the *Professional (Adventure)* narrative and the *Professional* found within the current study. For example, the *Professional (Adventure)* narrative is one defined by ‘adventure’; this individual enjoys the ‘power’ and ‘excitement’ from completing a job. This outlook contrasts with the *Professional* who enjoys the ‘manly’ persona their offences provide, and believes their role is defined by ‘fate’.

In essence these types of individuals regard their criminal activity as a ‘lifestyle’ or ‘routine’, have numerous antisocial peers, endorse criminal sentiments and values (Simord, 1997) and exhibit a host of antisocial and criminal activities and behaviours. These individuals are likely to begin their criminal activity at an early age and are most likely to have an Axis II diagnosis, as these types of disorders are displayed in childhood and form throughout early development. Overall, the major difference between the *Professional* role found within the present study and that found within previous research is the distorted pattern of thoughts, feelings and behaviours that are often exhibited by offenders with personality disorders. These distortions are most likely to have developed through early experiences of abuse (physical, emotional or sexual), trauma or severe neglect in earlier life, which have seriously interrupted their normal development (Together, 2010). These early experiences often render these types of offenders vulnerable to early criminal activity, and their perception of crime is often distorted in the sense that they see their criminal activities as a part of who they are, or as their ‘fate’ in life. The participant example below demonstrates the *Professional* role.

Participant 46

Conviction: Armed Robbery

Diagnosis: ASPD

This offender explained how he would rob banks or post offices when he needed money; it was part of his routine at these times: *“I was going to try and get money; I was trying everything to get money. I left for a walk, just a normal walk, and saw an opportunity and I will take any opportunity.”*

When he walked into the bank, he went to the counter and put a gun to the lady’s face, at which point she shouted “Raid”, and ducked down. *“When they duck down, it means you’re not gonna get anything, so I left and went home. I walked away and changed my shirt. I went out the next day and did another one.”* That day he walked into another bank, walked up to the counter again and put the gun to her face. This time she gave him the money, but then pulled the alarm. When he left, he took off his coat and blended in with everyone, explaining that *“People look for cars or motorbikes; they don’t expect people to just walk away, blend in with the people.”*

The offender knew what he was doing, he planned his robberies according to the people inside: *“People inside influenced my decision to rob a bank; less people in a bank was better. If there were not many people in there, there is no queue. If there were kids, I would not have went in there; kids should not see that stuff.”* He further described the feeling of taking a risk as a rush: *“It’s hard to explain it... It is a nice feeling, I got a rush; I got off on it, I loved it.”*

Participant 46 is typical of an offender who takes on the role of the *Professional*, this role is one that is often taken on by offenders who commit property related offences such as burglary or robbery (Canter & Youngs, 2012). Within the description above, the confident feeling and ‘strong’ self identity of being a ‘professional’ is clearly expressed in the participants illustration of his ‘routine’ when he needs money. He also points out his

expertise, mentioning the procedure that follows when he shouts out ‘raid’ when robbing a bank. Indeed, his account is dominated by details of the technicalities of the offending and the skills he has developed over time. The excitement produced out of his adventure is mentioned directly, to the extent that he even feels an unexplainable rush when talking about his crime. That being said, more typical of the *Professional* role, is someone who adopts a less aroused and calmer state during their offence. But typical of the *Professional* and as mentioned by Frye (1957), the story of this ‘adventure’ is one sought with triumph in overcoming the challenges placed in front of the protagonist and controlling the task at hand to come out victorious. This storyline therefore produces pleasurable emotions which are often seen at the end of the adventure, when the protagonist has completed their task successfully.

8.3.3 *Hero*

The top left quadrant of the SSA plot includes items corresponding to the *Hero*. The ten items in this region are: *interesting, fun, exciting, doing job, on an adventure, power, recognition, mission, adventure* and *had to*.

The *Hero* role shows some similarities to Canter et al.’s (2009) *Hero (Quest)* narrative. Specifically, both narratives are built on the idea of a heroic quest, whereby offenders justify their actions by seeing them as part of a ‘mission’. Despite some similarities, however, the driving force behind this idea of a ‘mission’ is vastly different here. The heroic voyage within the *Hero (Quest)* narrative is the driving force behind the offender’s criminal actions, which is illustrated with responses such as being unable to ‘*stop myself*’, or feeling that it was a ‘*manly*’ thing to do. In addition, the offender may feel he has been dishonoured, so now his pride demands that there will be consequences, which is portrayed through responses in terms

of '*looking for recognition*'. There is also a sense of bravado and nonchalance which is vital to this narrative; this theme is revealed in the offender's description of the actions as '*nothing special*' (Canter et al.). The *Hero* role within the current study, however, is presented as an offender who sees their actions as an adventurous ('*adventure*'), exciting and interesting mission, and is driven by the desire for recognition ('*looking for recognition*') and power. This person also feels that their adventure is part of their job ('*doing job*'), which they have to do ('*had to*') in order to obtain the recognition and power they crave. Once the job is completed, the offender feels that they are in control of their environment and their actions; this sense of completion is the intrinsic motivation (e.g., self-esteem, confidence) which reinforces their criminal behaviour.

It is most likely that these types of offenders do not exhibit any formal psychiatric symptoms, as the motivation behind the actions within the *Hero* role is rooted in some form of reinforcement (e.g., recognition, power, intrinsic motivation) which, according to behavioural principles, reinforces their actions and the frequency of those actions, although it is suggested that these offenders could show traits of a personality disorder, as their criminal actions are embedded within their lifestyle, they show little emotional attachment to their victims and they do not exhibit remorse for their offences, all of which are patterns of personality disorders. The participant example below illustrates the above role.

Participant 48

Offence Type: Rape

Diagnosis: Traits of ASPD (no formal diagnosis)

The offender had gone to a record shop on the day of the offence. He said he went out to find something "*fun and interesting to do*". He saw a Caucasian female walking on the opposite

side of the road to the record shop and thought she looked good, so he decided to follow her. He said he crossed the road and tried to engage her in conversation, but the more he tried to speak to her, the more she tried to get away: *"I was hoping for conversation; probably if she would have given me conversation I would not have followed through. I wanted her to recognise me."* He followed his victim and felt excited as he followed her for ten minutes. When she went to her flat, he said he got really excited at the thought that she might be alone.

After five minutes he rang the door bell and said he was from the council, stating that he knew saying he was from the council is something people would respond to. When she opened the door, he pushed her back through her doorway, and threw her around the flat until he found the bedroom. He said, *"The victim did not say much and there was fear in her face and it made me feel powerful."* At the time, he said, it was fun, something he did to teach her a lesson: *"I had to do it to teach her."* He described very pleasant feelings, excitement and a sense of adventure during the commission of the crime.

Although the participant had been convicted of rape, he describes his offence almost like a 'quest' to find the recognition he was yearning for when the victim failed to respond to his advances. To restore the pride that was taken from him, he attacked his victim, the sense of power and the offenders determination to impose his will characterises the uncontrollable nature of this attack, as he felt as though it was something he had to do to gain the power he wanted. As previously noted by Frye (1957), the Hero is in pursuit of love and a happy-ever-after lifestyle. These goals are illustrated in the offenders account of pursuing the woman he wanted at all costs, overcoming all obstacles to seek the positive emotional state his victim would elicit in him.

8.3.4 *Revenger*

The six elements found within the top right quadrant are linked to the *Revenger*; these items include: *right*, *didn't care*, *acting revenge*, *own back*, *get it over* and *trying revenge*.

The *Revenger* most closely resembles Canter et al.'s (2009) *Revenger (Tragedy)* narrative. Both narratives portray a story of the unstoppable revenge of an individual who has been wrongfully treated and deprived. The offender retaliates by seeking revenge in order to achieve what they believe is '*right*'.

The difference between the two narratives, however, lies within how the offender takes on the role of the 'revenger'. In the *Revenger (Tragedy)* narrative, the perpetrator believes that he has no choice but to take on the role of the revenger; this role is captured by responses which justify the actions, for example, assertions that it was '*right*'. These types of responses capture the meaning of this storyline, which involves a character who believes that revenge is their only option. The *Revenger* within the current study, however, belongs to a narrative whereby the offender does not care about anything else ('*didn't care*') except '*getting their own back*'; these offenders do not believe revenge is their only option, but they just want to get the situation over with ('*get it over*') and resolved, making many of their actions reckless and irresponsible in an attempt to seek revenge as quickly as possible.

The reckless nature of these offenders could be linked to their impairments in appropriate problem-solving and coping skills. These offenders could become overwhelmed by negative feelings such as distress, anxiety or anger; this, linked with their self-regulation problems and lack of adaptive coping skills, could trigger reckless behaviour. These symptoms are main features of those with personality disorders, which are classified within Axis II. In essence,

the main difference between the current study and other published work on the *Revenger* narrative is embedded in the deficits in emotional regulation, along with the symptoms of frustration and anger which are major patterns of personality disorders and are the driving force behind the *Revenger* role for these offenders. The lack of emotional regulation, coupled with a low tolerance and high level of impulsivity, combine to make this ‘revenger’ a reckless and impulsive character. The participant example below illustrates the role of the *Revenger*.

Participant 51

Offence Type: GBH

Diagnosis: ASPD

The offender’s brother had been beaten up and he needed to make sure that nothing would happen to his brother again. He did not want to get involved, but knew it was the only thing he could do to protect his brother. The offender and ten of his friends decided to drive over to where the man that had beaten up his brother lived. He described feelings of apprehension when he got there; he just wanted to get it over with, stating that, “*The first thing that happened when we got there, I was like, forget this, I just wanted it over with.*” The offender and his friends knocked on the door and, when the victim opened the door, everyone rushed in and assaulted the man with a bat, threatening the other men in the house with a gun. “*Obviously it was a revenge; I was there to make up numbers.*” He further described how at the time, he didn’t care about himself, he just cared about protecting his brother: “*To me it was the right thing to do.*”

This particular participant indicates the account of an individual who has indisputable adopted a *Revenger* role. He saw himself as someone who was seeking vengeance for his brother’s wrong doing and would stop at nothing to obtain what he believed was the right

thing (e.g., protection for his brother). He further suggested that this idea of revenge was the only logical solution to the problem he found himself in, stating that it was the only thing he could do to protect his brother. The emotional element attached to this storyline was so high (e.g., negatively aroused emotions) that it overtook his sense of judgement and made his actions reckless in nature, it was these reckless actions which ultimately led to his downfall. As Frye (1957) makes clear, the essence of tragedy is that of a heroic figure overpowered by the fates. He further discusses the general pessimistic and confused persona of those protagonists which take on this role, something that is vividly illustrated through the offenders accounts. For example, the offender stated that he did not want to get involved, he was confused but felt obliged to protect his brother.

8.4 Reliability analysis

It was proposed that the four roles identified would reflect distinct narrative themes within responses during an offence, thereby implying that the specific items representing each individual narrative role would form a reliable and distinct structure. Cronbach's alpha analysis was carried out on each narrative role, which was intended to determine the reliability of the defined theme. Data were entered into SPSS, where analyses were conducted using a $p < 0.05$ level of significance. The analyses confirmed that all scales had moderate to high internal consistency: *Professional*, $\alpha = 0.81$; *Revenger*, $\alpha = 0.76$; *Hero*, $\alpha = 0.89$, and *Victim*, $\alpha = 0.71$.

Internal validity can also be explored through investigating the association of questions with similar themes. For example, Question 6 – '*It was like an adventure*' and Question 31 – '*It was like being on an adventure*', are referring to identical actions; similarly, Question 10 – '*I was acting out of revenge*' and Question 30 – '*I was acting out of revenge*' also refer to

identical actions. According to the principles of SSA procedures, the higher the association between any two variables, the closer together the points representing them will appear within the geometric space. Thus, through investigation of the SSA configuration in Figure 8.3, it can be stated that these questions indicating identical actions appear closely together within the spatial SSA plot, thereby representing the similar ratings by participants for items which are identical, thus confirming the internal validity.

8.5 Association between narrative roles and frye's story forms

The relationship between the four narrative themes was explored through further analysis: means, standard deviations and correlations among the observed variables are presented in Table 8.5. As indicated in the table below, the *Professional* and *Hero* roles are significantly correlated ($p < 0.01$); these results are supported by the similarities presented between both these narratives. Specifically, both narratives appear to exhibit offenders experiencing pleasurable encounters during the commission of their offences. Similarly, the *Revenger* and *Victim* are also significantly correlated ($p < 0.01$); these results support the common descriptions of both these narratives, which often encompass more negative encounters for offenders. The *Hero* and the *Revenger* are also significantly correlated ($p < 0.05$); these findings further support the proposal that these narratives show a circular order equivalent to Frye's four story forms. Most notably, the *Hero* mirrors the *Comedy (Spring)* story form and the role of the *Victim* reflects the *Tragedy (Autumn)* story form and, as previously suggested by Frye (1957), these seasons blend into one another (Frye, 1957), therefore indicating a relationship.

The results exhibited in Table 8.5, along with the regional interpretations of the SSA configuration above, therefore imply that although these four dominant themes develop

separately, as Frye (1957) argues, they are also related and their primary structure is a cyclical movement, indicative of the four seasons. This cyclical movement is what propels each narrative archetype into the succeeding narrative, creating a ‘circular order’. This movement also implies that various hybrid themes will develop as one type merges into another. The integration of each theme is also supported by the SSA procedure, which examines the association between each variable and every other, and displays the correlations between variables as distances in a statistically derived geometric space (Guttman, 1968). The primary construct of the SSA method is therefore based on the assumption that every variable is related to every other variable, with the extent of this relationship being examined through SSA. Overall, the association of the current data with Frye’s description of the narrative process occurring in a circular movement is confirmed within the results.

Table 8.5. *Means, standard deviations and correlations among narrative roles (N = 70)*

	Narrative	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3
1.	Professional	2.14	0.834			
2.	Hero	1.96	0.935	0.625**		
3.	Revenger	2.35	1.02	0.116	0.291*	
4.	Victim	2.51	0.786	0.083	0.152	0.370**

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$

8.6 Association between narrative roles within diagnostic categories

Thus far, this study has illustrated that identifiable regions, which illustrate an integrated system, have been formed from the results of the *Criminal Narrative Role Questionnaire*. The results have also indicated that these regions show some similarities to previous findings; however, as indicated in previous sections, there are distinct differences within the criminal narratives found within the present study. The following sections of the study will therefore

explore these differences, with the proposal that they can be attributed to the psychiatric diagnoses of the offenders within the current population, and that certain psychiatric diagnoses will relate to particular criminal narratives.

To begin investigating the association between psychiatric diagnosis and narrative roles, the relationship between the four narrative roles and psychiatric diagnoses was explored through further analysis; correlations among the observed variables are presented in Table 8.6. As indicated in the table below, within Axis I, all the narrative roles were correlated to some degree. Within Axis II diagnoses, the *Professional* was significantly correlated with the *Hero* ($p < 0.01$), *Revenger* ($p < 0.05$) and *Victim* ($p < 0.05$). The No Formal Diagnosis category indicated that the *Professional* was correlated with the *Hero* ($p < 0.05$) and *Victim* ($p < 0.01$).

Overall, the results suggest that, within each diagnostic category, there are unique narrative experiences and the associations between narrative roles vary between diagnoses. It is also evident that the *Professional* has strong associations across all three diagnostic categories, indicating that, to some degree, this role could be partly evident within the other narrative roles.

Table 8.6. *Correlations among narrative roles and psychiatric diagnosis (N = 70)*

Narrative Role	1	2	3
<i>Axis I</i>			
1. Hero		.	.
2. Revenger	0.467**		
3. Victim	0.411*	0.511**	
4. Professional	0.595**	0.452*	0.377*
<i>Axis II</i>			
1. Hero			
2. Revenger	0.177		
3. Victim	0.011	0.309	
4. Professional	0.869**	0.245	0.106
<i>No Diagnosis</i>			
1. Hero			
2. Revenger	0.043		
3. Victim	-0.430	0.396	
4. Professional	0.470*	-0.338	-0.469**

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$

8.7 Dominant narratives within psychiatric diagnoses

The SSA structure presented in Figure 8.3 indicates that there are four narrative roles of offending, *Professional*, *Hero*, *Revenger* and *Victim*, across all psychiatric diagnoses. To investigate the differences between psychiatric diagnoses in relation to criminal narratives, the associations between the four narrative roles and psychiatric diagnoses were explored through further analysis; means and standard deviations are presented in Table 8.7. The

average overall mean of each narrative role falls between 1 and 3 (averages are based on a five-point Likert scale, where: (1) = *Not at all*; (2) = *Just a little*; (3) = *Some*; (4) = *A lot*, and (5) = *Very much indeed*, indicating a mild to moderate intensity of the role being evident within the criminal offence. As indicated in Table 8.8 below, the *Victim* has a higher overall average within Axis I ($M = 2.83$, $SD = 0.858$) compared to the other narrative roles. Similarly, the *Revenger* has a higher overall average within both Axis I and the non-diagnosis category ($M = 2.54$, $SD = 0.970$), although these higher averages do not appear to be significantly greater.

Table 8.7. Means (%) and standard deviations among narrative roles and psychiatric diagnoses ($N = 70$)

Narrative Role	Psychiatric Diagnosis (M (SD))		
	Axis I	Axis II	No Diagnosis
Hero	1.90 (1.07)	1.80 (17.6)	2.07 (0.769)
Revenger	2.10 (0.873)	2.40 (21.1)	2.54 (1.07)
Victim	2.83 (0.858)	2.26 (15.4)	2.32 (0.585)
Professional	1.97 (0.874)	1.78 (15.3)	2.31 (0.820)

As previously mentioned, the SSA structure also illustrates that while these roles are distinguishable, they are part of an integrated system and are therefore not isolated from each other. Accordingly, to investigate the hypothesis that specific psychiatric diagnoses will display particular narratives, a procedure (originally adopted by Youngs (2004) to relate personality to offence style) was implemented to further explore the narrative variables and the diagnoses which reflected this systemic structure, rather than misrepresenting any relationships by classifying offenders into artificial categories. This method examined the scores on the individual narrative items as external variables on the SSA-I plot. Mean scores on each of the narrative items were calculated for all diagnostic categories (Axis I, Axis II and No Formal Diagnosis). These mean scores were subsequently examined separately for

each of the four narrative scales, to determine how they varied across regions of the SSA plot. Mean scores were placed on the item location on the plot (see figures below), thereby demonstrating any relationship between specific narratives and diagnosis through the regional patterns produced by the mean scores on the plots.

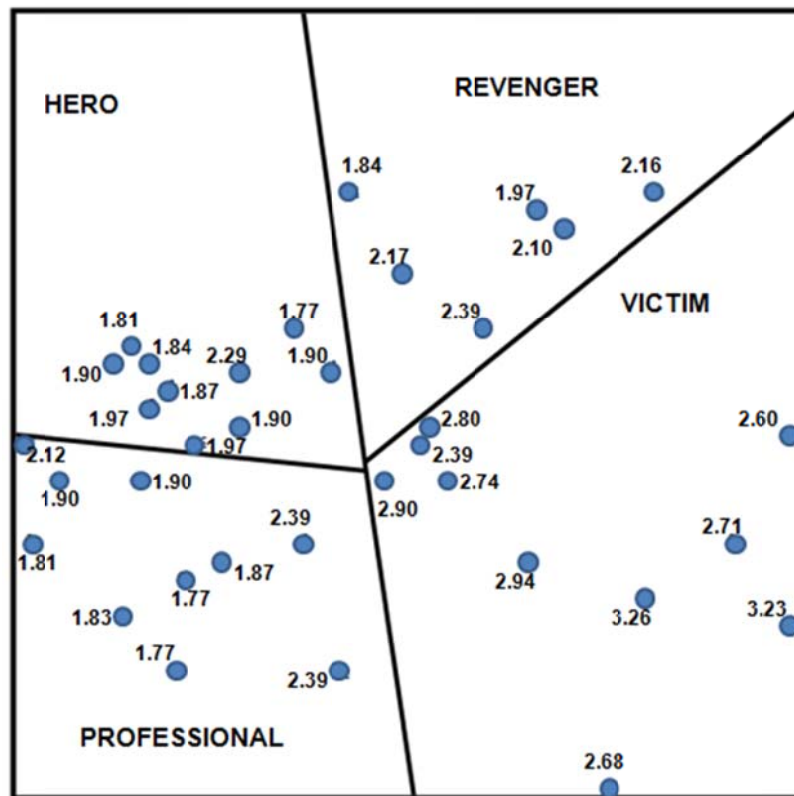


Figure 8.7a. SSA-I of 36 narrative role items with means for Axis I diagnoses (n = 30)

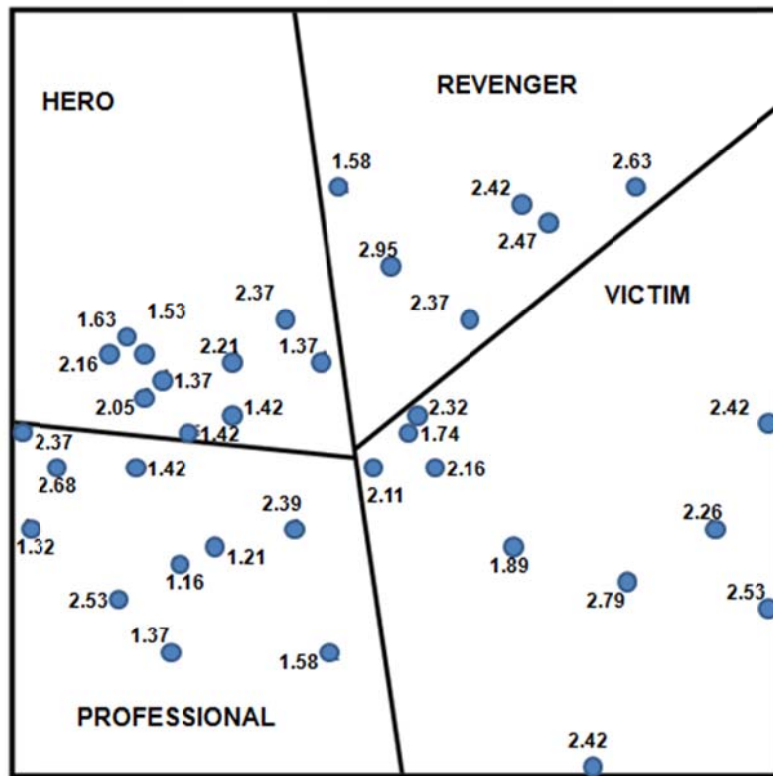


Figure 8.7b. SSA-I of 36 narrative role items with means for Axis II diagnoses (n = 20)

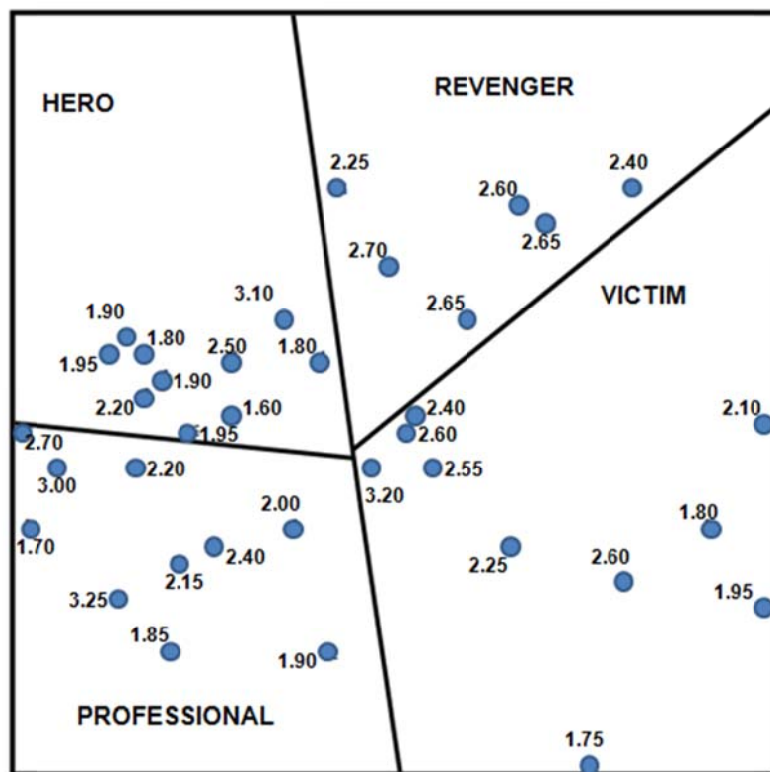


Figure 8.7c. SSA-I of 36 narrative role items with means for no diagnosis (n = 20)

8.7.1 Axis I: Clinical syndrome

Similarly to Table 8.7, the above figures reveal that for Axis I the highest averages were found within the *Victim* narrative, with the largest means agreeing with such statements as: '*It was my only choice*' ($M = 2.94$, $SD = 1.57$), '*I couldn't stop myself*' ($M = 3.26$, $SD = 1.61$) and '*I was confused about what was happening*' ($M = 3.23$, $SD = 1.64$). The differences were further examined to explore whether they were statistically significant.

Tests for normality of the four narrative scales were carried out using the Shapiro-Wilk test; this test has been shown to be appropriate for both small sample sizes (< 50 samples) and larger populations (e.g., up to 2000) (Bordens & Abbott, 2005). For this reason, the Shapiro-Wilk test was used as the numerical means of assessing normality. The test indicated that all four scales were normally distributed (> 0.05).

Accordingly, a repeated measures ANOVA determined that means across narrative roles differed significantly ($F(3, 9.75) = 6.650$, $P < 0.01$). Post-hoc tests using the Bonferroni correction revealed that the mean scores for the *Victim* role were significantly higher than those for the *Professional*, *Victim* and *Hero* roles ($P < 0.01$). There was no significant difference between the remaining roles, indicating that the *Victim* role is a dominant theme within Axis I diagnoses.

8.7.2 Axis II: Developmental disorders and personality disorders

Axis II indicated the highest overall average in the *Revenger* narrative, with the largest means agreeing with the items '*I was trying to get Revenge*' ($M = 2.63$, $SD = 1.74$) and '*I didn't care what would happen*' ($M = 2.95$, $SD = 1.50$). The differences were further examined to explore whether they were statistically significant. A repeated measures ANOVA with a

Greenhouse-Geisser correction determined that means across narrative roles were not statistically significant ($p > 0.05$).

8.7.3 *No formal diagnosis*

The No Formal Diagnosis category indicated highest overall averages within the *Revenger* role, with items such as '*I didn't care what would happen*' ($M = 2.70$, $SD = 1.38$) and '*I just wanted to get it over with*' ($M = 2.65$, $SD = 1.38$) scoring highly within the region. The No Formal Diagnosis category also displayed highest individual means within the *Professional* role, with the highest overall mean items including '*I knew what I was doing*' ($M = 3.00$, $SD = 1.38$) and '*I knew I was taking a risk*' ($M = 3.25$, $SD = 1.29$). In addition, the overall mean score of the *Professional* role was moderately high; it could therefore be suggested that while this is not the dominant role, it could be a secondary theme within this category. The differences were further examined to explore whether they were statistically significant.

A repeated measures ANOVA with a Greenhouse-Geisser correction determined that means across narrative roles were not statistically significant ($p > 0.05$).

8.8 *Chapter discussion*

The purpose of this study was to examine the narrative experience of committing an offence, investigating whether the structure of criminal narratives presented in previous research exists within the experiences of MDOs. The study further explored whether inferences can be drawn about the psychiatric diagnoses that may be associated with particular narrative roles. Lastly, this study considered the relationship between these narratives and Frye's proposal of a circular order within archetypal stories (comedy, romance, tragedy and irony).

The results found that, while the four criminal narratives presented were conceptually similar to previous published work (e.g., Canter et al., 2009; Ioannou, 2006), there were clear distinctions in the narrative experiences of MDOs. The major difference between offenders who had been sectioned under the Mental Health Act 2007 and those serving custodial sentences, in responses to their crimes, lay within the vulnerability of the mentally disordered and the illustration of this vulnerability within their criminal narrative experience. Evidence has suggested that these types of offenders are most likely to display deficits in problem-solving skills (McMurran et al., 1999), pro-social coping strategies and emotional regulation (Nester, 2002); in addition, individuals with major mental illnesses are more likely to show confusion of thought and a deluded perception of reality (Together, 2010).

