

**Dysfunctional Self-Identities: Exploring the Life
Stories of 15 Murderers within a
Narrative Framework**

*Thesis submitted in accordance with the requirements of the University
of Liverpool for the degree of Doctor in Philosophy by Mary-Louise
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Dedications

I believe in aristocracy, though-if that is the right word, and if a democrat may use it. Not an aristocracy of power... but... of the sensitive, the considerate... Its members are to be found in all nations and classes, and all through the ages, and there is a secret understanding between them when they meet. They represent the true human tradition, the one permanent victory of our queer race over cruelty and chaos. Thousands of them perish in obscurity, a few are great names. They are sensitive for others as well as themselves, they are considerate without being fussy, their pluck is not swankiness but the power to endure...

**E. M. Forster "What I Believe,"
in Two Cheers for Democracy**

This research is dedicated to all victims of violence and suffering.

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Mary -Louise Parkinson

Dysfunctional Self-Identities: Exploring the Life Stories of 15 Murderers within A Narrative Framework

Abstract

Despite the extensive investigation into murder, violence and aggression, it continues to be a pervasive problem in the modern world. As Menninger (in Halleck, 1967) said, "We still don't know how to protect Abel and we still don't know what to do with Cain." The position of this thesis is that if we want to know why Cain murdered his brother then we should ask him - a phenomenological perspective. That is to advocate that the subjective experience an individual has, offers the reality about the intention of the action. Traditionally objectivism and the desire to obtain absolute truths has taken precedent over constructivist thought, which values the idea that reality belongs within the mental representation an individual makes of the world. Thus this research supports narrative theory which offers a framework that invites the exploration of these mental representations of the self and the world. This theory with mounting support illustrates how people think and make sense of their lives as stories. Didion (in McAdams 1988) succinctly says 'We tell ourselves stories in order to live.' The life story is seen as being synonymous with self-identity. This research set out to explore the idea that a problem in the self-identity of murderers may be intrinsic in the emergence of murder. Following McAdams 1988 proposal, self-identity was viewed as being reflected in the self-narrative. The narrative accounts of fifteen homicide offenders were collected from Nottingham Prison by two interviewers. These were tape recorded then transcribed for analysis. The narratives were deconstructed and assigned to groups of how structurally similar they were to each other based upon a scheme founded by McAdams' idea that there are six criteria for a good narrative form vis a vis mature identity; coherence, credibility, openness to change, reconciliation, differentiation and generativity. Apart from the group where the offenders claimed to have changed, each group appeared to be defined by lacking in at least one of the criteria. (Apart from differentiation which was seen to be an underlying process upon which these other criteria depended). Moreover there appeared to be a cumulative structure from coherence to generativity. Thus the aim of the analysis was threefold. Firstly to demonstrate the cumulative structure from well formed narratives to incoherent narratives. Secondly to show how this ability to make sense of ones life (or not) manifest itself in the account an offender gives about himself, his life and the murder. Thirdly to explore the issue of change. The results showed that there was a cumulative structure based around how well formed the narrative accounts were. The "better" the narrative the more sense it made and the more the offender had to offer with respect to information about himself and his life. The group who has changed, told reflective stories about a central character who had changed over time, how personal issues had been resolved not least coming to terms that they were killers.

It was then found that murderers could be seen to be dysfunctional on a scale of development. This shows how well they can make sense of themselves and their lives. The change having taken place in the offenders in the last group suggests that change comes about through being able to make sense of oneself and incorporate the disparate parts of ones identity. This then has implications for the possibility of change. The likelihood of change decreasing as the narrative becomes less well formed. In commenting on the assertion that we tell ourselves stories in order to live. The findings of this research suggest that we need to be able to tell good stories in order to live functional lives.

INTRODUCTION

Chapter One: The Importance of Narrative to the exploration of Murder

- 1.0: Traditional Approaches to The Study of Murder
- 1.1: The Offender's Account
- 1.2: Projective Techniques
- 1.3: Pathology and Murder – Personality Traits
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INTRODUCTION: CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Traditional Approaches To The Study Of Murder

1.1 The Offender's Account

The approaches taken to the study of murder have been wide and diverse. Much of it has been directed for legal purposes to assess the sanity of the perpetrator and their ability to stand trial. This recognised that psychiatric and psychological evaluation should emphasise the offence itself, within the context of the individual's personality organisation, value system and ability to empathise. They also placed importance on the way the offender gave an account of the criminal act (Revitch and Schlesinger 1977). However the object was to differentiate between pathological homicide and offenders with paranoid and sociopathic features. Therefore the aim of this approach was not to explore the idiosyncratic motivations and unique perspectives of the offender in relation to his behaviour that is to make sense of the events but rather to place them into a psychiatric classification.

Another way in which the offenders' accounts have been used has been to assess guilt, a key factor in deciding about the mental state of the alleged offender. Ley and Versele, 1951 suggest that admissions of guilt are not always reliable. Some innocent suspects admit to crimes that they did not commit and some offenders who have committed ego-dystonic irrational murders claim a rational reason such as robbery (Ruotolo 1968).

This seemed to trigger fear regarding the reliability of the accounts given by the offenders themselves. This implies that there is a danger of this account being taken at face value. Rather than design a framework that takes into account the variation in the way an account is given encompassing other theoretical perspectives and a wealth of knowledge already held about these individuals, theorists moved towards attempting to gain this information by a series of objective techniques. These included narcoanalysis which aims to get at the truth by inducing a altered state of mind but which is just as likely to elicit fantasy as fact (Revitch and Schlesinger 1977) EEG's were employed to try and correlate brain activity and crime for which there is mixed

results. The fact is that these techniques that were not without problems seemed preferable to developing a system which gave credence or at least understanding to offender's own accounts.

1.2 Projective Techniques

So the studies undertaken with murderers have included using a variety of projective techniques, mainly the Rorschach. Kahn (1967) found that the Rorschach correlated significantly with judgements of legal insanity. This however shows how the Rorschach can be used in assessing an individual's perspective on reality rather than understanding murder. This tendency to treat murders as a homogeneous group and as different from the rest of society was evident in a study by Deiker (1973), who found that Wechsler Adult Intelligence scale characteristics did not significantly differ among murderers and the Wechsler standardisation sample did not further any understanding of the 'specific intellectual, cognitive and thinking processes of those who murder'.

In order to understand how these sorts of methods could be used to understand something of the murderers the Rorschach protocols were used alongside case history materials (Satter, Menninger and Mayman, 1960; Miller and Looney 1974). They found similarities between motiveless murders and Rorschach records. There were also similarities in the Thematic Apperception Test results which were very brief and "filled with a quality of primitive murderous hostility and violent primitive fantasy life". Themes often centred on homicide, whereby the 'murderer was provoked into committing the act, and the stories were told without accompanying affect. Where murderers tended to "dehumanise" they revealed TAT stories where people were not seen as humans. This indeed attended to the cognitive functioning of the offenders and thus differentiated between a class of murders. The Rorschach was considered to be required in understanding in depth psychopathology but not being effective in elucidating surface dynamics. This was complimented by the TAT which was considered to crystallise the individual's motivations "in his own language". The problems lie in the limitation of the sample selection based around the theoretical perspective that murder is psychopathological. Thus only a very small sub sample of

the murder population were being tested as a basis for identifying a unified theory of murder.

So the pattern emerging in the enquiry into the murderer shows so far two points. One is to treat murderers as abnormal and two illustrates a lack of development in ways to deal with the accounts which extract why murder was committed - in other words the perspective of the murder by the murderer was not sought.

1.3 Pathology and Murder - Personality Traits

Revitch and Schlesinger 1977 purport that there is little question that psychological testing has contributed substantially to the understanding of psychopathology and personality dynamics. Consequently psychological tests have had great relevance to the understanding of homicide. However as studies have been conducted with psychopaths a main area of studying homicide has been personality theory with numerous references to this in the literature (e.g. Blackburn 1997, Eysenk 1977).

In understanding any aspect of nature, an appropriate classification schema is required in order to organise any observations made, this includes the study of homicide, Revitch and Schlesinger, 1977. The following review of the development in the classification of homicide shows a move towards expanding theoretical perspectives beyond psychopathology.

1.4 Classifying Murder

Despite the wealth of literature on homicide, very little attention has been paid to the issue of classification. The legal classification and the classification based on the relationship of the murder victim ignore the dynamic aspects of the crime (Revitch and Schlesinger 1977).

Early studies e.g. Krafft - Ebing 1886, did not focus on global classifications but on bizarre and unusual cases. Paradoxically the F.B.I. have had some success in apprehending violent offenders based on a classification system that is most effective

when investigating bizarre cases (Holmes 1980). This classification is divided into two categories of Organised and Disorganised, which refers to the behavioural evidence left at a crime scene. This classification applies only to multiple murderers. Bromberg, 1961, divided homicide into normal and psychopathic; Miller and Looney 1974, classify three syndromes based on the degree of dehumanisation in order to predict risk factor. Tanay, 1969 too divided homicide offenders into three categories, dissociative, psychotic, and ego sytonic which pertained to states of consciousness at the time of the murder.

Whilst quite clearly there is strong evidence to support that there is a link between psychopathic behaviour and murder, there is evidence to suggest that not all murderers are suffering a psychopathological disorder or indeed any kind of psychiatric disorder. Revitch and Schlesinger (1975, 1977) formed a classification system based around motivational factors. The motivational stimuli addresses the dynamics of the criminal act itself. These stimuli are spectrally distributed with the purely exogenous at one end of the scale and the totally endogenous at the other end.

The offences were divided into five categories - Environmental or sociogenic, Situational, Impulsive, Catathymic, Compulsive.

These categories are not considered to be rigid with exclusive behaviours idiosyncratic to each. There is a relationship between intensity of exogenous and endogenous factors with motivational stimuli e.g. external factors play a minimal role for compulsive offences whilst endogenous pressures are vital. The reverse is true for the environmental offences.

Environmentally Stimulated Homicides.

This phenomenon has come about from a combination of social pressures and a weakening of authority and controls. Sutherland's (1947) concept of differential association, that is criminal behaviour is learned in interaction with others, generally applies to this group.

Situational Homicides.

Situational offences are in essence a reaction to stressful situations. They are often committed by individuals with little or no psychopathology, although types of personality may be involved. The offences may be adaptive in the sense that they serve a logical purpose or maladaptive and committed in a state of fear, anger or despair.

Impulsive Homicides.

Impulsive offenders react with antisocial acts to various environmental and situational stimuli. They differ from situational offenders by the multiplicity of their antisocial acts and by their poor impulse control. The offences are diffuse, poorly structured and unpremeditated or only partially premeditated. The life pattern of these offenders is marked by a lack of direction and unpredictability. Psychiatric and psychological evaluation reveals looseness of personality integration as the main characteristic. The offences may be aggressive (including homicide) or non-aggressive or a combination of both.

Catathymic Homicides

This term was introduced by Maier (1912), to describe psychic disorder "marked by perseveration in the course of which a single depressive topic tends to be complex determined". A catathymic reaction is "the transformation of a stream of thought as the result of certain complexes and ideas that are charged with a strong affect, usually a wish, a fear, or an ambivalent striving". This was refined to defined catathymic crisis as "delusional thinking with the patient being driven to a violent deed without a rationale conscious motive with the act having symbolic meaning and the victim not counting as a person, but as part of an overpowering image". This catathymic process can be acute and chronic. The acute process characterised by a sudden aggressive of homicide explosion.

Compulsive Homicide.

The compulsive offences are the extreme endogenous end of the motivational spectrum. They are entirely determined by inner psychological sources with little or no environmental influences. Many serial killers could be ascribed to this category, e.g., William Heirens noted for his message, "Catch me before I kill again. I can't help

myself" (Freeman 1955), reported headaches when resisting the impulse. He also tried diversional strategies such as burning the plans he has drawn up of breaking in to a home.

The main reason for outlining the above model is that it shows that murder as such, can be viewed as a homogenous concept. However although it recognises individual differences, biological basis and sociological factors, the focus is on the behaviour not the cognition and perspective of the individual. It does not bring us any closer to understanding why a particular individual became involved with a particular murder. This in part can be seen due to the way that aggression and violence as concepts have been traditionally studied.

1.5 Theories of Aggression

The following outlines the main contributors to the understanding of aggression. This demonstrates the initial lack of concern and gradual acknowledgement of the importance of perception and cognition in the exploration of aggression.

1.5.1 Biological Explanations of Aggression

The three main biological theories are offered from the fields of psychoanalysis, ethology and sociobiology.

Freud representing the psychoanalytical position stated that, "the tendency to aggression is an innate, independent, instinctual disposition in man" (Freud, 1930); ethology suggests that environmental cues allow an organism to express the instinct aggression (Lorenz 1966 promoted the idea that aggression has a survival value); sociobiology holds, as an extension of Darwinian theory that aggression is adaptive, arguing that "such genetically based behaviour will be maintained by a population or society"

All these theoretical perspectives stemming from biology make no reference to any influence or effect cognitive factors may have on aggression, explaining it in purely instinctual terms.

1.5.2 Social Explanations of Aggression

On the other hand, rather than accepting that aggression is regulated by internal drives, social explanations purport that it is learned. Social learning theorists suggest that most aggressive behaviour is learned through observational learning or social modeling. Specifically, individuals learn new behaviour by observing the actions of others. Bandura, Ross and Ross, 1961, 1963a showed how aggressive behaviour exhibited by children could be induced by this process.

It is perhaps more surprising that cognitive factors which are involved in social information processing are ignored in the pursuit of a social explanation of aggression. One explanation seems to be that theorists at the time seemed more concerned with debating the origins i.e. whether it was innate or learned as opposed to understanding individual differences in aggressive behaviour.

A similar approach was taken when addressing the issue relating to understanding something about the conditions under which people in general become aggressive, thus not enquiring into idiosyncratic patterns of violence and aggression. For example Dollard et al 1939 proposed the Frustration - Aggression Hypothesis which said that "the occurrence of aggression always presupposes frustration" (Miller 1941).

This sparked enquiry into whether frustration always preceded aggression rather than identifying those features i.e. cognitive processes that accounted for what it did. This is not to suggest that this would have been of more benefit or more importance but it is contended that it was of equal importance and as such requires investigation. Eventually it was suggested by Azrin, Hutchinson and Hake, 1966; Rule and Percival (1971) that frustration may cause aggression. In finding an explanation for this discrepancy Buss 1961, suggested that frustration and aggression may be linked only when aggression has instrumental value that is, when the aggression will help to

override the frustration. This would suggest that cognitive processes are inherent in these findings, what annoys, irritates, angers and frustrates one person by not affect another to the same degree if at all. Despite these individual differences they were not addressed.

One of the first major theories of aggression to refer to the importance of perceptual and cognitive factors is Zillman's Excitation Transfer Theory 1979. Even so it is only mentioned rather than focused on. This theory contends the specificity of the frustration - aggression hypothesis suggesting that a general state of arousal which occurred in one situation maybe transferred to and intensify a subsequent emotional state. More particularly Zillman suggested that the expression of aggression or indeed any other emotion depends on three factors. These are, firstly some learned tendencies of the person, secondly, some source of arousal and thirdly, the person's interpretation of the arousal state. This then suggests the way we interpret an event is important in determining whether we act aggressively In essence then it is not the event per se but our understanding of it (Deaux and Wrightsman 1988).

1.5.3 Cognitive factors in the emergence of Aggression

Towards the end of the 70's theoretical and empirical gaps were observed in descriptions of the development of aggression (Feshbach 1978). These gaps included "the minimal attention that has been given to the role of cognitive variables in aggressive behaviour". The essential meaning of this assertion was that the theories at that time concerning origin and development of aggression have emphasised biological, motivational or learning constructs, and that the cognitive dimensions of an individual's experience and development must be considered if an adequate account is to be given of certain aggressive phenomena. To date as has been demonstrated this had not been the case.

As Feshbach rightly points out a large controversy has remained regarding the dispute about the acquisition of the aggressive drive. That is psychoanalytical theories maintain it is inherent not acquired whereas social learning theorists (Bandura, 1973) believe aggression can be explained without consideration to a drive or motivation.

However, "many theorists would not find this a meaningful issue" (Feshbach 1978). More germane is the fact that researchers have neglected the study of the development of certain aggressive phenomena. There is very little data on the developmental changes that occur with reference to the expression of and method of coping with angry feelings. As Feshbach also says, there is no data which indicated when do individuals start to enjoy acts of aggression. Even if it is accepted that sadistic tendencies are natural to very young children (Klein 1937), it is still important to understand something of the nature of this phenomenon. Thus there has been an increasing awareness for the need to gain the unique perspective of the aggressor and idiosyncratic feature of their perception and rational in order to address these questions relating to development and change.

The importance of epistemological and cognitive processes to a wide range of types of social difficulty including aggression has been increasingly recognised in recent years (Howells 1983). Howells, explored the social construing of violent offenders. The main purpose of this research was to understand the subjective context of the person's violent behaviour, in order to assess how the individual construed reality, before and during the incident, how he perceived himself and his victim. The approach taken in trying to elucidate these subjective perceptions was facilitated by some aspects of personal construct theory (Kelly 1955). Howells claims that contributions from attribution theory, within the context of experimental social psychology has precipitated this approach. Many theorists working in these areas have come to emphasise the importance of understanding how persons represent and explain reality and how such representations determine normal and abnormal and indeed all behaviour. Although aggressive and violent behaviour have received less attention with respect to this approach than traditional mental illness i.e. anxiety and depression, there would appear to be some merit in believing how a person appraises and construes people and events is an important determinant of whether or not he will behave violently (Howells 1983).

The most comprehensive analysis of how cognitive process relate to anger and aggression has been provided by Novaco, (1978). Within this model, anger which often induces aggression, is a result of particular appraisals made by the individual of

aversive (frustrating) situations and people. These violence - producing appraisals have also been addressed by Epstein and Taylor 1967; Greenwell and Dengerink, 1973; Nickel 1974 who discuss the attribution of malevolent intent. Howells (1981b) explored paranoid social cognitions. Other references to the relevance of appraisals of violent behaviour include Athens 1980, who focused on the situations confronting the violent person, his interpretation and definition of that situation and in the planning and execution of the violent act. He concluded that violent actors do form interpretations of the situation in which they commit violent acts and that the interpretations they form account for the violent actions. Dodge, (1986, 1987) proposed a model of social - information processing, with particular attention paid to hostile attributional bias. This indicates how the two methodologies can compliment each other. The former offering insights into individual perceptions, the latter constructing a general model. Similarly Widom, 1976 investigated personal construing in samples of psychopathic violent offenders and demonstrated that violent "primary" psychopaths failed to acknowledge the discrepancies that existed between their own constructions of situations and the constructions of the same situations by others. These results provided support for Gough 1948 who stated that the central deficiency in psychopathy is one of underdeveloped role taking. Although the focus is again on 'abnormal' individuals, the need for an insight into individual perceptual and cognitive processes is reflected.

1.6 Towards a New Approach to Murder

Another group of scientists have gone as far as to express total dissatisfaction with traditional methodological approaches to social psychology. They are accused of failing to deliver the promises made, and suggesting the mechanical approach was suffering from it's own arrogance and at time bordered on the morally objectionable, one example being inducing a great amount of stress in subjects e.g. Millgram. Harre and Secord 1973, in the quest for an alternative approach offered a standpoint which had its roots in phenomenologically oriented philosophy. At the core of this perspective was the idea that if you want to understand why people did the things they did, you should ask them. This is in sharp contrast the approach taken in assessing the sanity of murderers previously discussed. Obviously the treatment of such information

is the crux of the matter. Social scientists adopting this approach should seek to collect accounts offered by a variety of people in connection with their actions. Social action was considered to be meaningful, the best arbiter of the meaning was the actor himself, (Marsh 1982). This approach purported that the justifications, rational and reasons offered by the individual when accounting for his actions was indeed the explanation of that action. It was argued that causality was not discovered, neither was the truth but the perspective of the actor. As Marsh 1982 says, "the value of that perspective rested on one's faith in the essentially rational and understanding fashion with which the person *qua* person conducts his social existence". These foundations underpinned Marsh's approach to deconstructing a collection of accounts of football hooligans. As he points out the collection of the data did not cause the dilemma but how it should be treated did. Specifically, how was a coherent perspective to be isolated from a collection of often opaque rhetorics. That is what is the relationship between perspective and the actions on which it focuses. As Marsh rightly and importantly points out, there have been few developments, in accounts methodology with recent years focusing on increased sophistication in statistical treatment rather than the adequacy of the data base itself. Marsh argues that the direction should be on developing a framework to organise and analyse this talk offering that research into aggression and violence relies heavily on participant's own reports, ideas, conclusions and rhetorics as violence is rare and fleeting. It is not the kind of behaviour that is conveniently repeated for the benefit of social scientists. Rather it is talked about endlessly. Thus "the rhetorics people use in talking about such acts are a vital means to their understanding" Marsh 1982.

The next critical point Marsh makes is that understanding is only possible when based on a model or theoretical framework that serves to highlight the relationship between the social nature of the rhetoric and the social nature of the action. Essential factors are the motivations for offering an account and particular themes, and sets of isolated social rules governing both action and how action should be spoken of. Without these assumptions the data is likely to be ambiguous and prone to incorrect conclusions being drawn. Thus the research will suffer the same problems as inherent in "self report" research.

By taking such an approach the subtle nuances that seemed to mar and contradict previous findings can not only be studied but understood. One example is cognitive bias and distortion. This research actually uses these distortions or idiosyncratic images of self and the world to construct a framework in an attempt to explain patterning in behaviour and thought.

1.7 The Importance Of Narrative To The Exploration Of Murder

There has been little attention paid to the view of the murder by the murderer. Naturally in comparison to the loss and suffering of his victims this has not been of major concern. The main reason for looking at the account a murderer gives of his life and crimes is to discover to what extent the account may help to understand the causes. That is, the processes that gave rise to the murder and the extent to which murder may be a product of these.

Despite the extensive investigation into murder, violence and aggression, it continues to be a pervasive problem in the modern world. As Menninger (in Halleck, 1977) said,

"We still don't know how to protect Abel and we still don't know what to do with Cain."

Perhaps if Cain had been asked before being banished to the wilderness about the events that had led up to this act and how he felt about the same, we may be further forward in our understanding of what murder is about.

In attempting to understand the area of murder this research ascribes to the viewpoint that has its origins in phenomenologically orientated philosophy. To recap, central to this standpoint is the idea that if an understanding of an individual's actions is sought, the actor engaging in those actions should be asked about the meaning of the same. (Marsh 1982). This approach purports, that the researcher collects the accounts an individual gives in connection with their actions, as social action is meaningful and

the best arbiter of meaning is the actor. The justifications and rationale the person gives is the explanation in itself. This does not reveal actual causes or absolute truths, but the unique perspective of the actor.

The reasons why an individual murders belongs only to him or herself. Thus to gain an understanding of the events that give rise to murder is to ask the perpetrator. This is not simply cataloguing social events that have been apparent in an individual's life but to see how these events have been interpreted. For example, it is not enough to suggest that maternal deprivation causes delinquency; rather, what is it about how the way the individual incorporates these experiences into a construction of himself and his life that give rise to delinquency? This is to assume a constructivist approach to reality rather than an objectivist approach.

Objectivism in short is to believe in freestanding reality, the truth about which can eventually be discovered. Whereas constructivism assumes that mental representations are created by people and thus reflected in an invented reality (Howard 1991). Objectivists focus on the accuracy of their theories, that is knowing exact causes and truths, for example, of one's actions. On the other hand constructivists emphasise the utility of their models. Thus the perspective an individual takes will reveal more about why that person acted in a certain manner rather than knowing the absolute truths and causes that they themselves may not be aware of. For instance, it is the perception of hostility that causes a reaction toward the perceived antagonist, not the true intentions of the 'antagonist' who may not be an antagonist at all. This is to assume that murder emerges from within the person and the way in which he sees himself and the world in which he lives. Such an assumption requires a framework that can incorporate similarity and differences between murderers in terms of the unique processes that lead each person to murder.

1.8 The Self

In essence, this research attempts to identify the self or self-identity, as this is the structure, which governs and guides all thought and behaviour. To be a person involves: subjective experience; consciousness; a sense of self and of agency (the

ability to initiate thought and actions). It also involves cognition, that is, ways of processing and making sense of that experience (Stevens 1997).

Each individual experiences the world through a unique frame of consciousness facilitated by memories which provide a sense of continuity in these experiences. This enables us to recognise patterns which aid attempts made to make sense of our experiences. Thus conscious awareness is constituted and influenced by cognition through highly stylised ways of thinking. Meaning is attributed to events and thus responsibility for actions. This can provide a way of coping with the world by maintaining some sense of control. Individuals differ in structure and complexity of this cognitive framing (Stevens 1997). It is influenced by a wide range of social and personal phenomenon including education, intellect and values which, in part, depend on the social context in which the individual exists.

A main aspect of conscious awareness is a sense of self or identity. Humans tend to be aware of being unique, particular individuals. This is partly due to the process of "I", emerging from a sense of engagement from and acting within and upon the world, and from personalised vantage points of the inner world of thoughts and feelings. It is also derived from an awareness of the 'me', an image of the sort of person one is.

Stevens (1997), suggests that personal identity can be conceived as a fusion between personal identity, manufactured from experiences peculiar to the individual and private reflections upon these, and of a social identity or the characteristics and roles which are given by others and the ways in which the social world is expressed through the individual.

A critical aspect of the development of the self is the temporal dimension. Memories of the past, both conscious and unconscious can effect the present as can hopes and fears about the future (Stevens, 1997). Essentially, the self comes about by a series of complex interactions over personally and socially constructed time. Each of these accounts of self form some kind of narrative, a flow of experiences, actions and events. Every individual has an overall sense of personal biographical flow (Stevens 1997, McAdams 1988, Erikson 1968, Gergen and Gergen 1988, Sarbin 1986). Whilst there is continuity in that a person remains in some senses the same across time, there

is also decided change. Age becomes an important marker of the person one is (Erikson 1959, 1963, 1968, McAdams 1988, Stevens 1997.)

