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The Narrative Roles Framework:
an examination of the narratives of offenders and the general population

By Loren Ellis Parton

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

University of Huddersfield
November 2021

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“...There is one thing, and only one, in the whole universe which we know more about than we could learn from external observation. That one thing is Man. We do not merely observe men, we are men. In this case we have, so to speak, inside information; we are in the know....” (C.S Lewis, Mere Christianity)

Abstract

The Narrative approach has been shown to provide a rich understanding of offender's actions and behaviour, rather than the typical societal or dispositional explanations to criminality. It is suggested by exploring the 'inner narratives' of offenders that this provides an insight into the role in which offenders identify with and ultimately the underpinning explanations to their criminal actions. Additionally, by connecting those narratives to character roles and actions. Previous literature within this area has identified a relationship between narrative roles, the emotions experienced by offenders and types of crime. The present thesis aims to provide a comprehensive consideration of the Narrative roles framework and explore the applicability of the narrative roles questionnaire across different contexts. Furthermore, it includes a critical discussion of the use of the Narrative roles questionnaire (NRQ) as an instrument to collect narrative experiences, these are highlighted throughout the thesis.

Data samples collected from offenders from three different European cultures and the general population were explored utilising a battery of questionnaires focused on collecting the narrative experiences of individuals. The aim was to conduct a cross-cultural analysis of offender's narratives, emotions and crime types to establish similarities and differences amongst the samples. Results revealed the existence of narrative roles in line with the Narrative roles framework developed by Canter and Youngs (2011) however the distinction between the revenger and hero role is discussed further. Additionally, findings revealed that emotions can be differentiated into four themes as suggested by Russell (1997) in his Circumplex of emotions. Further analysis explored the differences in the narrative roles revealed in relation to different types of crime. Findings suggested that dominant narratives were associated with the different types of crime. It is identified that some of the studies within the thesis are replications of previous research, however the uniqueness of the sample in terms of the differences in offender characteristics allows for the strengthening of an already established area of study.

In relation to the general population study, findings revealed the existence of four narrative roles when individuals described a significant event. Three of the roles revealed were in line with the Narrative roles framework as described by Canter and Youngs (2011). However, there was the existence of a new role revealed within the SSA configuration, this describes a narrative of positivity and new experiences. These findings generally support the narrative roles framework and that similar narrative roles are revealed within positive and negative significant events. However, within positive events, there is a new narrative role that is in line with the theme of the narrative being positive.

The current thesis makes a significant contribution to the development of knowledge around the Narrative theory, in particular the efficacy of the approach in examining criminal behaviour. Furthermore, it provides a comprehensive critical discussion of the self-report method of gathering data and the validity and reliability of the NRQ. In terms of practical implications, the results can provide information regarding specific types of offenders and the most effective way in which treatment interventions can be tailored depending on their dominant life narrative. Finally, the thesis has provided a unique exploration into the use of the NRQ in relation to a significant event within the general population, aiming to determine the applicability of the NRQ as an instrument to measure narrative experiences in different contexts. In summary, the thesis explores the internal and external factors which have been suggested to influence how criminal behaviour is carried out, the thesis brings these factors together and examines the relationship between these. It provides a unique perspective and overview of the narrative approach and how roles can provide an insight into the life stories of offenders and interestingly the general population. Whilst providing empirical evidence to the approach and testing the validity of a tool in which to examine the stories in which individuals tell about their lives.

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Part 1

Introduction

Chapter 1: Crime

The idea of crime and individuals committing crime is one that has been glamorised over the years by TV, film and music, thus it has become an area of particular interest and curiosity. From an academic perspective, crime and criminal justice, have been heavily studied and theorised to provide explanations for why crime occurs, who is likely to commit it or be affected by it and when and where is it likely to happen. Ultimately having a greater understanding of these issues, can lead to the development of preventative interventions that attempt to prevent the onset of offending, reduce the likelihood of recidivism, permit a comprehensive understanding of risk assessments, and ameliorate the impact that criminals have on society.

To further understanding, it is key to explore the different definitions of the terms 'crime' and 'criminal'. It is important when considering definitions to understand that crime is contextual, it can take different forms dependent on the historical period, specific context, social setting, location or situation in which it occurs (Lanier, Henry and Anastacia, 2015). For example, cyber-bullying and trolling are now prevalent amongst the young generation, however, this may be ignored by individuals and lawmakers who were raised prior to the widespread use of the internet (Burgess-Proctor, Patchin and Hinduja, 2009). It is clear that society has some understanding of what is criminal, however, this can differ from person to person, what someone believes is deviant behaviour another person could view this as a criminal act. Additionally, to an individual or group of individuals, a certain lifestyle may be deemed morally wrong, on the other hand, it may be a way of life for others. Lanier, Henry and Anastacia (2015) stated that "like deviance, crime is a concept with elusive, varied, diverse and oft-changing meanings" (pg.13).

One of the most straightforward ways in which crime can be defined is from the legal perspective, this defines crime as "Acts prohibited, prosecuted, and punished by criminal law" (Lanier & Henry 2001; 6). In simple terms crime is an act that is illegal and against criminal law. However, crime is very much a contested subject as there are some situations that occur in society that are harmful such as pollution and tax evasion which are not considered a crime or against the law but are deemed as ethically wrong. On the other hand, there are some behaviours and actions which are defined as a crime such as vigilante justice or graffiti which in some contexts could be viewed as justified or a work of art, respectively. These may not be considered as criminal by some members of society. Some researchers go as far to suggest that crime is a socially constructed phenomenon that was developed and defined by the State which considers certain interests and ideas which reflect the interests of the powerful (Scott, 2019).

It has been argued that the legal definition is too simplistic due to the idea that it does not take into consideration socially harmful offences. For example, just after the Second World War, Sutherland (1949) stated that the legal definitions failed to consider white-collar crime and harms that are covered by administrative law. Consequently, he argued for the legal definitions to be extended to encompass all offences that are considered socially harmful. Additionally, a second issue relating to the definition is that it is restrictive in that it does not consider the cultural and historical context, there are a number of examples in which an act or lifestyle choices are deemed as criminal in some cultures but in others are legal to do so. One example is the recreational use of marijuana which is now legal in some states in America. A further example is homosexuality, this is still criminalised in some countries such as Indonesia, an individual can face a prison sentence for being openly homosexual or being transgender. A final example to consider is domestic violence and how this is perceived differently amongst different cultures. For example, in the UK domestic abuse which it is now termed covers a range of behaviours against a partner or family member, and recently a new offence of coercive control was created in the Serious Crime Act (2015) legislation. This differs from a number of countries, for example in China and South Africa physical violence is seen as an acceptable way in which to resolve conflict within a relationship. Additionally, research conducted by Pan, Daley, Rivera, Williams, Lingle and Reznik (2006) found that the Vietnamese community see domestic violence as a private family matter and sharing information about the family with outsiders is viewed as inappropriate. In relation to sexual violence, in some countries and cultures, spousal rape is not illegal, particularly within the Muslim community, under Sharia law, a wife cannot withhold sexual intercourse from her husband unless there is a valid reason.

Moving forward from the legal definition of crime, a more comprehensive approach that considers the limitations of the legal definition is to divide definitions into one of two types depending on whether they reflect consensus or conflict within society. The consensus approach refers to definitions of crimes agreed upon by the majority of the society, for example, it assumes that members of society all agree on what constitutes a crime such as murder or manslaughter. It relies upon individuals within society sharing common values and beliefs, and that in relation to crime they will share collective values and opinions of what defines criminality. This is rooted in some of the early ideas of Emile Durkheim (1982) who believed that people were held together by common religious beliefs, traditions and similar worldviews. Similarly, Roshier (1989) defined crime as 'only identifiable by the discouraging response it evokes' (pg.76). However this classification is not without limitations, for example, the act of killing or taking human life is generally deemed as being criminal and unacceptable, however, when considering the context for example an individual killing an 'enemy' in

the war, this is something that is celebrated and even honoured so again the situation and context need to be considered.

On the other hand, the conflict approach proposes that individuals are different and therefore there is typically a conflict over interests in what should be defined as a crime and what behaviours are deemed criminal. These are generally determined by those who have the power to further their own needs and interests (Lanier, Henry and Anastacia, 2015). An example of this as previously mentioned relates to cultural differences for example homosexuality being illegal in one country but legal in another. A further example being that abortion in some states of America such as Alabama is criminalised, and it is a criminal offence for a doctor to carry out this procedure except in the case of a medical emergency. This theory is grounded in the Marxist ideology which focuses on divisions of class and power struggles (Akers, 2000). The Marxist conflict theory is of the view that the law should not define the content of crime, instead it suggests that a behaviour or act which causes harm should be considered a crime (Reiman, 2007).

Following on from the consensus and conflict approach, Gould, Kleck and Gertz (1992) suggested that when defining crime it is important to consider the situational context, therefore they proposed that crime is “a particular set of interactions amongst offender(s), crime target(s), agent(s) of social control and society” (pg.4). It is clear from the different perspectives discussed above that over time definitions have changed and moved away from the limited legal definitions and taken into consideration other factors such as cultural and situational context.

As well as defining crime, it is important to consider who or what makes someone a criminal? Tappan (2008) states simply, that a criminal is an individual who has been adjudicated by the courts. He adds that no presumptions can be made that an individual who has been arrested, arraigned, indicted or prosecuted are termed criminal unless they are found guilty beyond reasonable doubt of an offence in a court of law. An important factor to consider is that generally offenders are not necessarily convicted of the crime they commit when it gets to court, this can be due to plea bargains or lack of evidence which means that criminal charges are reduced or dropped, and other criminal charges are brought. Farrington (1989) drawing from the results from the Cambridge study found that 96% of the males self-reported committing at least one offence including burglary, theft, assault, vandalism or drug abuse up to age 32, however, these were not necessarily convicted of these offences. This means that when exploring data around criminals and in particular looking at crime types, it is not always as clear cut as researchers would like to hope and difficult to compare and contrast types of offenders.

One useful conception of crime, provided by criminologist John Hagan (1977, 1985) was Hagan's pyramid of crime which understands crime and deviance as a continuous variable. Hagan (1985) defined crime as "a kind of deviance, which in turn consists of variation from a social norm that is proscribed by criminal law" (pg.48). More recently, Lanier, Henry and Anastacia (2015) built upon Hagan's earlier work and developed the prism of crime which attempts to provide an integrated definition of crime and includes the public awareness of crime which considers the realisation that an individual is a victim, this was neglected in Hagan's model.

From the discussions above, defining crime is complex and that over time many definitions have been proposed, however, some have limitations that do not fully encompass crime as a whole. To summarise this ongoing debate, one commentator observed "An appropriate definition of crime... remains one of the most critical unresolved issues in criminal justice today" (Bohm and Haley, 2005). Although this statement was made in the early 2000s, it is clear from the discussions above that this remains relevant today.

To understand the nature and extent of crime, the prevalence of crime will be discussed along with the methods of how data has been collected and recorded both historically and contemporaneously. There are different ways in which crime data can be collected, for example by analysing the number of individuals committing crime, this could be assessed via official police records or self-reporting. Furthermore, the number of crimes committed could be analysed, again this could be collected via official police records. Finally, the number of victims of crime could be analysed which is collected by large scale victimisation surveys. Each of these methods have limitations and advantages which are discussed further in the chapter. When considering the collection of crime data, it is important to consider that some methods are based on the number of incidents, and some relate to the prevalence of crime. Incidence is defined as the number of new cases or incidents in a population, an incident is a single occurrence or event. Whereas, prevalence refers to the total number of people affected in a given population over a given amount of time (e.g., preceding 12-months or the individual's lifetime) (Coomber, Donnermeyer, McElrath and Scott, 2015).

Two sources that are used in England and Wales to collect crime statistics are the British Crime Survey (BCS), now known as the Crime Survey for England and Wales (CSEW) and police recorded crime data. The BCS first conducted in 1982, it involved collecting responses from random households regarding their experiences of crime. It predominantly included persons aged 16-59 years, however, in 2009 the survey was extended to include children aged between 10-15 years (Home Office, 2010). The survey asked questions regarding the experience of crime in the previous 12 months and includes

victimisation which has not been reported to the police. Statistics reported in April 2020 from the Crime Survey for England and Wales which concerns the year ending December 2019, concluded that it is estimated that 10.4 million offences were experienced by adults aged 16 to 59, this being a decrease of 5% from the previous year. Although the survey is a large nationally representative sample survey that has been deemed a reliable measure of long-term trends (ONS, 2020), it does have some limitations. An example being that it does not take into consideration crimes against businesses, and it can only capture the responses of individuals who are part of a household, therefore excluding those in institutions or who are street homeless. Additionally, it excludes crime in which no victim can be interviewed such as homicides and drug offences (ONS, 2020). More recently, the CSEW has been revised to include crime that is becoming more prevalent such as online behaviour in children and domestic abuse. In terms of future development, the commissioning of a child abuse prevalence survey is being recommended, as well as the consideration of the current Covid-19 pandemic on the impact of crime and the type of crime occurring (ONS, 2020).

Self-report victimisation data is also collected at an international level that offers the potential for trends in the UK to be compared with that of other countries. In 1987, a proposal was put forward to the Council of Europe Conference for an international crime survey (Van Dijk, Mayhew, Killias, 1990). The International Crime Victims Survey (ICVS) thus emerged as a standardised survey that has been used internationally to collate respondent experiences of crime and whether this was reported to the police. When this survey was carried out, data was collected in 54 different countries and data collection took in three rounds in 1988, 1992 and 1996. Since then, data has been collected with intervals of four to five years, the most recent recorded survey was in 2010.

An advantage of utilising a standardised survey and research method across many countries is that the statistics can be used for comparative purposes (Van Dijk, 2001a). The conclusions drawn have important policy implications, as it identifies that victims of crime are particularly vulnerable and at a high risk of further victimisation. As the ICVS is the only cross-national, large-scale survey of its kind there are clear advantages of this research, however, there are also some limitations that need to be considered. One example is that the sample is limited to those who have household telephones and those who are part of a household. Additionally, the response rates between each of the data collection rounds vary between countries and between each collection round. In relation to its ability to measure crime, Lynch (2006) highlights some of the limitations of the ICVS and whether it accurately measures crimes as well as victimisation. One of the limitations relates to the type of crime which is recorded, this is generally limited to violent classes of crime and prevalent property crime, which in turn limits the conclusions which can be drawn as it does not show a full picture of the prevalence of

all types of crime.

A second source to discuss is police recorded crime data, although this is not deemed a national statistic, it is important to consider this data as it takes into consideration crime which may not be effectively recorded on the CSEW such as lower volume but high harm violent crime. In 2014, the national statistics quality badge was removed from police recorded data as it was deemed unreliable with a concern being that certain crime categories were being under-reported (HMICFRS, 2014).

The police recorded crime data is collated from the 43 territorial police forces in England and Wales and the data is supplied to the Home Office every month. Although this type of crime measurement has its advantages such as it being a good measure of offences that are well reported, it does have limitations. One obvious example is that it does not include crime that has not been reported or recorded by the police, as well as less serious crime which is dealt with by the Magistrates Court directly. Additionally, when recording crime there are limited categories in order to classify the type of offence, for example when a crime is reported it will be classified into one of the following categories: violence against the person, theft, arson and criminal damage, miscellaneous crimes against society and fraud (ONS, 2021) This suggests an obvious limitation as these categories are quite restrictive and some types of crime may fall into one or more of the categories, therefore this may impact the reliability of crime statistics and recordings.

To improve the reliability of the recording of crime, the Home Office counting rules (HOCR) were introduced as guidelines to improve consistency across forces. However, in 2014 Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Constabulary and Fire and Rescue Services (HMICFRS) conducted reviews into the way police forces recorded crimes in 2009 and 2014, and while there were improvements recording issues were still found to be unreliable and inaccurate. Statistics reported in April 2020, show that the police recorded 5.8 million crimes in England in Wales in the year ending December 2019, this is a significant difference in comparison to the prevalence of crime recorded in the CSEW. As a point of comparison, statistics published in 2019 by the Ministry of Justice showed that 1.59 million individuals were dealt with by the criminal justice system, with the convictions rate remaining stable at 87%. Although this is a high percentage in terms of conviction rate, only 1.38 million individuals were prosecuted in England and Wales which is a significant reduction in the number of crimes that was recorded. This demonstrates that not all crime that is reported and individuals who are charged are prosecuted and dealt with by the means of the criminal justice system.

A final method of data collection which is worth noting is the self-reported data from the individuals

who commit crime. The use of self-report studies emerged in the 1940s and by the 1980s had been established as a Criminological method. In 1958, Nye utilised the self-reporting method in order to study delinquency and family relationships, this paved the way for this technique to be utilised to study delinquency moving forward, for example in the Chicago Neighbourhoods study in the 1990s. One of the studies which adopted the self-reporting method was the Cambridge Study in Delinquent Development. The study focused on risk factors associated with offending, as well as discussing some of the differences between self-report studies and official records as measures of the extent of offending. One advantage of using a self-report method is that it reduces the issues raised by the other methods, for example, it avoids the issues with non-reporting and recording as associated with police recorded crime data. However, one of the main limitations being that how reliable is the information that is provided. This may be to do with recalling past events or considering whether an individual is being completely truthful. Farrington (1992) suggested there are several issues with the reliability of this method such as an individual forgetting or concealing information. Maguire (2007) observed that just as victim surveys are more effective in revealing particular types of crime, similarly, so is the self-report method and it does not necessarily reveal the nature of all offences. Although the discussed methods of recording crime statistics have limitations, by taking into consideration the different sources of data, these can be utilised to draw conclusions around the current trends, prevalence and types of crime which are occurring within England and Wales. Farrington, Ttofi, Crago and Coid (2014) found in their research that over eight types of offences, there were 112 self-reported offences per offender on average, compared to only 3.3 convictions, meaning a ratio of 34 to 1. This demonstrates that there is a significant difference in relation to the number of offences occurring and the conviction rate of these offenders.

In summary, a 'criminal' has been defined as an individual who has been adjudicated by the courts and from a legal perspective, a 'crime' is any act that is prohibited, prosecuted and punished by criminal law. However, the above discussion highlights that this is not as clear cut as statistics show that not all individuals who commit a criminal act are prosecuted or even arrested for that act. Therefore, it raises the question of if an individual has not been convicted of a crime does that mean they are not classified as a criminal? Furthermore, considering the situational context of a behaviour or act can impact how it is perceived, as discussed what is considered to be criminal in one country is non-criminal in another which makes the definitions of what is a crime questionable.

Crime trends

It is important to consider the individuals who commit crime and who is most likely to be a perpetrator.

Research suggests that males commit more crime than females (Loeber, Jennings, Ahonen, Piquero and Farrington (2017). Research by Loeber, Ahonen, Stouthamer-Loeber, Hipwell and Stepp (2015) compared girls from the Pittsburgh Girls study and boys from the Pittsburgh Youth study. They found that boys of all ages were more likely to offend than girls and generally at a higher frequency. However, research by Ahonen, Jennings, Loeber and Farrington (2016) found that there were significant 'dark figures' of female delinquency, especially in relation to violence. Interestingly, Cauffman, Monahan and Thomas (2015) found that on population-level differences, males offend at a higher frequency than female offenders, however drawing from a specific sample of similar backgrounds such as demographics and individual risk factors, the differences between genders are less pronounced.

Generally, males are raised to be assertive and aggressive, whilst females are raised to be gentle and nurturing (Lindsey, 2011). In relation to age, offending rates are the highest in the late teens and early twenties. During this time, there are a number of different factors which come into play such as being influenced by peer relationships, lacking a full-time job which may lead to acquisitive crime to acquire money (Shoemaker, 2010) and finally other factors such as getting married, having children and gaining employment may reduce the desire to break the law (Laub & Sampson, 2020). Research has also suggested that those of lower socio-economic class (Harris & Shaw, 2000) and those living in urban areas are more likely to become involved in crime. Race and ethnicity do appear to be a factor involved in the conviction of crime, however, it appears that it relates more to the above issues discussed such as lower socio-economic class and living in urban areas rather than racial/ethnic differences. Additionally, Ahonen, Jennings et al. (2016) in their research showed that there were significant racial differences in relation to different crime types.

The criminal careers approach to understanding offending behaviour

As previously highlighted, the definition of what is a 'criminal' and the patterns around those who are convicted in a court of law and those who are not is a complex and interesting discussion. Dependent on the perspective or viewpoint which is taken this can ultimately lead to different conclusions being drawn. As mentioned, an individual who is convicted of an offence is deemed a 'criminal' however statistics show that a high percentage of individuals have also committed offences but not been convicted therefore does this not make them 'criminal'?

Criminal careers research focuses on an individual's involvement in crime and considers the following; the beginning (onset) and the end of the career (desistance), the career length in between (duration),

the proportionate of the population who commit offences (prevalence) and the rate an offender commits offences (frequency). A criminal career may only contain one offence, however for offenders who commit several offences it is possible to explore specialisation and whether the seriousness of offences escalates over time (Farrington, 1992). MacLeod, Grove and Farrington (2012) define a criminal career as “a longitudinal sequence of offences committed by an individual offender” (pg.2). As discussed, this approach is generally based upon those who have been convicted of offences, however, it is also important to use the method of self-report in order to explore whether those who have not been convicted of the offences they have committed reveal the same results and conclusions.

This type of methodology requires the analysis of longitudinal data which can be obtained for example from official records or longitudinal surveys, such as the Cambridge study of delinquent development (Farrington, 2003; Farrington, Coid, Harnett, Jolliffe, Soteriou, Turner & West, 2006; Farrington, Coid & West, 2009). The core tool which was utilised within this study was a self-reporting method, one of the aims was to explore the differences between self-report studies and official records as a measure of the extent of crime. As discussed, a limitation of utilising a self-report measure is that it is not known how truthful this information is, however it does allow for a first-hand account. One advantage in particular in relation to utilising self-reporting over a longitudinal period is that it allows for the exploration of patterns of offending and changes over a life course, which without this method would not be revealed (Newburn, 2017). In relation to criminal careers research, official records are utilised as the exact timing of offences is important to the research and achieving valid results. However, this approach does have limitations the main types of limitations being misclassification of events and non-recording. In relation to misclassification of events, there can be issues around how different agencies record or classify offences in terms of the type of crime committed. Furthermore, official records may not always be a true representation of the frequency and prevalence of crime, as crime is only recorded generally if there has been an arrest or an individual has been convicted (National Research Council, 1986).

Blumstein and Cohen (1979) stated that knowledge about individual criminal careers is fundamental to our understanding of individual criminality. They stated that little is known regarding an individual's criminal career such as the number of offences they commit each year, and how this changes as they age. This early research demonstrated the need for the expansion of research around criminal careers and highlighted that it is an important part of understanding criminal behaviour and deviance. From this research, a number of key concepts and questions were explored, for example, research began looking at the length of a criminal career and how the length was defined from the onset to the

termination of the career. This led to research around 'early onset' (Moffitt, 1993 and Lahey, Waldman and McBurnett, 1999) and also desistance (Maruna, 2001 and Laub and Sampson, 2003).

Furthermore, another important concept which researchers explored was the age-crime curve (Farrington, 1986 and Sweeten, Piquero and Steinberg, 2013). Research demonstrated that the aggregate rate of offending increases to a peak in the teenage years and then decreases (Farrington, 1992). However, Lacourse, Dupéré and Loeber (2008) found that the peak of the age-crime curve tends to be later for violent offences in comparison to property offences. Research into the age-crime curve investigated whether it was due to a change in the prevalence of offenders in each age group or that there was a change in an individual's frequency of offending.

In relation to the age of onset of crime, Farrington (1995) found that across all crimes that the age of onset was generally between the age of 13-15 years. Farrington's (1995) findings suggested that in general the younger the age of onset, the longer the criminal career. For example, Steffensmeier and Allan (2000) found that when offending starts around the mid-teens it will generally end in the late teens to early 20s, however those with early-onset offending may continue beyond the age of 30. Additionally, LeBlanc and Frechette (1989) found that different offences demonstrated different ages of onset, for example, it was found that burglary had an average age of onset at 14.22 years, whereas offences such as homicide the average age of onset was 19.89 years. Similarly, research by Howard, Blumstein and Schwartz (1986) found in their research that around half of those arrested during their lifetimes were first arrested before the age of 18 years. Farrington, Loeber, Yin and Anderson (2002) suggested that a number of childhood factors such as impulsivity, low IQ, broken families and poor parental supervision, predicted criminality. In relation to factors which were associated with the early onset of offending, Farrington and Hawkins (1991) found that factors such as low parental involvement, authoritarian parents, little leisure time with father and individual characteristics such as poor psychomotor skills were associated with the early onset of criminality for boys at the ages between 8-10 years.

Termination of offending or the ending of a criminal career is known as 'desistance'. Results from the Cambridge Study (Farrington, Piquero and Jennings, 2013) found that when the sample was followed up to 56 years of age, the average criminal career ended at age 29.5 years. However, the research did show that although offenders initially stopped offending at an average of age 19, they restarted offending around 7-10 years later. Farrington and West (1995) found that getting married led to a decrease in offending compared to staying single. However, separation and divorce led to an increase in reoffending behaviour. Similarly, Theobald and Farrington (2012) found results to support this concept.

In relation to the concept of desistance, Le Blanc and Frechette (1989) found that the median age of desistance for vandalism was 13.3 years, age 17 for petty theft and age 21 for fraud. This research suggests that the type of offence may impact the age of desistance. Further research by Loeber and Farrington (2012) found that rates of desistance for drug dealing, and gun-carrying is much lower than other types of crime, and desistance occurs at a later age. However, research has not always demonstrated that there are different rates of desistance in different offence types. For example, Loeber et al (2008) found that desistance from moderate/serious violence compared to desistance from moderate/serious theft during late adolescence was not significantly different.

As desistance is an important component of criminal careers research and society as a whole, a vast amount of research has focused on determining why offenders stop committing crime. DeLisa and Piquero (2011) highlighted that desistance is not a discrete event, it reflects a gradual process where maturation, changing peer networks and life events change the focus of the offending interests of the individual. Some of the suggested reasons are marriage and employment. Craig, Diamond, and Piquero (2014) found evidence to suggest that there is an overall protective effect of marriage on criminal desistance. However, research by Skardhamar, Savolainen, Aase and Lyngstad (2015) found conflicting evidence and suggested that the conclusions drawn from the current evidence base are not as profound as described. They suggest that it cannot be ruled out that desistance triggers marriage rather than vice versa. Furthermore, Catalano, Park, Harachi, Haggerty, Abbott and Hawkins (2005) proposed that desistance depends on changes in opportunities, rewards, costs and bonding that may be influenced by life events. A further factor that has been discussed in relation to both male and female offenders is that of pregnancy and starting a family. Massenkoff and Rose (2020) found that male arrests decreased sharply at the start of the pregnancy and remain at lower levels following the birth, with reductions around 25% for economic and drug crimes. Additionally, pregnancy in females triggers enormous positive changes such as the decline in drug and alcohol use and economic arrests at the start of the pregnancy. These arrest levels then stabilise to half of the pre-pregnancy levels three years after the birth which suggest that becoming a parent may have a positive impact on desistance from crime.

Measuring desistance has presented challenges for those that have chosen to study the concept, as the definition has been described as vague (Laub and Sampson, 2001). A number of researchers appear to have a different idea on what constitutes desistance. For example, Warr (1998) suggested that one year free from crime was classified as desistance, while Farrington and Hawkins (1991) defined desistance as having no convictions between ages twenty-one and thirty-two following a

conviction before age twenty-one. Laub and Sampson (2001) suggest that even though an individual may desist from criminal activity it does not mean they are not engaging with other deviant behaviours, such as alcohol and drug use. An interesting discussion in relation to desistance is the concept of 'intermittency'. Laub and Sampson (2003) defined this as 'zigzagging' in and out of crime. Barnett, Blumstein and Farrington (1989) found utilising data from the Cambridge study that remained conviction-free for 7 to 10 years and then went on to be convicted of another offence. They concluded that there may be the phenomena in which offenders desist from criminality but go on to start a second criminal career. Carlsson (2012) distinguished two forms of intermittency from interviews with offenders. He found that one form of intermittency was a temporary hold of offending in which offenders described this as a 'time out' but described themselves as 'still in the game'. The second form relating to attempted change, in which offenders expressed their desire to stop offending bringing about a period of non-offending. However, they eventually started re-offending and living a criminal lifestyle. Similarly, DeShay and Vieriatas (2020) studied intermittency among prisoners and found that some offenders consciously take breaks. From the interviews, some factors which impacted their return to offending were pressure by their spouses and lack of support from family and friends as important drivers (DeShay and Vieriatas, 2020).

In relation to the duration of a criminal career, research conducted by Piquero, Brame and Lynam (2004) found that it typically lasted between 5 and 15 years, with an average of 9.8 years (Farrington, Piquero and Jennings, 2013). Similar to the concept of desistance, measuring the duration of a criminal career is incredibly challenging due to needing to identify the true end of an individual's criminal behaviour. Recent research by Ahonen, FitzGerald, Klingensmith and Farrington (2020) aimed to look at the predictability of the duration of a criminal career using official records and self-reporting records. They did this by utilising data from the Pittsburgh Youth study. The results showed that there was limited predictability of delinquency and offending over time.

In relation to the concept of frequency, there have been mixed findings of evidence that has shown that frequency is both stable and variable. Frequency is understood in this context as the rate of offending amongst active offenders (Piquero, Farrington and Blumstein, 2007). Some research has shown that at an aggregate level, the time between offences increases with each successive offence committed. One explanation for this decrease in offending frequency is that at an aggregate level the data includes different types of offenders. For example, Moffit and Caspi (2001) proposed two types of offenders, adolescent-limited and life-course persistent offenders. Similarly, Barnett et al. (1987) found supportive evidence that there are two different offender types; frequent and occasional. Occasionals or adolescent-limited offenders gradually stopping offending and drop out of the offending

population, and thus make it appear that offending becomes less frequent. However, for the life-course persistent offenders or the frequenters, their frequency of offending increases. Moffitt and Caspi (2001) suggest that as these individuals age, their actions escalate in severity, including violent interpersonal acts of aggression. DeLisi (2001) suggests that life-course persisters are responsible for a disproportionate number of the most serious crimes committed in the general population. It is estimated that they account for between 5% and 10% of the population but are actually responsible for more than 50% of all crimes (DeLisi, 2001). A review by Blumstein, Cohen, Roth and Visher (1986) found that individual frequency rates for active offenders do not substantially vary with demographics such as age, gender and race. Blumstein et al. (1986) suggested that some of the factors which have been associated with an increase in the frequency of offending are active offenders who begin criminal activity at a young age, have substance misuse issues (Ball, Rosen, Flueck & Nurco, 1981) and are unemployed for long periods (Farrington, Gallagher, Morley, St. Ledger & West, 1986).

In relation to the concept of specialisation, there has been limited conclusive evidence except amongst sex offenders and those who commit fraud (Stander, Farrington, Hill & Altham, 1989). A generalist offender is defined as an individual who commits different offences on various occasions, with no inclination to pursue a specific criminal act or pattern of criminal acts whereas a specialist offender shows a greater tendency to repeat the same crime or offence over time (Baker, Falco Metcalfe & Jennings, 2013). Farrington (1991) in his study of violent offenders and non-violent offenders found that offenders did not specialise in violence. Osgood and Schreck (2007) report consistent evidence of specialisation in violent offending using general population data on self-reported delinquency. Britt (1994) highlights that even those studies that identify specialised offenders suggest that they comprise only a small portion of the overall population.

Baker, Falco Metcalfe and Jennings (2013) suggested that although offenders show some versatility in relation to the types of offences committed within each of the categories (violent, property, drug or other) generally the findings suggest that offenders do specialise within these broader categories. For example, if an offender commits a violent offence, they are much more likely to commit another violent offence even if it is not specifically the same offence as committed previously (e.g. if they commit domestic violence, they are also likely to commit street-level violence). Gottfredson and Hirschi (1994) argued that although specialisation can appear to occur for some offenders, this is sometimes due to opportunity and circumstance rather than a characteristic of the offender. Research by Loeber, Farrington, Stouthamer-Loeber and White (2008) suggested that offence specialisation increases with age and that specialisation may depend on the level of severity of the offence. More recent research by Wiesner, Yoerger and Capaldi (2018) utilised three different types of data; self-reports, official

convictions, official arrests to build upon limitations in previous research on specialisation. One of the key findings being that amongst the sample versatility was identified as the predominant pattern, with little evidence pointing toward specialization in the men's offending behaviour. The pattern of offender versatility did not differ due to the different data sources used, the overall frequency of offending and the analytical method utilised. Interestingly, the type of data utilised when exploring specialisation may impact the results found, for example, research by Lynam, Piquero and Moffitt (2004) found evidence of offender specialisation in violent crime when using self-report data but not when using official records. Therefore, suggesting that consideration needs to be taken when analysing results and drawing conclusions when utilising the different types of data.

Finally, the final concept that can be discussed within the criminal career approach is escalation, this is defined as the tendency to move from less serious crime to more serious crime types as a criminal career progresses (Francis and Liu, 2016). Blumstein, Cohen, Das and Moitra (1988) found that the average seriousness of each offence committed by an offender appears to increase with each offence and as they get older. In the study conducted by Francis and Liu (2016), they found that offenders who start with a relatively high level of crime seriousness at an early age tend to de-escalate as they get older. Additionally, individuals who have a large number of convictions over a short period of time, are the most likely to escalate their crime seriousness.

As mentioned, there a number of methods of collecting data and information around criminal behaviour, predominantly in the criminal careers research this has been based around official statistics such as arrest reports, however, the use of self-reports has also been included. Using the self-report approach allows for data to be collected which is directly from the offender and does not rely on statistics that have been reported by the police such as previous convictions and arrest information. It allows for a first-hand insight into the criminal behaviour; however, it is of course not without bias as the information is subjective and it relies on the offender not fabricating or concealing important details (Farrington, 1992). Nye and Short's (1957) work around the benefits of using self-report measures are particularly important as it highlighted the appropriateness of using such measures. Over the years, a number of researchers have been involved in further refining the methodology around self-reporting, for example, Gold (1966) and Hardt and Peterson-Hardt's (1977) used multiple measurement techniques to assess the quality of using self-reports of delinquency among adolescents. Both official records and self-reported information underestimate the true number of offences which have been committed but do provide an accurate estimate of the number of offenders for more serious crimes such as burglary (Farrington, 1992). Basto-Pereira and Farrington (2020) agreed that official convictions tend to underestimate the true rate of crime. Research by Farrington (1989) found that

22% of London males self-reported burglary and 14% were convicted of it, whereas 23% self-reported vehicle theft and 15% were convicted of it. Therefore, showing some discrepancies between official arrest records and self-reported information. Additionally, in a comparison of prospective repeated self-reports and long-term retrospective self-reports of the same sample, Farrington (1989) found that around 46% of all offences admitted prospectively between aged 10 and 25 were denied retrospectively at age 32. This suggests that caution needs to be taken when using retrospective self-report data and having an awareness of some of the limitations and potential issues that could arise.

It is important to note that the majority of research conducted in the area of criminal careers is based upon a male population (Farrington et al., 2013; Ahonen et al., 2016). This has largely been due to widely documented results of research that offending amongst males is more common, frequent, and serious (Loeber et al., 2015). However, a number of researchers have attempted to make the shift into exploring the criminal careers of females, in order to make comparisons (Loeber et al, 2017). One of the key conclusions is that female offenders generally do not offend at the high-level frequency than male offenders do, however, there does appear to be a distinguishable group of early-onset offenders whose behaviour is both chronic and persistent (Russell, Robins, & Odgers, 2014). Jennings, Loeber, Ahonen, Piquero and Farrington (2018) utilised longitudinal data from the Pittsburgh Girls' study in order to strengthen the research evidence around female chronic offending and life trajectories. They utilised both self-reporting methods and official records to strengthen this approach. Some of the key results demonstrated that in self-reports both prevalence and frequency of offending was higher than official records, similar to what has been found for males. As with male offenders, they identified three distinct groups of female offenders, these being non-offenders, low-rate offenders, and high rate offenders.

Can we differentiate between criminals and non-criminals?

Research by Farrington (1986) concluded that the peak reflects mainly variations in the prevalence of offences and that individual offenders commit offences at a fairly constant rate during their criminal careers. Moffitt's (1993) developmental taxonomy aimed to discuss the age-crime curve further and identify why it was a distinctive shape. Moffitt (1993) proposed that the population can be split into three groups according to their potential for criminality, these include; 'abstainers' who refrain from anti-social behaviour and criminality over their lifetime, 'adolescent limited offenders' in which criminality is limited to the adolescent stage of their lives and finally 'life-course persistent offenders' this relates to offenders who have an earlier onset of involvement in criminality, have a higher frequency and variety in offending, are more likely to engage in violent behaviour and are unlikely to

desist offending in adulthood. In relation to gender differences, Moffitt, Caspi, Harrington and Milne (2002) suggested that more females than males were identified as adolescence limited offenders and even fewer were classed as life-course persistent offenders. The adolescence limited females were suggested to develop delinquent behaviour in adolescence, desist within a short period of time thus having relatively short criminal careers. On the other hand, life-course persistent females are suggested to start their delinquency before puberty and continue after adolescence, thus having a longer criminal career and early onset.

The shape of the age-crime curve demonstrates that during adolescence there is a peak in criminal offences and then this sharply declined, this has been discussed as being due to life-course persisters continuing to commit crime but at a higher frequency so being responsible for a large number of reported offences, as well as more offenders falling within the age bracket of being adolescent-limited offenders. The explanation for the sharp decline is that adolescent-limited offenders stop offending whereas persistent offenders continue being involved with criminality and are generally responsible for a significant number of the crimes committed. Comparisons between male and female offenders have been explored by Loeber et al. (2015) they found that generally on the age-crime curve there was a peak in mid-adolescence, but the curve was both lower and flatter for females than for males (Farrington, 1986).

Following on from Moffitt's earlier work, Assink et al. (2015) conducted a multi-level meta-analysis to examine the effect of several risk factors on life-course persistent offenders compared to adolescent limited offenders. A total of 55 studies were included, and the results suggested that behavioural risk factors for example criminal history, aggressive behaviour and drug/alcohol use) are the strongest distinguishing factor between life-course persistent offenders and adolescence-limited offenders. Whereas, relatively small differences were found for family, neurocognitive, and attitude domains. On the other hand, physical health, demographic features such as gender and ethnicity and neighbourhood variables were found to not distinguish life-course persistent offenders from adolescent-limited offenders. In relation to the concept of desistance for adolescence-limited and life-course persistent offenders, Piquero, Brame and Moffitt (2005) found that adolescence-limited offenders desist when they age, however, life-course persistent offenders continue to offend. In this circumstance, significant life events may encourage continued offending in life-course persisters rather than encourage desistance as they generally tend to select antisocial partners and jobs which encourage offending rather than a crime-free lifestyle.

Distinguishing between criminals and non-criminals is challenging as discussed, the definition of what

constitutes a criminal is not as clear cut as one would hope. Although an individual may be defined as a non-criminal as they have not been convicted in a court of law, this does not necessarily mean they are not guilty of criminal behaviour. Therefore, within a research context, this can pose challenges when attempting to make reliable comparisons between the two categories. In relation to types of offenders, research has suggested that the specialisation of offenders is again not that clear cut and evidence has not been completely conclusive around this concept. This means that when studying individuals who commit different types of crimes, we cannot necessarily define them into one category. Research by Basto-Pereira and Farrington (2020) found results to suggest that according to self-reported offending, non-convicted individuals commit much crime during their lifetime. More specifically, results suggested that more than half of the non-convicted males will self-report some form of vandalism or shoplifting during childhood to adolescence, some form of assault during adolescence and/or fraud during middle adulthood. It is likely that they will never be convicted of any of these offences. Another important factor to consider is age, with adolescent limited offenders it is known that as they mature, they desist from offending, this can be due to factors such as allocation of adult social roles and beginning to live a more conventional adult lifestyle (Moffitt, Caspi, Harrington and Milne, 2002). Therefore, with individuals who fall into this category, it appears that it would not be appropriate to deem them as 'criminals'. Generally, when a young person has been convicted under the age of 18 years, when they move into adulthood their criminal record does not follow meaning that if an individual was classified as an adolescent limited offender then in their adult life, they would not necessarily be deemed a 'criminal' as they would no longer hold a criminal record and therefore 'grow out' of this stage within their life.

Chapter Summary

The chapter explore the ways in which crime can be defined and current crime trends, additionally it focuses on the wealth of research around the area of criminal careers. Finally, the chapter discusses how we can differentiate between 'criminals' and 'non-criminals'. The chapter provides a foundation in which the next chapter builds upon in relation to the theory of crime.

Chapter 2: Criminological theories

In Chapter one, the definition and classification of 'crime' and a 'criminal' were discussed. In order to further the exploration of these key concepts, it is useful to consider some of the explanations proposed to underpin criminality. As imagined, there is an array of perspectives and theories attempting to explain crime causation. Before exploring the various explanations, it is important to know how we understand the causes of offending behaviour. In particular, to look at the differences between predictive factors, concepts, models and finally what defines a theory. As stated, there is an abundance of research that aims to explain criminality, therefore being able to differentiate between them is an effective way to be able to critique and identify how robust they are in explaining criminality.

Predictive factors or risk factors are defined as "those characteristics, variables, or hazards that, if present for a given individual, make it more likely that this individual, rather than someone selected from the general population, will develop a disorder" (Haggerty and Mrazek, 1994:127). A risk factor may increase the probability of offending but does not make offending inevitable (Shader, 2001). For example, Welsh and Farrington (2007) suggested that there are several risk factors that predict future criminality; these included high levels of impulsiveness and chaotic family life. It is important however to consider that although research may suggest certain risk factors predict criminality, this does not necessarily suggest that there is a causal relationship (Drake, Havard & Muncie, 2014).

Concepts can be defined as 'interrelated constructs' or ideas, these concepts would ultimately come together to establish a theory (Kivunja, 2018). They present a general understanding of a phenomenon, but the understanding lacks empirical substantiation. A model can be defined as a representation of key concepts, for example, this could be graphic or pictorial. It shows the relationship between different variables and is descriptive, so not testable with research (Clarke, 2005). Finally, a theory can be defined as an explanation in which allows us to make sense of how we observe the world. Hypotheses are tested and theories created to help us understand and explain phenomena (Burke, Carter, Fedorek, Morey, Rutz-Burri and Sanchez, 2019). If we understand why crime is happening, we can formulate policies or programmes to minimise it (Fedorek, 2019). Theories can be drawn from different perspectives, for example from Sociology, Psychology and Criminology.

It is important to understand the cause of criminality in particular as this means by having an understanding of the factors which may be involved, this allows for researchers to look at developing interventions that could prevent individuals from becoming involved in criminality if there is an

awareness of some of the predictive and causal factors. The greater the understanding, the greater the effectiveness of interventions and treatments developed.

Theories of crime causation can be categorised according to several different overlapping distinctions including proximal vs distal causes, arising due to a predisposition or conscious choice, driven by factors that push or pull individuals into criminal activity, notions that some people are born criminals versus poor socialisation leads to offending behaviour, the causes as located in the individual verses arising due to sociocultural factors. Additionally, some can be considered general theories of crime causation and other theories focus on the origins of specific types of crimes. In order to consider all of these perspectives, categorising them by different explanations or concepts is effective. For example, whether the causes of crime are conceptualized as proximate or distal can be considered. Proximate causes are those that occur in the 'here and now', they immediately precede criminal behaviour. Whereas, distal causes are those that are more remote and occurred in the past. For example, association with delinquent peers can be considered a proximate cause, whereas a weak parent-child attachment can be considered the distal cause as it has been suggested that weak attachment to our parents causes association with delinquent peers (Weatherburn, 2001).