The findings partially corresponded to the hypothesis that specific narratives will be associated with certain psychiatric diagnoses. In particular, the results suggested that offenders with Axis I diagnoses showed a significantly higher association with the *Victim* narrative, indicating that these offenders are most likely to believe that they are the true victim within their offences; they will also exhibit a sense of powerlessness and hopelessness within their personal narrative views. These results also correspond with the types of mental illnesses which are categorized within Axis I. Specifically, those with schizophrenia or psychosis often have a deluded perception of reality, thereby lacking complete understanding of their current environment. In addition, the symptoms of clinical depression, such as feeling hopeless, worthless and helpless, are also associated with the paranoid features of psychosis and schizophrenia.

Within Axis II, while results indicated strong associations within the *Revenger* narrative, these findings were not found to be significant. Nonetheless, the strong association can still

suggest that the reckless nature of these offenders and their desire for unlawful retribution could be linked to their impairments in appropriate problem-solving and coping skills. These symptoms are typical of individuals within the Axis II diagnostic category.

The results within the No Formal Diagnosis category indicated high overall averages within the *Revenger* role, although there was no significant difference between the remaining roles. These results could suggest that these individuals have a variety of criminal experiences, ranging from positive to negative encounters. It could further be proposed that these experiences are part of their criminal lifestyle, which they have used for personal and monetary gains. Furthermore, these results correspond with the vast range of diagnostic traits which can be found within this classification (e.g. both Axis I and Axis II), the non significant results across criminal narratives can also be explained through the vast range of mental health problems that are encompassed within this category.

The results also suggest that while the four narrative themes are found to develop separately, as Frye (1957) argues, they are also related and their primary structure reflects a cyclical movement. The integration of each theme is also supported by the SSA procedure, which examines the correlations between every variable and every other variable, and displays them as distances in a statistically derived geometric space (Guttman, 1968). The association of the current data with Frye's description of the narrative process occurring in a circular movement was therefore confirmed within the results.

This chapter has expanded on previous literature by examining and analysing criminal narratives within a forensic psychiatric population, thereby enhancing understanding of criminal behaviour through in-depth analysis of how offenders view themselves during their

crimes and justify the acts they perform. The advantage of developing this understanding of offenders with mental health problems is that it connects an offender's own agency with understanding of their actions, which aids in the further understanding of why these offenders carry out their offences. While the legal system proclaims that MDOs lack awareness and understanding of their criminal actions, from a narrative perspective, although there is often an element of confusion and lack of awareness, evidence does suggest that they have insight into the motivation behind their offences. The next chapter presents a study examining the emotions felt during a criminal offence and psychiatric diagnosis.

Chapter 9

Study Two: Emotions Felt during a Criminal Offence and Mental Disorder

9.1 Emotions felt during a criminal offence and mental disorder

While a vast number of social science explanations of criminal behaviour focus on various external factors, such as environmental or personal factors, it is also vital to emphasise the internal purpose of an offender's actions, by understanding the agencies within the offender which cause them to engage in such activities. Canter & Ioannou (2004) suggest that to bridge these internal and external agencies, the actual experience of the offender carrying out the offence should be considered. While this area has been vastly neglected in criminal literature, various researchers (e.g. De Haan & Loader, 2002; Elias, 1994; Katz, 1988) have suggested that the emotions of criminals during an offence are important elements to explore, as these emotions are often what propel an offender's ideas and thoughts into actions, and consequently provide the internal motives for the crime and the emotional gratifications that sustain their criminal lifestyle (McCarthy, 1995). It therefore cannot be denied that criminal behaviour with reference to the emotional state of an offender during these actions is a vital topic to explore.

The exploration of offenders' emotions when committing crimes draws on the circumplex structure of emotions originally proposed by Russell (1997) for non-criminal experiences, created by axes of pleasure/displeasure and arousal/non-arousal. Previous research (Canter & Ioannou, 2004) has indicated that criminals experience the range of emotions proposed by Russell and that the generalised circumplex structure is applicable to accounts of criminality, although the emotions tend to be more heightened in crimes compared to non-criminal experiences.

As previously discussed in Chapter three, while Canter and Ioannou found preliminary evidence to suggest that experiences of crimes may be more strongly bipolar than the usual

range of emotions, the intensity of these emotions needs to be further examined, specifically with regard to offenders with mental health problems, as a large number of MDOs demonstrate emotional abnormalities such as shallow affect (Hare, 1993), lack of empathy, guilt and remorse (Mullen, 2006) and emotional impairments (e.g. Blair, 2005; Treméau, 2006). These discrepancies in emotional regulation compared to offenders without mental health diagnoses are important elements in understanding criminal behaviour and, furthermore, in generating inferences about the emotions which MDOs feel during their crimes. Therefore, an empirically tested theory encapsulating the variations within forensic psychiatric populations, in terms of the emotions they exhibit during their offences, must be developed; such a theory would ultimately promote a better understanding of these offenders.

The purpose of this chapter is to examine prior research on the emotions which offenders feel during their offences, in order to determine whether similar emotions are replicated within a forensic psychiatric population, and also to explore whether certain psychiatric diagnoses are associated with particular dimensions of emotion.

9.1.1 Study two: Hypotheses

It was hypothesised that the variables within the 26-item *Emotions Felt During a Criminal Offence Questionnaire* would form identifiable and distinct regions covering the full range of emotions, and that these regions would show some similarities with previous findings within prison populations (e.g., Canter & Ioannou, 2004; Ioannou, 2006), exhibiting emotional themes including *elation*, *calm*, *distress* and *depression*.

It was further proposed, however, that the intensity of these emotions would be mild compared to prison populations. This hypothesis contrasts with previous research by Canter

& Ioannou (2004), who found that all emotions tend to be more heightened in crimes than in daily life. This proposal is based on research indicating that offenders with mental health problems exhibit abnormal emotional functioning, such as lack of distress or remorse, as a result of a number of biological, neurological and environmental factors (Hare, 1993).

It was also hypothesized that specific emotional themes would be associated with certain psychiatric diagnoses. The null hypothesis was that the associations between the emotion variables would have no clear relationship, and therefore it would not be possible to draw any interpretation with regard to structure reflecting Russell's circumplex (1997).

Similar to study one, in order to investigate differences between psychiatric diagnosis and emotional experiences within crimes, the psychiatric diagnoses were each assigned to one of three categories: Axis I, Axis II, or No Formal Diagnosis. As previously mentioned, the No Formal Diagnosis category encompassed those offenders who exhibited traits of disorders but did not have any formal diagnosis within their official files.

9.2 *Smallest space analysis (SSA)*

SSA was felt to be the most effective method of analysis for the above hypotheses, most notably due to the underlying structure that SSA reveals in relation to specific emotional themes being generated. With that, SSA has been implemented within previous studies which utilised the *Emotions Felt During a Criminal Offence Questionnaire* (e.g., Canter & Ioannou, 2004; Ioannou, 2006), the results of these analysis have been found most effective in exploring the emotional element of criminal activity and summarising the complex nature of the emotional component. As such, SSA will be implemented throughout this thesis when

investigating the structure of the *Emotions Felt During a Criminal Offence Questionnaire* in subsequent studies.

Accordingly, the SSA was carried out on the 26-item *Emotions Felt During a Criminal Offence Questionnaire*. It was hypothesised that the identifiable emotional themes would be configured by each variable's association with every other variable. Underlying themes would therefore be likely to form through the variables that were highly correlated, which would be configured within the SSA as points closer together, thereby implying various distinct themes. The relationship between these emotional themes and Russell's circumplex (1997) would be illustrated in the overall structure of the SSA configuration.

Figure 9.2 shows the 3-dimensional, vector 1 by vector 3, spatial projection of the 26 variables. The resulting analysis had a Guttman-Lingoes coefficient of alienation of 0.07570 in 32 iterations, indicating an excellent fit between the Pearson's coefficients of the emotion variables and their corresponding geometric distances in the configuration. The variable labels are brief summaries of each of the 26 questions; full descriptions of these labels are presented in Table 9.2.

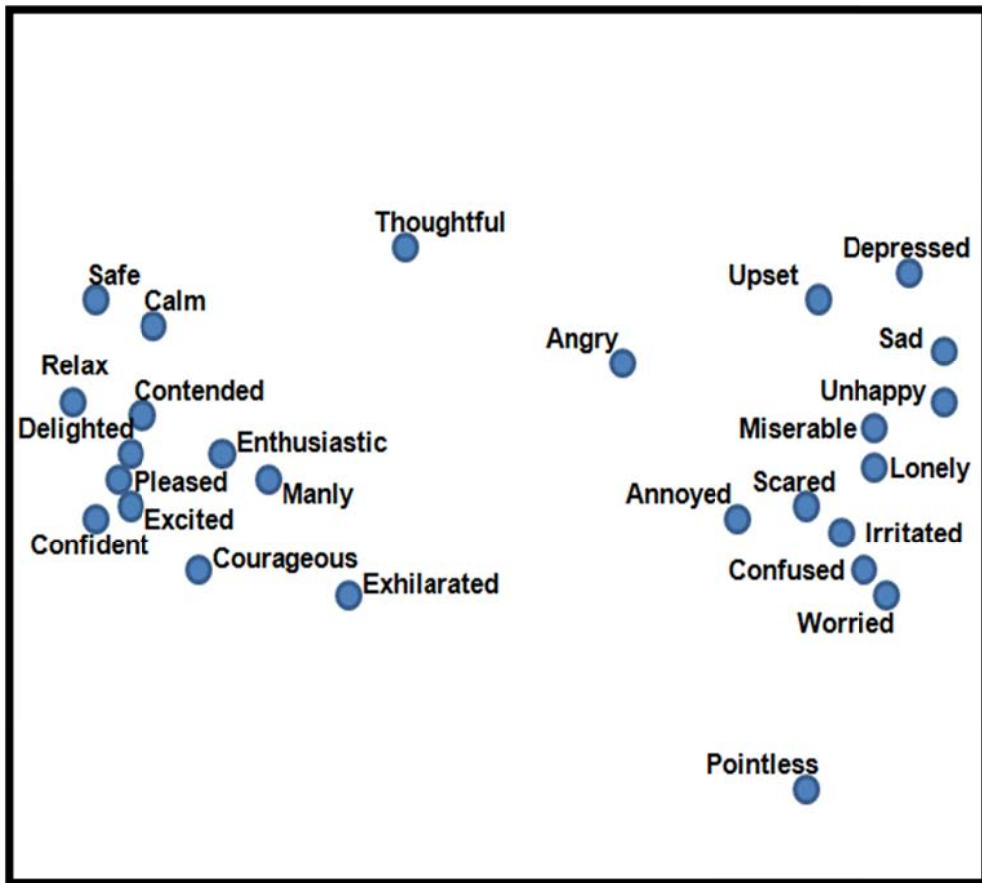


Figure 9.2. SSA-I of 26 emotional statements (N =70). 3-dimensional, vector 1 by vector 3, SSA of 26 emotional statements. *Coefficient of alienation* = 0.075705. Variable labels are brief summaries of full emotional statements.

Table 9.2. *SSA labels and full emotional statements of 26 items*

Question Number	Emotional Statement	SSA Label
1	I felt lonely	Lonely
2	I felt scared	Scared
3	I felt exhilarated	Exhilarated
4	I felt confident	Confident
5	I felt upset	Upset
6	I felt pleased	Pleased
7	I felt calm	Calm
8	I felt safe	Safe
9	I felt worried	Worried
10	I felt depressed	Depressed
11	I felt enthusiastic	Enthusiastic
12	I felt thoughtful	Thoughtful
13	I felt annoyed	Annoyed
14	I felt angry	Angry
15	I felt sad	Sad
16	I felt excited	Excited
17	I felt confused	Confused
18	I felt miserable	Miserable
19	I felt irritated	Irritated
20	I felt relaxed	Relax
21	I felt delighted	Delighted
22	I felt unhappy	Unhappy
23	I felt courageous	Courageous
24	I felt contented	Contented
25	I felt manly	Manly
26	I felt pointless	Pointless

9.3 *The structure of emotions*

The first step was to examine the SSA configuration presented in Figure 9.2 in order to investigate the structure of the presented emotions. Similar to study one, the SSA was therefore interpreted by the Hudap programme which generated the SSA. The researcher further studied the suggested split to verify the resulting pattern found in Figure 9.3.

Examination of all 26 items within the configuration led to the conclusion that the distinct emotional themes that were suggested by the statistic programme were also identified by the researcher.

The next step in exploring the configuration of the SSA was to investigate the structure of the emotional experience of MDOs. The initial hypothesis proposed that the items sharing common themes would split into identifiable regions which would partly correspond to the facets suggested in previous research (e.g., Canter & Ioannou, 2004; Ioannou, 2006). A suggested split of the space, however, indicated two thematically separate regions which could be viewed as being extremes of an integrated dimension, '*Pleasure-Displeasure*'; these results can be seen in Figure 9.3. The left side of the quadrant encompassed the variables: *safe, calm, thoughtful, relax, contented, pleased, excited, confident, enthusiastic, delighted, exhilarated* and *manly*, which indicate a range of emotions depicting a pleasant theme. The right side of the quadrant showed items such as: *depressed, upset, sad, unhappy, miserable, lonely, angry, annoyed, scared, confused, worried, irritated* and *pointless*, demonstrating an unpleasant theme. In essence, the figure illustrates two distinct themes of a single dimension, which is conceptually different from Ioannou (2006) and Canter & Ioannou's (2004) four distinct themes (*Elation, Depression, Calm* and *Depression*). While there are clear distinctions between the displayed findings and previous research, there are also several similarities; these features will be discussed further below. A scale reliability analysis using Cronbach's alpha was conducted for the actions in each of the proposed two themes, in order to give an indication of the adequacy of the suggested split. The values varied from 0.872 to 0.933 which, considering the nature of the data, were deemed to be very good. Furthermore, quotations from interviews were used to further illustrate the emotions experienced by participants during their offences.

Furthermore, similar to study one, the qualitative data was used to help highlight the themes that were generated from the analysis. In particular, the emotional themes that were generated

are summaries of the more diverse sets of emotions that underlie each theme. For example, the category of *Displeasure* that was generated (see Figure 9.3) covers a full range of emotions including; sad, angry, annoyed, miserable or unhappy. Therefore, In order to enhance the understanding and detail of each emotional theme, case illustrations are provided to focus understanding within real life situations where these emotional themes are present.

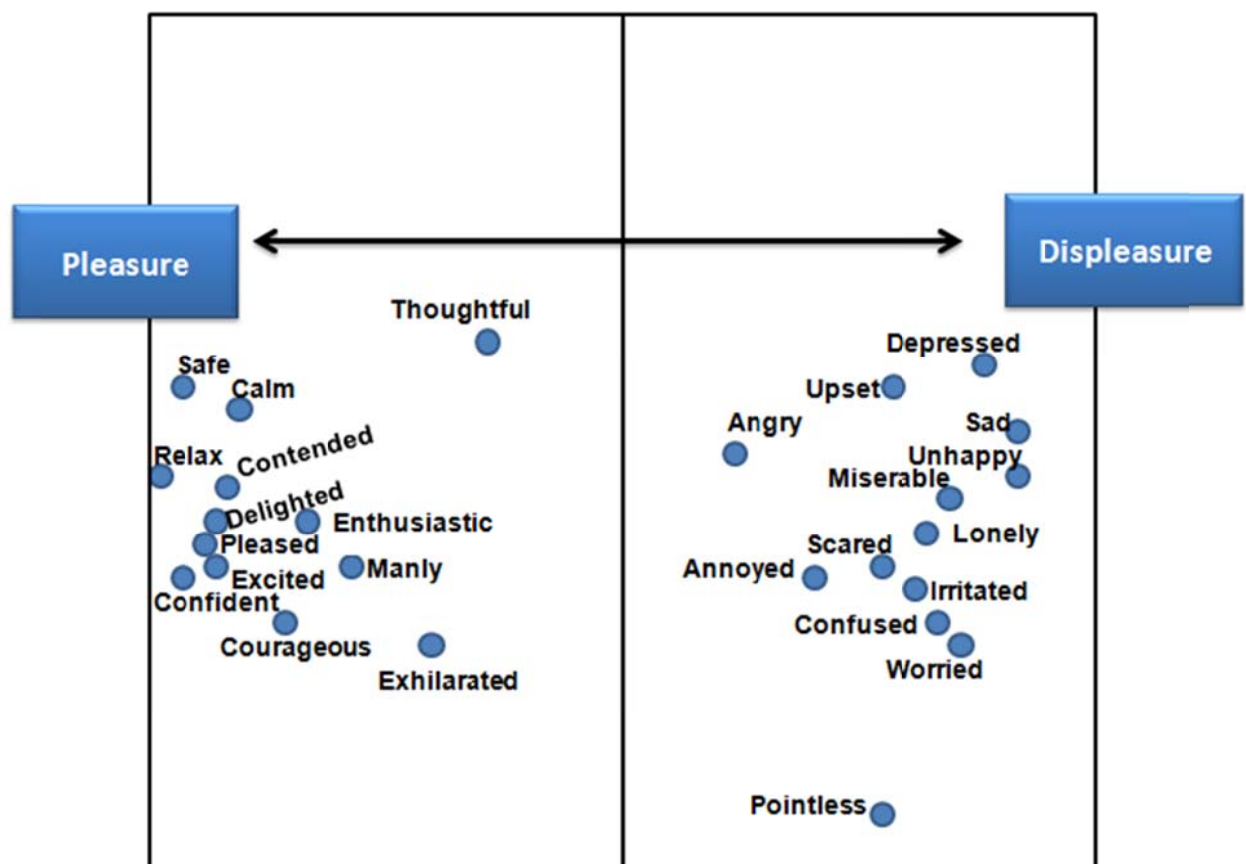


Figure 9.3. SSA-I of emotional statements with regional interpretation (N = 70). 2-dimensional Small Space Analysis (SSA) of emotional experience with regional interpretation. *Coefficient of alienation* = 0.075705. Variable labels are brief summaries of full questions.

9.3.1 *Displeasure*

The right quadrant of the plot contains variables linked to feelings of *Displeasure*. The 13 emotions linked to this theme include: *depressed, upset, sad, unhappy, miserable, lonely,*

angry, annoyed, scared, confused, worried, irritated and *pointless*. The general framework of this emotional theme depicts an offender who exhibits either emotionally negative feelings with low arousal (*depressed, upset, sad*), or negative feelings with high arousal (*angry, annoyed, irritated*). These results contrast with previous studies (e.g., Canter & Ioannou, 2004; Ioannou, 2006), which have found that emotions linked to the *Displeasure* axis are categorised in two distinct themes: *Distress*, which is high in arousal and displeasure, and *Depression*, which is low in arousal and high in displeasure (refer to Chapter 3 for further detail). Within the present study, however, these distinctions are not found; rather, offences generating *Displeasure* are integrated within one theme, although there appears to be some distinction between arousal states within the *Displeasure* theme.

The theme of *Displeasure* can therefore encompass an array of different emotional motivators within an offence. For example, offenders may exhibit a state of depression or unhappiness prior to their offences, which could subsequently lead to an offender believing that they have no other choice but to commit the offence. In contrast, the offender could be angry over some wrongdoing and consequently seek revenge for their hardship. Therefore, the theme of *Displeasure* covers a vast emotional territory.

Those types of offenders who experience negative low arousal emotions (e.g., depression, unhappiness) prior to their offences, are more likely to exhibit Axis I disorders which encompass clinical diagnoses such as depression, bipolar disorder, anxiety disorder and other major mental illnesses. The common symptoms of these disorders include feelings characterized by sadness, apathy and a sense of hopelessness (American Psychiatric Association, 2000). On the other hand, those offenders who have an inclination to more aroused negative emotions (e.g., anger) would be more likely to show Axis II disorders;

some of the general diagnostic criteria for a personality disorder include markedly disharmonious attitudes and behaviour in areas of functioning, such as: affectivity; arousal; impulse control; ways of perceiving and thinking, and style of relating to others (American Psychiatric Association). These patterns of behaviour create an individual who has severe emotional regulation problems; consequently, when they become aroused, these individuals lack the adaptive coping responses to regulate their emotions, resulting in very aroused and negative emotional states. The distinctions in negative emotions based on low and high arousal are further explored below, within the participant examples.

Participant 3

Offence Type: GBH with intent

Diagnosis: ASPD

The participant described his conviction of GBH with intent and how he felt irritated and annoyed at his girlfriend during the time leading up to the offence. He further described how, during the offence, a haze of red just came over him and he stabbed her; he didn't know why he stabbed her, he just couldn't stop. When the blood hit his face, he explained, he snapped out of it and was confused about what had just happened. He was scared and worried about what was going to happen to him, so afterwards he just left.

Participant 43

Offence Type: Rape

Diagnosis: BPD

The participant explained that his life around the time of the offence was horrible; he was depressed and miserable. On the day of the offence he was feeling lonely, so he went to visit the 84-year-old lady that lived next door. He explained how all he wanted was

companionship but she refused, so he raped her. After the offence, he explained, he was still feeling lonely and now he was upset over what he had done.

9.3.2 *Pleasure*

The left quadrant of the plot contains variables linked to feelings of *Pleasure*; the 13 emotions linked to this theme include: *enthusiastic, exhilarated, excited, courageous, delighted, pleased, manly, confident, calm, contented, thoughtful, relaxed* and *safe*. The general framework of this emotional theme depicts an offender who exhibits either positive, high arousal emotions, such as *enthusiastic, exhilarated* and *excited*, or neutral feelings with low arousal, such as *calm, relaxed*, and *safe*. These results contrast with previous studies (e.g., Canter & Ioannou, 2004; Ioannou, 2006), which have found that the emotions linked to the *Pleasure* axis are categorised in two distinct themes: *Elation*, which is high in arousal and pleasure, and *Calm*, which is low in arousal and high in pleasure (refer to Chapter 3 for further detail). That being said, the emotions linked to a higher level of arousal, such as *exhilarated, courageous* and *excited*, are situated in closer proximity than those emotions with a lower state of arousal. Similarly, emotions with a low level of arousal, such as *safe, calm and relaxed*, are closer together on the configuration depicted above. This could suggest that, while there may not be a strong theme of distinctions between arousal states within the present study, there is a more subtle indication of arousal.

The theme of *Pleasure* can therefore include a range of different emotional motivators within an offence. For example, offenders may exhibit excitement and a sense of manly power from taking a risk. In contrast, an offender could perceive their offences as part of a daily routine, and consequently be in a calm and relaxed state during the commission of their offences.

Therefore, the theme of *Pleasure* encompasses a range of varying emotions. These distinctions are further explored below within the participant examples.

It could further be suggested that these types of individuals regard their criminal activity as a ‘lifestyle’, have numerous antisocial peers, endorse criminal sentiments and values (Simord, 1997) and exhibit a host of antisocial and criminal activities and behaviours. These individuals are likely to begin their criminal activity at an early age and are most likely to have an Axis II diagnosis, as these types of disorders are displayed in childhood and form through early development (American Psychiatric Association, 2000). It is also possible that these types of offenders do not exhibit the symptoms of any formal psychiatric diagnoses, as the motivation behind the actions is rooted in some form of reinforcement (e.g., recognition, power, intrinsic motivation), which seduces them into crime (Katz, 1998).

Participant 48

Offence Type: Rape

Diagnosis: ASPD (no formal diagnosis)

The participant described that he felt excited when he was following his victim, excited at what he was thinking he would do to her. During the rape, the fear in her face made him feel superior, powerful and very manly.

Participant 11

Offence Type: Murder

Diagnosis: BPD

The participant explained how he needed to remain calm during the offence, it was something that he knew he had to do to keep him and his family safe in the future. On that day of the

offence, the participant explained how he went to work, as usually, and on the way home stopped at the victim's house to do what needed to be done and then went home for dinner.

The participant described that he felt excited when he was following his victim, excited at what he was thinking he would do to her. During the rape, the fear in her face made him feel superior, powerful and very manly.

9.4 Reliability analysis

It was proposed that the emotional themes identified would reflect distinct emotions within an offence, therefore implying that the specific items representing each individual theme would form a reliable and distinct structure. Cronbach's alpha was carried out on each of the two identified emotional themes in order to determine the reliability of the defined theme. Data were entered into SPSS, where analyses were conducted using a $p < 0.05$ level of significance. The analyses confirmed that both scales had high internal consistency: *Displeasure*, $\alpha = 0.893$ and *Pleasure*, $\alpha = 0.919$, thereby indicating a high degree of association between the items in both emotional themes.

Internal validity can also be explored through investigating the association of questions with similar emotional experiences. For example, Question 7 – '*I felt calm*' and Question 20 – '*I felt relaxed*' are referring to emotional experiences which are both pleasurable and low in arousal; similarly, Question 22 – '*I felt unhappy*' and Question 15 – '*I felt sad*' also refer to similar emotional experiences which are both unpleasant and low in arousal. According to the principles of SSA procedures, the higher the association between any two variables, the closer together the points representing them will appear within the geometric space. Thus, through investigation of the SSA figure above, it can be stated that those questions which

indicate extremely similar emotional states appear close within the spatial SSA plot, thereby representing the similar ratings by participants for items which are matching, thereby confirming the internal validity.

9.5 *Association between emotional themes*

The relationship between the two emotional themes was explored through further analysis. The results indicated that *Pleasure* ($M = 1.89$, $SD = 0.909$) and *Displeasure* ($M = 2.74$, $SD = 1.02$) are negatively correlated ($r = -0.325$, $p < 0.01$); these results are supported by the SSA configuration presented above and the very distinct separation between the two themes, which is clearly evident. Furthermore, these results are also supported by Russell's circumplex of emotions, as both themes fall on the extreme ends of the *Displeasure-Pleasure* axis. That being said, the present results do not indicate a clear thematic distinction with regard to the *Arousal-Sleepiness* axis, which has been found within previous research within criminal populations (e.g., Canter & Ioannou, 2004; Ioannou, 2006). Nonetheless, as previously mentioned, it is apparent that within the two identified themes, there are slight indications of an arousal axis, as those items which are of a higher arousal state, within both themes, are situated closer together within the SSA configuration. Similarly, those items which are lower in arousal state are configured closer together within both themes.

9.6 *Intensity of emotional experience*

To further investigate the hypothesis that the intensity of the emotional experience in forensic patients will be weaker compared to a prison population, the mean scores of the emotional themes found within the present study and those found within previous studies (Canter & Ioannou, 2004; Ioannou, 2006) were further examined. The overall means from these studies are presented in Table 9.6. As indicated below, since the previous studies have found four

emotional themes, *Calm*, *Elation*, *Depression* and *Distress*, the means of each of these themes are displayed; in addition, the four themes are also separated into the broader categories which were displayed within the present study: *Pleasure* (e.g., *Calm* and *Elation*) and *Displeasure* (e.g., *Depression* and *Distress*). The average overall intensity of each emotion falls between 1 and 3 (averages are based on a five-point Likert scale, where: (1) = *Not at all*; (2) = *Just a little*; (3) = *Some*; (4) = *A lot*, and (5) = *Very much indeed*), indicating a mild to moderate intensity of emotions.

The results show that, within the current population, the mean scores for emotions linked to *Pleasure* are significantly less intense compared to a prison population. Similarly, the feelings linked to *Displeasure* indicate slightly less overall intensity compared to previous research. In essence, these results indicate that, compared to a prison population, the positive emotional experience of forensic patients is significantly less intense, while the negative emotional experience is slightly less intense compared to a non-forensic population.