McAdams 1988, although showing how maturity of the self is being able to incorporate the disparate parts into a meaningful whole, illustrates how change over time can occur which transforms the old to the new rather than replacing it. For this he uses Erikson's 1959 exploration of the autobiography of George Bernard Shaw. He focuses on George Bernard Shaw's reflections of his past and his own attempt to explain the threads of his life story. From many identity elements, which were apparent in a very perplexing picture, three were identified. These were the snob, the noisemaker, and the diabolical one. Each of these three identities develop. The crisis evident in the first is that he hated snobbery until he found out that he was a descendant of the Earl of Fife, of which he says,

"It was as good as being descended from Shakespeare, whom I had been unconsciously resolved to reincarnate from my cradle"

The second, the noisemaker, seemed to be an apt term used to describe the sounds made from a 'musical' family. This he describes as "an oceanic assault of music making". He is filled with remorse at the suffering his mother endured after sitting through relentless 'horribly discordant' recitals. Erikson says he may have learned to get even with his musical tormentors by compromising and becoming a music critic. He therefore became 'Corno di Bassetto', writing about the noise made by others. Finally the diabolical one, the lonely little boy whose mother, as Erikson points out, only listened to the noisemakers. He refers to himself as the diabolical one as he did not feel at one with himself when he was good. As integration took place Shaw describes his physical attribute as a young man; the upgrowing moustaches and eyebrows and the sarcastic nostrils as physical reflections of the *attitudes* of the diabolical one, which, "I had sung as a child" and "effected in my boyhood" which continued to manifest themselves throughout adulthood. The superordinate character being the 'actor' then governed the three major characters and their numerous roles. These characters are imagoes or the self-images in the story; Stevens' (1997),

description of the "me" . The "I" is the ability to integrate them together into a meaningful whole.

It is clear from this example, that each individual has a highly peculiar way of conceiving him or herself, different and exclusive from anyone else. So understanding persons is not a straightforward matter. Notably, personality theory has tended to focus on what is similar between people not what makes them who they are. Providing a unified framework for studying the self has been a daunting task (McAdams 1992). For being a person is indeed to hold particular beliefs and meanings which are construed by different persons in different ways. In order to find a research paradigm to study that which is unique about a person is to conceptualise the individual from his or her own particular perspective. This is because it will inevitably be a construction which reflects as much about the conceptualiser as the person being conceptualised.

The critical point, be it biographical or autobiographical, is that the individual for study has to be created or constructed by a narrator and the account will reflect this. Part of selection for example, is the information upon which the account is based. The individual way of using speech or written language constrains what is represented. The accounts given are influenced by the style of the author and that which the narrator wishes to convey about themselves. The account is not taken at face value but is regarded as a construction emerging from personal and particular social practices and ways of communicating. It is crucial to realise that the way in which an account is constructed is not ancillary but central to any conception of a person, (Stevens 1997). There is no way to avoid it.

Thus to listen to the life story of an individual told by himself is to potentially gain access to his or her self identity; the framework which governs and thus explains thought and behaviour.

1.9 Narrative Theory and The Self

Narrative is one of the most widely used ways of creating, interpreting and presenting images of the self within face-to-face interaction. Bruner 1986 suggested that it is the

major way in which we account for our actions and the events around us and that ‘our sensitivity to narrative provides the major link between our own sense of self and our sense of others in the social world around us’.

Thus a growing number of theorists propound that the only conceivable way for a person to understand him or herself is to tell his or her own life story (Bruner 1990, Charne 1984, Cohler 1982, Herman and Kempen, 1993, Howard 1991, Kotre 1984, Linde 1990, MacIntyre 1984, Polkinghorne, 1988, McAdams 1988). Narrative psychology (Bruner, 1990, Murray 1995, Sarbin 1986a) is an extension of “narratology” (Edwards 1997). Its origins began in literary theory which developed into the psychological study of how people make sense of their lives. Narratology, the study of stories, defines its categories and narrative type based on literary genres. For example Frye’s four literary genres were comedy, tragedy, romance, and satire. This typology addresses types of stories, but categories can also be found within stories that define their internal components and organisation. Narratology and Narrative psychology assume that narrative is a basic, perhaps the basic mode of human understanding (Edwards 1997), “the primary scheme by means of which human existence is rendered meaningful” (Polkinghorne, 1988). Narrative psychology focuses on how people make meanings. Sarbin 1986, purports that narrative can be thought of as a “root metaphor” for psychology.

Edwards 1997 suggests that narrative analysis is generally a matter of collecting interviews about particular kinds of life experiences (e.g. Linde 1993), and then fitting them into various analytical categories and schemas. Edwards notes that the actual interpersonal function of story telling is lost to the focus on structural story schemas, data from interviews and written literature and in the location of narrative studies within the theoretical domains of self identity and personal growth.. Edwards welcomes the chance interviewees have to tell their story in their own way but notes the lack of focus on interaction-oriented talk.

1.9.1 Discursive Approach

From a discursive perspective the relationship between memory and narrative can be analysed in two ways. First narrative accounts can be studied as acts of remembering

as the discursive equivalent to what subjects do in memory experiments when recalling events (Edwards and Middletown 1986a, 1986b). Secondly memory can be studied as a participants concern, examine situated uses of words such as 'remember', 'forget' and so on. Thus notions of remembering and forgetting feature in the dynamics of event reporting. Relations between narrative accounts and references to remembering are part of how ordinary discourse deals with relations between mind and world. Memory and events, mind and world, feature in discourse as mutually defining and delimiting categories.

1.9.2 Cognitive Approach

The essential difference between cognitive and discursive approaches to narrative (or stories) is that cognitive approaches treat them as expressions of how people understand things, whereas discursive approaches treat them as interaction-orientated productions. In discourse 'how people understand things' dissolves into discourse practice. Narrative psychology entertains both these notions, cognitive and discursive, though the tensions between them generally remain unexplored. Those tensions tend to remain in the background when the materials under analysis are one-off, definitive kinds of productions such as autobiographies, responses elicited in interview. The tensions come to the fore when examination takes place of narratives produced in conversation, including research interviews which are conducted and analysed as social interactions rather than as elicitations.

Thus the approach to narrative is dependent on the theoretical orientation of the research. How can one look at properties of a murderer when discursive approaches to narratives following a social constructionist stance which dispute that people own their thoughts and feelings. That these are private, self-generated, and organised within the inner self.

1.9.3 Social Constructionists

Social constructionists argue (Bruner 1990, Gergen 1985, Harre 1983, Shotter 1993) for a merged view of 'the person' and 'their social context' where boundaries of one cannot easily be separated from the boundaries of the other. The person,

consciousness, mind and the self are seen as social through and through. As a consequence, it makes little sense to ask what is determined from the inside and what is determined from the outside. Edwards 1997 explains the relationship between social constructionism and discourse. He quotes Gergen 1985 who states

“ Social constructionism is principally concerned with elucidating the processes by which people come to describe, explain, or otherwise account for the world in which they live”,

He also draws upon Shotter 1993b who shares this theoretical assumption. He says,

“Central to the social constructionist ontology I want to outline, is the view (shared ...Gergen 1985, Harre 1983, 1990) that the primary human reality is conversational or responsively relational, that one’s ‘person-world’ dimension of interaction or being exists within the a whole mele of ‘self-other’ relationships or dimensions of interaction.

The thrust of social constructionist psychology has been towards an increasing emphasis on discourse, incorporating developments in rhetorical and discursive psychology, and ethnomethodology (Shotter 1993a).

However, if supporters of social construction view other perspectives as paying insufficient attention to the significance of social construction, they in turn can be accused of being slow to recognise any universalites in human conduct, and any limitations and constraints imposed by the biological foundations of human life. Where the social constructionist perspective is weakest is probably in detailed examinations and explanations of individual differences. In many respects such differences are outside the scope of its theorising (Wetherell and Maybin 1996).

Clearly then a discursive approach to understanding how murderers see the world would not be appropriate, as Edwards states there is no room within discursive

psychology for exploring concepts belonging to the individual such as the self concept or self identity, when all utterances belong within the public arena.

There appear to be two main approaches to the study of stories. The discursive approach from social constructionism and the cognitive approach which stems from literary theory which is the psychological study of how people make sense of their lives (Edwards 1997). To recap, the first, 'type 1' treats discourse as a route to what the talk is about. This would be analogous to obtaining witness testimony and confession. Type 2, he suggests, takes one step back from the events of type 1 and takes a psychological interest in the speaker. It looks at how people see and understand things; which Edwards says can be seen as a distortion of type 1; a subjective veil that we have to get through, in order to retrieve 'what actually happened'. Much narrative psychology treats discourse in this way, that is, placing the importance on how people see and understand things. 'Type 3' is the discursive approach, which treats discourse as doing something as performing in and on the occasions of its production, as rhetorically orientated and where the topics of types 1 and 2 are at stake. The discursive approach treats discourse as the primary domain where world and mind are at issue. Edwards (1997) talks of the distortion of type 2 inhibiting details of what actually happened. In many respects this study was not interested in what actually happened, but in, fact the distortion. How does the individual see himself? How does he account for his life events and his self-identity? This reinterpretation of his life is synonymous with how he feels about what has happened to him. The interpretation of meaning could be accountable for the crimes rather than the life events per se.

1.9.4 Literary Theory

In looking then at murderers how understand themselves a cognitive approach is the one to take. To recap this research follows the literary theory which purports cognitive approach exploring how people understand things elicited by the stories they tell (Edwards 1997). In order to understand the concept of living life in story form the relationship between narrative and autobiography must be examined.

The focus of much narrative psychology, including the approach taken in this study has remained cognitivist in its theoretical orientation, accepting the notion that individuals reflect upon their experiences through constructing and understanding stories. Bruner (1990) understands narrative to be a *"mode of thought and action describable in terms that can relate to cognitive plans and representations. It is the means by which people organise their experience in, knowledge of, and transactions with the world"*.

Narrative psychology is an approach akin to autobiographical case studies (Bruner 1990, Freeman 1993, Plummer 1995) and concerned with self-identity, or subjectivity (Sarbin, 1986, Shotter and Gergen 1989, Young 1987). The worth of written autobiographies and ethnographic interviews very much depends on the purpose of the research. If the aim is to understand speech as a behaviour, it is appropriate to look at the dynamics of the conversation. If however the aim is to look at efforts made in "rewriting the self" as in Mark Freeman's approach to written autobiographies (1993), it explores the process

"in which we survey and explore our own histories, toward the end of making sense of who and what we are".

So taking a narrative vis a vis autobiographical perspective to the exploration of murderers' speech but more specifically their life stories, is the best way to achieve the aim of understanding how they understand who they are and how they see themselves in relation to their world.

1.9.5 Autobiography

For the purpose of this research autobiographical memory was essential. Autobiography embodies a notion attractive to psychological assumptions of a reflective sense making self or, in pausing to take stock and to tell a tale of self realisation (or otherwise) of trials and tribulations accomplishments and career. Edwards (1997) suggests that one important difference between diaries and autobiographies can be likened to the difference between chronicles and histories.

Chronicles attend to the sequence of events whilst histories reconstruct the chronological order of events, the underlying story.

1.10 The Relationship Between Narrative And Autobiographical Memory

Fitzgerald 1988 promotes the relatedness between autobiographical memory and narratives when he suggests that over this century there has been a marked development of an autobiographical sensibility in which knowledge of the self is to be found in the stories we tell about ourselves. The act of telling a life story involves two elaborate psychological systems. The first enables the individual to recount or interpret narrative itself, the second is concerned with retrieving the memories upon which the first is based.

1.11 A Definition of Narrative as Realised in This Study

Given that approaches to narrative and concepts of narrative differ, the use of the term narrative in this study is deemed synonymous with autobiography and life story.

1.12 Narrative as Structure

Gergen and Gergen (1988) explain how and why people live out their lives in narrative form.

"...Most of us begin our encounters with stories at our parents' knees. Through fairy tales, folk tales, legends and myths we receive our first organised account of human action. Stories continue to absorb us as we read novels, biography and history; they occupy us at the movies, the theatre and before the television set. And, possibly because of this intimate and long-standing acquaintanceship, stories also serve as a critical means by which we make ourselves intelligible within the social world. We tell extended stories about our childhoods, our relations with family members.....the development of our thinking on a given subject..... In each case, we use story form to identify ourselves to others and ourselves.....one can scarcely underestimate the importance of stories in our lives and the extent to which they serve as vehicles for rendering selves intelligible."

In essence then, the stories we live by enable us to function.

1.13 The Primary Function of the Life Story

The main function of the life story is integration. That is to structure all the elements of life into a meaningful whole. This, as mentioned by Stevens (1997), is the function of identity. Thus the life story is a patterned identity out of what may appear to be random and disconnected. The 'I' can provide an integrated telling of the self as a plausible story. McAdams says that if the 'I' is successful in doing this, then it is meeting the modern challenge of creating a reflexive scheme that is unified and purposeful and able to weather the problems of modern living which threaten to undermine it. Gregg (1995) and McAdams (1993) say that accepting that the function of the life story vis a vis identity, is a temporal integration of the 'me' and is not to suppose it goes beyond this to explain all personality or the persons entire life. McAdams (1993) says it is not clear whether or not personality itself can be readily construed as an integrative system. He says the main theorists in personality have disagreed strongly about this. Allport (1937) and Rogers (1951) attribute potential unity to personality as a whole, whilst Murray (1940) spoke of personality as a "full Congress of orators and pressure groups, of children, demagogues, communists.....Tories and Promethean revolutionists." The life story is simply a telling of the self, the way an individual makes sense of his or her own life . McAdams (1993) says that no matter how good the story is it does not answer the questions regarding the integrative force of personality or "what is the key to understanding this person?" McAdams (1993) says that such questions can be addressed in many different ways. Some of these ways may involve issues of identity and the life stories whilst others may not.

This research purports that understanding the key to the person (for example whether or not the individual is making sense of themselves), will be reflected in the life story and illuminate the way he/she constructs the world, that is to say, effectively or ineffectively. This in essence is the key to understanding the particular individual's perspective.

Thus the function of the story allows us to live. MacIntyre (1981) argues that narrative is central to understanding human conduct.

"In successfully identifying and understanding what someone else is doing we move towards placing a particular episode in the context of a set of narrative histories, histories both of the individuals concerned and of the settings in which they act and suffer. It is now becoming clear that we render the actions of others intelligible in this way because we live out narratives in our lives and because we understand our own lives in terms of the narrative that we live out that the form of narrative is appropriate for understanding the actions of others. Stories are lived before they are told - except in the case of fiction."

1.14 The Components of Narrative - Examining the Life Story

What is a life story?

All theorists agree on the definition of this basic question. In essence, a life story is an internalised and evolving narrative of the self that encompasses the reconstructed past, perceived present and anticipated future (McAdams, 1984, 1985, 1987, 1990, 1993). For each individual the life story is the product of the unique way the organising framework arranges knowledges of the self and the world into a temporal sequence. This takes the form of a story comparable to those of literature; having settings, scenes, characters, plots and themes. Both Gergen and Gergen (1988) and McAdams (1993), suggest that individuals may have more than one life story, or the overall narrative may consist of a collection of disconnected stories about the self. However, McAdams (1993) says that modern adults seem to have a predilection to try to integrate different autobiographical accounts into a whole, the goal being to achieve unity, coherence and purpose to one's life (Erikson 1963, Giddens 1991, Taylor 1989).

McAdams (1993) suggests that identity reflects the 'I's' (the organising framework), efforts to integrate the various telling of self into a larger narrative framework that suggests life unity and purpose. He therefore suggests that identity is a quality of the

'me'. The 'me' is the overall story, its status is as an integrative story form. Identity then is the story that binds together in the 'me'.

As the components of the narrative are explained, questions are raised about the possible differences in a variety of areas that may distinguish murderers from less dysfunctional or effective persons.

INTRODUCTION

Chapter Two: Content Components of Narrative

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INTRODUCTION: CHAPTER TWO

Content Components of Narrative

The framework for exploring narrative accounts in this research is based on McAdams 1988, 1993.

2.0 Introduction

McAdams approaches the study of narrative from a personological tradition which stems from personality theory. That is McAdams employs personological methods of inquiry from the perspective of biography and motivation. McAdams proposes that one's identity is a life story and can be examined by exploring the structure and function of stories.

“In essence I have adopted biographical methods of investigation to shed some light on the process of whole persons making sense of their lives via narrative – by constructing life stories which serve as their identities” (McAdams 1988)

McAdams thus attempts to provide a life story model of identity by integrating a number of diverse theories and concepts in the social sciences by describing and analysing personological data according to the following model.

A person's identity (life story) is divided into four major components: nuclear episodes, imagoes, ideological setting and generativity script. Two second – order variables are thematic lines and narrative complexity. Associated with thematic lines of life stories are power and intimacy motivation – two personality dimensions. Associated with narrative complexity is ego development. The relative complexity of one's life story should be a function of one's ego development, which refers to one's overall framework of meaning for making sense of one's experience and world. McAdams 1993 included narrative tone and imagery.

Like the story, identity has features of structure and content. Most narrative theorists have examined narratives by analysing the thematic content (Stevens 1997). This chapter will thus explore the content components of the narrative as delineated by McAdams 1988, 1993. McAdams (1985) analysed over two hundred accounts from life story interviews and proposed that adult life stories can be conceived of in terms of the following criteria. Narratives can be analysed in a variety of ways, but this research focuses on McAdams 1988, 1993 framework.

2.1 Narrative Tone

This refers to the “feeling” or emotional tone or attitude conveyed by the narrative, ranging from hopeless pessimism to boundless optimism. Western literature echoes this concept by classifying four types of story according to tone. Tragedy and irony and comedy and romance (Frye 1957). The ‘I’ appropriates the tone to the ‘me’.

It is difficult to hypothesise differences in narrative tone between effective and dysfunctional individuals. However, many offenders and individuals who are dysfunctional have had troubled lives, thus there may be a preponderance of tragic themes. Nevertheless many effective individuals have overcome great adversity and thus this may not be an area that can explain why some become criminal and or violent and others do not. So on the whole a population of murderers may reflect a different theme in comparison to an effective population but this will not illuminate why certain individuals become murderers. Moreover the tone may highlight an individual’s narrative structure. For example a flat tone may suggest a poorly structured narrative Barclay 1996 suggested that it is difficult to attach emotion when there is no narrative structure.

2.2 Imagery

The life stories individuals tell of their lives are presented with a characteristic quality of imagery (McAdams 1993). This imagery is represented in the word, pictures, sounds, even tastes and smells can be constructed by the narrator. That is, the metaphors and similes and such linguistic devices that give the life story a unique

distinctive feel. The choices made about which imagery is used conveys the unique quality of the person's experience. Therefore preferred metaphors and symbols reflect that which the identity is about.

The use of imagery according to Tannen (1996) is to increase the involvement of the listener into the story. This may suggest that people with a high need for relatedness, or intimacy may use metaphorical speech. Perhaps then, narratives with a high emotional tone will be more likely to use metaphors, possibly those with traumatic lives. However there is no evidence to suggest that murderers will differ significantly in the amount or type of imagery used from non-offenders. Even if there were differences, it is not clear how this would further the process of exploring how an individual sees the world. Rather it could be the case that individuals who exhibit use of imagery have functional narratives, the use of imagery is used to convey emotion and meaning, this requires having a narrative that belongs to a culture. Meaning is value laden and is usually communicated via narrative.

2.3 Theme

Themes are the goal directed sequences that characters pursue in narrative. These reflect what personality theorists would say are motivations. That is, what characters want, what they endeavour to get and avoid over time. In Western literary traditions and in the field of personality research the two main themes are power and love, also called dominance and warmth (McAdams 1988, Wiggins and Broughton 1985, Blackburn 1997) or agency and communion (Bakan 1966). Agency refers to the individual's desire to be autonomous in the world in order to master it. This can manifest as a desire for power, achievement, control and isolation. A central theme of agency running throughout a life story sees the character asserting and expanding or protecting themselves, thus being active agents. Communion or intimacy, refers to the union of the individual with the world by surrendering individuality for the larger whole. This theme emerges as love, reconciliation, caring and merger. McAdams (1988) conducted a series of studies, which compared and contrasted the differences between persons with respect to the degree to which thematic lines of agency and communion dominate the text.

This is one area that may have some bearing on criminal and murderous behaviour. A number of empirical investigations of power motivation has indicated that certain behaviours which can be described literally as anti social have been linked to having a high power theme. Winter (1973) showed that men with high power motivation tended to read magazines concerned with sex and aggression; (McClelland and Teague 1975); McClelland and Watson (1973) linked high power motivation to the taking of extreme risks in order to gain visibility and McClelland (1975) showed that having a high power motivation was more likely to lead the individual into becoming involved in more arguments. Overall, studies have shown that men with a high need for power have been connected with impulsive and aggressive behaviour (McAdams 1988). In addition to this, having a high power motivation for men has led to instability and dissatisfaction in love relationships in men. All these factors have been found in men, not women, and considering that the majority of the criminal population and homicide population are men, this may partially illuminate some factors involved in the emergence of criminal behaviour.

However, simply looking at these themes, is to emulate personality strategies, that is looking for the underlying motivations which will “predispose” an individual to behave in a general way rather than how one acts towards a social referent. Although some individuals with high power themes may be more likely to be involved in criminal and impulsive behaviour, many of the worlds most effective and influential and prosocial persons have high power themes. It is hard to conceive that without the will to achieve, strive and compete that many would have succeeded in their life ambitions.

So although looking at the thematic lines of the narrative may be fruitful, the question still remains as to how and why these individuals are dysfunctional and not functional. Clearly other aspects of narrative need to be explored.

2.4 Ideological Setting

This essentially refers to a kind of morality, an implicit perspective on 'the good', from which the individual can judge the quality of his or her own life and others. Most modern stories suggest that the ideological setting, or backdrop of the story, reflects the fundamental beliefs and values which situate the plot in an ethno-religious setting. So this refers to a range of beliefs, socio-political, ethical and so on, including how they came to be formed.

Quite clearly the backdrop at least for some criminals and murderers is going to be different from effective persons for two main reasons. The first concerns the implicit suggestion that all individuals write their lives against a knowledge of what is virtuous. If society agreed that murder was an acceptable way of solving problems, prisons would not exist, thus believing that deviancy, criminal and murderous behaviour is right seems to belong to a very particular sub group of individuals. It must be said that not all individuals who have committed murder believe that it was the correct course of action, even so, very few murderers have no previous convictions, many having been involved in property crimes such as burglary. Therefore it is true to say that most murderers have lived a life with a backdrop in which crime is acceptable. This then deviates from the ideological setting that most effective individuals have.

The second question raised concerns the assumption that all individuals judge the quality of their own lives in comparison with others. Whilst many individuals involved in criminal behaviour may have evaluated themselves in terms of their peers' behaviour, most murderers have not been taught to murder. Nevertheless some may have grown up in an environment where violence is used to resolve conflicts. Not all murderers have a history of deprived background, indeed some have had positive influences (Ted Bundy, Jeffery Dahmer). So it would appear that at least for some murderers they do not evaluate their own behaviour against those close to them.

However, simply extracting the ideological setting from the narrative will do little more than arguing the nature/nurture debate. Have they been taught? or do they deviate from their social environment? Whilst again this may be fruitful it cannot stand-alone and inform on the specific nature of identity. The question still remains as

to how these beliefs have been developed and have thus shaped the way they see themselves and the world and specifically how this leads them to murder.

2.5 Nuclear Episodes

These are significant memories of particular scenes that stand out in the life story, often reflecting important high points, low points, beginning points, ending points and turning points in the story. These scenes are reconstructed to reconfirm self-perceived continuity or change of the self over time. The consequence of this is that the individual may give high priority to certain memories which capture the narrative's bare bones, thus the essential truth about the self. As an affirmation change, a person may identify a particular event as an epiphany which marks a transformation, as in a "loss of innocence," a "fall from grace," and so on (Denzin 1989, McAdams 1985). Thus what actually happened is not as important as the way in which the memory has been reconstructed to reflect the overall story. Two ways in which murderer may differ from effective persons in terms of nuclear events are in low points and turning points.

Many murderers and violent criminals have deprived and impoverished backgrounds and/ or have been witnesses or victims themselves (Browne 1993). Thus the memories they recollect may be more likely to be negative than those of effective persons. Added to this, turning points may evolve around traumatic and negative happenings as opposed to positive and constructive events. It is not hard to conceive, for example, that the child who loses its parents or who is removed to foster care, is less likely to effectively develop compared with the child who achieves well in exams and in due course, is able to exercise personal control in life. Whilst this may well be the case for many, not all individuals who have had an unhappy and traumatic childhood resort to violent ways of interacting with the world. Furthermore, murderers do not always come from impoverished backgrounds. Nevertheless extracting nuclear episodes from the narrative is valuable. The important point is not the events per se but how they

have been reconstructed to give shape to an identity. They can illuminate on whether an individual is making sense or not.

2.6 Imagoes

All stories contain human or personified characters. In a life story the main character is the person whose life the story is about. However the main character can appear in different roles, for example the same person can talk about himself as a parent, teacher, skier, carer and leader. Each of these personify particular aspects of the self. Imagoes then are one-dimensional characters in the story, each integrating a host of different characteristics and attributes. McAdams (1993) describes imagoes as being little 'me's', main characters in the story who think and act in highly personalised ways, inhabiting the big 'me' narrative. McAdams found after listening to taped interviews with a sample of mid-life adults that having a few images of self was common place, in many of the adults' accounts. He describes his sample as normal and well adjusted. He therefore suggests that a lack of pathology is characterised by individuals speaking as if they were inhabited by multiple selves.

There is evidence to show that diversity and complexity of the self-concept, that is a greatly multifaceted self, or in narrative terms, multiple imagoes reduces stress. Linsville (1985) suggested that greater self-complexity provides a buffer against stress. If an individual has only one or two identities (selves) any negative event is going to have an impact on most aspects of the self-concept. The woman who sees herself, primarily as a wife, for example, is likely to be devastated if her husband wants an immediate divorce. In contrast, the individual, who has a more complex representation of self, may be more protected from negative events that primarily involve only one of two roles. The woman who not only sees herself as a wife but also a mother, lawyer, friend and tennis player will have other roles to fall back on when impending divorce threatens the role of spouse. Linsville's research has shown that people with more complex self-concepts are less prone to depression and illness; they also experience less severe mood swings following success or failure in one particular area of performance.

It should be noted that Linville uses the term identity, character and roles interchangeably. The basic statement is that those individuals who have only one or two imagoes will not be able to cope as well as a person with a complex system of imagoes.

Research conducted by McAdams (1988) suggests that between about two and five main imagoes can be identified in an adult's life story. However in some samples no imagoes could be identified in the narrative. In diverse contrast then to the example of George Bernard Shaw, some individuals tell their life stories without a clear image of themselves. This then gives rise to two areas where murderers may differ from effective individuals. One in the type of imago held and the other regarding the amount of imagoes held.

As the life stories "we tell ourselves in order to live are populated by characters whose roles personify profound identity truths" McAdams (1988), the differences in imagoes between dysfunctional and effective individuals should be readily apparent. Whilst some will be potentially blatant, for example talking as though one is a criminal, burglar or murderer, those of an indirect nature will still reveal differences. For example the individual may portray an image of being a megalomaniac or retributionist or deviant child. Effective individuals may portray images of being a provider, carer or mentor. The second difference may be in the amount of imagoes an individual has. Effective individuals have a few thus furnishing them with a variety of skills enabling them to cope with a range of problems. It therefore makes sense to suppose that dysfunctional individuals have less imagoes, resulting in little choice in behaviour especially with regard to issues of problem solving. This however is an aspect of narrative structure.