Theory	Causal factor	Distal or Proximal	Criminals are born or made?	Free will or predetermined	People are naturally drawn to offending 'vs' people are pushed towards offending	Propensity for offending is fixed or is likely to fluctuate?
Attachment theory	Early relationships with caregivers	distal	Nurture	Predetermined/free will	Pushed	Fixed – but more likely to be preceded by perceived rejection
Maturation of the brain	Psychobiology	proximal	Nature	predetermined	Pulled	Peaks in adolescence and then declines as the individual matures
XXY Chromosome	Genes	Distal	Nature	Predetermined	Pulled	Fixed
Testosterone levels	Biochemistry	Proximal	Nature	Predetermined	Pulled	Likely to fluctuate dependent on levels of testosterone
IQ and intelligence		Proximal	Nature/Nurture	Predetermined/free will	Pulled/pushed	Could fluctuate as IQ can change
Conflict between ID, Ego and Superego	Psycho-analytic	Proximal/distal	Nurture	Predetermined	Pulled/pushed	Likely to fluctuate
Hegemonic Male	Personality	Proximal	Nurture	Free will	Pushed	Likely to Fluctuate
Candidate genes	Neurobiological	Distal	Nature	Predetermined	Pulled	Fixed
Head injury/trauma	Neurobiological	Proximal/distal	Nurture	Predetermined & free will	Pulled	Fixed
Brain abnormalities	Neurobiological	Distal	Nature	Predetermined	Pulled	Fixed
Social learning theory	Modelling and reward/punishment	Proximal/distal	Nurture	Free will	Pushed	Likely to fluctuate-dependent on relationships and nature of associates
Family interactions	Relationships with caregivers. Exposure to violence in childhood	Proximal/distal	Nurture	Free will	Pushed	Likely to fluctuate-individuals could desist if they established stable relationships
Strain theory	Socio-economic class and deprivation	Proximal	Nurture	Free will	Pushed	Likely to fluctuate dependent on individuals'

						circumstances at the time.
Rational choice theory	Individual choice that crime is worth the cost	Proximal	Nurture	Free will	Pulled	Likely to fluctuate dependent on the outcome/cost of crime. If it continues to be worth the risk, then it will continue.

Table 2 a- Summary of Psychological and Criminological theories

The table above highlights how each of the theories of crime causation can be distinguished in terms of the assumptions outlined above. In order to highlight some of these, a deterministic theory will be discussed along with a theory that suggests that all individuals have free will and choose to engage in criminal behaviour. This will evidence the two extreme ends of the criminological theory spectrum.

The emphasis in relation to biological explanations of crime has shifted towards exploring biochemistry and neurophysiology in more recent times rather than just focusing on more simplistic biological explanations such as genes. For example, head trauma and injury (Miller, 1999a and 1999b), hereditary personality factors (Eysenck, 1952), testosterone levels (Ellis and Coontz, 1990) and candidate genes (Reif and Lesch 2003) to name a few. Although theorists have determined that criminality is not purely determined by biology, there is still a place for this theory to sit within modern criminology (Akers, 2000).

An important concept within the biological theory is the existing research around the developmental stages of the adolescent brain and in particular, some links made to youthful risk-taking and offending. Due to this theory being based around the development of the brain, this theory can be suggested to be deterministic in nature. Research by Casey, Getz and Galvin (2008) and Steinburg (2009) has provided the basis for understanding why many adolescents become involved in risk activity and desist as they mature into adulthood. The research indicates that the prefrontal cortex which is responsible for the brain's executive functions such as impulse control, planning and weighing up consequences matures gradually. This maturation extends over the course of adolescence up until early adulthood. In short, Bonnie and Scott (2013) stated that "teenagers are attracted to novel and risk activities, including criminal activity, particularly with peers, at a time when they lack the judgement to exercise self-control and to consider the future consequences of their actions". (pg.159). Thus, suggesting that crimes committed by adolescents typically lack planning and are hence more impulsive and expressive in nature. This theory can explain both the age of onset (e.g., Blumstein et

al., 1986; Farrington, 1995; Steffensmeier & Allan, 2000) and age - peak for some forms of offending (e.g., Farrington, 1986; Sweeten, Piquero & Steinberg, 2013) as discussed in the section of Chapter one on criminal careers research. This particular theory is also concordant with the group of adolescent-limited offenders as proposed in the typology of criminal careers by Moffitt and Caspi (2001). They suggested that adolescent-limited offenders begin to offend as the result of experiencing the maturity gap, which is the time between reaching puberty and being socially accepted into adult social roles. The adolescent brain theory supports the suggestion of adolescent-limited offenders as when individual's brains become more mature, they have moved into adulthood, which is additionally when adolescent limited offenders cease offending generally. Both of these explanations ultimately relate to the same idea that there is a period in which an individual has not fully matured.

One theory that can be described as being based on the idea of free will is the Rational Choice theory. This was initially defined by Becker (1968) but has been further researched throughout the years. Becker (1968) stated that criminals are the same as non-criminals and that it is an intentional choice in which an individual makes to become involved in crime. He states that the reason that they choose to commit crime is that they think it will be more rewarding and less costly for them than non-criminal behaviour. McCarthy (2002) states that when an individual considers committing crime, they weigh up the costs and benefits of criminality this explains why individuals may only commit crime some of the time. A number of studies have been conducted to determine the effectiveness of the rational choice approach as a theory. Some of the research conducted is policy-oriented and examines what is called situational crime prevention. This involved interviewing active and 'retired' criminals about factors that affected their decision making to commit crime. (Cornish & Clarke, 1985; Desmond & Kubrin 2009). Offenders frequently cite factors related to the costs and benefits of offending, such as the ease with which they can enter and leave a possible crime site and the expected payoff of the crime (Clarke & Cornish, 1985).

Further studies have asked would-be offenders about the expected costs and benefits of criminal activity, and the results indicate that the decision to commit a crime is based at least in part on the expected costs and rewards of offending (Grasmick & Bursik, 1990). One advantage of the rational choice theory is that it is a very broad theory of crime, and can explain property, violent, drug, sexual, and politically motivated offences (Weisburd, Waring, & Chayet, 1995). Though there is some support for the veracity of this theory, the primary weakness in its applicability is the assumption that offenders think before acting, that they conduct a cost-benefit analysis before deciding to engage in crime. If this was to be true, then the idea of deterrence would be supported by empirical research. For example, if offenders were rational in making choices around committing crime, then if they were to be punished

more severely and face greater consequences this would surely influence the level of crime committed as the costs would outweigh the benefits. However, research by Doob and Webster (2003) who conducted a comprehensive review of deterrence literature over the last 30 years concluded that variations in sentence severity do not affect the level of crime in society. Furthermore, LeBlanc and Frechette (1989) advise that offenders do not prepare to commit crime, this is especially true in relation to young offenders. Cesaroni and Doob (2004) support this idea and suggest that young offenders do not consider the long term; they are impulsive and focus on the immediacy of the rewards associated with offending.

As stated, a theory can be defined as an explanation that allows us to make sense of our observations and ultimately explain the happenings around us. However, within criminological theorising it is much more complex as the field consists of several different disciplines, such as psychology, criminology and sociology therefore, researchers will rarely agree that one particular theory can explain criminality. In order to look at the robustness of theories, Popper (1965) suggested that the criterion of the scientific status of a theory is its falsifiability, or refutability, or testability (pg. 36-37). Developing this idea further, Akers and Sellers (2013) established a set of criteria to judge criminological theories. The criteria included logical consistency, scope, parsimony, testability, empirical validity, and usefulness.

In terms of usefulness, this can be assessed in terms of whether the theory is able to inform the development of interventions to prevent, control or reduce crime. If a theory has no impact on practice, it will be unlikely to influence the decisions of policymakers, then it could be suggested that it has no wider impact on society and could be suggested to be redundant in these terms.

General theories of crime

There are two key general theories of crime, these were proposed by Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) and Agnew (2005). A General Theory of Crime or the self-control theory of crime proposed by Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) suggested a diverse crime explanation that focused on the idea that the most effective crime prevention is the self-control of the individual. An inability to manage impulses effectively ultimately leads to criminality. In a meta-analysis of 21 studies conducted by Pratt and Cullen (2000), they found that self-control accounted for an average of 19% variance in deviant and criminal behaviour. Furthermore, Akers and Seller (2004) came to a similar conclusion in a review of the various studies. They attest to the control theory that there is a weak to moderate correlation between self-control and deviant behaviour. One critique of the idea of self-control is that the theory

suggests that an individual can only be prevented from the tendency to commit crime and that if an individual does become involved in criminality, they are destined to always commit crime. This does not support the idea around the age-crime debate and adolescent limited offenders. Young people are generally deemed as being less rational and impulsive, as discussed previously in relation to the development of the adolescent brain and in particular some links made to youthful risk-taking and offending (Casey, Getz and Galvin, 2008 and Steinberg, 2009). Therefore, in terms of social policy and the management of offenders, this approach does not support the idea that offenders can be rehabilitated or modify their behaviour (Cullen, Agnew and Wilcox, 2006).

The second mentioned general theory of crime was developed by Agnew (2005), and he called this the Integrated theory of crime and delinquency. It was suggested that a number of life influences or domains intersect to form a "web of crime". These life domains comprise of the self, school, work, peers and family and can be prosocial or antisocial. At times when these influences are antisocial, it can lead an individual into criminality. They alter the likelihood of offending through specific constraints and motivations. Although Agnew's (2005) theory has been around for over a decade, empirical evidence for the theory has been limited due to data constraints given the complexity of the empirical model (Grubb and Posick, 2018). The research that has examined the integrated theory of crime and delinquency has found some support for life domains when predicting offending (Mioduszewski, 2013; Mufic, Grubb, Bouffard, & Maljevic, 2014; Zhang, Day, & Cao, 2012). On the other hand, research by Ngo, Paternoster, Cullen, and Mackenzie (2011) found limited support for the integrated theory when examining recidivism in their sample from the Maryland Boot Camp Experiment.

Both theories put a greater responsibility on the individual and suggest that a better quality of parenting strategies are needed as this is linked to a lack of development and management of self-control (Takahashi, Okada, Hoshino & Anme, 2015).

Theories of specific types of crime

As well as theories which have been developed which relate to 'general' theories of crime, there are also some which are specific theories to a certain type of crime, for example, a crime that has a sexual motivate or element. It could be suggested that these types of crime do need a specific theory as there are unique factors and behaviours which characterise them.

Sexual offences

The evolutionary perspective focuses on the idea that particular characteristics are selected on the basis of their reproductive success, therefore an individual may behave in a particular way in order to successfully pass along their genes to the next generation. In relation to criminality, an evolutionary perspective would only be able to explain behaviours which ultimately contributed to the offender passing along their genes. An example of this is the crime of rape. Ellis and Coontz (1990) associated rape with the innate desire of the offender to mate and pass on their genes. This idea is supported by research that shows most victims of rape are women in the fertile age group and the risk of pregnancy from rape is considerably high however this does vary in relation to settings and also in relation to the extent of which non-barrier contraception is used (Holmes, Resnick, Kilpatrick and Best, 1996).

A more recent study conducted by Schiffer, Peschel, Paul, Gizwski, Forsting, Leygraf, Schedlowski and Kruege (2007) explored abnormalities in brain structures of paedophiles compared with a non-offender control group, they found evidence to suggest that paedophiles tended to have less grey matter volume in their brain.

Violent offences

A genetic theory of crime is focused on the XYY chromosome hypothesis. This suggested that men were born with an additional Y chromosome which speculated would make them more masculine and therefore more aggressive. It is also known as Klinefelter's syndrome and early research suggested it was associated with alcoholism, homosexuality and sterility to name a few (Pasqualini, Vidal & Bur, 1957). Research by Epps (1995) found that there was no evidence to suggest that males with the extra Y chromosome committed more violent offences. Additionally, research by Ainsworth and Pease (1987) found that the XYY chromosome had been overestimated in the prison population and underestimated in the general population. This suggests that there is not necessarily a causal relationship between this chromosome and criminality.

A Neurobiological perspective to consider is that of head injury or trauma, research By Miller (1999a and 1999b) found that the medical histories of offenders suggest higher rates of head injuries particularly involving loss of consciousness, however, is this a true difference or is it due to more violent and aggressive individuals becoming involved in fights in which they sustain head injuries. Furthermore, evidence of EEG and PET scans demonstrates that offenders who are aggressive/violent show abnormal brain activity in comparison to non-offenders.

A final idea to consider is around testosterone, and how high levels have been suggested to be associated with aggression, violence and sexually motivated behaviour (Dabbs, Frady, Carr & Besch, 1987; Isidori, Giannetta, Gianfrilli, Greco, Bonifacio, Aversa, Isidori, Fabbri & Lenzi, 2005; Montoya, Terburg, Bos, van Honk, 2012). Research by Ellis and Coontz (1990) found that the peak age of offending coincides with the time in which levels of testosterone are at the highest. Ellis (2003) argued that increased levels of testosterone reduce the brain's sensitivity to environmental stimuli, making a person act out, with reduced abilities to control emotions. Researchers have found that higher levels of this hormone are associated with increased levels of violence and aggression, both in males and females. Prison studies, for example, show that men with higher levels of testosterone commit more violent crimes against others, as opposed to property crimes, and act out more than men with lower levels of testosterone (Dabbs, Carr, Frady & Riad, 1995). Furthermore, men convicted of domestic violence have also been found to possess higher levels of testosterone and display greater physical violence than healthy controls (George, Umhau, Phillips, Emmela, Ragan, Shoaf & Rawlings, 2001).

Research has also been completed in relation to animals and has found to be supportive. Clear evidence exists that testosterone correlates to dominance rank in male chimpanzees (Muller & Wrangham, 2001). Further studies have found that heightened testosterone levels increase aggression in animals (Monaghan & Glickman, 1992; Svare & Mann, 1983).

A final perspective to consider is 'hegemonic masculinity', this was a concept that was first termed over two decades ago. This is not deemed a 'theory' as previously defined at the beginning of the chapter; however, it is an interesting cultural factor or concept to be considered and the impact the phenomena is suggested to have on criminality and violent behaviour. A number of studies by Connell, Ashenden and Kessler (1982) and Carrigan, Connell and Lee (1985) were the first to propose this concept in their research focusing on masculinity and the social roles of males. In simple terms, "hegemonic masculinity was understood as the pattern of practice (i.e., things done, not just a set of role expectations or an identity) that allowed men's dominance over women to continue" (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 832). Connell (1987, 1995) stated that hegemonic masculinity is a male gender identity that defines what it is like to be a 'real man'. It is defined by attributes such as toughness, aggression, competitiveness, control, success and power over (and subordination of) women. The theory around hegemonic masculinity has been influential in criminological research due to providing some explanations around why a high proportion of crime is committed by men. It looks to explore what is it about being male that leads men to commit crime. Messerschmidt (1993) suggested that men often turn to crime and violence as a means of asserting their masculinity when they are unable to demonstrate masculinity and being a 'real man' through legitimate means. The concept of

hegemonic masculinity might also explain why middle-class men try to assert masculinity through ruthlessness, ambition and thrill-seeking in business, leading to white-collar and corporate crimes (Messerschmidt, 1993). Additionally, it has also been applied to studies on specific types of crime such as rape in Switzerland, murder in Australia, football “hooliganism” and white-collar crime in England, and assaultive violence in the United States (Newburn and Stanko, 1994). Bufkin (1996) and Messerschmidt (1997) explored how particular patterns of aggression were linked to hegemonic masculinity. They advised that hegemonic masculinity was not the cause of this aggression, however, the pursuit of hegemony or dominance was.

Theory integration

Individual theories have provided empirical insight and highlighted important factors which have provided explanations for criminality. However, it has been determined that no single theory can adequately explain all types of and motivations for crime. Therefore, advancement in research has led researchers to begin integrating theories or ‘theory knitting.’ This has been especially prominent within the area of research around sexual offenders. Kalmar and Stenberg (1988) utilised the term “theory knitting” and suggested that researchers should integrate the best aspects of competing theories with their ideas, this allows strengths to be taken from a number of theories and ‘knitted’ together which allows for more comprehensive models and theories to be developed. Kalmar and Stenberg (1988) contrasted the integrated approach with the traditional process of theory development. They suggested that the main disadvantage to only utilising one perspective is that researchers only see things from the perspective of their theory and fail to consider other perspectives. Additionally, adopting such tunnel vision can lead researchers to unknowingly focus on different aspects of the same phenomenon.

Ward and Beech (2006) suggested an integrated theory of sexual offending (ITSO), they ‘knitted’ together ideas taken from neuropsychology, ecology, psychopathy and clinical assessment. They identified that most theories only took into consideration the surface symptomology and neglected neuropsychological and biological levels of analysis. Similarly, Ward and Siegert (2002) integrated ideas from three theories of child sexual abuse, in order to attempt to overcome the limitations within each of the theories and suggested an aetiological theory that provides a comprehensive explanation of child sexual abuse.

McPhail (2016) has applied the concept of ‘theory knitting’ to combine feminist theories around rape into a more comprehensive model, this was termed the Feminist framework plus (FFP). Furthermore,

Moffitt (1993) integrated concepts derived from biology, psychology, and Sociology to the understanding of delinquency and crime from a developmental perspective.

Theories of Emotions

Emotions influence how individuals behave and act in society, they are a crucial part of the human decision-making processes, and they shape how individuals respond to environmental stimuli. Ultimately, emotional responses define who people are (Katz, 1999). Much research has been focused within this area, (Oatley & Jenkins, 1996; Plutchik, 1980; Russell, 1978; 1980 and Posner, Russell & Peterson, 2005) however, the link between emotions and the influence on human behaviour still remains an area which is not fully developed and thoroughly explained. There are two principal theories of emotion; basic categorical (e.g., Tomkins, 1963; Izard, 2013) and a dimensional structure (e.g., Russell, 2003; Yik, Russell, & Feldman-Barrett, 1999).

Theory of basic emotions

The basic category structure is one of the earliest theories which aimed to explain emotions, this was adopted by Darwin (1872). This approach focused on the idea that each emotion is independent and maps onto a specific neural pathway (Sheese, Voelker, Posner & Rothbart, 2009). This theory arose from animal observation and experimentation, it was suggested that each neural pathway was associated with a singular, specific emotion (Panksepp, 1998). Subsequently, Ekman, Levenson and Frieson (1983) suggested that facial responses are associated with specific basic emotions. This was tested on the expressions of infants, which found that infants, who had not reached the stage of verbal communication, were able to display distinct types of facial expressions for different emotions (Einenberg & Morris, 2002). Although the theory of basic emotions has been extremely influential in developing a basic theory to understand emotional experiences, it does identify a number of limitations and criticisms which future theories have built upon and rectified. One of the main criticisms being the simplicity of the model, as it only emphasises a limited number of dominant emotions and does not consider the range of emotions that may be experienced (Ortony & Turner, 1990; Richins, 1997). Plutchik (1962) suggested there were eight basic emotions, whereas Ekman (1999) proposed there were seven. More recently, Jack, Sun, Delis, Garrod and Schyns (2016) proposed that there are only four basic emotions in humans that are universally recognisable.

Additionally, in terms of the evidential support of the theory, this is limited in terms of the support and conclusions which have been gained from studies. Much of the early work has been focused on animals, when researchers have attempted to replicate this with human samples the results have

been inconclusive suggesting that the results are meaningful within a human population and in relation to the human range of emotions (Berridge, 2003; Davidson, 2003). These limitations paved the way for the development of an alternative explanation to emotions, this was focused on emotions being explained in terms of a dimensional structure (Russell, 1980; Larsen & Diener, 1992).

Dimensional structure of emotions

Theorists identified that within previous emotion theories, the subjective experience was not taken into consideration only the behavioural and expressive elements. Additionally, theorists were focused on studying emotions as independent entities rather than exploring emotions as a dimensional structure and there being associations between the degree of emotional experience. These limitations allowed for an alternative perspective to be explored, in which researchers examined emotions in relation to them being associated with one another and that there appear to be no distinct borders between them (Russell & Fehr, 1994). Watson and Clark (1992) suggested that when individuals describe a particular positive emotion, they tend to feel other positive emotions too and that an emotion is not independent of the others which may be experienced. This perspective allowed for a dimensionality viewpoint to be adopted, and major research indicated that two bipolar dimensions exist within the structure of emotions. (Larsen & Diener, 1992; Posner et al., 2005). Early research suggested as many as between five and eleven types of emotions existed. However, Watson and Tellegan (1985) suggested that two bipolar dimensions were sufficient to explain emotions, and this is the current model that is advocated. This moved theorists to view emotions as being characterised by bipolar dimensions which are intercorrelated with each other (Russell, 1978; 2003; Larsen & Diener, 1992 and Daly, Lancee & Policy, 1983).

Russell's Circumplex of emotions

Russell's early work focused on attempting to explain emotions and the dimensions present. This model was to be extremely influential for much of the later research surrounding the emotional experiences of a range of different subject groups, particularly important for the current research is that it has been a dominant model used to explain the emotions experienced by offenders. The two dominant dimensions' focus on the dimensions of valence (Pleasure-Displeasure axis) and degree of arousal (arousal-non-arousal axis). The valence axis represents the extent to which the emotion experienced is positive or negative for example joy or in contrast feelings of despair. On the other hand, on the arousal axis, it can vary from extreme arousal such as excitement to the opposite axis of sleep. Research suggests that emotions are highly intercorrelated and generally an individual would not experience one emotion in isolation (Watson & Clark, 1992). Therefore, this research as well as others (Russell & Carroll, 1999) suggests the value in considering a dimensional explanation of emotional experience (Posner, Russell & Peterson, 2005).

In 1997, Russell suggested the idea of a Circumplex of emotions that incorporates both of the above dimensions, whilst recognising that emotions are not fixed and do merge into one another, from this it can be suggested that there are four broad classes of mood that are represented by the above two axes, the categories of mood being Elation, Distress, Depression and Calm. This has been supported by a number of researchers (Remington, Fabrigar, & Visser, 2000; Watson & Tellegen, 1985 & Yik, Russell & Feldman- Barrett, 2009). This circular or Circumplex model as proposed by Russell builds on the model first proposed by Guttman (1954) based on his facet theory (Canter, 1984). This proposes that variables within the geometric space are all associated with each other and have a circular order, meaning that there is no beginning or end. Additionally, items that are behaviourally opposite each other would be located across from each other within the configuration. To examine this, Russell carried out a study in which he used 28 words or phrases that individuals apply when describing their moods, feelings or emotions. Five different scaling techniques were then used to analyse the data collected, these included direct circular scaling, MDS, unidimensional scaling, regression analysis and principal components analysis. The results suggested that, while there was some variation present within the configurations, overall the structures were similar. These findings provided support for Russell's proposed structure of emotions. This was further verified by research by Remington, Fabrigar & Visser, 2000; Barrett & Russell, 2015 and Posner, Russell & Peterson, 2005).

The centre of the configuration is suggested to be a neutral point and as items are located towards the outer edge of the configuration this suggests a higher intensity of emotion. This is particularly important when considering criminal behaviour, as it is suggested that the intensity of the emotions could be what encourages an offender to carry out a criminal act (Canter and Ioannou, 2004). Research by Remington, Fabrigar and Visser (2000) supported the Circumplex model of emotions and suggested that this Circumplex model can be used for testing the emotion of words, facial expressions and emotional states. Like all models, Russell's (1997) Circumplex of emotion does have limitations in regard to it being a relatively simplistic view of emotions and attempting to present the complexity of emotions within a two-dimensional space. For example, the location of two emotions may be similar but it does not explain how these emotions may be differentiated in terms of different physiological and behavioural responses. Additionally, as previously discussed it fails to take into consideration the level of intensity experienced in regard to the emotions. Ioannou (2006) suggested although it is a limitation of this model it does not impact the location of the emotion within the configuration, and the intensity can still be considered and explored by the researcher. Even though the Circumplex model of emotions may have some limitations, it is suggested to capture important features of emotional experience, personality traits, abnormal psychology and social relations which span the last three decades (Plutchik, 2000).

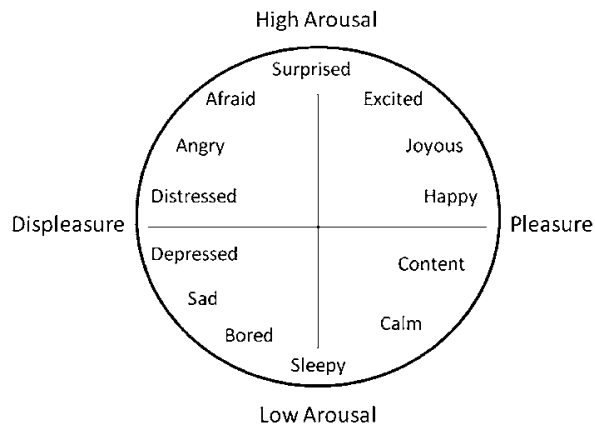


Figure 2 a- Russell's (1957) Circumplex of emotions

Figure 2a shows the range of emotions within the Circumplex, it demonstrates how useful the model can be as a visual representation of the range of emotions are how these can flow as one in a circular motion. Behaviours that are directly opposite to each other would be expected to be located at the opposites of the Circumplex whereas unrelated behaviours would be located around the configuration.

The importance of theory in the management of offenders

The focus amongst many theories which have been developed is to not only provide an understanding of why individuals commit but also as an attempt to explore how to reduce criminal behaviour.

Therefore, it is important to consider how theories have shaped the perspective taken in rehabilitating offenders and how this has impacted the development and changes to policies. There are two major distinctions, which relate to whether the cause of crime is structural or caused by the individual.

Theories that identify social conditions as the cause of crime tend to support social policy as a response, while theories built around psychological issues and individual choice suggest alternative approaches (Knepper, 2007). An example of a social cause was looking at rates of delinquency within an area, this was suggested by Shaw and McKay (2010) from the Chicago School. They developed the Chicago area projects which was a community-based intervention. On the other hand, Gottfredson and Hirschi's (2002) self-control theory considers an individualistic cause of crime. They suggested a focus should be on local authorities such as those that are responsible for schools and support can be provided to families in need. Gottfredson and Hirschi (2002) suggested that policymakers should not attempt to reduce crime by incapacitating adults, rehabilitating adults, promoting proactive policing, or increasing the severity of criminal penalties. Rather, they should support programmes providing

alternatives to unsupervised activities of teenagers and providing early education and effective childcare.

There has always been an ongoing debate of whether offenders can be rehabilitated or whether they should just be punished. In the 1970s, this argument became known as the 'nothing works' debate. Researchers such as Martinson (1974) supported the idea of punishment and published a meta-analysis of 231 studies of prison-based rehabilitative programmes. He concluded that these were all largely ineffective. Research by Lipton, Martinson and Wilks (1975) was also supportive of this. These arguments for rehabilitation being ineffective were in keeping with the ideologies of the Thatcherism government at the time. Due to the 'nothing works' debate, it saw government funding move towards deterrence and policing, and harsher and punitive punishments rather than any rehabilitative interventions. At this time, the perspective of 'nothing works' appears to have been adopted by academics rather than challenged, a limitation of Martinson's (1974) research was that his review covered only 138 measures of recidivism—not 231—and that in these studies, fewer than 75 of the evaluated interventions could be called "treatments" (Cullen & Gendreau, 2000, p. 127).

Over time, a number of researchers challenged the conclusions drawn by Martinson (1974). Palmer (1975) reanalysed the same data used by Martinson (1974) and concluded that a number of interventions were more effective than suggested in the original analysis. In 1979, Martinson acknowledged some of these errors in analysis and retracted his statement of 'nothing works'. This led to the development of the current approach utilised today which is termed the 'what works' movement. It is suggested that cognitive behavioural techniques (CBT) have the biggest influence on reducing offending behaviour. The National Probation Service (2003) advised that there is significant emerging evidence that drugs programmes, basic literacy and numeracy and offending behaviour programmes could reduce reoffending. The Carter Report (2003) was a key driver in subsequent rehabilitation and resettlement policy, it looked at cognitive behavioural group programmes as being the key to reducing reoffending and less onus on offender management or supervision.

Since the Carter Report (2003) a number of alternative perspectives have been suggested. Research led by Maruna (2001) looked at the desistance approach, this focused on identifying common factors which may impact an offender in abandoning their offending behaviour. The desistance approach has provided a number of key insights which have become well known and widely accepted, among policymakers and practitioners as well as academics. Maguire and Raynor (2006) briefly summarised some of these key insights; Individuals differ greatly in terms of the process of change, and desistance is a difficult and lengthy process and motivation is vital in the process of change, to give an example of a few of these. Some of the above insights particularly in relation to motivation and the importance of offenders' own positive goals are also features of the 'Good Lives' Model (Ward and Brown, 2004),

which has increasingly influenced the design of offending behaviour programmes (Andrews, Bonta & Wormith, 2011). Research conducted by Maruna and Mann (2019) suggested that while comparatively few offenders made a measured resolution to stop offending, there were factors that could support offenders in desisting from crime, these were for example family and relationships, employment, hope and motivation and not having a criminal identity to name a few.

It is important to mention the 'Good lives' model which was first articulated by Ward (2002), it is deemed as a general rehabilitation theory and has a strength-based approach as it considers an offender's core goals and desires and it aims to provide them with the internal and external resources to live good lives (Barnao, Robertson & Ward, 2010). A key assumption is that individuals are goal-driven and predisposed to seek out a number of primary goods, for example life, knowledge, friendship, community, spirituality, happiness, and creativity—for a fulfilling and satisfactory life (Ward & Marshall, 2007); secondary goods provide concrete ways of securing these goods (Ward, Mann, & Gannon, 2007). Criminal acts are suggested to result from attempts to secure these primary goods (Ward & Marshall, 2007). A systematic review of interventions adopting the "good lives" approach to offender rehabilitation was completed by Netto, Carter and Bonell (2014). They suggested the results should be interpreted as an "unproven effect" rather than a demonstration of ineffectiveness (Gray, 2009). This was because none of the studies they analysed met all the eligibility criteria stipulated in the review. There were however four studies based on samples of sex offenders that did demonstrate some tentative evidence for the approach. The researchers concluded that due to the sample being based on sex offenders alone, this could not be generalisable to other types of offenders and research suggests they could be deemed different from general offenders (Fisher, Beech, & Browne, 1999; Hanson & Morton-Bourgon, 2005).

As discussed, the ongoing research into the area of rehabilitation and the 'what works' movement has impacted the development and decisions made by policymakers, particularly HMPPS (Her Majesty's Prison and Probation Service) in relation to their focus on making changes in Prisons and within the community.

How theories have led to how we manage offenders

As discussed, ongoing research and the development of theories such as the 'desistance theory' have led to the specific development and tailoring of interventions to the treatment of offenders. The advancement in the development of interventions and treatment of sex offenders demonstrates the importance of how theory has influenced what approaches are adopted when working with this category of offender. The use of CBT when working with sex offenders has been found to be a promising and effective approach. This was supported by meta-analytic studies conducted by Hanson,

Bourgon, Helmus, & Hodgson, (2009) and Lösel & Schmucker (2005). Additionally, a treatment programme developed by Marshall, Marshall, Serran, and O'Brien (2011) which is a strength-based approach derives from both the general field of "positive psychology" and the Good Lives Model that Tony Ward (2002) developed.

As discussed earlier in this chapter, research has suggested a link between high levels of testosterone and aggression, violence and sexually motivated behaviour (Montoya, Terburg, Bos, van Honk, 2012). Research of this kind has led to the "treatment" of male sex offenders with chemical derivatives from progesterone to reduce male sexual urges through the introduction of female hormones, for example Depo-Provera, a brand of birth control for women). In some states of the USA, a chemical castration law has been passed in attempts to protect society from further sexual offending. In support of the chemical castration law, research suggests that chemical castration has the best long-term results (Griffin & West, 2006). Some researchers contend that pharmacotherapy is an important tool or treatment option for sex offenders, particularly for paraphilias (Briken, Hill, & Berner, 2003). However, there are a number of arguments against chemical castration, for example it has been deemed ethically wrong as it interferes with an individual's right to refuse treatment and have children (Griffin & West, 2006). An important limitation is that it may not be successful in reducing criminality in all offenders. Research by Moore (2001) does not support the use of chemical castration to deter deviant sexual aggression in humans. Chemical castration does nothing to treat the psychological roots of sexually aberrant behaviour and numerous sexual offenders do not offend as a result of an overactive sex drive. Therefore, it has limitations as a successful treatment option for all sexual offenders.

A further example which is based upon Moffitt's (1993) theory partitions the theoretical explanation of delinquency and crime into two categories of offenders, this has had policy implications in relation to how offenders are managed in relation to which category they are deemed to be part of: Life-course persistent offenders or adolescence-limited offenders. Much of the policy implications are focused on life-course persisters due to their offending being considered to be more impactful. Interventions aimed at reducing the onset of offending included programmes such as those focusing on parenting strategies. On the other hand, because the adolescence-limited population is likely to discontinue their offending as they enter into adult social roles, the policies are less focused on this group. An example would be that after school programmes are put in place to keep young people involved in prosocial activities. For example, this population might particularly benefit from after-school during the peak time of adolescent offending.

Chapter Summary

The above chapter provides an overview of a range of theories and perspectives which can be considered in providing an explanation regarding criminality and why individuals may become criminals. Some of the perspectives are outdated and limited, however, they each provide an important theoretical perspective that provides the foundations of understanding criminal behaviour in today's society. Further, the chapter also considers the different theories of emotions which are important to understand in relation to the analyses completed later in the thesis. Finally, the chapter highlights how theory informs practice and the management of offenders.

Chapter 3: Narrative roles

"Narrative is a powerful metaphor for understanding life"
Hyvärinen (2006)

The definition of 'narrative' like the definition of 'crime' or 'criminal' is one that is rarely agreed upon by researchers. Almost every attempt to define it suggests that narrative is a subjective and a temporal representation of an event or series of events (Ricoeur, 1994). Bruner (1986) suggests that through narrative stories human beings make sense of their lives, to make them meaningful and understandable. It is agreed that the study of narratives asks what stories 'do' for their tellers and their listeners, why some stories are told and others untold, and how the telling of stories impacts on patterns on crime and the experience of criminal justice (Maruna & Matravers, 2007). The following chapter will explore early narrative research and look to understand the benefits of utilising a narrative approach. Additionally, it will explore some of the methods that are used to collect and analyse narrative data. Finally, there will be a discussion about the Canter school of thought into narrative theory.

Early Narrative theories

Early researchers and theorists have identified that narratives and life stories can be utilised within research. For example, McAdams (1988) suggested that like literary works, life stories can be analysed in terms of plots, settings, scenes, themes as well as characters and their dominant roles. The use of a narrative approach to studying human behaviour dates back to the early 20th century and has continued to be a dominant and insightful approach in research in the 21st century. The study of narratives was initially confined to literary scholars however, it has now spread across a range of disciplines, from the humanities through the various social sciences and even the physical sciences (Nash, 1990). Prior to the 20th Century, the stories told by individuals were viewed as nothing more than fantasy and a fictional tale that was used to entertain others (McAdams, 2000). However, this soon changed, and researchers became interested in exploring the life stories of their subjects as it was identified that there may be some underlying meaning which helps understand human beings. McAlpine (2016) in her review of the narrative research approach stated: "It creates a construction of the 'self', me the narrator or protagonist, as an active agent. My story has a narrative arc; it demonstrates my goals and intentions, the ways in which I carried the action forward by making connections between events, shows the influence of the passage of time, and recounts the personal

meaning of the experience” (pg.33).

One of the earliest works which took into consideration the importance of narrative life stories was produced by Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920). He termed the approach 'Volkerpsychologie' that considered the importance of such phenomena as myths in human life (Farr, 1983). Following on from this early work, several psychologists utilised life stories and accounts to deepen their understanding of humankind. For example, Freud (1953) wrote about dream narratives in his book *'The Interpretation of Dreams'* where he explored the idea that analysing dreams revealed concealed truths. Additionally, from his case studies of patients, he equated mental illness with individuals having an 'incoherent story' and a narrative breakdown. It was through his analysis of his patient's life stories that he developed his theory of psychoanalysis. Developed from Freud's work around an 'incoherent story', an advancement in treatment occurred in which an exercise in 'story repair' was developed. In support of the therapeutic benefits of the story repair intervention, Spence (1982) argued that: “There seems no doubt that a well-constructed story possesses a kind of narrative truth that is real and immediate and carries an important significance for the process of therapeutic change” (pg.21). Story repair aims to reconstruct the 'incoherent narrative' into a 'coherent' one and allowing the individual to make sense of their life.

Similarly, Allport (1942) examined the life histories of refugees from Nazi Germany by analysing documents such as letters, diaries and other personal documents. In his research, he highlighted the importance and usefulness of using autobiographical stories as he stated that these documents were an important source of information in exploring the human personality. Allport went on to spend a considerable portion of his career examining the so-called 'letters from Jenny' (Winter, 1993). Bruner (1986), a leading advocate for Narrative Psychology, who was influenced by the early works of Wilhelm Wundt (1832-1920), suggested that narratives are a fundamental structure of human meaning-making. Events and actions of one's life are understood and experienced as fitting into a narrative episode of the story. Other contemporary psychologists have also supported the idea that narrative is a central human means of making sense of the world (Sarbin, 1986; Polkinghorne, 1988; Rosenwald and Ochberg, 1992; Somers, 1994; Bamberg, 2004; Hänninen, 2004; Hyvärinen, 2006.).

McAdams (1985) has been a pioneer in adopting the narrative approach to the study of human personality (e.g., McAdams, 2001, 2006). McAdams (2001, 2006) has suggested that the internalised and evolving stories we tell about ourselves weave together the reconstructed past, the perceived present, and the anticipated future in an attempt to provide one's life with unity and purpose.

McAdams (1988) life-story model of identity focused on the idea that individuals provide their life with

purpose by constructing and evolving narratives about themselves and their lives. He suggested that all life stories are related to themes of intimacy and power. Individuals who have high intimacy strive for feelings of warmth and closeness, the roles being lover, counsellor and caregiver. On the other hand, individuals who have high power strive for feelings of achievement, forcefulness, mastery, authority and of being driven.

McAdams (1993) in his books *The Stories We Live By: Personal Myths, and the Making of the Self*, furthered his discussion around intimacy and power and suggested that the themes of agency and communion underpin personal narratives. McAdams described individuals who have a strong agenic character as "...individuals striving to separate from others, to master the environment, to assert, protect and expand the self." (p.71). McAdams (1985) further explored the idea of an agency theme and subdivided it into four attributes that could be revealed within a narrative; self-mastery - the bettering or mastering of the self; status/victory - achieving a higher status than fellow individuals; achievement/ responsibility - the character gains success in the achievement of tasks, jobs or goals or important responsibilities and finally, empowerment - improvement, through something bigger than the self. In contrast, communion relates to an individual who strives to develop close relationships, who possesses a desire to find a connection with others and who requires nurturance. Love and intimacy are key values for individuals who have a high need for communion (McAdams, 1985).

Similarly, Bakan (1966) had earlier proposed that *agency* and *communion* were the two key attributes of human existence. Agency, like McAdam's identity theme of power, alludes to an individual driven by achievement and power, who strives to master their environment and gain fulfilment from individual accomplishments and power. In contrast, communion refers to an individual's desire to closely relate, cooperate and merge with others. Agency and communion as identity themes are so ingrained within the individual's personality that have been found as key explanations for what motivates an individual and what drives them to act in the ways that they do (McAdams, 1993; 2001).

In McAdams' (1993) earlier work, he focused his research on collecting in-depth narrative accounts from individuals. He used a method that asked individuals to describe their life as a book to gather information about key life events or chapters as in a book (McAdams, 2003). This method was suggested to provide a rich framework for obtaining responses and the interviews usually extended over many sessions with each individual (McAdams, 2001). However, this research was based purely on interviews with individuals and it was suggested that this produced limited accounts as the disclosure of their narrative could be impacted by factors such as stigma and shame thus becoming an obstacle and limiting the admission of rich narrative material (Canter & Youngs, 2015). The basis of

McAdams' (1993) life as a book method is that individuals have an understanding of themselves and their lives and can fluently recall significant events and their stories.

Following on from McAdams' (1993) method, Canter and Youngs (2015) identified the significance of using this method and modified it to ensure its suitability for use with offenders and developed the Life as a Film (LAAF) procedure. This involved taking into consideration the sample of individuals it was to be used with and developing an approach that complements the existing procedure developed by McAdams (1993). A key difference in terms of McAdams' method was that the LAAF procedure was presented with a fictional stance, therefore it builds upon the identified limitations of the life as a book format thus allowing for the collection of rich personal narratives (Rowlands, 2019). The interview procedure developed by Canter and Youngs (2015) was shorter and purported to be less threatening but engaging. It was able to overcome several challenges such as the time constraints evident when individuals being in prison, a lack of understanding around the concept of 'life as a book', since many of the prisoners who be unfamiliar with reading, and a more focused perspective on their life story rather than a case history. (Canter & Youngs, 2015). It was indicated that using a film instead of a book was more socially and culturally acceptable as it is more grounded in the life experiences of the intended sample. Asking offenders to describe their life as a film revealed important components and rich data which can be analysed, such as the main characters, the identity assigned to themselves, the plot, and what genre they believe represents their life. The LAAF procedure focuses on four psychological issues which have been derived from existing narrative research, these include; psychological complexity, explicit processes used to organise content, nature of agency in relation to others and finally, cognitive distortions.

As the use of a narrative approach continued to emerge, it was being increasingly used by theorists and researchers from a range of backgrounds such as personality (McAdams, 1985), cognition (Schank and Abelson, 1995) and counselling (Polkinghorne, 1988). These all take into consideration the use of narratives and life stories to gain a further understanding of individuals. The objective of life-story or narrative analysis is to identify patterns and reasoning behind individuals' behaviour and actions.

Not only did the psychological concepts of the narrative approach develop, but from a treatment and rehabilitation perspective, the use of Narrative Therapy was born (White & Epston, 1990). Similarly, to Freud's 'story repair', the therapy focused on changing and adapting life stories (Schafter, 1981). This has led to further expansion of Narrative therapy to include treatment around life stories (McAdams, 1999; Madigan, 2011), intimate life stories (Sternberg, 1998), and stories focusing on family (Fiese,

Sameroff, Grotevant, Wamboldt, Dickstein & Fravel, 1999; Etchison & Kleist, 2000). Research conducted by Adler, Wagner, and McAdams (2007) suggested that the construction of good life narratives around emotional and difficult events is especially important for mental health. Therefore, highlighting the significance of Narrative-based therapy in potentially evolving and changing life narratives for a more positive perception of the self.

Frye's theory of Mythoi

Early works by Northrop Frye (1957) whose book titled *Anatomy of Criticism*, focused on the development of a narrative analytical technique based on the genre approach in which several stories can be classified according to Aristotle's Poetics. This approach attempts to identify the broad narrative present within literary works. Frye (1957) completed an extensive review of Western literature, and argued that there are four main narrative types, Comedy, Romance, Tragedy and Irony. These narratives develop from one to another in a circular order, which reflects the four seasons. These being comedy reflecting spring, summer reflecting romance, tragedy which is autumn and finally irony which is represented by winter. The notion of the circular ordering of these types suggests that each story merges into the next, however there will be a clear dominant role within each season. Frye (1957) believed that there are many hybrids of each role, but there will always be a dominant theme present. He also suggested that all life stories are limited and that they will all take the form of one of these four themes, which he termed 'Mythic Archetypes'.

The theme of Comedy comes out of the awakening of nature and the birth of spring, which demonstrates the social harmony after the cold winter. The narrative focuses on a young hero defeating enemies and ultimately seeking a happy ending, this usually encompasses a pursuit to find true love along the way. These types of protagonists are mainly optimistic and free from anxiety and as Frye (1957) says their experience is based on positivity.