Table 9.6. *Comparison of overall mean scores within each of the emotional themes (N = 70)*

Emotions	Canter & Ioannou (2004)	Ioannou (2006)	Present Study
Calm	2.60	2.82	
Elation	2.60	2.70	
<u>Pleasure</u>	2.60	2.76	1.89
Depression	2.43	2.46	
Distress	3.20	2.88	
<u>Displeasure</u>	2.81	2.67	2.74

9.7 *The relationship between emotional themes and russell's circumplex (1997)*

The present study also considered the relationship between criminals' emotional experiences in association with the circumplex of emotions (Russell, 1997), and whether MDOs show similar trends in emotional experiences to those depicted by the circumplex for non-offending populations. It was hypothesised that the circumplex of emotions established for non-criminal experiences (Russell, 1997) would also be established within the experiences of MDOs. Initial examination of the SSA configuration revealed that the plot could be partitioned into two themes (see Figure 9.3) which reflected the valence dimension of mood (pleasantness versus unpleasantness). Although the partition of the SSA did not clearly identify a defined degree of the activation dimension (arousal or sleepiness), which is evident within Russell's circumplex, the results did show a degree of separation between the emotions that are of higher and lower arousal, as depicted in Figure 9.3.

The strong division within the valence axis indicates the distinctness of emotions within this axis (e.g., offending is an experience of either pleasure or displeasure). Within this context, the offending experience is seen as an extreme of either pleasantness or unpleasantness, with no medium between the two extremes. Therefore, the full circular structure of emotions is not fully presented; rather, a structure of extremes is illustrated. In contrast, the less distinct segregation within the activation axis shows that the arousal component of offending is not seen as either highly arousing or non-arousing, but rather, as a combination of the two extremes. The results, therefore, could be said to illustrate the full circular structure of emotions within the activation axis, even though it is not fully depicted within the SSA configuration above.

Overall, the results indicate that the full range of emotions considered by Russell's circumplex (1997) is only partly established within the current population. While forensic patients experience the emotions associated with the circumplex, the trends in the emotions captured by the valence axis appear to be extreme compared to those in a non-offending population, therefore not entirely capturing the full range of emotions. The emotions attached to the activation axis, although not explicitly displayed within the current population, do appear to cover the full range of emotions associated with this axis.

9.8 Association between emotional themes within diagnostic categories

Thus far, this study has illustrated that identifiable regions, which illustrate an integrated system, have been formed from the responses to the *Emotions Felt During a Criminal Offence Questionnaire*. The results have also indicated that these regions show some similarities to previous findings; however, as indicated in previous sections, there are distinct differences within the present study, in particular, the themes of emotions which are displayed within a criminal offence and the intensity of these emotions. The following sections of the study will further explore these differences, with the proposal that certain psychiatric diagnoses will relate to particular emotional themes.

To begin investigating the association between psychiatric diagnosis and emotions felt during a criminal offence, the relationship between the two emotional themes and psychiatric diagnosis was explored through correlational analysis. The results indicated that within Axis I and Axis II, the emotional themes were not significantly correlated. In contrast, however, the No Formal Diagnosis category indicated that the *Pleasure* and *Displeasure* themes were negatively correlated ($r = -0.717$, $p < 0.05$). Overall, the results suggest that within each

diagnostic category, there are unique emotional experiences and the association between emotions vary between diagnoses.

9.9 Dominant emotions within psychiatric diagnoses

The SSA structure presented in Figure 9.3 indicates that there are two emotional themes within offending across all psychiatric diagnoses. To further investigate the differences between psychiatric diagnoses in terms of emotional experiences of crime, the associated relationships between the emotions and psychiatric diagnoses were explored through further analysis; means and standard deviations are presented in Table 9.9. As indicated in the table below, on average, *Displeasure* has a higher overall mean within Axis I and Axis II compared to the emotions of *Pleasure*. In contrast, however, the No Formal Diagnosis category has very similar overall mean scores for both *Displeasure* and *Pleasure* emotions. The means for each emotion variable is indicated in the figures below. Figure 9.9a indicates the emotion variables with means from Axis I, Figure 9.9b indicates the emotions variables with means from Axis II and Figure 9.9c indicates the emotions variables with means from No Formal Diagnosis.

Table 9.9. Means (%) and standard deviations among emotional themes and diagnoses ($N=70$)

Emotional Theme	Psychiatric Diagnosis ($M(SD)$)		
	Axis I	Axis II	No Diagnosis
Pleasure	1.98 (1.06)	1.61 (.766)	2.00 (.922)
Displeasure	3.07 (.972)	2.80 (.936)	2.19 (.836)

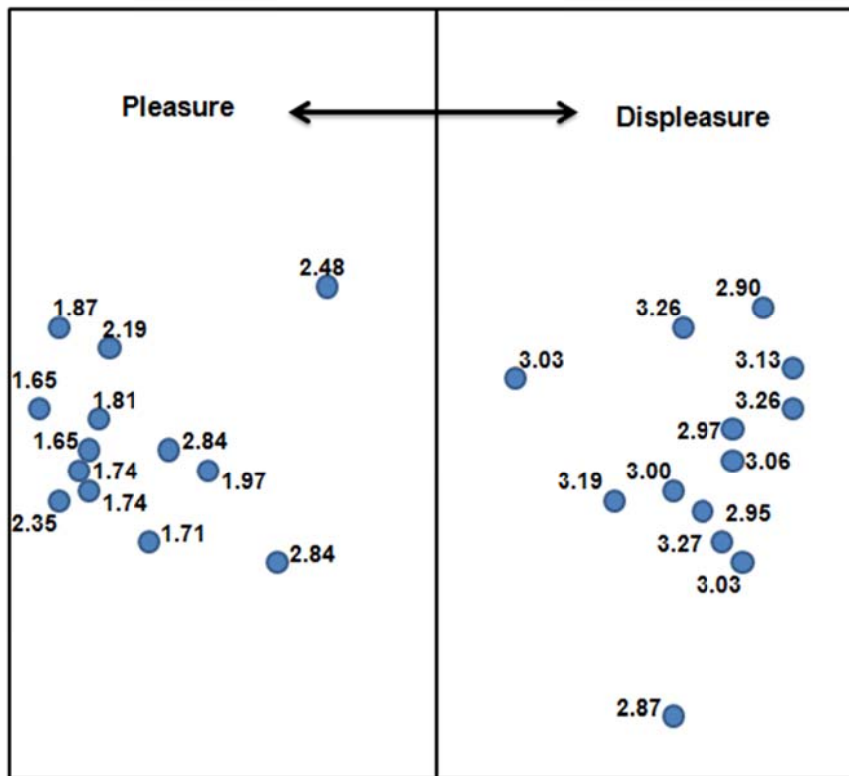


Figure 9.9a. SSA-I of 26 emotions felt during a criminal offence items with means for Axis I diagnoses (n = 30)

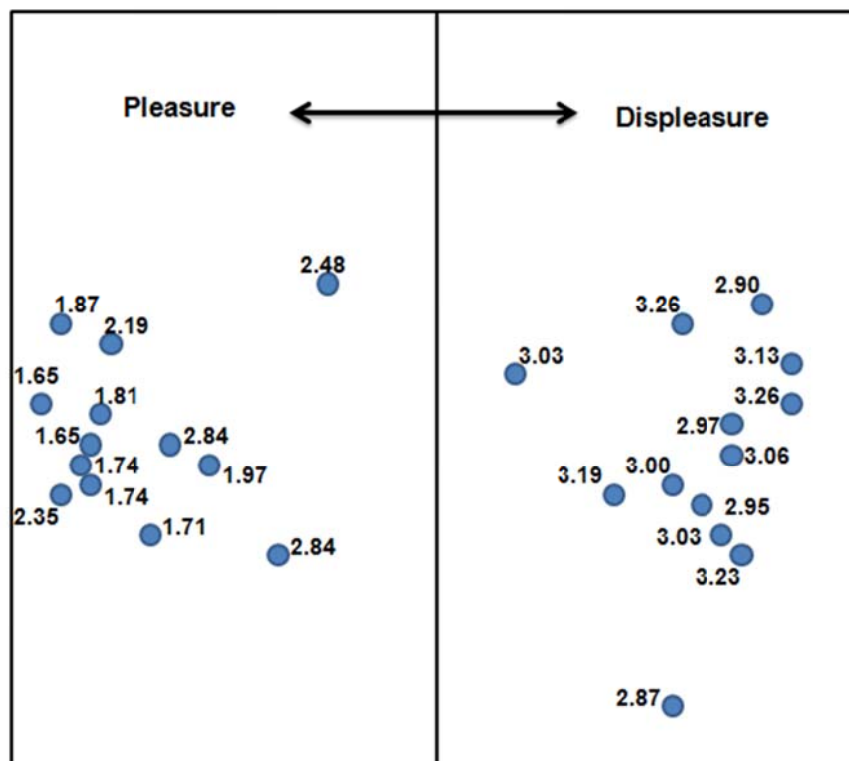


Figure 9.9b. SSA-I of 26 emotions felt during a criminal offence items with means for Axis II diagnoses (n = 20)

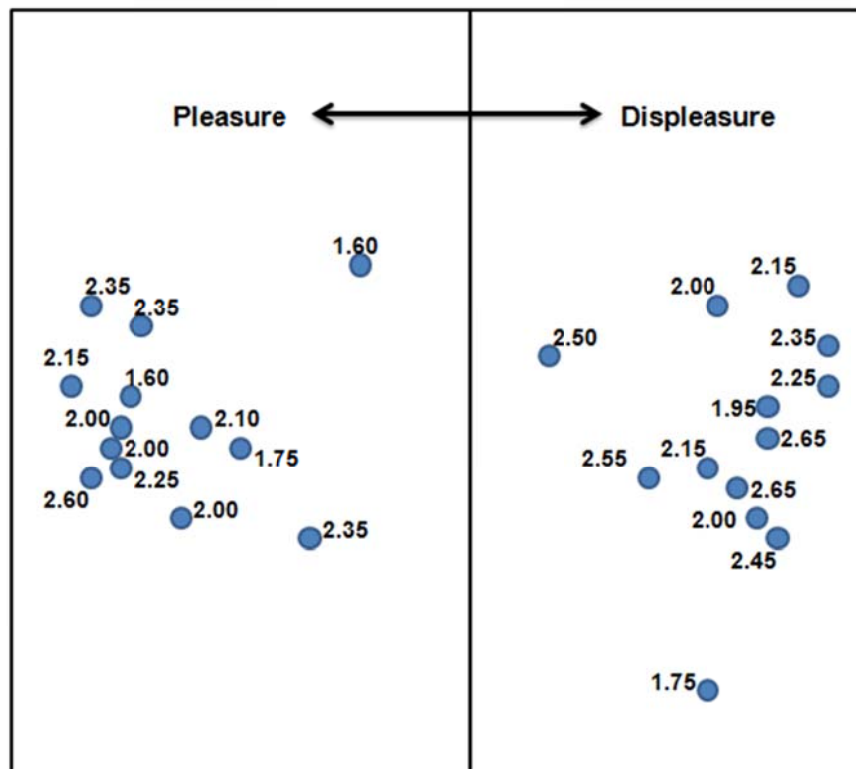


Figure 9.9c. SSA-I of 26 emotions felt during a criminal offence items with means for No Diagnosis (n = 20)

9.9.1 Axis I: Clinical syndrome

Similarly to Table 9.9, the above figures reveal that for Axis I the highest averages were found within the *Displeasure* theme, with the largest means being found within the items: ‘*I felt confused*’ ($M = 3.27$, $SD = 1.66$), ‘*I felt unhappy*’ ($M = 3.26$, $SD = 1.57$) and ‘*I felt sad*’ ($M = 3.13$, $SD = 1.58$). The differences between emotional experiences were further examined to explore whether they were statistically significant. Tests for normality of the emotional scales were carried out using the Shapiro-Wilk test; the test indicated that the scales were normally distributed (> 0.05). Accordingly, a paired t-test was calculated for the two emotional themes; significant differences were found between *Displeasure* and *Pleasure*, $t(30) = -3.909$, $p < 0.05$.

The significantly high level of *Displeasure* associated with this axis corresponds to the major mental illnesses presented within the category. In particular, those with clinical syndromes such as schizophrenia, schizoaffective disorder or psychosis often have a deluded and confused perception of reality; they also suffer from confusion within their thought processes and an overall lack of understanding (Department of Health, 2011). These symptoms correspond with the item '*I felt confused*', which shows the highest individual mean score. In addition, the symptoms of depression also correspond to the high displeasure found within this category. In particular, feelings associated with low arousal and high displeasure, such as unhappy and sad, are strongly indicated within the figure above, corresponding with the symptoms of depression which represent an individual low in mood; this mood disrupts the individual's everyday routine and renders them subject to persistent feelings of hopelessness and low self-esteem (American Psychiatric Association, 2000; Together, 2010).

9.9.2 Axis II: Developmental disorders and personality disorders

Similarly to Axis I diagnoses, Axis II disorders indicated the highest overall average in the *Displeasure* theme, with the largest means agreeing with the items: '*I felt upset*' ($M = 3.26$, $SD = 1.54$), '*I felt unhappy*' ($M = 3.26$, $SD = 1.46$), '*I felt annoyed*' ($M = 3.19$, $SD = 1.61$) and '*I felt angry*' ($M = 3.03$, $SD = 1.77$). The differences were further examined to explore whether they were statistically significant. A paired t-test was carried out for the two emotional themes; significant differences were found between *Displeasure* and *Pleasure*, $t(18) = -3.764$, $p < 0.05$.

The significantly high overall mean of *Displeasure* presented within Axis II corresponds with the major patterns of a personality disorder; more specifically, those suffering from these disorders tend to be emotionally cold or detached, with a limited ability to express feelings

towards others, and they also have negative patterns of thought, feelings and behaviour (American Psychiatric Association, 2000; Mental Health America, 2012). All these characteristics link to the negative emotions found within the category. Furthermore, individuals with a personality disorder often exhibit emotional dysregulation, resulting in impulsivity and emotional instability, along with the inability to control their anger or frustration (American Psychiatric Association; Mental Health America); these patterns of behaviour are evident in the high levels of arousal also presented within the category. For example, the items '*annoyed*' and '*angry*' score high overall means within the SSA figure above, indicating the low arousal tolerance of offenders with a personality disorder. The high levels of arousal exhibited within the diagnostic category not only correspond with the major patterns of behaviour of these offenders, but also distinguish them from the Axis I offenders, who also show high levels of *Displeasure* but, in contrast, also show a tendency towards negative emotions with low arousal.

9.9.3 No Formal Diagnosis

The No Formal Diagnosis category indicated no significant difference between the two emotional themes; rather, results indicated similar overall means. Furthermore, the highest mean scores within both themes were significantly lower compared to the other diagnoses, with the highest scores across themes including the items: '*I felt lonely*' ($M = 2.35$, $SD = 1.20$), '*I felt scared*' ($M = 2.35$, $SD = 0.933$) and '*I felt confident*' ($M = 2.35$, $SD = 1.50$).

The similar overall means presented across both emotional themes suggest that these types of offenders exhibit an array of emotions during the commission of their offences, and are not driven by a specific emotional component. In addition, the overall means of both emotional themes, compared to the other diagnostic categories, also indicate the low intensity of the emotional component within the criminal experience. These findings could correspond with

the notion that offenders which fell within this category displayed traits of a number of psychiatric disorders, rather than full diagnoses, suggesting that perhaps the emotional component is not as intense in those offenders with diagnostic traits.

This further suggests that the actions of these offenders are not driven by a strong emotional experience, but rather, they could have a more neutral emotional experience, viewing their crimes as part of a lifestyle, with no emotional attachment. While these offenders do not have any formal diagnoses, their criminal behaviour will have begun at an early age and been reinforced through the monetary and personal gains they received through their illegal activities. It is further proposed that while these offenders do not have a formal diagnosis, they will have traits of antisocial behaviour, which can partly explain their neutral emotional responses during the commission of their crimes, as some of the defining features of antisocial behaviour include callous–unemotional (CU) traits (e.g., lack of guilt, lack of empathy) and not accepting responsibility for transgressions (Larsson, Viding and Plomin, 2008). It is therefore suggested that these traits correspond to the lack of a strong emotional component within this category.

9.10 Chapter discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine prior research on the emotions offenders feel during their offences, to determine whether similar emotions are replicated within a forensic psychiatric population, and also to explore whether certain psychiatric diagnoses are associated with particular dimensions of emotions. The study also considered the relationship of criminals' emotional experience with the circumplex of emotions (Russell, 1997).

The findings partially corresponded to the initial hypothesis of the study; specifically, the results found two distinct regions which were viewed as extremes of an integrated dimension, *Pleasure-Displeasure*. These results corresponded with the valence dimension of mood (pleasantness versus unpleasantness). Although the findings did not clearly identify a defined degree of the activation dimension (arousal or sleepiness) which is evident within Russell's circumplex and previous findings on prison populations, the results did show a degree of separation between the emotions that are of higher and lower arousal.

Furthermore, the intensity of the emotions within the *Pleasure* theme were less intense compared to prison populations, while those emotions falling within the *Displeasure* theme displayed higher strengths of intensity compared to prison populations. Therefore, these results partially confirm the hypothesis that the intensity of MDOs emotions would be mild compare to prison populations. These results also correspond with the patterns of characteristics which are strongly associated with offenders with mental health problems; in particular, these offenders are more likely to exhibit emotional dysregulation, feelings of hopelessness and helplessness, disturbed self-images and negative coping strategies in response to stressful life events.

The findings also corresponded to the hypothesis that specific emotional themes would be associated with certain psychiatric diagnoses. In particular, the results suggested that offenders with Axis I diagnoses showed a significantly higher association with the *Displeasure* theme, with a higher association of negative emotions linked to low arousal. These results also correspond with the types of mental illnesses which are categorised within Axis I, specifically, feelings of depression, sadness and confusion in perception.

The results also indicated a high association of *Displeasure* with Axis II, with a higher association of negative emotions linked to high arousal, such as feeling angry or annoyed. These results correspond to the personality disorders which are embedded within Axis II, and the self-regulation issues that are frequently presented within these types of offenders.

The results within the No Formal Diagnosis category indicated no significant difference within the *Displeasure-Pleasure* axis; the findings also indicated lower overall mean scores within both themes compared to the previous categories. These results therefore suggested that there is a limited emotional component within the responses of these types of offenders, and that their offences are, instead, viewed as part of their criminal lifestyle. These results relate to the type of offenders displayed within this category, as these offenders are seen as having less severe mental health problems compared to those within Axis I and II who have confirmed psychiatric diagnoses.

This chapter has expanded on previous literature by examining and analysing the emotions felt during a criminal offence within a forensic psychiatric population, thereby furthering understanding of criminal behaviour through in-depth analysis of how offenders feel during their crimes. The advantage of further understanding into the emotional experiences of MDOs is that it takes a step towards understanding the role that emotions play in the development and persistence of offending. The next chapter presents a study examining the relationship between criminal narratives and offence types.

Chapter 10

Study Three: The Relationship between Criminal Narratives and Offence Type

10.1 The relationship between criminal narratives and offence type

Chapter eight examined the relationship between psychiatric diagnosis and criminal narratives, and whether offenders with specific types of psychiatric diagnoses develop distinctive criminal narratives. The aim of this chapter is to explore the hypothesis that, in broad terms, offences against property will relate to positive criminal narratives, while offences against the person will relate to negative criminal narratives.

When contemplating the differences between criminal narrative experiences, it could be suggested that there are two distinct sets of criminal activity. On one end of the visual continuum there are the crimes against the person, for example, rape, murder or any violent acts against the individual. The opposite end of this continuum situates the crimes that are strongly linked to property and do not include any direct attack on a person, for example, theft, burglary or criminal damage. This particular type of classification scheme, based on the nature of the offence (e.g., person versus property crimes), has been used to study differences within offender characteristics, for example, personality correlates (Youngs, 2004) and emotional experience of crime (Ioannou, 2006).

The relationship between mental health disorders and offence type has also been widely explored (e.g., Gosden et al., 2006; Montanes-Rada et al., 2006; Soyka et al., 2007; Wallace et al., 1998), and as discussed in chapter one, the emerging consensus indicates an association between offending behaviours involving violence and certain forms of mental disorders. Offending behaviours involving violence refers to acts of physical violence against others; accordingly, within the current context, certain MDOs are at a greater risk of engaging in person-related offences. This association, while moderate, is robust and statistically significant (Brennan et al., 2000; Hodgins, 1992; Hodgins et al., 1996; Montanes-Rada et al.,

2006). More specifically, research has found that MDOs with schizophrenia are at higher risk of committing violent crimes (Brennan et al., 2000; Swanson et al., 1990; Tiihonen et al., 1997), while the population of chronic criminal offenders are more likely to exhibit a personality disorder, when compared to offending populations without mental disorders (Montanes-Rada et al., 2006).

A central question in the study of criminal narratives, therefore, is whether offenders carrying out specific types of crimes develop different narrative experiences in relation to their crimes. Canter (1989) argues that crime is an interpersonal transaction. It is proposed that all offences involve a relationship between the offender and their victim, and thus all crimes have an implicitly or explicitly interpersonal quality. As Canter and Youngs (2009) explain, in crimes against the person, the offender and the victim relate to each other directly. In contrast, crimes against property have an implicit relationship. The present study investigates the relationship between the criminal narrative experience of a crime and the nature of the transaction with others.

10.1.1 Study three: Hypotheses

It was hypothesised that those offences indicating close interpersonal relationships (e.g. offences against the person) will display the *Victim* and *Revenger* narratives. Similarly, those offences with less direct interpersonal transactions (e.g., offences against property) will exhibit the *Professional* and *Hero* narratives. This hypothesis is based on prior research, along with the findings from study one. In particular, research has indicated that whilst the association between mental disorder and crime is not absolute, findings have shown that those with major mental illnesses (Brennan et al., 2000; Tiihonen et al., 1997) and personality disorders (Angermeyer, 2000; Hodgins et al., 1996; Wallace et al., 1998) are at higher risk of

committing violent interpersonal crimes when compared to offending populations without mental disorders (Montanes-Rada et al., 2006). Additionally, findings from study one indicated that those exhibiting major mental illness (Axis I) and personality disorders (Axis II) were shown to exert *Victim* and *Revenger* roles, while those with no formal diagnosis exhibited a range of criminal experiences. The null hypothesis was that there would be no relationship between offence type and criminal narratives.

In order to investigate the relationship between interpersonal transactions and criminal narratives, the crimes which the participants had described as their index offences were assigned to one of two broad categories: 'Person Offences', $n = 49$, (murder, manslaughter, GBH, GBH with intent, ABH, common assault, other violent offences, rape, attempted rape and indecent assault), and 'Property Offences', $n = 21$, (burglary, theft, arson, driving offences, criminal damage, robbery and other offences).

10.2 *Smallest space analysis (SSA)*

To test these hypotheses, data was split within SPSS based on offences against the person and offences against property. An SSA was subsequently carried out on results of the 36-item *Criminal Narrative Role Questionnaire* within both data sets (Person Offences and Property Offences). It was hypothesised that both crime categories would display the four narrative roles previously identified, but to a varying degree.

Figure 10.2a shows the 3-dimensional, vector 1 by vector 2, spatial projection of the 36 variables within the Property Offences category. The resulting analysis had a Guttman-Lingoes coefficient of alienation of 0.19562 in 14 iterations, indicating a reasonable fit between the Pearson's coefficients of the role variables and their corresponding geometric

distances in the configuration. The variable labels are brief summaries of each of the 36 questions; full descriptions of these labels are presented within study one.

Figure 10.2b shows the 3-dimensional, vector 1 by vector 2, spatial projection of the 36 variables within the Person Offences category. The resulting analysis had a Guttman-Lingoes coefficient of alienation of 0.17240 in 12 iterations, indicating a reasonable fit between the Pearson's coefficients of the role variables and their corresponding geometric distances in the configuration. The variable labels are brief summaries of each of the 36 questions, full descriptions of which are presented within study one.

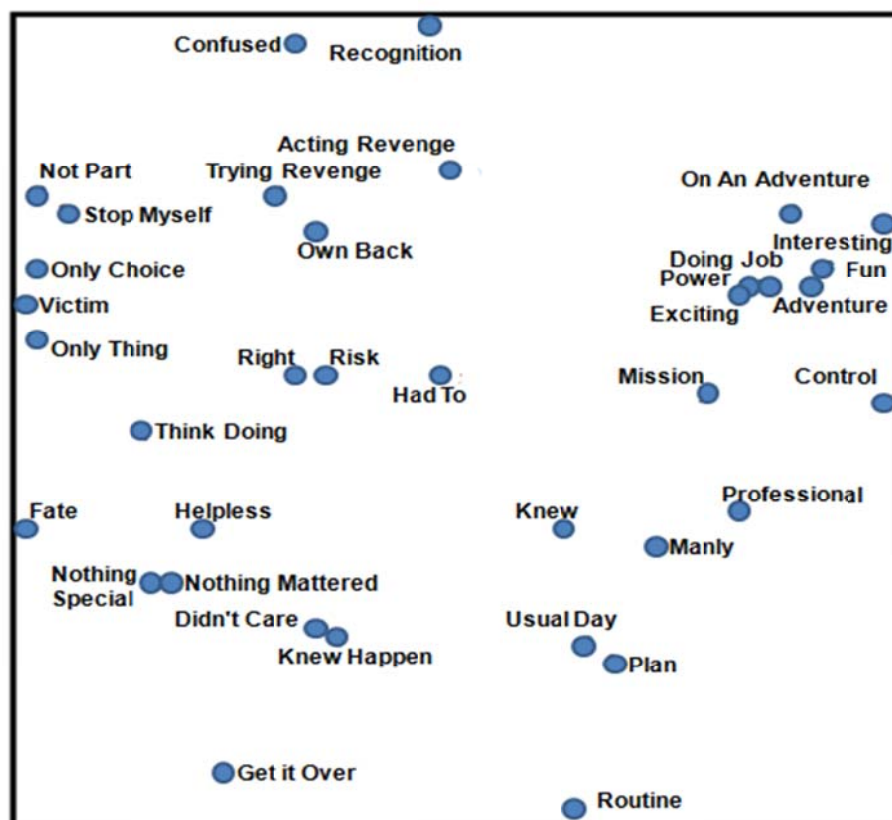


Figure 10.2a. SSA-I of narrative roles within property offences (n=21)

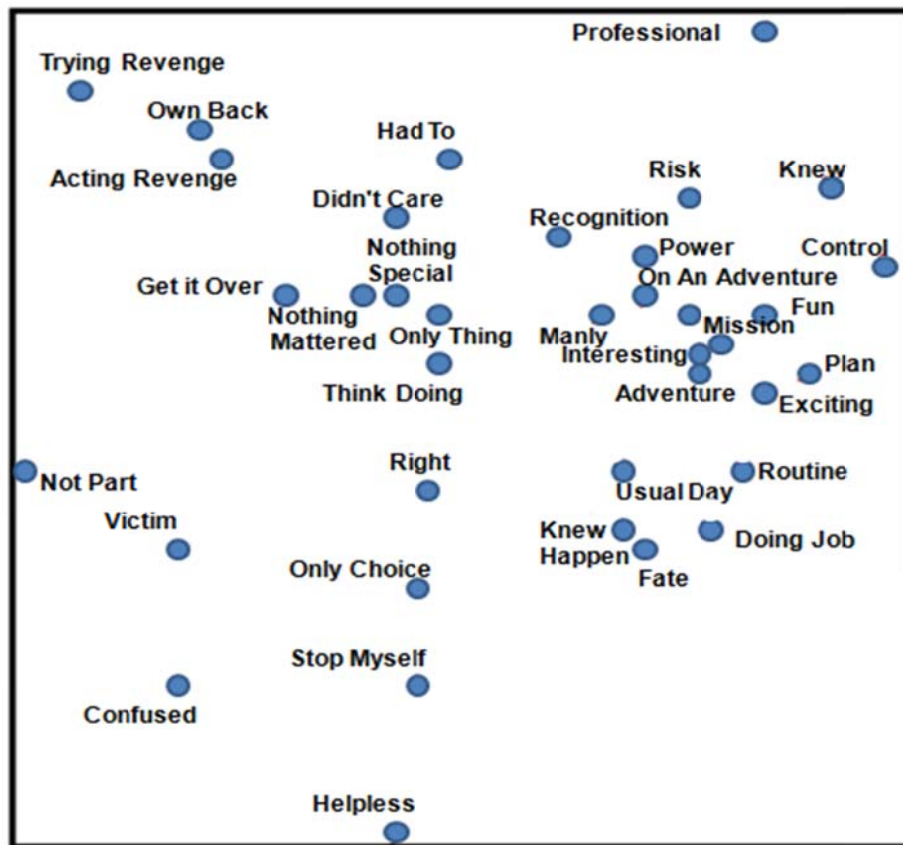


Figure 10.2b. SSA-I of narrative roles within person offences (n = 49)

10.3 The structure of narrative roles within offence types

The first step was to examine the SSA configurations presented in the figures above, in order to investigate the structure of the narrative roles within offence types. Similar to the previous studies, the programme that was used to generate the SSA was the latest version of Hudap, after generating the results of the SSA, this version of Hudap also suggests the themes that have formed based on the analysis of every variable in relation to every other variable. Accordingly, based on the examination of all 36 items within the configurations, the programme identified several distinct themes; these themes were similar in structure, but distinct with regard to individual content. These similarities and differences will be explored within the following section.