The imagoes, specifically with respect to the organisation and amount, may highlight some unique aspects of identity.

2.7 The Generativity Script

The ending to the story or anticipated ending to the story, ties together the beginning, and middle to maintain unity and purpose and direction over time. Ideally the ending should produce new beginnings (McAdams 1993). Modern adults seem to strive for an ending that allows them to achieve a symbolic immortality, generating a legacy of the 'me' that will live on beyond their lives (Becker 1973, Kotre 1984, McAdams 1985). Adults at mid-life onwards are faced with moulding a generativity script (McAdams 1985, McAdams, Ruetzel and Foley 1986). The generativity script shows how the individual constructs and nurtures a positive benefaction of the self to be incorporated into future generations.

It is difficult to accept that many murderers would be generative. To be generative is to be prosocial, the act of killing can be seen as the antithesis of being generative. Taking a life is opposite to thinking about how one can enhance the lives of others. Thus this is an area where there is likely to be a big difference between murderers and effective individuals.

This goes to support the hypothesis that there are likely to be some profound differences in the content of the narratives told by murderers when examined by the criteria extracted from the effective samples that McAdams (1988) explored.

2.8 Narrative and Self Identity

So far the possible differences relating to the content between murderers and functional persons have been raised, such as how thematic lines are channelled, differences in ideology, differences in the events that have taken place in their lives and the possible difference in the characters in the story have been raised. The unique configuration of these, the specific life story according to McAdams is the identity. Thus taking each of these criteria as a whole may provide a taxonomy that delineates murderers from effective individuals.

2.9 Classification of Narratives

At the moment there is no consensus of any well validated taxonomy for modern adults. Classification schemes have been drawn from literature. Apart from Frye's

(1957) classification of comedy, romance, tragedy and irony, Elsbree (1982) suggested a system based around five archetypal actions. These are (1) establishing or consecrating a home; (2) winning a contest or fighting a battle; (3) taking a journey; (4) enduring suffering and ; (5) pursuing consummation. Hankiss (1981) described four "ontologies of the self": (1) the dynastic form, where positive past events leads to a positive outcome e.g. money goes to money; (2) the antithetical form where negative past leads to a positive present e.g. from rags to riches; (3) the compensatory form, where a positive past leads to a negative present e.g. a fall from grace and (4) the self absolutionary form, where a negative past leads to negative present events e.g. incarcerated criminals. Yet another classification delineates the movement of the narrative which can be a narrative which progresses, regresses or remains stable over time Gergen and Gergen (1988).

2.10 Narratives of Culture

These classifications show that individuals tend to live life according to 'prescribed' cultural value. In other words people share similar narratives. For example, there is a fundamental difference in the way that men and women give accounts of their lives (Gergen and Gergen 1993). Women's stories are multiple, intermingled, ambivalent as to valence and recursive. Men's stories concentrate on the pursuit of single goals most often career oriented. Women's life stories are complex usually weaving together themes of achievement along with themes of family obligations, personal development, love lives, children's well being and friendship. Men, on the other hand, rarely tell stories that reveal emotional experiences traumas, self-depreciation, self-doubt and self-destructiveness. The tone of women's stories are never unidirectional focused or contained as men's are. Thus the content and the form of men's and women's autobiographies are distinct

Individual differences in life stories can be understood in terms of differences in the configuration of narrative tones, imagery, thematic lines, ideological settings, nuclear episodes, imagoes and generativity scripts that identities may express (McAdams 1985, 1993). Thus whilst every story is exclusive there exist common dimensions upon which different stories can be compared and contrasted. In addition there may be

similar sub types of stories, thus life stories may not only illustrate how unique an individual is but also how that individual shares a common set of narrative principals exclusive to a specific sub group of people.

A difference between murderers and more functional individuals may lie in the classification system offered by Elsbree (1982). Violent offenders may have narratives, which are based around winning a contest or fighting a battle, or enduring suffering. Perhaps in Hankiss' (1981) classification there will be a common theme of where a negative past leads to a negative present. According to Gergen and Gergen (1988) the narratives may be regressive rather than progressive. On the whole offenders may be more likely to tell life stories based around these themes yet this does not tell us why effective individuals sharing these themes lead non violent lives. More specifically it still does not inform on why and how they became murderers.

In a recent study by McAdams (1993), the life stories of seventy adults were explored which identifies a prototypical construct. Each story that was recognised as a "commitment story" tended to manifest itself in the narrative constructions of adults who distinguished themselves as being in paid work, volunteer activities, and who were strongly concerned about the welfare of the next generation. The stories of commitment were offered by highly generative adults who differed significantly from less generative adults on a coherent set of narrative forms, themes and motifs. The results McAdams (1993) suggest however, is that there is no difference in narrative tone, that is, highly generative adults are no more optimistic than less generative ones. Neither did they contain a higher number of positive or lower number of negative life events. Added to this there was no difference in how the childhoods were reconstructed in terms of how secure the primary attachments were. Nearly all the life stories contained a blend of positive and negative affect. One distinguishing feature however was the way in which the stories were sequenced, bad scenes tended to give rise to good scenes. This leads McAdams to suggest that certain kinds of life stories may be associated with age, certain socio-economic groups, certain professions and subcultures. McAdams sees that this type of narrative research can lead the way for cataloguing and systematising the many identity forms of modern adults.

The important point to pick up on in McAdams' (1993) study, is that at least some content components cannot elicit differences between groups of individuals who appear to have different themes. Moreover, it is the sequencing of events that highlights differences. The form of the content then allows for the exploration of the structure of the narrative. This indicates that the differences between individuals may lie in the way the narrative is put together rather than what it is.

Throughout this chapter, although possible differences have been highlighted, there has been no clear way illuminated that can identify why certain individuals are dysfunctional and others are not, given that many share similar life experiences, self images, and thematic lines (motivations). They may differ on ideological setting but what is it that has led to these beliefs and 'values? This suggests that the way in which the content is organised is the key to understanding the way in which an individual sees himself, the structure of the narrative. This then may explain the differences in effective and violent adults.

INTRODUCTION

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INTRODUCTION: CHAPTER THREE

Narrative structure

3.0 Introduction

The constructivist perspective which holds that the individual is the sum of a unique subjective experience requires exploration of how and why these events have been selected to represent the individual's life story. So, for instance, the nuclear events, the imagoes, the ideological setting and the generativity script are all aspects of the "me". The main question for this research is to examine the "I", the organising framework which is responsible for selecting from a range of events, those experiences that enable the individual to make sense of who he or she is. This then is to investigate the structure of the story.

3.1 Narrative Structure

To understand how a life history is told or how it is being interpreted and understood is virtually impossible without a grasp of narrative structure (Bruner and Feldman 1996). Two main points worthy of explication are that the product of autobiography, as in all narrative, is a highly constructed one; and that the way in which narrative is constructed, its form and pattern, provides a basis for understanding or interpreting it, whether the interpretation is accurate or not. Narrative patterning does not inhibit accurate autobiographical telling, but rather provides a framework for both conversing and understanding.

3.2 Self Construction

The definition of autobiographical memory depends on the theorist. Some purport any situated and real life memory; others mean only personal memories where the 'self' was engaged. All agree however that whilst autobiographical memory includes the latter is not all of it. What is imperative though is that autobiographical memory is patterned by the notion of a self schema that undergoes development over time. The self constructs the past and is changed by the outcome of its own construction. In this sense the self differs from other interpretative schemata in its reflexivity. It is not free standing or self contained when interpreting text but is itself constituted by the act of

interpretation. Thus the way in which these facts are related or patterned comes from narrative features such as genre and plot type. Most events sequences can be retold in several equally accurate versions differing mainly in the meaning ascribed to the reported event. Choice of genre is not dictated by the facts but by the overall message or meaning the narrator places on life as a whole. Events are shaped for narrative purposes with a view toward meaning and signification not toward the end of preserving the facts. Thus one way to reveal autobiographical selves to the world is by being based on narrative properties such as genre and plot type that are widely shared within a culture, that is shared in ways that allow others to construe meaning just like the narrator. This is how private experiences are communicated meaningfully to others.

3.3 Distortion and Recall

The main aspect about autobiographical memory that has been researched has related to distortion and recall. Many factors that can influence recall. Brewer 1988 found that the importance of an event, and the uniqueness were good in predicting whether an event would be recalled. Baddley 1990 suggests that in order to achieve an accurate reflection of the past the focus should be on remembering the broad outline of events rather than the specifics. Thus ascribing meaning to an event facilitates it's retrieval. Meaning is gained from the culture and therefore recall and distortion and the construction of self are bound up in cultural narratives.

3.4 Constructivism.

The models of the self-generated by contemporary theorists from a variety of disciplines share a common theme of constructivism (Fitzgerald 1992). Markus and Narius 1986 on possible selves, Maier 1989 on stories and Schank and Abelson 1977 on scripts, plans and goals are examples of attempts made to bring the construction of self into theoretical focus. Within this context there exist theorists who are concerned with the concept of narrative forms of knowing, particularly narrative forms of knowing the self (Bruner 1986, Howard 1991, Maier 1989, McAdams 1985, Robinson and Hawpe 1986; Sarbin 1986 Spence 1982. These individuals do not necessarily totally accept either the premises or the conclusions of the constructivist paradigm but yet all contain elements or features of constructivism.

3.5 Narrative Thinking

Just what narrative thinking is unclear. Howard 1991 contends that all knowledge takes a narrative form. Bruner 1986 feels narrative thought must be given as an important complement to paradigmatic forms of thought. Robinson and Hawpe 1986 promote the idea that narrative thinking is a form of causal thinking. That is experience does not straightaway assume narrative form but reflection about that experience enables the construction of stories.

3.6 Self-Narrative

Within the broader framework of narrative psychology, explorations of the development of and characteristics of a self narrative or personal narrative are a central concern (Cohler 1982, Fitzgerald 1988; Gergen and Gergen 1983, McAdams 1985, Ross 1989. There is considerable diversity of opinion about how best to conceptualise the core terms. Cohler 1982 emphasises the emergence of an internally consistent account of the life course, which can change from time to time with the emphasis being on the individual accounting for what has happened. This view has been identified by Fitzgerald 1988 as being related to mental autobiography. This is based upon Butler 1963 who suggested that an integrated image of one's life is a desirable goal for psychological ageing.

3.7 The Meaning Of Narrative As Used In This Study

An alternate standpoint is offered by Fitzgerald 1988 whereby the self-narrative is conceived of as an interpretative framework that is constructed by the individual from experience and is used throughout life. Thus the emphasis shifting from what has happened to what is happening. This is similar to Csikszentmihalyi and Beattie 1979 who proposed that the self narrative is a set of stories involving the individual which are utilised for looking both forward and backward in time to provide satisfactory accounts of experience. This is the definition and concept favoured by McAdams 1988 and is the position of this thesis.

In accepting these facts of narrative structure, Sarbin (1986) identifies that the problem of lacking consensus of a taxonomy of life stories is due to attempts made to classify the plot. He suggests that this issue is ultimately resolved not by trying to classify plots or the acts of the narrative figures (imagoes), but with the structure of the context that determines whether the reader or listener will be saddened amused inspired or enlightened by actions of the constructed narrative figures. Thus the narrative is treated as an organising principle for human action. This can be compared to more conventional organising schemes. Decision theory (Kahneman and Tversky 1972), use heuristics as the organising framework; Rosenberg (1971) utilises personality theory as the structure which accounts for the ways in which individuals construct cues into personality descriptions. Organising principles such as these, enable observations to be made about how people impose structure onto the flow of human experience. Although differences may occur with the "me" (the content) Sarbin (1986) suggests that the 'I' the organising framework is the key to understanding human experience. This is supported by the findings of McAdams (1993) who found no differences in type and amount of nuclear events but in the sequencing of these events. In order to understand differences in the structure of narrative, we need to understand what structure is and specifically how this enables the individual to construct a reality.

3.8 Dysfunctional Narratives - A Definition

The usage of the term dysfunction narratives related to the structure of the narrative not the thematic content of the narrative. Indeed to suggest that there are dysfunctional content themes would be somewhat judgmental. At best there may be certain narratives that are not shared by many others at worst they differ significantly to those of the cultural whole.

To term a narrative dysfunctional then is to suggest that it does not do the job it is supposed to do. That is that the self -narrative does not serve to explain to the self and others who the person is and what the individual's life is about. In others words it fails to give the individual a personal identity or at least one that can function well in the modern world.

3.9 Evaluating Meaning in Coherent Cultural Narratives

The notion that people may have dysfunctional narratives and perhaps more specifically murderers, comes from Barclay 1996. It is suggested that the subjective experiences of trauma and atrocity often lack the essential narrative elements needed to give coherence to those experiences as well as affectively grounded evaluative information. This is pertinent as evaluations of experiences give meanings to our lives. Evaluative information leads to culturally recognised coherent stories structured by known canonical narrative forms because affect conveys how subjective experiences should be interpreted and understood. Indeed Barclay 1996 proffers that it is possible to identify why certain autobiographical accounts e.g. those associated with trauma that lack temporal organisation and affect, are incoherent and difficult to understand.

3.10 Momentary Selves and Narrative Selves

Dissociative experiences result from exposure to short and long term trauma. These can lead to two states, which Barclay 1996 terms as momentary selves and narrative selves. Momentary selves means selves composed in the present through autobiographical remembering that are unbounded by temporal-special and causal conditional structures and associated with paucity of affective, evaluative information that would inform a listener about the meaning of those experiences. Narrative selves means selves which are composed in known story forms used to capture the phenomenology of development across the lifespan.

3.11 Causal - Explanatory Systems

The experiences of certain kinds of trauma lack consistent causal - explanatory systems (Linde 1987). Therefore canonical narrative forms cannot be objectified within a coherent narrative system. The consequences of being unable to reconstruct meaningful interpretations, understandings and explanations for why one experiences trauma include the construction of fragmented personal histories, and isolated moments of horrible unspeakable knowledge. Barclay claims that the experience of self incoherence is associated with the loss of ability to use improvisational skills in a generative manner to construct meanings and explanations for one's experiences. The

person becomes unable to compose an emergent self while alone and in relationship with others. Thus the perspective purported is that autobiographical remembering is grounded in embodied experiences directly perceived and felt that cannot be narrated coherently (Johnson 1987, Lakoff 1986, Neisser 1988).

3.12 Isolating Narratives

Many forms of victimisation like rape or traumatic violence do not conform to widely known narrative systems (e.g. romantic sagas) or emotional scenarios that become the emotional context (e.g. depression, anger) in need of narrative justification (Gergen and Gergen 1988). Thus Barclay suggests that narrative structures are limited in constructing highly coherent subjective experiences when the traumatised person is trying to build a coherent sense of self without a cultural narrative on which to base it. Fivush and Reese 1992 too suggest that autobiographical memory is shaped by conventionalised narrative forms which provide the structure for representing memories.

How does the individual who has no narrative self but a momentary self, with no cultural base upon which to understand themselves exist. It is suggested that such individuals are dysfunctional. Murder can be conceived of the ultimate in behaving and thinking in a dysfunctional way thus if such an existence is possible it should be apparent within a sample of murderers.

3.13 Structure

Structure refers to the general characteristics of shape, pattern or organisation of response rather than to the rate or intensity of response or its pairing with particular stimuli. Cognitive structure refers to the rules for processing information or for connecting experienced events. Cognition as reflected in thinking, means putting things together or relating events and this relating is an active connecting process, not a passive connecting of events through external association and repetition (Kohlberg 1969). Structure is then defined as a pattern or organisation as distinguished from ideas about the connecting of stimulus and response as behaviourism would purport. He further differentiates between structure and the similar concept of content by saying,

“Cognitive - developmental stages of structure, not of content. The stages tell us how the child thinks concerning good and bad, truth, love, sex, and so forth. They do not tell us what he thinks about, whether he is preoccupied with morality or sex or achievement. They do not tell us what is on the adolescent’s mind.” (Kohlberg and Gilligan 1971)

In cognition then, structure refers to the form of information processed by the individual rather than the specifics of the information to be processed per se. In this sense structure is abstract and formal, content is relatively concrete.

A dominant theory in developmental psychology is the organic lamp theory where humans are viewed as active agents interacting with the environment via dialectical transactions in which the person shapes and is being shaped by the environment. As self - constructing, self-organising beings, humans live by constructing patterns of knowing their world which exist as structural wholes of internal relations, such as narrative theory and Kelly’s personal construct theory 1955). It is not in the interest of this research to understand the rules of transition rather what the stages are and what it means to be in such a stage. But briefly as Kohlberg and Gilligan (1971) write,

"Each stage then, is a better cognitive organisation than the one before it, one which takes account of everything present in the previous stage, but making new distinctions and organising them into a more comprehensive or more equilibrated structure".

Thus higher stages displace lower ones not via suppression but through reorganisation. An important point to consider is that the new stage is more complex that is more differentiated and more hierarchically integrated.

There is a direction in development from states of relative simplicity to those of increasing differentiation and hierarchic integration. In the realm of cognitive development, the individual comes over time to see more and more distinctions in his or her world (greater differentiation) and more and more connections as well (greater integration). These higher structures are more differentiated and more integrated and integration typically takes the form of hierarchy in which information is embedded in classes which likewise are embedded in larger classes. This introduces the notion that the way in which one sees the world is dependent on the level of cognitive structure attained.

3.14 McAdams's Application of Loevinger's Model

In exploring the notion of ego development McAdams proposed that Jane Loevinger's 1976 stages of ego development predict the degree of structural complexity.

Loevinger 1976 offered a concept of ego development, which is based upon the specific understanding that development, is built on the metaphor of organism and using structure as a key concept. This as used in cognitive areas is formal in nature, emphasising the formal relations between objects rather than the content of the objects being related to each other. Development consists of the acquisition or change of the basic rules governing the relations among the elements. This orientation to development is based upon the same principle adopted by Jean Piaget (Loevinger 1976). Ego development is presented as the 'master trait' in personality as the frame that provides more specific traits with their meaning and around which the whole edifice of personality is constructed. This theory shares the cognitive developmentalism, the Piagetian notion of stage: ego stages are conceptualised as equilibrated structures, related to each other in an invariant hierarchical sequence.

This provides some insight into how structure may influence and be influenced by the life story. It was suggested that the life stories of individuals at higher stages of ego development would be much more differentiated and integrated than the life stories of individuals at lower levels. This notion regarding the organisation of structure was adopted in this research as a way of exploring the functionality of narrative.

Thus Loevinger (1966, 1973, 1976) presented a concept of the ego which was commensurate with the concept of self-identity as realised in this study.

".....psychologists investigating ego development are able to catch a glimpse of a person's process of making sense of self and world and are thus able to determine the extent to which this process is structural simple or complex."

This is to offer a way in which the identity and thus the life story can show how structurally developed an individual is. The way in which Loevinger 1976 describes the ego also describes the function of self-identity thus rendering the two terms synonymous. The ego is a name given to a collection of related processes in human functioning. These include perception, memory, reality testing, defence, dream censorship, and integration and all of them serve the purpose of facilitating the person's overall adaptation to the world. The function of the ego is to organise these disparate elements, that is to synthesise to integrate them into a meaningful whole. This then, is conceptually identical to the function of the life story.

"The organisation or the synthetic function is not just another thing the ego does, it is what the ego is,the striving to master, to integrate, to make sense of experience is not one ego function among many but the essence of ego" (Loevinger 1976)

For Loevinger the ego is the integrative framework of meaning that individuals subjectively impose upon their experience, an overall frame of reference defining one's customary orientation to self and to world.

An interesting point to note from the perspective of understanding and therefore predicting criminal behaviour is that this structural model comprises qualitatively

distinct frames of reference or ego states that are arranged on a continuum from extreme globality and simplicity to extreme differentiation and hierarchic integration. The stages specify not only different levels of development across the life span, but also individual differences within an age cohort. It is important to look at these further as these stages seem to make sense of individual offender's behaviour and cognition which make up the self. Therefore one's stage of ego development is a major individual-differences dimension upon which one can be distinguished. The stage of ego development is the framework upon which the content is based.

Loevinger (1976) conceives of the ego as a multifaceted abstraction which nevertheless implies an underlying wholeness or integrity. With respect to structural complexity Loevinger therefore argues that early and relatively immature stages in the hierarchic model of development bespeak simplistic, global, and egocentric frameworks of meaning in which issues and concepts are apprehended in black and white terms and one's orientation is toward self-protection or banal conformity. At higher stages, however one comes to question the simple dictates of convention and one's understanding of a range of issues and concepts become more highly differentiated and integrated so that contradiction and ambiguity eventually become tolerable and the individuality of others and their own systems of belief and value is accepted or even cherished (Loevinger 1976).

3.15 Stages of Ego Development

Although the stages speak about children, it must be remembered that adults have been found to operate at even the most basic levels.

The first stage (I-1) is where an infant makes an attachment to the primary caregiver. With the development of language, the child enters the impulsive stage (I-2). The child's own impulses help him to affirm a separate sense of self. The stage is still egocentric. The world is seen as a concrete setting for the satisfaction of physical needs. The child is demanding and dependent in interpersonal relationships. Morality

is Kohlberg's stage 1 (pre-moral) at which the child understands good behaviour to be that which is rewarded and bad that which is punished.

The impulsive stage as a frame of reference is structurally rather simple. The child's classification of people into the general categories of good versus bad (aggressive versus non-aggressive) is a global value judgement rather than an articulated moral judgement per se. Good and bad may be confounded with "nice to me" and "mean to me" or with "clean" and "dirty" synonymous with "sphincter morality" of young children (Ferenczi 1925). Though emotional experiences may be very intense in this stage, the individual's descriptions of these stages are relatively crude and global, limited to such terms as mad, upset, sick, turned on, and high (or very, very). The impulsive individual's orientation is primarily toward the present rather than the past or future. The child that remains too long in this stage may be seen by others as "uncontrollable" or "incorrigible" (Loevinger 1976).

In the self-protective stage (delta), the child shifts from an immediate frame of reference to one in which he is able to anticipate short-term rewards and punishments. Delay of gratification becomes a salient individual-difference variable. Rules appear for the first time, but getting caught breaking the rules defines what is wrong, not the rules themselves. The good life is the easy life. Friendships may be seen as nice things, to be collected much like money. An older child or adult who stagnates at the Delta stage may become opportunistic, deceptive, and Machiavellian in his relations with other people.

'For such a person, life is a zero-sum game; what one person gains, someone else has to lose' (Loevinger 1976).

With the shift from an egocentric frame of reference to an identification of one's own welfare with that of a group, the individual makes a true developmental leap and enters the conformist stage (I-3) of ego development. Morality becomes conventional (Kohlberg's 3 and 4 stages) and is strictly defined by the rules and norms of the group (be it small scale social group or society as a whole). People as well are essentially defined according to their group allegiances. This may lead to stereotyping, a cognitive hallmark of the conformist stage. Others come to be classified primarily

according to external criteria such as sex age, race, nationality or the size of the family car, the resultant stereotypes are virtually impervious to any consideration of individual differences within groups. The conformist person then may therefore see most people as being basically alike or at least he believes they ought to be. The conformist person values niceness, helpfulness and co-operation with others, a contrasting prosocial orientation with what may be an opportunistic stance of delta (previous stage) Interpersonal experience and effective states are described by simple clichés and banal terms such as happy, sad, glad, sorrow and love and understanding.

The break with this group and thus conventional thinking is a slow process or transition marked by ever increasing self-awareness and an appreciation for the multiple possibilities in situations. This transition then, known as conformist/conscientious transition (I-3/4) sees an extremely prevalent perhaps modal adult form The individual at this level then, is becoming increasingly aware of his or her inner life, but the descriptions of experiences are still couched in relatively banal terms. Speech which involves feelings will be vague with some reference to relationships with others, using such words as, lonely, embarrassed, homesick, and self conscious. Exceptions to stereotypes may be acknowledged, though more complex patterns of attribution await later stages.

The next stage (I-4) is the conscientious stage. Internalisation of rules is complete. The major elements of adult conscience are present: long term self evaluated goals and ideas, differentiated self-criticism and a sense of responsibility. Mutuality in long term relationships is the result of more sophisticated forms of perspective taking. Human behaviour is seen in terms of internal determinants such as traits and motives. A rich and differentiated inner life is characteristic of individuals at this stage. Only a few persons as young as 13 or 14 reach the conscientious stage.

"Things are not just classified as 'right' and 'wrong'. A conscientious person thinks in terms of polarities but more complex and differentiated ones: trivial versus important, love versus lust, dependent versus independent, inner life versus outward experiences" (Loevinger 1976).

The second transitional phase the individualistic level (I 4/5) is marked by a growing tolerance for others' individuality, and a greater awareness of the conflict between heightened individuality and increased emotional dependence. Conceptual complexity is characterised by tolerating paradox and contradiction. The awareness that conflict is an inherent part of the human condition waits until number five. With this development of the capacity to cope adequately with the conflicts of the individualistic level, the autonomous (I-5) stage of ego development is introduced. At this stage the individual can tolerate ambiguity and high cognitive complexity. A respect for the autonomy of others has been acquired whilst realising that emotional interdependence is inevitable. Self fulfilment partly replaces achievement as a salient conscious preoccupation. The person at this stage expresses his or her feelings vividly and convincingly including sensual experiences, poignant sorrows and existential humour intrinsic to paradoxes of life. He can formulate broad and abstract social ideas and make moral decisions akin to Kohlberg's stage 5). This developmental position is rare among adults and virtually unheard of in adolescence.

Rarer still is the (I-6), integrated individual. In addition to the stage five attributes a stage six person has "consolidation of a sense of identity"

The relationship between Loevinger's ego state (1976) is analogous to that between James' self as 'I' and his self as 'me' 1890. The ego then, is the governing 'I' of the personality which is able through its construing to construct the me, that is to construct identity.

In this way then the stage of the identity structure can be seen to limit and constrain the way an individual sees the world. It suggests that individuals operating at the higher stages of ego development will be more prosocial and tolerant of others. They are highly differentiated providing them with a mastery over the environment. On the other hand those operating at the lower levels are egocentric and global. This in

essence reflects an immaturity which thus makes it difficult for the individual to be functional and effective in a complex and modern world.

3.16 Cognitive Development and Criminal Behaviour

There is direct evidence to suggest that a lack of maturity in the development of identity bears some relation to criminal and violent behaviour. This is demonstrated by the Interpersonal Maturity Level Classification (Sullivan, Grant and Grant 1956) further developed by Warren (1971, 1983) and Palmer (1974) and the Conceptual Levels Model defined by Hunt and Hardt (1965). These models are very similar to Loevinger's (1976) theory on ego development.