Romance simulates the warmth of the summer, this is the archetype of the sun's Zenith, summer and the triumph phase, generally focused around an adventurer narrative. The adventure usually consists of three stages; a journey that includes several adventures, a battle that sees either death or victory and finally recognition of the hero within the narrative and the ending. The protagonist is the adventurer who overcomes risky and hazardous situations to gain the final victory during the journey (Frye, 1957).

Tragedy is based on the autumn season and the "death" of nature which indicates the

"death stage". The narrative focuses on a protagonist who is overpowered by fate, in which fate is attempting to bring about his downfall. The narrative is generally one of pessimism and examples of tragedy stories include violent death, sacrifices, the fall and dying gods and heroes. Frye (1957) remarks that tragedy evokes in the listener "a paradoxical combination of a fearful sense of rightness (the hero must fall) and a pitying sense of wrongness (it is too bad that he falls)" (Frye, 1957: 214).

Irony is based on the season of winter, suggesting a narrative of darkness and cruelty. The narrative focuses on a protagonist who lives in a world in which nothing makes sense, there are no rules, and nothing matters. The role of the victim is associated with negative emotions and generally points to endings that are not happy ones. Frye describes the definition of irony as rooted in Socrates as a 'self-deprecator' (Frye, 1957:172).

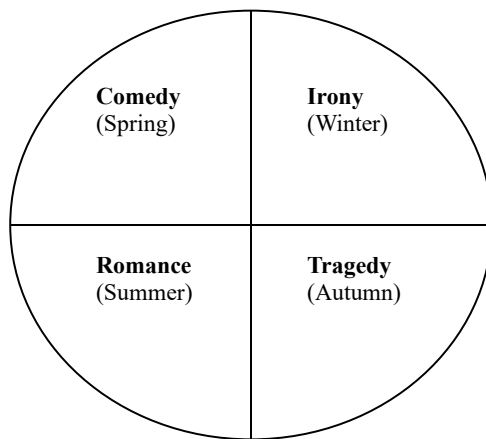


Figure 3 a- Frye's (1957) Theory of Mythoi

Plummer (1995) later expanded Frye's (1957) idea and described the basic plots as, Taking a journey, engaging in a contest, enduring suffering, pursuing consummation and establishing a home. He suggested that there would be common elements in the plots, with these being suffering that gives tension to the stories, a crisis, a turning point or epiphany, and a transformation. Again, as Frye suggested, these narratives can be present within different stories and not all of the themes will necessarily be present. Although this approach could be considered simplistic due to life stories not being necessarily clean-cut and structured as fictional stories, it does provide an interesting framework to consider the life narratives of individuals.

Although, Frye's (1957) theory of Mythoi has been criticised as it is regarded as a non-scientific theory it remains an invaluable foundation to exploring life narratives and stories. From his early work, Frye (1957) provoked researchers to not only consider the objective aspect of an event but also consider the individual's subjective perspective and how their thoughts, feelings and beliefs impact the motivation behind their actions (Zechmeister & Romero, 2002). It has created a platform from which researchers can adopt his methods as a means to explore not only psychological constructs but also can be utilised by a multitude of disciplines. Researchers such as McAdams (1988) and Polkinghorne (1988) have adopted Frye's theory to real-life narratives and have suggested that individuals' narratives take on a similar structure to the fictional accounts within literary works. Although the narrative approach to understanding the self and individual's personality has been criticised in studies by Hayward (2003) it has shown to be a fundamental way to shape the self and identity and places stories at the heart of human personality (Maruna, 2001; McAdams & McLean, 2013).

From this early research, it was proposed that for an individual to make sense of their lives, they develop a story with themselves as the main character (Baumeister and Newman, 1994). This suggests that the key to understanding an individual's behaviour and choices is through interpretation of their life narrative. Thus, the most effective way to access the internal self-narrative of an individual is to listen to the external narratives that the individual tells to others (Maruna & Liem, 2020). Although this is not directly linked to criminality, the theory is an important foundation on which future theories of criminal narratives are based.

How can narratives be studied?

As mentioned previously, several different approaches have been adopted to study and analyse narratives. One commonly used instrument which has been used to collect narrative data in personality literature is the Life Story Interview (LSI; McAdams, 2008). The LSI is a semi structured-interview protocol that includes a battery of tests that aims to tap into components of autobiographical memory, lifetime periods and specific times within an individual's life. The LSI contains a number of narrative prompts, three of which have received extensive research attention these are stories about life high points, low points and turning points (Cox & McAdams, 2014; McLean & Pratt, 2006). One benefit of the LSI is that it provides a good template for researchers to adapt and write specific narrative prompts that are geared towards their particular research question (Adler, Dunlop, Fivush, Lilgendahl, Lodi-Smith, McAdams, McLean, Pasupathi & Syed, 2017). For example, the LSI has already been adapted and utilised in a diverse range of topics such as the transition to parenthood

(Dunlop, Walker, Hanley & Harake, 2017), career changes and religious conversions (Bauer & McAdams, 2004).

The life history calendar (LHC) is a data collection tool for obtaining reliable and retrospective data about life events (Eerola & Helske, 2012). It presents a visual representation of life events that can be used to reflect on the timing and sequencing of life transitions (Maruna & Liem, 2020). Kang, Kruttschnitt and Goodman (2017) suggested that the LHC can be used in conjunction with more structured interview procedures as this allows for respondents to more freely construct their own life story and mitigate the risks of capturing only well-rehearsed narratives. One benefit of the LHC is that it can help aid recall, particularly when gathering data on sensitive topics due to it being a visual tool (Wittebrood & Nieuwbeerta, 2000). Additionally, it has been identified as extremely useful in prison settings where interviews cannot be recorded (DeHart, Lynch, Belknap, Dass-Brailsford & Green, 2014). Research by Sutton (2010) and Sutton, Bellair, Kowalski, Light, and Hutcherson (2011) found that the LHC had a high test-retest reliability as well as strong predictive validity of self-report information with official records. One limitation of the LHC which needs to be considered is that the tool collects retrospective data which raises issues of causality and the reliability of the information recalled, however as mentioned above the design of the LHC aims to offset some of this limitation (Fisher, 2013).

Kirkwood (2016) argued that it would be effective to observe and collect narrative data from individuals in their natural environment, this would be more authentic than collecting data in an interview setting as this could lead to only capturing well-rehearsed narratives which have been created for an interview or therapeutic setting. Research by Crewe and Maruna (2006) attempted to do this by taking into consideration observations as well as documents such as letters and diaries. By doing this, it allows for a more comprehensive and complete picture of an individual's identity in a social context (Maruna & Liem, 2020). Similarly, research by Pelikan and Hofinger (2017) acknowledged some of the limitations of using purely data collection from interviews in their study, they attempted to overcome this by collecting information through natural observations in criminal trials, as well as interviews.

Criminal Narratives

More recent advancements within narrative research have focused upon the relationship between the archetypes devised by Frye (1957) and criminality. Much of the research has adopted this literary approach as a way of explaining narratives within a non-fiction context. McAdams (1985) explains that life stories are not always composed as a chronology of events but sometimes are constructed as

'well-formed' or 'ill-formed' stories, with the ill-formed stories being underpinned by tension and confusion, along with inconsistencies and changes and development of the central 'character'. Additionally, Canter (1995) suggests that these ill-formed narratives are clues to the hidden nature of an individual's life. He suggests that the actions and behaviours depicted by an offender during the perpetration of a crime are suggested to be a reflection of the individual's personal narrative. Theorists suggest that personal narratives are useful as a means of understanding the motives of individual's, as the narratives are focused on events which are deemed significant to the individual, thus holding emotional and cognitive significance (Baumeister, Stillwell & Heatherton, 1995; Booker, 2005 and Roberts, 2000).

Narrative theories seem to afford a more dynamic framework for understanding the personality of those who offend (Maruna, 2001; Canter, 1994), and may contribute to a deeper understanding of the construction of an offender's life story, which could help explain the reasoning behind their offending. Therefore, it is apparent that utilising the narrative theory to analyse the life stories and narratives of offenders could provide fruitful insight into the motivation and decision-making process behind why an individual chooses to commit crime (Youngs and Canter, 2009).

Canter (2008) suggested that using a narrative approach can bridge the gap between psychology and the law, as both disciplines have a different focus in relation to criminality. The law aims to understand the reasoning behind how a crime occurred, making the offender an active agent within their crime. In contrast, from a psychological perspective, the aim is to explore the external factors such as environmental influences which in turn makes the offender a passive agent in their crime. Therefore, utilising the narrative approach as a research method into criminality, allows for a greater focus on the offender as an active agent in their behaviour and takes into consideration the perspective of the law and can help with the understanding of 'motive' behind the offending (Canter, 2010).

Sykes and Matza (1957) and Scott and Lyman (1968) were some of the early researchers who identified that stories may have an impact on criminality and could be potentially useful in understanding criminal behaviour. In the following years, there was a focus on narratives from several researchers such as Katz (1988) who suggested that crime can be seen as the acting out of narrative scripts. Canter (1994) was influential within narrative theory; he was the earliest researcher to identify that a narrative approach could be useful in attempting to explain criminal behaviour. He suggested that to gain further understanding of an offender's thoughts, feeling and actions when committing a crime, their criminal narrative could be explored in more detail. Canter (1994) suggested that "through his actions the criminal tells us about how he has chosen to live his life. The challenge is to reveal his

destructive life story, to uncover the plot in which crime appears to play such a significant part” (p.299). The ‘inner narratives’ of an offender are useful in explaining many aspects of criminal activity. In particular, analysis of the inner narratives can determine if they are connected to certain characteristic roles and actions of an individual. These narratives can be explored and analysed in terms of plots, themes, settings, scenes as well as characters and their dominant roles (McAdams, 1988).

Following on from the early research which highlighted the usefulness of the narrative theory within criminality, researchers such as Maruna (1997) analysed ex-offender’s autobiographies using a narrative approach to determine what influenced desistance from criminal behaviour. He found that reformation within the narratives and the offender taking responsibility for their past behaviour and the development of a new identity and self-understanding was important in desisting from crime. McAdams (1988) proposed that identity formation was particularly important in adolescent years, and this is the time when life stories are shaped. Furthermore, Canter (1994) suggests when a growing child is unsure about their identity and as to which life stories are appropriate, they will turn to the possibilities offered by the narratives around them which often include violence and exploitation of others. Although Canter (1994) held similar ideas to Maruna (1997) and McAdams (1988), it appears he was more concerned with the onset of offending rather than desistance or what factors drive an individual to stop offending. Furthermore, Presser (2009) was concerned with the key instigators of criminality and that offending behaviour is an enactment of a narrative. This supports the idea that during the late teenage years, offenders often begin to either devote themselves to a life of crime or avoid this career path (Canter, 1994). These ideas can be linked to Moffitt and Caspi’s (2001) later work around the typology of offenders and supports the idea of adolescent-limited offenders and how their criminal career is restricted to their adolescent years. Additionally, individuals who abstain from engaging in criminality find an identity that evades a criminal lifestyle.

Similarly, Maruna (2001), in his works *Making Good* identified two groups of offenders; desisters and persisters that also have parallels with Moffitt and Caspi’s (2001) adolescent-limited and lifetime persistent offenders. Maruna’s results showed that different narratives were described by the two groups. In particular, that the differences between the two groups were based on their subjective orientation or ‘sense making’ (Sampson & Laub, 1995). Persistent offenders expressed themselves through ‘condemnation script’, this was categorised by them making sense of their lives in terms of blocked opportunities and communicating a sense of doom and hopelessness. On the other hand, desisters constructed a ‘redemption script’, which focused on the individual identifying the vicious cycle of criminality they are in and finding motivation to turn their life around. They made sense of their

lives in terms of their newfound sense of prosocial identity. Maruna (2001) argued that a true understanding of criminal behaviour can only come through in-depth analysis of such narratives, this being helpful in terms of understanding why individuals may stop committing crime.

Presser (2009) in her review, *The Narratives of Offenders*, discussed the relevance of adopting a narrative approach in research. Presser suggested that an offender's narrative is an immediate antecedent to an offending episode, therefore criminal narratives are shaped by experience and reflected in the offender's behaviour and actions. Presser (2009) suggested that underlining each narrative of an individual were three main components, these being the offender's interpretation of the event and their actions within that event or a cognitive component, the offender's self-awareness or identity in the interpersonal crime event and lastly, the emotional and other experiential qualities of the event for the offender or an affective component. From this Presser coined the term *Narrative Criminology*, which was defined as "the study of the relationship between narratives and harmful actions and patterns" (Presser 2018, p. 2). This term was quickly adopted and used by a number of researchers, for example Sandberg and colleagues adopted the narrative approach to studying a range of different topics such as drug dealing (Sandberg, 2009), terrorism (Sandberg, Oksanen, Berntzen and Kiilakoski, 2014), drinking (Tutenges and Sandberg, 2013) and cannabis use (Sandberg 2012, Sandberg and Tutenges, 2015).

In 2015, Presser and Sandberg joined forces, they defined a methodological foundation for Narrative Criminology, which has remained influential in narrative research today (Presser & Sandberg, 2015; Presser & Sandberg, 2017; Presser & Sandberg, 2019). It is clear from the discussed research that the origins of Narrative criminology gave rise to a number of researchers across the world who utilised the narrative method in relation to the study of crime.

Although the use of a criminal narrative framework is still relatively new in the study of criminality, it does provide an interesting possibility of being able to gain a further understanding of criminal behaviour and the underlying thought processes and what drives offenders to commit crime. It is not without its criticisms and there are still unresolved questions, however it provides a foundation and positive step toward explaining criminality.

Type of crime

It is important to have an understanding of each type of crime as there are differences in regard to motive, victims or behaviours which occur within the crime. Katz (1988) suggested that every crime

has its distinct appeal to the offender who commits the crime. Therefore, it can be suggested that with each crime type comes a dominant narrative role. Canter (1994) suggested that the role an offender sees themselves as playing when committing crimes is expressed in the way they commit the crime and the behaviours they portray. Therefore, to understand the roles, the behaviours and actions need to be explored and analysed. In regard to the type of crime, Katz (1988) explores how each crime differs in relation to the appeal it may have to the offender or the motives behind the crime. An overarching theme within the book is that crime can be deemed an emotional experience, and that different types of crime will achieve differences in the emotions experienced. Katz (1988) approach argued that the desire to achieve particular emotional experiences was overlooked when considering it as a driving factor in criminality. For example, in property crimes, he termed these "sneaky thrill offences" as the offender may feel seduced by the desire to commit the act or by the objects of victims. When an offender commits a burglary or theft it could be suggested that they would express a professional narrative role due to the characteristics and actions involved in that particular crime. The professional role is characterised by feelings of satisfaction and an awareness of the risks involved but also reflects the victorious mastery of their environment (Youngs & Canter, 2012). The main attraction of the crime is not the income gained but the thrill, danger and domination. This explanation is supported by Merry and Harsent (2000) and Walsh (1986) who suggest that this type of crime is carried out successfully by individuals who have a level of professionalism when conducting their criminal acts, for example those who focused on details and there is planning around the offence. This is in support of Katz (1988) explanation of property crime and also is in line with the hypotheses proposed by the current study.

On the other hand, for offenders who commit sexual offences there is more concern with their interaction with the victim, rather than the sexual activity itself. Previous research by Canter and Heritage (1989) focused on this particular crime and developed a model which suggested that how the offender interacted with the victim could be differentiated based on the victim being seen as an object, a vehicle or a person. Canter, Bennell, Alison and Reddy (2003) defined rape as essentially a crime of violation, which can occur at distinctly personal, physical, and sexual levels. When an offender commits rape or sexual offence, it could be suggested that they may express the Revenger narrative role as this is classified as reflecting behaviours of power and gaining revenge for the wrong, they feel they have experienced. This could provide a similar explanation to violent crime, Katz (1988) suggests that moral emotions are what are at the centre of violent crime, for example humiliation, vengeance and arrogance. Research by Ioannou, Canter, Youngs and Synnott (2015) provides supportive evidence that particular types of crime will have dominant narrative roles revealed in their recent study. Consequently, this suggests that although all crime has its differences it is important to identify

if some crimes do have dominant roles if so a better understanding of the offenders who commit these crimes can be established.

Additional research has indicated that person-centred crimes are often induced by negative emotions such as anger (Ioannou, 2006), and some property-centred crimes may be driven by material incentive and financial gain (McCarthy, 1995) or recreational purposes (Fleming, 1999), which should be associated with a positive emotional experience such as thrill-seeking as highlighted above. As highlighted in the above discussion, there are some opposing views from different researchers around the motivations behind specific types of crime, the main one being property-related crime. Katz (1988) suggests there is a thrill-seeking element, whereas McCarthy (1995) suggests material incentive. Furthermore, research by Feeney (1999) and Intermaur (1996) support the idea proposed by Katz (1988) that emotional experience is an important driver towards crime, rather than purely financial gain.

Classification of crime

The ongoing debate of categorising crime has been explored in-depth, however is still inconclusive as to whether crime can be classified into specific groups. In some crimes such as rape or assault, it is clear that the crime is a direct attack towards the victim so it can be classed as a 'personal' crime. On the other hand, in crimes such as theft or burglary, there is a relationship with the victim, but the focus is more on 'property'. Research by Lambert and Farrington (1994) found evidence to suggest that there is a clear distinction between individuals who commit property or personal types of crime. However, a limitation of this theory is that not all crimes fit into either of these categories, for example crimes such as arson which has been categorised as being a property crime due to the obvious destruction of property (Hill, Langevin, Paitich, Handy, Russon & Wilkinson, 1982) but it also has elements which make it a personal crime, as the motive is often a direct attack on an individual or group (Barnett, 1992; Lewis & Yarnell, 1951). Additionally, research has found that if the homeowner was present when burgled there was a likelihood that they would be victimised with simple assault being the most common and rape being less likely (Catalano, 2010).

Youngs (2006) developed the idea that there are three different incentives to commit crime; these being financial/material gain, power/status gain and sensory gain. These draw on Bandura's (1986) model of seven human incentives. In relation to criminality, only the three highlighted incentives above were found to be relevant to offending behaviour. Youngs (2006) termed the idea of the Property-Person-Sensory (PPS) classification system to differentiate types of crime, these relate in particular to

the incentives behind the type of crime committed. The property action relates to the desire to possess something which does not belong to oneself, this relates to the financial/material gain as it relates to the possession of goods in a material sense. A range of crimes can be understood as having material gain such as theft, however a wider range of criminal behaviours could fall into this category for example, Fraud as the ultimate incentive is material or financial gain. The person action relates to obtaining control over others, this could involve violence or coercion to gain power, this relates to the power/status gain. The Sensory action relates to obtaining something that is of benefit to the perpetrator, this may be a feeling of pleasure or satisfaction and is usually to alleviate aversive feelings such as boredom or low mood. This type of gain manifests in relation to the emotional impact that is felt when a crime of this type is committed, for example a crime that is exciting and stimulating to the offender, but which does include material gain or power gain over an individual. One advantage of the PPS classification system is that it only takes into consideration the primary incentive or aim of the offender. For example, if an offender was to commit burglary but was disturbed and this ended in an assault on the individual, as the primary incentive of the offender was for material/financial gain then this can be classified as a property crime. Utilising this classification system can allow for a more reliable method in which to classify crime types for research purposes. Previous research, conducted by Chen and Howitt (2007) has utilised the PPS perspective and developed their own variation.

Emotions and crime

Although it has been long recognised that the emotional experience of offenders is important, there have been limited studies exploring this (Van Gelder, Nee, Otte, Denetriou, Van Sintemaartensdijk & Prooijen, 2017). Emotional processes have failed to occupy a central position within Criminological study, De Haan and Loader (2002) observed that Criminological research pays little attention to the impact of emotions on their subject matter. Additionally, research that has considered emotions has largely remained focused on narrative or interpretative studies (Lopez and Emmer, 2000; Athens 2005; Wikström 2006; Giordano, Schroeder, and Cernkovich, 2007). It has been suggested that the neglect of emotions in criminological research is due to the emphasis on the associations between crime, demographics or social factors (Katz, 1988).

Some of the earlier research around the emotional experience of crime is documented by Katz (1988) in his book the *Seductions of Crime*. Katz suggests that different types of crime provoke different emotions in offenders, and this may be what drives offenders to sustain their criminal behaviour. The book documents narrative accounts from university students as well as first-hand accounts from incarcerated offenders, to explore the part emotions play during crime and also how this relates to

different types of crime. Katz suggests that offenders are seduced by objects, people and by crime itself. At the moment of an offence the individual is driven by seduction and compelled to commit the crime. For example, in relation to violent crime, Katz suggests feelings such as humiliation, righteousness, arrogance, ridicule, cynicism, defilement and vengeance are all experienced by the perpetrator. McNulty and Hellmuth(2008) indicated that individuals who experience high levels of negative emotions such as anger and hostility, are suggested to exhibit higher rates of intimate partner violence in contrast to those who have lower levels of negative emotions. Similarly, Birkley and Eckhardt (2015) found that the causality of intimate partner violence is based on negative emotions, such as anger, hostility and other internalising negative feelings, this was based on a sample of aggressive offenders.

In regard to property crime, Katz suggested that the dominant emotion is that of “sneaky thrill” and that the emotions experienced by committing this type of offence are what compels offenders to continue doing so. This idea was supported by McCarthy (1995) who found that young thieves did not steal items that were essentials such as food but instead items that were considered luxuries. This suggests that this type of crime is not always committed out of necessity but for the thrill or emotional experience it provokes in the individual. In contrast, Indermaur (1993) studied property offenders and found that they described emotions in terms of justifiable anger or of being in an “impossible position”. He reports on a range of criminal emotions such as tension, fear, excitement, anger, and frustration. Therefore, suggesting that not all offenders who commit the same category of crime have the same reasons or motives. Katz (1988) early work was supported by a number of researchers such as Decker, Redfern and Smith (1999) who found that an offender's decision to carry out an offence was largely influenced by their emotional state. Similarly, Adler (1999) found that in relation to drug dealers, the emotions of excitement and thrill-seeking were major factors in their criminal activities and characteristic of their lifestyles. Therefore, it would be negligent to suggest that emotions do not play a role. Exploration of the role of emotions might help develop an understanding of the onset and maintenance of criminal offending in general and the emotional triggers to the timing of particular offences.

The Canter school of thought

Canter, Kaouri and Ioannou (2003) were the first to explore Canter's (1994) original idea relating to criminality. To study the complex issue of offender narratives, they proposed to focus on roles that may be exhibited whilst an offender narrates their criminal behaviour. The study aimed to ascertain whether offenders assign themselves a certain role when asked to recount their experiences of

committing one of their offences. The results showed that there were distinct narratives revealed when an offender was recounting the commission of their crime. Canter et al. (2003) concluded from this that criminal narrative roles work in a circular order during the commission of a crime, which corresponds with the foundations of Frye's theory of Mythoi (1957). As Canter et al.'s study focused on criminality and not literary criticism as did Frye's theory of Mythoi, it was not expected that there would be such correspondence, however some of the principles of his theory were apparent.

Canter et al. (2003) developed these narrative roles further and referred to them by different names, but they do still build on Frye's original theory. The roles found were Irony (The Victim), Tragedy (The Revenger), Quest (The Adventurer) and finally Adventure (The Professional). This led the way for further research within the area of criminal narratives and demonstrated the value of using a narrative approach to study criminality. From this, Canter and his colleagues have conducted numerous research studies across a variety of different contexts from 2003 to the present day that have adopted and built upon Canter's original idea. These include; school shootings (Ioannou, Hammond & Simpson, 2015), rioters (Willmott & Ioannou, 2017), contract killing (Yaneva, Ioannou, Hammond, & Synnott, 2018), sexual assaults (Almond & Canter, 2007), grooming (Ioannou, Synnott, Reynolds, & Pearson, 2018), adult offenders across different crime types (Ioannou, Canter, Youngs & Synnott, 2015), young offenders (Ioannou, Synnott, Lowe, & Tzani-Pepelasi, 2018), personality disordered offenders (Spruin, Canter, Youngs & Coulston, 2014) and missing children (Hunt, 2021).

Youngs and Canter (2012) developed the first version of The Narrative Roles Questionnaire (NRQ). They produced this by identifying that all narratives are underpinned by three components: these being the offender's interpretation of the event and his/her actions within the event (Cognitive), the offender's self-awareness or identity in the interpersonal crime event (Identity) and the emotional and other experiential qualities of the event for the offender (Emotions). This was suggested by building upon Presser's (2009) earlier ideas relating to these components. Youngs and Canter conducted a series of intensive, open-ended interviews with 38 offenders convicted of a variety of offences who were asked to describe their experience of committing a recent offence. These interviews were then subjected to content analysis to elicit core themes. Drawing on Presser's (2009) ideas that narratives are underpinned by the three core components as highlighted above, the interviews were content analysed to derive content on these three aspects. The content was then grouped into terms and statements derived which represented the key themes were developed, these were the initial statements that created the first version of the NRQ. From this, they produced a questionnaire that encapsulated the three components and could be used as a tool with offenders to explore the roles which they may play out when committing crime. The NRQ was tested with a sample of offenders. The findings again demonstrated the existence of the four narrative roles and the underpinning

components (Youngs and Canter, 2012).

Youngs and Canter (2011) applied McAdam's (1993) themes of agency and communion to the study of criminal narratives. However, they suggested that within a criminal context; the terms 'intimacy' and 'potency' were more relevant. Intimacy may be better understood as a measure of relevance the victim holds for the offender and the significance of the impact on the victim in allowing the offender to seek the object he desires. Potency can be understood as the imposing of the offender's will, it could be conceptualised as the offender conquering the environment or the victim. When understanding potency and intimacy in this way, empirical evidence has been supportive of these concepts and the basis for differentiating offender's criminal actions (Youngs and Canter, 2012). A number of studies have found that these concepts underpin offending styles within criminal behaviour for example expressive and instrumental (Canter and Fritzon, 1998; Canter and Ioannou, 2004; Youngs, 2004; Salfati and Canter, 1999).

Although each of the mentioned studies supports Canter's (1994) early works, a suggested limitation is that most of the supportive evidence is from the Investigative Psychology discipline and academics who are from the same school of thought. In contrast, Ward (2012), who is not from the same school of thought provided a critical commentary on Canter and Youngs (2012) narrative roles paper. He highlighted a number of issues such as definitional vagueness, lack of clarity concerning the nature of the self and methodological problems such as reliability and validity. From an exploration of the research literature, there does not appear to have been any further critique regarding the NRQ and Canter's approach and no further development from other researchers outside of that particular school. Canter and Youngs (2012) responded to the issues raised by Ward (2012) and acknowledged some of the shortcomings such as concerns around methodological issues. Ward (2012) did suggest that some of these weaknesses were apparent in the broader field of narrative theory and research. Therefore, Canter and Youngs (2012) aimed to overcome these by having a narrow focus on just the offence narrative, rather than the whole life narrative. They suggested that during the life narrative an individual may play many different roles, however by just focusing on a snapshot of an event i.e., a criminal offence this is reasonable to suggest that the role revealed at this time is a reasonable summary of the narrative which played out. However, this does raise a number of issues which need to be considered, for example although Canter and Youngs (2011, 2012) have given thought to issues around the dynamic nature of roles and how these are not fixed across an individual's lifetime. There does appear to be a lack of consideration given to the reliability of collecting information about an event post crime and potentially post sentencing, this is not just due to recall of information but around how narratives are constructed. It is unclear whether an individual constructing a narrative following a

crime is a true representation of the thoughts, feelings, and behaviours during the actual crime or rather a fictional construction of the event post crime. It could be suggested that Ward's (2012) critique is valid in that it suggests how the concept of 'roles' for example are quite subjective and open to interpretation by the researcher, as well as the use of SSA being open to question as the method of analysis. The limitations of this method of analysis are reviewed later in this thesis. Furthermore, as mentioned above there are several methodological concerns which could impact the results and conclusions drawn around narrative roles when exploring different types of crime as there does not appear to be a suggested classification system to be utilised when adopting this particular measure. Consistency and guidance around this would be of benefit, so that confounding variables can be controlled for in the design or analyses. Although studies have continued to adopt this approach and present findings indicating satisfactory reliability and internal consistency with different populations (Ioannou, Canter, Youngs & Synnott, 2015; Hunt, 2021; Spruin, Canter, Youngs & Coulston, 2014; Ioannou, Synnott, Reynolds, & Pearson, 2018 and Willmott & Ioannou, 2017), there are still some methodological concerns which need to be further explored as mentioned above.

Another important aspect of narrative roles is understanding not only the offender's role but how they perceive the role of their victim. This perspective implies that all crime have an interpersonal element attached to them, specifically that committing crime involves the acting out of a relationship between the offender and victim (Canter, 2010). Canter (1994) suggested that there are three key roles for the victim: object, vehicle, or person. In his discussion of violent criminals, such as murderers and rapists, Canter (1994) argues that how the offender treats their victims, is conveyed through how they behave while committing the offence. The victim as an 'object' is characterised by an offender who has minimal emotional feelings towards the victim, they are seen as irrelevant and just an 'object' on which they can act out their crime. It is suggested that offenders who identify their victim as an object have limited social contact and their crimes involve sadistic acts due to their lack of attachment to their victim (Canter, 1994). The victim as a 'vehicle' is characterised by the offender as a victim who serves a purpose and there is specific targeting so that they can play out their desire for revenge. The offender utilises their skills in obtaining and targeting the victim, as they serve a purpose that is significant within the offender's life. This selective approach by the offender reflects the significance and importance of the victim; the careful selection and targeting of victim is an essential feature of this type of crime (Canter, 1994). Finally, the victim as a 'person' is characterised by an offender who attempts to seek some kind of gain from their victim, this could be materialistic or simply unrequited intimacy. The offence may not always be against a known individual and is a common orientation amongst stranger rape. The offence is characterised by the offender assuming that the offence is part of a normal social interaction between himself and the victim (Canter, 1994). The victim is recognised as being a 'person', but the offender

uses coercion and abuse to achieve what they wish from the victim. The discussed victim framework was an elaboration from previous models devised by Canter and Fritzon (1998) Canter and Heritage (1990) which took into account the importance of the interpersonal interaction with the victim.

Each of these victim roles relates to a different narrative role that the offender reveals during the commission of their crime. The roles relate to the difference in how the offender attempts to maintain control of the situation for them to commit their crime and the interpersonal treatment of the victim (Canter and Youngs, 2009). Canter (1994) proposed that the adventure and professional narratives relate to the offender assigning the victim as an object. Since the hero has a focus and aim to their mission and the victim is insignificant in this. In the irony or victim narratives, the offender sees the victim as a person with whom they seek intimacy, but this may be in an abusive and destructive manner. The narratives of quest, tragedy and revenger see the victim as vehicles however they differ in relation to how they assign the role to their victim. Heroes view their offence as a heroic mission; therefore their victim is a crucial part of the offence and a 'vehicle' that they can act their desires on. Alternatively, the Revenger views the victim as a target in which they can exact their revenge, they view the victim as a 'vehicle' to seek vengeance. By understanding and interpreting the different roles offenders assign to their victims, it allows for a framework to differentiate the different styles of offending actions that offenders may exhibit. This is particularly important as it provides further understanding and awareness around different types of offenders and their motivation for committing crime, for example if an offender viewed their victim as a person this may alter the style of engagement with the offender and it may be particularly useful in terms of intervention and adopting suitable methods of rehabilitation. Canter (1994) suggested that offenders assign roles to their victims that are a reflection of their distorted approaches to achieve power and intimacy in their lives.

Type of crime and criminal narratives

More recently when studying criminal narratives, consideration has been given to the type of crime the offender is committing and whether this will influence the narrative role in which the offender exhibits. Previous research has been conducted which has applied the four offence roles to crimes such as rape; stalking and arson (Canter & Youngs, 2009). However, it would be extremely beneficial to make comparisons between a large number of different crimes to see if criminal narratives and offence roles differ. Research conducted by Ioannou, Canter, Youngs and Synnott (2015) found supportive evidence that the type of crime an individual commits is associated with distinct narrative roles. An example of this is property offences such as burglary and theft were found to be associated with the Hero and professional offence role, whilst on the other hand the Revenger and victim offence roles were found to

be associated with violent crime and murder. As this area of research is still relatively new, there is limited research to validate the discussed theory above that type of crime is associated with dominant narrative roles. Therefore, it would be beneficial in order to strengthen and validate the proposed theory by a replication of the above study with a larger sample size and a larger range of crime types. This is important research to conduct as by identifying whether particular offenders are characterised by certain roles in relation to the crime they commit, this could lead to further research which explores in more depth the characteristics of those roles and whether there are any correlations in relation to the offender's characteristics such as personality aspects for example.

Emotions and criminal narratives

The research carried out by Canter and Ioannou (2004) was one of the first studies to use self-report measures to examine the emotional experiences of offenders. They utilised a questionnaire that asked offenders to describe their emotions during committing a crime. The questionnaire encompassed the full range of emotions suggested in Russell's (1997) Circumplex of emotions and also emotions that were relevant to a criminal context. The study found that the emotions experienced by offenders reflected Russell's (1997) circumplex of emotions, additionally that the method used to examine the narratives of offenders for example smallest space analysis could be utilised in terms of exploring the emotional experiences of offenders. Therefore, they suggested that this provided a useful method for exploring the links between emotions and narrative roles. The findings from this study provided support for the idea that emotions experienced during criminality are a form of normal emotional functioning which are just displayed in a different context. However, the offenders expressed the range of emotions at a higher intensity in comparison to the experiences of the general population. Further analyses suggested that individuals who commit different types of crime such as property or personal crime are more likely to experience distinct emotions. Results suggested that property crimes produced more pleasurable emotions compared to crimes against the person. These findings were replicated by Ioannou (2006) who found that the emotions experienced by those who offend is similar to the emotions of the general population. However, the research did suggest that these emotions are experienced more intensely compared to the general population. These results were supported by Spruin (2012) who found that the full range of emotions based on Russell's model (1997) was partially present within a forensic population. More recently, Ioannou, Canter and Youngs (2017) established a link between narrative roles and emotions and developed the criminal narrative experience (CNE) of offender's framework. This is a further development of the NRQ protocol which takes into consideration the emotions experienced by offenders as well as the narrative roles they exhibit. They suggested that whilst committing a crime, offenders identified with four dominant narrative experiences

which consider the narrative roles they act out in association with the emotions they experience. They identified the four dominant narrative experiences, Calm Professional, Elated Hero, Depressed Victim, and Distressed Revenger. Ioannou, Canter and Youngs (2017) suggest that the CNE attempts to examine the criminals' experience during crime and link emotions, roles and crime. Several further studies by this particular research school have adopted the CNE framework to explore different samples of individuals such as young offenders (Ioannou, Synnott, Lowe and Tzani-Pepelasi, 2018), Women (Ciesla, Ioannou and Hammond, 2019) and psychopathic and mentally disordered offenders (Goodlad, Ioannou and Hunter, 2019).

Narrative roles

In order to discuss each of the proposed roles (Professional, Hero, Revenger and Victim) it is firstly important to have an understanding of the meaning of each narrative and how it fits within society. This is important as it then allows for the role to be understood in different contexts for example whilst an individual commits a crime or the role played during another significant event such as the birth of their child or graduation. It is important to have a general understanding of what these roles mean and whether they differ in relation to the type of narrative which is unfolding. As discussed previously, Frye's (1957) theory of Mythoi underpins and relates to the development of the narrative roles, therefore it is important to take into consideration the underlying explanations to each of the roles. Each of the roles will be discussed in relation to criminal behaviour.

Professional

The concept of a 'Professional offender' was derived in the 20th century, it proposed the existence of a population of habitual offenders whose approach to offending included a degree of organization, repeat offending, and specialism into certain forms of offending (Holmes, 2017). Being a professional thief engaged in these activities requires intelligence, stealth, and a degree of specialist knowledge and training. Careful planning and a total commitment to criminal behaviour as their profession were also significant characteristics. Sutherland (1937) in his works 'The Professional thief' describes Professional criminals as those who commit crime as their sole livelihood, have a high level of planning, technical skills, codes of behaviour and the ability to avoid detection. Staats (1977) postulated that the initial ideas about professional crime had developed into five broad categories of offending, these being; Burglary (safe and house), Sneak theft (bank, house, shoplifting, penny weighting, pickpocketing, and lush-working), Confidence swindling (short con, big con, circus grifting),

Forgery and counterfeiting, and Extortion.

Within the current research, the basis of the Professional narrative role can be understood as an individual who carries out crime in a methodological manner and shows skill and competency in what they are doing. The individual would see committing crime as a job and getting satisfaction from doing so. This role can be understood in relation to Frye's 'Romance' narrative. (Frye, 1957). The role of the Professional reflects a romance story form where the character loses his innocence and becomes more experienced and intelligent.

Hero

The concept of an archetype was developed by Carl Jung (1947) and studied further by Joseph Campbell (1949). Jung believed that individual and social behaviours have their roots in a common palette of characters and situations that the mind retains from early human consciousness development. Jung believed the archetype of the Hero was the psyche's quest for individuation. Campbell (1949) built upon this concept through his studies of art, religion and stories from across the globe where he found the notion of the 'hero' was common throughout these. Campbell (1949) devised the concept of the 'monomyth' or the 'hero's journey' which focuses on a common template of the Hero narrative. From this Campbell suggested that there are 17 stages of the monomyth, these being separated into three further sections. Campbell describes the three sections in terms of the Hero as; the departure in which the protagonist is called to go on an adventure, the initiation in which the protagonist travels to an unknown world and faces many trials and tribulations until he is faced with a final challenge and finally the return in which the protagonist must return to his ordinary world with his reward and use this for the benefits of his fellow man. Previous research on the 'Hero' concept has examined several factors such as the defining features of a Hero, the importance of heroes and the psychological resources that heroes provide to society. Kinsella, Ritchie and Igou (2015) found that the most prototypical features of heroes are bravery, moral integrity, courage, conviction, honest, altruism, self-sacrificing, selflessness, determination, inspiring, and helpful. Additionally, Gash and Conway (1997) asked participants to describe features of a Hero. The results identified 24 features, these included brave, confident, loyal, strong and warrior. In the recent psychological literature, heroes have been described as persons who: are willing to risk and to make sacrifices for others (Becker & Eagly, 2004); resist external pressures of conformity (Zimbardo, 2007); protect and promote the well-being of future generations (McAdams, 2008); persist in the face of failure (Ko, 2007); demonstrate the moral will, the desire to do good for others, and moral skill, the capacity to do the right thing in a

particular situation (Schwartz, 2009).

On defining the Hero role in relation to Canter's perspective, the above development of the Hero is important to consider as it provides a foundation or template in which the Hero role is based upon. Canter's Hero role is characterised by the individual embarking on an adventure which they see as the manly and brave thing to do. The Hero would see themselves as being involved in a highly significant task and that their life is overtaken by this mission they must complete. This role could be understood as emerging from Frye's "comedic" narrative (Frye, 1957). This narrative focuses upon the hero being an individual who is on a mission in search of love and happiness by overcoming obstacles that stand in their way. Usually, this type of narrative ends with a happy ending.

Before the development of the Hero role, Canter et al. (2003) termed this the role of the Adventurer; this was an individual for who committing crime was perceived as an exciting and exhilarating adventure. Canter et al. (2003) describe the Adventurer role as an individual who will "experience a euphoric appreciation of its significance" when they have committed their crime. As their research advanced, it was clear that this role needed to be reworked and thus the data revealed a clearer, more obvious role, which was termed the Hero. This seemed to encompass the statements within the NRQ more effectively and relate to the stories which the offenders were telling. Within the literature however it is specifically stated how this role was derived and is unclear in terms of the process the researchers followed in order to adapt the role to what we now know to be the 'Hero'.

Victim

The term victim is a relatively new phenomenon in relation to crime, previously it was referred to by the New Shorter Oxford English Dictionary as 'a person killed or tortured by another' however, this has been restructured to now include 'a person subjected to cruelty, oppression, or other harsh, or unfair treatment, or suffering death, injury, ruin, etc., as a result of an event, circumstance or oppressive or adverse impersonal agency'. To understand the victim narrative role within this current study, it is important to consider the origin of the word and its previous definitions. Nils Christie (1986) explored the stereotype of what was believed to be the 'Ideal victim' this looked at the identities and attributes of victims. These six attributes were as follows; 1. The victim is weak in relation to the offender (female, sick, very old or very young), 2. The victim is, if not acting virtuously, then at least going about their legitimate, ordinary everyday business, 3. The victim is blameless for what happened, 4. The victim is unrelated to and does not know the 'stranger' who has committed the offence, 5. The offender is unambiguously big and bad and finally, 6. The victim has the right combination of power, influence or

sympathy to successfully elicit victim status without threatening (and thus risking opposition from) strong countervailing vested interests.

The Victim interprets the crime as being out of their control and does not hold themselves responsible or accountable for the crime. They perceive themselves as a victim of circumstance so respond to this via the use of violence and antisocial behaviour. The Victim will commit their crime due to feeling they have no choice and the event could not be avoided due to chance, luck or fate beyond their control. This role can be understood in relation to Frye's 'Irony' narrative. (Frye, 1957). Frye describes the definition of Irony as rooted in Socrates as a 'self-deprecator' (Frye, 1957:172).

Revenger

Revenge has been suggested to be a hard-wired psychological mechanisms that mobilise emotions of anger and moralistic aggression (Fitness & Peterson, 2008; Eisner, 2011). Also that it is associated with a sense of satisfaction when retaliation has been delivered and justice has been done (Eisner, 2009; Eisner, Murray, Ribeaud, Averdijk & Van Gelder, 2017). The vengeance theme has been a major feature of Western culture in its expression in Greek literature and theatre, through classical authors like Shakespeare and Racine to the present day.

Revenge is a harmful action against a person or group as a response to a (real or perceived) wrongdoing. Although many aspects of revenge resemble the concept of justice, revenge is focused on a crueller and punitive approach rather than a restorative one to restore balance. The goal of revenge usually consists of forcing the perceived wrongdoer to suffer the same or greater pain than that which was originally inflicted.

An offender who identifies within a Revenger narrative role commits crime due to the feelings of being wronged and that they need to gain revenge to restore equilibrium in society. The individual justifies their crime as they believe they are doing the right thing and cannot stop themselves. The Revenger would feel a sense of purpose and a mission that needs to be completed, in respect of the consequences of their actions. This role can be understood in relation the Frye's 'Tragedy' narrative. (Frye, 1957).

Narrative roles questionnaire

Canter and Youngs (2012) suggested a framework in which offender narratives could be analysed. They suggested that examining the roles that individuals revealed whilst discussing their criminal

behaviour, would give them an insight into an offender's subjective reasoning behind their offending actions. Presser (2009) suggested that criminal narratives are precursor of criminal actions, proposing that narratives have a direct influence on the offending behaviours. This led to the development of the CYNEO (Canter-Youngs Narrative Experience of Offending) protocol, which includes the Narrative Roles Questionnaire (NRQ) which was used to recall the experiences of the offender whilst they were committing a crime. The components suggested by Presser (2009) provided the basis for the content analysis of some of the early interviews which were conducted as part of the pilot study used to develop the questionnaire. Quotes made by offenders during the pilot study were used to develop the statements within the questionnaire to ensure that this was a true representation of the experiences of offenders. The development of this questionnaire meant that the area of criminal narratives could be quantitatively studied. The first version of the NRQ used by Canter et al. (2003) contained only 20 items and it was scored with a five-point Likert scale from strongly disagree to strongly agree. Further development of this protocol led to a revised version (CYNEOv1) which included 13 additional statements added to the questionnaire and the measurement format was changed to assess intensity on a five-point Likert scale, which ranged from 'not at all' to 'very much indeed' (Ioannou, 2006; Youngs and Canter, 2012). The first pilot study utilising the NRQ (Youngs and Canter, 2012) concluded that there were some gaps that had not been captured by the statements which had been developed during the intensive interviews. These included statements that focused on the expression of positive descriptions of the crime. Youngs and Canter (2012) suggested that a revision of the NRQ in the future would address gaps in the pilot study to capture the full range of offending experiences.