A suggested split for the thematic regions within each offence type can be seen in the figures below. Further examination of Figure 10.3a shows the top left quadrant encompassing the variables: *confused, recognition, acting revenge, trying revenge, not part, stop myself, own back, only choice, victim, only thing, right, risk, think doing* and *had to*, which indicate an individual seeking revenge. The top right quadrant shows items such as: *on an adventure, interesting, doing job, power, fun, exciting, adventure, mission* and *control*, demonstrating a person who is on a heroic mission. The bottom left encompasses variables such as: *fate, helpless, nothing special, nothing mattered, didn't care, knew happen* and *get it over*, signifying a victim role. The bottom right includes items such as: *professional, knew, manly, usual day, plan* and *routine*, indicating a professional role. Further examination of Figure 10.3b shows the top left quadrant encompassing the variables: *trying revenge, own back, acting revenge, had to, didn't care, nothing special, get it over, nothing mattered, only thing* and *think doing*, which indicate an individual seeking revenge. The top right quadrant shows items such as: *exciting, adventure, interesting, manly, plan, mission, fun, on an adventure, power, recognition, control, risk, knew* and *professional*, demonstrating a person who is on a heroic mission. The bottom left encompasses variables such as: *not part, victim, right, only choice, stop myself, confused* and *helpless*, signifying a victim role. The bottom right includes items such as: *knew happen, usual day, routine, fate* and *doing job*, indicating a professional role.

Furthermore, a scale reliability analysis using Cronbach's alpha was conducted for the actions in each of the proposed four themes within both offence types; this was to provide an indication of the adequacy of the suggested split. The values within the Property Offences varied from 0.704 to 0.904, while the values within Person Offences varied from 0.658 to 0.919, which, considering the nature of the data, were deemed to be very good.

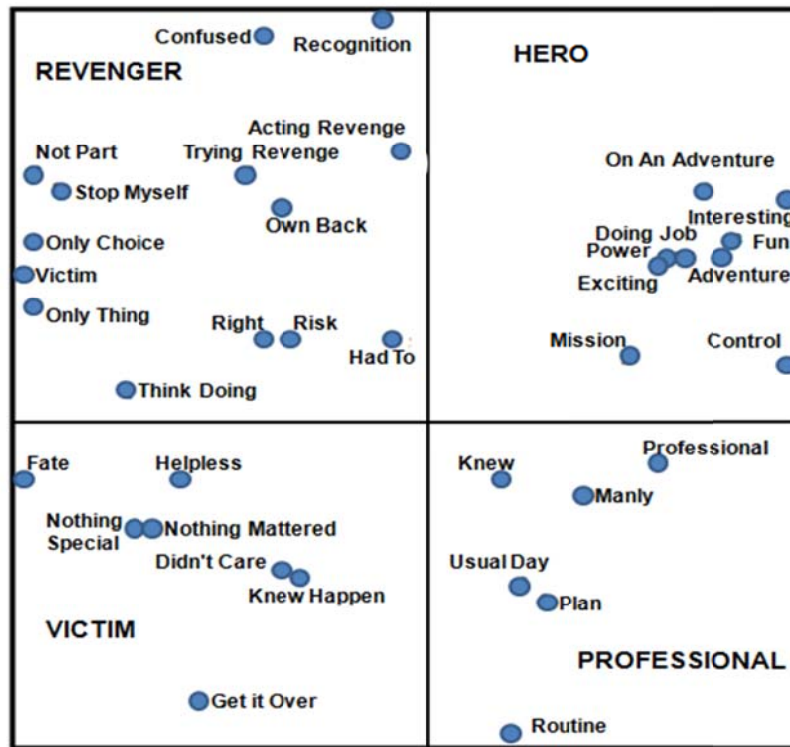


Figure 10.3a. SSA-I of 36 narrative roles within property offences with set interpretation regions ($n = 21$). 3-dimensional, vector 1 by vector 2, SSA of 36 narrative roles within Property Offences. *Coefficient of alienation* = 0.19562. Variable labels are brief summaries of full questions.

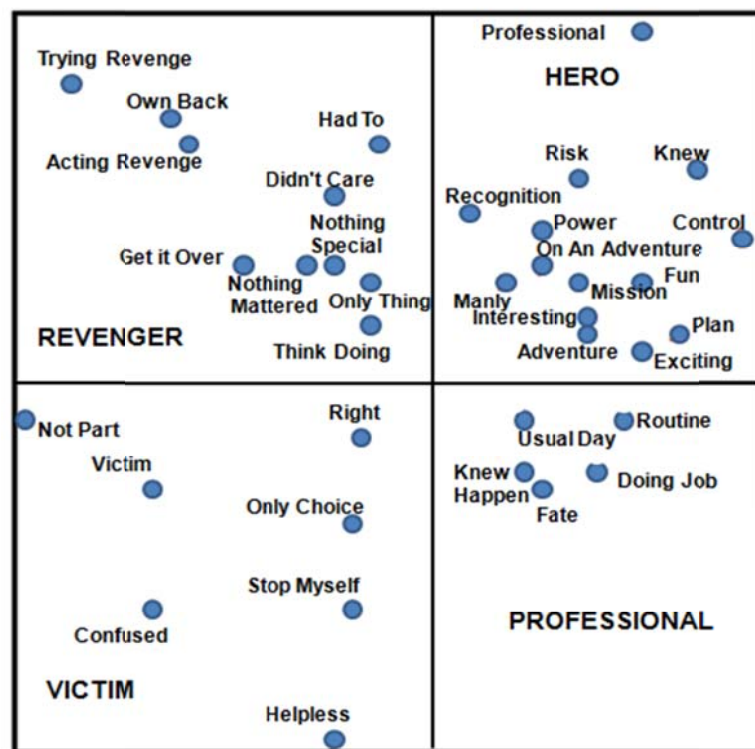


Figure 10.3.b SSA-I of 36 narrative roles within person offences with set interpretation regions ($n = 49$). 3-dimensional, vector 1 by vector 2, SSA of 36 narrative roles within Person Offences. *Coefficient of alienation* = 0.17240.

10.3.1 *Victim*

The bottom left quadrant of both plots contains variables linked to the *Victim* role. As indicated, the only item that is linked within this role for both offence types is the *helpless* item, thereby indicating that both narratives portray the offender's account of their role in terms of the helplessness (*helpless, victim*) and hopelessness (*didn't care, only choice, fate, mothering mattered*) seen in both region. An extension of this sense of powerlessness is the belief that they are the main *victim* as they are *nothing special*.

There are, however, distinct differences between the *Victim* roles within the two offence types. Specifically, as indicated in chapter one and as previously mentioned, there has been research which suggests that offenders with major mental illness are more likely to carry out violent offences against the person; it has also been suggested that these crimes are indicative of their paranoid symptoms, loose rambling and illogical thought processes (Lewis, Shanok, Pincus, & Glaser, 1979), which create a lack of understanding for these offenders and often translate to confusion and frustration, thereby leading to more violent offences. Correspondingly, the *Victim* role within the offences against the person crime type encompasses an element of confusion, whereas the *Victim* role within the offences against property crime type encompasses more of a helpless type of role, where nothing the offender does is anything special because, for them, their fate has already been decided for them, and thereby, they take on more depressed symptoms. It could therefore be suggested that these offenders would have diagnoses such as bipolar disorder or depression, whereas those offenders within the offences against the person crime types would have diagnoses which reflect their sense of confusion in their thought processes, exhibiting disorders such as schizophrenia.

10.3.2 *Professional*

The bottom right quadrant of both plots is linked to the *Professional* role. As shown in the figures above, the items *usual day* and *routine* are linked with both offence types. These similarities indicate that the *Professional* role within both narratives describes an individual who knows what they are doing and perceives their offence as a job to do, as indicated by items such as *routine*, *doing job*, *usual day*, *plan*, *knew* and *professional*.

Despite the similarities across the offence types, there are also distinct differences when understanding this narrative role within the two types. The differences between offence types with regard to the *Professional* role lies in the contextual meaning of each item within specific offence types. In particular, the role of the *Professional* does not necessarily emerge within offences against the person. As shown in the figures above, items such as *routine*, *usual day* and *doing job*, which correspond to the *Professional* role, do not have the same definitional meaning within Person Offences and Property Offences. For example, the items ‘*it was routine*’ and ‘*for me it was just like a usual day’s work*’, when viewed in the context of violence and offences against a person, could be perceived as a way of neutralising the harm of such acts. From a socio-cognitive perspective, those who take on the *Professional* role within offences against the person are aware of the legal boundaries they are crossing, yet there are socio-cognitive processes which allow them to abandon their socialised moral standards through moral disengagement. Sykes & Matza (1957) argue that any dissonance resulting from feelings of guilt and shame following involvement in harmful behaviour (e.g. violent and sexual crimes against a person) can be neutralised by implementing cognitive techniques such as denial of responsibility, denial of injury, denial of the victim, condemnation of the condemners and appeal to higher loyalties. Furthermore, the item which

most clearly corresponds to the *Professional* role, 'I was like a *Professional*', is isolated in the upper right corner of the plot, indicating that that specific item does not correspond to any of the four narratives, including the *Professional* narrative. It could therefore be suggested that *the Professional* role is not frequently associated with offences against the person.

In the context of offences against property, however, the *Professional* role can be clearly linked to these types of offences. Specifically, it pertains to individuals who may perceive their offences as part of their criminal lifestyle, whereby their offences, such as burglary or theft, are engraved within their customary and everyday lives. These types of individuals are perpetual offenders, probably displaying a higher average number of previous convictions than those within other narrative roles. The development of this narrative role can be supported by the social learning theory, which argues that people develop the attitudes and skills necessary to become delinquent by associating with individuals who are 'carriers' of criminal norms (Sutherland, 1947). The essence of this argument is that criminal behaviour is learned, and the principal part of learning comes from within important personal groups (Sutherland & Cressey, 1960). Therefore, people will go on to commit crimes if they are exposed to attitudes which support criminal behaviour. Once the attitudes have developed, people learn the skills of criminality in much the same way as they would learn any skills: by example and tutelage. These types of individuals regard their criminal activity as a 'lifestyle', have numerous antisocial peers, endorse criminal sentiments and values (Simord, 1997) and exhibit a host of antisocial and criminal activities and behaviours. These individuals are likely to begin their criminal activity at an early age and are most likely to have a psychiatric diagnosis of antisocial personality disorder (Gannon et al., 2011).

10.3.3 *Hero*

The top right quadrant of both plots contains variables linked to the *Hero* role. As indicated, the items that are linked with this role for both offence types are: *on an adventure, adventure, exciting, interesting, mission, power, fun and control*, therefore indicating that both narratives portray the offender's account of their role as an adventurous and *exciting mission* in order to gain *power* and *control* over their environment.

The driving force, however, behind this heroic mission is vastly different between offence types. In the context of offences against the person, the heroic voyage is driven by the need for *recognition* and the desire to feel *manly*; this offender knows that they are taking a *risk* by carrying out their actions against another person, but neutralises these cognitions through their desire for recognition from their victim or another entity.

The motive which drives the *Hero* role within offences against property, however, is rooted in the sense of *adventure* and *power* that is propelled from completing the job. Once the job is completed, the offender feels that they are in *control* of their environment and their actions; this sense of completion is the intrinsic motivation (e.g., self-esteem, confidence) which reinforces their criminal behaviour.

It is most likely that these types of offenders do not exhibit any formal psychiatric disorders, as the motivation behind the actions within the *Hero* role is rooted in some form of reinforcement (e.g., recognition, power, intrinsic motivation), which, according to behavioural principles, reinforces their actions and the frequency of those actions (Sutherland & Cressey, 1960).

10.3.4 *Revenger*

The top left quadrant of both plots is linked to the *Revenger* role. As indicated within the above figures, the items include: *trying revenge*, *acting revenge*, *own back*, *had to*, *only thing*, and *think doing*. These similarities indicate that the *Revenger* role within both narratives portrays an individual who has been wrongfully treated and deprived. The individual therefore retaliates by seeking revenge because it is the *only thing* they can think of doing (*think doing*) to set right their unfair treatment.

While both narratives depict an individual seeking vengeance, the motivational factors behind this vengeance is vastly difference across offence types. More specifically, with regard to offences against property, the motivational force behind the seeking of revenge could be related to external sources, such as the burden of society and trying to find retribution for the limited chances that society has provided for the individual. This notion corresponds with the strain theory, which revolves around the central concept that society sets universal goals for its populace and then offers the ability to achieve them to a limited number of people. The resultant inequality of opportunity causes a strain on cultural goals. This leads to anomie (Durkheim, 1893): a breakdown in the cultural structure due to an acute division between prescribed cultural norms and the ability of members to act in line with them (Merton, 1938). The consequence of anomie is that people adapt to their circumstances by adopting a specific form of behaviour (Merton, 1938). Consequently, the *Revenger* role within Property Offences could be a result of offenders experiencing strain, resulting in status frustration. Status frustration may be resolved by the individual formulating their own plans to achieve the standards which society sets, through actions such as burglary or theft. The frustration can also lead to ‘striking out’ against middle class ideas and standards through displays of criminal damage or arson. These types of offenders are most likely to display Axis II

disorders, which include personality disorders and intellectual disabilities. Axis II disorders are accompanied by considerable social stigma, because they are suffered by people who often fail to adapt well to society and can seem untreatable and be difficult to pinpoint.

In contrast, however, the motivational force behind individuals within the Person Offences category relates more to seeking revenge against a specific individual for the wrong they have caused them. This form of revenge can be carried out in a direct manner, such as on an individual who has directly caused them harm, or in an indirect manner, such as on an individual with whom the offender has no prior relationship, but who holds some form of significance to the individual that has directly caused them harm. These types of offenders are most likely to exhibit Axis I disorders, which are clinical diagnoses including major mental disorders, learning disorders and substance abuse disorders. These disorders are often symptomatic of Axis II; for example, an adult might have depression (Axis I disorder) that is largely a result of a paranoid personality disorder (an Axis II disorder).

10.4 Reliability analysis

As discussed above, there are four narrative roles that have been proposed within the distinct offence types; this proposition therefore suggests that each item within the allotted narrative roles (see Figure 10.3a and Figure 10.3b) will form a reliable and distinct structure. Cronbach's alpha was carried out on each narrative role in order to determine the reliability of the defined theme. Data were entered into SPSS, where analyses were conducted using a $p < 0.05$ level of significance. The analyses confirmed that all scales within both offence types had moderate to high internal consistency. The four narrative roles within Property Offences included: *Professional*, $\alpha = 0.72$; *Revenger*, $\alpha = 0.80$; *Hero*, $\alpha = 0.92$, and *Victim*, $\alpha = 0.67$.

The four narrative roles within Person Offences included: *Professional*, $\alpha = 0.72$; *Revenger*, $\alpha = 0.81$; *Hero*, $\alpha = 0.90$, and *Victim*, $\alpha = 0.70$.

10.5 Association between narrative roles within offence types

To begin investigating the association between offence type and narrative roles, the relationship between the narrative roles presented in the figures above within offence types was explored through further analysis; means, standard deviations and correlations among the observed variables are presented in Tables 8.5a and 8.5b. As indicated, within Property Offences, significant correlations were found between the *Victim* and *Revenger* ($p < 0.01$) and between the *Professional* and *Revenger* ($p < 0.05$). Within Person Offences, significant correlations were found between the *Victim* and *Revenger* ($p < 0.01$) and the *Hero* and *Revenger* ($p < 0.01$). The significant relationship across offence types between the *Victim* and *Revenger* supports the similarities presented between both narratives; specifically, both roles appear to exhibit displeasure and negative emotions during the commission of their crimes.

Furthermore, these findings also support the SSA structure of criminal narratives, which indicates these roles as an integrated system, rather than a distinct type, and thus, while each of the four narratives are categorically different and comprise distinct items, they are all part of the same dimension, as exhibited within the SSA structure above. The integration of each theme is also supported by the SSA procedure, which examines the association between each variable in relation to every other and displays the correlations between variables as distances in a statistically derived geometric space (Guttman, 1968). The primary construct of the SSA method is therefore based on the assumption that every variable is related to every other variable, with the extent of this relationship being examined through SSA.

Table 10.5a. *Means, standard deviations and correlations among narrative roles and Property Offences (N = 21)*

Narrative Role	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>
1. Hero	2.16	0.981	-	-	-
2. Revenger	2.19	0.987	0.032		
3. Victim	2.45	0.860	-0.122	0.502**	
4. Professional	2.66	0.860	0.412	0.450*	0.377*

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$

Table 10.5b. *Means, standard deviations and correlations among narrative roles and Person Offences (N = 49)*

Narrative Role	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>
1. Hero	1.87	0.911	-	-	-
2. Revenger	2.43	1.04	0.465**	-	-
3. Victim	2.53	0.761	-0.017	0.718**	
4. Professional	1.91	0.776	0.412	0.304	0.274

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$

10.6 Dominant narratives within offence types

To investigate the hypothesis that specific offence types will display particular narratives, the procedure which was implemented in study one, and originally adopted by Youngs (2004), was used to further explore the narrative variables and the offending styles which reflected the systemic structure of SSA. This method examined the scores on the individual narrative items as external variables on the SSA plot. Mean scores on each of the narrative items were calculated for both offence types (Person and Property). These mean scores were examined separately for each of the four narrative scales, to determine how they varied across regions of the SSA plot. The means for each role variable are indicated in the figures below. Figure 10.6a indicates the role variables with means from Person Offences; Figure 10.6b indicates

the role variables with means from Property Offences. Each narrative role item is scored on a five-point Likert-type scale.

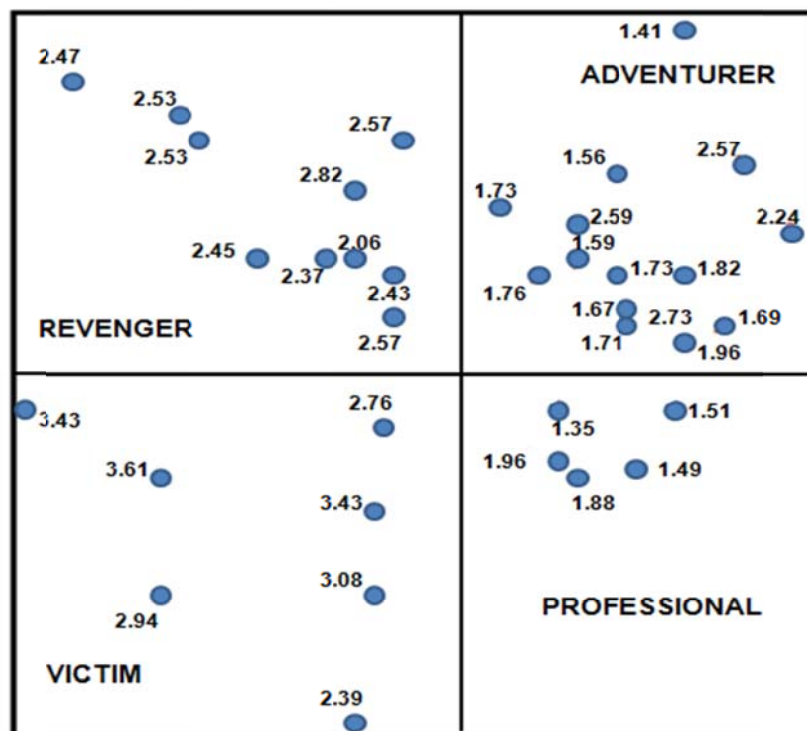


Figure 10.6a. SSA-I of 36 narrative role items with means for person offences (n = 49)

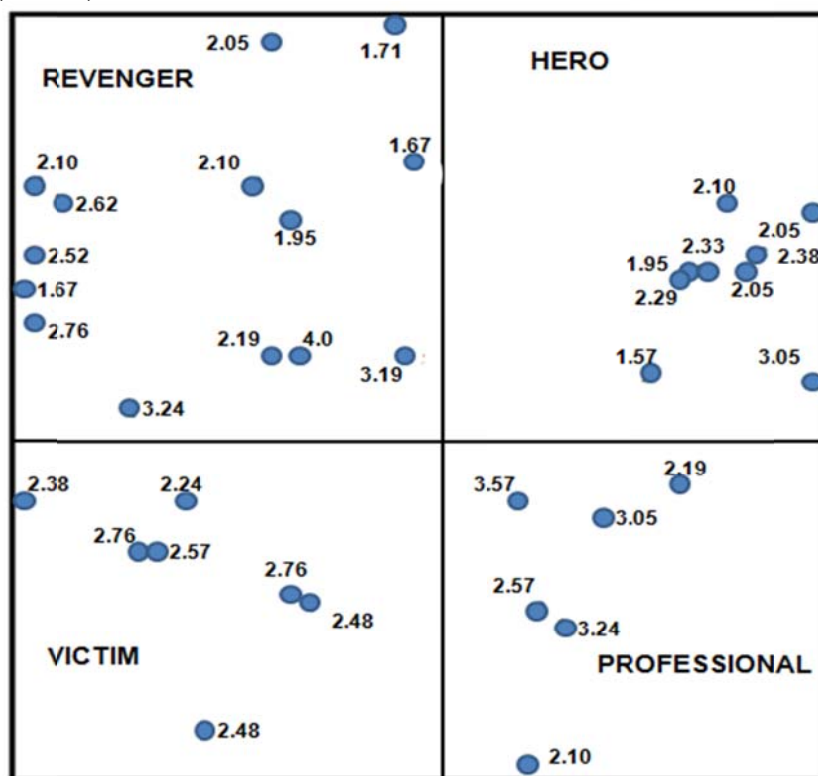


Figure 10.6b. SSA-I of 36 narrative role items with means for property offences (n = 21)

10.6.1 Person offences

As illustrated above in Figure 10.6a, the highest mean scores are situated within the *Victim* scale, with the largest means agreeing with such statements as: '*I was a victim*' ($M = 3.61$, $SD = 1.50$), '*It was like I wasn't part of it*' ($M = 3.43$, $SD = 1.38$) and '*It was my only choice*' ($M = 3.43$, $SD = 1.39$). The overall mean of the *Victim* scale was 3.09 ($SD = .88$), which was relatively high compared to the remaining three scales: *Revenger* ($M = 2.48$, $SD = 0.911$), *Hero* ($M = 1.92$, $SD = 0.865$) and *Professional* ($M = 1.64$, $SD = 0.797$). The scores illustrate that these types of offenders are most likely to view themselves as the primary victim within their offences, with an overall view of being helpless and powerless. The figure further reveals that a clear region of higher scores has emerged within the left side of the plot, indicating that offenders carrying out Person Offences could be more likely to exhibit negative narrative roles, such as the *Victim* or *Revenger*. While their primary role appears to be that of a *Victim*, the role of the *Revenger* is also an area that can be highlighted within these offences as a secondary role. Tests for normality of the four narrative scales were carried out using the Shapiro-Wilk test. The test indicated that all four scales are normally distributed (> 0.05).

Accordingly, a repeated measures ANOVA with a Greenhouse-Geisser correction determined that means across narrative roles differed significantly ($F(2.332, 111.931) = 17.731$, $P < 0.0005$). Post-hoc tests using the Bonferroni correction revealed that the mean scores for the *Victim* role were significantly higher than those for both the *Professional* and *Hero* roles ($P < 0.0005$). A significant difference was also found between the *Revenger* role and the *Professional* and *Hero* roles ($P < 0.0005$). There was no significant difference between the *Victim* and *Revenger* roles, indicating that both these roles may be dominant narratives within person-related offences. The *Victim* role was also found to be significantly different from

both the *Professional* and *Hero* roles ($P < 0.0005$). The table below illustrates the differences found across narrative regions (Table 10.6.1).

Table 10.6.1. *Post-hoc tests using Bonferroni adjustment for narrative role comparison*

Narrative	Comparison	<i>M_{diff}</i>	<i>SE</i>	<i>p</i>
Revenger	Hero	0.56	0.134	0.000
	Professional	0.84	0.135	0.000
	Victim	-0.61	0.157	0.803
Hero	Revenger	-0.56	0.134	0.000
	Professional	0.28	0.096	0.001
	Victim	-1.17	0.140	0.004
Professional	Revenger	-0.84	0.135	0.000
	Hero	-0.28	0.096	0.001
	Victim	-1.45	0.140	0.000
Victim	Revenger	0.61	0.157	0.803
	Hero	1.17	0.178	0.004
	Professional	1.45	0.140	0.000

As further indicated within the above table, the narrative roles within Person Offences are significantly different across narrative regions, with the highest scores being found within the *Victim* role, followed by the *Revenger* role. These results indicate that both narratives are dominant within these types of offences, suggesting that those individuals who carry out offences against the person are more likely to take on these negative narrative experiences. The table also illustrates that there is no significant difference between the *Victim* and *Revenger* roles, further implying that while the *Victim* shows a higher overall mean compared to the *Revenger*, the difference was not obtained through the relationship with these types of offenders. It could therefore be suggested that both narrative roles are dominant themes within Person Offences, and that most of these offenders will tend to take on such roles. It could further be proposed that the overall experience of person-centred crimes encompasses negative and unpleasant experiences; this notion will be explored in subsequent chapters

when exploring the relationship between offence type and emotions felt during a criminal offence.

10.6.2 *Property offences*

In contrast to Person Offences, the highest mean scores for Property Offences are situated within the bottom right quadrant of the plot. Comparison with Figure 10.6b shows that this area corresponds with the *Professional* scale, indicating that these types of offenders know what they are doing and perceive their offence as a professional job. Although the regionalisation within this plot is less marked than that observed within Person Offences, the bottom right quadrant still exhibits higher means within the *Professional* scale compared to other scales, with the largest means agreeing with such statements as: ‘*I knew what I was doing*’ ($M = 3.57$, $SD = 1.28$), ‘*It all went to plan*’ ($M = 3.24$, $SD = 1.64$) and ‘*It was mainly*’ ($M = 3.24$, $SD = 1.39$). The overall mean of the *Professional* scale was 2.78 ($SD = 0.968$), which was slightly higher compared to the remaining three scales: *Revenger* ($M = 2.41$, $SD = 0.933$), *Hero* ($M = 2.19$, $SD = 1.08$), *Victim* ($M = 2.52$, $SD = 0.782$). While scores throughout the rest of the regions were not as large as for Person Offences, the configuration of Figure 10.6b suggests a slight trend towards the *Professional* role within Property Offences, and the extent and significance of this relationship was further explored. Tests for normality of the four narrative scales were carried out using the Shapiro-Wilk test. The test indicated that all four scales were normally distributed (> 0.05); accordingly, repeated measures ANOVA was carried out to compare the differences between narrative roles to investigate whether there was a statistically significant difference between narrative roles within Property Offences. Results found no significant difference in scores across all four regions ($p > 0.05$).