3.17 Interpersonal Maturity Level Model

Sullivan, Grant and Grant (1956) proposed a stage theory derived from neo-Freudian and social psychological theories based around the concept that perceptual development occurs with increased interaction with others and the world. This results in a progressing process of differentiated perceptions of world, self and others. This model consists of seven stages of integration (I- levels)

- (i) Differentiation of self from nonself (I-1)
- (ii) Differentiation of persons and objects (I-2)
- (iii) Differentiation of simple social rules (I-3)
- (iv) Awareness of the expectations of others (I-4)
- (v) Empathic understanding and the differentiation of roles (I-5)
- (vi) Differentiation of self from social roles (I-6)
- (vii) A high level of empathy and awareness of integrating processes in self and others (I-7).

Not everyone attains the highest level and fixation at any level results in relative consistency in goals and expectations, and a "working philosophy" of life, the I-7 level being achieved by very few. This working philosophy in effect is the same concept as the ego or the narrative structure. Of particular relevance is the assumption that individuals progressing beyond I-4 level are less likely to conflict with society with most delinquents being classified at the I-2, I-3 or I-4 levels.

This then suggests that anti social behaviour, a frequent component of murder, is commensurate with a low level of maturity. Davis and Cropely (1976) found that nonrecidivists showed higher levels of maturity than recidivists did.

3.18 The Conceptual Levels Model

This model was derived from the conceptual systems theory of Harvey, Hunt and Shroder (1961) which shares theoretical similarities with the previously mentioned stage model. This model too regards the socialisation process to proceed through a series of stages of increasing cognitive complexity in interpersonal orientation, but proposes four levels as opposed to seven. These are :-

- (i) Egocentric (concrete thinking 'me' oriented)
- (ii) Norm - oriented (uncritical, acceptance - seeking)
- (iii) Independence (inquiring, assertive, 'I' oriented)
- (iv) Interdependent (Cognitive complexity, 'we' oriented).

The model presupposes that individuals function best when their level matches environmental characteristics, an inverse relationship being proposed between conceptual level and degree of environmental structure (i.e. rules, control, support, negotiation).

The optimal environmental conditions for individuals at a lower conceptual level are high structure and low ambiguity, those at higher levels benefiting from less structure and more flexibility. A person-environment mismatch, therefore, would generate tension and disruption, thus environmental programming would be required to attain the necessary 'contemporaneous matching' which produces stability or 'developmental matching' which promotes change.

Both of these classifications have been used for differential treatment. The first based upon the assumption that offenders at different maturity levels offend for different reasons and require different kinds of intervention to reduce the likelihood of recidivism. It was initially employed in the treatment of court-martialled naval

prisoners (Grant and Grant 1959) but has been most widely used with juveniles of the California Youth Authority in particular, the Community treatment Project.

The Conceptual Levels matching was developed mainly for educational and clinical settings but has been applied in designing correctional programmes (Reitsma, Street and Leschied 1988). This evidence draws out two important points. The first is that the type of any constructed reality will depend on the level of cognitive development. The second is that deviant criminal and dysfunctional behaviour is more likely to occur at the lower stages of cognitive development suggesting an immaturity regarding normal cognitive development and thus narrative structure. Thus when examining dysfunctional lives or more specifically the narratives of murderers the narrative structure must be examined with respect to its development.

INTRODUCTION

Chapter Four: The Normal Development of Narrative Structure

- 4.0: The Normal Development of Narrative Structure
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INTRODUCTION: CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 The Normal Development of Narrative Structure

This notion of development is based upon Erikson 1968 theory of identity as outlined below.

Stage 1: Basic Trust versus Basic Mistrust *Roughly Birth to 1 Year*

The main task of this stage is for the infant to gain a favourable ratio of trust to mistrust. If this positive ratio is achieved the child has a better chance of overcoming later crises. Basic trust refers to a fundamental trust of self and other.

Stage 2: Autonomy versus Shame and Doubt *Roughly 2 to 3 Years*

With the onset of becoming physically and psychologically independent the child has to overcome vulnerabilities such as anxiety at separating from the parent and fear of failure regarding developmental tasks. The aim autonomy that is to perform a variety of functions well should outweigh shame and doubt at failing in these tasks.

Stage 3: Initiative versus Guilt *Roughly 4 to 5 Years*

At this stage the child is aware that he is a person but explores what kind of person s/he is, the desire is to be like the parents. This sees the emergence of initiative where the child forms and carries out goals and competes. The child settles somewhere along the dimension from successful initiative to overwhelming guilt due to an overly severe conscience that punishes thought and behaviour.

Stage 4: Industry Versus Inferiority *Roughly 6 Years to Puberty*

At this stage the child wants to become part of the larger world of knowledge and work. The theme is "I am what I learn". At school the child who experiences success enjoys feeling competent and masterful. On the other hand the child who has negative experiences feels inadequate and inferior.

Stage 5: Identity and Repudiation versus Identity Diffusion *Adolescence*

The quest for identity is seen as the undercurrent running through all the stages. Trust, autonomy, initiative, and industry all contribute to the child's identity. In this stage it reaches a climax. The basic task is for the individual to integrate the various identifications s/he brings from childhood into a more complete identity. Erikson emphasises that this whole (the identity) is greater than the sum of its parts (previous identification). If this is not achieved the adolescent faces identity diffusion- the personality is fragmented and lacking a core.

Stage 6: intimacy and Solidarity versus Isolation *Young Adulthood*

Intimacy can only be achieved if one managed to integrate an identity at the previous stage. Relationships with others enhance the identity furthering the growth of personality. If attempts at intimacy fail, the individual retreats into isolation where social relationships are cold and empty.

Stage 7: Generativity versus Stagnation and self-absorption *Middle Adulthood*

Generativity refers to the interest in creating and guiding the next generation through both child rearing and creative endeavours. Simply having children does not necessarily mean that one is generative. One has to have a belief in the species, faith for the future and have concern for others. Similarly one does not have to have children one's self but work towards a better future for other children. A lack of generativity is expressed in stagnation, self-absorption (self-indulgence), boredom and a lack of psychological growth.

Stage 8: Integrity versus Despair *Late Adulthood*

At this stage the person must live with what has been built over the lifetime. Ideally he will have achieved integrity which involves acceptance of the limitations of life, a sense of being a part of a larger history that includes previous generations, a sense of owning wisdom and a final integration of the previous stages. The antithesis is despair where one regrets what one has done or not done. This is accompanied by fear of death and disgust of oneself.

4.1 How Does the Life Story Change over Time?

McAdams (1993) divides the development of identity into three large areas. The first is the pre-narrative era where human beings up to the stage of adolescence are collecting the substance for the stories they will construct when they are older. Identity is not a part of the 'me' at this stage but the experiences they have can still have a significant effect in that they will be reconstructed to provide unity and purpose to that life. The second stage is the narrative era, or narrative proper. This spans adolescence to young adulthood where the individual begins constructing a self defining life story throughout most, if not the entire period. During this time the identity is constantly reshaped. The last phase is the post narrative era which may occur in the lives of some people. This is akin to Erikson's (1963) stage of "ego integrity vs. despair". In this era the elderly person reflects upon his or her life in an evaluative way. The complete life story may be accepted (integrity) or rejected (despair) but cannot be fundamentally changed (McAdams 1993).

McAdams (1988) states that the life story is the answer to two questions that each individual asks him or herself. These are, "Who am I?" and "How do I fit into an adult world?" this being the aim of identity. McAdams (1988) like Erikson (1968) supposes that these questions emerge with the onset of adolescence. Erikson suggests that the onset of puberty thus an awareness of physical change and emotional experience provoke these questions. Concurrently, the adolescent moves into Piaget's stage of formal operations and thus, cognitively, is able to reflect on past and present and can anticipate a series of hypothetical futures (in McAdams 1988). This ability to reflect on hypothetical ideals facilitates the onset of the identity process (McAdams 1988). This then sees the beginning of the search for unity and purpose to life, an intellectual/emotional problem, one worthy of philosophical questioning and emotional investment (Breger 1974).

The shaping of identity in adolescence and young adulthood typically begins with 1) the amalgamation of an ideological setting (Erikson 1958, McAdams, Booth and Selvik 1981) and 2) the reconstruction of the past as a personal matrix of nuclear episodes that the 'I' considers make up the formative self (Elkind 1981, Hankiss 1981, McAdams 1985, 1990). This ideological setting forms the backdrop for the action of

the story which is based on internalised beliefs and values . High points, low points and turning points are selected and reconstructed to create a coherent and credible narrative explanation for how the past became the present and how the presents sows the seeds for the future.

This developmental journey leads the individual to having achieved identity, the ability to incorporate the disparate elements of the life into a story that makes sense and thus allows the individual to live an effective life. This then enables the individual to tell a good life story. The good story being the framework that allows one to be effective and functional in life.

McAdams theory heavily relies on Erikson's 1959 assertion that the object of identity is to provide answers to the questions "Who am I?" and "How do I fit into the adult world?" In exploring life stories this way, McAdams however feels that there is great theoretical controversy and confusion (Goethals 1976, Levinson 1978 regarding whether the identity issue can again arise to the psychosocial fore following earlier successful resolution. He feels that Erikson is ambivalent about this point. He suggests that Erikson's theory does not appear to allow a second identity crisis in which the individual launches a new and thorough reassessment of "who am I" and "How do I fit into the adult world".

McAdams 1988 writes,

" On the other hand Erikson 1959 writes "While the end of adolescence thus is the stage of overt identity crisis, identity formation neither begins nor ends with adolescence. It is a lifelong development largely unconscious to the individual and his society. He also writes "Ego identity could be said to be characterised by the actually attained but forever to be revised sense of the reality of the Self within social reality" Both statements are ambiguous Identity involves fidelity, that is commitments amidst relativism. Yet although commitments should be long term, identity is a "lifelong development" and "forever-to-be-revised". Identity means "continuity and sameness" (Erikson 1963) and yet there appears considerable leeway for malleability and change.

Indeed Erikson in generating the eight stages of man where certain 'crisis' have to be resolved at each stage placed the major development of identity firmly at adolescence, stage five.

For instance, maturation and society's expectations together create eight concerns, crises or issues that the individual must resolve. Each issue is evident at a particular stage in the life cycle, but appears in some form throughout development. Each crisis was conceived of as a dimension with two possible outcomes, positive and negative. The ideal is to develop a favourable ratio in which the positive aspect dominates the negative. If these concerns are not satisfactorily resolved the person continues to fight his early battles later in life. Many adults are still struggling to develop a sense of identity. Erikson feels however that it is never too late to resolve any of the crises. With respect to movement between the stages Erikson states "Each stage adds something specific to all later ones and makes a new ensemble out of all the earlier ones".

However Erikson in seeing the life's quest as a search for identity also states that throughout life we ask, "who am I" and form a different answer at each stage. If all goes well at the end of each stage the child's sense of identity is reconfirmed on a new level. Although the development of identity reaches a crisis during adolescence, Erikson notes that it begins when the baby 'first recognises his mother and first feels recognised by her, when her voice tells him he is somebody with a name and he's good" Thus early forms of identity are transformed into the next stage. Thus Erikson divides the entire life cycle into "the eight ages of man". These eight ages refer to eight critical periods where certain lifelong ego concerns reach a climax.

McAdams says that Marcia 1980, too writes that once the adolescent or young adult has passed successfully through identity exploration and commitment, the status of achieved identity sounds irrevocable.

Thus McAdams 1988 in suggesting that there is confusion over the relative stability of a person's identity configuration once consolidated in late adolescence or young adulthood seems to deviate from the traditional models. He says

“Story revision may range from minor editing in an obscure chapter to a complete rewriting of the text, embodying an altered plot, a different cast of characters, a transformed setting, new scenes and new themes.”

This thesis questions the assumption that all individuals ask the two fundamental questions about niche in the world at all and thus deviates from both models. However it accepts that the development of identity and of narrative is a quest for integration and the ability to function well the aim thus being to achieve a good narrative.

4.2 The Mature Narrative

In accepting that the main function of narrative is to incorporate the fragments of identity into a meaningful whole which allows the individual to make sense of him or herself and the world, and that the formation of identity moves towards this state suggests that identity vis a vis the narrative undergoes a maturation process. The adolescent in embarking on this journey at the outset is only asking the questions for which answers need to be found. In this sense identity has yet to be formed. Good stories can then be synonymous with well formed or mature stories, indeed those stories that provide a satisfactory answer to the questions raised at adolescence.

What is a Good Story?

Social science has struggled to agree on what the definition of a story is. Stein and Policastro (1984) discovered that there were at least twenty different definitions. One major contention is whether a story needs to be goal directed, or if indeed a “state - event - state” change is sufficient. However empirical research by Stein and Policastro (1984) indicates that most children and adults demand that an account contain a reference to a particular animate protagonist if it is to be accepted as a story. The central premise of this definition is that the protagonist is motivated to engage in a goal directed action. The prototypical story structure is therefore a grammar of goal

directed behaviour which includes six major constituents (a) the setting (b) the initiating event (c) the internal response (d) the attempt (e) the consequence and (f) the reaction. This six story grammars reflect the schema in the listener's head. If a story lacks one or two of the grammars the listener often tries to fill in the information him or herself.

These six constituents which make up goal directed stories are connected in a causal chain (Stein and Policastro 1984, Trabasso et al 1984). Therefore each constituent paves the way for the next. Trabasso et al 1984 purport that the listener automatically organises the narrative into a causal chain. Good stories are readily incorporated in a causal chain, most of the events are causally related and therefore there is a minimal amount of surplus information. These stories furnish the listener with a coherent pattern that is easily remembered. Bad stories conversely, are made up of events that do not connect to each other in a causal chain. McAdams (1988) describes these as containing narrative cul-de-sacs and loose ends. The endings of bad stories typically fail to bring together the numerous elements of the narrative. These stories are difficult to remember and haphazard and incomplete. McAdams (1993) also suggests that a good or well formed narrative may be synonymous with a mature adult identity, and identified six standards of good narrative form. These are (1) coherence (2) openness (3) credibility (4) differentiation (5) reconciliation and (6) generative integration.

4.2.1 Coherence

As previously discussed, coherence refers to the extent to which the story makes sense in its own right. McAdams (1993) suggests that the characters of the story should do things that make sense in the context of the story. He says that the motivations of the characters and their behaviour should make sense in terms of what is generally understood about human behaviour. Events should follow in a causal manner and there should be little contradiction. The reader should not be left puzzled at inexplicable events.

4.2.2 Openness to Change

The challenge of identity and thus the narrative is to develop and change over time as it needs to incorporate and conquer many difficulties modern life presents. For example if one sees oneself as a wife, the death of a spouse may have a significant impact on the self-concept. The objective of identity and narrative is to become redefined in order for the individual to make sense of themselves in an ever changing world. In this sense being too coherent and rigid may cause problems for the individual. Therefore a degree of flexibility and an openness to change is especially important. In modern times the future is not as easily predicted as it was and thus the individual is better equipped to deal with life if he or she can hold a number of alternatives for the future.

4.2.3 Credibility

McAdams (1993) says the good, mature and adaptive life story cannot be based on gross distortions of fact. Even though identities are created they are based on reality not out of fantasy or fiction. In identity, the well formed story should be accountable to the facts that can be known or substantiated.

4.2.4 Differentiation

McAdams (1993) reveals that a good story should be rich in detail which becomes more differentiated with time. The story with these qualities engage the reader with compelling plots and subplots.

4.2.5 Reconciliation

Life stories mirror life and as such are filled with conflict. The mature story finds a way to reconcile this disunity, promote a life story that is harmonious and resolute. Reconciliation is an especially challenging task McAdams (1993) says, for mid-life adults and beyond.

4.2.6 Generative Integration

In mature identity the adult is able to function as a productive and contributing member of society. He or she is able and desirous of taking a position as a guiding role for the next generation. This contribution can be large or small but is focused

around the survival and enhancement and or the progressive development of the future world.

4.3 Individual Differences in Development of Identity

There is empirical evidence to suggest that all individuals do not necessarily develop in the way described by Erikson (1958) or McAdams (1988). That the onset of identity begins in adolescence and is basically formed by early adulthood is clearly not always the case. Indeed some adults never achieve identity as understood in Eriksonian terminology.

Erikson (1959) like Freud (1961) and Inhelder and Piaget (1958), based on the experimental paradigms of their day explored the notion of development based on very few individuals thus bringing into question how far these findings can describe the general laws of human development. However Marcia (1966) constructed a framework that empirically tested Erikson's theory of identity formation (1959).

Marcia (1966) divided identity formation into two discrete parts of exploration and commitment. These were arranged into an Eriksonian scheme with four possible outcomes known as statuses which represented a continuum from identity confusion to identity formation.

4.3.1 Identity Achievers

The first group that was identified were the Identity Achievers. This is the individual who has explored a variety of occupational and ideological options and knows who he or she is. They have partially lived through and rejected traditional social norms, female identity achievers tend to see themselves as competent, assertive and yet capable of demonstrating care for others in a noncompulsive way. This stage has also been linked with higher moral reasoning in which the individual bases moral decisions on abstract principles of justice and social contract which transcend the conventions of society and egocentric concerns.

4.3.2 Moratorium

The next stage or group is Moratorium. These individuals are actively engaged in exploring alternative occupational, and ideological possibilities. These individuals do not yet know who they are but they know that they do not know. This induces pervasive uneasiness and uncertainty about the future and can be thought of as the state of being in an identity crisis. However these "moratoriums" should become the identity achievers of the future as they move from exploration to commitment and thereby form a coherent image of self. As a result Moratoriums are paired with identity achievers against the other two groups, foreclosure and diffusion. Thus they are considered to have higher moral reasoning, more empathy and are better socialised. Thus Marcia (1980) calls these the higher identity statuses. Moratoriums tend to score higher on levels of anxiety.

4.3.3 Foreclosure

The individual in foreclosure has failed to meet the identity challenge. This reaffirms that identity is not a foregone conclusion or an automatic right but a difficult state to achieve. Rather than risk the uncertainty that might accompany re-evaluating past identifications, this individual prefers the security of the orthodoxy experienced as a child. Roles, values, beliefs, expectations inculcated by the formative years, are transported unchanged and intact into adulthood. The occupational and ideological aspirations of the foreclosures are based around childhood identifications which are rarely questioned and never worked through. Thus these individuals are very close to their parents describing their homes as loving and affectionate. They conform to the ideals they have experienced. Thus behaving in a way that is sometimes traditional and authoritarian. A number of studies have linked this group to authoritarianism.

4.3.4 Diffusion

This last group have yet to enter the exploration phase but unlike the foreclosures have not committed to any beliefs or ideals. They have few allegiances with the past and fewer commitment to the future. These individuals "appear afloat in a sea of ambiguity, without anchor to a bygone yesterday nor anticipated tomorrow" McAdams (1988). Empirical findings which distinguish these subjects from the other three statuses are scant because the samples in most studies contain only small numbers of diffusions (Bourne 1978b). In searching for a word to describe these

characters Bourne uses withdrawn. Bob (1968) observed that diffusion's most common response to a stressful situation was withdrawal. Donovan (1975) found that diffusions tended to feel out of place and socially isolated from the world. They conceive of their parents as distant and misunderstanding and they approach friends with excessive wariness. Aggressive feelings too were projected onto others or translated into fantasy. Josselson (1973) also found that fantasy and withdrawal were favourite coping strategies of women classified as diffused. Concluding Marcia (1980) says that the diffusions "seemed to sense little past to integrate, little future for which to plan, they were only what they felt in the present".

This clearly indicates that in Eriksonian terms some individuals do live their lives without having achieved identity. It also shows that for some, that is, the diffusion group, they do not seem to have asked themselves the questions regarding themselves and their place in the world and certainly do not have the skills to produce a narrative that connect present with past and future. If the past is not reincorporated how does one achieve a personal biography? How can unity and purpose be achieved?

This latter group illustrates that they have the least functional ways of dealing with the world. The individuals in the diffused group have not achieved identity, nor been able to thread together the disparate elements of their lives. The story they tell may be markedly different from the story told by those in the other groups.

In terms of narrative eras then, this empirical research suggests that as adults function at differing levels of identity formation, their narratives will reflect this. As the function of the narrative is to integrate the various elements it is hypothesised that the differences lie in the structure of the narrative.

4.4 III Formed Narratives

One area that narrative theory does not seem to have explored is the consequences of living without a well-formed life story. McAdams (1988) has carefully illustrated the course of normal development of the life story and explored how this enables the individual to live. It has been suggested by a number of narrative theorists, McAdams (1988) Gergen and Gergen (1988) Robinson and Hawpe (1986) that narratives are not

always well formed yet do not go on to discuss how this may affect the individual. Indeed if as McAdams says the narrative lacking coherence leaves the listener confused, what does this say about the individual telling the story. Robinson and Hawpe (1986) purport that narrative thinking comprises of making a fit between a situation and a story schema. Establishing the fit which is synonymous with making a story out of experience, is a heuristic process. They conclude that when it is successful the outcome is a story that is a coherent and plausible account of why something happened. Gergen and Gergen (1988) pose this question and answer regarding the importance of a well formed structure.

“Does it matter whether narratives are well formed in matters of daily living? From what we have said, the use of narrative components would appear vital to creating a sense of reality in one’s account of self.....narrative structure....can generate a sense of coherence and directionality in one’s life.”

The idea that individuals need coherence in order to live a functional life is supported by others. Marcus (1977) on commenting on Freud’s famous case study Dora shows that indeed some individuals do “suffer” dysfunctionality by lacking aspects of narrative structure.

“What we are led at this juncture to conclude is that Freud is implying that a coherent story is in some manner connected with mental health (at the very least, with the absence of hysteria), and this in turn implies assumptions of the broadest and deepest kind about both the nature of coherence and the form and structure of human life. On reading, human life is ideally, a connected and coherent story, with all the details in explanatory place, and with everything (or as close to everything that is practically possible) accounted for, in its proper causal or other sequence. And inversely, illness amounts at least in part to suffering from an incoherent story or an inadequate narrative account of oneself.”

McAdams (1993) is sceptical suggesting that psychiatric disorders of many kinds and other dysfunctions have numerous causes that are outside the domain of identity and the life story. He says panic attacks and phobias may have little to do with identity:

psychotic delusions indicate such severe problems that reformulating one's identity seems rather moot.

Yet there is evidence to suggest that issues of identity can have a profound effect on the way the individuals construct and live their lives specifically, the way in which the level of structural development construes the content of lives. Indeed this research purports that if an individual has a poorly structured narrative, this will explain why and how it can lead to murder.

INTRODUCTION

Chapter Five: The Model of Narrative Functionality

- 5.0: What does a Dysfunctional Narrative look like?
 - 5.1: The Concept of Change
-

INTRODUCTION: CHAPTER FIVE**The Model of Narrative Functionality****5.0 What does a Dysfunctional Narrative look like?**

The literature suggests that a dysfunctional narrative, rather than consisting of different components to a functional one, is defined by a lack of components that make up a functional narrative. Marcus (1977) in discussing the relationship between narrative structure and mental illness suggests that the problem lay in a lack of narrative coherence. This research therefore proposes that a dysfunctional narrative will lack one or more of the essential components of narrative that McAdams (1993) set out as crucial for good narrative form which is vis a vis a mature identity.

To recap, McAdams (1993) named these criteria as coherence, openness to change, credibility, reconciliation, differentiation, and generativity. Thus this research proposes the idea that dysfunctional narratives will be characterised by a lack of one or more of these components. The research further proposes that the more a narrative lacks in terms of different components, the more dysfunctional it will be. The research also proposes that there will be qualitative differences in the narratives as some components are more important than others in terms of how dysfunctional a person may be.

It will be hypothesised that there exists a relationship between these components or lack of them which mirrors other developmental stage theories. In order to talk about similarities to other models the difficult task of discussing a lack of components will be made easier by transforming how these deficits will be manifested. Thus the narratives will potentially consist of one or more of the following. Incoherence, incredibility, rigidity, they may be unreconciled, or egocentric (as opposed to generative).

These themes bear a strong resemblance to Marcia's (1966) Model of Identity formation. The diffused group who have yet to ask the question of who they are and how they fit into an adult world, in essence those who have not attempted or failed to

make sense of the world, necessarily are incoherent and incredible. In order to become coherent and credible one must successfully understand him or herself in relation to the world. The foreclosure group, who have rejected the need to ask the question and chosen to adopt a perceived identity seem rigid in terms of their self-concept and ability to change. The Moratorium group, those in confusion and searching for their place in the world and a satisfactory answer to the question of who they are seem to be unreconciled. The last group the identity achievers who have made a commitment to themselves and the world seem to be generative. It was proposed that murderers function at lower levels of identity formation vis a vis narrative structure and therefore would not be expected that any would reach generativity. Most display egocentric modes of operating with the world. Differentiation however will not be included, as differentiation is a process that spans the continuum of immaturity to maturity or narrative development and thus does not hallmark a discrete stage.

There appear to be slight conceptual differences between this model and Marcias. Marcia seems to suggest that each individual apart from those in the moratorium group which can move to achievement, remain at certain levels. However, like Loevinger's model of ego development and all developmental stage models, it is suggested that the individual moves through these stages in a sequential fashion although getting "stuck" or staying at one can occur. However it is postulated that generativity cannot occur without reconciliation which in turn cannot happen until there is an openness to change which depends upon the ability to be credible, all of which is based on the fundamental requisite of being coherent.

In accepting that individuals can move through stages, the stage facilitators need to be examined. This is because the murderer may have moved through to, higher stages since the time the murder was committed which could be more than a decade ago.

5.1 The Concept of Change

5.1.1 Becoming Aware of the Self

Although the self is always with us, our awareness of and concern with ourselves may vary. These cognitive stage theories actually purport that for some adults this process may lie dormant never to emerge. Behaviour that does not require self reflection has been described as “mindless” suggesting that the self is not engaged in sequences of behaviour that are overlearned (Langer 1978a). The word mindless has been associated with a variety of delinquent activities including vandalism, and violence supporting the notion that “lower level” cognitions are more likely to be engaged in these kinds of activities.

Implicit then is the suggestion that when the self is involved in behaviour, certain thought patterns are connected.

5.1.2 A Theory of Self Perception

Bem (1967, 1972) proposed a self-perception theory that suggests individuals become aware of themselves simply by watching what they do. This process was described by Bem who said

‘Individuals come to ‘know’ their own attitudes, emotions and other internal states partially by inferring them from observations of their own behaviour and / or circumstances in which this behaviour occurs’ (1972)

This is to say that persons do not have much inside information about who they are or why they do things. Rather, much as an outside observer would do, individuals look at what they are doing to infer a reason for that behaviour. If a murderer prior to becoming a murderer did not “know” themselves, this external behaviour may move the individual to examine their own motivations.

Observing behaviour tends to lead to inferences about the self. Bem did not assert that all knowledge of the self is dependent upon an a posteriori observation but this process is utilised whenever internal cues are weak or ambiguous. Another factor could relate to how extreme the behaviour is. The act of killing another human being might be the most impacting trigger possible with respect to the onset of asking, “what does this say about me as a person?” whether this be construed as positive or negative by the individual.