A further version (CYNEOv2) was developed which includes a total of 52 items, which is an expansion of version 1 and encompasses items around identity and the cognitive and emotional aspects of narratives. However, after exploration of the research literature by the author, it appears that this further extended version has not been widely utilised with the only published version being by Zeyrek-Rios, Canter and Youngs (2021), where this was translated into Turkish. Most of the research utilising the NRQ has adopted CYNEOv1 which contains 33 items. The author is unclear why this further version has not been utilised in any of the more recent literature. The NRQ has been used to identify the dominant roles in specific crime types such as rape, homicide, arson and burglary (Canter and Youngs, 2009). The earlier research conducted with the NRQ did not differentiate whether the type of crime an individual may commit would impact the role they may reveal. Therefore, research was conducted specifically on different types of crime (Ioannou, Canter, Youngs and Synnott, 2015). Research by Katz (1988) suggested that each crime has its own distinctive appeal, "at once thrilling to its participants, and yet thrilling in different ways and for different reasons." Therefore, it can be suggested that an individual who commits a sexual assault may experience different thoughts and

feelings and also differ in terms of motivation, therefore it is effective to differentiate between crime types.

From this ongoing research, a theoretical framework was developed and empirical evidence was discovered suggesting that there are four dominant offense roles; The Professional role, which is one of competency and mastery of the environment. The Revenger role is defined by distress and blame. The Victim role is one of disconnectedness and despair. Finally, the Hero role, concerned with the taking on and overcoming of challenges. Research conducted by Canter and Youngs (2009) and Youngs and Canter (2012) amongst others have found evidence to validate the existence of these four dominant narrative offence roles.

Drawing from previous research from McAdams (1988) Polkinghorne (1988) and Frye (1957) into the study of life narratives on a general population sample, they identified the importance of studying the stories which individuals told and how this allowed for a greater understanding of human behaviour, this is important as it allows for further development and understanding of why humans behave and interact the way they do. Furthermore, it could support the development of effective treatments and therapies which could help individuals who were struggling with specific trauma. Research conducted by Adler, Wagner, and McAdams (2007) suggests that the construction of good life narratives around emotional and difficult events is especially important for mental health. Therefore, highlighting the significance of Narrative-based therapy in potentially evolving and changing life narratives for a more positive perception of the self.

As previously discussed, there were several different methods used to study life narratives, however each of these had its limitations as highlighted above, for example regarding reliability of recall and using retrospective accounts (Fisher, 2013). Therefore, it could be suggested that the Narrative roles framework developed by Youngs and Canter (2011: 2012), could be utilised as a tool within a general population sample to capture experiences and to further understanding whether the use of narrative roles can be understood in terms of significant events and on a population who are not criminal.

Critique of the Narrative Roles Questionnaire

The use of the NRQ has been validated by a number of studies and has been suggested to capture the experiences of offenders (Ioannou, Canter & Youngs, 2017; Canters & Youngs, 2012 and Spruin, Canter, Youngs & Coulston, 2014. However, a limitation of this is that the majority of the research has been conducted by a single research group and school of thought, therefore this is limited in terms of

validating the reliability of the NRQ measure. Exploration of the research literature by the author has found that there has been limited critique of the measure and the school of thought, this is limited to a commentary by Ward (2012) and there has also been no research completed by other scholars in terms of validating and expanding the suggested methodology.

As discussed above there are some limitations around the use of the NRQ and the methodology adopted to collect and analyse criminal narratives. One limitation relates to the method of analysis which has been utilised through the multiple studies which have utilised the NRQ (Canter and Young, 2012, 2011; Ioannou, Hammond & Simpson, 2015; Willmott & Ioannou, 2017; Yaneva, Ioannou, Hammond, & Synnott, 2018; Ioannou, Synnott, Reynolds, & Pearson, 2018 and Hunt, 2021) to name a few. This relates to the use of smallest space analysis (SSA; Lingoes, 1973) and how the results are visually represented for exploration. In terms of this method, there are some issues around the examination of the plot as this is a very subjective method and generally it will only be analysed by a single researcher which could lead to bias when attempting to draw conclusions. Canter, Hughes and Kirby (1998) suggested that the method of SSA, can be utilised as both hypothesis testing and hypothesis generating, therefore it can help guide and direct the focus of future research. However, this is itself is a limitation as highlighted above it had been used many times to determine and draw specific conclusions and not as a methodology to guide further research in the area. Therefore, it can be suggested that this method of analysis may be creating unreliable results, and there has not been any further methods of analysis employed within this field. Furthermore, SSA as a measure is very sensitive, therefore if particular statements or values are removed from the analysis this can skew the outcome of the plot and provide very different results. Siesmaa (2020) in her thesis aimed to explore the structural and internal consistency of the NRQ in relation to two male population samples. She suggested that there are benefits to adopting exploratory factor analysis as well as SSA to improve the validity and reliability of the measure. Furthermore, Siesmaa (2020) developed a practitioner's guide and scoring tool which aimed to overcome some of the identified limitations in relation to interpretation being subjective. Although this provides a good starting point to further study the NRQ, there are still unresolved methodological issues which need to be addressed.

A Further limitation of the NRQ relate to how to data is collected around criminal narratives, specifically the development of the original statements and how these were based on post-offence verbalisations. Therefore, these statements could be impacted by memory issues and also any post-offence developments such as being convicted of the offence (Canter and Youngs, 2012). Furthermore, when utilising the NRQ in interviews the issue of memory arises since the individuals are asked to recall information relating to a past offence and the potential for distortions to occur over time

could impact the reliability of the data collected (Howe and Knott, 2015). However, research has suggested that any information recalled can show insight into an individual's belief system, therefore cognitive distortion and schemas may in fact strengthen responses (Gannon, Wright, Beech & Williams, 2006). As mentioned, the development of the NRQ is reliant on retrospective accounts provided by offenders, this is often post crime or even post sentencing as most of the participants who engaged with the studies using the NRQ were in a custodial or institutional setting. Therefore, this highlights a weakness in terms of the validity of the measure, as it is difficult to determine whether the information provided is true information or a fictional construction.

As highlighted earlier in the chapter, one critique is around the development of the roles and how the 'Adventurer' was adapted to be known as the 'Hero'. The research literature does not specifically discuss the reasoning behind this or the process of the development of the new role, it only discusses how the statements are better adapted to the 'Hero' role. This is a limitation as it leaves gaps in the explanations around the methodology and development of the NRQ and leaves it open as a point of critique. Following on from this, a major limitation of the narrative roles approach is that it could be deemed quite simplistic as it is attempting to reduce the complexity of human behaviours and emotions into four roles. Although at some point an individual may fall into one of the roles proposed, it does not take into account dynamic factors and that individuals may change and grow. For example, if an individual demonstrates the professional role in one offence they have committed, this would imply they always fall into this role. However, other narrative research suggests that motivations and drivers of criminal activity change for individuals. The limitation of the narrative roles as a framework is that it may explain how an individual feels doing the offence but it does not explain the onset of crime, maintenance and finally desistance from crime. Therefore, when exploring the benefits of the NRQ and narrative roles as an effective tool and framework, it does in fact have many gaps and limitations and does not consider important factors which need to be understood if we are to hopefully gather an extensive understanding of what motivates, sustains and stops an individual from committing crime.

Hoyle and Bosworth (2011) amongst others have observed that criminology is at risk of "sinking into a set of cliques where criminologists read the work of others who think like them, write for those very same people and publish only in the journals that they and their colleagues are already reading" (p. 3). It could be suggested that this quote by Hoyle and Bosworth (2011) summarises perfectly the current situation around the discussions of the NRQ as a measure of criminal narrative roles. Therefore, it is of importance to review this measure and current research thought in order to determine the validity and reliability within the area of Narrative Criminology.

Chapter Summary

The current chapter has examined early research into narrative roles and has discussed how this has informed the development of criminal narrative roles. Additionally, it has discussed the development of a measure in order to study narrative roles thematically. The Professional, Hero, Revenger and Victim narrative roles have been discussed in order to provide an understanding of the context and meaning of the roles for future studies. Canter suggests that "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). The chapter further highlights the relationship between emotions and criminal and the current research around this area, furthermore it discusses general research into crime types and classifying crime.

Chapter 4: Culture

Culture is defined as a system of learned, shared ideas and behaviours (Snajdr, 2010). These ideas are implicit and automatic, guide practices and are infused into individuals' everyday lives. As individuals engage with cultural practices, their thoughts, feelings and behaviours reflect the culture's values and beliefs (Snibbe, 2003). Chiu and Hong (2013) advised that individuals are active cultural agents and that they create, apply, reproduce, transmit their cultural routines into social interactions.

In relation to crime, what is constituted as an incorrect or immoral act in one culture, may not be by another culture. Therefore, it is important to have an understanding of how the concept of crime is culturally constructed, therefore ideas of what is wrong and right may vary cross-culturally (Snajdr, 2010). Jiang, Lambert and Wang (2006) suggested that cross-cultural research allows for a more thorough understanding of issues by testing whether theories and/or interventions are global or specifically limited in their application. Thus, completing research of this kind helps narrow the gap between different cultures and the development of novel ideas which may not have been considered before.

There are a number of different cultural dimensions which have been proposed in cultural research. In the 1970s Hofstede identified four dimensions that allowed for cultures to be distinguished from each other these being; high-low power distance index, Individualism- Collectivism, masculinity-femininity, high-low uncertainty avoidance. He later added two further dimensions in collaboration with Bond and Minkov (Hofstede and Bond, 1988; Hofstede & Minkov, 2010) which were long-short term orientation and indulgence- restraint (Hofstede, 2001).

See the table below for further information regarding each of the dimensions and where certain countries and cultures are considered to be in regards to each dimension.

<u>Dimensions</u>	<u>Description</u>	<u>Cultural/Country differences</u>
Low 'vs' high Power distance index	The degree of equality that exists and is accepted between individuals with and without power.	There is a high-power distance index in Latin American countries, Africa and Asia as individuals accept power as an integral part of society (Gill, 2017). Whereas countries such as Denmark and Ireland value equality and aim to minimise social and class inequalities.
Individualism 'vs' Collectivism	The strength of the ties that individuals have to their community.	A gap exists between Eastern and Western countries, these being Eastern countries have strong collectivistic values, whereas more Western countries are individualistic. The USA is considered to be one of the most individualistic countries in the world.

Masculinity 'vs' Femininity	The distribution of roles between men and women within a society. A masculine culture tends to emphasise ambition, control and competition, whereas feminine culture emphasises nurture, care, relationships and sharing (Hofstede, 2001).	Research found that cultures that have a high rate of masculinity such as Japan, Austria and Italy revealed a high proportion of males in dominant structures, in contrast in cultures of low masculinity such as Denmark, Norway and Sweden, women were treated more equally in social systems (Hofstede, 2001).
Uncertainty 'vs' Avoidance	A culture that is either orientated towards uncertainty or towards creating certainty and stability (Hofstede, 2001). It also relates to a culture's directness and honesty, and cultures can either be high or low.	Cultures such as Japan, Greece and Spain are deemed high uncertainty avoidance and are suggested to be rule orientated and task centred. On the other hand, cultures such as the USA, UK and Germany are deemed low uncertainty avoidance and they are suggested to have less verbally explicit communication and decisions and activities focus around personal and face to face relationships.
Long 'vs' short-term Orientation	How cultures are orientated in space and time. This relates to tendencies to maintain traditions and the past and also how they relate to the future and the present day.	Asian countries such as China and Japan are known for their long-term orientation. Morocco is a short-term oriented country.
Indulgence 'vs' Restrain	Indulgence characterises a culture that allows relatively free gratification of basic and natural human drives, whereas restraint refers to a culture that suppresses these needs by means of strict social norms and positive feelings are less freely expressed (Maclachlan, 2013).	The USA, Mexico and Columbia are known as indulgent places, whereas in contrast places such as Russia, Egypt and Iraq are considered as restrained.

Table 4 a- a table to show Hofstede's dimensions of culture

It has been suggested by scholars that certain criminal behaviours are more a reflection of how society is structured (i.e., culture rather than an indication of inherent problems within an individual) (Esmail, Penny and Eargle, 2013). Nunn (2006) suggests that culture drives the process of criminalisation and helps to determine which acts will be sanctioned through the criminal justice system. Additionally, he suggests that culture influences who will be arrested, charged, convicted and what sentence they will receive. Previous research which has looked at offending behaviours, for example, Canter and Heritage (1996) who looked at specifically sexual offences found that there were some cultural differences amongst a British sample and an Eastern European sample in regard to the

type of rape that occurred. For example, stranger rapes were more prevalent in the British sample. These differences may be due to differences in values and opinions within that given society. Another example of how culture plays a part in influencing offending behaviour is that in America the levels of violence portrayed in television and film have been found to be significantly stronger than in the UK and other cultures (Halloran & Croll, 1972). This was suggested to influence the differences in the homicide statistics of the two cultures (Canter, 1994). Therefore, it is important to take the context in which the offending behaviour occurs into consideration when using the narrative framework to explain offending actions.

Individualism 'vs' Collectivism

As highlighted, Individualism and Collectivism is the most commonly used dimension to explore distinctions in psychological phenomena across different cultures (Imada and Yussen, 2012). Individualistic cultures emphasise the independence of individuals, personal goals and achievements and unique qualities (Triandis, 1995). On the other hand, collectivistic cultures emphasise the importance of harmonious relationships, group achievements and motivation to adjust to others. It is important to recognise however that Individualism and Collectivism are not always opposites, and both may co-exist within a given culture (Triandis, 1995). However, in contrast to this idea, one of the aims of cross-cultural studies is to identify if there are any differences between individualistic and collectivist cultures on a given psychological phenomenon and to what degree are the differences (Ma, Erkus & Tabak, 2008).

Over the last few decades, Cultural Psychologists have revealed various psychological differences between people of different cultures (See Fiske, Kitayama, Markus, & Nisbett, 1998, for a review). The study of the individualism 'vs' collectivism dimension has been used in the study of social behaviours, particularly in efforts to predict behavioural patterns (LeFebvre and Franke, 2013). A meta-analysis by Oyserman, Coon and Kimmelmeier (2002) of 253 studies concluded that the individualism-collectivism construct does impact basic psychological processing and that cultural differences in the dimension "provide a powerful explanatory tool for understanding the variability in the behaviour of individuals in different parts of the world" (pg. 44). Furthermore, Morling and Lamoreaux (2008) conducted a meta-analysis of 50 studies that explored advertisements in popular magazines, TV adverts and newspaper articles. They found that cultural products from the West, mainly the USA, were significantly more individualistic than those from East Asia (including Japan, Korea, and China) and cultural products from East Asia were significantly more collectivistic than those from the West. This research suggests that there is a clear distinction between these types of cultures which

highlights an important question in relation to whether culture does impact phenomena such as criminal narratives.

An identified disadvantage of being part of a collectivistic culture such as having strong social ties to the community is that it can impact the perceptions of crime and victims in that particular community. Research by Sigal, Gibbs, Goodrich, et al. (2005) demonstrated that there were cultural differences in relation to how guilty of sexual harassment a professor was believed to be dependent on whether the participants were part of a collectivist society or individualistic society. Participants from a collectivistic society judged the Professor as less likely to be guilty compared to the individualistic society. Furthermore, an awareness around 'honour' based violence is more widely reported across collectivistic cultures, for example, Latin America, Turkey and Middle Eastern, North African, South Asian (MENASA) (Dietrich & Schuett, 2013; Khan, 2018; Vandello & Cohen, 2003). This is an issue within collectivist cultures due to this group being focused on values and ensuring that they stand up for the group and represent the group, in honour-based violence this relates to not allowing shame to be brought to the family, therefore extreme measures are usually taken such as violence and even death to prevent shame and disgrace on the family and religion.

Sandberg, Tutenges and Copes (2015) highlight the role of culture in personal narratives, they suggest that some cultures provide justifications and legitimise for violence, an example being the Greek culture which is deemed a collectivistic society (Koukouris & Stavros, 2009). Research by Seidler (2011) explored the impact of culture on criminal violence, she suggested that interpersonal violence is one of how offenders achieve identity, particularly if they are unable to achieve this through conventional ways. Furthermore, the results suggested that offenders from individualistic cultures were motivated to offend in ways that established identity, whereas offenders from collectivistic cultures were motivated by cultural pride and the image of the group. Additionally, offenders from individualist cultures perpetrated violent crime in ways that promoted self-interest such as coping with personal pain and getting one's needs met. In contrast, offenders from collectivist cultures were more focused on offending or group-oriented reasons such as standing up for the perceived group (e.g., family, religious or ethnic group). These identified differences relating to culturally situated motivation for violent crime have their foundations in the notions of self and other, which are constructed differently depending on cultural experiences (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Although Hofstede's model has been suggested to provide a comprehensive framework to explore the dimensions of culture, it is not without critique. Researchers such as McSweeney (2002), Baskerville (2003), Signorini, Wiesemes and Murphy (2009), Fang (2003) and McSweeney, Brown and Iliopoulou (2016) have been quick to suggest that Hofstede's model is unable to account for the complexity of culture.

An alternative theory was proposed by Schwartz (1994) which was focused on cultural values, he suggested there were seven cultural dimensions these being; harmony, embeddedness, hierarchy, mastery, affective autonomy, intellectual autonomy, and egalitarianism. Gouveia and Ros (2000) suggested that Hofstede's model has some key flaws, one of these being that countries can share both individualistic and collectivist values. Schwartz (2009) compared the values of Western countries with the rest of the world, they found that Western countries demonstrated values to suggest individualism as well as Collectivism. Therefore, Schwartz's seven cultural dimensions were able to explain differences in culture more effectively. Taking into consideration the advantages and limitations of both classification systems, the present study adopted Hofstede's model as a way to consider each of the different samples, this was due to this model being able to definitively categorise the different countries as Schwartz's model is based on a continuum. This allowed for direct comparisons to occur between the different samples.

Narratives and Culture

In 2006, McAdams highlighted the impact of culture on narratives, he suggests that culture is "essentially providing a menu of themes, images, and plots for the psychological construction of narrative identity" (pg. 211). An area that is limited within the exploration of criminal narratives is the impact of culture and in particular how culture impacts narrative roles which are revealed. Canter (1994) suggests that "The salient characteristics of the actors in our scripts are also identified by the issues that are of concern around us. One consequence of this differentiation is that different plots are dominant for different groups". (p.232). This discussing the idea that different cultures may have variation in the dominant roles they exhibit, as variation in culture may reflect on what influences their life narrative.

Although research suggests that culture does affect narrative roles, Youngs and Canter (2012) suggest that their four dominant offence roles are embedded in and take into consideration cultural differences. Similarly, Agnew (2006) supports the idea that although culture may affect narrative roles, this can be controlled for, and the proposed framework does consider this. Although Youngs and Canter (2012) do suggest there is cultural validity within narrative roles, there are not any studies within the original research that explore this, thus an apparent gap in the research. Youngs and Canter (2012) do suggest within their discussion that the impact of culture should be the focus of future

research. Therefore, in relation to the Narratives role questionnaire (NRQ) further study is warranted to explore the cultural validity of this measure.

The samples of participants which have been utilised have predominantly been focused on UK offenders, therefore it is unclear whether it is a framework that can be utilised across different cultures. Dedeloudis (2016) explored the criminal narrative experiences of Greek offenders, however, this was specifically focused on violent offending and there was no comparison with any other culture. Furthermore, Zeyrek-Rios (2018) explored whether the NRQ could be adopted to be utilised on a Turkish sample of offenders. Results suggested that narrative offence roles identified by Youngs and Canter (2012) were applicable in a Turkish sample of offenders. Although, cross-cultural issues are explored this is a singular comparison of one culture and there are no direct comparisons discussed within the research. Additionally, the sample used has been explored in terms of Turkey being a heavily collectivistic culture, which provides some insightful results and conclusions, however, demonstrates a further gap in the knowledge to be explored. This suggests that this particular area of research around cross-cultural comparisons utilising the NRQ is extremely limited, with the doctoral thesis by Zeyrek-Rios (2018) being the only one. Furthermore, it would be useful to explore individualistic cultures and whether the same narrative roles are revealed so that a comparison can be drawn with collectivistic cultures in future research. This would allow for the cultural validity of the NRQ as a measure to be determined.

Current data sets

Each of the data sets which have been explored within the current thesis (Hungary, Italy, Poland & UK) have all been identified as belonging to individualistic cultures, although they all vary with regards to the degree (Schwartz, 1994; Hofstede, 2001). Although there have been some limitations identified in relation to differing perspectives around the classification of culture, for the current study Hofstede's model of cultural dimensions will be adopted due to the data being retrospectively collected and it not lending itself to further analysis in terms of cultural dimensions. As discussed previously, an offender who is part of an individualistic culture may offend to create or find an identity or a sense of belonging. An individual's identity being fragile appears to be constructed from personal issues, such as a reference to masculinity or sexuality rather than ethnicity (Seidler, 2011). Furthermore, crime is committed in their interest and to achieve personal goals rather than for someone else. They are motivated by the need for hedonism and fulfilling their own needs. By having a further understanding of some of the characteristics of an individualistic society, this may translate and be demonstrated in the criminal narratives which are to be further discussed in relation to the data samples used for this study.

In relation to the other dimensions suggested by Hofstede, there are some differences and similarities between the four different countries. The figure below demonstrates some of the key differences in the cultural dimensions across the four countries which are to be utilised in this research. The data within this figure has not been collected by the author, instead, this comparison is based on Hofstede's cross-cultural work in which the data has been collected since his initial works in 1967 and has been updated frequently.

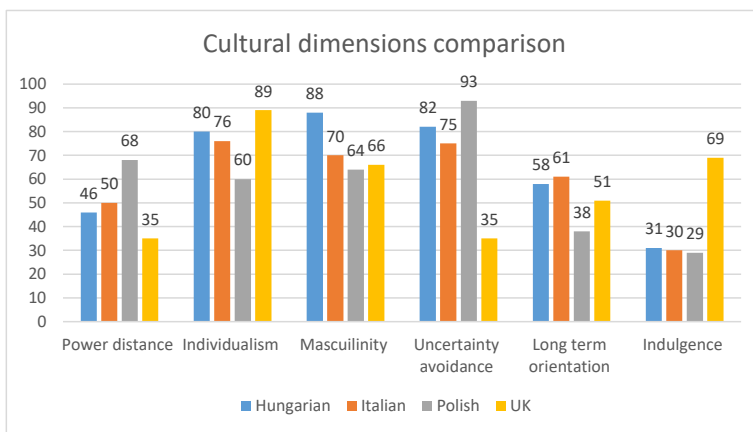


Figure 4 a- a comparison of Hofstede's cultural dimensions across four data samples

Figure 4a presents a visual representation of some of the key similarities and differences between the four countries in terms of their cultural dimensions. One of the most significant differences is in regard to the indulgence restrain dimension. The UK sample scores particularly high in this dimension suggesting that the UK is indulgent, this means as a culture, society is more focused on optimism and enjoying life. On the other hand, Poland, Hungary and Italy score fairly low on this dimension suggesting they are a more restrained culture, this means they tend to be more pessimistic and put less emphasis on enjoying life and control the gratification of their desires.

In relation to the uncertainty avoidance dimension, Poland, Hungary and Italy score highly on this suggesting they are a culture that aims to avoid uncertainty, for example maintaining strong values, beliefs and rules. On the other hand, being low in uncertainty avoidance like the UK suggests a culture which are comfortable in ambiguous situations, for example, the term 'muddling through' is a very British phrase which explains this concept well.

In relation to the power distance dimension, Poland scores quite highly on this suggesting that as a culture there is a hierarchical order and everyone knows their place within society, the culture is accepting of this order. In contrast to this, the UK, Italy and Hungary each score lower suggesting they the cultures are more focused on equality. Particularly, in the UK the results may be unexpected due to the established class system, however generally the cultural views are around fairness and equality for all despite social class.

Furthermore, there are also some similarities across the four countries, for example, they each score highly on masculinity meaning as a culture they are all highly success-oriented and driven.

Taking a culturally situated approach to attempt to understanding criminal behaviour creates psychologically deeper and richer narratives of crime, which speak to the lived experiences of offenders with respect to their motivations of committing criminal actions (Seidler, 2011).

A key point to note is concerning the Hungarian sample which has been utilised within the current research, following exploration of the sample it has revealed that there is a high proportion of participants who identify as part of the Roma culture. Therefore, it is important to consider this when completing cross-cultural analysis as this sample of participants may culturally identify differently from the Hungarian population. It is known particularly within Roma culture that they are quite family orientated and more collectivistic on the cultural dimensions (Laluzza & Crespo, 2009). Additionally, the Roma population experience both segregation and discrimination in contrast to other minority groups, this particularly impacts employment, housing and education (Aísa & Larramona, 2021; Merhaut, 2019 and Farkas, 2014).

Chapter summary

The current chapter focuses on culture and the impact this may have on crime. It explores the different cultural dimensions and how culture can be classified. Finally, it considers each of the different cultures which are going to be utilised in the current thesis and compares and contrasts them based on the cultural dimensions.

Chapter 5: Rationale

Aims and objectives

Study one will focus on exploring the use of the NRQ in relation to a number of offender samples from across four different countries. Its aim is to ascertain whether these dominant narrative roles (Canter & Youngs, 2011; 2012) are valid across cultures, crimes and offender demographics, and to ascertain whether particular emotions are consistently associated with the different narrative roles. In study two the applicability of the NRQ to the exploration of narrative roles in relation to a positive life-event in a non-offending, predominately female population will be explored. The aim being to investigate whether the NRQ is equally applicable to women as well as to a general population sample. Ciesla, Ioannou and Hammond (2019) in their research have applied the use of the NRQ on a sample of female offenders, they suggested that the framework is applicable and similar narrative roles are revealed. In the present study, it will be explored if the NRQ is applicable to a female general population and whether it is a reliable measure. It is clear from much of the previous research that the NRQ has predominantly been utilised on a male population, therefore lacking any concrete evidence of its validity and reliability when used on a female population. It can be suggested that the NRQ was created to be used on a male sample as the initial pilot studies which were conducted were all with male offenders and there is also some evidence of this in terms of the statement used, for example "I felt manly".

One of the main advantages of the current study is the unique and rich nature of the samples of data. Previous research has mainly been focused on one group of incarcerated offenders based on a UK sample (Canter, Kaouri and Youngs, 2003; Canter and Youngs, 2011, 2012; Canter and Youngs, 2009; Ioannou, Canter, Youngs and Synnott, 2015 and Ioannou, Canter and Youngs, 2017). Although this has provided a foundation for much of the proposed narrative frameworks, it is not known whether this approach can be generalised further than a purely UK sample. Therefore, the current research takes into consideration samples from three different countries; Hungary, Italy and Poland with the aim of exploring the narrative framework as an established tool and method of studying offenders which can be used cross-culturally. To the author's knowledge, this is the first time the data has been explored following collection and commented upon. Furthermore, the data samples have not been discussed in terms of a cultural comparison either. Canter (1994) suggests that "The salient characteristics of the actors in our scripts are also identified by the issues that are of concern around

us. One consequence of this differentiation is that different plots are dominant for different groups". (p.232). Thus, discussing the idea that different cultures may have variation in the dominant roles they prefer, as variation in culture may reflect on what influences their life narrative.

Study 1: A Cross-cultural comparison of offenders

Much of the research completed around the topic of emotions has been focused on a non-offender population. One of the dominant theories proposed by Russell (1997) focuses on a Circumplex of emotions which suggests that there are two dominant axes that focus range from pleasantness-unpleasantness and arousal-boredom. Previous studies conducted by Canter and Ioannou (2004) and Ioannou (2006) suggest that this model can be applied within a criminal context, although the emotions tend to be experienced more intensely than in everyday life. Therefore, the present study aims to explore the data collected in relation to the emotions experienced by offenders and identify if the model is relevant to these samples.

One area which is limited in terms of empirical evidence and is often overlooked is the importance of offending experiences in relation to different types of crime. Research by Ioannou, Canter, Youngs and Synnott (2015) has been one of the earliest papers to explore type of crime specifically and suggest associations between type of crime and narrative roles. However, this was limited in terms of the sample size and the categorisation of crime. The current study aims to build on the proposed results and examine samples of offenders in relation to their interpersonal transaction with crime by focusing on two established crime types; person centred crime and property centred crime.

Presser (2009) identified in his study of criminal narratives that they were underpinned by cognitive, identity and emotional components, he suggested the emotional experience of crime is valuable in generating an understanding of criminal action. Previous research by Ioannou (2006) and Ioannou, Canter and Youngs (2017) suggested an important relationship between the emotions an offender experiences and the narrative role they portray, which they termed the Criminal Narrative Experience. This considers not only the external factors such as behaviour but how emotion plays a part in the commission of crime.

Previous research identified that certain types of crime for example property offences, such as theft and burglary and more associated with the Professional role (Ioannou, Canter, Youngs and Synnott, 2015). Drawing from Katz (1988) and previous research (Canter & Ioannou, 2004) it can be hypothesised that there would be differences in the emotions and roles experienced during different

types of crime. It is suggested from previous research that property centred crimes will relate to a positive criminal narrative experience, while person centred crimes will relate to negative criminal narrative experience.

The aims of study 1 are;

- To examine if the roles revealed by offenders in the commissioning of their crime can be distinguished into four dominant roles proposed by Canter and Youngs' (2011) Narrative roles framework.
- To examine if there are cultural differences between each of the data samples in relation to the narrative roles revealed.
- To explore whether the same emotions are experienced across the different cultures and in comparison to the UK sample.
- Identify if there is an association with crime type and narratives roles which are revealed.

Objectives of study 1 are;

- To investigate the relationship of these narratives with Frye's (1957) archetypal stories.
- To explore the integrated model of narrative roles, thus suggesting that all narratives are underpinned by a combination of cognitive, affective and identity components.
- To identify if the range of emotions offenders may experience whilst in the commission of crime relates to Russell's (1997) Circumplex of emotions model.
- To explore offenders' recollection of the intensity of emotions experienced whilst committing crime
- To identify if there are dominant roles associated within property, personal and sensory types of crime

Study 2: An explanatory study of the narrative roles of a general population sample

Before the development of a Narrative approach to study Criminality, it was initially developed in order

to be utilised as a way of researching a general population sample. Research has shown that the Narrative approach can be beneficial in understanding aspects of non-criminal behaviour. Both Crossley (2000) and McLeod (1997) discuss the importance and usefulness of the narrative approach in relation to utilising this approach to explain human behaviour. In particular, McLeod (1997) reviewed this approach and its history within Psychotherapy. Researchers such as McAdams (1988) and Frye (1957) adopted the narrative approach within their research, Frye's (1957) theory of Mythoi was based upon a general population sample, therefore the current research aims to explore the narrative roles of a non-offender sample and identify if the Narrative roles framework can be adapted to incorporate positive life narratives and events as well as criminal events.

The current thesis aims to also explore the reliability and validity of the Narratives roles questionnaire in relation to a general population sample. This is a novel area which is yet to be explored and the aim is to identify if the NRQ is an adaptable measure which can be utilised as an instrument to explore narrative experience in general or whether it is specific to negative experiences such as crime. Therefore, the current thesis has utilised the NRQ in examining the narrative roles revealed by a general population sample when discussing a positive significant event. The results of the study will therefore contribute to assessing the validity of the measure, thereby extending the use of the NRQ within a wider population and inevitably contributing to the battery of questionnaires which can be used to study life narratives.

The aims of study 2 are;

-To identify if there is the existence of narrative roles in relation to a significant event

Objectives of study 2 are;

-To explore the applicability of the NRQ in relation to the general population

-To explore the applicability of the NRQ on a predominantly female sample

Chapter summary

The current chapter provides justification for the current thesis and the gaps in the current knowledge and how the current research will address these. Each of the studies are discussed, along with the aims for each of the studies, as well as some further specific objectives that each study endeavours to

achieve. The thesis so far has reviewed the literature relating to the Narrative approach and its relevance in the study of criminal behaviour, in particular how criminal narratives can be studied in relation to roles which offenders relate. Furthermore, the development of a measure, the NRQ has been discussed and its validity in the study of criminal narratives. Additionally, literature has been reviewed in relation to emotions, in particular its relevance within the criminal context. Finally, types of crime have been discussed and attention has been drawn to the importance of exploring the different types of crime and how this differentiates the different narratives revealed.

Part 2

Methodology and Results

Chapter 6: Method

International comparison of Offender Narratives

The data utilised within the current thesis was collected as part of a wider international research project titled International Comparison of Offender Narratives. As the research was conducted across several different countries, a standardised protocol was used to ensure that data was collected in a valid and reliable way. Therefore, The Canter-Youngs Narrative Experience of Offending (CYNEOv1) interview protocol was used by each researcher. This method has allowed for the collection of rich, in-depth data from offenders and has allowed researchers to gain a fruitful insight into the actions, emotions and behaviours of those who commit offences. The combination of both quantitative and qualitative data collection within the protocol allows a thorough exploration and understanding of criminality, that is limited in today's research field.

CYNEOv1 Protocol

The CYNEOv1 protocol is based on three main components, qualitative data collection which is focused on a semi-structured interview, quantitative data collection which includes a collection of questionnaires and demographic information collection. For the purpose of this thesis, the quantitative data and the demographic information will be utilised from the questionnaires.

Qualitative component

The semi structured interview is focused on asking the participant about an offence they have committed and can remember well. They are asked to describe the offence in terms of before it occurred, during the offence, alternative options to what could have been done differently and finally at the end of the crime and what they did after. The aim of the qualitative part of the interview is to gain as much rich information about the offence as possible. An example of some of the questions are; "What were the events leading up to you committing the crime?", "So what did you actually do?" and "What did you do to make sure you didn't get caught?".

Quantitative component

Emotion Questionnaire: A questionnaire developed by Canter and Ioannou (2004) which consists of

26 statements that cover the full scope of Russell's (1997) Circumplex of emotions. Previous studies (Ioannou, 2001; Canter & Ioannou, 2004; Ioannou, 2006; Spruin, 2012) have shown that there is a link between the offenders' emotional experiences and the descriptions of their criminal acts that they provided. The questionnaire asks offenders to rate a range of emotions relating to the emotions they experienced whilst committing their crime. They are asked to rate how strongly they agree with each statement on a five-point Likert scale. Offenders indicated the extent to which each of the statements described what it was like while they were committing their crime ranging from "Not at all" (1) to "Very much indeed" (5) with (3) being the mid-point "Some". Such a scale allows for more elaboration on the subject's answers, providing more detail than a simple yes/no format.

The Narrative Roles Questionnaire (NRQ): Early research by Canter and associates focused on examining the criminal narratives of offenders. This led to the development of a measure to explore these narratives in terms of the role's individuals show themselves playing. The questionnaire asks offenders to answer statements based on to what extent each one describes what their crime was like. A five-point Likert scale was utilised ranging from "Not at all" (1) to "Very much indeed" (5) with (3) being the mid-point "Some".

Life Narrative Questionnaire: Three short questionnaires which ask the offender about words which they would use to describe themselves, statements that they would use to describe life and finally statements that they may use to describe their feelings or actions. Again, a five-point Likert scale has been utilised so that the offender can answer to what extent they agree with the statements.

D60 (European social survey): This questionnaire was developed by Youngs (2001) based on several studies (Nye & Short, 1957; Shapland, 1978; Elliot & Ageton, 1980; Hindelang, Hirschi & Weis, 1981; Furnham & Thompson, 1991). The questionnaire consists of 60 statements that portray criminal and illegal acts. Offenders are asked to respond to each item on a 5-point Likert scale; each number corresponds with the number of times of involvement in the acts. For example, a value of 1 = 'never'; 2 = 'once or twice'; 3 = 'A few times (not more than 10)'; 4 = 'Quite often'; 5 = 'Very often (more than 50 times)'.

FIRO-B (Fundamental Interpersonal Relations Orientation): This questionnaire explores the structure of interpersonal personality, for example the ways in which we treat others and the way we respond to others. The questionnaire consists of 54 statements which a participant is asked to consider how much they agree or disagree with the statements.

Demographic information: This questionnaire consisted of information about the personal background, family background and criminal history. These included questions about age, ethnicity, level of education and information about siblings. The family background questions asked about parents' occupation and family criminality. Finally, questions referring to offender's criminal history included the offenders' age at the time of the first conviction, number of convictions and types of convictions.

Study 1: A Cross cultural comparison of offenders

Data set

The sample consists of three sets of data, this includes 93 participants within the Hungarian sample, 38 participants within the Italian sample and 52 participants within the Polish sample and each of these samples consists of offender participants. There is a final data set which is from the UK, this has been published in previous studies (Youngs and Canter, 2012) thus it will be utilised purely as a comparative anchor point for the other three data sets. The demographic information for the UK sample has been included in order to provide a reliable comparison.

	Hungarian	Italian	Polish	UK
Sample size	93	38	52	70
Mean age	32.5	45.9	28.6	34.5

Table 6 a- mean ages and sample size of Hungarian, Italian, Polish and UK data.

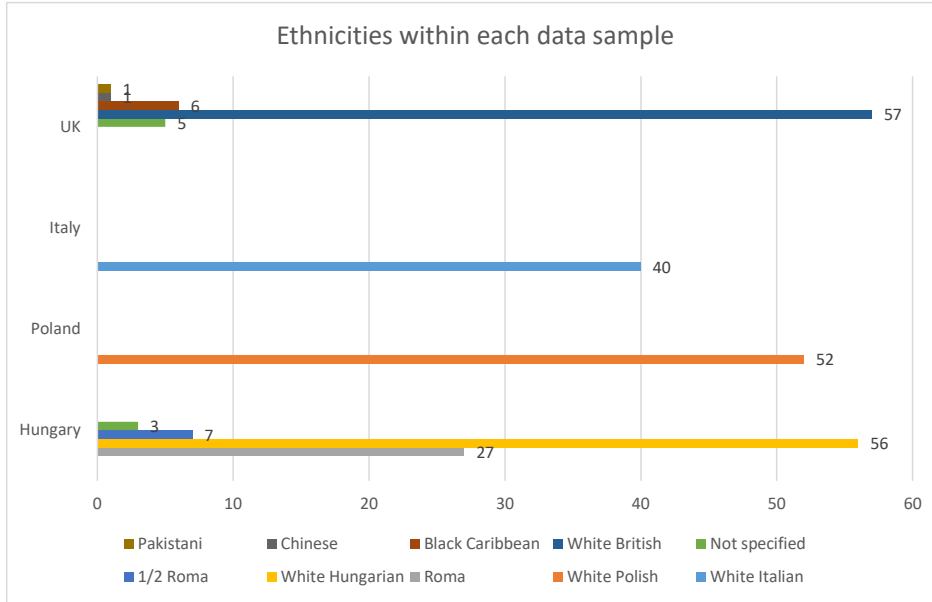


Figure 6 a- visual representation of the different ethnicities within each data sample

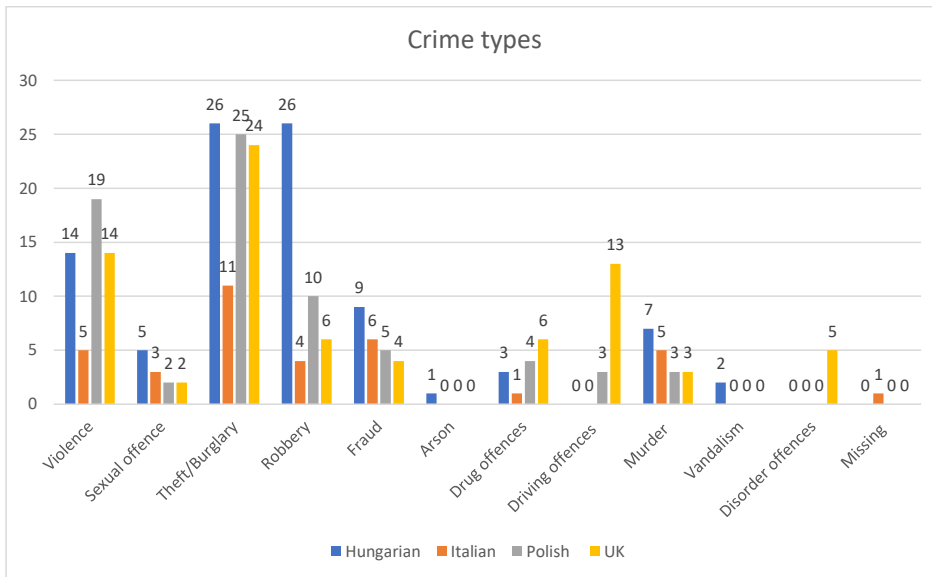


Figure 6 b- visual representation of the different crime types within each data sample

Roma sample

As highlighted within the Hungarian data sample there is a high proportion of offenders who identify as part of the Roma culture. Therefore, there is a case for analysing this data separately. See table 6 b for the demographics of this particular sample.

	Sample size	Mean age	crime types	(N)
	34	28.6	Robbery	13
			Theft	8
			Violence	6
Roma			Fraud	3
			sexual offence	1
			Vandalism	2
			Arson	1

Table 6 b- mean age, sample size and crime types of Roma sample

Measures used in study 1

Emotion Questionnaire: A questionnaire developed by Canter and Ioannou (2004) which consists of 26 statements which cover the full scope of Russell's (1997) Circumplex of emotions. Previous studies (Ioannou, 2001; Canter & Ioannou, 2004; Ioannou, 2006; Spruin, 2012) have shown that there is a link between the offenders' emotional experiences and the descriptions of their criminal acts that they provided. The questionnaire asks offenders to rate a range of emotions relating to the emotions they experienced whilst committing their crime. They are asked to rate how strongly they agree with each statement on a five-point Likert scale. Offenders indicated the extent to which each of the statements described what it was like while they were committing their crime ranging from "Not at all" (1) to "Very much indeed" (5) with (3) being the mid-point "Some". Such a scale allows for more elaboration on the subject's answers, providing more detail than a simple yes/no format.

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Demographic information: This questionnaire consisted of information about the personal background, family background and criminal history. These included questions about age, ethnicity, level of education and information about siblings. The family background questions asked about parents' occupation and family criminality. Finally, questions referring to offender's criminal history included the offenders' age at the time of the first conviction, number of convictions and types of convictions.

Procedure

The data was collected by four teams of researchers across the four countries: Poland, Hungary, Italy and UK (Liverpool). The teams were all provided with the CYNEOV1 protocol in which they were asked to follow in order to ensure reliability across data collection. All members of the team are experienced within the area of Psychology and interviewing procedures. The research teams from each of the countries was a native language speaker and thus could communicate fluently with the participants. The original CYNEOV1 protocol was produced in English, therefore in order to be used within different countries, it was necessary for it to be translated so that it could be understood fully. Therefore, the full protocol including each of the information sheets and consent forms were translated into each of the countries language which were involved in the data collection by a narrative speaker to that language to ensure a correct and reliable translation. The protocols were translated into the native language for each research team before commencement of the study.

Voluntary interviews were conducted with participants which were restricted to incarcerated offenders within a prison setting. Each interview was audio recorded and then participants were asked to complete the battery of questionnaires within the interview pack. In the interview part of the study, the questions used were open ended, therefore allowing the participant to speak openly about their offence. When the interview was completed, participants were asked to complete the battery of questionnaires. Whilst completing the questionnaires offenders were reminded to answer the statements whilst keeping in a mind the offence, they had described earlier in the interview which they could remember well. After the interviews were complete, each participant was debriefed thoroughly and assured that all information provided was completely confidential and anonymous. The research team were required to ensure that any offender who participated in the research was aware of how to seek support if they were to feel any distress or adverse effects from participating in the interview. The research team within each country was required to discuss the research and clear aims with the offenders and gain informed consent from each of them. The research team were required to ensure they received written consent and provided the offender with a participant information sheet in relation to the study. Each offender was ensured that their participation was voluntary at all times and that they

had a right to withdraw without penalty. Following the data collection process, all data was collated and stored securely within the archives of the International Research Centre for Investigative Psychology (IRCIP) under the ownership of Professor David Canter, the Head of the IRCIP. As the data was collected across four different countries, it was translated into English by the researchers and professional translators. In order to utilise the data collected, further ethical approval was sought from the University of Huddersfield ethics committee.