Although there were no significant differences found, the higher overall mean of the *Professional* role within Property Offences corresponds with the descriptions of the role found within the previous section. In particular, the role of the *Professional* appears to emerge clearly within Property Offences, as the *Professional* within these types of offences views their crimes as part of their criminal lifestyle. As previously mentioned, there has been an abundance of theories, such as social learning theory (Sutherland, 1937), which supports this narrative role for an offender who exhibits a narrative embodying a criminal lifestyle, as research has indicated that criminal behaviour is learned and is sustained through positive reinforcement (Sutherland & Cressey, 1960). Accordingly, it is proposed that, while the *Professional* role was not found to be significantly dominant within the Property Offences type, these offenders are likely to be persistent offenders, who display antisocial cognitions, scripts and values which are generally criminal, and these characteristics are central patterns within the *Professional* role.

10.7 Chapter discussion

The purpose of this study was to explore the relationship between offence type and the criminal narrative experience, and in particular, to explore whether certain offence types are more closely associated with particular criminal narratives.

The findings partially corresponded to the initial hypothesis of the study; specifically, the results suggested that person-related offences showed a significantly higher overall average within the *Victim* and *Revenger* narratives, indicating that those offenders who offend against a person are most likely to have a negative narrative experience embodying the *Victim* or *Revenger* roles. In contrast, property-related offences indicated higher overall averages for the *Professional* role. These results suggest that these types of offenders perceive their

offences as part of their criminal lifestyle, and their crimes are engraved in their customary routines. Nonetheless, the findings within this category were not found to be significant; therefore, although the *Professional* role indicated higher outcomes, definite conclusions cannot be drawn from the findings. The findings, however, do show some evidence that the *Professional* role has strong associations with property-related offences.

The results of the study can therefore moderately support the proposal that offences against the person display more negative criminal narrative experiences (e.g. *Victim* and *Revenger* narratives), while offences against property exhibit more neutral criminal experiences (e.g., the *Professional* narrative). The advantage of understanding the link between offence type and criminal narratives is that it further develops the criminal narrative framework and postulates that the criminal narrative experience may be moderated by offence type. The next chapter will explore the emotions felt during a criminal offence and offence type.

Chapter 11

Study Four: Emotions Felt during a Criminal Offence and Offence Type

11.1 *Emotions felt during a criminal offence and offence type*

Study two examined the relationship between emotions felt during a criminal offence and psychiatric diagnosis; results indicated a high degree of *Displeasure* within the responses of MDOs. In addition, study three examined the relationship between offence type and criminal narratives; findings indicated that person-centred offences showed negative criminal narrative experiences (e.g., the role of *Revenger* or *Victim*) compared with property offences, which indicated more positive criminal narrative experiences (e.g., role of the *Professional*).

Accordingly, a vital question in the study of the emotional experience of crime is whether MDOs carrying out specific types of crimes have different emotional experiences in relation to these crimes. For example, Katz (1988) proposed that there are a number of emotional states that entice an offender to commit their offences; these ‘seductions’ range across a variety of crimes, where various types of crimes have their own distinctive appeals and emotional experiences.

In crimes against the person, Katz (1988) argues that central to the experience is a number of moral-based emotions, such as humiliation, righteousness, arrogance, and vengeance; these emotions give the offender the feeling that they have a moral right to attack. In murder, for example, it would be the emotion of anger that would induce the offender to commit the crime (Ioannou, 2006). In crimes against property, Katz states that this experience is propelled by the object which seduces the offender into the crime itself. It is the thrill which motivates the offender and provides the positive experience and satisfaction of meeting material needs.

The current chapter, therefore, investigates emotional experiences across offence types within a forensic psychiatric population. This investigation will aid in determining the relationship

between the nature of the transaction with others (Person Offences versus Property Offences) and the emotional experience of the crime.

11.1.1 Study four: Hypotheses

The main objective of this study was to investigate the relationship between emotional experience and offence type, specifically to explore whether a particular structure of emotions exists within certain offences (Person versus Property), and whether inferences can be made about the emotional experience of property and person-centred offences within the responses of MDOs.

It was hypothesised that those offences indicating close interpersonal relationships (e.g. offences against the person) would display a *Displeasure* emotional theme, while those offences with less direct interpersonal transactions (e.g., offences against property) would demonstrate a criminal experience involving *Pleasure*. These hypotheses were based on prior research on general offending populations; in particular, research has indicated that person-centred crimes are often induced by negative emotions such as anger (Ioannou, 2006; Katz, 1988), and property-centred crimes are driven by material incentive (McCarthy, 1995) or recreational purposes (Fleming, 1999), which should be associated with a positive emotional experience.

It was further hypothesised that the intensity of the emotional experience would vary within offence types, with Property Offences displaying a mild emotional component and Person Offences displaying a moderate to strong emotional component. This hypothesis was based on results found in study three, which found that the intensity of the narrative experience was

mild within Property Offences and moderate within Person Offences. The null hypothesis was that there would be no relationship between offence type and criminal narratives.

As in study three, in order to investigate the relationship between interpersonal transactions and emotional experience, the crimes the participants had described within their index offences were assigned to one of two broad categories: Person Offences, $n = 49$, and Property Offences, $n = 21$.

11.2 *Smallest space analysis*

To test these hypotheses, data was split within SPSS based on offences against the person and offences against property. An SSA was subsequently carried out on responses to the 26-item *Criminal Emotions Felt During a Criminal Offence Questionnaire* within both data sets (Person Offences and Property Offences). It was hypothesised that both crime categories would display the two emotional themes (*Pleasure-Displeasure*) previously identified, but to a varying degree.

Figure 11.2a shows the 3-dimensional, vector 1 by vector 2, spatial projection of the 26 variables within the Property Offences category. The resulting analysis had a Guttman-Lingoes coefficient of alienation of 0.08668 in 18 iterations, indicating a good fit between the Pearson's coefficients of the emotion variables and their corresponding geometric distances in the configuration. The variable labels are brief summaries of each of the 26 questions; full descriptions of these labels are presented within study two.

Figure 11.2b shows the 3-dimensional, vector 1 by vector 2, spatial projection of the 26 variables within the Person Offences category. The resulting analysis had a Guttman-Lingoes

coefficient of alienation of 0.08364 in 12 iterations, indicating a good fit between the Pearson's coefficients of the emotion variables and their corresponding geometric distances in the configuration. The variable labels are brief summaries of each of the 26 questions; full descriptions of these labels are presented within study two.

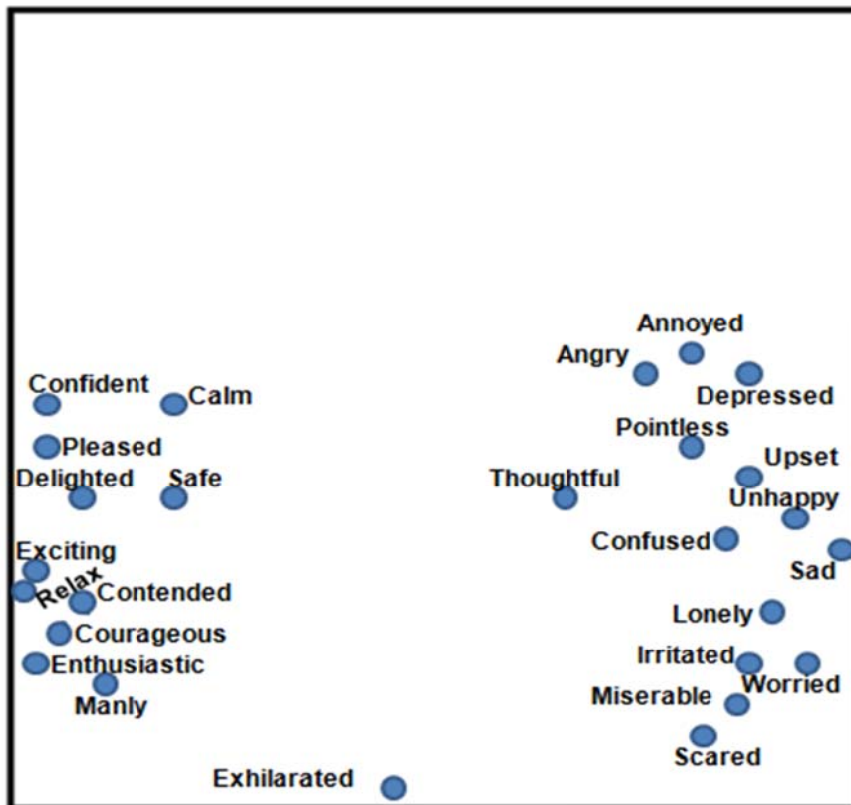


Figure 11.2a. Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) of narrative roles within property offences (n = 21)

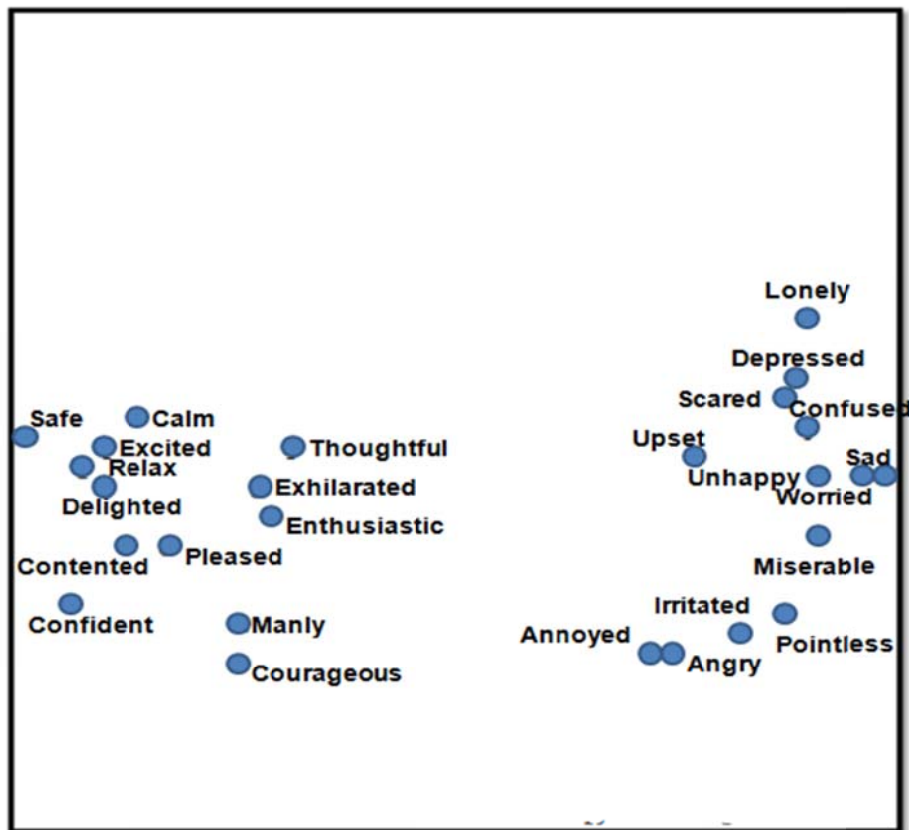


Figure 11.2b. Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) of narrative roles within person offences (n =49)

11.3 The Structure of emotions within offence types

The first step was to examine the SSA configurations presented in Figure 11.2a and Figure 11.2b, in order to investigate the structure of the emotions within offence types. Similar to previous studies within the thesis, the SSAs were interpreted by the Hudap programme which generated the SSA. The researcher further studied the suggested split generated by the Hudap programme and resulting patterns found within the figures. Examination of all 26 items within the configurations led to the conclusion that distinct themes that were suggested by Hudap were also identified by the researcher. These bipolar themes were similar in structure; however, it was proposed that they were distinct with regard to the intensity of the specific emotional themes across offence types.

The suggested split for the thematic regions within each offence type can be seen in the figures below. Further examination of both figures reveals two distinct themes of a single dimension, *Pleasure* and *Displeasure*; items within both themes are identical to those found within study two. Furthermore, a scale reliability analysis using Cronbach's alpha was conducted for the actions in each of the proposed two themes, in order to give an indication of the adequacy of the suggested split. The values varied from 0.872 to 0.933 which, considering the nature of the data, were deemed to be very good.

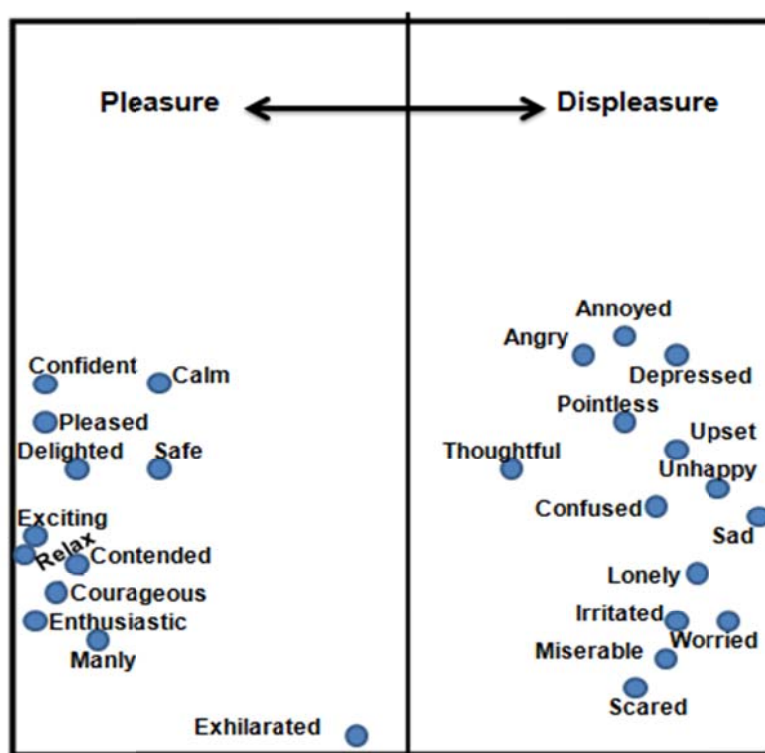


Figure 11.3a. SSA-I of 26 emotional statements within property offences with regional interpretations (n = 21). 3-dimensional, vector 1 by vector 2, SSA of 26 narrative roles within Property Offences. *Coefficient of alienation* = 0.08668. Variable labels are brief summaries of full questions.

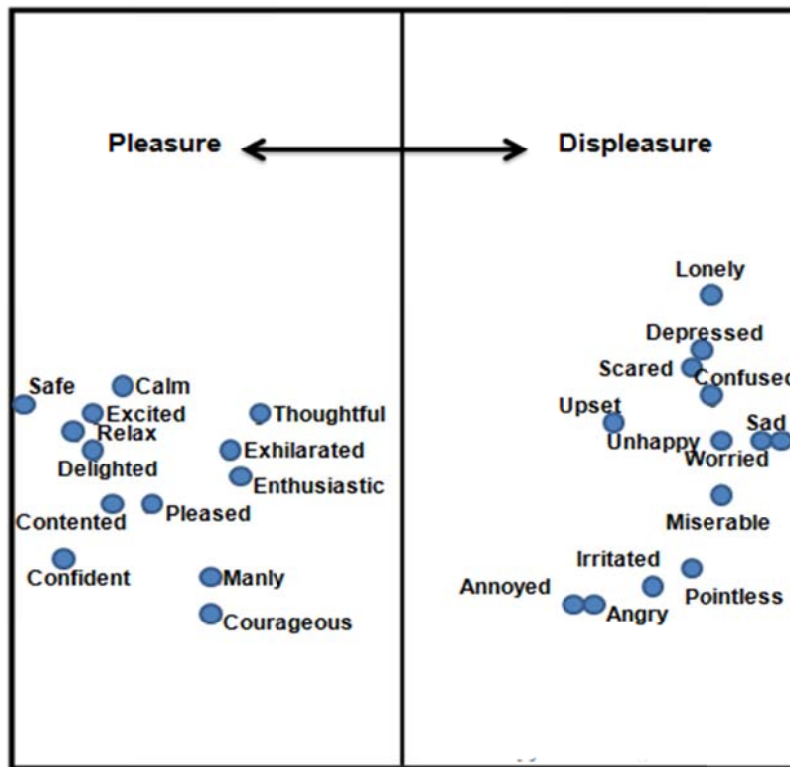


Figure 11.3b. SSA-I of 26 emotional statements within person offences with regional interpretations (n=49). 3-dimensional, vector 1 by vector 2, SSA of 26 narrative roles within Person Offences. *Coefficient of alienation* = 0.08364.

11.3.1 Displeasure

As previously discussed in study two, the theme of *Displeasure* can include a range of various emotional motivators within an offence. Offenders may exhibit a state of depression or unhappiness prior to their offences; these emotions are low in arousal and pleasure. In contrast, *Displeasure* could also include emotions which are of high arousal and low pleasure, such as feeling angry; an offender might be irritated over some wrongdoing and consequently seek revenge for their hardship. In addition to the various emotional motivators, the intensity of displeasure is also a huge factor to consider when exploring the emotions felt within specific offence types. The theme of *Displeasure*, therefore, covers a vast emotional territory.

Accordingly, in the context of offence type, there are distinct differences between the *Displeasure* theme within Property and Person Offences. For example, as discussed within previous chapters, there has been evidence to suggest that offenders with certain mental disorders, in particular, schizophrenia and ASPD, have a higher likelihood of carrying out violent offences against the person, as these types of offences are indicative of the characteristics within these diagnoses. For example, schizophrenia is a complex chronic mental illness that is characterised by disturbances in thinking, emotion, behaviour and perception (McMurran et al., 2009), researchers have indicated an association between these characteristics and offending behaviour, in particular, violent offending (Brennan et al., 2000; Lindqvist & Allebeck, 1990). Similarly, ASPD is characterised by impulsivity, aggressive behaviour and self regulation problems, there has been a significant amount of research which has indicated that these characteristics are heavily associated with violent offending (e.g. Hare, 1996a; Hare, 1996b; Hodgins & Côte, 1993; Rasmussen & Levander, 1995). In essence, the characteristics of these types of disorders create a lack of understanding for these offenders and often translates to anger, frustration and irritation. These emotional motivators, combined with these offenders' deficits in emotional regulation, lead to violent person-centred offences, which are driven by high arousal and displeasure, and are reinforced by their inappropriate coping mechanisms.

The *Displeasure* theme within the offences against property crime type, however, encompasses more of a low arousal emotional state, with emotions depicting a helpless and unhappy condition. The motivating factors behind these offences can be explained through the strain theory, which states that it is social structures within society which may pressure people into committing crimes. Research has indicated that those who carry out non-violent crimes are not motivated by direct anger, but rather, use these crimes as a way of managing

the negative affect which is created by strain (Agnew & White, 1992). Therefore, property-related offences could be a result of offenders experiencing strain which results in status frustration; this frustration may lead to an unhappy and upset state, and these feelings are overridden by the individual formulating their own plans to obtain the standards which society sets, through actions such as burglary or theft.

11.3.2 *Pleasure*

The results found in study two showed that the theme of *Pleasure* incorporated a range of emotional motivators within an offence. For instance, offenders may exhibit a low arousal state, such as feeling relaxed or calm, prior to their offences. In contrast, *Pleasure* could also encompass emotions which are high in arousal and pleasure, such as feeling excited or exhilarated. An offender might therefore gain a sense of excitement through carrying out an action involving risk.

Within Person Offences, while the *Pleasure* theme is evident in the SSA configuration, it is proposed that the intensity of these emotional items is vastly less significant when compared the *Displeasure* items. It is therefore likely that the pleasure exhibited within this offence type is minimal and does not necessarily emerge within offences against the person. It is therefore suggested that the *Pleasure* theme is not frequently associated with offences against the person. This proposition will be tested in subsequent sections when the dominant emotional theme is explored within offence types.

Within Property Offences, however, the emotional state of *Pleasure* can be clearly linked to these types of offences. Those emotions which are high in arousal and pleasure, such as excitement or joy, motivate the offender and provide the positive experience and satisfaction

of acquiring their material needs (Katz, 1988). The criminal experience for these individuals is therefore reinforced by the thrill and risk of the criminal adventure. Those emotions which are low in arousal, however, are experienced by seasoned criminals; these individuals regard their offences as a 'lifestyle'. These types of individuals endorse criminal sentiments and values (Simord, 1997) which neutralise their emotional experiences, thereby allowing them to feel calm and relaxed during their perpetual offending.

11.4 Reliability analysis

As discussed above, and similarly to the results found in study two, there are two emotional themes which have been proposed within the distinct offence types, *Displeasure* and *Pleasure* (see Figure 11.3a and Figure 11.3b); this proposal therefore suggests that each item within the suggested emotional theme will form a reliable and distinct structure. Therefore, Cronbach's alpha was carried out on each of the two identified emotional themes in order to determine the reliability of the defined themes within the distinct offence types. Data was entered into SPSS and analyses were conducted using a $p < 0.05$ level of significance. The analyses confirmed that both scales had high internal consistency: for Property Offences, *Displeasure*, $\alpha = 0.921$; *Pleasure*, $\alpha = 0.879$, and for Person Offences, *Displeasure*, $\alpha = 0.872$; *Pleasure*, $\alpha = 0.933$.

11.5 Association between emotional themes across offence types

To begin investigating the association between offence type and emotional themes, the relationship between the defined emotions presented in Figures 9.3a and 9.3b and offence type was explored through further analysis. The results indicated that within Property Offences, *Pleasure* ($M = 2.01$, $SD = 0.882$) and *Displeasure* ($M = 2.20$, $SD = 0.963$) were negatively correlated ($r = -.607$, $p < 0.05$), whilst within Person Offences, *Pleasure* ($M =$

1.77, $SD = 0.905$) and *Displeasure* ($M = 2.83$, $SD = 0.898$) were found to have no significant correlation.

The relationship between the emotional themes within Property Offences is supported by Russell's (1997) circumplex of emotions, as both themes fall on the extreme ends of the *Displeasure-Pleasure* axis. Thus, they will have a negative association; as one end of the axis increases, the other will decrease. In addition, these findings also support the SSA structure presented in Figure 11.3a, which indicates these emotional items as an integrated system, rather than a distinct type; therefore, while the two emotional themes are different and comprise distinct items, they are all part of the same dimension. The integration of each theme is also supported by the SSA procedure which examines the association between each variable in relation to every other and displays the correlations between variables as distances in a statistically derived geometric space (Guttman, 1968).

In contrast, there was no relationship found between the emotional themes within Person Offences. These results infer that these emotional themes have no association and are therefore distinct thematic regions. These findings correspond to the proposal that the *Pleasure* domain is not necessarily a major emotional theme within offences against the person. If *Displeasure* and *Pleasure* were extremes of the same axis, there would be some form of negative correlation; since no such findings were established, it could be suggested that within these types of crimes, offenders have either a positive or negative emotional experience, with displeasurable experiences being more intense and dominant.

11.6 Dominant emotions within psychiatric diagnosis

To further investigate the differences between offence types in terms of the emotional experiences of crime, the associated differences between emotions within offences were explored through further analysis; means and standard deviations are presented in Table 11.6. The average overall intensity of each emotion falls between 1 and 3 (averages are based on a five-point Likert scale, where: (1) = *Not at all*; (2) = *Just a little*; (3) = *Some*; (4) = *A lot*, and (5) = *Very much indeed*), indicating a mild to moderate intensity of emotions.

As displayed below, within Person Offences, *Displeasure* has a higher overall mean compared to the emotional theme of *Pleasure*. In contrast, however, Property Offences have very similar overall mean scores for both *Displeasure* and *Pleasure* emotions. The means for each emotion variable are indicated in the figures below. Figure 11.6a indicates the emotion variables with means from Property Offences, and Figure 11.6b indicates the emotion variables with means from Person Offences.

Table 11.6. *Means (%) and standard deviations among emotional themes and offence types (N = 70)*

Emotional Theme	Offence Type (<i>M (SD)</i>)	
	Person Offence	Property Offence
Pleasure	1.77 (.905)	2.01 (.882)
Displeasure	2.83 (.898)	2.20 (.963)

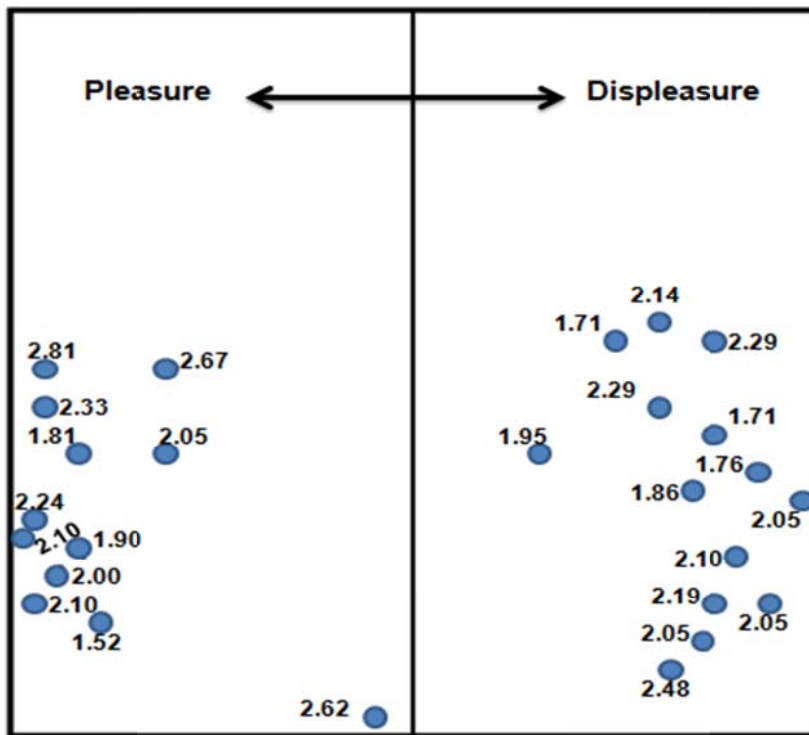


Figure 11.6a SSA-I of 26 emotions felt during a criminal offence items with means for property offences (n = 29))

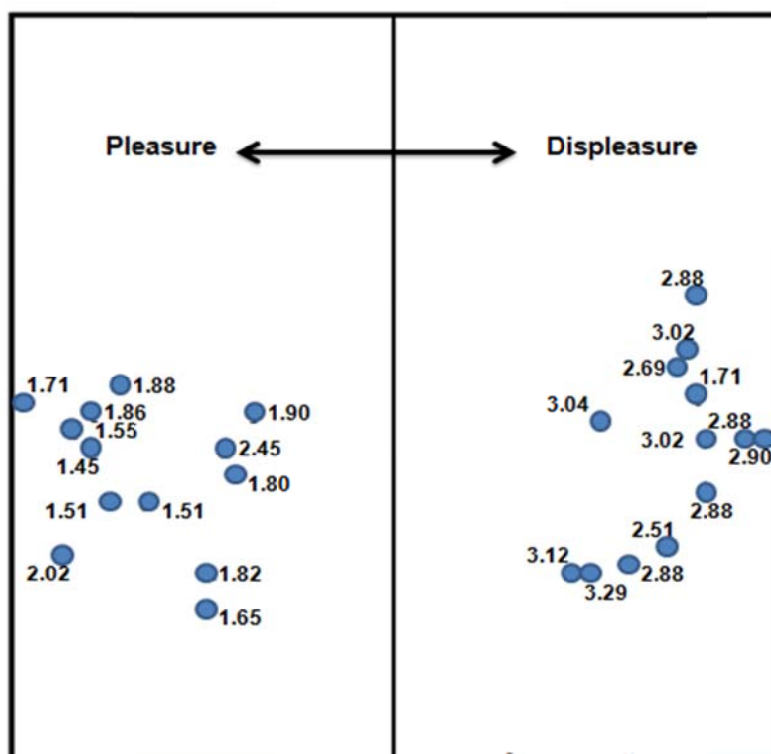


Figure 11.6b. SSA-I of 26 emotions felt during a criminal offence items with means for person offences (n = 49)

11.6.1 Property offences

The mean scores displayed on the SSA configurations revealed similar results to those found within Table 11.6. No extreme scores were displayed within either theme; rather, both emotional categories showed similar averages across items. While *Displeasure* had the highest overall average, the highest individual items were found within the *Pleasure* theme: '*I felt exhilarated*' ($M = 2.62$, $SD = 1.67$), '*I felt confident*' ($M = 2.81$, $SD = 1.47$) and '*I felt calm*' ($M = 2.67$, $SD = 1.31$). The differences between emotional experiences were not tested further to explore statistical significance, as the differences in mean scores were minimal, indicating a range of emotional experiences within Property Offences and suggesting that these offences are not driven by a specific emotional component. The mild intensity of both emotional themes could indicate a lack of emotion within property-related offences, thereby suggesting that the actions of these offenders are not driven by a strong emotional experience, but rather, they could have a more neutral emotional experience.