Behaviour is not the only source of information about the self. Thoughts and feelings provide insight into ourselves. In fact Andersen et al (1986) showed how people are often more influenced by these cognitive and effective elements than by behavioural factors. They argued that self perception may be affected less by thinking about our behaviour than by thinking about what we feel and believe with regard to those behaviours. Justification by faith may be more crucial than justification by deed at least in our own self-awareness.

5.1.3 States of Self Awareness

Csikszentmihalyi and Figurski (1982) conducted a study which investigated how often people think about themselves during the course of the day. People in general spent most of their days thinking about work or household chores or having no thoughts at all. However thoughts about the self were more common than thoughts about food or television. Particularly relevant to this study is that when people did report that they were thinking about themselves they also reported being less happy and less active than when they were thinking of other topics and often wished they were not thinking of themselves. Self reflection then not a pleasant activity, suggesting that perhaps if a heinous crime is committed certain individuals may prefer not to think about it at all.

Wicklund (1975) Duval and Wicklund (1972) Wicklund and Frey (1980) proposed a theory of self-awareness that predicts when people will focus attention on themselves and what happens when they do. Wicklund (1975) defined self-awareness (sometimes called objective self-awareness) as

“focused attention directed towards just one facet of the self”.

Self-awareness can be induced by an unfamiliar and unstructured situation. Perhaps being committed to prison for the first time away from family and friends, may be unfamiliar enough to trigger this process. “ I feel like a fish out of water” refers to “not fitting in’ and is often accompanied by feeling conspicuous. Thus in unfamiliar surroundings individuals tend to focus upon themselves and how they appear to others.

Being in a state of self awareness means being engaged in a process of self evaluation, considering how one measures up to some internal rule or standard. If there is a discrepancy between behaviour and standard as is often the case, feelings of negativity will be experienced and thus the individual will try to avoid any further self-reflection.

Indeed there is evidence to suggest that self-awareness can lead to positive changes in behaviour. If a person becomes self aware while making a decision about how to act, the behaviour may reflect the person's concern with meeting some internal standard. So self-awareness may be aversive but it may also guide behaviour.

The aspect of the self that comes into self-awareness depends on the immediate situation. Being incarcerated and serving a life sentence for murder is therefore likely to remind or reinforce one that one is a murderer. Cognitive psychologists refer to the accessibility of self schema, or how readily they come to the forefront of thought (Higgins and King 1981, Wyer and Srull 1981). Priming, the effects of prior context on the retrieval of information is one factor that affects accessibility (Fiske and Taylor 1983).

All these factors show not only how the onset of self awareness enables the individual to engage in a process of self awareness but also that the act of killing and / or the incarceration can act as a catalyst to self awareness. They seem to be in a unique situation of being confined for a prolonged period of time with little else to think about. In many ways it seems harder not to think about the self than to engage in the process of introspection. Incarceration seems to be naturally geared towards inducing self appraisal. Not least the homicide itself can throw "the self" into confusion thus leading the way for self discovery.

This then suggests that this process needs to occur before other change promoting concepts emerge. The other feature absent in lower order stages and present in higher stages apart from self awareness is the tendency to be concerned for others have the ability to have close meaningful and prolonged relationships and to be empathetic. This one facet can have extreme consequences affecting qualities like forgiveness, understanding, tolerance, patience and prosocial behaviour. Logically if this process

emerges during incarceration it will be argued that there are sound theoretical bases for accepting that the behaviour engaged in prior to the incarceration has radically changed over a period of time.

5.1.4 Empathy

Empathy or the vicarious experiencing of another person's emotions has been considered to underlie altruistic behaviour (Hoffman 1981, Krebs 1975, Coke, Batson, and McDavis 1978, Eisenberg and Miller 1987).

The cognitive process of taking the perspective of a person in need is thought to produce an emotional response of empathy (Coke, Batson and McDavis 1978). Empathy acts to motivate individuals to reduce the distress of another in need. Batson et al (1981) have also proposed that there is a critical distinction between *empathic concern*, which is focusing on the distress of another person and thus being motivated to reduce it, and *personal distress*, which is focusing on one's own discomfort which acts as the trigger to reduce it. On a scale they have used to measure emotional reactions to victim's plight, adjectives reflecting empathy include sympathetic, compassionate, and tender whilst reactions indicating personal distress include alarmed and upset.

Batson and Coke (1981) suggested that empathic concern may provide a genuinely altruistic motivation for helping. However, to separate the two is difficult, one may be helping in order to maintain a positive self image or to avoid the shame and guilt associated with failure to help. Therefore there is still no clear answer as to how much emotion is altruistic and how much is egoistic.

Different considerations have to be made when assessing empathy within a criminal sample. Firstly, one cannot begin with the premise that persons are motivated to reduce the stress of another for either empathic concern or personal distress. In some cases causing the distress is the motivating factor and thus seems to be working in the opposite direction to empathy. Much criminal behaviour can be viewed as being of an anti social nature therefore one might not expect prosocial or altruistic behaviour to be a foremost concern. Secondly, it is unlikely within a prison setting that an offender would be viewed in a negative way for refusing to help another. Prison does not

appear to be the most prosocial setting and as has been demonstrated in the last chapter many adopt a self protective attitude where they tend not to "get involved" if possible.

In some ways then this makes it easier to identify altruistic behaviour or prosocial attitudes of certain criminals as this would not be theoretically conducive to violent crime.

It is therefore assumed that for any empathy to be apparent in an individual who had been incarcerated for a violent crime, some shift in attitude or more precisely cognitive level must have occurred. It does not seem possible that an empathic individual can murder another in cold blood and have no remorse following the event. Therefore it will be shown how these individuals are at the higher ego developmental phases and their narratives reveal this information. This is an important issue as most if not all violent offenders will say they have changed. They are motivated to do this so as not to jeopardise their release. It is therefore important to know what to look for when claims of change are being made.

It is proposed that genuine change can be demonstrated only in those individuals who offer generative narratives. Claims of change in the other stages must be questioned.

Thus change may or may not have occurred within this sample of murderers. Therefore the model will show not only how and why an individual came to murder, but it will also show whether or not that individual has changed.

INTRODUCTION

Chapter Six: The Model

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INTRODUCTION: CHAPTER SIX

The Model

6.0 Introduction

The model hypothesised in this thesis is based on five of the six criteria McAdams outlines that are essential to having a good narrative *Vis a Vis* identity. Coherence, openness to change, reconciliation, differentiation, credibility and generativity. McAdams (1988) reveals that identities like stories can have good or bad form. He does not say however how having a good or bad narrative impacts upon an individual's life. Moreover, apart from to suggest that differentiation precedes reconciliation, McAdams gives no indication of how these components and concepts fit together within the story. For example can a story be devoid of one and contain all the others? If so, does it matter which one is missing? Indeed if a certain one is missing does this mean that the person cannot have any? If this is the case what does this say about how the individual manages to make sense of his world? If these components relate to each other in a way that is similar to the component parts of other theories of development e.g. Erikson, (1968) Marcia (1966) Loevinger (1976) then it would be suggested that there is a very specific relationship between them all which contain some kind of sequential order.

It is important to note that this is not to suggest that all developmental theories are conceived of the same way. Snarey, Kohlberg and Noam 1983 devised a worthy framework for comparing theories of ego (identity) development; which were divided into three categories. The first type includes structurally defined stages such as Piaget's cognitive stages e.g. Loevinger's model. The second stages are culturally defined in terms of ages. The third type as exemplified by Erikson's own theory that has functionally defined stages that arise because of the interaction between structural and cultural factors. In this way one's culture pushes, slows down nurtures and destroys.

Although these theories differ on the specifics of the 'how' and 'when' individuals move through these stages they all purport that there is an invariant sequence where the construction of the self and world is dependant upon which stage the individual is at and that this perspective is qualitatively different at each stage.

Again this thesis sets about integrating a number of theories, like McAdams 1988 in exploring dysfunctionality and does not ascribe to one particular concept of ego development.

This thesis in accepting Erikson's interactive perspective of development nevertheless utilises Loevinger's model and other stage theories as a guide for the model. Even though Loevinger's model marks the transition through childhood, individuals of all ages have been found at varying points along the dimension. Thus this model does not say when these changes occur simply that individuals across a wide age range (Like Loevinger 1976) can function at any of the stages but can move. Like the other models (Loevinger 1976, Erikson 1968) this is an invariant sequence. It makes no comment about whether this is biologically or culturally determined.

The following proposes a model of a nested theory of narrative accounts. That is, that coherence is required before credibility, which is required before openness to change, which precedes reconciliation followed by generativity. Differentiation does not form part of the model but functions as a requirement for the movement through the sequence. The better structured accounts containing a high degree of differentiation, the least well formed consisting of very little differentiation. A brief recap of each concept and the way it might be manifest in the story is given, followed by the form that the narrative might take if it is not present.

The first of these to be explored is coherence followed by credibility - the two basic criteria required to ensure a narrative makes sense.

6.1 Coherence

According to the Oxford dictionary definition coherence is the ability to speak intelligibly and articulately. This is logical and consistent, easily followed. In a nutshell, it sticks together well. Thus a story that is coherent would make sense. Coherence therefore is

considered to be the most fundamental aspect of narrative upon which everything else is built and as such coherence seems to be crucial to functioning at all in the world. It is hard to conceive of how any one would live without an underlying coherence to his or her story. With no point of the story, there would be nothing upon which to select instances for discussion, there would be no logical structure. There would be neither meaning nor purpose.

So, in order to make sense out of life one must be able to think coherently. Thus it is argued that coherence is the first basic and essential standard for narrative thinking or indeed any constructive and "sense making" thinking. This will be reflected in the ability to give a coherent life story. However it may be possible for a story to be coherent without it making complete sense.

In order to clarify this claim, coherence must be distinguished from a closely related concept, that of credibility. This will be briefly introduced here in order to further identify coherence.

Credibility is the condition of being credible or believable. This raises the point of whether coherence can exist without credibility. That is, is it possible to be logical without being plausible?

The stance taken in this study is that it is possible to be coherent without being plausible. A number of examples can be offered. The first is simply demonstrated in the different religious views individuals have. An atheist reading the Bible would still question the credibility of the concept of God whilst having no trouble understanding the claims being made. It would still be a coherent account of the life of Jesus whether or not he believed these events to have actually occurred. Another example would be the delusional system of the psychotic individual. If indeed the end of the world was nigh it would seem logical that someone would be running around in an hysterical manner shouting warnings to all. Thus the prospect of Armageddon may seem unlikely but the actions of the believer logical.

Therefore the logic of the life story however remote is seen as different from its credibility. The starting premise may be disputed but this is a matter of credibility not coherence.

The concept of coherence appears so intrinsically linked to the ability to think that it raises the question as to whether it is possible to live without it. To have no coherence would be to be unable to offer an explanation about a point made or to offer an explanation that is unrelated to the point made or inconsistent and disassociated from others parts. As McAdams (1993) says the incoherent story leaves the reader scratching their head in bewilderment. If this story is a life story, and if the listener cannot find coherence within the story, what does this say about the narrator. Narrative theory would offer that the individual who cannot offer a coherent account fails in the ability to make sense of his world. In this sense, it would probably be easier to identify a story that is not coherent as opposed to one that is. This lends some support for the proposal that coherence will form the basis of the structure of identity and narrative form.

Gergen and Gergen (1988) offer a set of criteria which, it is argued are particularly crucial when examining coherence. These criteria relate to the overall structure of the narrative rather than the specific instances revealed.

There are five criteria.:-

(a) Valued End Point

The narrative must possess a valued end point. Indeed when stories are not coherent it is often asked as to what the moral of the story is. Thus the coherent story is clear and to the point.

(b) Selected evidence

The evidence chosen to support the claim or end point should do exactly that. Provide a case for the claim, like preparing a case for court, this can be revealed for example in relevant events that occurred or relevant statements made.

(c) The ordering of events

Events are typically placed in an ordered arrangement. Ong (1982) suggests such factors as importance, interest value and recency act as a basis for the order.

(d) Demarcation signs

This simply refers to the fact that there is a clear indication that a story is to ensue and when it is coming to a close.

(e) Causal relationship

The events selected to represent the narrative account should be causally connected.

In order to give a coherent account causal attributions must be made to explain the end point. Again these attributions do not have to be believable but possible. For instance, the example that Gergen gives is "As a result of his operation he couldn't meet his class" is logical but we have no way of knowing whether this is the truth. But to say "As a result of having his legs in plaster he was able to run a marathon" flouts the laws of logic and not only is it unbelievable but incoherent. It is not clear; it leaves us wondering how, as no explanation was given. At least in the first case we can assume it was because he was ill. The information is enough for us to make reasonable inferences about what happened. Thus if the evidence is not enough for an inference to be made about logic an explanation is required that bridges this gap. Thus a mark of coherence is offering a sensible if not truthful explanation.

This should be apparent at all levels of the story from the basic "moral of the story" or valued end point, to any point made within the story. The ability to be coherent will be manifest in any aspect.

A story lacking coherence will be confusing and will require the listener to supply information for him or her self to enable him or her to make sense of the narrative. The listener may wonder what the point of the story is due to a poor selection of causal and relevant events. This will manifest itself as being rambling and descriptive rather than focused and explanatory.

Agar and Hobbs (1982) described three levels of coherence: local, where each successive utterance is tied to prior ones by syntactic, temporal or causal relations; global, where utterances exemplify or move forward the overall intent or point of the story or themal, where utterances express the general cultural themes or values. An absence of these will indicate incoherence.

6.2 Credibility (versus Fantasy)

Credibility is considered to be the next important requirement for a good narrative, which as has been demonstrated has been closely, linked to coherence.

Again the question to be asked is, that if the person's account of him/herself within the life story is not credible what does this say about the way they see themselves in relation to the world.

As McAdams (1993) states

"the good mature, and adaptive life story cannot be based on gross distortions of fact. Identity is not a fantasy. Modern adults create their identities, for sure. But they do not create them out of thin air, as one might a poem or a story of pure fiction. In identity, the good story should be accountable to the facts that can be known or found out. While identity is a creative work of the imagination, it is still grounded in the real world in which storytellers live".

6.2.1 How do people create themselves?

We believe that we can see how past experiences have influenced us but accept ourselves as essentially the same person. Self-affirmation processes act to maintain a perception of the self as having a certain coherence, stability, competence, and so on (Steele, 1988)

Backman (1985, 1988), Secord and Backman (1974) suggested that individuals attempt to achieve a psychological state termed "congruency". This involves mutual support between an aspect of the self-concept (e.g. a particular characteristic), their interpretation of their

behaviour relevant to that aspect and their perceptions of the relevant behaviours, feelings, and perceptions of some other person. Thus a person who sees himself as victim/criminal/intelligent, sees himself behaving as a victim/criminal/intelligent person, and perceives that others view him as a victim/criminal/intelligent person, would experience congruency.

Incongruency is seen as threatening perhaps because it indicates the inability to deal with the world and achieve one's goals. Secord and Backman (1974) supposed that people adjust their factual or perceived worlds in order to achieve congruency in the following ways.

- (i) by Cognitive Restructuring (for example, misperceiving behaviours of either self or others or situations. By selectively choosing evidence then selectively processing it. Also by discrediting information that is contradictory to one's view of self.)
- (ii) by Selective Evaluation (this is altering the importance of characteristics so as to increase the importance of congruent systems and decrease that of incongruent ones.)
- (iii) by Selective interaction (that is associating with preferring those who provide congruency and visa versa.)
- (iv) by Response Evocation (self presentation in clothing or demeanour that promotes congruent response from others.
- (v) by Selective Comparison (an example of this would be associating with someone less intelligent if one saw oneself as intelligent in order to confirm ones own intelligence.

These processes overall tend to ensure stability to conserve the self-concept.

What happens to these processes if the information one repeatedly receives about oneself is noxious and aversive and do not fit into any theory of self? The individual may choose to ignore or minimise the negative information and attend to any positive information available. In telling the life story then one may describe events in a manner which is conducive to the self-image. Yet the person lacking in credibility will report facts that

believe the way in which they have been interpreted. For example when describing a fight an offender who sees himself as a hero may try to explain that another person ran into his closed fist, or that he was attacking someone for a good cause, a history of repeated and varied fighting and a record of other criminal activity would highlight such an account as non credible.

Thus there should be few contradictions but rather consistency between images or self presentation, reported events and ideology.

However what form might the poor, ill formed narrative take with an absence of credibility?

One way to test this is to explore the story for contradictions in what the author reveals about himself. As McAdams (1993) asks, what facts are known (as revealed by the narrator previously) and how do these match with the claims being made? Mature identity and thus a good narrative should have a good fit. An immature identity or an ill structured narrative may not have a good match. Thus the causal attributions offered are not believable in the light of what has previously been offered. For example is there a discrepancy in self presentation and ideology or reported events. This then is another way that the narrative may not make sense.

When talking about credibility this is not taken to be a measure of the truth, but how believable it is, how plausible the story is in terms of its overall consistency. Thus it should be coherent, in that the claims being made are discernible, but the reader nevertheless is left thinking that it does not 'add up'.

A narrative of this kind might give the impression to the reader that the identity has indeed been based in fantasy, or how the individual would like to be rather than how they are. Everyone has an 'ought' self and an 'actual' self but how many present 'ought' self as 'actual' self? 'Ought' self being the person we think we would like to be or should be.

There is evidence to suggest that at least certain individuals can compartmentalise different aspects of themselves and live in a disassociated way without to much concern for the inherent contradictions this causes.

Most of the support for this notion comes from psychoanalysis, and in particular the Freudian idea of the "horizontal" divide between consciousness and unconsciousness. The 'false self' (Winnicott 1960) arises or takes over when the true self is impinged upon by the demands of the infant's principal carer giver, causing it not to develop. Fairbairn's theory of a "fragmented self" (1990) is similar to the theory offered by Winnicott. This theory too suggests that infants develop a defensive internal structure to protect themselves from the ordinary shortcomings of their families as well as where the primary care giver has a serious pathology. Although he says the early structural splits are not necessarily pathological, if there are problems in later developmental stages (Oedipal stage and adolescence), then the splits become pathologically rigid - this is considered in clinical terms to be the structure of the schizoid personality (Stevens 1997).

However Kernberg (1986) an object relations psychoanalyst, suggests that such splits in ego, or identity, result in borderline conditions as in borderline between neurotic and psychotic. He reveals that although these patients are disturbed in some respects, nevertheless manage to continue with ordinary life. The description of how these individuals relate to the world can offer some insight into the manifestations of living in a fantasy world.

"...there may exist....contradictory manifestations of the patient of such an impressive nature that one comes to feel that there is a compartmentalisation of the entire psychic life of the patient.....[a] patient appeared to be lying "impulsively" at times: at other times he gave the impression of feeling guilty or ashamed of lying, and insisted that lying was no longer a problem for him and angrily accused other people (the therapist) of lying. What was striking was the complete separation of the times the "impulsive" lying occurred, from the times the patient remembered the lying but would feel no longer emotionally connected with it...."

While the patients were conscious of these several contradictions in their behaviour, they would still alternate between opposite strivings with a bland denial of the implications of this contradiction, and they would also show what appeared from the outside to be a striking lack of concern over this compartmentalisation of their mind...what we might call mutual denial of independent sectors of the psychic life (Kernberg 1986)

I inferred that what we have called splitting of the ego in this case served an essential function of protecting the patient against anxiety" (ibid., 1986).

Stevens (1997) asks that if it is assumed that the subjective experience of self is partially incomplete as it is in part hidden, which of our experiences is real? He feels that this is particularly relevant when vertical splits in the self experience, which result in disassociation are discussed. He says the demarcations between those who are completely in command of "reality" and those who are not, begin to break down. In terms of narrative theory, everyone attempts to create an internal version or account of reality, that is designed to aid us live functionally in the real world, without it necessarily being accurate. In some areas of functioning, particularly with respect to relationships, we put considerable effort into constructing a fantasy narrative. He thus asks how can we think about being "out of touch with reality" a phase most often applies to psychosis.

It would be logical to propose that those individuals who do not appear to find gross discrepancies in behaviour and thought alarming, may have little regard for accountability of behaviour. After all if they become uncomfortable with what they think or do, rather than come to terms with who they are, they can simply disassociate themselves from it. This would suggest that for certain sorts of individuals at least they would never feel personally accountable for any action engaged in or readily find reasons to select a different focus concerning the self. Thus many contradictions in the narratives would be expected along with any sense of personal commitment to behaviour engaged in. Indeed total denial of involvement in a given situation would be possible. As in the extract from Kernberg (1986) the individual attributed the 'lying' to the therapist. Thus one might reiterate the likelihood of distortions occurring in causal attribution. Contrary to McAdams premise some adults do seem at least in part to base their identities on gross distortion of reality and fantasy.

This offers support for the notion that the ability to be credible impacts on functionality, rather the inability to be credible leads to dysfunctionality. Evidence in credibility can be in any account that is non-contradictory, and each statement made at least is commensurate with or supports others. These similarities will appear in the content, such as ideology, imagoes and nuclear events. The evidence should accumulate to give the overall impression of credibility. Individuals can often talk about credible facts in great detail and are often forthcoming in these accounts. On the other hand an account that lacks credibility leaves the reader wondering if the truth or accurate information is being imparted. The narrative will be full of contradiction. The individual may make claims that are unlikely to be valid given the previous knowledge they have imparted about themselves. There may well be a discrepancy between the image of themselves that they are trying to portray and who they are.

Another way a narrative may lack credibility is if it is both coherent in places and incoherent in others. The individual who has shown the ability to be coherent may become incoherent when discussing particular issues i.e. the reason for his incarceration. This discrepancy in style suggests that he may be lying about certain parts of his life.

A third way in which a narrative may lack credibility is if the individual through being coherent conveys a valued point or end point but fails to back this up with the relevant evidence. An offender may claim that he has changed yet display an extreme callousness towards people. This again leads to a conflict to suggest it is not credible.

6.3 Openness to Change (versus Rigidity)

Openness to change is considered to be the stage in the quest for mature identity. Given that one is coherent and credible and thus able to at least make sense of the world, the attention shifts to the qualitative ways of making sense of the world. In other words, the two former criteria were necessary for making sense of the world.

The aim of achieving mature identity being to give the individual the best chance at happiness and (mental) health. The requirements of this then is to have a flexible structure

of self in order that the individual may cope with a wealth of diverse and complex situations. What exactly does having a flexible self-structure mean? Linsville suggested that paradoxically, having a number of "selves" is better for the individual than having just one self. This on the surface may appear to invite an identity crisis, each self fighting for survival. On the contrary Linsville suggests that those with only one self-image may not have the resources to cope over a variety of situation. The multifaceted self structure providing alternatives for a rapidly evolving modern world. There is other support too for this notion. McAdams, in trying to extrapolate the "self" in the form of imagoes or characters from the life story of mid-life individuals, found that the average person was inhabited by a number of selves. He thus concluded that rather than be viewed as a pathology this was indeed the norm.

Having a number of choices allows the individual to evolve and change, and adapt to the changing world. Erikson (1959) conducted a number of studies of the lives of a few famous individuals, namely, George Bernard Shaw and Martin Luther. He used these to show how the characters in the story changed over time thus evolving to be adaptive in their environments, and show how the disparate selves become integrated over time providing support and explanation of how not just why individuals hold a multifaceted self image.

The narratives of those who are open to change will demonstrate this change in a variety of ways. There will be evidence of an evolving central character, thus the victim may become a saviour, and the thug may become a hero. The point to be made is that there will be an apparent continuity of a central character that has evolved and changed over time, much as the imagoes in the lives of George Bernard Shaw and martin Luther did. The individual will give evidence of change and talk about tuning points in the context of learning and change. Given that achieved identity requires reflection, these characters will refer to issues relating to self-awareness and self focus. A main theme will be the style of self analysis as they talk. The individual will talk about himself voluntarily under a few differing guises, for example as a criminal, father figure, drifter. This demonstrates some complexity or the multifaceted nature of higher cognitive structures.

An individual lacking in this multiplicity of self then according to Linville is more likely to suffer from mental illness and dysfunctionality. This psychological state resembles what Marcia (1966) described as foreclosure.

Foreclosure is characterised by individuals who make a personal commitment to certain values or beliefs, acceptable behaviours prior to engaging in the reflective or the process of self discovery. They often adopt the values and attitudes of their parents or a particular culture rather without question. In this sense then Marcia says they have failed to achieve identity. This is because they adopt, rather than discover their own, beliefs and values.

Foreclosure can manifest itself in a number of ways. For some the individual views the family as being child centred, and tends to involve the family in important decisions, one would suppose that being able to make the decision for themselves. Other studies have found a strong link between foreclosure and authoritarianism in both men and women (Marcia 1966, 1967; Marcia and Friedman, 1970; Schenkel and Marcia 1972). Authoritarianism is a constellation of traits and attitudes revolving around a submission to and reverence for powerful authority, conventional societal values, and rigid standards of right and wrong, good and bad. McAdams (1988) points out that one of the possibilities of authoritarianism is blind conformity in the face of authority. He describes an experiment where the identity statuses of the subjects were explored to see whether there were differences in who was most likely to administer an electric shock in the Milgram obedience task (Podd 1972). It was found that the perceived maximum electric shock given was administered by the foreclosures, who all agreed to do it again!

This reveals something else, a rigidity in thought and behaviour. The fact that they have not developed their own identities means that they have to follow rigidly what they believe, and from the above experiment are least able to cope with situations that may require an alternative choice. It would be interesting to know if any refused to participate and whether those were in the higher identity statuses.

Thus blind conformity, and rigidity in behaviour seem to be linked to stages of identity development. This would suggest that the self concept of the individual in this stage would be singular and undeveloped. It would be singular because instead of going through

the process of discovering a range of the selves the individual sees him/herself as conformist. This will be very apparent in their narrative. The rigidity will manifest itself in a lack of change. Thus the behaviour ideology and self image the individual presents at the time of giving the narrative account will be largely unchanged from the past revealed in the story. The continuity of self will be very apparent and easy to discern as there is only one facet guiding thought and behaviour. This central character will appear from very early adolescence and remain static. The individual is likely to reveal suffering from similar problems to those that have been apparent through his life, due to an inability to discover alternative ways of resolving and coping with the world. There will indeed be a great rigidity in thought and behaviour.

It is also proposed that there will be an absence of self reflection if there is no openness to change, along with one, thus strong image of self. An individual may tend to conform to a set of prescribed ideals or show authoritarian tendencies within a criminal subculture.

6.4 Reconciliation (versus Disquiet)

This model proposes that the next developmental stage required to achieve identity and thus a well-formed narrative concerns the standard of reconciliation. McAdams (1993) states that the adult is moved towards seeking harmony and resolution or peace within the multiplicity of self. Thus the good story provides narrative solution that affirms the harmony of the self. Identity is thereby consolidated as one's life comes to be characterised by an inner peace and confidence concerning unity and purpose, what Wordsworth called "the calm existence which is mine". This is to pass through what Erikson calls moratorium or identity crisis to achieve identity.