Use of secondary data

The data collected for the discussed studies above was not collected by the current author, therefore suggesting the utilisation of secondary data. However, as the data was classified as 'Raw' and had not been analysed or developed in anyway it can be classified as 'Raw secondary data'. Of course, using data which has not been personally collected can present many problems in research as it may leave them open to error and issues in interpretation, however there are also some positives in using this type of data. The main reason being that data may not be as robust if collected by one individual, for example in the current thesis the array of data collected from across four countries would have been extremely challenging to collect by one researcher therefore restricting the exploration of narrative roles across cross national data sets. One of the main issues with using secondary data is that it is open to a range of error for example, in an interview setting the way in which an interview is conducted may impact on the amount or richness of the data that is collected. Additionally, as the interviews and questionnaires have been translated this leaves room for error in interpretation, as particular statements or words may have different definitions and meaning within different countries. One way in which this type of error has been controlled within the current research, is that the research teams were given specific interview protocols to follow, therefore attempting to control for differences in style of interviewing. The protocol presented the research team with specific instructions to follow as to not deviate too much away from the questions which were to be asked.

Ethical issues

As the data collected was part of the ICON project, full ethical approval was granted by the University of Huddersfield ethics committee and SREP in line with the ICON project aims and objectives. Additionally, within each of the research teams across Europe, ethical approval was granted for the collection of the data within each of the prison environments. As the author was not involved in the collection of the data, it was important to ensure that the data collection procedure was studied thoroughly to ensure that there is full compliance with research ethics regulations and that all

participants anonymity had been protected. During the recruitment process of participants, the research teams were provided with participant information sheets and consent forms so that they could familiarize themselves with the study, along with the CYNEOv1 protocol. The participant information sheets given to the participants include details of the study, how the data is to be used, how their anonymity and confidentiality will be protected and their right to withdraw without penalty, this allowed for the participants to have a full understanding of the research before giving informed consent.

In order to ensure anonymity, each of the participants was assigned a number to ensure that their anonymity was protected, the research team collecting the data were the only individuals with the list that identified the participants. As explained within the participant information sheet this list was to be destroyed after 3 months. Participants were informed of their right to withdraw; this could be up to 3 months after the interviews. However, after this time as the list of participants is to be destroyed it would not be possible to identify their interview and data. Participants were informed that the anonymous data collected was part of a larger research project and they were asked to consent to whether they were happy for their data to be used and stored within the IRCIP archive for further research and publication. The data stored within the IRCIP archive only includes the anonymised interview transcripts, questionnaire responses and demographic information, none of the identifiable information such as consent forms or audio recordings is stored with the archived data, this is with the research teams within the different countries. Additionally, the data which was collected within the UK is stored similarly within the archive and separate from the identifiable information, the current research only has access to the anonymised data sets. In order to use the collected data, permission was granted by the Director of the IRCIP Professor David Canter and Co-Director Dr Donna Youngs.

Study 2: An explanatory study of the narrative roles of a general population sample

Participants

The general population sample consists of 63 participant responses, with 55 females (84.6%) and 9 males (13.8%) with a mean age of 37.63 years. The ethnicity within the sample was predominantly white=56, followed by Black=1, Pakistani=1 and Other=6. In comparison to the offender samples, the general population data set is predominantly female whereas the offender sample is a purely male sample. Furthermore, the mean age of the general population sample is fairly similar to the offender

samples, with the Hungarian sample having a mean age of 32.5 years, the UK sample having a mean age of 34.5 years, the Polish sample having a mean age of 28.6 years. Finally, the Italian sample has the highest mean age at 45.9 years.

	General population
Sample size	63
Mean age	37.63 years

Figure 6 c- mean ages and sample size of the general population sample

Procedure

The data for the general population sample was collected by recruiting participants on a voluntary basis via social media, word of mouth and by an email advertising the study on the University of Huddersfield email portal. If an individual wished to participate, they could click on the link provided which would take them to an online questionnaire. Participants completed the questionnaire electronically via the Qualtrics website. This differs from the original procedure in which questionnaires were completed in person with the participants, however using online resources was adopted for this study in order to try and collect a representative sample of individuals. They were provided with the participant information sheet for them to read and then consent was obtained via a signature on an electronic consent form. The participant information sheet explained the rationale of the research and allowed for the participant to fully understand what they were being asked to do before giving informed consent. Participants were reminded that their participation was voluntary in the participant information sheet and could leave the online questionnaire at any point and not complete it. There would be no penalty for non-completion of the questionnaire and this incomplete data would be removed from the final analyses. Participants were informed that they have a right to have their data removed after completion of the questionnaires if they wished. Contact details for the researcher and supervisory team were provided if they needed to discuss withdrawal of data.

After consent was given, participants were asked to think of a positive significant event and record this, also to put how good their memory was of this event. Following on from this with their significant event in mind they were asked to complete to Narrative roles questionnaire which consisted of 52 statements which participants were asked to rate how much they agreed with the statements in relation to their positive event on a 5-point Likert scale which ranged from "Not at all" (1) to "Very much indeed" (5) with (3) being the mid-point "Some ". Following this, participants were asked to complete a demographic questionnaire which asked for participants age, gender, ethnicity and level of education

to name a few. Participants were provided with contact details for the Researcher and supervisory team if they required a debrief or have any questions or concerns. Participants were thanked for their participation on the current research.

Measures

The Narrative Roles Questionnaire (NRQ): Early research by Canter and associates focused on examining the criminal narratives of offenders. This led to the development of a measure to explore these narratives in terms of the role's individuals show themselves playing. The earliest version of the NRQ (Canter, Kaouri & Ioannou, 2003) had only 20 items. However, the NRQ was revised later (Ioannou, 2006; Youngs & Canter, 2012) by adding 13 questionnaire statements. The questionnaire asks offenders to answer statements based on to what extent each one describes what their crime was like. A five-point Likert scale was utilised ranging from "Not at all" (1) to "Very much indeed" (5) with (3) being the mid-point "Some".

Demographic information: This questionnaire was utilised to collect basic demographic information from the offender such as age, gender, ethnicity and level of education.

As previously stated, the NRQ has only been utilised in relation to a negatively perceived behaviour for example, criminal behaviour and the focus of its creation was for this purpose. As discussed, narrative research was predominantly focused around general population studies (McAdams, 2001, 2006) and the benefits of adapting this approach have been suggested in terms of therapy and counselling (Adler, Wagner, and McAdams, 2007) and to provide a deeper understanding of human beings and the stories which they may tell in order to make sense of the world (Bamberg, 2004; Hänninen, 2004; Hyvärinen, 2006). The current study is the first of its kind to adapt the NRQ and use it with a general population sample and in relation to a positive event. This data will be used in addition to 4 cross national data sets which have been collected previously as the basis for comparison to identify whether the recall of a positive event reveals roles similar to a negative event or some other configuration is revealed and thus different narrative roles. Additionally, the NRQ AND BFI have not been used together as part of a battery of questionnaires, therefore to the knowledge of the current author this is a unique research opportunity and area to be explored with no research that can be used as a comparison. One of the key aims of the current thesis is to explore the applicability of the NRQ as a measure in collecting data about experiences, therefore there is rationale for determining whether the NRQ can be utilised with other data sets rather than just an offender sample and also in relation to negative experiences. If the NRQ is applicable under these conditions then the current research will

have drawn the attention to a potential tool to be used by researchers in the future. Please see appendix B for the non-offender battery of questionnaires.

Ethics

Ethical approval was sought from the University of Huddersfield ethics board. Due to the nature of the study, it can be suggested that there was limited harm caused by the completion of the NRQ and Big5 personality questionnaire, additionally the questionnaires focus on remembering a positive event therefore it is unlikely that this will cause distress or harm to the participant. If there was to be any adverse effects from completion of the questionnaires, the participant was provided with details of the researcher to contact so that debriefing can occur and sign posting to appropriate services if needed. As participant's responses were collected via an online questionnaire, the researcher was able to download these into an excel file which was anonymous and only identified participants via numbers. As the questionnaire had been advertised via different sources such as University email and social media, there was no issues with any identifiable information within any of the data collected so all responses were included. As the data was collected online, there are no paper copies of the data or consent forms which protects the anonymity of the participants and the online consent forms which were signed electronically were kept separately from the data. If a participant wished to withdraw from the study, they can do so without any penalty and their right to withdraw was clearly explained on the participant information sheet and consent form. All of the data has been stored securely in line with the University data protection policy, on a password protected computer in which the files have been encrypted. Once the data had been analysed, it was stored securely within the IRCIP archive with limited access unless agreed by the Director Professor David Canter or Co-director Dr Donna Youngs. The data will be archived for 10 years as recommended by University policy.

Chapter 7: Analysis

Data analysis used for the present study

Within the present study the main method of analysis adopted was Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) (Lingoes, 1973), which is a form of Multidimensional scaling (MDS). This method of analysis has been successfully utilised in a number of studies on the topic of intelligence (Guttman, 1954) to criminal actions (Canter & Fritzon, 1998; Canter & Heritage, 1989; Salfati, 2000). Specifically, some of the most recent research within the area of criminal narratives have adopted this method and found it to be a reliable and the most appropriate method of analysis for this area of research (Canter, Kaouri & Ioannou, 2003; Canter & Ioannou, 2004; Ioannou, 2006; Spruin, 2012; Ioannou, Canter & Youngs, 2017; Willmott & Ioannou, 2017 and Grayson, Tzani-Pepelasi, Pylarimou, Ioannou & Artinopoulou, 2020). Therefore, in order to make comparisons with previous research within this area, the researcher made the decision that the method SSA would be adopted.

Multidimensional scaling (MDS)

Multidimensional scaling (MDS) is a method of analysis which is similar to factor analysis and cluster analysis, in that it provides information about the underlying structures within the data set. One advantage of this particular approach is that it provides a strong visual representation of the association between variables within a geometric configuration. Therefore, focusing on the idea that the closer variables are located within the configuration the stronger the relationship between the variables and vice versa. One particularly useful non-metric MDS procedure is known as smallest space analysis (SSA-I) (Lingoes, 1973). The importance of this method will be discussed further in relation to its power within analysing narrative data.

Smallest Space Analysis (SSA)

Smallest space analysis (SSA-I; Lingoes, 1973) is a non-metric multidimensional scaling procedure which is based upon the assumption that the underlying structure of behaviour will most readily be appreciated if the relationship between every variable and every other variable is examined (Youngs and Canter, 2012). The power of the SSA-I comes from its ability to represent each variable as points in a geometric space, such that the closer together the ranked distances between the points are, the stronger the correlations or relationship are between the points that represent the variables. On the

other hand, the further away the ranked points are from each other, the weaker the association between variables. The focus on relative differences rather than absolute differences allows for easier interpretation and additionally, it is not as sensitive to any biases within the data set meaning that it is an effective approach to studying criminality. The SSA software is then used to create a visual and spatial representation of these points so that they can be easily examined and interpreted to uncover any themes that may exist between variables. The null hypothesis being that there is no correlation or association found between the variables being examined (Canter, 2000).

The structure of the interrelationships between the variables can be explored using the Facet theory approach (Canter, 1985). The spatial representation allows a basis for testing hypotheses and to explore the relationships between the variables. By interpreting the groupings of the variables we can infer relationships or associations between the points. For example, we could surmise that variables which share the same facet would be more highly correlated and should be represented closely on the SSA configuration than variables which are not related. Therefore, by adopting this procedure it allows for the underlying structure of the offender's narratives to be identified, along with any relationship that may exist between their emotional experience by examining the co-occurrence of the items with the configuration presented. When interpreting a SSA configuration, regions are devised using boundary lines, these allow for the interpretation of the plot utilising the Facet Theory approach (Canter, 1985). Shye (1978) proposed that the SSA procedure is correlated to the Facet Theory Approach. The 'Facets' are the overall classification of the types of variables within that region of the configuration. When interpreting an SSA, it is important to utilise the boundary lines in the analysis as this could reveal interesting points about the variables such as how close a variable is to a boundary line and whether this had commonalities with another region. To test hypotheses, the SSA plot is visually examined to identify if there is a relationship or distinguishable themes which have occurred. The coefficient of alienation (Borg & Lingoes, 1987) indicates how well the visual representation fits the co-occurrences represented in the original matrix. The smaller the coefficient of alienation, the better the fit. Guttman (1968) indicates that a perfect fit would be zero, while in practice coefficient alienation between 0.15 and 0.20 would be regarded as an acceptable fit.

The use of SSA within Narrative research

As discussed, a number of previous studies within the area of Investigative Psychology and Narrative research have adopted SSA as the method of analysis. Canter (2000) suggested that MDS analysis examines offender behaviour within the context of behavioural themes or patterns, thus the

association of variables is determined by common psychological or theoretical constructs which underpin them. Therefore, this method of analysis builds thematic models of behaviours founded on the variables that co-occur within a visual configuration (Trojan & Gabrielle, 2008). Canter and Heritage (1990) were the first to utilise SSA as the method of analysis in exploring crime scene behaviours in relation to sexual offenders. This thematic approach of using SSA as a means to explore crime scene behaviours and offender characteristics, has led to the development of empirical models to explain a number of different types of crime such rape and serial rape (Canter & Heritage, 1990; Canter et al., 2003), Arson (Canter & Fritzon, 1998), Homicide (Salfati & Canter, 1999), Robbery (Porter and Alison, 2006) and Burglary (Bennell and Jones, 2005). By first adopting this method, Canter and Heritage (1990) have highlighted the usefulness of this approach which has paved the way for other researchers to explore the above mentioned types of crime and further advance the knowledge and understanding of criminal actions.

Current thesis

Within the current thesis, SSA-I was adopted as the method of analysis in relation to each of the data sets. As previously discussed, each of the data sets from the different data sets ranges in regards to the number of offenders and how they have been categorised, for example property, personal and sensory crime types. Generally, each of the data sets was analysed and from this an SSA configuration was created to represent each of the different data samples, as a means for comparison. It can be presumed that inter-correlated variables, such as the offending experience are likely to co-occur within a narrative role. To explore each of the SSA configurations, the principles of exclusivity and coherence will be utilised in order to explore the configurations and discuss the emerging themes. For example, in relation to the exploration of narrative roles, exclusivity is defined as being when variables of the same narrative role are all within one region and not any of the other variables which are assigned to other roles. When looking at coherence, this is to be defined as that all variables which are expected to be in the same region are.

To test hypotheses, the SSA plot is visually examined to identify if there is a relationships or distinguishable themes which have occurred. In order to be able to explore the SSA's in more detail and be able to discuss them in depth, using the exclusivity and coherence criteria will allow for this and provide a systematic way to describe the similarities and differences. In study 1, in order to make comparisons the SSA configurations of the narrative roles will be discussed in relation to a published structure which looks at Offenders responses from a sample in Liverpool, UK by Youngs and Canter (2012). A final SSA analysis will be completed on a Roma population sample which has been taken

from the Hungarian data sample. It has been identified that within this sample there is a high proportion of the Roma culture, therefore suggesting that this culture may differ from the other Hungarian offender narratives.

Further analysis will be conducted within each of the studies, this varies in relation to the proposed hypotheses within each chapter. In study 1, means and standard deviations will be calculated for each of the roles, additionally correlations will be run to identify the relationship between the roles. Finally, reliability analysis will be completed in terms of Cronbach alpha to determine the reliability of the items within the themes of the roles identified. Furthermore, means and standard deviations will be calculated for each of the emotion items in order to explore the intensity of the emotions experienced by the offenders. Secondly, Cronbach alpha will be determined for each of the emotion themes to identify if the items within the scale are a reliable measure. Finally, adopting a method of classification by Canter & Fritzon (1998), Salfati (2000) and Ioannou (2006) and Ioannou, Canter & Youngs (2017) each of the cases will be allocated to a theme. This allows for the individual responses from the offenders to be examined rather than the responses of the collective sample, providing further in-depth analysis. In relation to type of crime, correlation analyses will be run to identify if there is an association between the narrative roles and type of crime and finally to identify if there are dominant narratives associated with specific types of crime.

Non-offender analysis

Each data set collected from the NRQ and the demographics were subjected to different levels of analysis. In relation to the demographics, basic descriptive statistics were run in order to identify the mean age of the participants, the nationalities of the participants and also how many male and female participants took part in the questionnaire. In relation to the Narrative roles questionnaire data, this was subjected to SSA and a facet theory approach was adopted in order to identify whether any distinct regions are revealed within the configuration. Following this, Pearson's co-efficient were generated to identify the level of reliability of the variables within the NRQ. Means and standard deviations will be calculated to examine the co-occurrence between the items within the roles.

Chapter summary

This chapter discusses the methods of analysis adopted for the current research and highlights the method of SSA-I as a valid and reliable instrument within Investigative Psychology. The chapter

discusses previous research which has utilised SSA-I and how this can be used to further understanding around criminal actions and characteristics.

Chapter 8

Study 1: A Cross cultural comparison of offenders

This study is a cross cultural comparison of offenders in terms of their narrative roles, emotions and crime types. The aim was to compare three disparate European countries (Hungary, Poland, & Italy), the overall aims being to;

- To examine if the roles revealed by offenders in the commissioning of their crime can be distinguished into four dominant roles proposed by Canter and Youngs' (2011) Narrative roles framework.
- To examine if there are cultural differences between each of the data samples in relation to the narrative roles revealed.
- To explore whether the same emotions are experienced across the different cultures and in comparison to the UK sample.
- Identify if there is an association with crime type and narratives roles which are revealed.

There are also several specific objectives which study 1 aimed to achieve, these being;

- To investigate the relationship of these narratives with Frye's (1957) archetypal stories.
- To explore the integrated model of narrative roles, thus suggesting that all narratives are underpinned by a combination of cognitive, affective and identity components.
- To identify if the range of emotions offenders may experience whilst in the commission of crime relates to Russell's (1997) Circumplex of emotions model.
- To explore offenders' recollection of the intensity of emotions experienced whilst committing crime
- To identify if there are dominant roles associated within property, personal and sensory types of crime

Analysis one: Smallest space analysis of Narrative roles

To explore the aims and objectives of the study as stated above, smallest space analysis (SSA-I) was employed as previous literature has suggested that this analytical method is the most effective in terms of exploring a Narrative approach (Youngs & Canter, 2011, 2012). Thirty-two items from the NRQ were analysed and presented within an SSA configuration. Each of the data sets was analysed separately to create an SSA configuration to represent each of the different data samples, as a means for comparison between each. The first stage was to determine whether the four dominant narrative roles could be revealed within each of the different samples. Therefore, each country's data set was examined in detail in terms of their overall structure such as what regions are revealed and the location of the items of the NRQ. Please see below for a thorough examination of each of the SSA configurations.

Smallest space analysis of the Hungarian sample

The two-dimensional SSA solution has a Guttman – Lingoes coefficient of alienation 0.24 in 10 iterations, suggesting a reasonable fit between the Pearson's coefficients of the narrative roles variables and their corresponding geometric distances in the configuration. The two-dimensional solution was adopted as it was considered the most effective to describe the pattern of relationships better than the three-dimensional solution. Figure 10.2a shows the projection of vector 1 by vector 2 of the two-dimensional space. The labels are brief summaries of the full questions. For ease of interpretation these are presented in the appendix.

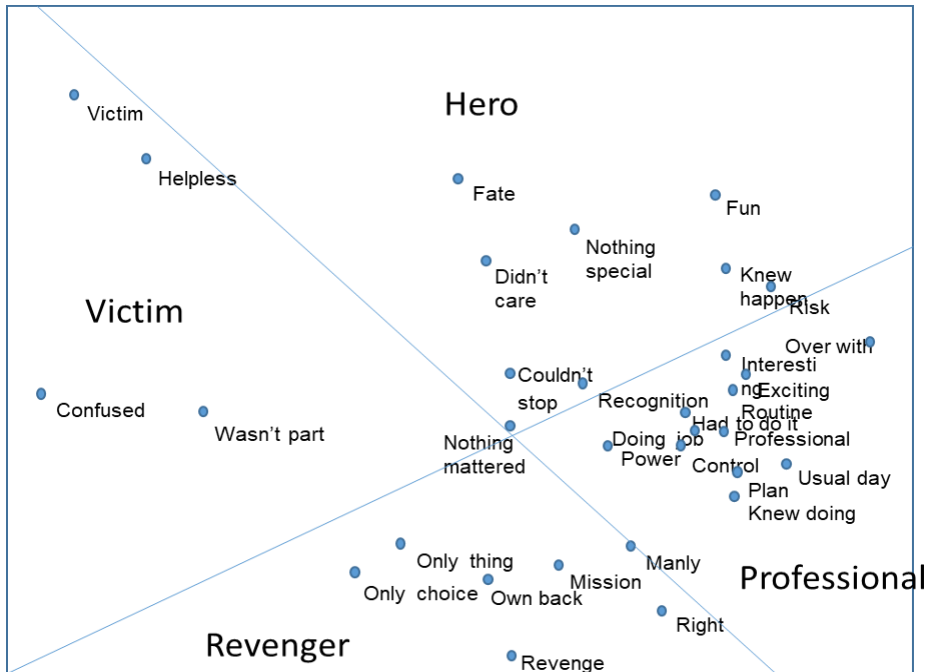


Figure 8 i- 1 by 2 Projection of the Two-Dimensional Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) of Narrative roles within a spatial configuration. Coefficient of Alienation = 0.24511.

Themes of Narrative roles

Within the Hungarian data, all of the statements which are associated with the Professional role are clustered together within one area of the configuration, suggesting that there is a relationship between the variables. The Professional region contains all of the statements which define the role of the Professional some of these include; 'I was doing a job', 'I was like a Professional', 'For me, it was like a usual days work'. Each of these statements represent an individual who is aware of the task they have to complete and is confident in doing so, also that this is something usual for them to carry out. The individual demonstrates a calm and collected persona 'I was in control' but also acknowledges the excitement and enjoyment they achieve from carrying out a crime 'It was fun', 'It was exciting'.

By each of the statements which define the Professional role being present within one region of the configuration this suggests this role fulfils the coherence criteria as all of the Professional statements are located together within one region. However, the region does not have exclusivity as it contains items 'I had to do it' and 'I just wanted to get it over with' which are statements which define the

Revenger role and also the Victim role. The statement 'I just wanted to get it over with' is typically linked to the victim role, within the current configuration this is located on the opposite axis of the SSA. The reasoning behind this may refer to an issue in understanding of this particular statement, it could be suggested that 'I wanted it over with' could be read as an offender wanting to get the job done quickly so that they are not caught rather than from a victim perspective of not particularly wanting to do something. The statement 'I had to do it' was similarly located, however is typically categorised as belonging to the Revenger role. This statement could be understood similarly to 'I was doing a job' and 'I was like a professional' which are both found within the Professional role, although the offender finds excitement in committing crime there is also a purpose to what they are doing.

The Victim role is located on the left side of the configuration and contains the statements 'I was helpless', 'I was a Victim' and 'I was confused about what was happening', whereas the final statement which is associated with the role 'I just wanted to get it over with' is located on the opposite side of the configuration in the Professional role region. An offender who takes on the Victim role is one that wants others to perceive them as not being in control of what is happening 'I was helpless' and maybe for others to feel sympathy for them as the choices they have made are not intended 'I was confused about what was happening'. In relation to the statement 'I just wanted to get it over with' this was located in the Professional region, as discussed previously could have been interpreted differently within this particular sample of offenders. Due to the region not containing any statements which define any of the other narrative roles, the region can be said to have exclusivity but does not have coherence as it does not contain all statements associated with the Victim role.

In the data, the statements which define the Revenger region are not all located the same region of the configuration. There are a number of statements such as "I had to do it", "What was happening was just fate" and "I didn't care what would happen" that are located within the Professional and Hero region of the plot. Therefore, this suggests that it does not satisfy the coherence criterion as it does not contain all variables which are assigned to the Revenger role. An individual who takes on the Revenger role is one that has a specific purpose and goal to achieve 'What was happening was just fate' and someone who has no option but to get their own back for a wrongdoing 'I was trying to get revenge' and feels a sense of injustice 'It was the only thing to do'.

Due to the statements being not defined to one region of the configuration there is no coherence as the plot suggests that there is difficulty in defining the Revenger narrative. In order to provide explanations for the unmethodical location of the statements which define the Revenger role, a more in-depth exploration of the data will need to be conducted. A potential explanation may be due to a lack of understanding of what a Revenger character is defined as, or it may simply be differences in interpretation. Additionally, within data set, the Revenger region contains variables which are assigned

to other narrative roles such as “It was a mission” and “It was a manly thing to do” which are assigned to the Hero narrative role meaning that the region does not have exclusivity. With the addition of both of these two variables, they could be understood as discussed previously that an offender may perceive themselves as manly due to carrying out this act of revenge and to bring about justice for his wrongdoings. Additionally, 'it was a mission' could be understood in terms of the individual engaging in a revengeful mission as they are completing a focus driven task which they 'had to do'. With the location of these two statements being closely related on the configuration it opens up an interesting idea which could be developed and explored further.

Within data set, the majority of the statements which define the Hero role are located within the central region of the configuration; however, there is no definitive region which is dominated by Hero statements. Additionally, within this region there are a number of statements which define the Revenger role. The region contains Hero statements such as 'It was like I wasn't part of it', 'I was looking for recognition' and 'I couldn't stop myself'. Each of these statements describe an individual who sees themselves as being part of something greater and seeks to prove themselves. The individual sees themselves as part of a heroic quest 'It was a mission' and that the quest is their primary focus 'nothing else mattered' in which they would achieve recognition for completing the task at hand and conquer their environment.

Due to not all of the statements being located within one region of the configuration such as “It was a mission” and “It was a manly thing to do”, the Hero role does not have coherence and it does not achieve exclusivity also, as there are many statements which define the Revenger role within this region such as “What was happening was just fate” and “I didn't care what would happen” which are assigned to the Revenger role. Although, still unclear with the distinction of the regions data set 1, has the most defined boundaries between the Revenger and Hero role.

Smallest space analysis of Polish data

The three-dimensional SSA solution has a Guttman – Lingoes coefficient of alienation 0.16, showing an exceptionally good fit between the Pearson's coefficients of the narrative roles variables and their corresponding geometric distances in the configuration. The three-dimensional solution was adopted as the three-dimensional illustration has a high coefficient of alienation of 0.16 and was considered to describe the pattern of relationships better than the two-dimensional solution. Figure 10.3a shows the projection of vector 1 by vector 2 of the three-dimensional space. The labels are brief summaries of the full questions.

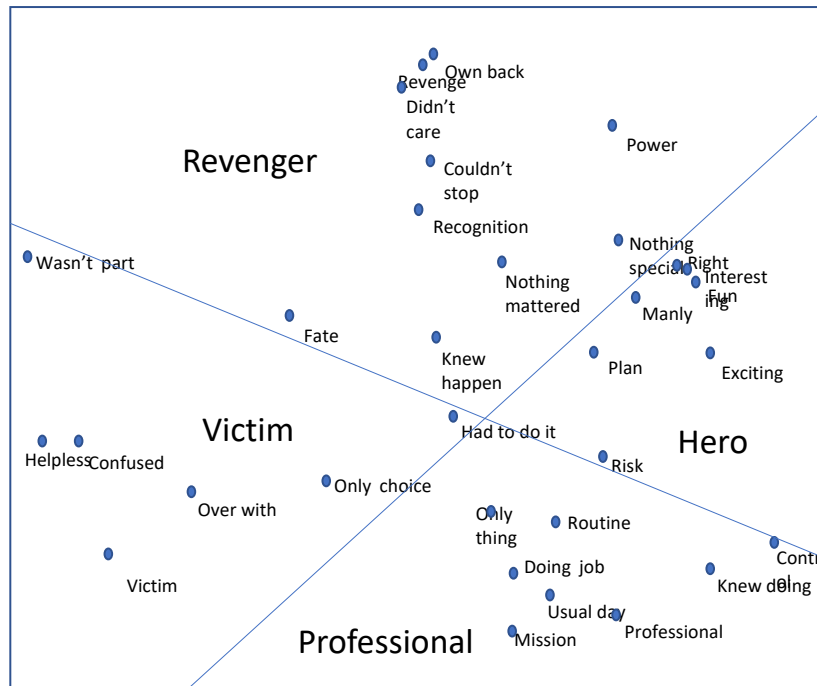


Figure 8 ii- 1 by 2 Projection of the Three-Dimensional Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) of Narrative roles within a spatial configuration. Coefficient of Alienation = 0.16455.

Themes of Narrative roles

Within the Polish data, the Professional region does not contain all of the statements which define the role, however on analysis of the SSA configuration it is apparent that a high number of the statements are clustered together on the bottom right region of the plot, suggesting associations between these items. The statements 'I had power', 'I guess I always knew it was going to happen' and 'it all went to plan' are located more towards the middle region of the plot however are still closely located towards the Professional region suggesting that there still is a close relationship with these variables and other statements which define the Professional region. Due to not all of the Professional statements being present within the defined region, this suggests that the region does not fit the coherence criteria. Additionally, the Professional region contains the statement 'It was a mission' which is typically related to the Hero narrative role, meaning that this region does not achieve the exclusivity criteria either. The statement 'It was a mission' could be understood in terms of the Professional narrative as it could be interpreted as the offender completing a mission in terms of completing a job, additionally a 'mission' could be seen as an adventure and something that is thrilling which are behaviours that characterise

the Professional storyline. Therefore, adopting a different interpretation of this statement could be the explanation why it falls within a different role than expected.

Each of the statements which typically characterise the Victim role are all located within one region and it does not contain any other statements within this region, suggesting that the coherence and exclusivity criteria are fulfilled.

The statements which characterise the Revenger role are spread across the central region of the configuration. Again, there is no clear distinction between the roles of Revenger and Hero as statements from each are all within close proximity of each other. Towards the bottom of the configuration, a number of statements which define the Revenger role are located such as 'what was happening was just fate', 'It was my only choice' and 'it was the only thing to do' however many of the statements are located in other regions of the configuration. Statements such as 'I was trying to get revenge', 'I was getting my own back' and 'nothing else mattered' are located towards the top region of the configuration, where the majority of the Hero statements are located. The Revenger role does not have coherence or exclusivity as within the Revenger region there are items which belong to the other narrative roles, and not all items which define the Revenger role are present within this specific region. The statements which are in close proximity to each other include 'I had to do it', 'It was the only thing to do', 'It was my only choice' and 'what was happening was just fate'. Each of these statements could be interpreted as following a similar theme, for example each of the statements focuses on an individual who could be perceived as not being in control of their actions and that there is a singular, specific purpose to their offending behaviour. These appear to have a different motivation to the other statements which characterise the Revenger role such as 'I was trying to get revenge' and 'I was getting my own back'

Within the data, the Hero role is located in the top region of the configuration, and contains the statements 'I couldn't stop myself', 'There was nothing special about what happened' and 'It was a manly thing to do'. However, it is missing the statement 'It was a mission' which is located within the Professional region on the right side of the configuration. Similarly, to the other data sets this particular region contains statements which define other narrative roles such as the Revenger and the Professional. These include statement such as 'I was getting my own back', 'I was trying to get revenge' and 'I didn't care what would happen' which belong to the Revenger role and 'I had power' which belongs to the Professional narrative role. Due to not all of the Hero statements being present within one region, this role does not have coherence and it does not have exclusivity either as the region contains items from the Revenger and Professional role. Although the region can be identified as the Hero narrative role, it is not as definitive as the other roles within the configuration.

Smallest space analysis of Italian data

The two-dimensional SSA solution has a Guttman – Lingoes coefficient of alienation 0.22, showing a reasonable fit between the Pearson's coefficients of the narrative roles variables and their corresponding geometric distances in the configuration. The two-dimensional solution was adopted as it has a high coefficient of alienation of 0.22381 and was considered to describe the pattern of relationships better than the three-dimensional solution. Figure 10.4a shows the projection of vector 1 by vector 2 of the two-dimensional space. The labels are brief summaries of the full questions.

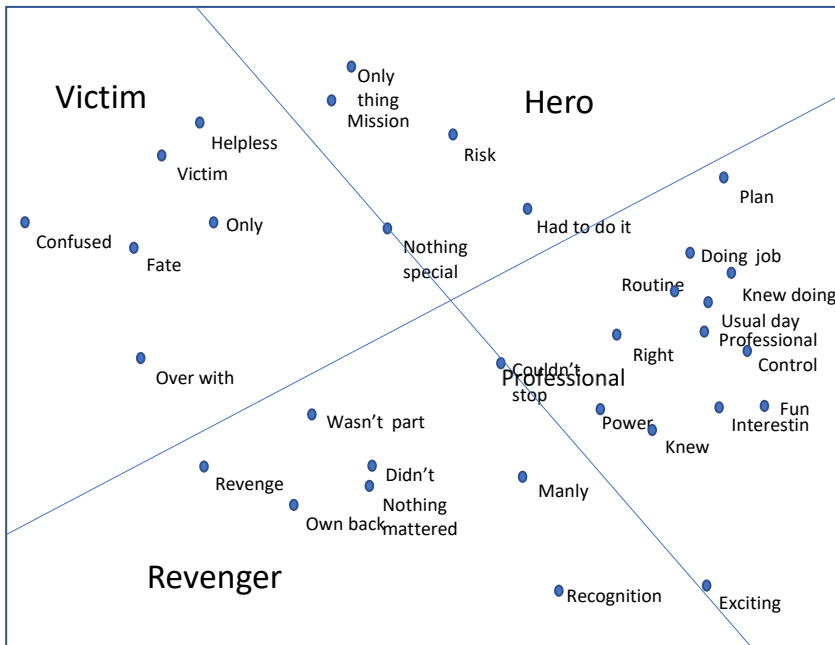


Figure 8 iii- 1 by 2 Projection of the Three-Dimensional Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) of Narrative roles within a spatial configuration. Coefficient of Alienation = 0.22381.

Themes of Narrative roles

Within the Italian data set, the majority of the statements which characterise the Professional role are focused in a dominant region within the SSA configuration. The Professional region of the plot includes all statements which define the role except for 'I knew I was taking a risk' as this is located towards the middle region of the configuration and falls within the area that many Hero variables are gathered. Therefore, this region does not achieve coherence criteria as it does not contain all

statement which typically characterise the role. Additionally, the region is not exclusive to the Professional role as the variable "It was right" is located within this region which is associated with the Hero role.

Within the data, the region contains all four of the statements which defines the Victim role which are; 'I was helpless', 'I was a Victim', 'I was confused about what was happening' and 'I just wanted to get it over with'. Due to this region not containing any other statements from the other narrative roles and also including all statements which define the Victim role, the region has both exclusivity and coherence.

The Revenger region is located in the central region of the SSA configuration, however is not assigned to a definite region of the plot. Many of the statements which underpin the Revenger role are closely located to each other such as 'I was trying to get revenge' and 'I was getting my own back'. However, amongst these statements are the variables which define the Hero role. It appears from the configuration that there is no clear distinction between the roles in this particular data set. The statements 'It was like a wasn't part of it', 'There was nothing special about what happened' and 'it was a manly thing to do' are all in close proximity of some of the Revenger role statements. Aside from two statements which are on the boundary line of the Professional and Victim roles, all of the statements are generally clustered within the same region suggesting that there is the existence of some co-occurrence between the variables.

Several statements which characterise the Hero role are located in the central region towards the bottom of the SSA configuration. Similarly, to the other plots a number of statements which define the Hero role are located within this area, but two statements are not which are 'I was looking for recognition' and 'It was a mission'. However, it does contain the statements; 'It was like I wasn't part of it', 'I couldn't stop myself', 'There was nothing special about what happened' and 'it was a manly thing to do'. Due to not all of the statements being defined within this region, it means that the role does not have coherence but it does have exclusivity as no other statements from any of the other roles are located within this region. As discussed previously in regards to the Revenger role, there is no clear distinction between the Revenger and Hero role and they appear to co-occur within the central axis of the configuration.

Smallest space analysis of Roma culture

The two-dimensional SSA solution has a Guttman – Lingoes coefficient of alienation 0.28, showing a reasonable fit between the Pearson's coefficients of the narrative roles variables and their corresponding geometric distances in the configuration. The two-dimensional solution was adopted as it has a high coefficient of alienation of 0.22381 and was considered to describe the pattern of

relationships better than the three-dimensional solution. Figure 8 iv shows the projection of vector 1 by vector 2 of the two-dimensional space. The labels are brief summaries of the full questions.



Figure 8 iv- 1 by 2 Projection of the Two-Dimensional Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) of Narrative roles within a spatial configuration. Coefficient of Alienation = 0.28745.

Themes of Narrative roles

Within the Roma SSA configuration, it is apparent that not each of the four narrative roles are reflected in the sample. As can be seen in figure 8 iv there only appears to be groupings of variables which reflect the Professional, Revenge and Victim roles. To the left side of the configuration, is predominantly statements which characterise the professional narrative such as 'Usual' and 'Professional'. On the left side of the configuration towards the X axis are variables which reflect the revenge narrative, these include 'Revenge' and 'mission'. Finally, on the right side of the configuration there are variables which reflect the victim narrative, these include 'confused' and 'helpless'.

Role by Role comparison

The next stage of analysis is a closer look at the individual variables within the SSA configurations in order to explore similarities and differences between the cultural sample. This relates to the second aim of the study and each of the roles is discussed in more detail.

Professional

The Professional narrative role is underpinned by an adventure life narrative and has developed from Frye's theme of Romance. The central plot within the Professional role is characterised by behaviours which suggest that the offender was a master of their environment, they were aware of the risk they were taking but knew this was a task that needed to be carried out in order to reap the gain they seek. The Professional is methodical and confident in what they are doing and sees crime as a job or normal event they carry out. The Professional role is attributed by high potency as the individual is in charge and taking responsibility for their environment. Whereas, the role is associated with a low level of intimacy as the victim is not their primary focus and they are irrelevant to the purpose of the offending behaviour. The example below demonstrates an offender who is acting out the Professional role.

Across all three data sets presented, the right region of the SSA configurations depicts an overall narrative of the Professional role. Although, there are some variations within the location of some of the items overall, there is a similar item configuration found which supports the previous model presented by Youngs and Canter (2012) in terms of the overall narrative themes revealed within their research.

Further exploration

In order to interpret and provide explanations for the overall structure of the configurations and the location of each item, it is important to compare and contrast each of the data sets to each other to identify the similarities and differences and try and make sense of these. Looking at the configurations on a more intricate level, there are a number of individual items which are located within this region that are similar in each of the different data sets. One of these statements is 'It was a manly thing to do', in all three of the data sets this item is located on the boundary between the Professional, Hero and Revenger regions. This is of interest when trying to apply theory to the location of the regions as it suggests that the statement 'It was a manly thing to do' may actually be interpreted differently or have an alternative definition as each of the different groups of offenders have not understood it as being characteristic of the Hero role. However, within the Polish and Italian data the statement is located within both the Revenger and Hero regions as there appears to not be a clear, explicit boundary between these roles which will be explored further. This could suggest that when interpreted by the

offenders that they do not see the statement as belonging to a specific role but that it could be interpreted as either belonging to the Professional, Hero and Revenger role. The statement 'It was a manly thing to do' could be interpreted as a fairly generic statement and each of the roles whether a Professional, Revenger or Hero could each be perceived as being a manly act they have committed. A final note to add is that within the samples, the majority of data is derived from male offenders, therefore on discussing their crime they may want to depict themselves as being masculine and 'manly' despite the type of crime or which storyline they tell.

Another interesting point of analysis is that the statements 'It was a manly thing to do' and 'I had power' are located closely together on each of the three data sets. As mentioned previously the statement 'It was a manly thing to do' is located between the revenger, Professional and Hero role, and similarly the statement 'I had power' is located closely within the Hungarian and Italian data. The method used to analyse the data sets is particularly important to highlight as the method of Smallest space analysis (SSA-I) presents the data sets as a spatial representation of each item in relation to the other items. To summarize, the closer items are together in the spatial representation, the more likely it is that there is a relationship or correlation between those items. Therefore, in relation to the above statements mentioned it suggests that 'I had power' and 'It was a manly thing to do' may have a strong correlation than other items as they are located within close proximity of each other in the Hungarian and Italian data, and a little further apart within the Polish data. A potential explanation for this could be that when the items have been interpreted that they in fact have similar meanings so when rated would be a similar if not the same score on each.

In summary, within each of the data sets it is clear that the statements which characterise the Professional role are closely related to each other and are all located in close proximity to each other within a similar region. This demonstrates that across three different data sets, that there is some consistency within the interpretation and understanding of the Professional role. Therefore, providing some definite support for the proposed framework by Youngs and Canter (2012).

Victim

The Victim narrative role is underpinned by Frye's irony narrative, it is characterised by an individual who identifies themselves as not being the one to blame for their actions, and as such being a victim rather than the perpetrator. The individual will present as the criminal behaviour being out of their control and that nothing matters. The Victim role is attributed by low potency as the individual is not in control and confused by what is happening. Whereas, there is a high level of intimacy, as the offending behaviour is focused around the impact on the victim and that relationship. The example below demonstrates an offender who is acting out the Victim role.

Further exploration

On closer analysis of each of the data sets in comparison to each other, there are some interesting points to be discussed such as on initial analysis the Victim narrative role appears to be one of the most defined and consistent regions as on most of the data sets there is coherence and exclusivity in the region. However, on closer analysis it is apparent that the Victim role contains the least number of statements which define it. Therefore, the suggestion that it is the most stable role may be due to there being a limited number of statements to support this role and the ones that do may have been answered similarly by each individual who completed the questionnaires. Additionally, in the Hungarian data the statement 'I just wanted to get it over with' is located at the complete opposite side of the configuration, which only occurs in this particular data set. An explanation for this as mentioned may be due to interpretation of this statement from this particular sample of offenders.

In summary, the Victim role across each of the three data sets appears to be the most stable, however this is limited by the restricted number of statements which are associated with the role. However, on taking this into consideration, the data sets do still reveal the existence of a Victim narrative role and supports the previous proposed role framework.

Revenger

The Revenger narrative role is underpinned by Frye's tragedy narrative, it is characterised by an individual who sees their offending as something of purpose to right the wrongs and something that needs doing regardless of the consequences. The individual may feel a sense of injustice and to have been wrongly treated so needs to get their own back. The Revenger role is attributed by low potency and low intimacy, the individual is putting the responsibility on others for the criminal behaviour and by doing this is minimising the impact on the victim. As this role is a mission of revenge, the individual may minimise the impact to the victim by suggesting that they were deserving of it to seek revenge. The example below demonstrates an offender who is acting out the Revenger role.

In each of the three data sets, the Revenger is located in the central region of the configurations, however does not have a clear definite region and appears to be closely related to the Hero role. Within the Hungarian and Polish data, the regions are more defined, however in the Italian data this is much more open to interpretation.

Further exploration

On analysis of each of the configurations in comparison to each other, there is some obvious differences and similarities. One similarity between each of the unpublished data sets is the difficulty in

defining the Revenger region as many of the items are mixed amongst the Hero items and vice versa. As such it is difficult to identify the specific region where most of the items are, therefore in each of the SSA configurations presented it is clear that the Revenger-Hero region needs further discussion and interpretation as it appears to suggest that there are some differences in the items that underpin the narrative roles proposed and therefore, does not fully support the proposed framework by Youngs and Canter (2012).

Another interesting point is that within each of the different data sets, the Revenger region which has been defined for example in the Polish and Italian data, these each contain a different combination of Revenger statements. This is something that may need exploring further as it suggests that there is a complete lack of understanding of what a Revenger is and that there must be different interpretations of each statement by each offender as if it was just a few statements which were misunderstood then there would be more consistency within the regions but this is not the case.