11.6.2 Person offences

As illustrated above in Figure 11.6b, the highest mean scores are situated within the *Displeasure* scale, with the largest means showing emotions such as: '*I felt angry*' ($M = 3.29$, $SD = 1.46$), '*I felt annoyed*' ($M = 3.0$, $SD = 1.60$) and '*I felt upset*' ($M = 3.43$, $SD = 1.51$). In addition, the overall mean score of *Displeasure* was much higher when compared to the *Pleasure* scale; the extent and significance of these differences was therefore further explored.

A paired t-test was carried out for the two emotional themes; significant differences were found between *Displeasure* and *Pleasure*, $t(47) = -5.715$, $p < 0.01$. The significantly high overall mean of *Displeasure* presented within Person Offences corresponds with prior

research which suggests that person-centred offences are experiences of negative emotional encounters (Ioannou, 2006; Katz, 1988). While these negative encounters vary in terms of arousal (high-low), it is evident that negative emotions play a huge factor in the emotional experience of violent crimes against the person.

11.7 Chapter discussion

The purpose of this study was to examine the relationship between offence type and the emotional experience of crime, and in particular, to explore whether specific emotions are associated with Property or Person Offences for MDOs. The findings partially corresponded to the hypotheses of the study; specifically, the results suggested that person-related offences showed a significantly higher overall average within the *Displeasure* emotional theme, indicating that those criminals who offend against a person are most likely to have a negative emotional experience. Furthermore, the intensity of this displeasurable state is an intense component of the criminal's actions. It could therefore be suggested that within Person Offences, negative affect could be a major influencing factor.

In contrast, property-related offences indicated similar overall averages within both ends of the axes. The intensity of both emotional themes was also mild compared to the results found within Person Offences. The results suggest that the emotional element of Property Offences is not a driving force, but that the motivational element behind these offences is rather, perhaps, the material or financial reinforcement that presents itself post offence.

The studies so far have explored the criminal narrative and emotional experiences of MDOs across offence types. The results generated from these studies have aided in the further understanding of MDOs and the roles and emotions which present themselves during their

offences, thereby developing the criminal narrative framework to incorporate a wider offender population.

The final study will propose an emotional narrative framework for MDOs; that is, this framework will encompass the emotions and roles which present themselves during the commission of an offence, along with the diagnosis. This framework will therefore explore all these variables within offence types, and suggest that specific roles, emotions and diagnoses are related to particular offences.

Chapter 12

Study Five: The Emotional Narrative Framework of Mentally Disordered Offenders

12.1 *The emotional narrative framework of mentally disordered offenders*

The investigation into the minds of MDOs has thus far explored two aspects of the criminal experience. In the first stage, the criminal narratives of the offenders were explored and the association these narratives had with certain psychiatric diagnoses and offence types were also considered. These explorations established that there are four distinct criminal narratives (*Victim, Revenger, Hero* and *Professional*), which are conceptually similar to those in previously published work (e.g., Canter et al., 2009; Ioannou, 2006); nonetheless, there were found to be clear distinctions in the narrative experiences of MDOs, and these differences were associated with the disorders that were prevalent within the population. The results also showed that particular criminal narratives displayed significant associations with certain psychiatric diagnoses and offence types.

In the second stage, the researcher examined the emotional experience of committing an offence and the relationship these emotions had with psychiatric diagnoses and offence types. The results of these investigations determined that there were two regions of emotions displayed within the experience of a criminal offence; both were viewed as extremes of an integrated dimension (*Pleasure-Displeasure*). The results also indicated that particular emotional themes displayed significant associations with certain psychiatric diagnoses and offence types; the intensity of the emotions displayed also varied across these variables.

More specifically, the results thus far have shown that offenders with major mental illnesses (Axis I) displayed a significantly higher association with negative emotional states and the *Victim* role. They were also more likely to carry out these criminal experiences in offences against the person. It was suggested that offenders with major mental illness displayed these criminal experiences partly due to the specific characteristics which are often associated with

the disorders within the Axis. Specifically, those with schizophrenia or psychosis often have a deluded perception of reality, thereby lacking complete understanding of their current environment (McMurran et al, 2009). In addition, the symptoms of clinical depression, such as feeling hopeless, worthless and helpless, are also associated with the paranoid features of psychosis and schizophrenia (e.g., Hodgins, 1993; Monahan & Steadman, 1994; Mullen, 1997; Wessely, 1997).

Those offenders with personality disorders (Axis II) indicated strong associations with negative emotional states and the *Revenger* role. They were also more likely to take part in person-centred crimes. These results correspond with the symptoms which are typical within the Axis II diagnostic category. In particular, the reckless nature of these offenders could be linked to their impairments in appropriate problem-solving and coping skills. These offenders could become overwhelmed by negative feelings such as distress, anxiety or anger; this, linked with their self-regulation problems and lack of adaptive coping skills, could trigger reckless behaviour. The high level of displeasure felt within these offenders' experiences of crime can also be seen to correspond to the emotional deficits which these offenders exhibit, such as being emotionally cold or detached (Mental Health America, 2012), having limited ability to express feelings towards others (Mental Health America) and negative patterns of thought, feelings and behaviour (Together, 2010).

Those offenders without any formal diagnosis, however, showed significantly higher associations with positive criminal experiences and emotional encounters; they were also more likely to display these positive features within offences against property. It is therefore most likely that the motivation behind the actions of these types of offenders was rooted in some form of reinforcement (e.g., recognition, power or intrinsic motivation), which,

according to behavioural principles, reinforced their actions and the frequency of those actions, and also created a positive criminal experience. These individuals are also most likely to view their offences as part of their criminal lifestyle, whereby their offences, such as burglary or theft, were engraved within their customary and everyday lives.

In essence, this chapter brings together the results found within these two stages, in order to display the link that exists between the acting out of a narrative and the driving emotional force behind these personal stories. The final stage, therefore, proposes an emotional narrative framework for MDOs, which encompasses the psychiatric diagnosis, emotions and narratives which present themselves during the commission of an offence. This framework explores all these variables across offence types and suggests that specific roles, emotions and diagnoses are more intense within particular offences. The narrative and emotional experiences of offenders help shape their criminal offences, and therefore, if a specific structure can be identified to distinguish the different types of criminal experiences, it could offer a causal process that encompasses the offender's personal agency and implicit feelings about a crime, thereby informing a greater understanding of the actions of MDOs and also insight into the mediating forces, such as diagnoses, which can contribute to MDOs undertaking specific criminal actions.

12.1.1 Study five: Hypotheses

It was hypothesised that the four narrative roles would have strong associations with a particular emotional state and that these associations would create identifiable themes. In particular, the *Revenger* and *Victim* narratives would show strong associations with the *Displeasure* theme, while the *Hero* would have associations with the *Pleasure* theme. In contrast, it was proposed that the *Professional* narrative would show a neutral emotional

experience. The null hypothesis was that there would be no relationship between criminal narrative and emotional experience.

It was hypothesised that the criminal experience displayed would vary between psychiatric diagnoses. It was further hypothesised that the criminal experience shown within particular diagnoses would vary in strength and intensity depending on offence type. The null hypothesis was that there would be no relationship between the criminal narrative experience and psychiatric diagnoses. All the above hypotheses were based on the results found within the previous studies.

12.2 Smallest space analysis

The researcher implemented the multi-dimensional scaling (MDS) process of Smallest Space Analysis (SSA-I) to directly test the relationship between the emotional variables and role items. The SSA was carried out on the 36 narrative role variables and the 26 emotion variables. The identifiable emotional-narrative themes were configured through each variable's association with every other variable, as the SSA plots variables closer together which are associated. Underlying themes were therefore likely to form from the variables that were highly correlated, configuring within the SSA as variables which co-occurred in the same region of the plot, thereby implying a distinct theme.

The figure below (Figure 12.2) illustrates the SSA configuration of the 62 variables. The resulting analysis shows a 2-dimensional, vector 1 by vector 2, spatial projection of the 36 narrative items and 26 emotion variables. The analyses also indicated a Guttman-Lingoes coefficient of alienation of 0.19352 in 12 iterations, indicating a good fit between the Pearson's coefficients of the variables and their corresponding geometric distances in the

configuration. As indicated in the SSA configuration, the SSA was interpreted by studying the pattern; subsequently, identifiable patterns were found and distinct themes were formed. The variable labels are brief summaries of each of the 62 questions; full descriptions of these labels are presented in Table 12.2.

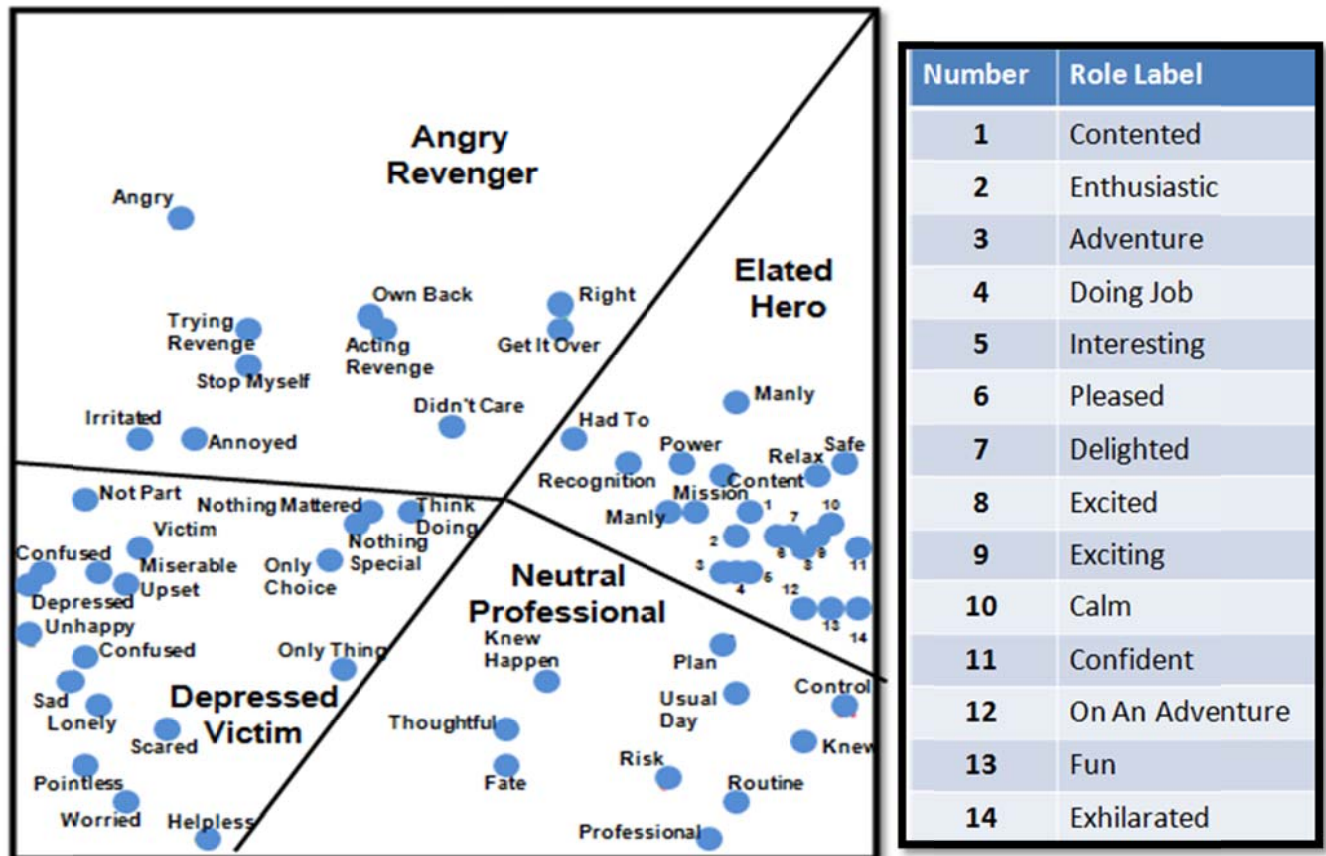


Figure 12.2. SSA-I of 36 narrative role items and 26 emotional statements with regional interpretations set (N = 70). 2-dimensional, vector 1 by vector 2, SSA of 36 narrative roles and 26 emotion items. *Coefficient of alienation* = 0.19352

Table 12.2. *Narrative role and emotion labels and full descriptions*

Question Number	Emotional and Narrative Statement	SSA Label
1	I felt lonely	Lonely
2	I felt scared	Scared
3	I felt exhilarated	Exhilarated
4	I felt confident	Confident
5	I felt upset	Upset
6	I felt pleased	Pleased
7	I felt calm	Calm
8	I felt safe	Safe
9	I felt worried	Worried
10	I felt depressed	Depressed
11	I felt enthusiastic	Enthusiastic
12	I felt thoughtful	Thoughtful
13	I felt annoyed	Annoyed
14	I felt angry	Angry
15	I felt sad	Sad
16	I felt excited	Excited
17	I felt confused	Confused
18	I felt miserable	Miserable
19	I felt irritated	Irritated
20	I felt relaxed	Relax
21	I felt delighted	Delighted
22	I felt unhappy	Unhappy
23	I felt courageous	Courageous
24	I felt contented	Contented
25	I felt manly	Manly
26	I felt pointless	Pointless
27	I was like a professional	Professional
28	I had to do it	Had to
29	It was fun	Fun
30	It was right	Right
31	It was interesting	Interesting
32	It was like an adventure	Adventure
33	It was routine	Routine
34	I was in control	Control
35	It was exciting	Exciting
36	I was acting out of revenge	Acting Revenge
37	I was doing a job	Doing Job
38	I knew what I was doing	Knew
39	It was the only thing to do	Only thing
40	It was a mission	Mission
41	Nothing else mattered	Nothing matter
42	I had power	Power

43	I was helpless	Helpless
44	It was my only choice	Only choice
45	I was a victim	Victim
46	I was confused about what was happening	Confused
47	I was looking for recognition	Recognition
48	I just wanted to get it over with	Get it over
49	I didn't care what would happen	Didn't Care
50	What was happening was just fate	Fate
51	It all went to plan	Plan
52	I couldn't stop myself	Stop myself
53	It was like I wasn't part of it	Not part
54	It was a manly thing to do	Manly
55	For me it was just like a usual days work	Usual day
56	I was trying to get revenge	Trying revenge
57	It was like being on an adventure	On an adventure
58	It was the only thing I could think of doing	Think doing
59	There was nothing special about what happened	Nothing special
60	I was getting my own back	Own back
61	I knew I was taking a risk	Risk
62	I guess I always knew it was going to happen	Knew happen

The hypothesis that the emotions and roles would form identifiable regions was tested by examining the SSA output; interpretation of this output, which was generated from the Hudap programme and verified by the researcher, is presented in Figure 12.2, indicated that while the regional structure of the narratives remained consistent, the structure of the emotions was slightly amended. In particular, whilst Studies Two and Four (Chapters 9 and 11) found that the emotion variables formed two distinct themes (*Pleasure-Displeasure*), the current SSA found four themes: *Elation*, *Distress*, *Depression* and *Neutral*. Although the introduction of the narrative roles created new emotional patterns in the analysis, the *Pleasure-Displeasure* axis was still heavily prevalent within the configuration.

Furthermore, as stated in study two (Chapter 9), while there was no clearly identified degree of activation dimension (arousal or sleepiness), which is evident within Russell's circumplex, the results of study two did suggest a degree of separation between emotions that are of

higher and lower arousal, and correspondingly, the results with the current study have shown similar trends. The activation dimension, however, is more clearly defined within the present study, therefore creating emotional patterns with varying degrees of arousal. In contrast, the narrative roles formed the four themes that had previously been established: *Hero*, *Professional*, *Revenger* and *Victim*. The integration of both these themes produced four distinct patterns of criminal experience: *Angry Revenger*, *Elated Hero*, *Depressed Victim* and *Neutral Professional*. Initial exploration of the SSA therefore confirmed the hypothesis that the *Revenger* and *Victim* narratives would show strong associations with negative emotions (e.g., *Distress* and *Depression*), while the *Hero* would have associations with more pleasurable emotions (*Elation*) and the *Professional* narrative would show a *Neutral* emotional experience. Scale reliability analysis using Cronbach's alpha was conducted for each of the proposed themes to give an indication of the adequacy of the suggested split. The values varied from 0.80 to 0.94, which indicates that the variables within the suggested themes are strongly associated.

12.3 *The structure of criminals' emotional-narrative experience*

12.3.1 *Angry revenger*

The top left side of the quadrant encompasses variables which are associated with the *Angry Revenger*; the 10 variables linked to this theme are: *angry*, *trying revenge*, *own back*, *acting revenge*, *stop myself*, *irritated*, *annoyed*, *didn't care*, *get it over* and *right*. The variables within this theme show an offender who retaliates by seeking revenge because this is what they deem to be '*right*'. This act of vengeance is driven by the feelings of anger and distress which are prevalent within this theme. This elevated negative emotional state clouds reality for the offender, creating a reckless individual who tries to seek revenge as quickly as possible; this desire to retaliate becomes reckless and out of control due to the aroused

emotional state of the offender, which obscures any sense of moral reasoning and judgement. The emotional components of the *Angry Revenger* therefore become a significant motivating force behind the offender's criminal actions; it is these emotions which drive the thoughts of revenge into an out-of-control attack.

12.3.2 *Depressed victim*

The bottom left side of the quadrant includes variables which are associated with the *Depressed Victim*: the 19 items linked to this theme consist of: *not part, nothing mattered, thinking doing, nothing special, victim, only choice, confused, miserable, upset, depressed, unhappy, confused, only thing, sad, lonely, scared, pointless, worried and helpless*. The general framework of this criminal experience suggests an offender who feels a sense of powerlessness, believing that they are the main 'victim' in the event. These offenders lack understanding about their criminal offences and use their criminal activities as a way to relieve themselves from their state of vulnerability. The negative-low arousal feelings (*depressed, upset, sad*) expressed by these offenders are what trigger them to engage in their offences; they have a sense of hopelessness and apathy which they try to counteract by carrying out criminal activities. These offences are therefore often a cry for help; 'confused' about how to change their negative disposition, they offend, as it is the only thing they can think of doing which will lift their negative persona.

12.3.3 *Elated hero*

The top right quadrant of the SSA plot includes items corresponding to the *Elated Hero*. The 23 items in this region are: *had to, power, recognition, manly (emotion), manly (role), mission, content, relax, safe, contented, enthusiastic, adventure, doing job, interesting, pleased, delighted, excited, exciting, calm, confident, on an adventure, fun and exhilarated*.

The emotional and narrative components of this theme are embedded in the idea of an ‘*exciting*’ and adventurous ‘*mission*’. The offender therefore views their criminal activity as an adrenalin rush, something he does to gain the thrill that he seeks. These criminal quests are therefore perceived as elated emotional experiences which reinforce the criminal lifestyle of the offender. In particular, the positive rush that is generated from the offender’s crimes is what reinforces their persistent offending behaviour.

12.3.4 Neutral professional

The bottom right side of the quadrant encompasses variables which are associated with the *Neutral Professional*; the 10 variables linked to this theme are: *knew happen, thoughtful, fate, plan, usual day, risk, control, knew, routine* and *professional*. The variables within this theme show an offender who does not display any emotional state during his offences; rather, he has a neutral approach to his offending, viewing them as part of his ‘*usual day*’. These offenders see the role of the offender as that of a professional, planning all elements and trying to control the extraneous variables. The actions of the *Neutral Professional* are therefore rooted in a criminal lifestyle; these individuals have distorted patterns of thoughts which accept criminal behaviour as a career and, because it is used as a means of making a living, the offender does not allow any emotional element to get in the way of their career path.

12.4 Reliability analysis

It was proposed that the four narrative and emotional themes identified would reflect distinct patterns within an offence, therefore implying that the specific items representing each individual narrative role and emotional state would form a reliable and distinct structure. To test the significance of the underlying dimension within each theme, Cronbach’s alpha was carried out on each of the four proposed themes to determine the reliability. Data were

entered into SPSS, where analyses were conducted using a $p < 0.05$ level of significance. The analyses confirmed that all scales had moderate to high internal consistency: *Neutral Professional*, $\alpha = 0.81$; *Angry Revenger*, $\alpha = 0.80$; *Elated Hero*, $\alpha = 0.94$, and *Depressed Victim*, $\alpha = 0.83$.

Internal validity was also explored through investigating the relationship of questions from both questionnaires which exhibit similar themes. For instance, the emotional item of Question 16, '*I felt excited*', and the narrative item of Question 35, '*It was exciting*,' are both referring to similar experiences. Similarly, the emotional item of question 25 – '*I felt manly*' and the narrative item of question 54 – '*It was a manly thing to do*' also refer to similar experiences. According to the principles of SSA, the higher the association between any two variables, the closer together the points representing them will appear within the geometric space. As illustrated in the SSA configuration in Figure 12.2, these questions indicating identical actions appear close within the spatial SSA plot, thereby representing the similar ratings by participants for items which are identical, confirming the internal validity.

12.5 Association between criminal experience themes

The association between the four narrative and emotional themes was explored through further analysis; means, standard deviations and correlations among the observed items are displayed in Table 12.5. The results of these analyses indicated that the *Neutral Professional* and *Elated Hero* were significantly correlated ($p < 0.01$); these results are supported by the previous studies within this thesis, which showed that the *Hero* and *Professional* narratives presented similar narrative experiences and exhibited pleasurable offender states. Similarly, the *Angry Revenger* and *Depressed Victim* were also significantly correlated ($p < 0.01$); these results support the findings within this thesis which indicated a common description of both

the narrative components, and in particular, those of offenders who encountered more negative criminal experiences. Furthermore, the SSA configuration above depicts these relationships; the pattern of the *Elated Hero* and *Neutral Professional* appear more closely intertwined within Figure 12.2, while the *Depressed Victim* and *Angry Revenger* also appear more closely related within the SSA plot. The limited research on the criminal experience that has been carried out on prison populations has also found similar results. Ioannou (2006) found that the *Elated Adventurer* theme correlated significantly with that of the *Calm Professional* (similar to the *Neutral Professional*) theme ($p < 0.01$), and the *Angry Revenger* theme with the *Depressed Victim* theme ($p < 0.01$).

Table 12.5. *Means, standard deviations and correlations among criminal experiences*

Criminal Experience	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	1	2	3
1. Neutral Professional	2.06	.764			
2. Elated Hero	1.93	.933	.687**		
3. Angry Revenger	2.54	.870	.152	.150	
4. Depressed Victim	2.60	.801	-.013	-.125	.513**

* $p < 0.05$; ** $p < 0.01$

12.6 Dominant criminal experience within psychiatric diagnoses

It was hypothesised that the criminal experience that was displayed (*Elated Hero*, *Neutral Professional*, *Angry Revenger*, *Depressed Victim*) would vary among psychiatric diagnoses.

To examine this proposal, the relationship between the four criminal experience themes found within Figure 12.2 were explored through further analysis within each diagnostic category; means and standard deviations are presented in Table 12.6. The average overall mean of each theme falls between 1 and 3 (averages are based on a five-point Likert scale, where: (1) = *Not at all*; (2) = *Just a little*; (3) = *Some*; (4) = *A lot*, and (5) = *Very much indeed*), indicating a mild to moderate intensity of roles and emotions within a criminal

offence. As indicated in Table 12.6, Axis I shows the highest overall average within the *Depressed Victim* theme ($M = 3.00$, $SD = 0.811$), while Axis II indicates the highest overall average within the *Angry Revenger* theme ($M = 2.55$, $SD = 0.762$). Those offenders with no formal diagnosis and instead exhibiting traits from a single or both axes show similar overall means across all criminal experiences. These results also illustrate the intensity of the narrative and emotional experience of crime; more specifically, offenders with major mental illness (Axis I) showed a heightened intensity within their criminal experience, as delineated within the moderate overall mean score, while those offenders with personality disorders (Axis II) indicated a mild to moderate overall mean score, showing that the narrative and emotional experience within their crimes was not as intense. Those offenders with no formal diagnosis indicated mild intensity across all criminal experiences, suggesting that these offenders may not exhibit a dominant narrative and/or emotional experience.

Table 12.6. Means and standard deviations among criminal experience themes and psychiatric diagnosis (N =70)

Criminal Experience	Psychiatric Diagnosis ($M(SD)$)		
	Axis I	Axis II	No Diagnosis
Neutral Professional	2.19 (.858)	1.74 (.563)	2.17 (.720)
Elated Hero	1.99 (.938)	1.68 (.778)	2.04 (.839)
Angry Revenger	2.47 (.912)	2.55 (.762)	2.32 (.985)
Depressed Victim	3.00 (.811)	2.54 (.958)	2.19 (.641)

To further explore the hypothesis that specific psychiatric diagnoses would display particular criminal experiences, the researcher further investigated the specific differences across psychiatric diagnoses to determine whether the dominant criminal experiences exhibited within Table 12.6 were significant and distinct.

12.6.1 Axis I: Clinical syndrome

The table above (Table 12.6) reveals that for Axis I the highest averages were found within the *Depressed Victim* theme, with the largest means agreeing with such statements as: '*It was the only thing I could think of doing*' ($M = 3.26, SD = 1.57$); '*I was a victim*' ($M = 3.71, SD = 1.59$); '*I was confused about what was happening*' ($M = 3.23, SD = 1.64$), and '*I felt sad*' ($M = 3.13, SD = 1.58$). The high means presented within these individual items vividly illustrate not only the confused sense of reality which is often displayed by those with major mental illness, but also the sense of hopelessness and powerlessness which often drives this sense of confusion and belief that crime is the only viable choice. The differences were further examined to explore whether they were statistically significant.

Tests for normality of the four scales were carried out using the Shapiro-Wilk test; the test indicated that all four scales were normally distributed (> 0.05) across all diagnostic categories. Accordingly, a repeated measures ANOVA with a Greenhouse-Geisser correction determined that means across the criminal experiences within Axis I differed significantly ($F(1.884, 15.08) = 10.720, P < 0.01$). Post hoc tests using the Bonferroni correction revealed that the mean scores for the *Depressed Victim* were significantly higher than those for the *Neutral Professional*, *Angry Revenger* and *Elated Hero* themes ($P < 0.05$). These results indicate that the *Depressed Victim* criminal experience is a dominant theme within Axis I diagnoses.

12.6.2 Axis II: Developmental disorders and personality disorders

The above results showed that Axis II had the highest overall average within the *Angry Revenger* theme, the largest of these means agreeing with the items: '*I was trying to get*

revenge' ($M = 2.63$, $SD = 1.74$); '*I didn't care what would happen*' ($M = 2.95$, $SD = 1.50$); '*I felt annoyed*' ($M = 3.19$, $SD = 1.61$), and '*I felt angry*' ($M = 3.03$, $SD = 1.77$). The high overall averages displayed within these items show the various traits that are often pronounced within personality disorders, specifically the deficits in emotional regulation, anger and a sense of impulsivity in not caring what happens to the offender. These items are trademarks of someone with a severe personality disorder and are probably the main contributing items within these offenders' criminal experiences. The differences were further examined to explore whether they were statistically significant.

A repeated measures ANOVA with a Greenhouse-Geisser correction determined that means across the criminal experiences within Axis II differed significantly ($F(1.967, 12.392) = 8.991$, $P < 0.01$). Post hoc tests using the Bonferroni correction revealed that the mean scores for the *Angry Revenger* and *Depressed Victim* were significantly higher than those for the *Neutral Professional* and *Elated Hero* themes ($P < 0.05$). There was no significant difference between the *Angry Revenger* and *Depressed Victim*. These results show that, while the *Angry Revenger* is the dominant criminal experience for Axis II offenders, as exhibited by Table 12.6, the *Depressed Victim* is also a central criminal theme within this domain. In essence, the results show that offenders with personality disorders have very negative and pessimistic criminal experiences.