These characters in reconciling issues will be able to reveal what those issues were and describe how they have been resolved, in essence they will be able to give a profound account of their lives in which they have made sense or reconciled the disparate parts. Thus an integration has taken place. An absence of this inner peace but completion of the others stages it could be argued would be marked by a theme of searching. The individual could be described to be in a state akin to what Erikson called moratorium. Thus the process of conscious introspection will be apparent and in some cases may be "working

overtime” in the search for a solution to their angst. This would suggest that there will be a preoccupation with one or two “issues” that need to be resolved in order for the individual to move on. According to Marcia’s theory then the reconciliation of self relates to achievement and the crisis or search to the moratorium which incidentally will lead almost certainly the individual to full achievement in time. The individual may give the reader the impression that he has a “hang up” about one or two issues that he constantly ruminates on. He will still be in the process of searching for a solution which has yet to be found and will voice anxieties he surely has .

6.5 Generativity (versus Egocentricity)

McAdams (1993) suggests that generativity is a standard of a mature identity and well formed narrative which indeed it is but it would not appear to be a requirement. As has just been proposed and along with other theories of identity formation identity can be said to have been achieved at the last stage.

However generativity does not appear in the narrative of immature individuals and is usually characteristic of mid life individuals (Erikson 1959, McAdams 1988). It could certainly be described as a further development to an ever evolving process in that to have generativity is to be the maturest one could be, thus a sign of total maturity, but not to have it does not imply immaturity. Even so, for it to be present within the life stories of offenders, unless radical identity progression has taken place, it would be most unlikely.

Generativity is where the individual functions as a productive and contributing member of society. Their focus is not on themselves but on enhancing and promoting progressive development of the human enterprise especially the next generation. The fundamental concept suggested by Erikson is that there is a need which involves being productive or creative as an adult and caring for others, especially the younger generation. Taking bold caring action for one’s people is another example as can be seen in the life of Ghandi. However this is a huge act of generativity and indeed they may need only be small (McAdams 1988).

It is proposed that the theme of generativity would be straightforward to discern. This could manifest itself with a concern for governmental or political issues, societal issues, acts of kindness and concern towards others for nothing in return other than that it is felt the correct way to be. For a murderer to be generative he must have undergone some transformation. Thus evidence of change, empathy, self analysis will be present.

The opposite of generativity is egocentric thinking, thus if the individual demonstrates a strong reoccurring theme of egocentricity he cannot be generative.

6.6 Differentiation (versus Global thinking)

The last standard that McAdams (1993) suggests is required for a good life story and thus mature identity is differentiation. However the stance of this research is that differentiation is not a stage to be following occurrence of a previous stage, indeed it is supposed that differentiation is required for movement through any of the stages. In Loevinger's model of ego development. Global thinking is characteristic of the lower stages of ego development, whereas increased differentiation in thought is required for higher stages of ego development and thus mature identity, but it is a constant requirement needed. It is like a continuous flow rather than a discrete stage. Indeed McAdams suggests that differentiation is required to get to the stage of reconciliation. Surely differentiation is required to get to from foreclosure or rigidity to change to moratorium or identity crisis. Thus differentiation although considered to be a requirement in achieving identity was not included in the model as a discrete stage.

The model then suggests that there is a structural relationship between the selected criteria that McAdams has proposed and that they are required for good narrative form vis a vis mature identity. The sequential stages starting with coherence followed by credibility which preceded openness to change followed on by reconciliation and then generativity is required to achieve a mature identity.

This research is offering that adults can and do “function” at any of these levels. Moreover being able to function within the world becoming increasingly difficult and dysfunctional as the more components are lacking.

METHODOLOGY

Chapter Seven: Data Collection

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METHODOLOGY: CHAPTER SEVEN

Data Collection

7.0 Interview Design

The appropriate data collection method for this research was quite straightforward. Although much research which is interested in looking at similarities and differences between people use standard inventories e.g. the MMPI, there are sound reasons for interviewing. Firstly most personality research looks for broad traits and similarities between individuals without paying much attention to the specific situation. That is, it explores how certain individuals behave in general rather than in certain circumstances. Secondly as no social referent is given when asking individuals to describe themselves, it is fairly abstract. This makes it difficult for individuals to focus on themselves, and individuals who are highly differentiated rather than global may have some difficulty in generalising their behaviour. Thirdly many of these tests ask the individual for an opinion about themselves. This is to assume that the individual is a) self aware enough to do this and will b) tell the truth. Fourthly it imposes a rigid structure on individuals making it impossible for the unique aspects of the individuals to emerge. Although this research is looking at similarities, a crucial aspect is the individual's uniqueness which is lost in most personality approaches. Thus allowing the subject to give a free flowing account of their lives was the appropriate method for this enquiry.

Looking at stories not only allows patterns to be formed but overrides many of the problems associated with interviewing. Interviewing is a central research method utilised by the social sciences (Mishler 1986). Much of what is understood about human behaviour, attitudes and beliefs has been based on responses to questions asked in interview. No significant aspect of life has been beyond the scope of interviews interested into the human condition. Unfortunately this diversity of subject matter, has not been matched by the adequate development of interview techniques that are appropriate for eliciting and analysing meaningful responses (Mishler 1986).

Traditionally, researchers have focused on the problem of standardisation, that is on how to ask all respondents the same question and how to analyse their responses with standardised coding systems. This line of exploration has according to Mishler (1986), been fraught with neglect of the involved problems of language, meaning, and context. These are critical aspects to understanding how interviews work. One way to overcome this is to treat respondent's answers as stories'. Thus an unstructured approach is superior. Interviewers often cut off respondent's accounts that might develop, into stories in an attempt to select information that fits in with a coding system. It has become evident that stories are a recurrent and prominent feature of respondents' accounts in all types of interviews, mainly in unstructured interviews but also in semi structured interviews. The form and content of a particular question appears less important than the behaviour of the interviewer. If the interviewee is allowed to continue in a unique way during the interview, until they have indicated that they have finished then a story can be found. With respect to this research this is critical in order to examine whether or not the individual can give small coherent accounts.

This research in looking at the similarities and differences in the structure of the narrative could deal with the idiosyncratic features held by each individual, after all the content informs about the structure.

Another benefit of taking a relatively unstructured approach concerns the subject population. It may not be easy emotionally or cognitively for a murderer to talk about his life and crimes, therefore a flexible approach enabled the researcher to guide and reassure wherever this was needed.

7.1 The Narrative Interview

One problem however that this approach brings is the problem of eliciting a life story. This can be difficult for most individuals and especially for murderers incarcerated for a lengthy period of time. Therefore the narrative interview was designed; this was essentially made to facilitate memory of different events, and ideology held that could

examine the themes required. This was implemented flexibly usually used when certain individuals required help in conversing. (See Appendix 1)

7.2 Pre Interview

Subjects were given a pre interview letter one week prior to the interviews taking place, in which they were informed of the nature of the interview and how it would be carried out - i.e. that they would be asked to give an account of their life story as if it were an autobiography. (See Appendix 2.1)

The rationale for this was for six main reasons:

- Ethical Reasons

It was felt that providing an account of what the individual could expect would reduce the potential stress of the situation, which may, given the nature of some of the murders, entail revealing intimately and gruesome events. It was also important in providing sufficient information such that the subject could make an informed decision to consent to participating in the research. Each participant was asked to sign a consent form prior to the research which were collected before the interviews commenced (see appendix 1.3).

- Self Reflection

The task required of the subjects was relatively complex and thus it was anticipated that the individual would need time to think about his life and how he might present this information. Additionally the research focused upon the construction the individual gives rather than the events per se. Thus the subject had time to reflect and plan those issues he wished to focus on.

- Individual Differences.

Despite planning time, some individuals would be able to process the nature of the enquiry and the expected presentation of the life story in different ways. Thus preparedness would allow the more functional offenders to produce a coherent account. Despite having the privilege of planning and thought time

those individuals who were largely dysfunctional may not be able to reveal a coherent life story, thus enhancing any differences there might be in functionality.

- Facilitation

Asking someone to recount his or her life story is a difficult task. It was anticipated that some individuals might have more difficulty in this task than others. It was felt that such guidelines would hone any questions they had and thus allay any fears and preconceived notions regarding the interview.

- Solidarity

The opportunity for murderers to discuss amongst themselves the types of things they would reveal may reassure some about revealing unpleasant events. The murderers were all assigned on a strictly voluntary basis, they were not forced to give an account and so were willing to impart personal information; this opportunity may have made them more comfortable in opening up to strangers.

- Confidentiality

One potentially problematic area is the disclosing of undetected crimes that the offenders may have committed. The offenders were told that they should not disclose any information relating to any offence that was not known to the prison or law enforcement authorities - as the researcher was obliged to pass such information on to the relevant bodies. Thus talking to other inmates and being prepared for the interview would minimise the risk of a cathartic explosion possible when revealing the intimate details of one's life.

7.3 The Procedure

The interviews were conducted at Nottingham prison, a category B prison. This was for three reasons.

- Safety

All of the samples had been in prison for a number of years, the shortest sentence being 5 years and the longest being 17 ½ years. This means that they were used to being in prison and therefore less likely to engage in impulsive dangerous behaviour. They were less likely to jeopardise their sentences by attempting to use the interviewers as a means of escape, as for many they were nearly at the end of very long sentences.

- Life stories

Although there is no clear information on how long after a major event one manages to live out a coherent story, it was felt that the offenders who had just been incarcerated would not have had the chance to reflect on their lives or even attempt to think what this event meant for them - their main focus being about appealing against a lengthy sentence.

- Truth

Many murderers do not admit the murder initially and may be some years before they do. Thus an earnest account was more likely to be gained with long term murderers.

The information letters and consent forms (See Appendix 2.2) were sent to the prison so that the prison staff could administer the details to those prisoners that met the criteria for the study. All interviews were conducted on a voluntary basis.

7.4 The Interviews

The interviews were collected over a two-week period. Three interviews per day were conducted. A microphone was attached to each of the subjects in order to record the interviews. The interviews were recorded by tape recorder. Each interview was transcribed for content analytical purposes.

7.5 The Interviewers

Two interviewers were present at all times for the interviews, the guider and the tracker. The reasons were twofold:

- **Safety**
Although the prison was chosen to minimise the risk of injury to any party that is life sentence prisoners who were mainly nearing the end of their sentences and thus less likely to jeopardise their future, the interviewers were informed that some individuals could still be volatile under stress. Thus two interviewers were always present.
- **Management of the interview material**
As the interview was of an unstructured nature two roles needed to be constructed.

Guider

The guider was responsible for conducting all the interviews. This was to ensure that there was as much continuity of style as possible. The guider's responsibility was to:

- (i) re-iterate the purpose of the interview
- (ii) check the continuing consent status and pointing out the subjects' discretion to choose the questions he wanted to answer, or to terminate the interview.
- (iii) invite any queries the subject may have
- (iv) to begin the interview by asking the interviewee to give a brief overview of his life. This enabled the subject to have a focused starting point rather than jumping straight in with a difficult task and to give the interviewer some idea of how easy or difficult the interviewee was going to find the interview and thus the help that might be required. This guidance continued throughout the interview until the murderer felt able to direct it himself. This occurred at the early stages and in some cases up until the end of the interview.

It is important to note two important principles to which the guider adhered:

- (i) that the questioning should be minimal - i.e. by providing too many questions one may inhibit the free flowing account the individual gave. The guider had to be prepared to accept long pauses (either indication of a sensitive area or the result of a difficult question) and resist changing direction as important information might be missed. Nevertheless the interviewer must be able to differentiate between this, and the interviewer finding a general difficulty and guide gently to prevent the subject from "freezing".
- (ii) At the same time the guider was responsible for guiding the narrative to the extent that all areas of interest were covered. It was also essential to allow the individual the opportunity to switch from early recollections to later or even current events.

Tracker

The tracker's responsibility was to:

- (i) listen attentively to and note any unusual or illogical segments of the account that needed clarification during the latter stages of the interview.
- (ii) check that the appropriate ground had been covered and thus ask appropriate questions after the guider had finished.
- (iii) notice which strategies were most effective. The tracker kept a record of which tactic elicited the most information and what enabled the interview to run smoothly.

All the interviews were concluded by asking the subject if he was satisfied with what he had imparted and whether he felt he had covered the most important aspects of his life; this was a period of closure. The interviewee was then asked whether he had any questions which needed clarification about any aspect of the study. A summary of the study was offered if requested.

7.6 The Sample

The initial sample consisted of 23 interviews conducted over a period of two weeks. Each interview differed in length of time taken; however the average length was forty minutes to one hour. Of the 23 interviews, 15 were selected for study, 8 were rejected.

The 8 Rejected Interviews

2 interviews were rejected as the prison officer brought in inmates who had not been briefed about the nature of the study or prepared for it.

1 interview was rejected as the offender although incarcerated for violence had not committed murder.

5 interviews could not be transcribed due to a variety of reasons including interviews taking place at busy times thus containing a high level of background noise, and poor quality recording, sometimes aggravated by very broad accents.

7.7 Raw Data

Only the narrative accounts of the 15 murderers interviewed were transcribed. (See Appendix 3) All personal details and names relating to the offender and others in the transcripts have been changed, including locations – to ensure anonymity.

7.8 Sample Size

The number of transcripts used depends solely on the purpose of the research. Indeed Potter and Wetherell (1987) proposed that very detailed analysis has been based on just one transcript. 15 was considered to be an appropriate amount for this study. The sample needed to reflect individual differences and similarities between people whilst effecting a very detailed analysis. Thus a manageable amount of was sought. An exhaustive trawl for themes and an appropriate coding system is extremely time consuming with the data having to be reworked many times to establish an all inclusive framework. 15 subjects was therefore considered to be a manageable amount whilst demonstrating a diversity across the population.

7.9 Murder Background Details

The offence details and demographic background information was collected from two sources. These were from the files kept at Nottingham prison. Access to certain information was given by the Crown Prosecution Service (CPS). After rigorous background checks the interviews were allowed to the CPS headquarters to collect the remaining information required.

The 15 Subjects will now be identified on the following pages. In the same way as the personal details were changed for the transcripts, certain identifying information has been omitted, for example, date of birth.

Adam

Age (at time of interview)	27
Age (at time of offence)	18
Tariff given	?
No. of years served	8
Previous convictions	none

Details of the Event – as obtained from the CPS file

(Similar to the details the offender gives at the time of interview apart from the robbery motive)

The victim was a 61 year old female living alone. Offender said he was short of money and thought she might have some. He knocked on the back door, expecting her to answer it. He grabbed her by the throat and tried to push her to the ground. They struggled for a minute whilst she tried to fend him off. He then got out his knife, opened it with his teeth, held her down and stabbed her in the left side of the neck and in the chest 19times, but he only thought he had stabbed her about four times. He accepted he was in a frenzy and knew she was dead when she stopped moving. He then searched the house for money but he could not find any. He then set fire to the room where the body was. He went out of the back door, locked it and threw the key on the grass. He threw the knife and gloves next to his house and went home, watched TV and went to bed. He was later arrested and confessed. He revealed that he went when she was there deliberately as he did not know how to break into a house.

Background Details and previous anti-social behaviour

Had a comprehensive school education, he left at 16yr with a C.S.E in art. Had previously been employed as a labourer. At the time of the murder he had been a self-employed ground worker for about 2yrs, earning about one hundred pounds per week.

Cautioned for criminal damage.

Cautioned for shoplifting.

Faced a summons for making hoax 999 calls.

David

Age (at time of interview)	32	
Age (at time of offence)	18	
Tariff given	16	
No. of years served	14	
Previous convictions	1981	Twoc
	1982	Indecent Assault

Details of the Event – as obtained from the CPS file

(NB The offence details are different to the account the offender gives)

Offender's girlfriend had finished the relationship earlier that evening. Offender who was under the influence of alcohol and LSD, fell near a phone box. The victim, a 27yr old female, unknown to the offender went to help him. They walked to the railway station where he fell down the stairs pulling her with him. She did not move after the fall, he slapped her but she did not come round. He lay on top of her and attempted intercourse, then strangled her with her own scarf. He removed her clothes and jewellery to avoid identification. He laid her across the tracks to make it look like suicide. He disposed of her clothes in a dustbin, kept her car keys and threw her watch in the canal. He returned as he later realised that a naked body would indicate that suicide was not the cause, but the train had already run her over by the time he returned so he ran home. He later told a fellow prisoner whilst on remand that he had punched her after she had refused to have sexual intercourse with her. Screams were heard at around the time of the offence. David had told his "ex" girlfriend the previous night that he wanted to kill someone. She notified the police of her suspicions when she heard about the incident.

Background Details and previous anti-social behaviour

Was an illegitimate child, who was placed in care after his mother developed epilepsy when he was 8yrs. The couple who looked after him beat him (1yr). He went to live with his step-father and half-brother – they did not get along. Went to a special school for emotionally disturbed children. Academic achievement was poor, unable to read and write. Tended to bully younger and weaker children. Work records show that he tended to vent anger on machinery. Denies allegations made by an ex-girlfriend that he was over-violent and perverse regarding sexual relations. Took an overdose (1982)

following the break-up of a relationship with his girlfriend. Behaves impulsively under stress.

Frank

Age (at time of interview)	40
Age (at time of offence)	27
Tariff given	14
No. of years served	13
Previous convictions	Over 100 counts of theft and burglary ABH x 3 Several driving offences including stealing cars

Details of the Event – as obtained from the CPS file

(The offence details are different to the account the offender gives)

Offender had met his victim on four previous occasions over a 2/3 week period prior to the murder. They went into a garden where recent and unresisted sexual intercourse took place. The victim, a 14yr old schoolgirl had asked him to wear a condom. He has said that he had not got one but would be careful. Following intercourse, the victim started complaining that she may have become pregnant and wondering what she was going to tell her father. The offender knowing she was under age, and being fearful of being accused of rape struck her 2-3 times with a lump of wood.

Background Details and previous anti-social behaviour

Offender has tried to harm himself on a number of occasions by cutting his wrists and swallowing a sharp piece of metal. During the police interview he ran headlong at the window with his arms extended and pushed his arms through two panes of glass.

Revealed that when he gets wound up he acts in this manner which he cannot explain.

Unlawful sex with his brother-in-law's 15yr old daughter.

George

Age (at time of interview)	28	
Age (at time of offence)	21	
Tariff given		
No. of years served	7	
Previous convictions	1982	Burglary & theft x 6 Criminal Damage Unlawful malicious wounding
	1984	Burglary
	1985	Burglary
	1986	Burglary x 2 Twoc x 12 Arson
	1987	Attempted Burglary Twoc
	1988	Theft x 2

Details of the Event – as obtained from the CPS file

Offender was seen attacking the victim, a 28yr old prostitute, in her own home by a 14yr old babysitter. The babysitter ran to get help and the offender fled. He was sighted by the police as he bore a strong resemblance to the description given by the babysitter. The offender repeatedly denied any involvement. The stabbing was described as brutal and vicious.

Details given by the offender

The offender claimed that the prostitute had taken his weeks wages from his clothing as he was very drunk and had fallen asleep. When he realised, he panicked as the money was needed for bills and his girlfriend whom he lived with would require an explanation. He asked for the money back and she started screaming at him. He said she jumped up towards him and he just went beserk and stabbed her.

Background Details and previous anti-social behaviour

Placed on a care order, lived in a home for disturbed youths.

Richard

Age (at time of interview)	43	
Age (at time of offence)	27	
Tariff given	20	
No. of years served	16	
Previous convictions	1971	Theft of property
	1972	Arson x 3
	1972	Theft of property x 4
	1980	Burglary
	1980	Theft

Details of the Event – as obtained from the CPS file and offender

(NB The offence details are different to the account the offender gives)

Exact details of the offence are not known. However the post mortem results do not support Richard's explanation of events. It was concluded that Richard raped, buggered and strangled the 25yr old female victim, before setting fire to the house whilst the victim's 4yr old daughter was in it. Richard said that he had initiated foreplay following which the victim asked if he would tie her up, which he did. They had 'normal' intercourse for a short time before he asked her for anal intercourse to which she agreed. After a while she asked him to stop as it was uncomfortable. They resumed normal sex and just before he ejaculated he hit her 3-4 times across the face with the back of his hand. He says they did not speak again, says he fell asleep and woke up when they banged foreheads. Richard denies seeing the child despite witnesses hearing him trying to calm the child down. The little girl sustained nasty burns to her ankles. The post mortem revealed severe bruising of the face, upper trunk and right arm, with severe burns down the right leg. There was a ligature mark going around her neck. Both bruising and tears were found to the vagina and anus which were consistent with forced sexual intercourse. The other injuries were consistent with manual strangulation and by ligature. There was no evidence to suggest the victim had been tied up like the offender said. There was also bruising to her jaw and left eye.

Background Details and previous anti-social behaviour

Evidence that he has sexually abused his step-daughter. He has made her suck his penis whilst he fondled her vagina. Allegedly enjoys items being pushed into anus.

Psychiatric admissions x 2, being described as odd and depressed. Offender's father was violent to both offender and offender's mother. Was described as cheeky and insolent to parents, stealing from them and truanting.

Saw a child psychiatrist at age nine due to thefts and running away.

Past psychiatric reports have described Richard as having an immature personality disorder, the main feature being manipulation.

Benny

Age (at time of interview)	38
Age (at time of offence)	22
Tariff given	18
No. of years served	12
Previous convictions	Theft x 2/Burglary/Affray/Allowed to be carried

Details of the Event – as obtained from the CPS file and offender

The offender conned his way into the 84yr old female victim's home by asking if he could write a note for next door. He left the victim in the living room and went upstairs, intending to commit a burglary. The offender heard a noise on reaching the end of the landing and attempted to run back down the stairs but was confronted by the victim who refused to let him past. He pushed past, causing her to lose her balance and fall. She grabbed hold of his arm and in order to release her, punched her in the left eye, kicked her and went to search the house for cash. The victim died of respiratory failure due to inhalation of blood following head and facial injuries. She sustained fatal head injuries causing a large amount of blood to be found. The offender was picked up by detectives that evening but blamed a co-defendant for the crime, saying he was outside as a look-out. This co-defendant however, had a good alibi as he had been arrested at the same time as this offence for another offence. It was then that he decided to tell the truth. The offender alleged that he had been assaulted by a police officer whilst in custody but the wounds were deemed to be self-inflicted.

Background Details and previous anti-social behaviour

The offender served time in a number of detention centres and borstals for juvenile offences. The offender had a 4yr old daughter at the time of the offence (who was living with her mother) and was living with his mother in a corporation house.

Carl

Age (at time of interview)	27
Age (at time of offence)	18
Tariff given	30
No. of years served	9
Previous convictions	Arson/Criminal damage/Theft

Details of the Event – as obtained from the CPS file

The first murder was of an elderly lady who woke up during a burglary. The offender's co-defendant asked him to hold the corner of a pillow whilst he suffocated her. The death was recorded initially as natural. A few weeks later the two burgled an elderly couple after following them home from the shop in which they worked. They stole silver and antiques. The man that bought the stolen property asked if there was any more so they returned a short while later. The old couple woke up during the burglary and the co-defendant murdered both of them. The offender eventually told his girlfriend, who advised him to tell the girlfriend of the co-defendant. At first the two bought tickets to Milan but were persuaded to return by the offender's brother and girlfriend as he felt he was not responsible for the deaths, only the burglaries. The co-defendant initially stated that he was solely responsible, but changed his statement to include the offender. The two offenders were sentenced for the three murders.

Background Details and previous anti-social behaviour

The offender started to suffer with behavioural problems at 11 yrs of age following the death of his father who had a brain tumour. Apart from the death the family home had suffered as the brain tumour had caused the father to behave in a difficult manner for 2 years prior to its detection. The offender began being disruptive at school and was expelled. He reports that his siblings also reacted in a variety of ways towards his father's death. One sister became pregnant and his brother became aggressive, physically assaulting a variety of people.

Jock

Age (at time of interview)	39
Age (at time of offence)	27
Tariff given	25
No. of years served	12
Previous convictions	Not available

Details of the Event – as obtained from the CPS file

The offender and co-defendant were charged with two murders. The first victim was a 48yr old theatrical agent who used to pick up men in certain pubs in London. He prefers large, tattooed men who had been to prison, known as “rough trade.” The victim practised inviting such men back to his flat for sex. It was supposed that this is what happened in this case. The offender accompanied the victim to his flat in a drunken state and fell asleep. He woke up embarrassed as he had somewhat sobered up and left. He informed his co-defendant that this flat would be a good place to rob. He knew the man would be out as he had told him he was going to the theatre. The offender rang to make sure, but the victim answered the phone and invited him around. Both offenders went in a van. The offender went inside, got undressed and got into bed with the victim. He changed his mind and strangled the victim, leaving him unconscious. The offender let his co-defendant in and they stole various items during which time the victim died.

The second murder also involved the same co-defendant. This victim was 29yr old solicitor who was visiting London for a conference. He was walking back to his hotel in the early hours of the morning through a park. The co-defendant approached the man and said the offender was trying to mug him; it was decided that they should walk together. The co-defendant started attacking the victim and the offender ran up and joined in. The victim was attacked with a brick. They stole £8.00. The victim was found alive 3hrs later but died 4 days later as a result of his injuries. Both fled and joined the Foreign Legion where the offender stayed for 3yrs before being extradited.

Background Details and previous anti-social behaviour

The offender’s mother was killed in a car crash shortly after his sister was born when he was 7yrs old. His father became an alcoholic and led a very unstable life, drifting from one relationship to another, sometimes leaving the offender with these women,

some of whom used to beat and abuse him. He escaped and was homeless before being sent to a children's home. He was also getting into trouble with the police at this time. He left at 15 and returned to live with his father. He developed a problem with alcohol himself and would often smash up pubs. Has dealt in adult videos, was partners with his co-defendant for a variety of crimes, including against property and persons, they used to go "queer rolling." Eventually admitted murder in prison.

Kashif

Age (at time of interview)	30
Age (at time of offence)	23
Tariff given	16
No. of years served	7
Previous convictions	None

Details of the Event – as obtained from the CPS file

The offender had been pressurised into an arranged marriage. He found difficulty in coping and so arranged for his wife to be killed by four men he picked up in his taxi who all had numerous previous convictions. The offender drove his wife to a secluded place where the four men dragged her away. The victim suffered multiple blows to the head, resulting in multiple fractures before being thrown into the lake. The offender had agreed to pay the men between £10,000 and £15,000 in instalments. The offender had met the men by chance a few days previously.

Background Details and previous anti-social behaviour

The offender was raised in a Muslim community and was part of a close-knit family. His wife was also his cousin – his mother's sister's daughter. The offender's sister got married to his wife's brother at the same time. There was no indication of any previous anti-social behaviour, in fact the offender had always been obedient and a willing member of the family.