Hero

The Hero narrative role is underpinned by Frye's comedic narrative and can be understood as the underlying quest narrative. The Hero role is characterised by an individual seeing themselves as part of a bigger mission and takes the opportunity in order to prove themselves as being manly and overcoming obstacles. The Hero role is attributed to high potency, as the individual has a sole purpose to their behaviour and holds full responsibility for their actions. Additionally, a high level of intimacy as the individual is focused highly on the victim and their part in allowing the individual to meet their objectives. The example below demonstrates an offender who is acting out the Hero role.

In regards to the three data sets, there is difficulty in establishing a distinct Hero region amongst the configurations, as discussed previously many of the statements which categorise the Hero role are located closely and within the same regions as the Revenger role. Furthermore, in the Roma sample the Hero roles does not appear to exist as many of the variables which could be suggested to define the Hero narrative are located within the revenger region and appear to be more in keeping with a narrative of revenge.

Further exploration

Looking more closely at the location of the individual items and comparing and contrasting them to each data set, there are some very striking comparisons which can be made. The main one being that the statement 'It was a mission' is not located in the Hero region in any of the three data sets, it is in fact mainly located within the Revenger region with the exception of the Polish data where it is located within the Professional role region but very close to the boundary of the Revenger role region. As discussed previously, there are a number of potential explanations for this, the main one being the

general interpretation of the statements, naturally this is to be expected when utilising different data sets but it is clear from the analysis of the data that there are some distinct differences which need further exploration.

One of the major similarities in each of the data sets is the location of the Hero region and that it falls in the middle facet of the SSA. Although in the Hungarian data the Hero region is not specifically defined most of the statements again fall within this middle region of the plot and on each of the plots are located closely to the Revenger role statements. This is an interesting observation as many of the Hero statements and Revenger statements are scattered around the middle region and are not distinctly grouped together but instead jumbled around each other. A potential explanation could be that the statements which define the two roles are not actually clear and cannot be distinguished as representing that particular narrative role, meaning that when individuals answer the statements on the questionnaire there is an element of confusion and interpretation issues. This may suggest that there are some similarities or cross overs in the statements and redefining the roles may be suitable to account for these differences to form more distinct roles. Furthermore, in the Roma sample the hero role does not exist at all, suggesting that within this particular culture this is not a role in which offenders resonate with or cultural differences may impact the meaning of a 'hero'.

Excluded items

The item 'It was like an adventure' has been excluded from the above analysis due to it not being present in each of the different data sets. Therefore, a decision was made to exclude it from the analysis so that a like for like comparison could be made.

Published UK data comparison

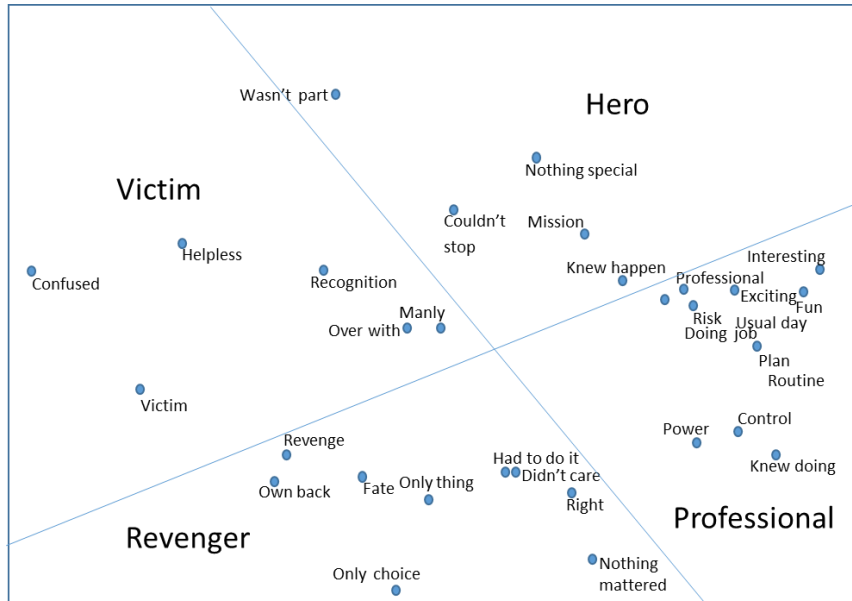


Figure 8 v- 1 by 2 Projection of the Three-Dimensional Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) of Narrative roles within a spatial configuration. Coefficient of Alienation = 0.16891.

For the purposes of the current research a published SSA configuration will be utilised as an anchor point in order to make comparisons between the overall configuration of the plot and where individual items are located. By using a comparison, it allows for a more in-depth analysis and discussion regarding the results demonstrated within the current thesis, also as a point of reference in order to provide empirical evidence to support the proposed Narrative framework.

Professional region

Within each of the 3 data sets in comparison to the published configuration, the Professional region is very similar in relation to how the individual items are located within the region. Although there are some items such as 'Had to do it', 'It was right' and 'mission' which are located within this region, generally speaking the region is well defined to the Professional role similarly to the published SSA configuration.

Hero region

Within each of the 3 data sets in comparison to the published configuration, there appears to be some issues around defining the Hero role. Similarly, within each of the 3 data sets, this appears to be consistent within each, the Hungarian data revealed the most stable region to define the Hero role. Mainly of the items are scattered throughout the middle region of the configuration, which is in contrast to the published study. Although the regions are difficult to define as a specific role, there does appear to be some consistency with some of the items such as 'Couldn't stop' and 'Wasn't part of it' which are located in close proximity of each other in each of the data set. Additionally, many of the other items are located still fairly close suggesting that there is some relationship with the items that define the Hero role. However, this does not include all of the items which are typically associated with the Hero role, this may be due to the sample size of the Polish and Italian data, as the Hungarian data has the largest sample size and has the most defined regions revealed.

Revenger region

Within each of the 3 data sets in comparison to the published configuration, the Revenger role is located within the middle region of each configuration however there appear to be some issues around the definition of the region similar to the Hero role. Many of the items which have similar meanings such as 'Revenger' 'Getting own back' and 'Only choice' 'Only thing to do' are located in close proximity to each other suggesting a co-occurrence between these items. This suggests reliability of the statements used as items similar in meaning are located together. A potential explanation for the inconsistency of the item locations could be due to some of items being interpreted differently therefore, items which should have a co-occurrence are not revealed within these particular data sets. As suggested previously a larger sample of offender's responses may take into account individual differences and interpretations of items.

Victim region

Within each of the 3 data sets in comparison to the published configuration, the Victim role is located to the left side of the configuration. In each of the SSA's the Victim role appears to be the most well defined within each, however it does have the least amount of statements which typically define it. Within the Hungarian data, the statement 'Wanted it over with' is located at the complete opposite region of the configuration which only occurs within this particular data set. As previously suggested this may be due to interpretation and understanding of the meaning of this statement.

Conclusion

From analysis of the three data sets there is evidence of the already established criminal narrative roles emerging within the configurations. However, the roles Revenger and Hero are not as clearly defined within the SSA's. The items which do not fall into the region as expected are mainly the Revenger items and these fall in to both the Professional and Hero region.

Reliability analysis

Cronbach alpha was conducted as a further level of analysis, it is used to determine the level of internal reliability of each of the four roles. The analyses suggested that across the three data samples the Professional and Revenger roles both had high levels of internal reliability, whereas the Victim and Hero roles did not, which will be explored further to determine an explanation for this. See below the Cronbach alphas for each of the narrative roles in each of the three samples.

Narrative roles				
	Professional	Hero	Revenger	Victim
	Power	Nothing mattered	Revenge	Wasn't part
	Had to do it	Recognition	Right	Confused
Hungarian Sample	Control	Couldn't stop	Own back	Helpless
	Doing job	Didn't care	Manly	Victim
	Professional	Fate	Mission	
	Knew doing	Nothing special	Only thing	
	Plan	Knew happen	Only choice	
	Usual day	Risk		
	Routine	Fun		
	Exciting			
	Interesting			
	Over with			
No. of items	12	9	7	4
Cronbach Alpha	0.907	0.752	0.716	0.485

Table 8 i- Cronbach alpha scores for Narrative role themes within the Hungarian sample.

Narrative roles				
	Professional	Hero	Revenger	Victim
	Only thing	Plan	Nothing special	Wasn't part
	Risk	Exciting	Revenge	Confused
Polish Sample	Routine	Manly	Power	Helpless
	Doing job	Fun	Nothing mattered	Victim
	Usual day	Interesting	Knew happen	Over with
	Mission	Right	Fate	Only choice
	Professional		Recognition	Had to do it
	Knew doing		Couldn't stop	
	Control		Didn't care	
			Own back	
No. of items	9	6	10	7
Cronbach Alpha	0.806	0.798	0.755	0.75

Table 8 ii- Cronbach alpha scores for Narrative role themes within the Polish sample.

Narrative roles				
	Professional	Hero	Revenger	Victim
	Knew happen	Had to do it	Couldn't stop	Helpless
	Interesting	Nothing special	Manly	Victim
Italian Sample	Fun	Risk	Recognition	Only choice
	Power	Mission	Nothing mattered	Fate
	Right	Only thing	Didn't care	Over with
	Control		Own back	Confused
	Professional		Revenge	
	Usual day		Wasn't part	
	Routine			
	Knew doing			
	Doing job			
	Plan			
	Exciting			
No. of items	13	5	8	6
Cronbach Alpha	0.905	0.581	0.654	0.709

Table 8 iii- Cronbach alpha scores for Narrative role themes within the Italian sample.

Relationship between Narrative roles and Frye's theory of Mythoi (1957)

The first objective of the study was to *To investigate the relationship of these narratives with Frye's (1957) archetypal stories*. Further examination of the SSA configuration for each data sample revealed that Hero narrative reflected the Comedy story form where the main character overcomes obstacles in order to achieve a sense of recognition and happiness, The Professional narrative reflected the Romance story form whose main character sees himself as simply carrying out a task. The Revenger narrative reflects the Tragedy story form where the protagonist struggles for revenge and feels that they must right the wrongs and restore balance. Finally, the Victim narrative reflects the Irony story form

whose main character has been defeated by fate and circumstances and experiences feelings of confusion and helplessness.

Correlation analyses were conducted on the four narrative roles to examine the association between each of the suggested themes. It was therefore hypothesised that significant relationships would be found between the narrative roles, in particular between The Professional and Hero roles and the Victim and Revenger roles. Additionally, that the four narrative roles identified by the SSA configuration would reflect Frye's (1957) story forms: comedy, romance, tragedy and irony.

Narrative role	M	SD	1	2	3	4
Professional	26.78	11.87	-	.616**	.541**	-0.176
Hero	22.31	8.16	.616**	-	.378**	0.012
Revenger	15.19	6.66	.541**	.378**	-	0.044
Victim	9.47	3.77	-0.176	0.012	0.044	-

Table 8 iv- Means, standard deviations and correlations of Narrative roles (Hungarian sample)

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

Narrative role	M	SD	1	2	3	4
Professional	14.98	6.24	-	0.507**	0.086	-0.089
Hero	16.15	6.84	.507**	-	.472**	-0.246
Revenger	16.76	6.55	0.086	.472**	-	0.061
Victim	15	6.32	-0.089	-0.246	0.061	-

Table 8 v- Means, standard deviations and correlations of Narrative roles (Polish sample)

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

Narrative role	M	SD	1	2	3	4
Professional	25.86	11.57	-	0.167	0.184	-.540**
Hero	11.63	4.48	0.167	-	0.177	.417**
Revenger	15.92	6.05	0.184	0.177	-	0.181
Victim	13.7	5.81	-.540**	.417**	0.181	-

Table 8 vi- Means, standard deviations and correlations of Narrative roles (Italian sample)

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

As indicated in table 8d, there are significant correlations between the roles Professional and Hero ($p < 0.05$), Professional and Revenger ($p < 0.05$) and Hero and Revenger ($p < 0.05$). There are no significant correlations found in the current data set between the Victim role and any of the other narrative roles.

As indicated in table 8e, there are significant correlations between the roles Professional and Hero ($p < 0.05$) and Hero and Revenger ($p < 0.05$). There are no significant correlations found in the current set

between the victim role and any of the other roles.

As indicated in table 8f, there are significant correlations between the roles Hero and Victim ($p < 0.05$). Interestingly this is the only positive significant correlation. However, there is a negative significant correlation between the roles Professional and Victim ($p < 0.05$).

The correlations found between the Professional and Hero roles are as expected due to the underlying experience of the role being one that describes a pleasurable or positive experience. However, no significant correlations were found between the Revenger and Victim roles as proposed by the hypotheses, this was suggested due to the underlying experience being one that describes a negative or displeasurable experience within both roles. Significant correlations were also found between the Hero and Revenger roles and Hero and Victim roles, this supports the idea that these narratives can occur in a circular order based on Frye's story forms and that they blend into one another, as the seasons are suggested to do (Frye, 1957), therefore s a relationship. According to Frye "Tragedy and Comedy contrast rather than blend and so do romance and irony" (Frye, 1957, p.162).

The correlation results along with the interpretations of the SSA configuration demonstrates that although each of the narrative roles is a distinct theme, they each relate to one another and there is overlap between the themes. These results support previous research (Ioannou, 2006; Canter and Youngs, 2009) that the narrative roles are revealed in a circular way and that they reflect Frye's (1957) theory of Mythoi.

Means of Narrative role items

The mean scores and standard deviations are presented in the tables below for the Hungarian, Italian and Polish data sets.

Professional	Hero
Only thing (1.88, 1.26)	Plan
Risk (2.94, 1.44)	Exciting (2.10, 1.27)
Routine (1.88, 1.30)	Manly (2.02, 1.43)
Doing job (1.63, 1.25)	Fun (1.83, 1.27)
Usual day (1.52, 1.11)	Interesting (1.98, 1.33)
Mission (1.46, .979)	Right (1.62, 1.19)
Professional (1.58, 1.09)	
Knew doing (2.63, 1.44)	
Control (2.38, 1.43)	
Revenger	Victim
Nothing special (1.75, 1.23)	Wasn't part (2.48, 1.44)
Revenge (1.56, 1.29)	Confused (2.38, 1.40)
Power (1.98, 1.35)	Helpless (2.17, 1.47)
Nothing mattered (2.10, 1.39)	Victim (1.81, 1.38)
Knew happen (1.48, 1.05)	Over with (2.25, 1.46)
Fate (1.62, 1.12)	Only choice (1.92, 1.35)
Recognition (1.50, 1.01)	Had to do it (1.98, 1.44)
Couldn't stop (2.69, 1.50)	
Didn't care (2.35, 1.45)	
Own back (1.50, 1.29)	

Table 8 vii- *The Narrative Roles forming the Four Themes of the SSA with Mean Scores and Standard Deviations within the Hungarian data sample.*

Professional	Hero
Only thing (1.88, 1.26)	Plan
Risk (2.94, 1.44)	Exciting (2.10, 1.27)
Routine (1.88, 1.30)	Manly (2.02, 1.43)
Doing job (1.63, 1.25)	Fun (1.83, 1.27)
Usual day (1.52, 1.11)	Interesting (1.98, 1.33)
Mission (1.46, .979)	Right (1.62, 1.19)
Professional (1.58, 1.09)	
Knew doing (2.63, 1.44)	
Control (2.38, 1.43)	
Revenger	Victim
Nothing special (1.75, 1.23)	Wasn't part (2.48, 1.44)
Revenge (1.56, 1.29)	Confused (2.38, 1.40)
Power (1.98, 1.35)	Helpless (2.17, 1.47)
Nothing mattered (2.10, 1.39)	Victim (1.81, 1.38)
Knew happen (1.48, 1.05)	Over with (2.25, 1.46)
Fate (1.62, 1.12)	Only choice (1.92, 1.35)
Recognition (1.50, 1.01)	Had to do it (1.98, 1.44)
Couldn't stop (2.69, 1.50)	
Didn't care (2.35, 1.45)	
Own back (1.50, 1.29)	

Table 8 viii- *The Narrative Roles forming the Four Themes of the SSA with Mean Scores and Standard Deviations within the Polish data sample.*

Professional	Hero
Knew happen (1.95, 1.26)	Had to do it (2.79, 1.56)
Interesting (1.95, 1.11)	Nothing special (2.43, 1.60)
Fun (1.84, 1.12)	Risk (3.03, 1.50)
Power (1.76, 1.12)	Mission (1.37, .94)
Right (2.32, 1.50)	Only thing (2.16, 1.51)
Control (2.13, 1.37)	
Professional (1.92, 1.30)	
Usual day (1.97, 1.44)	
Routine (2.00, 1.47)	
Knew doing (2.61, 1.55)	
Doing job (2.13, 1.39)	
Plan (1.47, 1.10)	
Exciting (1.97, 1.21)	
Revenger	Victim
Couldn't stop (2.92, 1.89)	Helpless (2.63, 1.53)
Manly (1.59, 1.06)	Victim (2.00, 1.56)
Recognition (1.46, .96)	Only choice (2.13, 1.54)
Nothing mattered (2.46, 1.53)	Fate (2.16, 1.53)
Didn't care (2.58, 1.36)	Over with (1.95, 1.48)
Own back (1.63, 1.28)	Confused (2.92, 1.53)
Revenge (1.29, 1.01)	
Wasn't part (2.27, 1.50)	

Table 8 ix- *The Narrative Roles forming the Four Themes of the SSA with Mean Scores and Standard Deviations within the Italian data sample.*

On examination of the mean scores for the different data sets, they indicate overall that the narrative

role items reflect the criminal experience. The highest averages in the Hungarian data set were located with the Professional role, this included Knew doing (3.24), Had to do it (3.05) and Control (3.03), the highest average within the items was Risk (3.47) which contributes to the Hero narrative role. The highest averages within the Polish data set were predominantly located with the Professional role similarly, these included Risk (2.94), Knew doing (2.63) and Control (2.38). Finally, the highest averages with the Italian data set are located within the Hero role, these include Risk (3.03), had to do it (2.79) and Knew doing (2.61) which is located within the Professional narrative role.

Generally, the highest averages within each data sample are associated with the roles Professional and Hero, suggesting that the emotions experienced more intensely are by offenders who identify with these narrative roles. Drawing on previous evidence found in the current thesis, the roles of the Professional and Hero are more closely associated with a pleasurable and positive experience in contrast to the Victim and Revenger, therefore the current findings suggest that offenders experience pleasurable experiences more intensely than displeasurable ones within the current data sets used. It is to be noted that the averages for the present study focus on the entire sample which includes a variety of different types of crime, therefore crime types will be acknowledged later in the thesis.

Integrated model of Narrative offence roles

As discussed, Canter and Youngs (2012) suggested that narrative roles are underpinned by the psychological processes of Intimacy and Potency. The narrative offence roles demonstrate how the Cognitive, affective and identity components are drawn together to provide a thorough understanding of criminal behaviour. As a further level of understanding, each of the SSA configurations was explored in terms of the concepts of Intimacy and Potency.

Each item which typically represents each of the narrative roles was explored on a more intricate level to not only explore the differences in the items which belong to the roles but what underpins the items. As previously stated, when the NRQ was initially developed, content analysis was conducted on interview's from offenders based on three dominant concepts, these being; The offender's interpretation of the event and his/her actions within that event or a Cognitive component, the offender's self-awareness or identity in the interpersonal crime event and lastly, the emotional and other experiential qualities of the event for the offender or an Affective component. It was suggested that any given narrative would contain these components. Therefore, utilising the idea of these three components being present within an offender's narrative, each of the items was explored to determine whether the differences were related to a particular component.

The offender's interpretation of the event and his/her actions within that event

The cognitive component of the narrative is focused upon how the offender views the actual offending event and their responsibility with it. In relation to intimacy, cognitions were related to the impact on the victim and whether the individual had an awareness of the victim and had a desire to impact them or whether the victim was irrelevant to their offending behaviour. In relation to potency, the cognitive component is focused around the responsibility the individual takes on or whether they attribute the blame to others for their offending behaviour.

On exploration of each of the SSA configurations for the previously discussed data sets, they appear to reveal a distinct separation between high and low potency items and high and low intimacy items.

The emotional and other experiential qualities of the event for the offender

The affective component of the narrative is focused upon the concept that emotions are underpinned by two major dimensions' arousal-non arousal and pleasure-displeasure with four categories of mood termed; Elation (high arousal-high pleasure), Calm (low arousal-high pleasure), Distress (high arousal-high displeasure) and Depression (low arousal-high displeasure) (Russell, 1997). From these categories of mood, the emotional component which underpins each of the narrative roles can be explored further. It was suggested that the intimacy concept can be discussed in terms of arousal-non arousal and the potency concept can be associated with pleasure-displeasure.

In relation to the intimacy and potency concepts, it can be suggested that a high level of intimacy will be associated with a high level of displeasure as it is suggested that typically contact with a victim is not a pleasurable experience. Additionally, a high level of potency is associated with a low level of arousal, as the individual is in control and simply imposing his will.

On exploration of each of the SSA configurations from the previous data sets, they each provide evidence to support the idea of emotions being underpinned by the dimensions of arousal-non arousal and pleasure-displeasure.

The offender's self-awareness or identity in the interpersonal crime event

In order to explore the identity component of offending behaviour, McAdams' (1993) early work on Imagoes can be utilised to provide a base from which to explore identity and self-awareness and how this is associated with criminal behaviour. Although McAdams (1993) focused his work around the themes of agency and communion, his Imagoes can be utilised to elaborate identities which offenders

may take on during the commission of their crime. From this research, it was suggested that an identity of strength and dominance would be present within narrative roles, for example an individual may perceive themselves as either stronger or weaker than their victim and this plays into their ability to dominate the commission of their crime. Additionally, a further identity construct suggested is the significance or importance of others to the offender's self-awareness. In relation to the concepts of intimacy and potency, an individual who demonstrates a high level of potency would be suggested to have a strong self-identity. On the other hand, an individual who have a low level of potency would generally demonstrate a weak level of self-identity. In terms of intimacy, an individual whose self-awareness is determinant upon others would have a high level of intimacy as they are highly focused on how others view them and their impact on their victim. However, individuals who have a low level of intimacy are not concerned with how other's view them and this does not impact their self-awareness around the crime commissioning.

Exploration of an integrated model

In summary, the Hungarian data provides some strong evidence to support the suggested findings that narrative roles are drawn together by offender's interpretations, emotional experience and self-awareness.

In relation to the Cognitive component of narrative roles, the bottom region of the SSA configuration displays item which suggest high potency such as 'Doing a job' and 'Usual day's work' these describe an individual who is in control and takes responsibility of their actions. Whereas, the top region of the SSA configuration demonstrates items which suggest low potency, an individual who attributes the responsibility to others, for example 'Wasn't part of it' and 'Revenger'. In relation to the intimacy concept, the roles Revenger and Professional are suggested to be low in intimacy as within the Professional role, the offending behaviour is related more to getting the job done rather than focusing on the impact on a victim. Similarly, the Revenger role is associated with minimising or dismissing impact on the victim for example the items 'only choice' and 'revenge' suggest minimisation and maybe that the victim somehow deserved the impact from the crime.

In relation to the Affective component of narrative roles, the right side region of the configuration reflects emotions which are positive and could be deemed as pleasurable such as 'It was exciting' and 'It was interesting', however on the left side of the configuration, this reflects a negative experience or emotions of displeasure such as 'I was helpless' and 'Only choice'. In relation to the arousal and non-arousal emotional experiences, the bottom region of the configuration which is focused on roles which are high potency (Professional and Hero), suggests a low arousal emotional state, as it focuses on items which suggest the individual has everything under control and it is not provoking a heightened state of emotion such as 'Nothing special' and 'Routine' However, on the top region of the

configuration where the roles are focused on low potency (Revenger and Victim), this suggests high arousal emotions as the individual is not in control of their criminal behaviour such as 'Helpless' and 'Only choice'.

In relation to the identity component of narrative roles, the bottom region of the configuration represents roles which are high in potency, this suggests an individual who views themselves as strong and having a strong sense of self-identity such as 'Power'. However, in the top region of the configuration this suggests an individual who has a weak sense of self for example 'I was helpless'.

In relation to self-awareness relating to the significance of others, on the top right side of the configuration the Revenger and Professional role are low in intimacy, are not concerned with others and they are irrelevant, however in the bottom left region of the configuration the roles Hero and victim are higher in intimacy, therefore concerned with others and they are significant in relation to an individual's self-awareness.

Although, the SSA configurations do provide some support for the integrated model approach there are some differences in relation to the published configuration by Canter and Youngs (2012). One of the main differences is the location of some of the Hero items within the configuration. As previously discussed, they are located mainly within the Revenger region of the configuration. If these are explored on a deeper level in relation to the cognitive, affective and identity components which underpin them, this may suggest some explanation behind the differences. Both the items 'Mission' and 'Manly' are located in the Revenger region, which has been identified as having low potency and low intimacy, suggesting that an individual who identifies as a Revenger has not taken responsibility for their criminal behaviour and is not necessarily in control of what they are doing. This differs from the published SSA configuration in which the items 'Mission' and 'Manly' are perceived as being part of a high potency role. Therefore, within this particular context the item 'Mission' could be understood as being part of a revengeful mission therefore, the individual not taking full responsibility for their actions and deflecting responsibility as part of a scheme of revenge. Additionally, in relation to the item 'Manly' this has been identified as representing an individual who has a strong sense of identity and self-awareness, however it falls within the region of a role which has a low self-identity and self-awareness. Within this context, this may be explained by a misjudgement in interpretation of the item as being physically strong, rather than having a strong sense of identity. However, due to utilising different data samples, anomalies and genuine differences will occur.

The item 'Wasn't part' is located within the victim region of the configuration, in which the role is suggested to have low potency. The item suggests an individual who is in denial or deflecting their responsibility. Therefore, although 'Wasn't part' is seen as a high potency offence behaviour, its locating within the configuration appears to fit better with the interpretation of the item description.

In the Professional region of the configuration, the item 'Over with' is located which is at the opposite axis of the configuration. The item 'Over with' suggest low potency and high intimacy as it typically falls within the victim narrative role. However, within a different context the item could be understood as an individual being in control and wanting to get something done quickly so it has been completed. Additionally, this may relate to a pleasurable emotion rather than one of displeasure as it is defined as, as completing something could give a positive feeling of relief.

In summary, the Polish data provides some evidence to support the suggested findings that narrative roles are drawn together by offender's interpretations, emotional experience and self-awareness. However, there is limited evidence to support the existence of 4 narrative roles therefore, does not fully support the underlining psychological processes Intimacy and potency. In terms of both the Professional and Victim role, it does support the integrated model approach and reveals an interesting configuration in relation to the other two roles suggested.

In relation to the cognitive component of the narrative roles, the right side region of the configuration suggests items that are high potency, these relate to the items which typically belong to the Professional role. On the left side of the configuration, items that are low potency are located which typically relate to the victim role. In contrast to data set 1, there is no definite region for the Hero and Revenger roles, however on exploration of the items located within the middle axis of the configuration, they suggest to be a number of statements that would suggest low potency and some which suggest high potency, therefore it could be suggested that this middle region of the configuration is the middle ground in terms of the level of potency, an example of this is the item 'Only choice' this could be interpreted as being forced to do something, however, it does still suggest free will and a decision to be made of the individual. The region contains items such as 'Wasn't part' and 'Only choice' which suggests a lack of control, however, there are items such as 'Revenge' and 'Own back' which convey an individual who is focused on the task at hand and taking responsibility of what they need to do. In relation to the intimacy concept, again the right side of the configuration represents low intimacy and the left region high intimacy. Similarly, the middle region of the configuration contains items which fall between both high and low intimacy.

In relation to the affective component of the narrative roles, the right side region of the configuration suggests pleasurable emotions such as 'Exciting' and 'Fun', whereas on the opposite side of the configuration these emotions appear to be more of displeasure such as 'Confused' and 'Victim'. Similarly, the middle region of the configuration suggests items which are both pleasurable and of displeasure. In relation to the arousal and non-arousal emotional experiences, the right of the configuration which is focused on roles which are high potency (Professional), suggests a low arousal emotional state. However, the left region of the configuration where the roles are focused on low

potency (Victim), this suggests high arousal emotions. Again, the middle region of the configuration suggests an in between states of high and low arousal, for example 'Nothing special' suggests a low arousal state, whereas 'Couldn't stop' could suggest an individual who has a high state of arousal as they feel out of control or that they have to complete what they have started.

In relation to the identity component of the narrative roles, the Professional role which is associated with high potency suggests a strong sense of identity, whereas the Victim role which is low potency as having a weak sense of self. In relation to self-awareness relating to the significance of others, the right side of the configuration suggests low intimacy in relation to the Professional role which suggests that victims are irrelevant and are not of concern to the offender. Whereas, on the opposite side of the configuration the victim is of importance to the offender and is significant in relation to their self-awareness.

Although, there is some evidence to support the potency and intimacy concepts, the general configuration within the SSA does not support the overall framework that 4 distinct roles exist. Instead it suggests that there are two distinct roles which are Professional and Victim and an overlap of items between the Hero and Revenger role. From exploration of these items which typically belong to each of the roles, there appears to be some similarities and associations between the items, for example many of the items which typically categorise the Hero role could easily describe the revenger role. The most obvious item being 'Mission' in which this could represent a mission a Hero must complete, or similarly a Revengeful mission an individual must embark on.

Although the item 'Power' is located within the middle region of the configuration, it is closely located to the Professional role which it typically falls within. Therefore, it still supports the intimacy and potency concept as the item 'Power' suggests high potency and low intimacy. Additionally, it would describe an individual who has a strong sense of identity and self-awareness.

In summary, the Italian data provides some evidence to support the suggested findings that there is an integrated model which underpins narrative roles. However, similar to the Polish data there are some issues with classification and where some of the items located in the configuration are located. This challenges some of the published research proposed by Canter and Youngs (2012). Although there appears to be some issues around the middle region within the configuration and the roles it defines, the Italian appears to have more clean cut, definite regions revealed.

In relation to the cognitive component of the narrative roles, the right side region of the configuration suggests items which are high potency, whereas on the left side of the configuration this suggests low potency behaviours. Both regions are in similarity to data sets 1 and 2. In relation to the intimacy concept, again the right region reveals behaviours which are low intimacy and the left region high intimacy. Within the middle region of the configuration, there are a number of items which fall into the

high and low potency and additionally, the high and low intimacy. Therefore, suggesting the middle region is somewhere in between.

In relation to the affective component of the narrative roles, the right side of the configuration suggests items which are more pleasurable, whereas the left side more emotions of displeasure. Again, the middle region of the configuration has a collection of both pleasure and displeasure. In relation to the arousal-non-arousal concept, the right side of the configuration which is associated with high potency includes items which suggest non-arousal or low arousal, whereas at the opposite region of the configuration these behaviours suggest a higher arousal state, associated with low potency.

In relation to the identity component of the narrative roles, the right region of the configuration which is associated with high potency suggests an individual who has a strong sense of identity and is associated with the Professional role. However, on the left side of the configuration which is low in potency this suggests an individual who is weaker and unsure of their identity. In relation the self-awareness, the right side of the configuration which is associated with low intimacy suggests an individual who has a strong self-awareness and does not need others such as victims to be significant to this. Whereas, on the left side of the configuration which is suggested to be high in intimacy, there is a weak self-awareness as the individual feels that others are significant in relation to their self-awareness and can be of impact too it.

Although, there is some evidence to support the potency and intimacy concepts, the middle region of the configuration is not easily defined into two regions as many of the items which typically belong to the roles Revenger and Hero are scattered around the region. However, there does appear to be some associations amongst the items which may explain the region. Within the middle region of the configuration, the item 'Risk' is located, typically this would be located within the Professional region. In this context, the item 'Risk' could be understood as an individual who is confident and responsible for what they are doing but also identifies that there is an element of uncertainty. Therefore, the item could be perceived as being defined as either low or high potency, as although the individual is in control, there is always the element of risk which may mean it falls out of their control. Additionally, the item risk would be associated with a pleasurable emotion if it were to be located within the Professional region. It could be understood in this context that committing crime could be a thrill-seeking behaviour and produce emotions of excitement and pleasure. However, in this context where the item is located, it suggests that it has been understood as being halfway between pleasure and displeasure. In this context, it may suggest that although taking a risk can be exciting for some, there is also an element of danger and uncertainty which may cause some feelings of displeasure, if everything was to go to plan it may be thrilling, however if it does not there may be some consequences which may cause emotions of displeasure.

In contrast to the Hungarian and Polish data, the item 'Manly' is located in a different region of the configuration. However, it is still located closely to 'Power' suggesting an association between the items and that they have been interpreted similarly as expected.

The item 'Only choice' is located within the Victim role, this region is associated with high intimacy and low potency. In this context, the item 'Only choice' could have been understood as low potency as the individual may feel they do not have control over their actions and that they do not have free will to make a decision. Therefore, this could be understood similarly to the item 'Helpless' as again this suggests having no choice over their actions. In relation, to the item being located with the region which is associated with emotions of displeasure, the item 'Only choice' could be understood as causing negative emotions as if an individual is forced to do something out of their control then this could cause emotions of displeasure so this supports the pleasure-displeasure concept.

Further Discussion

Each of the data sets provides evidence to suggest that the roles which reflect high potency are associated with lower arousal or non-arousal and low potency is associated with high arousal. Additionally, the roles which are associated with a level of displeasure are those which have a higher level of intimacy and conversely, the roles associated with a pleasurable experience have a lower level of intimacy. Strong and weak identity and the significance and insignificance of others on self-awareness, is distinctly defined within each of the configurations.

Although there are some recognised differences within the proposed cognitive potency and intimacy framework, overall there are some clear distinctions between the narrative roles which provide some evidence in support of the published idea that there is a cognitive, affective and identity component which contributes to the underpinning of narrative roles.

In order to explore the differences further, each of the items which were not located as expected were discussed in order to identify whether there were any associations between the differences in relation to the component which they relate to, or whether the differences did not have any relationship at all. Previous research by Canter and Youngs (2013) has suggested which components underlie the items, therefore this approach was utilised and will be discussed further.

Within the Hungarian data, the item 'Mission' and 'Manly' were not located within the configuration as expected. The item 'Mission' can be understood as being underpinned by a cognitive component as this is the way in which the individual interprets the event and their actions as a 'Mission' to complete. Whereas, the item 'Manly' can be understood as being underpinned by the identity and self-awareness component, as the individual item 'Manly' is describing who the individual when engaging in the crime.

The item 'Wasn't part' which is located within the victim role is underpinned by the affective component as this describes the emotional experience of the event for the individual. For example, the individual feels like they were involved with what happened that may be due to the individual not wanting to take ownership of their actions or some minimisation techniques in order to manage their emotions around the crime.

Finally, the item 'Over with' is located within the Professional role in the configuration, this item, can be understood as being underpinned by the affective component. This suggests that the individual may feel negative emotions of feelings of displeasure around the event, therefore wanting it to be finished as quickly as possible to avoid these negative emotions.

Overall, within the Hungarian data there does not appear to be any association between the differences and which components underpin them.

Within the Polish data, the differences within the established roles will be discussed as it will not be effective to discuss the location of items within the middle region of the configuration. The main item which is located within the middle region which typically falls within the Professional role is 'Power'. This item can be understood as being underpinned by the identity component as it describes a characteristic or attribute of an individual which will be prominent within their offending behaviour. Overall, within the Polish data the items which are located unexpectedly and do not fall within the typically region is both items which are underpinned by the identity component. However, as this is a relatively small example of items, it cannot be concluded that there is a relationship between the differences and which component underpins them.

Within the Italian data, similarly to the Polish data, the items within the middle region will not be discussed as they are not categorised into specific regions. The item 'Risk' which typically falls within the Professional role is located within the middle region of the configuration, this item is underpinned by the cognitive component as it describes an individual who is competent in their actions but this is reflected in them knowing and understanding the risks of their crime. Therefore, it describes the way in which the individual interprets their crime and actions. The item 'Only choice' is located within the victim role of the configuration, the item is typically underpinned by the cognitive component as it describes an individual who interprets their crime as not having control over what they are doing, therefore attributes the responsibility to others.

Summary

Analysis 1 aimed to examine the roles revealed by three different cultural samples and identify whether these could be distinguished in line with the proposed Narrative roles framework proposed by

Canter and Youngs (2011). Furthermore, to investigate the relationship of these narratives with Frye's (1957) archetypal stories and finally to explore whether narrative roles are underpinned by a combination of cognitive, affective and identity components. Findings suggested the existence of the narrative roles across the different cultural samples, however there were some issues around defining the hero and revenger role and this appears in some of the data to be one role rather than two. Furthermore, in the Roma sample there did not appear to be the existence of the hero narrative. Each of the data sets, provided evidence to support the suggested integrated model of narrative roles, which focuses on the principles that narrative roles are drawn together by the underpinning concepts of an offender's interpretation (Cognitive component), emotional experience (Affective component) and self-awareness (Identity component). There does not appear to be any association between the differences where the items are located within the configuration and which component underpins the items.

Analysis 2: The Emotions of offenders

The following analyses focus on the emotions an offender may experience during the commission of their crime. The objectives of the study were to;

- To identify if the range of emotions offenders may experience whilst in commission of crime relates to Russell's (1997) Circumplex of emotions model.
- To explore whether the same emotions are experienced across the different cultures and in comparison to the UK sample.
- To explore offenders' recollection of the intensity of emotions experienced whilst committing crime.

Smallest space analysis (SSA) of emotions

To examine the objectives above, smallest space analysis (SSA-I) was used to present each of the emotion-related statements within a spatial configuration. This allowed for a visual exploration of each of the emotion themes. It can be suggested that emotions with similar underlying themes are more likely to be located closer together in the configuration thus suggesting they are highly correlated in contrast to those located further away.

Hungarian emotions configuration

The three-dimensional SSA solution has a Guttman – Lingoes coefficient of alienation 0.08, showing an exceptionally good fit between the Pearson's coefficients of the emotion variables and their corresponding geometric distances in the configuration. The three-dimensional solution was adopted as the three-dimensional illustration has a high coefficient of alienation of 0.08 and was considered to describe the pattern of relationships better than the two-dimensional solution. The labels are brief summaries of the full questions which are presented in the appendix.



Figure 8 vi- 1 by 2 Projection of the Three-Dimensional Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) of Emotions within a spatial configuration. Coefficient of Alienation = .08875.

Italian emotions configuration

The three-dimensional SSA solution has a Guttman – Lingoes coefficient of alienation 0.08, showing an exceptionally good fit between the Pearson's coefficients of the emotion variables and their corresponding geometric distances in the configuration. The three-dimensional solution was adopted as the three-dimensional illustration has a high coefficient of alienation of 0.08 and was considered to describe the pattern of relationships better than the two-dimensional solution. The labels are brief summaries of the full questions which are presented in the appendix.

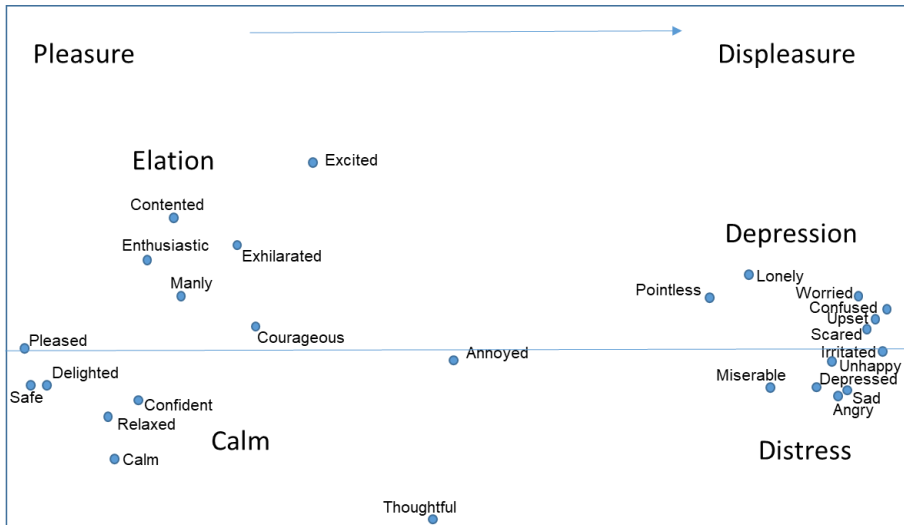


Figure 8 vii- 1 by 2 Projection of the Three-Dimensional Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) of Emotions within a spatial configuration. Coefficient of Alienation = .08200.

UK emotions configuration published comparison

The three-dimensional SSA solution has a Guttman – Lingoes coefficient of alienation 0.08, showing an exceptionally good fit between the Pearson's coefficients of the emotion variables and their corresponding geometric distances in the configuration. The three-dimensional solution was adopted as the three-dimensional illustration has a high coefficient of alienation of 0.08 and was considered to describe the pattern of relationships better than the two-dimensional solution. The labels are brief summaries of the full questions which are presented in the appendix.

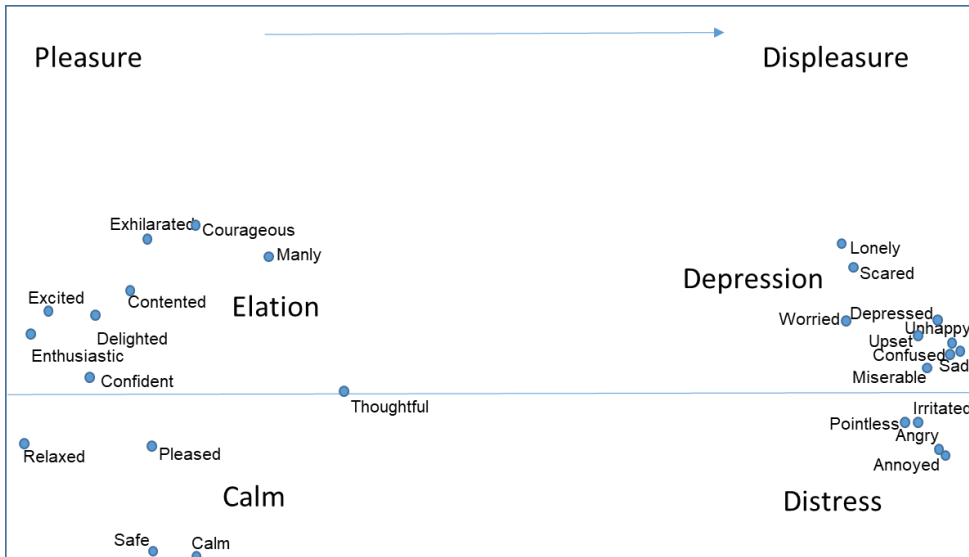


Figure 8 viii- 1 by 2 Projection of the Three-Dimensional Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) of Emotions within a spatial configuration. Coefficient of Alienation = .06422.

Relationship between themes of emotions and Russell's Circumplex of emotions

In order to discuss the configuration, it is important to relate the analysis to each of the aims and objectives proposed these being; *To identify if the range of emotions offenders may experience whilst in commission of crime relates to Russell's (1997) Circumplex of emotions model, To explore whether the same emotions are experienced across the different cultures and in comparison to the UK sample and To explore offenders' recollection of the intensity of emotions experienced whilst committing crime.* As discussed the UK configuration is to be utilised as a point of comparison as the data used has previously been published within Youngs and Canter's (2012) research. It has been established that within a UK the emotions revealed does reflect the range of emotions and emotional themes by Russell (1997).

On initial visual analysis of the Hungarian and Italian configurations, four distinct emotional regions are revealed which reflect Russell's (1997) Circumplex of emotion and correspond to range of emotions he proposed; these being Calm, Elation, Depression and Distress.