12.6.3 No formal diagnosis

The No Formal Diagnosis category indicated similar overall averages across all four criminal experience scales, the largest of these means agreeing with items across all four themes: '*I didn't care what would happen*' ($M = 2.70$, $SD = 1.38$); '*I knew what I was doing*' ($M = 3.00$, $SD = 1.38$); '*I knew I was taking a risk*' ($M = 3.25$, $SD = 1.29$); '*I felt lonely*' ($M = 2.35$, $SD = 1.20$), and '*I felt confident*' ($M = 2.35$, $SD = 1.50$). The mild to moderate overall

averages displayed within these items depict an offender who may not exert a strong narrative and emotional experience within their crimes. These results correspond with this particular population, as they do not display the same degree of severity in mental deficits as the preceding populations; therefore, it could be suggested that offenders with specific mental disorders display prominent criminal experiences compared to offenders with various traits of mental illness. Due to the similar overall scores presented in Table 12.6, no further analyses were carried out within this category.

12.7 Criminal experiences, psychiatric diagnosis and offence type

It was hypothesised that the criminal experience indicated within particular diagnoses would vary in strength and intensity based on offence type. To investigate this proposal, the association between the four criminal experience themes within each psychiatric diagnosis was explored across offence types (property versus person crimes). Table 12.7a presents the means and standard deviations within Property Offences, and Table 12.7b presents the means and standard deviations within Person Offences. The average overall mean of each theme falls between 1 and 3.5, indicating a mild to moderate intensity of roles and emotions across offence types. These differences are further explored within the following sections.

Table 12.7a. Means and standard deviations among criminal experience themes and psychiatric diagnoses within property offences (N =21)

Criminal Experience	Psychiatric Diagnosis (<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>))		
	Axis 1	Axis 2	No Diagnosis
Neutral Professional	2.36 (.911)	2.35 (.070)	2.54 (.793)
Elated Hero	1.77 (.575)	2.50 (.958)	2.48 (.998)
Angry Revenger	2.52 (.848)	2.55 (1.34)	1.87 (.634)
Depressed Victim	3.00 (.761)	2.13 (.353)	1.97 (.573)

Table 12.7b. Means and standard deviations among criminal experience themes and psychiatric diagnoses within person offences (N =49)

Criminal Experience	Psychiatric Diagnosis (<i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>))		
	Axis 1	Axis 2	No Diagnosis
Neutral Professional	2.12 (.847)	1.67 (.552)	1.81 (.412)
Elated Hero	2.08 (1.05)	1.49 (.548)	1.80 (.412)
Angry Revenger	2.59 (.956)	3.33 (.202)	3.24 (.777)
Depressed Victim	2.86 (.844)	2.58 (.789)	2.41 (.652)

12.7.1 Axis 1: Criminal experience and offence type

As indicated in the above tables, Axis I shows the highest overall average within the *Depressed Victim* theme; the intensity of this criminal experience varies slightly across offence type, with offences against property showing a higher level of strength ($M = 3.00$, $SD = 0.761$) compared to offences against the person ($M = 2.86$, $SD = 0.844$). The differences were further examined to explore whether they were statistically significant.

A repeated measures ANOVA was carried out across both offence types; the analyses determined that means of the criminal experience themes across property-centred offences within Axis I differed significantly ($F(3, 6.9242) = 4.528$, $P < 0.05$). Similarly, a repeated measures ANOVA with a Greenhouse-Geisser correction determined that these themes within person-centred offences was also significant ($F(1.647, 9.311) = 6.785$, $P < 0.05$). Post hoc tests using the Bonferroni correction revealed that the mean scores for the *Angry Revenger* were significantly higher than those for the *Neutral Professional* and *Elated Hero* themes ($P < 0.05$) across person and property offences. There was no significant difference between the *Depressed Victim* and the *Angry Revenger*.

These results suggest that offenders with major mental illnesses encounter negative criminal experiences across all crime types, and that these actions are often triggered by a sense of sadness and loneliness which they cannot control; these feelings inevitably create an offender who is helpless and confused within their current situation and therefore carries out their crimes, not really understanding why, but feeling as though it is their only option. Furthermore, the strength of the *Depressed Victim* theme is so powerful within these offenders that this experience is part of a large majority of their crimes, whether they be property or person-centred.

12.7.2 Axis II: Criminal experience and offence type

Offenders with Axis II diagnoses indicated the highest overall average within the *Angry Revenger* theme; the strength of this criminal experience, however, ranges in intensity across offence type. For instance, the overall mean within property offences ($M = 2.55$, $SD = 1.34$) is not highly distinguishable from the overall means within the other themes. In contrast, the *Angry Revenger* is a heavily prevalent and strong criminal experience within person-centred offences ($M = 3.33$, $SD = 0.202$). Further analyses were only implemented within person-centred offences, to investigate whether these differences were statistically significant. No further analyses were conducted across property-centred offences as the results in Table 12.7a indicated similar overall averages across all criminal experiences.

A repeated measures ANOVA with a Greenhouse-Geisser correction was carried out across Person Offences; the analyses determined that means of the criminal experience themes across person-centred offences differed significantly ($F(2.019, 15.999) = 7.924$, $P < 0.01$). Post hoc tests using the Bonferroni correction revealed that the mean scores for the *Angry*

Revenger were significantly higher than those for the remaining three themes (*Neutral Professional*, *Depressed Victim* and *Elated Hero* themes, $P < 0.05$).

These results imply that offenders with personality disorders display a moderately intense criminal experience within the *Angry Revenger* theme when committing person-centred offences. This suggests that the violent actions of these types of MDOs are driven by feelings of anger and irritation, along with the desire to seek vengeance. In addition, however, these results also indicate that, whilst not significantly dominant, the *Angry Revenger* is still a major theme within property-related offences. It could therefore be suggested that the *Angry Revenger* is a strong theme within the majority of crimes carried out by those with a personality disorder.

12.7.3 *No formal diagnosis: Criminal experience and offence type*

The tables above show that the highest averages within offences against property are found within the *Neutral Professional* theme ($M = 2.54$, $SD = 0.793$), and almost equally high are those within the *Elated Hero* ($M = 2.48$, $SD = 0.998$), while the highest overall mean found within person-centred offences relates to the *Angry Revenger* ($M = 3.24$, $SD = 0.777$). The differences were further examined to investigate whether they were statistically significant.

A repeated measures ANOVA with a Greenhouse-Geisser correction was carried out across both offence types; the analyses determined that means of the criminal experience themes across property-centred offences were not significant. In contrast, the ANOVA did determine that these themes within Person Offences were also significant ($F(1.968, 13.764) = 6.995$, $P < 0.05$). Post hoc tests using the Bonferroni correction revealed that the mean scores for the

Angry Revenger were significantly higher than those for the *Neutral Professional*, *Elated Hero* and *Depressed Victim* themes ($P < 0.05$).

These results suggest that offenders with no formal diagnosis encounter a vast array of criminal experiences, depending on the offence type. Within offences against property, although not statistically significant, there appears to be a positive criminal experience, with themes such as the *Neutral Professional* and *Elated Hero* indicating the highest mean averages. Accordingly, these results imply that the actions of these offenders with regard to property-centred offences are likely to be motivated by some form of need for recognition, power or by an intrinsic motivation which reinforces their criminal lifestyle. For example, the *Elated Hero* theme exhibits reinforcement of their offences through the positive emotional experience and thrill that the offence, which they perceive as an adventurous mission, provides them. In contrast, the *Neutral Professional* views their criminal activity as a lifestyle and a way of making a living; therefore they show little emotional attachment to their offences. While both themes are conceptually distinct, it is suggested that within both criminal experiences, offenders exhibit a host of personality disorder traits, as their criminal actions are embedded within their lifestyle and they either show little emotional attachment to their offences or view them in a elated and positive manner, both of which are distorted emotional perceptions.

Within person-centred offences, the criminal experience appears to be more negative, with the *Angry Revenger* theme showing the most significance within this diagnostic category and offence type. Similarly to the results found within Axis II, the actions of these types of offenders are driven by anger over some type of wrongdoing for which they seek vengeance. The statistical significance and high overall average of the *Angry Revenger* theme could also

suggest that this criminal experience is a dominant theme for offenders who exhibit an array of mental disorder traits when committing person-centred offences.

12.8 Chapter discussion

This chapter has examined the findings from the four previous studies and implemented the results to propose an emotional narrative framework for MDOs; this framework encompasses the roles and emotions which presented themselves during the commission of an offence, along with the specific diagnoses which are associated with the proposed themes. This framework was also used to explore these variables across offence types, and it was suggested that specific roles and emotions within certain diagnoses are more intense and apparent within particular offences.

The results found four prevalent criminal experiences among MDOs; these included: *Elated Hero*, *Neutral Professional*, *Angry Revenger* and *Depressed Victim*. The proposed themes were compiled from the criminal narratives found within study one (*Professional*, *Hero*, *Revenger* and *Victim*) and a slightly revised version of the emotions felt during a criminal offence found within study two (*Pleasure* and *Displeasure*); in particular, while the *Pleasure-Displeasure* axis was still prevalent within the results, the activation dimension (arousal or sleepiness), which was evident within Russell's circumplex (1980), but not clearly distinguishable within study two, became more clearly defined within the present study, thereby generating emotional patterns with varying degrees of arousal. It is suggested that the differences in emotional themes were created by encompassing both the *Criminal Narrative Role Questionnaire* and the *Emotions Felt during a Criminal Offence Questionnaire* within the SSA-I analyses.

The findings therefore corresponded with the proposed hypothesis that the four narrative roles would have strong associations with a particular emotional state and that these associations would create identifiable themes. More specifically, the results found that the *Revenger* narrative corresponded with feelings of distress, anger and irritation. The *Victim* narrative indicated correlations with feelings of depression, sadness and loneliness. The *Hero* narrative had associations with more positive and elated emotions, such as excitement, exhilaration and delight. In contrast to these three themes, the *Professional* narrative indicated no emotional component to the offending activity. The above results are supported by the findings from the previous studies, which indirectly suggested particular narratives being associated with positive emotional experiences and others showing associations with more negative emotional experiences.

The results also provided partial support for the hypothesis that criminal experiences would vary among psychiatric diagnoses. For example, the results suggested that offenders with Axis I diagnoses showed a significantly higher association with the *Depressed Victim* theme, indicating that these offenders are most likely to believe that they are the true victim within their offences; they will also exhibit a sense of confusion within their criminal experience, which is often displayed by those with major mental illness. The driving factor behind their offences is their sense of deprivation and desperation, turning to crime as the only solution to their inevitable turmoil. Within Axis II, while results indicated strong associations within the *Angry Revenger* theme, these findings were only found to be significantly different from the positive criminal experience themes (*Neutral Professional* and *Elated Hero*). Nonetheless, the intensity of the *Angry Revenger* experience within those with personality disorders corresponds with many of the traits often found within those with personality disorder, such as anger, impulsivity and a sense of carelessness which triggers their reckless criminal

behaviour. The results within the No Formal Diagnosis category indicated similar overall averages across all criminal experience themes; the intensity of these averages also varied from mild to moderate. These results could suggest that these individuals have a variety of criminal experiences, ranging from positive to negative encounters; these results correspond with this particular population, as they do not display the range of severity in mental defects as those with specific mental disorders. It could therefore be proposed that offenders with specific mental disorders display more prominent criminal experiences compared to offenders with various traits of mental illness.

The results also suggested that the criminal experience shown within particular diagnoses would vary in strength and intensity based on offence type. Those offenders with major mental illnesses revealed the *Depressed Victim* theme across all crime types; the strength of the *Depressed Victim* theme is so powerful within these offenders that this experience is part of a large majority of their crimes. Those offenders with personality disorders also show a dominant criminal experience, *Angry Revenger*, across offence types. However, the strength of this experience differs depending on the specific nature of the offence. Within property-related offences, the experience is not dominantly prominent; in contrast, a moderately intense criminal experience was displayed within the *Angry Revenger* theme when committing person-centred offences. This suggests that the violent actions of these types of MDOs are driven by feelings of anger and irritation, along with the desire to seek vengeance. These findings further suggest that offenders with no formal diagnosis encounter a vast array of criminal experiences, depending on the offence type. For instance, within offences against property there appears to be a positive criminal experience within crimes, most likely due to the positive reinforcement which property offences can sometimes appear to provide. In contrast, person-related offences showed a more negative criminal encounter, with the *Angry*

Revenger theme revealed as the most significant within this diagnostic category. It could therefore be suggested that the criminal experience of these offenders is largely moderated by the offence type.

This chapter proposed a framework for the criminal experiences of MDOs which encompassed the emotions and roles that presented themselves during the commission of an offence, along with the specific diagnoses associated with the proposed themes. This framework was also used to explore these variables across offence type and it was suggested that specific roles, emotions and diagnoses are more intense and apparent within particular offences. The narrative and emotional experiences of offenders help shape their criminal offences, as personal narratives are cognitive structures that dynamically filter and order experience in ways that reflect their content (Ward, 2011). Exploring these concepts of emotions and roles will therefore lead to a greater understanding of the unique thought processes and emotions of the criminal experience and how these factors vary across crimes and people. Accordingly, the development of a specific structure of these experiences is the first step in identifying and distinguishing the different types of criminal experiences for MDOs. The next chapter will discuss the implications with regard to the findings of the present thesis, and also propose areas that need further investigation before definitive conclusions can be drawn about the criminal experiences of MDOs.

Chapter 13

Discussion

13.1 General discussion

As illustrated within previous chapters, the five studies presented within this thesis all serve a general purpose in developing the understanding of criminality through the active agents within crimes. The first study laid the foundation by proposing the four criminal narratives which present themselves within the experiences of MDOs. Study two demonstrated the emotions felt by MDOs during a criminal offence. Study three showed the relationship between these criminal narratives and interaction with others. Study four showed the association between the emotional elements of crime and offence types, and finally, study five proposed a framework encompassing the emotions and roles which present themselves during the commission of an offence, along with the specific diagnoses and offence types associated with the proposed themes. These five studies expanded on current literature and also highlighted the internal agency of MDOs, an area that has been vastly neglected in the investigative psychology discipline. The main aim of this final chapter is to explore what the findings of this thesis mean in terms of advancing the theoretical understanding of crime and the intervention methods which could possibly be used to mitigate the harm created by MDOs. This chapter also explores some of the potential benefits of the emotional narrative framework for MDOs within investigative psychology, as well as the future direction of this framework.

13.2 Theoretical contributions

The legal system deems an offender guilty of their crimes when it can be proven that they understood what they were doing when committing their offences; nonetheless, as Canter (2008) points out, most psychological and social explanations of crime view biological, environmental and personality elements as the causes of crime, thereby removing the offender's own agency from the offence. The narrative perspective, however, provides an

alternative way of viewing crime, which bridges the gap between the legal system's emphasis on psycho-social explanations of external components to internal influences. This thesis utilised these ideas of the narrative perspective and demonstrated that while MDOs may not have the capacity to understand their actions in the eyes of the legal system, these offenders do show the capacity to process their criminal actions and identify with a narrative story. Therefore, although in legal terms they lack the ability to understand that their actions are wrong, MDOs do show awareness in their experiences within their crimes and are able to illustrate this criminal experience in a coherent manner. It could therefore be suggested that MDOs may not have the lack of competence and understanding that it is portrayed by the legal system.

Furthermore, society often labels offenders with mental disorders as 'abnormal', yet what this thesis has found is that the crimes these offenders commit correspond to the four life stories which represent experiences within the 'normal' population (romance, comedy, tragedy and irony), as found in previous research (e.g., Frye, 1957; McAdams, 1988), and also to those of other offending populations (e.g., Canter et al., 2003; 2009, Youngs & Canter, 2011). Accordingly, it could be suggested that while MDOs criminal experiences may vary in terms of intensity with specific emotions and narratives compared to other populations, their criminal experiences should not be viewed as 'abnormal' or distinct forms of behaviour, but rather, can be understood in the same forms as everyday behaviour. This idea that MDOs do generate some form of awareness of the process which leads to their crimes advances our general understanding of crime committed by these offenders, by expanding on traditional explanations to include their experiences. The personal narratives of MDOs therefore help us to understand how they calculate, devise and carry out their criminal activity, as narratives are created by individuals to help them comprehend their actions on the basis of their

perception certain circumstances, leading to their own insight into what led them to pursue their crimes in the manner which they did. Thus, the narrative perspective identifies the offender as the active agent within their own criminal actions, and this concept is key to understanding all types of criminals across a range of offence types, as it is the only true way to grasp why an offender did what they did.

The narrative perspective also elaborates the various forms of justifications and neutralizations that are often embedded within an offenders own account of their offence. More specifically, the results of this thesis elaborate the points of Youngs and Canter (2011), who argued that offence narratives reveal the psychological influences operating during offending and the four narrative themes clarify the range of psychological processes inherent in criminal actions. It could therefore be stated that similar to the concepts Youngs and Canter noted within the general offending population, MDOs also use stories to not only make sense of their experiences but also to justify and rationalize their behaviours.

By taking on a specific narrative role, offenders are able to justify their actions through the idea of becoming a particular character (e.g. *Victim*, *Professional*, *Hero* or *Revenger*) within their offences. For instance, Sykes and Matza (1957) stated that any dissonance resulting from feelings of guilt and shame following engagement in criminal behaviour can be neutralised by implementing cognitive techniques (e.g. denial of responsibility, denial of injury, denial of the victim, condemnation of the condemners, and appeal to higher loyalties), these cognitive techniques are embedded within the various narrative roles. The *Professional* may deny injury as they are most likely to carry out property related offences, the *Hero* believes their actions are for the greater good and therefore appeal to higher loyalties, the *Victim* denies the account of a another victim, believing that they are the true sufferer within

the incident and the *Revenger* condemns the condemner, seeking vengeance for some wrong doing. These suggestions are supported by previous research carried out by Youngs and Canter (2011), these researchers stated that there are a range of psychological processes inherent within criminal actions. For example, criminal thinking styles such as justification and harm minimisation, illustrated most vividly within the *Professional* role, whereby offenders underplay the harm to the victim and present their actions as routine. Accordingly, criminal narratives can be viewed as an element and extension of cognitive justifications by taking on the role which best justifies and neutralises an offender's particular criminal behaviour.

This thesis is not offering an entirely new theoretical approach to the way crime is conceptualised, but rather, it introduces a framework which integrates some of the pre-existing psychological approaches (e.g., behavioural, cognitive and social psychology) within the narrative perspective. Narratives include a number of aspects from existing psychological approaches; for instance, they are often implemented as a means of justification and are processed by the offender in a distorted manner. These cognitive distortions are reinforced by the motivating factors within the crime, such as emotional content or material reward. Furthermore, the social environment of an offender plays a huge role, not only in sustaining and reinforcing their narratives, but also in developing the narrative. The integration of these approaches within the narrative perspective helps to explain the often missing part of the puzzle in the study of crime: why the offender committed their offence. Most social science explanations concentrate on how offenders commit their crimes; when investigations are conducted into why offences were committed, the focus often turns to biological or social factors, all components which are external to the offender.

The criminal narrative approach is based on information that is gathered directly from the offenders themselves, in the hope of understanding why they carried out their offence. As such, by incorporating MDOs within the criminal narrative framework, it provides insight into how these specific offenders view their crimes and themselves, providing a new dimension to how these offenders are viewed in a research, clinical, legal and societal setting, as their cognitive processes are explored through the offenders own eyes for the first time.

13.3 Therapeutic contributions

The intention of this thesis is not to negate the pre-existing psychological and social theories of crime, but rather to integrate these theories as a process of moving forward, not only in understanding crime but also in terms of the therapeutic interventions that are used for MDOs. More specifically, there are currently a number of successful multifactor theories available for consulting professionals who treat offending populations. The multifaceted factors explain problematic behaviour (i.e., psychological, cultural, contextual and biological variables), which should be further explicated as cognitive, affective and behavioural components within a clear and appropriate account of how such variables develop and interrelate (Gannon, Ó Ciardha, , Doley & Alleyne, 2011). These types of theories create multifaceted therapeutic interventions such as Cognitive-Behavioural Therapy (CBT), which targets the beliefs, attitudes and cognitions that directly contribute to the offending behaviour (Cole, 2008; Hollin, Browne & Palmer, 2002; Lipsey, Landenberger & Wilson, 2007).

More specifically, CBT is based on the concept that how we think (cognition), how we feel (emotion) and how we subsequently act (behavior), all interact together. As such, negative and unrealistic thoughts can create distress and result in problems, for example, the way a situation is interpreted often becomes skewed and therefore impacts the actions taken.

Accordingly, the use of CBT within an offending context often aims to help offenders become aware of their negative interpretations and the behavioral patterns which reinforce the distorted thinking. Overall, CBT is an efficient therapy that is relatively easy to learn and deliver and produces good results in many instances. There is no doubt that the skills MDOs can learn in CBT are useful, practical and helpful strategies that can be incorporated into everyday life to help them cope better with future stresses and difficulties.

Despite the widespread use of CBT there are a number of limitations to the use of this treatment, especially within a mentally disordered population. Specifically, due to the structured nature of CBT, it may not be suitable for people who have more complex mental health needs, or learning difficulties (NHS Inform, 2012). With that, some critics also argue that to benefit from CBT, you need to commit yourself to the process (NHS Choices, 2012), as such, if the concepts are too complex or the individual cannot label their thoughts or emotions, the application of CBT is often limited. Some critics of CBT argue that it focuses on an individual's capacity to change themselves (their thoughts, feelings and behaviours), and does not address wider problems in systems that often have a significant impact on an individual's health and wellbeing (NHS Choices, 2012).

Accordingly, the findings of this thesis have a number of direct implications for the further development of these types of treatment programmes. Specifically, as previously discussed, the narrative approach states that people make sense of their lives and their world by creating life stories (McAdams, 1988) and therefore to truly understand a person, you must first understand their individual 'self-concept' (Bruner, 1987) or their 'story'. Applying these concepts within a criminal context suggests that, to understand any crime, it is necessary to understand the self-story of the offender during that crime; therefore, the narrative

representations of the offender's life are key to understanding their criminal behaviour. With that, CBT states that our thoughts and feelings play a pivotal role in our behaviour. Accordingly, if someone was a persistent offender, this type of therapy, when used in relation to offence-specific work, would explore the different types of feelings and thoughts that could have been associated with their criminal offence. The goal of the therapy is not only to make people aware that their thoughts and feelings have an instrumental effect on their behaviour, but also to teach people that, while they cannot control every aspect of the world around them, they can take control of how they interpret and deal with their thoughts and feelings. As previously mentioned however, some of the limitations of CBT include; individuals who are less educated and are unable to understand the complex association between thoughts, feelings and behaviour, and those individuals who cannot associate emotions and thoughts with their criminal behaviour.

To aid in overcoming these limitations, the narrative approach could be integrated within this process by recognising the criminal narrative experience with which the offender identified during their offence(s). In particular, CBT could be tailored specifically to the emotions (e.g., '*I felt calm*'; '*I felt angry*') represented within the offenders criminal experience, along with the thought processes (e.g., '*I was a professional*'; '*I was seeking revenge*') that were associated with the specific narrative roles (e.g., *Professional*; *Revenger*). This advancement would help in counteracting some of the limitations discussed above. In particular, by associating offenders with their own personal criminal narrative, the complex nature of CBT could be simplified by making MDOs understand their offence through their own eyes. Moreover, since many offenders have difficulty in associating their thoughts and feelings with their crimes, if offenders identified with a specific narrative role (e.g., *Professional*), therapists could work through the particular emotions, thoughts and cognitive distortions that

were associated with a particular theme, thereby helping the offender understand their crime on a more personal level. Youngs & Canter (2011) have noted that, in preliminary explorations of using the narrative approach within clinical interventions, it has been found effective in starting discussions with offenders about their crimes.

Implementing this approach within therapeutic interventions also appears less threatening and invasive for offenders than a direct confrontation over thought patterns and beliefs. Specifically, some psychologists have noted (e.g., Griffin, 2003) that CBT frequently sets up a dynamic whereby therapists are 'experts', as a result, therapists often find themselves confronting offenders over their thoughts rather than working with them. As such, if a strengths based approach to therapy that blends the concepts of CBT with an offenders own experience (e.g., narrative approach) was implemented, offenders thoughts could still be challenged but through their own experiences and insight rather than direct challenges from the therapist. Furthermore, a narrative CBT approach also allows for the therapist to work with offenders to view the wider problems in systems that often have a significant impact on an individual's health and wellbeing. In particular, through narrative descriptions, therapists can work directly with offenders to understand other systemic problems that may have impacted on their problematic behaviour or overall wellbeing, therefore being able to provide offenders with a better understanding of how external factors, such as relationships or the environment, can impact their behaviour and mental health.

In essence, narrative roles and emotions are central components of an offender's view of their crimes; emotions often drive an offence, while the narrative roles allow the offender to identify with a particular character, thereby reinforcing their identity as a criminal. These factors are therefore prime treatment needs for therapeutic sessions and the implementation of

change. The emotional narrative framework that has been put forward therefore enables treatment programmes to be tailored to individual need, by targeting the specific elements which motivate and reinforce individual offending behaviour using an offenders own experiences as insight. While the findings presented in this thesis do not provide an exact blueprint for its contribution to therapeutic interventions, as that is beyond the scope of the thesis, the findings do however highlight areas in which the narrative approach can contribute in a fruitful and effective manner not only for MDOs but also for other offending populations.

13.4 Contribution to investigative psychology

Along with the theoretical and therapeutic contributions discussed above, the results of this thesis have also aided in further development within the investigative psychology discipline. As Canter & Youngs (2009) discuss in their book, the investigative psychology approach to understanding coherence within offending actions assumes that this requires understanding of the meaning of the crime as it makes sense to the offender. This concept stems from Canter's (1994) argument that the narrative provides insight into the motivation and intention to act; therefore, by understanding the narrative, we move a step forward in understanding not only the action, but also the unfolding series of episodes which the offender goes through to turn their narrative into action. This process can also unmask aspects of the offender's personality and other enduring characteristics which are central to the investigative psychology discipline. Specifically, a key concept within investigative psychology is that there are associations between offenders' actions and their characteristics, and that inferences can be drawn about offenders' characteristics based on their actions.

For example, the actions of the *Depressed Victim* are associated with confusion, and lack of understanding with regard to their current situation; these offenders therefore believe that

their criminal offences are their only choice. The actions and motives behind their offences lead to inferences about their mental state; specifically, these offenders appear to have deficits in problem-solving skills and self-awareness, which are linked closely to a number of major mental illnesses, such as schizophrenia, schizoaffective disorders or psychosis, all of which have characteristics of a deluded perception of reality and a consequent lack of complete understanding within their current environment. In addition, the symptoms of clinical depression, such as feeling hopeless, worthless and helpless, are also associated with the paranoid features of psychosis and schizophrenia (McMurran et al, 2009). Overall, the study of MDOs' narrative roles and emotions is a vital step in the development of offender profiling, as it adds an innovative and alternative technique to the process of profiling by drawing inferences about characteristics through the offenders' own understanding of their actions. Accordingly, by analysing the life stories of MDOs, investigators can better distinguish between different criminal experiences and as a result, enhance the prediction of offender behaviour. In addition, the narrative process across crimes may also be of value in linking crimes to a common offender, because the emergence of a dominant narrative may be apparent as the offender sees himself acting one particular role across similar crimes (Canter & Youngs, 2009).