Lenny

Age (at time of interview)	30½
Age (at time of offence)	22
Tariff given	15
No. of years served	9½
Previous convictions	GBH x 2/Burglary/1 x TIC/Theft x 4/Deception

Details of the Event – as obtained from the CPS file

The body of an 18yr old woman was found in a council flat that she used to share with the offender face down who had been strangled with an electric flex. She was clothed but a ring she had been wearing at the time before the event was found in the flat. The body had been partially burned after death. The victim had had sex prior to the murder. The victim was the ex-girlfriend of the offender.

Background Details and previous anti-social behaviour

The couple had recently split up after a turbulent and violent relationship. One incident where the offender had grabbed her by the throat left her with a stiff neck for about a week. Witnesses said that they argued a lot often about the other men that the victim was involved with which made the offender very jealous and possessive. The victim had been asking for money from the offender regarding hire purchase agreements. She threatened him in a letter that unless he gave her the money she would inform the police. A friend of the deceased told her that the offender wanted to meet her to give her some money but she said she was frightened that he would hurt her. He arranged to meet her at her parents' house. He said he had forgotten the money so that she would have to go with him to get it. They left together which was the last time the victim was seen alive. The offender admitted to two lodgers that he had killed the victim with flex. He also said to them that he had her money and jewellery. The lodgers (female) did not tell the truth at first on enquiry as they were afraid of the offender. He has since denied an involvement with the murder.

Peter

Age (at time of interview)	27
Age (at time of offence)	19
Tariff given	13
No. of years served	7½
Previous convictions	possession of an offensive weapon (bottle), theft of a luncheon voucher (for 45p), drowning a kitten (unnecessary suffering), failure to surrender to custody x 2, carrying tools to break into motor vehicle, fraud (received giro cheques – reported them stolen), stole passbook from a pocket and attempted to withdraw cash. Many shop-lifting offences.

Details of the Event – as obtained from the CPS file

Prior to the attack Peter had been attempting sexual relations with a prostitute but could not ejaculate and was left feeling frustrated. A taxi driver then refused to take him home. The victim was a 53yr old vagrant who the offender came across whilst walking home during the early hours. He took 7p and a lighter from the victim but gave the lighter back. The deceased followed the offender to a building site where he exposed himself and asked the accused if he wanted anything. This angered the offender who revealed wanting to hit him which he did with a piece of piping about the head and arms. The deceased fell and the offender went to see if anyone was about. The deceased began moving towards the offender. The offender picked up a shovel and hit the deceased under the knees, knocking him to the ground, then hit him on the head to “shut him up.” However, the more blood he saw the angrier he became and by the end of the attack had intended to kill the victim. He asked the deceased if he wanted an ambulance but got no reply. He left the site but returned when he heard the deceased moaning. He hit him again twice in the face with half a paving stone and jumped up and down on his chest. He also aimed a piece of wood that had nails at the victim’s genitals but missed. He rang the police in the evening and surrendered. Was arrested at the telephone box.

Background Details and previous anti-social behaviour

Referred to a psychiatrist as his mother thought that he might be mentally retarded (1980). Was labelled a problem child with behavioural difficulties at both home and

school. Suspended x 3. Was particularly aggressive towards his mother and sisters. Began smoking cannabis and glue sniffing at 11 yrs. Became a drug addict which has remained a problem.

Simon

Age (at time of interview)	34
Age (at time of offence)	24
Tariff given	?
No. of years served	10
Previous convictions	Burglary and Theft x 2/Attempted deception/ABH/Theft/Criminal damage x 5/Breach of the peace/Assault with intent to rob/Going equipped/Theft x 4/Breach of C.S.O/Possession of firearm/Possession of air rifle/Obstructing the police x 2/Assaulting police/Armed robbery

Details of the Event – as obtained from the CPS file and offender

On a Sunday evening the victim, a 59yr old widower went for a drink in a pub where his son was the licensee, 100yds from his home. He left to walk home in the early hours of Monday morning. His other son had recently committed suicide. The victim and offender met on a bridge when the offender asked the victim if it was his son who had hung himself. The victim took exception to this remark and an altercation took place. The offender threw the victim over the bridge where he landed in shallow water. The man died of an heart attack. The offender then picked up 3 large stones and threw them down into the brook. Witnesses who were watching this contacted the police who came and arrested him.

Background Details and previous anti-social behaviour

As a child the offender would wander off on his own and was often returned by the police. The offender began with behavioural problems at the age of 11yrs when his parents became Jehovah's Witnesses. His father in particular was very strict and punishing. At this time the offender was known to the police for breaking windows and petty theft. The offender played truant from the last year of school. Has been diagnosed as an inadequate personality with sensitive features – has difficulty coping with stressful situations – inappropriate tension reducing activity. Was depressed prior to the event and a few hours before the event had taken an overdose of his own prescribed tranquilisers. Has taken two previous overdoses in response to life problems usually following an argument with his then wife. The offender had had a

few jobs but was sacked due to his inability to do the job. The offender said he suffered tension headaches.

Ted

Age (at time of interview)	44
Age (at time of offence)	30
Tariff given	20
No. of years served	14
Previous convictions	Attempted theft of cutting equipment from warehouse/Breach of probation order/Conspiracy to defraud/Armed robbery.

Details of the Event – as obtained from offender

The offender had given the victim, a drug dealer, £50,000 worth of cocaine and had warned him as this was twice his usual request that he would kill him if he disappeared without paying. The victim 'disappeared' but the offender found out where he was. He staked out the house to ensure the victim was alone and then knocked on the front door. The victim answered the door and was asked by the offender for his cocaine back. The victim said that he had not got it so the offender shot and killed him. Another party who was in the house walked into the room just after the offender had shot the victim and so he shot him as well, as he could have been identified. The offender's drug partner was arrested on another charge and reported the offender to the police. The partner was placed in a vulnerable prisoner's unit.

Background Details and previous anti-social behaviour

Began a life of crime at the age of 14 yrs, involved in burglaries. TDA's a few armed robberies and drug trafficking. Since being in prison has attacked the prison staff – fourteen assaults within the first two years.

Tom

Age (at time of interview)	46½
Age (at time of offence)	29
Tariff given	?
No. of years served	17½
Previous convictions	Not available

Details of the Event – as obtained from offender

The offender entered an antique shop with the intention to steal a variety of property. The victim, the 49yr old property owner heard a disturbance in his shop underneath where he lived and entered the shop. The offender administered one blow to the head with a hammer that he carried with him in case he “got into trouble” in a panic and escaped. The victim died ten days later of a brain haemorrhage.

Background Details and previous anti-social behaviour

The offender’s father died when he was very young. He was placed in a boarding school as his mother was very poor. He described himself as an ordinary common or garden burglar with an interest in silver and jewellery (prior to this sentence).

Woody

Age (at time of interview)	28
Age (at time of offence)	22
Tariff given	10
No. of years served	5
Previous convictions	Joint burglary (1 case TIC)/Theft x 2

Details of the Event – as obtained from the CPS file

The event took place in the lounge of the offender's home on a Friday night. The victim was 50 yr old bisexual with a history of dishonesty and over 46 offences including indecent assault and abduction. Prior to this both men left a pub where they had been drinking, to get fish and chips which the victim bought. Both went to the offender's home. Shortly after midnight the offender went to a neighbour's home covered in blood and asked them to call an ambulance and the police. The police and the ambulance found the victim laying face down with very serious head injuries from which he subsequently died. Evidence from the injuries suggested a frenzied attack which involved several knives, a hammer and a poker. The deceased's right testicle had been ripped from the body and had been placed on a table in the room. The offender claimed that the victim had tried to rape him.

Background Details and previous anti-social behaviour

(verified by CPS files inc. the sentence his rapist received)

The offender claimed that he had a normal happy childhood until he was left traumatised after being raped at 16yrs of age, which required several stitches to his anus. After this he reported being confused about his own sexuality, was left angry and subsequently developed a drink problem. He goes on to describe a cathartic re-enactment of this event when a second attempt was made to rape him.

7.10 Equipment

The following was required for this study:

The narrative interview sheet.

The information letter to the murderers.

The interview consent forms.

Cassette tape recorder

Cassette tapes.

Microphone

Transcribing machine

7.11 Presentation of Results

Presenting the results posed a major problem. Two criteria needed to be met.

- (i) That the story should be relayed in a manner that reflected the natural flow of the individual to display the themes.
- (ii) That the themes were clearly extracted.

It was not possible to possible to demonstrate the content themes under individual headings e.g. coherence, credibility and so on, for two reasons.

- (i) This lost the natural flow of the interview and thus lost its coherence in terms of causal events
- (ii) The themes were often apparent in the same extract.

However, this made the extracts very lengthy, and the themes were often discussed at the same time. Part of the hypothesis states that certain individuals will have more than one theme, in reality these were often evident in the same extracts. Thus it was decided that the preferred course of action was to report most of the narrative illustrating where the themes were apparent as they appeared. This also showed which themes went together and which were absent. It also allowed for the recurrent themes to be shown. Therefore a predominantly incoherent narrative or a main theme of

rigidity was naturally shown strengthening the hypothesis. That is it helped inform on the degree to which each narrative contained or lacked each theme.

Another important consideration related to other findings. The narrative in its natural state could demonstrate other important finding for example whether or not a particular narrative style matched a certain level of structure. For example how an emotionally flat tone seemed to correspond to the lowest group that is, the most poorly structured narratives.

So in order to retain the rich detail about structure and content these stories offered some clarity of presentation was compromised.

METHODOLOGY

Chapter Eight: Content Analysis

- 8.0: Introduction
 - 8.1: Interviewer Influence
 - 8.2: Content Analysis
 - 8.3: Content Category Dictionary
 - 8.4: Extracting Themes For Narrative Structure
 - 8.5: Inter Rater Agreement
-

METHODOLOGY: CHAPTER EIGHT

Content Analysis

8.0 Introduction

This research has adopted a style of deconstructing narrative accounts based upon McAdams methods of analysis. The main reason for this is because McAdams 1985 offers a framework of narrative deconstruction whereby a collection of narrative accounts can be compared and differentiated between along broad themes whilst maintaining that which is unique to each individual

McAdams approach stems from personology in particular to the orientation of Allport and Murray that psychologists should be exploring the individuals *raison d'être*.

McAdams 1988 states,

“When contemporary personologists study lives, they are likely to find themselves listening to the stories their subjects tell, and/or trying to discern the central, underlying story that animates any particular subject’s life. In other words, they are dealing, in one way or another, with autobiography or biography.”

In the first case, the psychologist may see himself or herself as collecting life narratives-storied autobiographical accounts told in the person’s own words. These accounts can then be analysed in a variety of ways, ranging from highly quantitative content analysis (Krippendorf 1980) to qualitative hermeneutics (Steele 1982).

Methodology and methods of reconstructing life histories from oral biographical presentations are being continuously developed Rosenthal (1993).

The focus of the biography needs to be understood before extracting the relevant information. As Fischer - Rosenthal 1991 state,

“Researching the biographical as social entity implies both the question of the social function of biographies as well as the question of the social processes that constitute biographies” .

To reiterate this research focuses on the function of the structure not the content. In understanding that a biography is a social construct comprising social reality and the subjective perception of the world, the next question that narrative theorists face is how can one reconstruct a social structure that is continuously reaffirmed and transformed in the interaction between biographical experience and socially defined schemata? That is to what extent is one receiving an actual life story or a personal construction of past present and future life? One of the main objectives of biographical research is to encompass the life in total of an individual (Kohli 1986a). Total life does not refer to every event that occurs but the general pattern of orientation that is a selective process separating the relevant from the irrelevant. The narrated life story represents the biographer's overall construction of past present and anticipated future which are linked in a temporally and thematically consistent pattern (Fischer 1982).

The narrated life story then represents a series of mutually interrelated themes that between them form a dense network of interconnected cross references (Fischer 1982). The thematic field is the sum of events and situations presented in connection with the theme that forms the background against which the themes stand out as the central focus. What narrative theorists tend to explore is the reconstruction of both the narrator's biographical construction and the biographically relevant experiences. This is a reciprocal relationship; the construct determines the relevancy of an experience and the cumulative relevant experiences form the construct (Rosenthal 1993). Furthermore, only when some insight into the structure has been gained can general propositions be made about the importance of the separate episodes and their meaning for the narrator. It is important to note however that this research focuses exclusively on understanding the structure that has indeed been defined by the content but does not attempt to discover the meaning of the events for the individual.

8.1 Interviewer Influence.

When reconstructing the narrated life story the fact that the interview is a product of a mutual interaction between speaker and listener must be addressed. Stories are created within the social process of mutual orientation according to the purpose of the

interview. Life stories understood as constructs, are inseparable from this international process.

Within the interaction framework of the interview the narrator relays his life story in a thematically focused manner, based on negotiations made in the interview. The story evolves around a thematic topic, usually established by the researcher, but delivered in a manner that is considered relevant by the narrator to be of interest to the listener.

The topics can focus on a particular period of life or on experiences emerging in connection with certain events or even on a single biographical strand such as career. Thus the researcher is providing the framework for the stories that are selected by the narrator. The important point is that the narrator has to interpret the topic, they may keep to this or they may focus the story to what they consider to be of interest.

Rosenthal suggests that before analysing stratified biographical experiences themselves, one must reconstruct these selective principles, the underlying structure of the text.

Rosenthal 1993 used thematic field analysis to analyse an actual interview regarding Hans Lohs - a German witness to National Socialism who became a member of the Hitler Youth in 1933 and was a soldier in World War II. The research question in this analysis was

“What does Herr Lohs want to convey to the interviewers with this claim that in Berlin the response to national Socialism was not so intense as elsewhere.

The hypotheses were.

1 Lohs wants to explain that he has little to say about National Socialism, that is, that the argument is related to the issue of his competence as an informant or

2 He wants to convey that as a “Berliner” he was not a fanatical Nazi, that is, he wants to legitimise his own and his environment’s behaviour and is trying to establish a certain image of himself.

This is one example of how narrative theorists set about understanding meaning, embedded in the individual's account. This requires an interpretative framework. Specific answers were sought to specific questions

This research project although using a similar approach did not require an interpretative framework. It was not trying to identify "what an act or thought means" but whether or not an act or thought was present or absent. Thus traditionally narrative approaches are hermeneutic in orientation, this research in extracting the themes (relating to structure) in the same way adopted a more traditional approach to investigation, aim being to find a classification system.

8.2 Content Analysis

In order to extract meaningful data from qualitative research such as the interviews carried out in this study, it is necessary to subject the material obtained to analysis. The appropriate exploration for this type of study is "content analysis". This was an approach first used by Laswell and Lazarfeld in the study of propaganda involved during World War II (Brenner et al 1985). The procedure is defined by Berelson as:

" A research technique for the objective, systematic and quantitative description of the manifest of communication" (Berelson 1952: 18cf Krippendorf 1980).

Krippendorf (1980) states the technique must be reliable, but that this may not necessarily mean that it is valid. One must examine validity in relation to the overall context of the material and the domain of interest.

Therefore before the material can be analysed by this technique, the researcher must arrive at a systematic construction of categories into which the material can be reduced. These categories should be generated from both current knowledge based in the literature relating to the subject and concepts explicit in the material itself.

Holsti (1969) proposes the following guidelines for the construction of content categories:

- 1 The categories must reflect the purpose of the research.
- 2 The categories must be exhaustive
- 3 The categories must be mutually exclusive.
- 4 The categories must link to the research hypotheses.

The categories must be expressly defined in the content category dictionary. This document contains all the categories which have been identified in the literature and the themes extracted from the interviews.

The constituents for this research relate to how well formed the interpersonal narrative accounts are.

8.3 Content Category Dictionary

This dictionary contained operational definitions for the extraction of the structure of the narrative. This included themes relating to coherence, credibility, openness to change, reconciliation, and generativity.

8.4 Extracting Themes for Narrative Structure

Following the guidelines for good narrative structure outlined by the literature, the following eight components were identified. Each narrative varied in the degree to which each theme was present. The difficulty in taking each statement in isolation is that the meaning can be ambiguous. For example, one contradiction may indicate confusion not dishonesty, or mentioning one troubling issue may not be a sign that the individual has not achieved reconciliation. Therefore it was imperative that the predominant and recurring themes be taken as evidence for the existence of the particular concept. It was the build up or fitting together of the themes that was the indication of it. Thus the consistent reoccurrence of a theme in the narrative elicited it as a theme.

Based on the literature and the data the following themes were extracted and formed into criteria.

8.4.1 Presence of coherence

- *COHERENCE* – The narrative will be a logical explanation of the individual's life or any statement made will be qualified by logical substantiation. It will be easy for a listener to follow.
- *FOCUS* - The narrative will have a discernible point to it rather than rambling or becoming easily side tracked.
- *DETAIL* - The narrative will contain a uniform and large amount of detail about various aspects of the individuals life.
- *REFLECTIVE* - The narration to be explanatory as well as descriptive.
- *CONNECTEDNESS OF NUCLEAR EVENTS* - The events will relate to each other in a causal manner demonstrating how the individual is making connections in his life. (It may be possible for the reader to pull together the disparate parts to make sense of it, however the important point is whether the individual has made any coherent connections).
- *IMAGO* - There will be a clear imago. (To be classified as an imago, the self image must be present throughout the narrative and reflected in different content components.)

8.4.2 Absence of Coherence

- *COHERENCE* - The overall account will be confusing with non-sensible or no qualification about statements made.
- *FOCUS* - The life story will not be focused it will ramble and drift, connecting together in a rather spontaneous manner.
- *DETAIL* - there will be little detail.

- *REFLECTIVE* - There will be little evidence of thinking. Statements do not go into great detail but move swiftly on to talk about a different subject matter. Therefore the nature is descriptive rather than explanatory.
- *CONNECTEDNESS OF NUCLEAR EVENTS* - There is no discernible point to the story, nuclear events may be embedded in the narrative but not in any causal order, leaving the reader to try and make sense of the impact of the life events, as the individual appears not to have done so.
- *IMAGO* - There is no clear imago.

8.4.3 Presence of Credibility

- *ADEQUACY OF EXPLANATION* - The attributions made or explanations given will adequately explain the preceding point made.
- *CONSISTENCY* - There will be a consistency within the narrative reflected in many of its content component parts, i.e., matches in ideology, nuclear events, and imagoes.
- *SUPPORTING EVIDENCE* - There will be overall evidence to back up points Made.
- *UNIFORMITY* - There will be a uniform level of detail or style of narration throughout the narrative account.

8.4.4 Absence of Credibility

- *ADEQUACY OF EXPLANATION* - There is a recurring issue about explanations and attributions being unlikely or at least questionable.

- *CONSISTENCY* - There are recurrent contradictions in the narrative e.g. between self-image/imago and reported behaviour.
- *SUPPORTING EVIDENCE* - There is contrary evidence to back up claims made, in other words the narrative shows dissonance e.g. offender claims to be empathetic yet fails to demonstrate this in describing an event.
- *UNIFORMITY* - Non uniform use of detail and explanation. If the individual has demonstrated an overall coherence, fluctuations to incoherence when asking about details of the crime indicates a lack of credibility.

8.4.5 Openness to Change

- *NUMBER OF IMAGOS* - The self-image will be multifaceted that is there will be a number of imagos.
- *COGNITIVE COMPLEXITY* - A variety of alternatives or evidence of the ability to consider differing options will be present.

8.4.6 Rigidity

- *NUMBER OF IMAGOS* - There will be one clear imago evident from an early age that has not undergone much change or transformation.
- *COGNITIVE COMPLEXITY* - There will be a lack in ability to envisage alternative futures or generate different problem solving strategies.

8.4.7 Reconciliation

- *DEMONSTRATION* - The individual will have demonstrated how he has managed to reconcile conflict within his own life.

- *NARRATIVE TONE* - The tone of the narrative will be peaceful.
- *ATTITUDE TO SELF (SELF ESTEEM)* – There will be evidence of a positive development of imago(es) and an acceptance of self where there was a prior absence.

8.4.8 Lack of Reconciliation

- *DEMONSTRATION* - The conflict or problem will recur throughout the narrative with a lack of evidence to suggest that the concern has been resolved. The issue will manifest itself in the early stages of the narrative.
- *NARRATIVE TONE* - The style of the narration is searching with a sad theme.
- *ATTITUDE TO SELF (SELF ESTEEM)* - The imago(es) will be negative e.g. victim.

8.4.9 Generativity

- *GENERATIVITY* - There will be a concern shown regarding the welfare of future generations.
- *EVOLVED IMAGO* - The individual will have an imago that is geared towards serving others i.e. helper, father figure, mentor, teacher.
- *EXPLANATION* - The style of narration will be a successful attempt to explain one's life and thus make sense of themselves.
- *CHANGE* - For a murderer to reveal a generative narrative some transformation or change must have taken place; therefore the narrative will demonstrate an evolving imago or the integration of a few imagoes governed by a superordinate imago.

- *SELF- AWARENESS* - The narrative will evolve around “waking up” and self-exploration. In other words there will be evidence of analytical thinking and much thought provoking.

8.4.10 Lack of Generativity

- *GENERATIVITY* - The narrative will lack concern for others. There will be little focus placed on any of the victims of the crime or crimes. Unless asked the victim will not play an integral role in the individual’s identity. The narrative will be essentially egocentric. There will be evidence of immaturity in outlook.
- *EVOLVED IMAGO* – There will be no evidence of development in imago.
- *CHANGE* – There will be no evidence of change.
- *SELF AWARENESS* – There will be no evidence of self awareness.

8.5 Inter rater agreement.

This is the extent to which two or more observers obtain the same results when measuring the same behaviour e.g. when coding the same tape. Usually coding schemes are straightforward and easy to use. For example one might want to see how many times a child gets up from a desk, if frequency is being measured.

The type of data being observed in this study was not at all straightforward. The identification of the behaviour / thought was sought which could only be seen against an idiosyncratic backdrop. That is if one was looking for credibility, differing parts of the narrative were needed to confirm or disprove a general pattern. Thus the rater would need to be extremely familiar with the theoretical background to the work. It was not simply a matter of looking for “easy to spot” words or acts as these represented meaning based upon the individual’s life story. In one case they may indicate that a theme was present in another absent. For example, being remorseful

about a crime may be credible or it may not, it is dependant upon the nature of the overall narrative.

Apart from having to be familiar with the theoretical background and because of the theoretical background, each narrative account in identifying these themes required a considerable amount of time to be spent on each one to understand the mutual relationship between content and structure. That is the content themes had to be understood in terms of how they informed on the structure, an extremely time consuming endeavour.

An overall pattern was sought thus evidence for a particular theme should be reoccurring and evident via a number of narrative components. In some respects unlike traditional content analysis one was not counting and thus comparing amount, an extremely difficult task in this case but observing for broad reoccurring patterns that were extremely self evident once the context was understood.

Finally, because of the context based nature of the themes, they could not be displayed in table or graph form. In fact to illustrate each theme a considerable amount of the narrative was required to demonstrate each theme. Therefore the results displayed the method and thus is open to scrutiny from one or more secondary raters.

METHODOLOGY

Chapter Nine: Redefining the Hypotheses

- 9.0: Introduction
 - 9.1: Group One
 - 9.2: Group Two
 - 9.3: Group Three
 - 9.4: Group Four
 - 9.5: Group Five
-

METHODOLOGY: CHAPTER NINE

Redefining the Hypotheses

9.0 Introduction

This research hypothesises that an individual's level of functionality can be determined by the way they tell the story about themselves.

Murderers are identified as being dysfunctional therefore there will be absences of the themes required for a good narrative which, vis a vis mature identity indicates that dysfunctionality is synonymous with immature or underdeveloped individuals.

For those individuals who have not undergone any transformation or change since the time of the murder the narrative will be lacking in one or more of the components. The more they are lacking the less functional they will be.

The themes will relate together in a stepwise manner as other stages of developmental psychology - the most basic requirement being coherence, followed by credibility, then openness to change followed by reconciliation and then generativity. If coherence is lacking none of the other criteria will be present and so on, as with Piaget's stages of cognitive development.

If any of the murderers showed generativity there should also be evidence of change in the story. As generativity is essentially prosocial and murder antisocial, naturally there needs to be a shift in the narrative towards a less egocentric focus. There needs to be evidence of the maturation process.

There will be differences in structure between all the individuals that can be divided into groups. By reviewing the material five groups were identified.

9.1 Group One

The first group that was identified told confusing narratives that did not seem to explain who they were. These were three individuals who shared interesting content themes as well as structure. The murderers in this group are Adam, David and Richard.

These three accounts initially were not actual life stories. The information offered was all connected to events in their past but did not reveal a journey of where they had been or where they were going. The events that perhaps connected together the disparate parts were not in a sequential order nor explained in a manner that would suggest that they were particularly significant. The tone of the narratives was emotionless, often describing negative events in a passionless way. The stories tended to ramble not focusing on any one theme. There were no clear imagoes. There was a lack of evidence of thought, often a point would be made that seemed important but rather than being focused on was dismissed often moving on to talk about a less "challenging" topic. Adam seemed to find difficulty in talking, the interview taking the format of a question and answer session. There was no explanatory style just a descriptive telling of the narrative. The narratives were full of contradictions, usually these took the form of the subjects making claims about themselves that did not appear from other comments to be correct.

There were also interesting similarities found in the content of the narratives. All the murder victims were women who had been brutally killed. There was no clear motive in any of the cases for the killing offered by the offender. At the end of the narrative the reader was still left wondering why this event had happened.

Hypothesis one

As coherence is lacking in these narratives it is hypothesised that the remaining criteria will be lacking also. That is, these narratives will lack coherence, credibility, openness to change, reconciliation and generativity.

9.2 Group Two

The individuals in this group told narratives that were similar in that they were characterised by a lack of credibility. In some cases the narratives appeared not to be truthful in others not likely. The subjects in this group are Frank, Benny, and Lenny.

All three characters lacked credibility. Frank offered current ideology that was consistent with his past behaviour. More importantly he could only talk easily about his past behaviour finding great difficulty in substantiating claims that he had changed. Instead of using the interview as an opportunity to explain how he had changed he said he did not know, he just had and that it was easy. He showed no remorse towards his victim and spoke in either neutral or positive terms about significant others who had been involved in football hooliganism with him. He was never once critical of his past behaviour. Benny gave the impression that he felt he was superior, for example, he did not know why the police had an interest in him, despite being a serial offender. He readily offered that he had great integrity yet at the same time was involved in burglary. He did not show remorse for most of the crimes he had been involved in whilst claiming he was a reformed character. The main contradiction lay in the fact that he justified most of his past behaviour, thus defending himself whilst saying that he had changed. This leads to a general lack of credibility with the account. The lack of credibility in the case of Lenny is different. It was quite clear that he had the ability to be very coherent, but the account became incoherent and confusing at very select parts. These were always when he was trying to explain what happened to the victims of his crime. Thus this inconsistency in style seemed to throw doubt on the credibility of certain explanations he was giving. There seemed to be one remarkable similarity in some of the narratives. Two of the individuals appeared to be very selective in the way they explained events. Although everyone attends to information in the environment which help one maintain a correct image of self, there appeared to be a distortion of the facts. Very little focus was placed on events where they had acted in an antisocial manner, whereas great attention seemed to have been paid to promoting a positive self-image, which lacked credibility. These two were both similar in that they appeared to be portraying ought self as actual self. The imagoes were similar, in that they saw themselves as hero type characters, but lacked enough substance to appear totally credible.