It is clear within the configurations that emotions which are deemed as pleasurable are located to the left region of the plot such as excited, pleased and enthusiastic, whereas on the right side of the plot

this reveals emotions which are of displeasure such as unhappy, miserable and angry. For the majority of the items there is a clear distinction between either axis of the configurations suggesting a strong division between offenders in identifying their offending as strongly pleasurable or of displeasure. On examination, the SSA configurations suggests evidence to support Russell's (1997) Circumplex of emotions in terms of his proposed pleasure-displeasure axis and that the dominant axis is clearly relevant to the experience of crime as previous research has shown (Canter, Kaouri & Ioannou, 2003, Ioannou, Canter & Youngs, 2016).

The configurations do not indicate a strong differentiation across emotions and the level of arousal experienced by offenders in line with Russell's proposed model. There are some groupings of emotions such as 'Enthusiastic' and 'Exhilarating' which suggest a higher state of arousal. Whereas, items such as 'Calm' 'Pointless' and 'Safe' are located in the bottom region of the configuration, these emotions suggest a state of lower arousal. However, results from the SSA configurations do not ultimately support Russell's (1997) arousal-non-arousal axis fully. This may be due to the sample of offenders used and it could be suggested that all crime is likely to have some level of arousal involved.

Within the Italian configuration the items 'Thoughtful' and 'Annoyed' are located within the central region of the configuration, on adopting the theoretical explanations of the Circumplex model, this suggests that these items do not have a close association with the other items within the configuration. Interestingly, they both represent emotions which could be suggested to be opposite to each other and in the context of crime 'Annoyed' would suggest a high arousal state, whereas 'Thoughtful' presents a lower state of arousal. Therefore, it could be suggested that in the particular sample, these two emotions represent a middle point between this axis. As discussed the other items within the two configurations represent a strong differentiation between the two axis points, however these two emotions fall somewhere in between. This suggests that there appears to be a full range of emotions which offenders experience and to varying degrees. Furthermore, in the Italian configuration the emotions of distress and depression are less distinct, and some of the items for example 'depression' falls in the region in which there are items which suggest distress such as 'angry' and 'irritated'. This may suggest that within this particular sample these two emotions are not that distinct from each other and are experienced similarly by the offender sample.

The configurations do not fully support the circular model as the emotions which are behaviourally opposite each other do not fall within the expected region of the configuration, for example the region of calm is not directly located opposite from Depression, instead it is located across from distress. Similarly, the region elation is located opposite from depression. Within the calm region, emotions such as 'relaxed' and 'safe' are located, whereas in the distress region emotions such as 'angry' and 'irritated'. Additionally, in the elation region emotions such as 'enthusiastic' and 'delighted' are located,

whereas in the depression region emotions such as 'upset' and 'lonely' are located. Although this is not as expected, it does provide an interesting platform to discuss the association between the emotions further. For example, the region calm could be understood as being of low arousal, whereas the distress region is high arousal, therefore in terms of states of arousal these are opposite on the arousal-non-arousal axis. Similarly, the region Elation and Depression follow the same suit suggesting that although they may not necessarily be opposite in terms of behaviour, they do make sense within this context.

In summary, the above SSA configurations support Russell's (1997) circumplex of emotions framework and provides supportive evidence of the existence of a pleasure-displeasure axis but does not fully support a differentiation between an arousal-non-arousal axis. Additionally, the SSAs revealed the existence of four distinct regions of emotions; Calm, Elation, Depression and Distress which again can be related to Russell's earlier work, supporting the idea that offender's experience the same range of emotions as non-offenders whilst commissioning their crime.

Means and Standard deviation of emotions

To fulfil the objective of the study; *To explore offenders' recollection of the intensity of emotions experienced whilst committing crime.* The means and standard deviations have been generated for each of the items within the four emotion themes. These are presented in table 8x below for each of the 26 emotions. By studying the means scores of each of the items, we can examine which emotions were experienced as the most intense by the offenders within each of the different samples, again the UK sample will be used as a point of comparison.

Hungarian sample

Calm	Distress
Safe (2.59) (1.484)	Annoyed (2.30) (1.516)
Calm (2.82) (1.511)	Irritated (2.54) (1.605)
Exhilarated (2.27) (1.415)	Angry (2.37) (1.545)
Courageous (3.25) (1.419)	Unhappy (2.48) (1.501)
Relaxed (2.61) (1.383)	Pointless (2.41) (1.513)
Elation	Depression
Confident (3.29) (1.315)	Upset (2.49) (1.38)
Contented (2.37) (1.428)	Confused (2.35) (1.486)
Pleased (2.59) (1.484)	Sad (2.66) (1.564)

Delighted (2.09) (1.38)	Excited (3.10) (1.344)
Enthusiastic (2.74) (1.488)	Scared (2.30) (1.379)
Manly (3.27) (1.423)	Miserable (2.57) (1.625)
Thoughtful (2.86) (1.411)	Worried (2.90) (1.407)
	Depressed (2.68) (1.446)
	Lonely (2.34) (1.379)

Table 8 x- The Emotions Making up the Four Regions of the SSA with Means and Standard Deviations

Italian sample

Calm	Distress
Safe (2.24) (1.342)	Annoyed (1.62) (1.089)
Calm (2.26) (1.288)	Irritated (2.65) (1.585)
Delighted (1.63) (1.172)	Angry (2.70) (1.596)
Confident (2.22) (1.25)	Unhappy (2.79) (1.758)
Relaxed (1.84) (1.143)	Sad (2.63) (1.651)
Thoughtful (2.29) (1.293)	Depressed (2.37) (1.478)
Elation	Depression
Contented (1.89) (1.203)	Confused (2.95) (1.593)
Pleased (1.76) (1.14)	Upset (2.82) (1.658)
Exhilarated (1.92) (1.038)	Pointless (2.18) (1.674)
Enthusiastic (1.92) (1.038)	Scared (2.76) (1.517)
Manly (1.61) (0.887)	Miserable (2.58) (1.588)
Courageous (2.16) (1.197)	Worried (3.41) (1.404)
Excited (2.00) (1.356)	Lonely (2.89) (1.556)

Table 8 xi- The Emotions Making up the Four Regions of the SSA with Means and Standard Deviations

UK Comparison sample

Calm	Distress
Safe (2.41) (1.429)	Annoyed (3.17) (1.642)
Calm (2.74) (1.337)	Irritated (2.86) (1.516)
Pleased (2.07) (1.468)	Angry (3.10) (1.661)
Thoughtful (2.33) (1.501)	Pointless (2.66) (1.727)

Relaxed (1.93) (1.108)	
Elation	Depression
Confident (3.13) (1.596)	Upset (2.63) (1.590)
Contented (2.20) (1.269)	Confused (2.31) (1.460)
Delighted (1.93) (1.344)	Sad (2.59) (1.698)
Exhilarated (2.50) (1.422)	Unhappy (2.90) (1.704)
Enthusiastic (2.06) (1.295)	Scared (2.57) (1.460)
Manly (1.99) (1.245)	Miserable (2.41) (1.518)
Courageous (2.10) (1.308)	Worried (3.00) (1.513)
Excited (2.34) (1.483)	Depressed (2.44) (1.639)
	Lonely (2.13) (1.483)

Table 8 xii-The Emotions Making up the Four Regions of the SSA with Means and Standard Deviations

Discussion

In the Hungarian sample, the emotions courageous (3.25), manly (3.27), confident (3.29) and excited (3.10) were the emotions which had the highest mean score on the Likert scale rating suggesting that these were the emotions that were the most intensely experienced by the offenders. Additionally, the items delighted (2.09), exhilarated (2.27), scared (2.30) and annoyed (2.30) had the lowest mean score on the Likert scale.

In the Italian sample, the emotions worried (3.41), confused (2.95) and upset (2.82) were the emotions which had the highest mean score on the Likert scale rating suggesting that these were the emotions that were the most intensely experienced by the offenders. Additionally, the items manly (1.61), annoyed (1.62) and delighted (1.63) had the lowest mean score on the Likert scale.

In comparison with the UK, the majority of the emotions with the highest means appear to be emotions which could be suggested to be negative or displeasurable such as angry (3.10), worried (3.00) and annoyed (3.17). This is quite similar to the emotions expressed by the Italian sample. Furthermore, the emotions with the lowest means being delighted (1.93), manly (1.99) and relaxed (1.93) which has similarities across both the Hungarian and Italian sample.

The current research does not lend support to Canter and Ioannou (2004) who suggested that more intense emotions were found to be located in the SSA at the extremes of the axis of pleasure-displeasure. For this particular sample, there does not appear to be consistency to support this idea, however some of the items for example 'worried' is located at the extreme of the displeasure axis,

whereas in contrast the items 'Confident', 'Courageous' and 'Excited' are located at the extremes of the axis of pleasure.

Therefore, within this particular sample it can be suggested that there does not appear to be a consistent relationship to suggest that offenders may experience some emotions more intensely than others, however it does support the idea that offenders experience a range of emotions similarly to a general population sample, which supports previous research by Canter and Ioannou (2004) and Ioannou, Canter and Youngs (2017). Additionally, the current research highlights the proposed idea by Katz (1988) that emotions are an important aspect of offending behaviour and are crucial in order to understand criminal behaviour and actions an offender may take.

Reliability analysis

Cronbach alpha scores were determined for the four emotions in order to verify the internal reliability of the items that make up each of the emotion scales. The reliability coefficient of Cronbach's alpha ranges between 0 and 1. Therefore, the closer the Cronbach's alpha value is to 1, the greater the internal reliability of the emotion-items in the scale.

Analysis showed that each of the scales had a high internal consistency across the three different samples, therefore, suggesting that each of the emotions assigned to the four themes is a strong representation of the scale that it is measuring.

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Hungarian sample

Emotions				
	Calm	Depressed	Elated	Distress
	Safe	Upset	Confident	Annoyed
	Calm	Confused	Contented	Irritated
	Exhilarated	Sad	Pleased	Angry
	Courageous	Excited	Delighted	Unhappy
	Relaxed	Scared	Enthusiastic	Pointless
Emotion items		Miserable	Manly	
		Worried	Thoughtful	
		Depressed		
		Lonely		
No. of items	5	9	7	5
Cronbach Alpha	0.748	0.853	0.826	0.792

Table 8 xiii-Cronbach alpha scores for emotion themes and number of items within each theme

Italian sample

Emotions				
	Calm	Depressed	Elated	Distress
	Safe	Confused	Contented	Annoyed
	Calm	Upset	Pleased	Irritated
	Delighted	Pointless	Exhilarated	Angry
	Confident	Scared	Enthusiastic	Unhappy
	Relaxed	Miserable	Manly	Sad
Emotion items	Thoughtful	Worried	Courageous	Depressed
		Lonely	Excited	
No. of items	6	7	7	6
Cronbach Alpha	0.843	0.874	0.803	0.857

Table 8 xiv- Cronbach alpha scores for emotion themes and number of items within each theme

UK comparison sample

Emotions				
	Calm	Depressed	Elated	Distress
	Safe	Upset	Confident	Annoyed
	Calm	Confused	Contented	Irritated
	Pleased	Sad	Delighted	Angry
	Thoughtful	Unhappy	Exhilarated	Pointless
	Relaxed	Scared	Enthusiastic	
Emotion items		Miserable	Manly	
		Worried	Courageous	
		Depressed	Excited	
		Lonely		
No. of items	5	9	8	4
Cronbach Alpha	0.716	0.918	0.875	0.874

Table 8 xv- Cronbach alpha scores for emotion themes and number of items within each theme

Relationship between Emotion Themes

Correlation analyses were conducted on the four emotion themes to examine the association between each of the themes. As presented in Frye's (1957) Circumplex of emotions, the emotions distress and depressed represent negative and unpleasant feelings, whereas elation and calm are associated with positive and pleasurable feelings. Therefore, it would be expected that there would be significant correlations between the discussed emotions. The following tables presents the results from the correlation analysis.

Hungarian sample

Emotion	1	2	3	4
Calm	-	-0.537**	0.701**	-0.233*
Depressed	-0.537**	-	-0.314**	0.535**
Elated	0.701**	-0.314**	-	-0.265*
Distress	-0.233*	0.535**	-0.265*	-

Table 8 xvi- Means, standard deviations and correlations of emotion themes

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

Italian sample

Emotion	1	2	3	4
Calm	-	-0.597**	0.509**	-0.545**
Depressed	-0.597**	-	-0.448**	0.782**
Elated	0.509**	-0.448**	-	-0.491**
Distress	-0.545**	0.782**	-0.491**	-

Table 8 xvii- Means, standard deviations and correlations of emotion themes

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

UK comparison sample

Emotion	1	2	3	4
Calm	-	-0.374**	0.521**	-0.265*
Depressed	-0.374**	-	-0.326**	0.694**
Elated	0.521**	-0.326**	-	-0.416**
Distress	-0.265*	0.694**	-0.416**	-

Table 8 xviii- Means, standard deviations and correlations of emotion themes

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

As indicated in the tables above, there are significant correlations between the emotions Calm and Elation ($p < 0.01$) and Distress and Depression ($p < 0.01$). Additionally, there is negative significant correlation between the emotions Calm and Distress ($p < 0.01$, UK sample $p < 0.05$) and Calm and Depression ($p < 0.01$). Similarly, there is a negative significant correlation between the emotions Elation and Distress ($p < 0.01$, Hungarian $p < 0.05$) and Elation and Depression ($p < 0.01$).

These results support previous research (Ioannou, 2006) and support the view that offenders do associate their criminal experience as either being associated with pleasurable or unpleasant feelings.

Assigning cases to themes

In order to further analyse each of the proposed emotion theme as revealed in figure 8 vi, 8 vii and 8 viii each individual case was examined to identify if it can be allocated into one of the four themes suggested. This method of classification was adopted by Canter and Fritzon (1998), Salfati (2000), Ioannou (2006) and Ioannou, Canter and Youngs (2017) as a way to assign cases to themes in the most thematic and reliable way. This allows for the offender's emotions whilst committing their crime to be examined on an individual basis, as the method of SSA examines the sample as a collective group in order to identify themes of emotions. Therefore, by adopting this method, it allows for the examination of each individual offender whose responses were recorded.

In the current study, four new variables were created by utilising each individual case and assigning them with a percentage score reflecting the proportion each case has of the emotions Elation, Calm, Distress and Depression. Percentages were used rather than actual numbers because the four emotion themes contained unequal numbers of variables. Therefore, the percentage represents the proportion of the emotions Elation, Calm, Distress and Depression within each of the narrative roles.

A case was classified as belonging to a particular theme if there was a higher percentage of occurrence in a particular theme. A case was classified into either a pure theme, hybrid theme or unclassified. A hybrid theme can be understood as a theme in which the percentage of two different themes is equal, therefore suggesting it is equally made up of two different themes. An unclassified theme relates to there being no dominant theme being revealed within the data.

Hungarian Sample

Emotion theme	Cases (N)	Percentage
Calm	5	5%
Depressed	44	47%
Elated	29	31%
Distressed	1	1%
Hybrid	14	15%

Table 8 xix shows the number of cases allocated to each emotion and the percentage representation

Italian Sample

Emotion theme	Cases (N)	Percentage
Calm	5	13%
Depressed	16	42%
Elated	5	13%
Distress	3	8%
Hybrid	9	24%

Table 8 xx- to shows the number of cases allocated to each emotion and the percentage representation

UK Comparison sample

Emotion theme	Cases (N)	Percentage
Calm	3	4%
Depressed	37	53%
Elated	23	33%
Distress	1	1%
Hybrid	6	9%

Table 8 xxi- to shows the number of cases allocated to each emotion and the percentage representation

Discussion

In the Hungarian data, 84% of cases (N=79) were categorised as pure cases and 15% (N=14) were hybrid cases. The emotion depressed was the most frequent allocated emotion with 47% of cases (N=44) being allocated to this emotion, followed by Elation which was 31% of cases (N=29). The emotion Calm made up 5% of cases (N=5) and finally distress made up 1% (N=1).

In the Italian data, 76% of cases (N=29) were categorised as pure cases and 24% (N=9) were hybrid cases. Similarly, to the Hungarian data, the most frequent emotion was depressed with 42% of cases being allocated to this emotion (N=16), followed by Calm and Elated which both make up 13% of the cases (N=5). Finally, the emotion distress was 8% (N=3).

In comparison to the UK sample, the emotion depressed is the most frequent emotion with 53% of offenders experiencing this emotion (N=37). This is followed by elated which is 33% (N=23) and finally calm which is 4% (N=3) and distress which is 1% (N=1).

Analysis 3: Types of crime

It is clear from the exploration of each SSA configuration that there is evidence to support the proposed framework of narrative roles by Canter and Youngs (2011; 2012). Additionally, it is clear from the exploration of the items and the components which underpin them that they reflect different categories of offenders who may act, feel or identify in different ways. Therefore, it could be suggested that the crime which an offender chooses to commit would be associated with the narrative role they identify with. It could be hypothesised that offenders who identify with the Professional role commit crime for a purpose and for some sort of gain, they complete the job at hand and do this with skill and ease. They are not concerned with the victim as they know what they need to do to meet their objectives. It could be suggested that offenders who commit crimes such as burglary and theft would fall into this category as one of the main aims of this type of acquisitive crime is for a quick gain, usually financial. On the other hand, an offender who identifies with the Revenger role could be associated with crime which is potentially violent and calculated as the aim of the Revenger is to right the wrongdoings and do not necessarily care about the impact on the victim as they feel a sense of injustice that they need to rectify. Canter (1989) describes crime as an interpersonal transaction between the offender and victim. For crimes that are against a person, this is an interpersonal relationship as the offender has direct contact with their victim, for example in offences such as battery. On the other hand, property offences such as theft, the offender does not have a direct interpersonal interaction with his/her victim. Previous research by Spruin, Canter, Youngs and Coulston (2014) suggested that exploring the interpersonal transaction of an offence is particularly important, and they hypothesised that those offences indicating close interpersonal relationships (e.g., offences against the person) will display the Victim and Revenger narratives. In contrast, those offences with less direct interpersonal transactions (e.g., offences against property) will exhibit the Professional and Hero narratives. Therefore, the current study will take into consideration the importance of interpersonal transactions in order to distinguish the different narratives that an offender may experience.

Katz (1988) suggested that each crime has its own appeal to offenders, for example a crime which one offender may find thrilling and exciting may not have the same effect on another and vice versa.

Therefore, it is important to examine different types of crime as one size does not fit all, and the explanation for why an individual may burgle a property will not be the same explanation to why an individual may commit any assault. Therefore, the present analysis aims to investigate whether offenders who commit different types of crime, experience different narrative roles.

The objectives of the analyses are as follows;

- Identify if there is an association with crime type and narrative roles which are revealed
- To identify if there are dominant roles associated within property, personal and sensory types of crime

Crime type categories

As previously highlighted, distinguishing crime into categories has presented as a challenge due to some crimes falling into more than one category. As discussed one approach which has been developed and utilised relates to categorising crime by incentives. Based on Bandura's incentives (1986), Youngs (2006) suggested three incentives of crime; these being property, personal and sensory (PPS). This has further been adopted by a number of researchers (Chen and Howitt, 2008) and has proven to be a reliable method of crime classification.

The relationship between narrative roles and crime types

In order to explore further the objectives of this study, Means, standard deviation and correlations were run and analysed on the three crime categories. The objective was to explore the associations between the narrative roles in relation to the different offence types (Property, personal and sensory crime). Previous research suggests that the roles Professional and Hero would be more closely associated due to them continuing a positive element within the narrative, in contrast it is to be expected that there would be an association between the roles of Revenger and Victim as these portray a more negative narrative experience. In analysis one, SSA configurations were produced for each of the different cultures, along with the internal consistencies for each of them items in each role. Therefore, these results will be utilised for the further analyses within the section of the thesis.

Hungarian

Narrative roles	1	2	3	4
Professional	-	.615**	.503**	-.086
Hero	.615**	-	.327*	-0.19

Revenge	.503**	.327*	-	0.34
Victim	-.086	-.019	0.34	-

Table 8 xxii- correlations of narrative roles and property crime

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

Narrative roles	1	2	3	4
Professional	-	.798**	.654**	-.221
Hero	.798**	-	.663**	0.002
Revenge	.654**	.663**	-	0.083
Victim	-.221	0.002	0.083	-

Table 8 xxiii- correlations of narrative roles and personal crime

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

Narrative roles	1	2	3	4
Professional	-	0.343	0.662	.522
Hero	0.343	-	.812*	0.382
Revenge	0.662	.812*	-	-.057
Victim	-.522	0.382	-.057	-

Table 8 xxiv- correlations of narrative roles and sensory crime

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

Italian

Narrative roles	1	2	3	4
Professional	-	-.198	0.224	-.668**
Hero	-.198	-	-.148	.492*
Revenge	0.224	-.148	-	-.088
Victim	-.668**	.492*	-.088	-

Table 8 xxv- correlations of narrative roles and property crime

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

Narrative roles	1	2	3	4
Professional	-	0.217	-.099	-.678*
Hero	0.217	-	0.546	0.344
Revenge	-.099	0.546	-	.628*
Victim	-.678*	0.344	.628*	-

Table 8 xxvi- correlations of narrative roles and personal crime

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

Narrative roles	1	2	3	4
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Professional	-	0.129	0.123	-0.359
Hero	0.129	-	0.663	.814*
Revenger	0.123	0.663	-	0.743
Victim	-0.359	.814*	0.743	-

Table 8 xxvii- correlations of narrative roles and sensory crime

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

Polish

Narrative roles	1	2	3	4
Professional	-	0.341	0.045	0.02
Hero	0.341	-	.478**	-0.328
Revenger	0.045	.478**	-	-0.146
Victim	0.02	-0.328	-0.146	-

Table 8 xxviii-correlations of narrative roles and property crime

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

Narrative roles	1	2	3	4
Professional	-	.733**	.613**	-0.246
Hero	.733**	-	.614**	-0.131
Revenger	.613**	.614**	-	0.132
Victim	-0.246	-0.131	0.132	-

Table 8 xxix-correlations of narrative roles and personal crime

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

Narrative roles	1	2	3	4
Professional	-	0.022	0.387	0.512
Hero	0.022	-	0.873	-0.302
Revenger	0.387	0.873	-	0.184
Victim	0.512	-0.302	0.184	-

Table 8 xxx- correlations of narrative roles and sensory crime

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

Discussion

The tables above indicates the correlations between each of the different crime types and the narrative roles across the three different cultures. In relation to property crime in the Hungarian sample, there were significant correlations found between the roles Professional and Hero ($p < 0.01$) and Professional and Revenger ($p < 0.01$). Additionally, there is significant correlations between Revenger and Hero ($p < 0.05$). In relation to personal crime, the same significant correlations are

found, as well as a significant correlations between Revenger and Hero ($p < 0.01$). Finally in relation to sensory crime, a significant correlation was found between the Revenger and Hero ($p < 0.05$).

In regards to the Italian sample, a significant correlation was found between the Revenger and the Hero ($p < 0.01$) in the property crime sample. Furthermore, there is a negative significant correlation between the Victim and Professional ($p < 0.05$), as well as a positive significant correlation between the victim and revenger ($p < 0.05$) in the personal crime sample. Finally, in relation to the sensory crime type a significant correlation was found between the victim and hero ($p < 0.05$).

In relation to the Polish sample, there is a significant correlation between the Revenger and Hero ($p < 0.01$) in the property crime type. Furthermore, in the personal crime type there is a significant correlation between the Professional and Revenger ($p < 0.01$), Professional and Hero ($p < 0.01$) and Hero and Revenger ($p < 0.01$). Finally, there are no significant correlations found in relation to the sensory crime type in the Polish sample.

Some of the strongest correlations across the crime types are the Professional, Hero and Revenger. In relation to the Professional and Hero role, this is to be expected and in line with research previously discussed. Both of the Professional and Hero role are associated with a more positive narrative experience, therefore support the proposed hypothesis that these would be more closely associated. On the other hand, there is a significant correlation between the roles Revenger and Victim within the personal crime results, which would be expected based on previous research and the two roles being categorised by a more negative experience. Interestingly, in the personal crime results of the Italian sample there was a negative significant correlation between the roles Professional and Victim, suggesting that there is an adverse relationship between the roles. It could be suggested that the more an offender identifies with a Professional role, the less association or the less they identify with being a victim in their crime and vice versa. This suggests that within personal crime, a circular approach of the roles and them each being part of the same dimension may not be correct within this type of crime. Additionally, on examination this could be supported by the SSA configurations discussed above. The SSA procedure is based on the assumption that every variable is related to every other variable and the extent of this relationship can be examined visually through the configuration. It displays the correlations between variables as distances in a statistically derived geometric space (Guttman, 1968). Therefore, in simple terms the location of the regions which correspond with the roles of Victim and Professional are presented at opposite locations within the configuration, which suggests minimal association.

Dominant narratives within each crime type

To explore the objective *To identify if there are dominant roles associated within property, personal and sensory types of crime*, analyses have been completed in which each case was individually examined to identify if it could be assigned to a particular theme. This method of classification was adopted by Canter and Fritzon (1998), Salfati (2000), Ioannou (2006) and Ioannou, Canter and Youngs (2017) as a way to assign cases to themes in the most thematic and reliable way. In the current study, four new variables were computed which are based on the items from the SSA configurations for each culture. Percentages were used rather than actual numbers because the four narrative roles contained unequal numbers of variables. Therefore, the percentage represents the proportion of each of the narrative roles within each case. A case was classified as belonging to a particular theme if there was a higher percentage of occurrence in a particular theme. A case was classified into either a pure theme, hybrid theme or unclassified. A hybrid theme can be understood as a theme in which the percentage of two different themes is equal, therefore suggesting it is equally made up of two different themes. An unclassified theme relates to there being no dominant theme being revealed within the data.

Hungarian Sample

Narrative role	Cases (N)	Percentage
Professional	42	69%
Hero	14	23%
Revenger	0	0%
Victim	0	0%
Hybrid	5	8%

Table 8 xxxi- shows the number of cases allocated to each narrative role in the property crime type

Narrative role	Cases (N)	Percentage
Professional	13	52%
Hero	6	24%
Revenger	0	0%
Victim	2	8%
Hybrid	4	16%

Table 8 xxxii- shows the number of cases allocated to each narrative role in the personal crime type

Narrative role	Cases (N)	Percentage
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Professional	4	57%
Hero	1	14%
Revenger	0	0%
Victim	0	0%
Hybrid	2	29%

Table 8 xxxiii- shows the number of cases allocated to each narrative role in the sensory crime type

Italian Sample

Narrative role	Cases (N)	Percentage
Professional	12	57%
Hero	0	0%
Revenger	1	5%
Victim	4	19%
Hybrid	4	19%

Table 8 xxxiv- shows the number of cases allocated to each narrative role in the property crime type

Narrative role	Cases (N)	Percentage
Professional	4	36%
Hero	0	0%
Revenger	3	27%
Victim	2	18%
Hybrid	2	18%

Table 8 xxxv- shows the number of cases allocated to each narrative role in the personal crime type

Narrative role	Cases (N)	Percentage
Professional	5	83%
Hero	0	0%
Revenger	0	0%
Victim	0	0%
Hybrid	1	17%

Table 8 xxxvi- shows the number of cases allocated to each narrative role in the sensory crime type

Polish Sample

Narrative role	Cases (N)	Percentage
Professional	11	37%
Hero	0	0%

Revenger	9	30%
Victim	7	23%
Hybrid	3	10%

Table 8 xxxvii- shows the number of cases allocated to each narrative role in the property crime type

Narrative role	Cases (N)	Percentage
Professional	2	11%
Hero	0	0%
Revenger	7	39%
Victim	8	44%
Hybrid	1	6%

Table 8 xxxviii- shows the number of cases allocated to each narrative role in the personal crime type

Narrative role	Cases (N)	Percentage
Professional	4	100%
Hero	0	0%
Revenger	0	0%
Victim	0	0%
Hybrid	0	0%

Table 8 xxxix- shows the number of cases allocated to each narrative role in the sensory crime type

Discussion

In the Hungarian data in relation to property crime 92% of cases (N=56) were categorised as pure cases and 8% (N=5) were hybrid cases. The most allocated role within the property crime type was the Professional (N=42), followed by the Hero role (N=14). In relation to personal crime 84% of cases (N=21) were categorised as pure cases and 16% (N=4) were hybrid cases. The most allocated role within the personal crime type was Professional (N=13), followed by the Hero role (N=6). In relation to sensory crime 71% (N=5) were categorised as pure cases and 29% (N=2) were hybrid. The most allocated role within the sensory crime type was the Professional (N=4).

In the Italian data in relation to property crime 81% of cases (N=17) were categorised as pure cases and 19% (N=4) were hybrid cases. The most allocated role within the property crime type was the Professional (N=12), followed by the victim role (N=4). In relation to personal crime 81% of cases (N=9) were categorised as pure cases and 18% (N=2) were hybrid cases. The most allocated role

within the personal crime type was Professional (N=4), followed by the Revenger role (N=3). In relation to sensory crime 83% (N=5) were categorised as pure cases and 17% (N=1) were hybrid. The most allocated role within the sensory crime type was the Professional (N=5).

In the Polish data in relation to property crime 90% of cases (N=27) were categorised as pure cases and 10% (N=3) were hybrid cases. The most allocated role within the property crime type was the Professional (N=11), followed by the Revenger role (N=9). In relation to personal crime 96% of cases (N=17) were categorised as pure cases and 4% (N=1) were hybrid cases. The most allocated role within the personal crime type was Victim (N=8), followed by the Revenger role (N=7). In relation to sensory crime 100% (N=4) were categorised as pure cases. The only role allocated within sensory crime was the Professional.

To summarise, across each of the different cultures the most dominant narrative role was the Professional. However, there does not appear to be a distinct pattern in relation to the different types of crime apart from in relation to sensory crime in that within each different culture the dominant narrative is the Professional role. Due to the limited sample numbers in some of the crime across types and across the cultures, further future analyses could focus on strengthening this area.

Chapter summary

The analyses aimed to determine whether there is a relationship between crimes types namely property, personal and sensory crime and narrative roles. Furthermore, to identify if dominant narrative roles exist within the different types of crime. Results suggested there was an association with some types of crime and roles, with significant correlations being found between the roles the Professional, Hero and Revenger predominantly across all crime type. There was a significant negative correlation found between the roles Professional and Victim in relation to personal crime which is as expected. Finally, on exploring the dominant narratives the Professional role was revealed on a high proportion of the samples and across all crime types. Therefore, dominant narratives could not necessarily be distinguished in terms of types of crime within this study.

Chapter 9

Study 2: An exploratory study of the narrative roles of the general population

Aims and objectives

Before the development of a Narrative approach to study Criminality, it was initially adopted in relation to examining phenomena within a general population sample. Research has shown that the Narrative approach can be beneficial in understanding aspects of non-criminal behaviour. Both Crossley (2000) and McLeod (1997) discuss the importance and usefulness of the narrative approach in relation to utilising this approach to explain human behaviour. In particular, McLeod (1997) reviews this approach and its history within Psychotherapy. Researchers such as McAdams (1988) and Frye (1957) adopted the narrative approach within their research, Frye's (1957) theory of Mythoi was based upon a general population sample, therefore the current research aims to explore the narrative roles of a general population sample and identify if the Narrative roles framework can be adapted to incorporate positive life narratives and events as well as criminal events.

The main aims of study 2 are;

- To identify if there is the existence of narrative roles in relation to a significant event

The specific objectives of study 2 are;

- To explore the applicability of the NRQ in relation to the general population
- To explore the applicability of the NRQ on a predominantly female sample

Smallest space analysis

In order to explore the narrative themes within the non-offender sample, SSA-I will be utilised as the method to explore the co-occurrence between the role items. As previously discussed, the use of SSA within narrative research has been suggested to be a reliable method and allows for the visual examination of the items within a geometric space. This method of analysis has been successful in a

number of studies from intelligence (Guttman, 1954) to criminal actions (e.g., Canter and Fritzon, 1998; Canter and Heritage, 1989; Salfati, 2000), therefore demonstrating the appropriateness as a method of analysis within the current study.

The three-dimensional SSA solution has a Guttman – Lingo coefficient of alienation 0.169, showing a good fit between the Pearson's coefficients of the narrative role variables and their corresponding geometric distances in the configuration. The three-dimensional solution was adopted within this analysis as the level of co-efficient of alienation demonstrated within this configuration is very satisfactory and describes the relationship between the items better than the two-dimensional configuration. Figure 9i shows the projection of vector 1 by vector 2 of the three-dimensional space within 12 iterations.

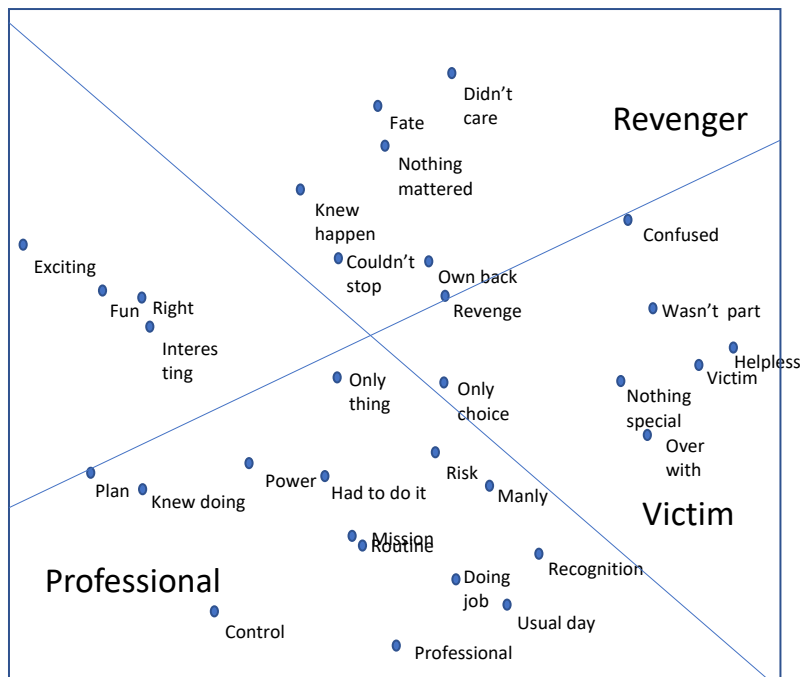


Figure 9 i- 1 by 2 Projection of the three-dimensional Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) of Narrative roles within a general population sample. Coefficient of Alienation = 0.16932.

Themes within the SSA configuration

In order to make comparisons between the general population narrative roles and the offender narratives role, the same 32 items of the NRQ were explored. This leaves 20 NRQ items which have not been explored within this particular part of the study. These will be examined later within the study. The first objective of the study was to identify if there is the existence of narrative roles in relation to a significant event within a general population sample. Additionally, to identify if these roles are the same as revealed within an offender sample, these being Professional, Hero, Revenger and Victim (Youngs & Canter, 2011, 2012). In order to explore the SSA, the configuration is visually examined to identify if there are any emerging themes within the narrative role items. On examination of the configuration, there appears to be the emergence of some distinct themes within the SSA, these appear to be similar to the proposed Narrative roles framework by Canter and Youngs (2009). However, there also appears to be a distinct grouping of variables within an undefined region, this will be discussed further. In relation Russell's (1997) Circumplex of emotions, there appears to be the existence of the pleasure-displeasure axis and the arousal and non-arousal axis. Items of the left of the configuration suggest pleasurable experiences, whereas on the opposite axis to the right of the configuration suggests displeasurable experiences. Below, the four narrative role themes are presented based on the grouping of the narrative role variables.

The Professional

The SSA region contains items which suggest The Professional narrative theme, it describes an individual who sees an experience as being routine and planned, additionally the role suggests an individual who is in control and holds power. The region contains the items; 1. Professional, 2. Usual day, 3. Doing job, 4. Recognition, 5. Control, 6. Routine, 7. Mission, 8. Manly, 9. Risk, 10. Had to do it, 11. Only thing, 12. Power, 13. Knew doing and 14. Plan.

The Victim

The SSA region contains items which suggest the Victim narrative theme, it describes an individual who see themselves as a victim and someone who is helpless and not in control over what is happening. The region contains the items; 1. Victim, 2. Confused, 3. Helpless, 4. Over with, 5. Nothing special, 6. Only choice, and 7. Wasn't part.

The Revenger

The SSA region contains items which suggest the Revenger narrative theme, it describes an individual whose primary focus is on seeking revenge and getting their own back to rectify a wrongdoing and restore balance. They perceive themselves as being on a mission and are aware of the consequences but are willing to deal with these to right the wrongs. The region contains the items; 1. Couldn't stop, 2. Didn't care, 3. Revenge, 4. Own back, 5. Knew happen, 6. Nothing mattered and 7. Fate.

The Optimist

A final region within the configuration contains the items 1. Exciting, 2. Fun, 3. Interesting and 4. Right. This suggests a narrative which is focused on a positive experience.

It can be suggested from the SSA configuration that there is not the existence of the Hero narrative role as found within the offender samples. Many of the items which have previously been associated with the Hero narrative fall within different areas of the configuration and support the existence of the other three themes discussed above. It could be suggested that within a general population sample there is no hero narrative theme, as typically individuals do not experience this narrative and in particular in relation to a positive significant event, in contrast to a negative event such as crime.

Further analysis on 52 item Narrative roles questionnaire

The remaining variables which had been excluded for comparison purposes were examined together with the other 32 variables using SSA-I. The configuration will be discussed in relation to the differences within the configuration with the addition of further role items.

The three-dimensional SSA solution has a Guttman – Lingoes coefficient of alienation 0.166, showing a good fit between the Pearson's coefficients of the narrative role variables and their corresponding geometric distances in the configuration. The three-dimensional solution was adopted within this analysis as the level of co-efficient of alienation demonstrated within this configuration is very satisfactory and describes the relationship between the items better than the two-dimensional configuration. Figure 9ii shows the projection of vector 1 by vector 2 of the three-dimensional space within 12 iterations.

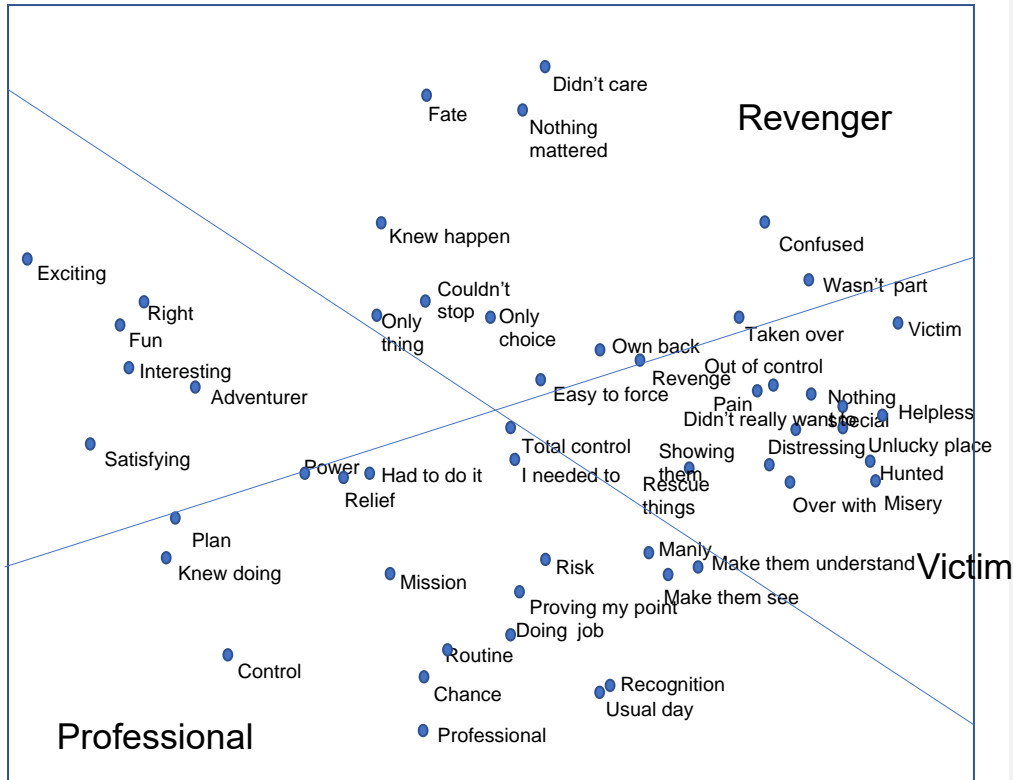


Figure 9 ii- 1 by 2 Projection of the three-dimensional Smallest Space Analysis (SSA) of Narrative roles within a general population. Coefficient of Alienation = 0.16649.

On examination of the configuration, there appears to be the emergence of some distinct themes within the SSA, these appear to be similar to the proposed Narrative roles framework by Canter and Youngs (2009). However, there also appears to be a distinct grouping of variables within an undefined region, this will be discussed further. In comparison to the SSA configuration of 32 role items, there appears to be the same themes revealed within the configuration. To the right region of the configuration, there appears to be items together which suggest the Victim role. Towards the bottom of the configuration, there are items which suggest the Professional role. At the top of the configuration, there are items which suggest the Revenger role, and finally to the left region of the configuration there is an undefined region which includes items which suggest a positive experience and narrative.

Reliability analysis

Narrative roles				
	Professional	Revenger	Victim	?
	Professional	Own back	Only choice	Exciting
	Control	Revenge	Confused	Fun
Non offender sample	Doing job	Couldn't stop	Wasn't part	Interesting
(N=63)	Usual day	Knew happen	Helpless	Right
	Recognition	Nothing mattered	Victim	
	Mission	Fate	Nothing special	
	Routine	Didn't care	Over with	
	Manly			
	Risk			
	Had to do it			
	Only thing			
	Power			
	Knew doing			
	Plan			
No. of items	14	7	7	4
Cronbach Alpha	0.827	0.604	0.727	0.748

Table 9 i- Cronbach alpha scores for narrative roles of a general population sample for the 32 item NRQ

Cronbach alpha scores were determined for the narrative role themes that were revealed within the SSA configuration in order to verify the internal reliability of the items that make up each of the narrative themes. The reliability coefficient of Cronbach's alpha ranges between 0 and 1. Therefore, the closer the Cronbach's alpha value is to 1, the greater the internal reliability of the role items in the scale. Analysis showed that each of the scales had a high internal consistency, the Professional consisting of 14 items has an alpha co-efficient of .827, The Revenger consisting of 7 items an alpha co-efficient of .604, the Victim consisting of 7 items an alpha co-efficient of .727 and the Positive consisting of 4 items an alpha co-efficient of .748. Therefore, suggesting that each of the items assigned to the four themes is a strong representation of the scale that it is measuring.

In relation to the 52-item version of the NRQ, analysis showed high internal reliability for each of the roles. Table 9ii shows the number of items and internal reliability for each narrative theme.

Narrative roles				
	Professional	Revenge	Victim	Positive
	Professional	Own back	Misery	Exciting
	Control	Revenge	Confused	Fun
Non offender sample	Doing job	Couldn't stop	Wasn't part	Interesting
(N=63)	Usual day	Knew happen	Helpless	Right
	Recognition	Nothing mattered	Victim	Adventurer
	Mission	Fate	Nothing special	Satisfying
	Routine	Didn't care	Over with	
	Manly	Easy to force	Hunted	
	Risk	Only thing	Rescue things	
	Had to do it	Only choice	Showing them	
	Chance		Unlucky place	
	Power		Distressing	
	Knew doing		Didn't want to	
	Plan		Out of control	
	Proving point		Pain	
	Relief		Taken over	
	Total control			
	Needed to			
	Make them understand			
	Make them see			
No. of items	20	10	16	6
Cronbach Alpha	0.883	0.645	0.869	0.754

Table 9 ii- Cronbach alpha scores for narrative roles of the general population sample for the 52 item NRQ

Chapter Summary

In this study, the Narrative roles questionnaire was utilised as a measure to explore the narrative roles of a general population sample. Findings suggest the existence of four narrative roles which closely resemble Canter and Youngs (2012) narrative roles framework, however the Hero narrative role did not appear to be revealed within the configuration. Instead, there was the existence of a role which suggested an individual who was part of a positive experience and happiness. This role needs to be explored further to be able to define the specific role.