Furthermore, investigative psychology also has a vital impact on the direction of police investigations, such as interviewing and interrogation techniques. The implementation of the emotional narrative framework leads to a fuller understanding of the criminal experience; this creates a better understanding of the offender, which can have major implications during police interviewing and interrogations. As Canter & Youngs (2009) explain, interviews can be constructed to play on the roles that the suspect was enacting and the emotions that were expressed during their offences. De Gregorio (2009) showed that individuals' narrative

accounts could be differentiated by criminal experience, and that these accounts were distinct in structure and the way they were formed. It could therefore be suggested that taking a narrative approach enables the offender to re-enact the offence by placing them back in their criminal experience and allowing them to make sense of police questions through their unfolding narrative. This technique could aid in a higher rate of admission of guilt during interrogation of those offenders who have adopted a strong narrative identity with a high emotional component. For instance, the motive of the *Angry Revenger* is primarily built on the desire for revenge and getting what is owed to them at all costs; this desire is spurred into action through a strong sensation of aroused displeasure, such as anger, irritability or annoyance. Therefore, during interview, if the suspect is asked to relive their criminal experience, it could generate those same uncontrollable emotions which could override the offender's cognitive efforts to avoid detection.

This concept is especially relevant for MDOs; in particular, according to the results within this thesis, those MDOs who carry out their offences within the *Angry Revenger* mode, are most likely to exhibit a personality disorder. These types of offenders behave impulsively and have a 'short fuse', often responding to frustration; they are also highly reactive and can swing into an intensely angered state instantaneously (Paton, 2002). Consequently, if these offenders were asked to replay their suspected offence, the strong emotional element of the offence, coupled with these offenders' emotional deficits and lack of pro-social problem solving, could create an impulsive confession. The impact of the narrative approach within police investigations can therefore be viewed as helpful in the further development of interviewing techniques specifically designed for particular criminal experience themes. Questions directed at an offender who sees himself as an *Angry Revenger* would not be as productive if asked of an offender who sees himself as the *Elated Hero*. As Ioannou (2006)

states, just as no one profile encompasses all offenders, no single dimensional approach to interrogation will suit all suspects. Therefore, interviewing techniques should be adapted to individual cases according to their criminal experience.

13.5 Future directions

The present study has demonstrated that there is evidence which points towards the development of an emotional narrative framework for MDOs, and that the roles and emotions which create offenders' criminal experiences are largely dependent on their psychiatric diagnosis and offence type. Despite the groundbreaking research that has been conducted in relation to the narratives of MDOs, the present findings must be viewed with caution and seen as the first step towards a more developed system for understanding the criminal experience of MDOs.

While the present findings highlight a number of vital areas in the further understanding of crime and offenders, the results also suggest that additional research is necessary to further understand the precise association that different roles and emotions have with each other and within offenders' understanding of their crimes. More specifically, while there has been some research exploring the narratives of offending populations (e.g., Canter et al., 2003; 2009; Youngs & Canter, 2011), to date, there has been no research to explore these concepts within a forensic psychiatric population; therefore, in order to establish the results found within the present study, more research needs to be carried out focusing on the criminal experience of MDOs. Although the current thesis has found that certain emotions are associated with particular narratives, and that these variables create distinct themes, the extent of this relationship and the strength across offence types for specific individuals needs to be established. Also, while the findings from the current study have indicated that the strength of

an offender's criminal experience varied depending on psychiatric diagnosis and offence type, the individual differences for a single offender across various crimes and situations has yet to be explored.

Within this research, offenders were asked to describe their personal stories in relation to their index offence. They were not asked to describe any other offences which may have been similar or different from their index offence. It is therefore unclear as to whether an offender who takes on a dominant criminal experience during one offence would take on the same criminal experience during a similar offence within different circumstances, or during a completely different type of offence. For example, if a criminal's index offence was a recent burglary and he related most clearly to the *Elated Hero*, when questioned further about any prior offences, such as an attempted rape charge, it remains undetermined whether he would take on a similar criminal experience to that found during his burglary, or whether a strongly dominant criminal experience would be present. While the thesis did show that the strength of a criminal experience differs across offence types, with more positive experiences being found within property-related offences and more negative experiences found within person-centred offences, further investigation needs to be undertaken to determine individual differences across crime type. An extension of this investigation could lead to further exploration into the emotional narrative experience across specific offence types, such as robbery, murder, rape, burglary or theft, rather than two broad types, thereby encompassing all categories of offences and further developing the framework.

Investigation into MDOs official files and accessing the summary accounts of their index offence, compared to their personal recollection of their offence, may also lead to further advancements for the emotional narrative framework. Specifically, exploration into the

summary accounts provided by those involved (e.g., victim, police, witnesses), may provide further insight into the offenders personal accounts. In particular, the consistency between the two accounts (official and personal) and the factors which may affect the inconsistency across records. For example, MDOs who provide personal narratives of their offences that differ vastly compared to official reports may be more likely to exhibit certain narratives or mental diagnoses during offending compared to those who are comparable with official records. Only once we establish these types of variations and consistencies, can a more developed and empirical model of MDOs' criminal experiences be developed.

Furthermore, the framework presented needs to be tested within larger and more detailed populations. As previously mentioned, the data set used for this study was taken from forensic psychiatric services and is the first study to explore the roles and emotions of MDOs during their offences; it is therefore important to carry out further studies on mentally disordered populations in an attempt to replicate the results found within this current study. The framework could thus be validated if comparable results were obtained using a different data set and from a larger population. In addition, the data used for this study were collected from medium secure hospitals in London; to obtain a larger and more diverse sample, the data need to be collected from various psychiatric hospitals across the country, to ensure that the results found can be generalised within other psychiatric populations. An extension of this larger scale data collection would be to carry out a cross-cultural investigation to determine whether the roles and emotions that are prevalent within the current sample are found in different countries. For example, in countries like Korea, displaying any type of emotion is considered to be against traditional values; this being the case, it would be beneficial to investigate how the narratives of offenders from different cultures, where showing emotion is

not customary, differ from those of offenders in more openly expressive countries like the United Kingdom.

While this thesis did not address some of the issues that need to be investigated in the future, the findings of the current study can still be considered a step towards instigating further research within the area, so that more definite and reliable conclusions can be drawn about the criminal experiences of MDOs.

13.5.1 Limitations

Despite the significant results that were found, there are a number of methodological difficulties that must also be considered. Firstly, the data collected in this study relied on self-reported measures; although the researcher cross-referenced some of the self-reported data, the vast majority of the data was not verified by official records. Self-reported data has the potential to be inherently biased; participants may have deliberately or unintentionally misrepresented themselves. Another potential contribution to inaccurate self-reports is that participants may have felt as though confidentiality was not fully ensured and thus felt pressured to answer in a more socially desirable manner (Bordens & Abbott, 2005). Additionally, participants may have misunderstood the intention or meaning of the questions asked, or responses may have been shaped by current mood, beliefs about the nature of the study, or the motivation to please the experimenter (Bordens & Abbott).

Research has found that self-reported data, such as narrative accounts, can be distorted through the design of the questionnaire, leading to problems in reliability, and falsification may occur owing to the wish to conform to social desirability (Huizinga & Elliot, 1986). In addition, criminals often conceal or exaggerate information; there is also the possibility of

response errors due to memory distortion in relation to their criminal activities (Farrington, 2010). McAdams (1985) noted that a self-narrative is a story that a person constructs in a meaningful and sequential framework to explain their behaviour, motivations, feelings and desires. Consequently however, the problem with individuals forming their own self-narratives pertains to the representation of personal outlooks and self prescribed theories of reality, not reality itself. In other words, whilst the formation of an individual's personal narrative is theoretically based on historical fact, the self-narrative is thought to be an imaginative rendering, or an edited and embellished version of reality (Maruna & Butler, in press). Furthermore, reconstruction of events has a distorting effect on memories from a distant past. Within a criminal context, this could generate a criminal narrative based on memory distortion and an alluded self-perception, creating a false representation of the offenders' true self. With that, it could also be argued that as the population experienced a number of mental disorders, the quality and accuracy of the self-reported data needs to be taken into consideration when interpreting the results. The memory distortions within MDOs could be more pronounced due to their general mental health problems and clear understanding of events.

That being said, personal narratives are subjective accounts of reality, narrative psychology is built on the idea that "stories hold psychological truth" (McAdams, 1999) and therefore connect and provide insight into an individual's goals, motives and feelings, whilst also giving meaning to particular behaviours. It could also be argued that an offenders reconstruction of events may involve selection and interpretation rather than outright memory distortion of the truth (Bluck & Levine, 1998), as people select and interpret certain memories as self-defining (McAdams, 2001). So whilst narratives can involve significant distortions of events and make it easier for people to commit crimes, they can also be

valuable in building self-understanding (Ward 2011). Narrative accounts of offenders are therefore vital concepts in understanding the many cognitive distortions of offenders and combating these distortions through interventions.

Despite the various methodological limitations, as indicated in chapter four, there is a collective view that self-reported data is a valid and reliable measure for criminal data, as there are numerous limitations to using official records (e.g., Farrington, 2010; Hindelang et al., 1981), such as the narrowness of official details. Criminal offences are often reduced to charges or police reports, thereby omitting vital information. Therefore, it can be inferred that self-reporting can produce reliable and valid data.

The population sample could also be identified as a limitation to the current study. As previously mentioned, the data set used for this study was initially recruited from medium secure hospitals, however, due to the low recruitment numbers, participants were further recruited from the psychiatric hostels that worked in collaboration with the secure hospitals. As such, those participants recruited from the hostels may have had more stable mental health conditions at the time of recruitment, as they were deemed suitable for release into community conditions. Accordingly, the hostel sample may potentially have an impact on the overall findings, as they may be seen as a distinct population. Although all those participants recruited from the hostels moved on from the secure hospitals which were also approached, thereby hopefully minimising any differences in mental state between the samples. That being said, these potential limitations in regards to population sample need to be considered when interpreting the findings of the study.

The assumptions which the emotional narrative framework is based upon can also be viewed as a possible limitation in the study. Specifically, whilst the emotional narrative framework proposed offers an innovative perspective in considering offenders and their crimes, there are challenges within its implementation. The framework is built on the assumption that personal narratives trigger offending behaviour, and therefore that identification of themes within offenders' criminal experiences provides an understanding of the direct and immediate causes of their offending (Ward, 2011). While these assumptions have yet to be empirically defined, primarily due to lack of research within the area of criminal narratives, the basis of these beliefs is derived from empirical theories of the narrative approach within general populations. The idea that human beings give shape to their lives, and themselves, through the creation of personal narratives is an ancient and well-developed concept. It could therefore be suggested that, while the assumptions within the emotional narrative framework are not well developed, the concepts on which these assumptions are built are scientifically sound. That being said, it is inevitable that new approaches, such as that of criminal narratives, will contain areas of vagueness and uncertainty (Ward, 2011); these areas of limitation highlight the need for further research to determine the association between criminal narratives and the trigger for crime.

13.6 Concluding remarks

The overall purpose of this thesis was to provide insight into the personal narratives of MDOs and to propose a framework for the criminal experience of these offenders, thereby leading to a greater understanding of the internal reasoning and emotional affects of MDOs. As the narratives of the mentally disordered encompass various aspects of the psychological and emotional processes which underpin their criminal activity, the study of narrative roles and emotions are therefore associated with crimes and can be seen as central to these processes.

Accordingly, the investigation of offenders' personal narratives aids in the prediction of future crimes, as inner narratives are shaped by their past and present experiences and are therefore seen as a reflection into the future. There are challenges ahead for future research of the narrative approach; the results found within this study, however, indicate that it is a challenge worth pursuing.

The current thesis was the first step in overcoming the many challenges that lay ahead, by recognising that MDOs can understand the conscious acts they carry out and should not be regarded as incapable of understanding their actions. On the contrary, similar to other criminals, MDOs make sense of their lives through formulating a narrative in which they play the protagonist. This thesis has also provided the first analysis of the emotions and roles of MDOs, resulting in the creation of a systematic framework which helps in explaining crimes through offenders' own understanding. The next step is therefore to build on the foundations created within this thesis to help build a theory of crime that is all-encompassing, focusing not only on the psychological, biological and social elements of crime, but also on the internal processes within an offender that often drive an offence forward.

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Appendix A

Information Sheet for Participation in Research

Dear Potential Participant,

Regarding: Research study into offending narratives, action patterns and experiences.

Thank-you for taking the time to read about this research which is being carried out by Belinda Coulston and Elizabeth Spruin as part of their PhD degrees.

Before you make a decision about whether or not to take part, we hope you will take the time to read the information below.

What is the purpose of this research?

Life stories, just like any storyline or tale, may be analyzed in terms of plots, settings, scenes and themes, as well as characters and their roles. This process is called an 'inner narrative', such narratives help explain many aspects of criminal behaviour. The present study explores the idea of 'offending narratives' and proposes that offending behaviour can be understood through in-depth analysis and understanding of these personal stories.

Why do this research?

Research on inner narratives is a very new concept in the area of psychology, therefore by participating, you will be helping us to begin to understand how your personal story effects your offending behaviour.

Who can take part?

Adult males aged 18 years or older
Convicted of a violent or sexual offence (past or present)
No current legal charges or appeals pending
Willing to discuss one of your offences (past or present)

What happens if I decide to take part?

If you wish to engage in this research, you will be invited to attend a meeting with one of the researchers who will provide you with a consent form and demographic sheet (information about your background and forensic history). In addition, you will be asked to complete four paper and pencil tests which should take approximately 1-2 hours to complete. The purpose of these questionnaires are to explore the following: (a) the role you saw yourself enacting during an identified offence (b) emotions you experienced during an identified offence (c) statements you might use to describe yourself (interpersonal style) and (d) statements about your general beliefs and thinking patterns.

If you experience difficulties understanding or reading the questions, one of the researchers will assist you. The researchers will also be asking a select few individuals to take part in an interview to further explore their personal narrative and offending behaviour. If this is something you would be willing to engage in, please inform the interviewers.

Will I be debriefed?

If you find that thinking about your offence brings up some difficult memories or emotions, the researchers will be willing to discuss these with you after each session. During this time,

they will also assist you in identifying other supports you can access within the hospital setting to help you cope with any distress the research may have caused.

If the researchers become concerned about your welfare which you have not identified or reported, they will discuss this with you in the first instance, however they will also be required to report these concerns to appropriate individuals.

What happens if I change my mind?

If you agree to take part in the study, but then change your mind, or have started and then wish to stop, please inform either one of the researchers or a member of staff. Participation in this study is completely voluntary and consent to participate or choosing not to participate will not affect your care in anyway.

What will happen to the information I give?

All information collected about you in this study will be kept confidential and stored in anonymised form. Do not put your name on any of the forms except the consent form; this will be kept separate from the study data to ensure anonymity. After signing the consent form you will be allocated a participant number. All data will be entered into a password protected computer; your name will not be associated with any of your interview or questionnaire responses. All information will be kept in a locked filing cabinet, in a locked office, at the International Research Centre of Investigative Psychology which only research staff and their supervisors at the IRCIP will have access to. Results of the research will be made available to you if requested. The data from this study will be used to write a research report that will be used to complete the researchers degree and may be written up for publication, however no individuals will be identifiable within any published reports, as only general trends will be indicated. This research report will be accessible upon completion at the University of Huddersfield Library.

As this data will be collected for completion of a PhD, all raw data will be retained for the development of the thesis and future statistical analysis until passed. On completion of the dissertation, all identifiable information will be destroyed to - however anonymity data will be retained indefinitely for future statistical analysis if required. Due to the Data Protection Act 1998 and the Offender Management Act 2007, all raw data (questionnaires, interview recordings etc) will be kept securely for five years beyond the end of a study.

If you have any concerns prior to taking part in the study, you are asked to correspond with staff who will pass your message onto one of the researchers.

What do I do next?

If you wish to take part in the study, please advise a member of staff. Should you have any further questions, please do not hesitate to contact staff who will advise the researchers.

Thank you for taking the time to read through this information. We hope you will consider taking part in the study.

Appendix B
Demographic Sheet

Participant Number: _____

The purpose of the demographic sheet is to obtain background information regarding your offending history and details of one specific offence you have committed and been convicted of.

When completing Section 3. Offence Details, use this offence to answer the remaining sections. We would suggest that you answer this form in relation to your index offence, however if you choose to answer these questions in relation to a past offence, please indicate this.

1. DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION (please circle where appropriate)		
Current Age:	Marital Status: Single / Married / Divorced / Widowed / Separated	Ethnicity:
Nationality:	Completed High School: Yes / No If no, what age did you leave?	Completed Higher Education: Yes / No If yes, what are your qualifications?
Psychiatric Diagnosis:	Age of Onset of Mental Illness:	Current Medication:
2. OFFENDING HISTORY (please circle the convictions you have previously received).		
Age at first conviction:	Number of Prior Convictions:	Number of times in prison (including now):
Violent: Murder / Manslaughter / Grievous Bodily Harm /Assault / Common Assault / Other: <i>please specify</i>	Sexual: Rape / Attempted Rape / Indecent Assault / Exposure Other: <i>please specify</i>	Other: Burglary / Theft /Arson / Driving Offences / Drug Related Offences / Criminal Damage Other: <i>please specify</i>
Were you experiencing Mental Illness at the time of offending? Yes/No	Were you compliant with medication at the time of offending? Yes/No If yes, medication type:	Do you believe your mental illness contributed/caused your offending behaviour?

3. OFFENCE DETAILS		
Date of offence:	Number of Convictions:	Age at offence:
Were you experiencing Mental Illness at the time of the offence? Yes/No	Were you compliant with medication at the time of the offence? Yes/No If yes, medication type:	Do you believe your mental illness contributed/caused your offending behaviour?
Is the identified offence your index offence? Yes / No	Sentence Length:	Did you plea: Guilty / Not Guilty
3a. What convictions did you received for the above offence? Please refer to the lists below.		
Violent: Murder / Manslaughter / Grievous Bodily Harm / Assault / Common Assault Other: <i>please specify:</i>	Sexual: Rape / Attempted Rape / Indecent Assault / Exposure Other: <i>please specify:</i>	Other: Burglary / Theft / Arson / Driving Offences / Drug Related Offences / Criminal Damage Other: <i>please specify:</i>
Was anyone else involved in the commission of the offence? Yes / No	If yes, how many others were involved?	What was your relationship to them? Family Member / Friend / Stranger / Partner / Acquaintance. Other: <i>please specify</i>
Where did the offence occur? Victims home / Your home / Public area / pub Other: <i>please specify</i>	What day did the offence occur? Monday / Tuesday / Wednesday / Thursday / Friday / Saturday / Sunday	What time did the offence occur (approx): 5am-9am / 9am-1pm / 1pm-5pm / 5pm-9pm / 9pm-1am / 1am-5am
Did you threaten the victim with use of a weapon? Yes / No	If yes, did you actually have a weapon? Yes /No	Did you use a weapon against the victim? Yes / No
If yes, did you: a) Take the weapon with you b) Find the weapon at the location of the offence.	What weapon(s) did you use? Knife /Gun/ Bottle/ Hammer / Rock Other: <i>please specify</i>	What was the purpose of the weapon: To control the victim / to inflict harm on the victim / to frighten

		the victim / to get the victim to comply / for protection Other: <i>please specify</i>
5. PERSONAL CIRCUMSTANCES AT THE TIME OF THE OFFENCE		
Were you employed / studying at the time of the offence? Yes / No	If yes, was this: Full-Time / Part-Time / Casual What type of work/study was this?	If no, how did you support yourself financially? Job seekers allowance / disability benefits / crime / family Other: <i>please specify</i>
Where were you living at the time of the offence? Alone in own accommodation / Parents home / Homeless / With partner / With friends / Probation Hostel Other: <i>please specify</i>	Were you in a relationship at the time of the offence? Yes / No	Were you on licence/probation at the time of the offence? Yes / No
Were you using substances at the time of the offence? Yes / No	If yes, what substance(s) were you using: Alcohol / Heroin / Cocaine / Amphetamines / Marijuana / Ecstasy. Other: <i>please specify:</i>	Were you experiencing mental illness at the time of the offence? Yes / No If yes, what was this?
6. VICTIM DETAILS		
Number of victim(s):	Gender of victim(s): Male / Female / Male and Female	Age of Victim (s): If unsure, please circle each age bracket you think they were in: Under 10 years old / 10-15 years old / 15-18 years old / 18-25 years old / 25-30 years old / 30-40 years old / 40-55 years old / 55+ years old
Your relationship to the victim(s): Family Member / Partner / Ex-Partner / Friend / Acquaintance / Stranger - (known less than 24 hours) Other: <i>please specify:</i>	How long did the offence against the victim(s) last for? 5-30 minutes / 30 minutes to 1 hour / 1 to 2 hours / 2 to 5 hours / 5-12 hours / 12-24 hours / 1+ days	Injury to victim(s): Death / Broken Bones / Mutilation / Sexual Assault / Beaten / Bruises / lacerations Other: <i>please specify:</i>

<p>Did you blindfold or attempt to blindfold the victim? Yes / No</p> <p>If yes, what did you use?</p>	<p>Did you attempt to silence the victim by gagging them? Yes / No</p> <p>If yes, what how did you do this?</p>	<p>Did you restrain or attempt to restrain the victim(s)? Yes / No</p> <p>If yes, what type of restraint did you use / attempt to use?</p>
<p>What type of <u>verbal</u> communication did you have with the victim(s) during the offence: None / friendly conversation / compliments / made jokes / talked calmly / belittled / criticized / threatened / yelled abuse Other: <i>please specify:</i></p>	<p>Did you steal from the victim(s)? Yes / No</p> <p>If yes, what did you steal?</p>	<p>Did you attempt to conceal your identity? Yes / No</p> <p>If yes, how did you try to do this?</p>

Appendix C
Criminal Narrative Role Questionnaire

	SSA Label	<i>NOT AT ALL</i>	<i>JUST A LITTLE</i>	<i>SOME</i>	<i>A LOT</i>	<i>VERY MUCH INDEED</i>
1. I was like a professional	Professional					
2. I had to do it	Had to					
3. It was fun	Fun					
4. It was right	Right					
5. It was interesting	Interesting					
6. It was like an adventure	Adventure					
7. It was routine	Routine					
8. I was in control	Control					
9. It was exciting	Exciting					
10. I was acting out of revenge	Acting Revenge					
11. I was doing a job	Doing Job					
12. I knew what I was doing	Knew					
13. It was the only thing to do	Only thing					
14. It was a mission	Mission					
15. Nothing else mattered	Nothing matter					
16. I had power	Power					
17. I was helpless	Helpless					
18. It was my only choice	Only choice					
19. I was a victim	Victim					
20. I was confused about what was happening	Confused					
21. I was looking for recognition	Recognition					
22. I just wanted to get it over with	Get it over					
23. I didn't care what would happen	Didn't Care					
24. What was happening was just fate	Fate					
25. It all went to plan	Plan					
26. I couldn't stop myself	Stop myself					
27. It was like I wasn't part of it	Not part					
28. It was a manly thing to do	Manly					
29. For me it was just like a usual days work	Usual day					
30. I was trying to get revenge	Trying revenge					
31. It was like being on an adventure	On an adventure					
32. It was the only thing I could think of doing	Think doing					
33. There was nothing special about what happened	Nothing special					
34. I was getting my own back	Own back					
35. I knew I was taking a risk	Risk					
36. I guess I always knew it was going to happen	Knew happen					

Appendix D
Emotions Felt During a Criminal Offence Questionnaire

I FELT.....

	SSA Label	<i>NOT AT ALL</i>	<i>JUST A LITTLE</i>	<i>SOME</i>	<i>A LOT</i>	<i>VERY MUCH INDEED</i>
1. lonely	Lonely					
2. scared	Scared					
3. exhilarated	Exhilarated					
4. confident	Confident					
5. upset	Upset					
6. pleased	Pleased					
7. calm	Calm					
8. safe	Safe					
9. worried	Worried					
10. depressed	Depressed					
11. enthusiastic	Enthusiastic					
12. thoughtful	Thoughtful					
13. annoyed	Annoyed					
14. angry	Angry					
15. sad	Sad					
16. excited	Excited					
17. confused	Confused					
18. miserable	Miserable					
19. irritated	Irritated					
20. relaxed	Relax					
21. delighted	Delighted					
22. unhappy	Unhappy					
23. courageous	Courageous					
24. contented	Contented					
25. manly	Manly					
26. pointless	Pointless					

Appendix E
Consent Form for Participation in Research

International Research Centre for Investigative Psychology
University of Huddersfield

I have read the “Information Sheet for Participation in Research” and have been fully informed of the nature and aims of this research. I understand that participation in this study will not affect my care or parole in anyway.

I understand that I have the right to withdraw from the research at any time without giving any reason and that there will be no repercussions following my withdrawal.

If I choose to withdraw from the project, I am aware that my research data will continue to be used unless I explicitly request that this data be withdrawn from the study.

I understand that by agreeing to partake in the study, I am also giving my consent for the researchers to access collateral file information held by NHS regarding my offence history and details of my identified offence.

I understand that my identity will be protected by use of a participant number in the research report and collected information will be held in anonymised form. Furthermore, no information which could lead to me being identified will be included in any report or publication resulting from this research.

I understand that on completion of the dissertations, all identifiable information will be destroyed - however anonymity data will be retained indefinitely under secure conditions for future statistical analysis if required.

I understand that due to Data Protection Act 1998 and the Offender Management Act 2007, all information retrieved from the study will be kept securely for five years beyond the end of a study.

I am aware of the limits of confidentiality and acknowledge that if I express any intention to harm myself or others during the course of the research, the researchers are under obligation to report this information to the appropriate individuals.

I am aware that if the researchers become concerned about my welfare for which I have not reported, they will discuss this with me in the first instance, but will also report these concerns to appropriate individuals.

I am aware that if I disclose past offences for which I have not been convicted or disclose that I am involved in, or plan to be involved in the commission of an offence, the researchers are under obligation to report this information to the appropriate authorities.

I am aware that the interviewers may wish to ask a select few participants to partake in an interview of my identified offence. **I would/would not** be willing to partake in this if I was approached.

I am aware that if I experience distress or personal difficulties at any point during my participation in this study, the researchers, with my consent, will withdraw me from the study and if needed, I will be provided with appropriate support.

I am aware that by signing this document I am giving my consent to take part in the study.

Name of Participant: _____ Signature of Participant: _____

Name of Researcher: _____ Signature of Researcher: _____

Date: _____

Appendix F

Offence Analysis – Semi Structured Interview

Participant Number: _____

The purpose of this semi-structured interview is to explore with you your perception of your 'narrative role' and emotions when offending, as well as conducting an offence analysis (a detailed discussion of one of your offences). This interview should last between 1 and 1 ½ hours.

1. Narrative Roles

I'm going to describe to you different types of narrative roles individuals may see themselves enacting during an offence, these include: the hero, the victim, the revenger and the professional (interviewer to define for interviewee).

- Think about each of these roles and let me know which one(s) you can relate to and why?
- Do you believe you enacted any of these roles during your offence? Why/why not?
- Do you believe you have enacted any of these roles during any other offences? Why/why not?
- If there is a difference why might this be?
- Is there a different 'narrative role' you would give yourself that isn't there? What would it be?

2. Emotions

When offending, individuals experience a wide range of emotions. There are four categories of emotional experiences thought to exist during the offence process, these include: stress, elation, depression and calm (interviewer to define for interviewee).

- Thinking about each of these emotional categories which one(s) can you relate to and why?
- Did you experience any of these emotions during your offence? Please explain.
- Do you believe you experienced any of these emotions during any other offences? Why/why not? If there is a difference, why might this be?
- Would there be a different category of emotion that would make more sense for you? What would it be?

3. Lead Up to the Offence

Offending tends to be preceded by a variety of personal stressors and difficulties. Therefore it would be helpful to gain an understanding of what was happening in your life before the offence.

- What triggers and stressors were you experiencing in your life prior to the offence?
- Do you think there was anything that could have stopped you from offending?

4. Offence Analysis (refer: "notes for the interviewer" for question prompts)

In your own words, describe to me in detail your offence, including how you approached the victim, what happened during the offence, your interaction with the victim and the level of violence you used.

5. Post Offence

Once an offence has been committed it is helpful to understand why it ended and what you did afterwards, what happened in your case?

- Do you think you got what you wanted from offending? Why/why not?
- What did you think and feel about yourself after the offence? What about now?
- What do you think about the level of violence you used? What about now?
- What did you think and feel about the victim after the offence? What about now?
- What would need in your life to prevent you committing crime in the future?

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