Part 3

Discussion and Conclusions

Chapter 10: Discussions and Conclusions

The main aim of study one was to explore the use of the Narrative roles questionnaire (NRQ) in relation to offender samples drawn from different European countries. Its primary aim was to ascertain whether the four dominant narrative roles identified in UK samples by Canter and Youngs (2011; 2012) are cross-culturally relevant. The secondary aim was to consider how emotions were experienced across the European countries in relation to UK offenders. A final aim was to explore the impact of crime types on narrative roles, again completing a cross cultural comparison. Following on from this in study two, the NRQ was examined to identify whether it is applicable for use on a general population sample in relation to significant events which are not crime related. Furthermore, the sample used was predominantly females, therefore it allowed for investigating further issues around the validity of the NRQ when used with women. The general findings are discussed initially followed by more specific findings for each of the studies.

Findings from Study 1: A Cross cultural comparison of offenders

The first aim of this study was to examine the narrative roles revealed by offenders across three European countries and identify if these could be distinguished into the four narrative roles proposed by Canter and Youngs (2011). Further, to examine if there are cultural differences between each of the data samples in relation to the narrative roles revealed. Additionally, a specific objective was to explore if there is evidence to support narratives being underpinned by a combination of cognitive, affective and identity components. Finally, to investigate the relationship of these narratives with Frye's (1957) archetypal stories.

From the visual examinations of the SSA configuration, findings suggest the existence of four narrative roles being revealed with the plots for each of the three data sets (Hungarian, Italian and Polish). Additionally, there were similarities in comparison to the published UK configuration (Canter and Youngs, 2011). Each of the three data sets, provides evidence to support the suggested integrated model of narrative roles, which focuses on the principles that narrative roles are drawn together by the underpinning concepts of an offender's interpretation (Cognitive component), emotional experience (Affective component) and self-awareness (Identity component). Findings suggest there does not appear to be any association between the differences where the items are located within the

configuration and which component underpins the items. There are however more items which are underpinned by the cognitive component within the minimal amount of items discussed, loosely suggesting that there could be some issues with how an offender interprets their actions and the actual crime which could impact how they respond to the NRQ questions. These differences could be suggested to be explained by the individual differences of each of the offenders and how they understand the statements.

Generally, the highest averages within each data sample are associated with the roles Professional and Hero, suggesting that the emotions experienced more intensely are by offenders who identify with these narrative roles. Drawing on previous evidence found in the current thesis, the roles of the Professional and Hero are more closely associated with a pleasurable and positive experience in contrast to the Victim and Revenger, therefore the current findings suggest that offenders experience pleasurable experiences more intensely than displeasurable ones within the current data sets used.

The correlations found between the Professional and Hero roles are as expected due to the underlying experience of the role being one of that describes a pleasurable or positive experience. However, no significant correlations were found between the Revenger and Victim roles as proposed by the hypotheses, this was suggested due to the underlying experience being one that describes a negative or displeasurable experience within both roles. There were also significant correlations found between the roles Hero and Revenger and Hero and Victim, this supports the proposal that these narratives show a circular order equivalent to Frye's four story forms and, as previously suggested by Frye (1957). The correlation results along with the interpretations of the SSA configuration demonstrates that although each of the narrative roles is a distinct theme, they each relate to one another and there is overlap between the themes. These results support previous research (Ioannou, 2006; Canter and Youngs, 2009) that the narrative roles are revealed in a circular way and that they reflect Frye's (1957) theory of Mythoi.

In the second analysis of study one, one of the main aim was to explore whether the different narrative roles are associated with different emotions and to examine the intensity of the emotions committed. An objective of this analysis was to explore the range of emotions experienced by offenders across each of the different cultures and see if these relate to Russell's (1997) Circumplex of emotions model.

The findings from the SSA supports Russell's (1997) Circumplex of emotions and provides supportive evidence of the existence of a pleasure-displeasure axis but does not fully support a differentiation between an arousal-non-arousal axis. Additionally, the SSA revealed the existence of four distinct

regions of emotions; Calm, Elation, Depression and Distress which again can be related to Russell's earlier work, supporting the idea that offenders' experience the same range of emotions as non-offenders whilst committing their crime. The current research does not lend support to Canter and Ioannou (2004) who suggested that more intense emotions were found to be located in the SSA at the extremes of the axis of pleasure-displeasure. In this particular sample, there does not appear to be a consistent relationship to suggest that offenders may experience some emotions more intensely than others, however it does support the idea that offenders experience a range of emotions similarly to the general population, which supports previous research by Canter and Ioannou (2004) and Ioannou, Canter and Youngs (2017). Additionally, the current research highlights the proposed idea by Katz (1988) that emotions are an important aspect of offending behaviour and are crucial in order to understand criminal behaviour and actions an offender may take.

The most frequent emotion experienced was that of Depression across each of the cultural samples. The results indicate that the majority of offenders were only experiencing one type of emotion during the crime. The correlation analysis findings found a significant positive correlation between Calm and Elation and additionally, Depression and Distress. On the other hand, significant negative correlations were found between Calm and Depression, Calm and Distress, Elation and Depression and Elation and Distress. These findings support the proposed hypothesis as they support the idea that the emotion themes Calm and Elation are associated with positive experiences, whereas Depression and Distress are associated with negative experiences. Therefore, the correlations found are as expected and the findings support the idea that offenders experience the same range of emotions as the general population.

In the final analysis of study one, one of the main aims was to explore whether there are any cross-cultural differences in relation to the type of crime and the roles revealed. Furthermore, an objective was to identify if dominant narrative roles are associated with different types of crime (Property, personal and sensory crime), in line with the findings from Canter, Youngs, Ioannou and Synnott (2017). The results suggested that in the sample utilised the dominant role for each of the types of crime was the Professional role, however this is not in line with previous research. Furthermore, correlation analyses did find some significant correlations between the Professional and Hero as expected but also with the Revenger. Finally a significant negative correlation was found in relation to the Professional and victim, which is as expected as they appear to have the least association and this is evidenced within the SSA configuration.

Findings from Study 2

The main aim of the study was to explore the NRQ in relation to a general population sample and in relation to a positive significant event, in contrast to a negative significant event (i.e., Crime). The purpose was to examine whether the NRQ was an adaptable measure of narrative roles in relation to different samples, rather than being a specific measure in relation to offenders. Furthermore, the general population sample consisted of predominantly female participants, therefore an objective was to explore the applicability of the NRQ for use with females in the general population.

Findings suggested on examination of the SSA configuration, that there appeared to be the emergence of some distinct themes within the SSA, these appear to be similar to the proposed Narrative Roles Framework by Canter and Youngs (2012). However, the Hero narrative role did not appear to be revealed within the configuration. Instead there was the existence of a role which suggested an individual who was part of a positive experience and happiness. This role needs to be explored further to be able to define the specific role but on initial exploration this has been term 'the optimist' as a potential new narrative. As the sample was predominantly female, this may have had an impact on the narratives expressed, however there is no research currently which focuses solely on narratives roles of female offenders. Research by Ciesla, Ioannou and Hammond (2019) utilised the criminal narrative experience (CNE) which incorporates roles and emotions in relation to a sample of female offenders, therefore it is difficult to make reliable comparisons between to two. However, the results from the above mentioned study suggested that there were only two roles which were 'Avenging angel' which relates to the Revenger role and 'Choiceless victim' which relates to the victim. Therefore, further study is needed in this area in order to draw conclusive results.

Implications

The development of the NRQ was focused on being used as a tool in order to explore the experiences of crime from the perspective of the offender. Although this is the predominant use, the foundation of the tool and approach is based on the narratives of the general population and non-offender research. Although a significant amount of research has been completed which utilises the NRQ and Canter and Youngs (2012) narrative framework, there still appears to be a gap within the knowledge and applicability of this framework. The current thesis aimed to explore some of these reliability and validity

issues by adding to the research and literature within this specific area. By expanding the samples which have been used with the NRQ particularly in relation to the cross-cultural analysis, this builds on many of the limitations which have been suggested by previous studies (Youngs and Canter, 2012). Furthermore, cross-cultural analysis was completed in relation to the emotions offenders experience whilst committing crime, which again is an area which has been limited and has predominantly focused on a UK sample. A further layer was added to this research in that type of crime was studied in relation to each of the different cultural samples and Youngs (2006) incentives of crime was used to classify the crime types, these being property, personal and sensory crime. Prior to the current research, this type of analysis has not been completed and in particular with the variety of data which the current thesis has utilised.

A final contribution from this research relates to the explanatory study around using the NRQ as a general narrative collection tool. Although previous research has utilised the NRQ with 'non-incarcerated offender' (Carty, 2013) this focused on deviant life episodes, therefore it still remained focused on deviancy and anti-social events. The current research aimed to explore the significant events which were focused on a positive experience rather than negative such as crime.

Theoretical contributions

The current thesis has highlighted the significance and the benefits of adopting a narrative approach to the study of criminal behaviour. Although the current research is not a completely new theoretical approach of studying criminality, it does further strengthen knowledge within this already established framework, such as reviewing and developing the use of the NRQ in relation to different sample demographics for example, non-offenders. The narrative method allows for the bringing together of the different approaches which provide explanations for criminality such as social and cognitive factors, as well as allowing the offender to be an active agent within the commission of their crime. This allows for the extraction of rich psychological data as it comes from the individual who understands the behaviour the best and allows for further understanding of underlying thought processes and motivation. As the study expanded on the data samples used, this allowed for the established frameworks to be examined to identify if they are reliable across different samples of offenders with different background characteristics and types of crime. The results found from the use of the NRQ with a general population sample and in relation to a significant event provides an original contribution to the study of narratives as the NRQ has not been used in this way before. Additionally, the findings suggest the existence of narrative roles within positive events, in particular they demonstrated roles which were in line with Youngs and Canter's (2012) narrative framework. However, there appeared to

be revealed a new role which can be identified as being a narrative of positivity. As mentioned this is an original contribution to the area of narratives and adds to the empirical evidence to suggest that the narrative roles framework is adaptable and roles exist not just in relation to offenders and negative events, but also in relation to the general public and positive events.

A further methodological contribution the current thesis provides is the advancement in theoretical knowledge of criminal experience based on existing literature on narratives and emotions. It demonstrates the usefulness of using existing theories which are applied to the general population to attempt to explain criminality. For example, Frye's (1957) theory of Mythoi and Russell's (1997) Circumplex of emotion were all previously discussed in terms of a general population sample, however evidence suggests that these models are adaptable and can be used with specialist sample groups such as offenders.

Finally, a further contribution to knowledge was in relation to the data samples used, although specific analyses or distinctions were made in relation to the different offender samples, it is clear from the findings that the methods utilised to collect rich data is adaptable. Additionally, that the Narrative roles framework is generalisable across different countries, languages and cultures as a similar framework was found within all three samples.

As discussed throughout the current thesis, a narrative approach to attempting to understand an individual's story has demonstrated to be a reliable and fruitful method to adopt in order to uncover the hidden narratives behind behaviours and actions, not just in relation to the narrative of offenders but also in relation to how non offenders narrate positive events within their life.

Practical Implications

Youngs and Canter (2011) and Canter, Kaouri and Ioannou (2003) suggested that in order to provide the most successful treatment interventions and rehabilitation for offenders that a better insight and understanding into the motivations and cognition of the offenders needs to be gained. The practical implication of this research on offender's narrative roles is that it can inform the design and modification of treatments/ interventions that are based on Narrative Therapy (White, 1995). Narrative therapy includes treatment around life stories (McAdams, 1999; Madigan, 2011), intimate life stories (Sternberg, 1998), and stories focusing on family (Fiese, Sameroff, Grotevant, Wamboldt, Dickstein & Fravel, 1999; Etchison & Kleist, 2000). Research conducted by Adler, Wagner and McAdams (2007) suggested that the construction of good life narratives around emotional and difficult events is especially important for mental health. Therefore, highlighting the significance of Narrative-

based therapy in potentially evolving and changing life narratives for a more positive perception of the self. This highlighted the significance of Narrative based therapy in potentially evolving and changing life narratives for a more positive perception of the self. Studying an individual's life story allows for information to be gathered straight from the 'expert' or the source, therefore being an invaluable methodology. As narratives are at the heart of our identity and our understanding of the self, it has been suggested that they have the potential to influence our future behaviour (McAdams, 2001; Presser, 2009). Thus, they may have the ability to influence continued criminal behaviour or promote desistance (Maruna & Copes, 2005). It has been proposed that Narrative Therapy, which aligns with the Good Lives model of offender rehabilitation (Ward, Mann & Gannon, 2006; Ward & Stewart, 2003), could be used to assist offenders to move towards desistance (Morash, Stone, Hoskins, Kashy & Cobbina, 2020).

Building upon the highlighted limitations of the NRQ and the narrative approach, a suggested practical implication could be to further develop the narrative framework in order to consider the 'here and now' and the current narrative of offenders. This would allow for understanding around how an individual conceptualises and explains their thoughts, feelings, and behaviours in relation to a crime they have committed. Specifically, how they may provide justifications or reasoning for their crime, as these insights may provide more explanation to the motivations of the individual. Furthermore, by working with offenders and routinely collecting information about their narratives this could be a useful tool to measure change and whether an individual is shifting towards desistance or becoming ready for treatment or is in fact at risk of further recidivism. As suggested the current narrative roles framework would need to be developed and modified so that it is not based on post crime verbalisations, but is based on the current thoughts and feelings in relation to a crime they have committed.

In terms of the development of treatment and interventions it could be suggested that each role or narrative would need a specifically tailored treatment approach due to the differences in the characteristics of the roles and what underpins them. For example, an offender who identifies within a Victim role may benefit from an approach which does not allow for the individual to be consumed by their own narrative of self-pity and lack of control. Instead it would be more effective to unpick the factors which influence this narrative being played.

Strengths and Limitations

As discussed in chapter two, the narrative roles framework and the theoretical approach to criminal narratives has several limitations thus some of these shortcomings are apparent in the current

research. However, one of the main objectives of the current research was to explore the issues of applicability, reliability and validity of the narrative roles framework.

One of the major drawbacks of the narrative roles framework is in relation to the stability of the roles and how it does not account for generalist offenders. The framework makes the assumption that an offender relates to a particular dominant role on a given crime, however it is not known whether the framework would be reliable for an offender across the commission of the same type of crime across their offending lifespan or for a generalist offender who commits many different types of crime. Research comparing offenders across different crime types and over a longitudinal period of time has not been explored. This is particularly important as an identified limitation of narrative research and particularly in regard to the collection of narrative data is the suggestion that information collected following the crime and/or post sentencing is able to highlight the individual's thoughts, feeling and motivations during the crime taking place.

Furthermore, there is limited consideration in the literature based on the NRQ regarding whether an offender's narrative role can change and only considers how the individual feels at the time of the offence. However, the findings from narrative criminologists (e.g., Stone, 2016), suggests that narrative-identity changes for offenders to manage to successfully desist from crime. Currently, the ability of the NRQ to capture potential change in narrative roles between the onset of crime, maintenance and desistance from crime is limited. Therefore, when exploring the benefits of the NRQ and narrative roles as an effective tool and framework, it does in fact have many areas of weakness which fails to consider important factors which need to be understood if we are to hopefully gather an extensive understanding of what motivates, sustains and stops an individual from committing crime.

As discussed in the main body of this thesis, there are a number of highlighted methodological issues which have been raised in relation to the proposed purpose of the NRQ and how it is presented as a tool to collect post verbalisations of offences that have been committed. Additionally, as stated Ward (2012) identified a number of issues around subjectivity of the interpretation of the revealed narrative roles, issues of reliability and also validity. Siesmaa (2020) in her doctoral thesis aimed to assess some of these shortcomings and developed a coding framework as a way to overcome some of the issues around subjectivity. Although this provided a useful comparison between different male population samples and provided some further evidence, it did confirm some of the methodological limitations were still present. Canter and Youngs (2015) developed a further tool termed the LAAF which is based on a more fictional method of eliciting stories from individuals. Bamberg (2011) supported the idea that information regarding the self and identity are more likely to emerge if fictional

frame is provided. In terms of progressing within this area, this approach appears to overcome some of the methodological issues in that it is less subjective in that a detailed content framework has been developed (Canter & Youngs, 2015). Furthermore, the LAAF does not singularly focus upon criminal behaviour but also different aspects of identity and personal narrative. The LAAF framework allows the researcher to access narratives at different points in time, for example the present time as opposed to the time of the offence. This is suggested to be important as it allows understanding of the corresponding relationship between narratives and experience (Brookman, 2015; Kang, Kruttschnitt & Goodman, 2017). Additionally, this aims to overcome the limitation in relation to the stability of narratives and how through the life course they are likely to change dependent on events and changes within an individual's life.

One of the main strengths of the current research is the exploration of unique and rich data which has not been published or fully analysed in previous research. The majority of all of the research which has been conducted using the NRQ and narrative roles framework is based on UK offender samples and these are restricted to only a small number of different samples from an established database (Canter, Kaouri and Youngs, 2003; Canter and Youngs, 2011, 2012; Canter and Youngs, 2009; Youngs and Canter, 2012; Ioannou, Canter, Youngs and Synnott, 2015 and Ioannou, Canter and Youngs, 2017). Although this has provided a foundation for much of the proposed narrative framework, it is not known whether this approach can be generalised across cultures other than the UK. Therefore, this is the area in which the current research aimed to expand by comparing samples from Hungary, Italy and Poland with UK data.

In relation to the general population sample, a limitation of this data relates to the unequal number of female to male participants. Therefore, this unbalanced sample was used to the advantage of the researcher in order to establish an objective to focused purely on the generalisability of the NRQ in relation to females in a general population sample. Again, this is an area which has been under-explored at the present time, with the exception of Ciesla, Ioannou & Hammond (2019) Furthermore, when utilising general population data an assumption is made that participants could be identified as 'non-offenders', and these would be different to 'offenders'. Research suggests that there are some limitations when determining how to classify groups, as self-report measures can be affected by concealment (Jolliffe & Farrington, 2007). Furthermore, Farrington, Jolliffe, Hawkins, Catalano, Hill and Kosterman (2003) found in their study that 63% of those who disclosed they had committed an offence, did not result in receiving an official criminal record. Therefore, when completing direct comparisons, it is important to consider this limitation and take necessary steps to overcome this, for example incorporating official Police records, if available.

A final limitation relates to the classification of crime types and the incentives of crime method which was adopted. Following exploration of each cultural sample, a number of the crime type categories had to be excluded from the analysis due to limited numbers of participants. Therefore, the final analysis predominantly focused on property crime and the differences across each of the three cultures in comparison with the UK published sample. This in itself limits the conclusions which can be drawn and identifies a key area which needs consideration if the NRQ was to be utilised on further offender samples in the future.

Future directions

Although the narrative approach does provide a comprehensive framework to study criminal behaviour, the findings of the present study do highlight some limitations that need to be addressed. The present studies focused on a large sample of offenders, however, these were all male offenders. Further research needs to be conducted which focuses on female offenders due to the differences research has found in relation to the type of crime and criminal actions in which female offenders engage. Therefore, the results from the present study are confined to the perspective of male offenders. Therefore, one interesting development would be to examine emotions and criminal narratives from a female perspective and investigate whether male and female offenders experience different emotions and act out different roles when committing crimes. Additionally, further research needs to explore further the cultural relevance of these narrative roles beyond European countries and how culture interacts with emotions and narrative roles. The current thesis did explore cultural differences across three European countries which were deemed individualistic cultures, therefore a consideration could be to complete a cross cultural analysis in countries which are collectivistic and explore whether there are any differences across the different cultural dimensions.

Additionally, exploring culture can be challenging and due to the diversity of many countries it is not known whether this may have an impact on the suggested cultural differences. The use of a further measure could be useful to directly gather information which could relate to cultural differences for future research. A larger scale cross-cultural investigation would be particularly useful to compare and contrast more cultures as it is unknown whether offenders understand concepts such as different emotions and different narrative roles across different cultures. For example, other cultures may have a smaller or greater variety of story forms available.

The proposed framework has the potential to be applied to a variety of offences and thus it should not be limited in its use to the crimes studied here but also applied to other types of crimes. For example,

the study was restricted to solo offenders with one target, however exploring gang-related crime, co-offenders, or offenders who commit serial crimes could be useful. The use of the NRQ in relation to a significant positive event and also with the general population was a unique attempt within this thesis to examine the narratives of offenders and also to examine the reliability and validity of the NRQ as an instrument to collect psychologically rich narrative data.

As mentioned, the general population sample was predominantly females, therefore further research could aim to explore a male perspective and provide a comparison between the genders. As mentioned there has been many limitations highlighted in relation to the use of the NRQ and the validity and reliability of it as a tool to collect narrative data in relation to an offence an individual has committed. As discussed within this thesis, further development of a narrative framework could potentially have many benefits in relation to the treatment and rehabilitation of offenders, however further methodological revision needs to occur in terms of the tool utilised to do this. As highlighted above, the LAAF appears to overcome some of the limitations of the NRQ, therefore as a future direction this could be utilised with further samples of individuals to determine whether it is a reliable and valid tool to be utilised in the future. This thesis did not specifically deal with the issues mentioned above that need to be addressed in future studies in this area. However, this does not decrease the value of the findings from the present research. Thus, the lack of studies regarding the experience of crime demonstrates the need to fill this gap and motivate further research to be completed within this area. The present study aimed to address some of the previous gaps within the research area. The findings and conclusions from the study add weight to the usefulness of the narrative approach as a method to study criminality and potentially the 'treatment' of the offending population.

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Appendix A- Resources used for the offender studies

CY-NEIP v1

Section 1. Offender consent form.

Please take the time to read the following information carefully. Ask us if there is anything you do not understand or if you would like more information.

The interview is entirely **confidential**, and will explore your particular experiences that you have had and how you feel about them. The only people that will have access to any information obtained from the interview will be qualified researchers. Your name (or any other identifiable characteristics) will not appear anywhere in the study. Some portions of the interview may be reproduced in the materials that result from this research, but respondents will remain **anonymous** in any such documents. Your name will only appear on this consent form, and this will be kept separate from the material obtained from your interview.

Please now read and sign the following consent form.

I confirm that I have read and understand the information for the above study.
I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without my legal rights being affected.
I understand that none of my personal details will be recorded and that my responses are anonymous.
I agree to take part in the above study.

Name of Participant Date Signature

Researcher Date Signature

Thank you very much for agreeing to take part in this study.

**Crime Interview:
INITIAL ACCOUNT**

Crime narrative.

I would like you to tell me about and an offence that you have committed and can remember clearly. Describe one that is typical of the type of offences you have carried out in the past (except for murder then describe that). If you have only committed the offence you are incarcerated for then describe that. Please tell me in as much details about the event.

4. Tell me more, what happened.
5. Tell me who else it involved
6. Tell me what impact it had on your life

DETAILED ACCOUNT

Note to interviewers:

Idea is ask to describe in as much detail as possible. Use question prompts to ensure you are getting the richest and fullest possible description, so should ask all, even if it means some repetition. Asking all the questions will also help us to understand how to interpret missing information (i.e. if you ask all the questions and they don't mention e.g. a weapon, we can assume they didn't have one).

So output will be a free text account that we content analyse, not set of answers to specific questions.

Description of a Crime

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

BEFORE

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

What preparations, if any, did you make?

What type of place or person did you pick?

Who did you go with?

What did you take with you?

What did you do before you started?

How did you start the crime?

Did anyone see you starting the crime? Yes_____ No_____

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

What happened next?

DURING: THE DETAIL OF THE MAIN EVENT

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

So what did you actually do?:

i.e. (property crime) what did you nick?

i.e. (Person/ Damage Crime) what did you actually do to the person or place?

Burglary Specific questions:

How did you get in?

What did you do as soon as you were inside the house?

What else did you do inside the house?

What did you do to make sure you were safe from the people that lived there?

Did the people living in the house come across you? Yes _____ No _____
IF yes, what did you do?

Alternatives

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

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

What else could you have done or taken that you didn't? If so why?
(Property crime) What stuff did you leave behind that you could have taken?
(Person crime/ Damage crime) So why did you stop/ leave it there?

You said your main reasons/ purpose was.... Why did you choose this/ get this by doing this particular crime, rather than another type?

CHANGES due to SITUATIONAL FACTORS or INTERACTIONS

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

Did anything unexpected happen? How did this change what you did?
Did anyone/ the person do anything you didn't expect? So what did you do?
Was there anything in the place or about the place that you didn't expect? So what did you do?

ENDING

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

How did you get out or away?

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

OVERVIEW

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

VERY STRONG	STRONG	QUITE STRONG	WEAK	VERY WEAK

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

	Not at all	Just a little	Some	A lot	Very Much
1. Lonely	1	2	3	4	5

2. Scared	1	2	3	4	5
3. Exhilarated	1	2	3	4	5
4. Confident	1	2	3	4	5
5. Upset	1	2	3	4	5
6. Pleased	1	2	3	4	5
7. Calm	1	2	3	4	5
8. Safe	1	2	3	4	5
9. Worried	1	2	3	4	5
10. Depressed	1	2	3	4	5
11. Enthusiastic	1	2	3	4	5
12. Thoughtful	1	2	3	4	5
13. Annoyed	1	2	3	4	5
14. Angry	1	2	3	4	5
15. Sad	1	2	3	4	5
16. Excited	1	2	3	4	5
17. Confused	1	2	3	4	5
18. Miserable	1	2	3	4	5
19. Irritated	1	2	3	4	5
20. Relaxed	1	2	3	4	5
21. Delighted	1	2	3	4	5
22. Unhappy	1	2	3	4	5
23. Courageous	1	2	3	4	5
24. Contented	1	2	3	4	5
25. Manly	1	2	3	4	5
26. Pointless	1	2	3	4	5

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

	Not at all	Just a little	Some	A lot	Very Much
1. I was like a professional	1	2	3	4	5
2. I had to do it	1	2	3	4	5
3. It was fun	1	2	3	4	5
4. It was right	1	2	3	4	5
5. It was interesting	1	2	3	4	5
6. It was like an adventure	1	2	3	4	5
7. It was routine	1	2	3	4	5
8. I was in control	1	2	3	4	5
9. It was exciting	1	2	3	4	5
10. I was doing a job	1	2	3	4	5
11. I knew what I was doing	1	2	3	4	5
12. It was the only thing to do	1	2	3	4	5
13. It was a mission	1	2	3	4	5
14. Nothing else mattered	1	2	3	4	5
15. I had power	1	2	3	4	5
16. I was helpless	1	2	3	4	5
17. It was my only choice	1	2	3	4	5
18. I was a victim	1	2	3	4	5
19. I was confused about what was happening	1	2	3	4	5
20. I was looking for recognition	1	2	3	4	5

21. I just wanted to get it over with	1	2	3	4	5
22. I didn't care what would happen	1	2	3	4	5
23. What was happening was just fate	1	2	3	4	5
24. It all went to plan	1	2	3	4	5
25. I couldn't stop myself	1	2	3	4	5
26. It was like I wasn't part of it	1	2	3	4	5
27. It was a manly thing to do	1	2	3	4	5
28. For me, it was like a usual days work	1	2	3	4	5
29. I was trying to get revenge	1	2	3	4	5
30. There was nothing special about what happened	1	2	3	4	5
31. I was getting my own back	1	2	3	4	5
32. I knew I was taking a risk	1	2	3	4	5
33. I guess I always knew it was going to happen	1	2	3	4	5
34. I was grabbing my chance	1	2	3	4	5
35. I didn't really want to do it	1	2	3	4	5
36. It was distressing	1	2	3	4	5
37. At that time I needed to do it	1	2	3	4	5
38. It was the only way to rescue things	1	2	3	4	5
39. I was in pain	1	2	3	4	5
40. I was in misery	1	2	3	4	5
41. I felt hunted	1	2	3	4	5
42. I was in an unlucky place in my life	1	2	3	4	5
43. I was taken over	1	2	3	4	5
44. I was out of control	1	2	3	4	5
45. It was satisfying	1	2	3	4	5
46. It was a relief	1	2	3	4	5
47. It was easy to force them to do exactly as I wanted	1	2	3	4	5
48. I kept total control of them	1	2	3	4	5
49. I was showing them how angry I was	1	2	3	4	5
50. I was proving my point	1	2	3	4	5
51. I was just trying to make them understand me	1	2	3	4	5
52. I was just trying to make them see what I needed	1	2	3	4	5

LIFE NARRATIVE INTERVIEW

SIGNIFICANT EVENT

I want you to tell me about a significant event in your life that you can remember very clearly. It can be anything at all. Tell me in as much detail as you can what happened.

7. (Tell me more, what happened)
8. Tell me why it was significant
9. Tell me what impact it had on your life

LIFE IN GENERAL: Film narrative.

If your life were to be made into a film, what type of film would that be and what would happen?

2. Tell me more, what would happen?
3. Who would the main characters be?
4. What would the main events that might happen in the film?
5. How do you think it might end?

LIFE NARRATIVE QUESTIONNAIRES

Here are some words that people sometimes use to describe themselves. Please indicate the extent to which each of the following words describes you.

	Not at all	A little	Some	A lot	Very Much
1. Hero	1	2	3	4	5
2. Comic	1	2	3	4	5
3. Tragic	1	2	3	4	5
4. Worthless	1	2	3	4	5
5. Courageous	1	2	3	4	5
6. Just a clown	1	2	3	4	5
7. Unfortunate	1	2	3	4	5
8. Insignificant	1	2	3	4	5

Here are some statements that people sometimes use to describe life. Please indicate the extent to which each of those statements describes you.

	Not at all	A little	Some	A lot	Very much
1. Life is meaningless	1	2	3	4	5
2. Things usually turn out for the best	1	2	3	4	5
3. I am fated to fail miserably	1	2	3	4	5
4. If I try hard enough I will be successful	1	2	3	4	5
5. There is not much point to life	1	2	3	4	5
6. Overall I am an optimist about things	1	2	3	4	5
7. I can be a winner if I want to be	1	2	3	4	5
8. I feel there is no hope for me.	1	2	3	4	5

Below are some statements that people sometimes use to describe their feelings or actions. Please indicate the extent to which each of the statements describes how you feel.

	Not at all	Just a little	Some	A lot	Very Much
1. I do try but things always seem to mess up in my life	1	2	3	4	5
2. It is important in my life to have a good time	1	2	3	4	5
3. I am trying to get my own back for things that have happened	1	2	3	4	5
4. In my life I've managed to do things others thought I could not do	1	2	3	4	5
5. In my life more bad things have happened to me than most others	1	2	3	4	5
6. Life is hard but I'm a winner, I get what I need out of life	1	2	3	4	5
7. I suffer a lot but I carry on	1	2	3	4	5
8. It is important in my life to have lots of different experiences	1	2	3	4	5
9. I have done wrong things in the past but I am decent underneath, it will all work out well	1	2	3	4	5
10. I tend to get myself noticed	1	2	3	4	5
11. I am just trying to make the best of myself	1	2	3	4	5

GENERAL BACKGROUND

Have you ever....

	<i>NEVER</i>	<i>ONCE OR TWICE</i>	<i>A FEW TIMES (LESS THAN 10)</i>	<i>QUITE OFTEN (10-50 TIMES)</i>	<i>VERY OFTEN (MORE THAN 50)</i>
1. Broken into a house, shop or school and taken money or something else you wanted?					
2. Broken into a locked car to get something from it?					
3. Threaten to beat someone up if they didn't give you money or something else you wanted?					
4. Actually shot at someone with a gun?					
5. Pulled a knife, gun or some other weapon on someone just to let them know you meant business?					
6. Beat someone up so badly they probably needed a doctor?					
7. Taken heroin?					
8. Broken the windows of an empty house or other unoccupied building?					
9. Bought something you knew had been stolen?					
10. Intentionally started a building on fire?					
11. Been involved in gang fights?					
12. Taken things of large value (worth more than £100) from a shop without paying for them?					
13. Taken Ecstasy (Es)?					
14. Broken into a house, shop, school or other building to break things up or cause other damage?					
15. Sniffed glue or other solvents (e.g. Tippex thinner)?					
16. Used or carried a gun to help you commit a crime?					
17. Prepared an escape route before you carried out a crime?					
18. Taken care not to leave evidence (like fingerprints) after carrying out a crime?					
19. Got others to act as 'watch' or 'lookout'?					
20. Acted as 'watch' or 'lookout'?					
21. Taken special tools with you to help you carry out a crime?					

	<i>NEVER</i>	<i>ONCE OR TWICE</i>	<i>A FEW TIMES (LESS THAN 10)</i>	<i>QUITE OFTEN (10-50 TIMES)</i>	<i>VERY OFTEN (MORE THAN 50)</i>
22.Molested or fondled someone (in a sexual way) without their permission?					
23.Stolen a car to ring it?					
24.Nicked a car to go for a ride in it and then abandoned it?					
25.Stolen things you didn't really want from a shop just for the excitement of doing it?					
26.Nicked things from a shop and then sold them on?					
27.Carried a gun in case you needed it					
28.Stolen something to eat because you were so hungry?					
29.Made a shop assistant give you money from the till?					
30.Helped your mates smash up somewhere or something even though you really didn't want to?					
31.Beat up someone who did something to one of your mates?					
32.Nicked stuff you didn't want just because all your mates were doing it?					
33.Done a burglary in a place that you knew would be hard to get into?					
34.Stolen stuff from a shop that had a lot of security?					
35.Had to take part in a fight your mates were having with another group of kids even though you didn't want to?					
36.Taken drugs you didn't want because everyone else there was having them?					
37.Nicked a badge or something from an expensive car (like a BMW) to keep for yourself?					
38.Pretended your giro had been nicked because you needed a bit more money?					
39.Actually used a knife to hurt someone?					
40.Bought pirate videos or CDs to sell on?					
41.Bought pirate videos or CDs to keep for yourself?					

42. Sold heroin?					
	<i>NEVER</i>	<i>ONCE OR TWICE</i>	<i>A FEW TIMES (LESS THAN 10)</i>	<i>QUITE OFTEN (10-50 TIMES)</i>	<i>VERY OFTEN (MORE THAN 50)</i>
43.Sprayed graffiti on a building or public wall?					
44.Done a burglary on a really big, posh house?					
45.Broken into a warehouse and stolen goods worth more than £1000?					
46.Smashed the glass of a bus shelter or phone box?					
47.Set fire to a bin?					
48.Set fire to a car even though you didn't know whose it was?					
49.Killed someone in a fit of anger or emotion?					
50.Parked in a disabled space?					
51.Got a bit violent with your family at home?					
52.Pretended that you had lost stuff to the insurance company?					
53.Drawn benefit when you were working?					
54.Gone to a sauna or massage place to get sex?					
55.Nicked the purse of someone you knew?					
56.Done a burglary on the house of someone you knew?					
57.Sold marijuana (pot/grass)?					
58.Threatened someone you knew with a knife?					
59.Set fire to a building when people were still in there?					
60.Made new credit cards with stolen card numbers?					

Below is a list of some different ways of behaving towards others that you may have.

Read each statement put a X in one of the 6 boxes to show how much you agree that the statement is *true*. The more you agree it is true, the nearer your X should be to the AGREE side.

1. I seek out people to be with.	DISAGREE							AGREE
2. People decide what to do when we are together.	DISAGREE							AGREE
3. I am totally honest with my close friends.	DISAGREE							AGREE
4. People invite me to do things.	DISAGREE							AGREE
5. I am the dominant person when I am with people.	DISAGREE							AGREE
6. My close friends tell me their real feelings.	DISAGREE							AGREE
7. I join social groups.	DISAGREE							AGREE
8. People strongly influence my actions.	DISAGREE							AGREE
9. I confide in my close friends.	DISAGREE							AGREE
10. People invite me to join their activities.	DISAGREE							AGREE
11. I get other people to do things I want done.	DISAGREE							AGREE
12. My close friends tell me about private matters.	DISAGREE							AGREE
13. I join social organisations.	DISAGREE							AGREE
14. People control my actions.	DISAGREE							AGREE
15. I am more comfortable when people do not get too close.	DISAGREE							AGREE
16. People include me in their activities.	DISAGREE							AGREE
17. I strongly influence other people's actions.	DISAGREE							AGREE
18. My close friends do not tell me about themselves.	DISAGREE							AGREE

19. I am included in informal social activities.	DISAGREE							AGREE
20. I am easily led by people.	DISAGREE							AGREE
21. People should keep their private feelings to themselves.	DISAGREE							AGREE
22. People invite me to participate in their activities.	DISAGREE							AGREE
23. I take charge when I am with people socially.	DISAGREE							AGREE
24. My close friends let me know their real feelings.	DISAGREE							AGREE
25. I include other people in my plans.	DISAGREE							AGREE
26. People decide things for me.	DISAGREE							AGREE
27. There are some things I do not tell anyone.	DISAGREE							AGREE
28. People include me in their social affairs.	DISAGREE							AGREE
29. I get people to do things the way I want them done.	DISAGREE							AGREE
30. My closest friends keep secrets from me.	DISAGREE							AGREE
31. I have people around me.	DISAGREE							AGREE
32. People strongly influence my ideas.	DISAGREE							AGREE
33. There are some things I would not tell anyone.	DISAGREE							AGREE
34. People ask me to participate in their discussions.	DISAGREE							AGREE
35. I take charge when I am with people.	DISAGREE							AGREE
36. My friends confide in me.	DISAGREE							AGREE
37. When people are doing things together I join them.	DISAGREE							AGREE

38. I am strongly influenced by what people say.	DISAGREE							AGREE
39. I have at least one friend to whom I can tell anything.	DISAGREE							AGREE
40. People invite me to parties.	DISAGREE							AGREE
41. I strongly influence other people's ideas.	DISAGREE							AGREE
42. My close friends keep their feelings a secret from me.	DISAGREE							AGREE
43. I look for people to be with.	DISAGREE							AGREE
44. Other people take charge when we work together.	DISAGREE							AGREE
45. There is a part of myself I keep private.	DISAGREE							AGREE
46. People invite me to join them when we have free time.	DISAGREE							AGREE
47. I take charge when I work with people.	DISAGREE							AGREE
48. At least two of my friends tell me their true feelings.	DISAGREE							AGREE
49. I participate in group activities.	DISAGREE							AGREE
50. People often cause me to change my mind.	DISAGREE							AGREE
51. I have close relationships with a few people.	DISAGREE							AGREE
52. People invite me to do things with them.	DISAGREE							AGREE
53. I see to it that people do things the way I want them to.	DISAGREE							AGREE
54. My friends tell me about their private lives.	DISAGREE							AGREE

Now please tell me about yourself....

Male _____ or Female _____

How old are you? _____

What ethnicity are you? Please tick below.

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

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

Do you have any A-Levels? Yes _____ No _____

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

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

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

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

What was this for? _____

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

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

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

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

What was your **first** conviction?

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

If yes, what for? _____

Have you been to a prison or a Young Offender's Institution before? Yes _____ No _____

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

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

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

Have you been on probation before? Yes _____ No _____

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

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

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

Yes _____ No _____

If yes, how many lived with you? - _____

What ages are they now?

Do they have any criminal convictions? Yes _____ No _____

If so, what are these for?

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

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

Father/ Step-father: What is the job called? _____

What do they do? _____

Full time or Part time? _____

Are they unemployed now? Yes _____ No _____

Mother/ Step mother: What is the job called? _____

What do they do? _____

Full time or Part time? _____

Are they unemployed now? Yes _____ No _____

Appendix B- NRQ for general population study

Narrative Roles Questionnaire

Please think of a memory of an event which occurred which provokes a strong positive feeling that you can remember well. This could be something you are proud of or something which was significant in your life. With this memory in mind please answer the following questions in regards to it.

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

VERY STRONG	STRONG	QUITE STRONG	WEAK	VERY WEAK
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

For the **memory you have in mind** please indicate the extent to which each of the statements below describes what it was like.

	Not at all	Just a little	Some	A lot	Very Much
1. I was like a professional	1	2	3	4	5
2. I had to do it	1	2	3	4	5
3. It was fun	1	2	3	4	5
4. It was right	1	2	3	4	5
5. It was interesting	1	2	3	4	5
6. It was like an adventure	1	2	3	4	5
7. It was routine	1	2	3	4	5
8. I was in control	1	2	3	4	5
9. It was exciting	1	2	3	4	5
10. I was doing a job	1	2	3	4	5
11. I knew what I was doing	1	2	3	4	5
12. It was the only thing to do	1	2	3	4	5
13. It was a mission	1	2	3	4	5
14. Nothing else mattered	1	2	3	4	5
15. I had power	1	2	3	4	5
16. I was helpless	1	2	3	4	5
17. It was my only choice	1	2	3	4	5
18. I was a victim	1	2	3	4	5
19. I was confused about what was happening	1	2	3	4	5
20. I was looking for recognition	1	2	3	4	5
21. I just wanted to get it over with	1	2	3	4	5
22. I didn't care what would happen	1	2	3	4	5
23. What was happening was just fate	1	2	3	4	5
24. It all went to plan	1	2	3	4	5

25. I couldn't stop myself	1	2	3	4	5
26. It was like I wasn't part of it	1	2	3	4	5
27. It was a manly thing to do	1	2	3	4	5
28. For me, it was like a usual days work	1	2	3	4	5
29. I was trying to get revenge	1	2	3	4	5
30. There was nothing special about what happened	1	2	3	4	5
31. I was getting my own back	1	2	3	4	5
32. I knew I was taking a risk	1	2	3	4	5
33. I guess I always knew it was going to happen	1	2	3	4	5
34. I was grabbing my chance	1	2	3	4	5
35. I didn't really want to do it	1	2	3	4	5
36. It was distressing	1	2	3	4	5
37. At that time I needed to do it	1	2	3	4	5
38. It was the only way to rescue things	1	2	3	4	5
39. I was in pain	1	2	3	4	5
40. I was in misery	1	2	3	4	5
41. I felt hunted	1	2	3	4	5
42. I was in an unlucky place in my life	1	2	3	4	5
43. I was taken over	1	2	3	4	5
44. I was out of control	1	2	3	4	5
45. It was satisfying	1	2	3	4	5
46. It was a relief	1	2	3	4	5
47. It was easy to force them to do exactly as I wanted	1	2	3	4	5
48. I kept total control of them	1	2	3	4	5
49. I was showing them how angry I was	1	2	3	4	5
50. I was proving my point	1	2	3	4	5
51. I was just trying to make them understand me	1	2	3	4	5
52. I was just trying to make them see					

Appendix C- Full emotion items

Emotions		
Question	Full Question	Analysis 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	Relaxed
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

Appendix D- Full NRQ items

Full Item	Analysis Label
Professional	I was like a professional
Had to do it	I had to do it
Fun	It was fun
Right	It was right
Interesting	It was interesting
Routine	It was routine
Control	I was in control
Exciting	It was exciting
Doing Job	I was doing a job
KnewDoing	I knew what I was doing
OnlyThing	It was the only thing to do
Mission	It was a mission
Nothing Mattered	Nothing else mattered
Power	I had power
Helpless	I was helpless
Only Choice	It was my only choice
Victim	I was a victim
Confused2	I was confused about what was happening
Recognition	I was looking for recognition
Over With	I just wanted to get it over with
Didn't Care	I didn't care what would happen
Fate	What was happening was just fate
Plan	It all went to plan
Couldn't Stop	I couldn't stop myself
Wasn't Part	It was like I wasn't part of it
Manly2	It was a manly thing to do
Usual Day	For me, it was like a usual days work
Revenge	I was trying to get revenge
Nothing Special	There was nothing special about what happened
Own Back	I was getting my own back
Risk	I knew I was taking a risk
Knew Happen	I guess I always knew it was going to happen