Hypothesis Two

It is therefore hypothesised that the murderers in this group will have achieved coherence but none of the other criteria, that is credibility, openness to change, reconciliation and generativity.

9.3 Group Three

The characters in this chapter told narratives that were similar in that they were rigid in self-image. They are Kashif, Ted and Peter. They were similar to each other in that the strongest linking theme was a lack of openness to change. They appeared truthful and made sense.

Kashif reveals in the narrative that he thinks he has changed. Nevertheless, the crime he committed can be partly understood in terms of a lack of ability to generate alternative solutions due to a rigidity of self. This had not changed as he described an episode in prison where he did not know what to do and let the pressure build up, as he was incapable of taking hold of the situation. It is remarkably similar to the way in which his wife was murdered. This therefore shows that there is an indication that he has not changed. Ted, does not feel the need to change, he speaks about being a criminal with pride and quite clearly sees himself in a positive light as a powerful character who has kudos and status. There is no alternative imago or solutions evident. When asked if he would have committed the crime he said no, he would have paid someone to do it. When it was put to him that he still might have been caught he said that was the chance taken. It seemed inconceivable to Ted not to kill this man, he offered no alternatives in fact asked the interviewers what else could he have done, it was as if he had no other choice. Peter is aware of the need to change and says he is trying but feels unable to do so. He speaks as a drug addict yet is trying to leave drugs alone. There is no other imago to rival it. He is a father and wants to support his daughter however at the moment his identity as a drug addict is the most prevalent.

Hypothesis Three

This group has demonstrated that they have a lack of openness to change as the main linking theme. As there is a presence of an imago, the concept that allows

examination of this rigidity, it is hypothesised that this group will have achieved coherence and credibility but lack openness to change, reconciliation and generativity.

9.4 Group Four

The offenders in this group were all characterised by having a lack of reconciliation, drawing similarities in the imago, that is, they all told stories of victims.

They are Simon, Woody, and George.

Each of these three has not yet become reconciled. Simon who was brutalised by his father is still trying to gain acceptance from him, this is the main recurrent narrative theme. Similarly Woody is fixated by the attacks he endured a rape at age sixteen followed by an attempted sexual assault when he was twenty two which resulted in him murdering his attacker. He cannot come to terms with being a rape victim or a murderer. George does not seem to have reconciled his mother's brutal treatment of him as a child, as the eldest he felt he was treated differently.

Hypothesis Four

It is hypothesised that this group will have achieved coherence, credibility, openness to change, but lack reconciliation and generativity.

9.5 Group Five

This group is similar in that they demonstrate generativity. The main aspect characterising this group is that they tell stories of a personal journey. They are Tom, Jock and Carl.

They are all involved in helping other prisoners. Tom is "known" as a father figure and sees himself as a mentor to the younger prisoners or anyone who has a problem. Jock set up the anxiety management group to help inmates cope with the stress of being in prison, he also gives talks to visitors for example the Samaritans on child abuse. Carl is a "Listener" which is a Samaritan type service run by prisoners for other

prisoners. There was a general concern for others and society voiced throughout the narrative and indeed aspired to be contributing members of society on their release. All showed altruistic behaviour with little or no evidence of egocentric behaviour.

Hypothesis Five

Therefore it is hypothesised that this group will have revealed all the five criteria in their narratives. That is coherence, credibility, openness to change, reconciliation and generativity.

Hypothesis Six

As this research classes murder as an extremely dysfunctional behaviour and therefore likely to occur by individuals at the lower stages of the model, the individuals in this group may have experienced some change or transformation. Therefore it is hypothesised that there will be themes of change, self-analysis, and development of empathy in this group.

RESULTS

Chapter Ten: Group One – The Non-Identities

Adam

David

Richard

RESULTS: CHAPTER TEN**Group One The Non-Identities**

"Beckett's living dead do not even walk – in the novels they hobble and crawl, in the plays they are remarkably stationary. Beckett presents in his plays unindividuated characters with stylised faces, whose single names do not name them, give no clue to family class, nation.... His characters come from nowhere, belong nowhere, have no occupation or place in society. There is no society. Society appears as the small band that beats Estragon, when he sleeps nights in the ditch. Godot beats the messenger's brother; Pozzo beats Lucky. Beating seems the last vestige of the social principle; and for certain pairs, the tyrant-victim relation is all that remains of love."

(Langbaum 1982)

The murderers in this sample are Adam, David and Richard. This group shared narratives that lacked all the critical components required to achieve the most basic identity. That is, they lacked coherence, credibility, openness to change, reconciliation and generativity. In terms of style the narratives were confusing, disjointed and did not inform the listener of any personal journey. Furthermore, it would appear that they did not know that they were taking a journey. Unlike the other groups where the essence of the narratives could be extracted and described in a nutshell, this group disclosed no linking of events, neither past, present, nor anticipated future, which would indicate who they were.

ADAM

Adam offered the least coherent narrative of the sample. The format of the interview was markedly different to the others in that it resembled a question and answer session. Adam required much prompting. When Adam did offer an account of any length it tended to be descriptive rather than explanatory. As this narrative was very disjointed the interviewer's participation was retained in the extracts.

From the outset Adam found it not only difficult to talk about his life in any explicating way, but just to even describe it, when Adam was asked to give a brief outline of his life he replied,

" Briefly I can't really simply remember much cos being in jail I've blanked out most of my past and I'm looking-looking-looking forward to my future, so that's it briefly."

The following extract illustrates two points. Firstly that Adam does not find the process of discussing himself easy and secondly, he does not offer an explanation to his statement where one is required. He had been asked a neutral question about his family members to try to elicit some interaction.

- A: "I've got... it's awkward really, cos I've got a difficult family background. I've got, see - two half bro-brothers on me mum's side, and on me natural father's side I've got a half brother and a half sister. So I'm on me own as such, fam-family wise, but I've got two half-brothers."
- I: Right. Are your mum and dad still together then?
- A: No. No. I-I-I'm the-the result of an affair, but they still see each other now.
- I: Right. Oh I see so there's...they're both married to other people, are they, and they've got families with those, and they met each other and they had you. So you never lived together as a family then? (No) So did you live with your mum?
- A: Mum eh... John and James and step dad who came on the scene when I was seven.
- I: So how did she explain - did the bloke that she was with -
- A: It's very complicated, my life, you see. If you go back to my crime you can see what - or what led up to it.
- I: I was hoping - I'm hoping that's what's going to happen. So when you're mum was having you, em, did the person that she was with - was she with - she was married at this time, was she, when she got pregnant with you? (No) No she wasn't.
- A: Right, I'll tell you. My mum got married when she was nineteen, she had John and she had James. When John was four, James was two their natural father died of natural causes cos he wouldn't see the doctor. He died at home. Then... in '69 mum used to take John and James to school and then met up with this other couple who took their kids to school the same as John and James, got friendly, lived down the road, they had an affair, then comes me. But there's only me and me mum and me natural father know, as far as I'm aware. See I didn't know until I was... just turned eight-eight-eighteen, who my natural father was.
- I: So you had no contact with him during this period?
- A: Yeah, yeah, quite a lot, all the time, I knew him quite well.
- I: But you didn't know he was your dad?
- A: They were named as - him and his wife were named as godparents, y'know, to keep it close. They only lived down the road.
- I: Did she know the, did the wife know?
- A: No.
- I: So she was asked to be a godmother -?
- A: So that that's kept it close, it's kept it near as such.
- I: Oh I see. So how did you get on with him then?
- A: Fine, fine, I've known him all my life. But I only knew him as my - that-that - as one of my godparents, so I always used to just go down there, go to his workplace with him, etc.

- I: So how did it come about that you found out who he was?
- A: Eh... so when I left school, I started going out a lot more into town six-sixteen seven-seventeen. Saturday night my brother used to go up town out with the lads and I'd come back and, Saturday night me mum would go down to the - their house for a drink-drink etc. Then eh... I'd usually go down about twelve o' clock, and then ????? I just sat down and, because I'd been snooping about up till then, cos I always thought my natural father died before I was born, my natural father was John and James's father. So... I lost meself.
- I: So you were snooping around were you?
- A: That's right, I was snooping around. I found a death certificate dated 1964, straight away I thought, hang on I wasn't born till '69, so then I felt a bit curious and I've asked for my birth certificate. And mine was only a shortened version.
- I: What's the shortened version?
- A: It's only got me mum's name on it and my name.
- I: Right.
- A: It's only got the name for mother, not father. So she's given me that, I thought, well that's no use to me, so this night, eh, my natural father's wife wasn't very well, so she's gone to bed early and I've gone down and mum... and who I now know to be me natural father were sitting there watching telly. So I em... I just asked the question, there's always one thing that's just bugged me, and I asked what's that, me natural father straight away said, well what's that then? Cos I didn't know at the time he was me dad but he'd been treating me like his son all the way through. So I says who's me natural father, so mum's all like burst into tears. (Your mum did) Yeah. And that upset me a bit seeing me mum in tears. Then me natural father come out and told me.
- I: What did he say?
- A: He just told me straight that he was my dad. At the time I was... relieved, but I was ang-angry that I hadn't been told.
- I: Did you ever come to kind of understand the reasons why they never said anything?
- A: I haven't really thought about it, I've just - know that I've got a mum and a dad."

Even with direct questions being asked of Adam he does not furnish the interviewer with the details required to give a coherent account. The interviewer tried guessing the most plausible answer which was usually wrong. Following a few wrong conclusions Adam tried to explain the situation, but until this time tended to give as little information as possible.

When he tried to explain the events he includes details that are incidental for example that his brothers natural father died at home because he would not see the doctor, which appears similar to how a child gives an account of events. He then loses the thread of his account perhaps again demonstrating his inability to think logically. After being reoriented by the interviewer he continued.

Adam revealed that he had felt angry and relieved at the same time. He does not explain why and reveals that he has made no attempt to understand why, claiming he knows only that he has a Mum and Dad.

This would suggest that Adam has made no attempt to make sense of this yet he felt relieved and angry. This would seem to suggest that he lacks the ability to differentiate thought and emotion. This would also suggest that he has made no attempt to reconcile this painful issue.

Adam also demonstrated a lack of credibility. When asked as part of the interview to recall any childhood events he replied,

“See putting me on the spot I can’t really recall, but if I’m just laying there, y’know, to meself, I can think of so many things. Something to do - I know a little bit about psychology, but not a lot, it’s something to do with your recall or something, it’s like a drink, having a drink. Can’t-can’t remember the next day but the next time you get a drink you remember.”

Not only does this reveal a tendency to avoid thinking about his past, thus making sense of his life, he declares that he can recall many events, this would contradict the first statement he made that he has blanked out his past since coming to prison and is focusing on his future instead. This confusion is demonstrated further when he says,

A: See me I tend-tend-tend to forget about my past now, I just want me future. Right and I want to be successful. Know what I’m saying? No I ain’t gonna - I know that I never-never-never will forget the memories what come back to me, but-but-but if I deliberately try to think about it, I’m absolutely hopeless.

I: You mean that it upsets you too much?

A: No, no not at all. No I just eh... I find it hard to click back, straight back, and say, oh I remember this and that blah blah blah. But-but really I had a fair-pretty normal upbringing-bringing. Nothing exciting as such happ-happened. It don’t in the Fends as such where I come from, y’know what I mean, it’s just farmland etc. So there’s not a lot happening.....

I: OK. then. What about in your adolescence, when you were a teenager, what can you remember from that?

9 :Eh, just being a fool more than anything. (Being?) A fool. (A fool?) Yeah.

I: What do you mean by being a fool?

A: A fool in love (laugh). Hit the bug too easily.

I: What kind of feelings and memories does that bring back, pleasant or unhappy?

- A: Bit of both really. Eh... I don't know, it was quite pleasant really, but well there was-was-was one upsetting part where I had some girl-girl friend of eighteen months that ?????. That upset me down but I just ignored it for a bit, then I thought, hang on, this isn't right. Eh...
- I: Did you say anything to her at the time?
- A: No, no. As I say, forget that, doesn't really matter. It's all part of learning, all part of learning, and how to cope. See back then I couldn't cope. I mean I was afraid to bring-bring-bring out my true feelings. See that's partly my mistake as well, see I wouldn't talk about me problems, see, where I'm hope-hope-hopeless with words and money, or was, or was, or was, all because I tend to go to the arcades a lot. Down the arcades and playing and that."

So again there is evidence that the interviewer is having difficulty making sense out of what Adam says. Given his lack of willingness to discuss the past and his seemingly desperate need to forget it, a logical conclusion drawn (in the light of none given) was that he found the past upsetting). He also shows undifferentiated aspirations for the future simply claiming that he wants to be successful, given the time Adam claims he spends thinking about his future one might expect a little more detail.

When he does mentioned his childhood he says "its just farm land", which does not reveal a great deal of information about his youth.

When asked to talk a little about his teenage years Adam is just as incoherent, marked by the inability to understand that listeners require more information if they are to make sense of what he is saying. Calling himself a fool would appear to translate to falling in love quickly. He mentions one incident but is rather sure that he does not want to discuss this further. This explanation he gives again is vague seeming to revolve around his inability to understand and deal with his emotions. This does not appear to have changed. He then make a bizarre connection from talking about lacking the ability to communicate associates this with the lack of ability to manage money. This could be evidence of avoidance or indicative of a lack of a functional schema that would enable him to understand the world. Nevertheless, he shows a continual theme of vague, inadequate speech.

When Adam was asked to identify any turning points he does this more easily,

"Yeah, it's the...it's the crime and and being inside, cos eh... right k-k-kill-killed my next-neighbour across the road, but for no reason at all. I've knocked on her back door, and she's come to the back door... and I've just freaked out. I've just totally freaked out. I've attacked this woman for no reason, I totally freaked out. I pushed her to the ground, I ended up stab-stab-stabbing her what I believed to be four times in my memory. Eh, frightened, I set fire to the house. Now, I-I-I live across the road, totally across the road, and I've gone home, and

I'm in a - I don't know a kind of... daze as such, not really knowing. And eh, I've dropped the knife in bi-bit of wa-wasteground beside my house, etc. and I've gone to bed. Next thing I know it's about half four in the morning and the police are at the door ??? "No", blah blah blah, ??? Five days later I get arrested and charged, I've admitted it straight up. At first no, i-i-in my house, y'know I wasn't going to admit it in my house as such, not in front of my family. So we got in the cop car and tak-tak-taken to Banbury station and admitted it. Etcetera etcetera, remand, remand, trial... jail. Real jail; I was in YP for two years and that don't really - so that's not really a jail - it's the shit petty rules, y'know what I mean, the shit attitudes. Now I've came here... and through my experience of working on the building sites, watching and learning, there's a bricklaying here, I've started that, I'm ???, I've done re-re-real ??? bricklaying, it's a six month course, I've done ??? weeks. Now that was my turning point. Now n-n-now I've got an influence now, that's Jack the bricks instructor here, eh, I've ??? at bricklaying, he said, "it's nothing to you is it?, I says, "no", I said, "I want something a bit more advanced", then eh, he said, "OK. see at the Education Department". I got in touch with the open learning college, eh ??? school of building, it's not called that now, and they sent us their course briefing, like, and saying what the price was, £85 this course. So I've ap-ap-applied to the Prince's Trust, I got a grant... and eh, started the course, it's took me about a year to get into it really. Now there's no set ti-ti-time limit on it, but eh... and I've had a bad spell in here, like, so I've sort of left it for about a year. Then I've got into it again. And since then it's just come naturally to me. So I completed that course with all A's, straight A's all way through it. Then he put me on this Site Management, and I completed that with straight A's through that, and now I'm doing Construction Technology, and that's really set to me head, you're learning something, you've got something to go for."

The most striking aspect of this account is that Adam makes no comment about how he feels about killing this elderly woman. He describes what happens, explaining that he freaked out. Yet he appears again to be unable to differentiate his emotions and thought as he does not know why. He offers a credible account of what happened but he does not appear unduly concerned that it did. He drifts into an account of how good prison has been for him in terms of finding a role model. Incredibly Adam describing the whole events seems unperturbed by what he has done and happy he has found a focus in life. This seems to lack any empathy or remorse for his behaviour, requirements of being generative.

When directly asked what has changed in him he replied,

"It's opened me up a bit. It's learned me not to - not to bottle things up"

When Adam was asked to further explain this he replied,

- A: Em, well talking for a start. From when I first got arrested, and then I had to see a psy-psy-psychologist, sorry a psy-psychiatrist, and talking, and then it's not hard for me now.
- I: You found it very difficult?
- A: Yeah, see - see I'm a man of very few words really, but - well cos of me stammer. See if there's a group of lads sitting in their cell, all having a good time and that, y'know chatting away and all, I just sit back and listen, that's all; I just sit back and listen, there's no need to say owt, see cos it's being said."

Adam therefore claims that he has learned to communicate during his incarceration, this however certainly did not seem to be the case during the interview.

When asked whether Adam was bottling things up prior to the crime he revealed he was. This centred around debts he had accrued due to gambling on the machines in the arcades. The following description of events relating to the bank trying to withhold his card would suggest that Adam's reaction was out of proportion to the problem.

"So tell me how you were feeling when - did they take the card off you or something, or what?"

- A: Yeah, they took the card off me. Well first off they've set-set-set the machine that if I come to the machine and put my card in it, it didn't ???? (laugh)
- I: All right then, OK., no it's not funny at the time when it happens, it isn't funny, so how did that make you feel at the time?
- A: I just felt like shit really, not felt shit I just said, "shit, I've got to sit down and think now" (panic) yeah, yeah. Eh... so-so-so I was still getting my weekly wage but but I agreed with the bank to pay up. In the end I was cashing my work cheques in the local shop ??? so the bank didn't ????? so I'd live off what I had. I was skint most of the time. But it's just eh.... it's just total change really in me, y'know I mean I know I've done wrong and I know where I've gone wrong so I'm not going to do that again, I'm not going to get ??? again, y'know what I mean, I'm - right I've found my path and I'm sticking with it.

This then does not adequately explain how being stressed about being overdrawn develops into a frenzied knife attack on a neighbour. This then is yet another example of Adam's incoherent style.

The contradictions between what Adam claims and what he revealed continued. Having claimed he can talk about his problem and cope he cannot supply an explanation of why he killed his neighbour. Thus this is not credible.

- A: See that's just it, I don't really know what went wrong, I don't really know. I just had this idea, eh, to go at this ??? I don't really know what for... it - see what I'm saying, I just...
- I: Do you think you went a little bit mad for a while, is that what you're saying?
- A: Yeah, I think I went a little bit off the rails.
- I: Were you aware that you were having strange thoughts, or things?
- A: No not really, not really, I... I noticed it, but it seemed after I committed after my offence, this weight had just gone off my shoulders. I don't know what, it was just a release. And that's what they say-say-say in my psy-psy-psychiatric reports, y'know when -

This then reveals again that he is unable to differentiate his feelings. He describes a cathartic type reaction without knowing without being aware of the motivations for his behaviour. Adam does not demonstrate any self-awareness a prerequisite for change.

When Adam was asked about his sentence he replied,

- A: see I-I-I was given Guilty at the court, I pleaded Guilty, see so there wasn't a trial. I went in the court, and I walked out twenty-five la-lat-later with a life sentence. See I'm not afraid to admit I've done it, y'know I mean, right I've always been honest about things. See but at the time I just couldn't, right I just couldn't talk about, I was more I think frightened at the wrath of mummy, y'know what I mean, y'know what I'm saying.
- I: Yeah. So about your mother, what's she had to say about it all?
- A: W-w-well she hasn't said a lot - she knows that I'm honest, and that I've done it and I'm going to do the time for it and eventually get out.
- I: Has she stood by you?
- A: Yeah she's stood by me, she comes down every fortnight, she has done for the past eight years. She's very good to me. I realise that through seeing a lot of lads in jail who haven't got that.
- I: Your mum must've turned round to you and said, "why have you done it?", you know, "what happened?" She's not -
- A: No, she's not like that, no she's not like that. She's ak-ak-ak-accepted it, because James has been a right bastard to her, I'll tell you that. He's been kicked out twice, but mum's had him back cos he's her son. Now he's broken into her house about five times to my knowledge, and the last time was the worst cos he stole John's bank account and cleaned him out of six hundred quid.

This reveals that Adam seems to feel "good" about admitting his guilt and interprets this as meaning he is honest. He does not attribute this admission of guilt to the fact that he really does not seem to care that he has taken a life. For example when he is asked what his mother has had to say, he seems to suggest that she thinks it is on a par with any other offence. In other words Adam seems to imply that the act of coming to prison is what his Mother has had to deal with rather than the fact that her son has committed murder for no apparent reason. He also seems to suggest that he finds her asking for a motivation inappropriate. This shows very undifferentiated thinking and that he seems unable to match emotion to cognition.

The interviewer attempted to gain any opinion Adam had about the fact that he had committed murder by suggesting that it was unusual for any one to get a life sentence with no previous convictions. Adam replied,

“That’s exactly what I said; it’s totally out of character for me. There’s just all people around my area...

Adam reveals that he was as shocked as any one else and thus seems to attribute this crime to his environment, without offering an explanation as to how these individuals may incite murderous behaviour. Again demonstrating a lack of self-awareness and differential thought. Adam cannot offer an explanation about why he murdered this particular woman, or indeed why he murdered at all, he revealed that he was not aware of having pent up feelings, or thinking anything at all. Adam does not even recall the event as it happened disputing how many times the woman had been stabbed.

He said,

“It was a n-knife which I used for work for cutting bands on brick packs, etc. And I always had it with my keys - it weren’t attached to them, but I just changed it that night, but I knew where it was, it was in my pocket. See I was aware I think, but not, y’know. I was aware of my surroundings but not thinking what I was doing. Now as I said I’m - to my knowledge I only stabbed this woman four times, but they told me it was se-se-seventeen. (seventeen?) To my knowledge it was four times. That totally shocked me myself, when I was sitting there being interviewed, r-right and they said it was se-se-seventeen times, I was straight out, “no it wasn’t”, and th-that may have sounded bad saying, I mean I was in there arguing over how many times the person was stabbed, but, y’know m-m-my reaction straight out was, “no it wasn’t”. See I had a shit brief for a start, and that didn’t help. You see and... well, I mean I’d already admitted the crime, you see, so I knew a brief w-w-wasn’t going to be of that much use, but he was if you’re going to get so-so-some you know ??? speak for me, when I went in which he did. But the judge took no notice of that, see ?????”

Adam does not even attempt to supply an explanation for his actions, seemingly unconcerned with the fact that for no apparent reason he stabbed a woman seventeen times. Adam fails to meet the criteria for basic coherence that explanations are required in such statements. The conversation once again was not focused around what he did but the police interview and the calibre of his brief.

Adam identifies his greatest failure in life as being unable to talk about his problems yet there is little evidence to suggest that this has changed. Thus his behaviour and ability to rationalise remain unaltered, demonstrating a rigidity in behaviour and thought, lacking the ability to change.

Adam did not mention his step father until he was asked to describe him as a person he seemed to imply as is his pattern, that he did not really like his step father, he was therefore asked if he felt frustrated by him to which he replied,

“ Oh yeah. I think r-right I honestly think if I hadn't have r-r-released my... pent up emotions on this w-w-woman it'd have m-m-more l-l-likely been him, but I know now that if I - if I - s-s-say I got released I wouldn't be l-li-like that towards him. You know what I mean, he'd be there, but he wouldn't be part of my life as such, know what I mean, like visit him and I'd see him and that'd be it as such. It's a weird set up really, it's a weird set up, like, cos mum s-sleeps in a different room totally and has done since I've been inside. So there's like a separate entity in the house, like. He's got his own TV and v-v-video and what have you. Like his b-bedroom's actually more like a flat.”

Adam however still does not explain why he murdered this women even if he was angry at his step father. Rather than supplying an explanation Adam prefers to focus on the relationship he may have with his step father on his release. Although it would appear incongruent that Adam can be so sure that he would not kill his step father or any one else for that matter as he claims that he does not know himself why he acted in this manner. This also shows a chronic inability to communicate, claiming that he does not like his step father hardly conveys the depth of his negativity towards him - wanting to kill him.

Individual narrative themes can be identified by looking at what interests are held in terms of reading material, TV, films and stories. Adam was asked which particular stories and characters he felt may have had an influence on him. He replied that none had. When asked what he liked to watch on TV he replied football. When asked what he read he said that he did not read that he just did his course work. This then is commensurate with the rest of the narrative that Adam gives, vague and impoverished.

Adam was asked what aspirations he had for the future, he replied that he would like to design and build his own house and be happy. He makes no mention of how this can be achieved, he revealed that he was in financial dire straits prior to coming to prison so possible he is hoping for a good job on his release. When asked what it meant to be happy he was characteristically vague and confusing, saying,

A: Being free for a start. Having my own space. Just being able to do what I want. Really all's I've learnt as such is what to do and what not to do in jail, you see, now I've got to go out there, right because there's no point losing all touch with outside, you've gotta grasp things and keep

hold of them and know them for when you get out. What to do and what not to do out there as such. No I just w-wa-want to li-li-live a normal co-comfortable life really.

I: What's a normal comfortable life for you?

A: Normal comfortable life for me is to have a job or win the lottery. If I w-w-won the l-l-lottery I'd o-obviously be comfortable. Em... just to have a s-st-steady income coming in. I don't - I don't know about a wife and family cos right I don't know if I want a family. I may want a girl or two around me. You know I don't really know yet until I get there, you see me I take a day at a time. You know cos you can - I do have hopes and dreams and they can just crash right there, s-s-so I don't like to t-t-take my aspirations too high. Just like being me and to be happy.

This is a clear contradictions, having revealed his aspirations adds that he does not like to set them too high - winning the lottery, having a good job, building his own home and being happy on a life sentence licence may appear to be expecting a little too much. It also shows a lack of generativity, it is self focused and negative towards close personal relationships either with a partner or child.

Adam was asked about something that may happen in the future that he would not wish for, he replied

A: No, I don't think of anything going wrong. I don't think negative things.

This reveals that Adam has not changed at all in his inability to cope with the world. It is very difficult to plan life without considering negative yet realistic options.

Adam was asked if he had any beliefs or values to which he replied

A: I am a Buddhist as such, but I'm not really cos I xxxxxxxxxxxx, if you get what I'm saying. Right, I - r-right I me-meditate every day; that really helps me. Of a night-time, about ten minutes quiet, just sit. Just thinking thinking thinking, that's all it is really, but you don't dwell. See the fault, recognise it and go onto the next one.

Adam really has shown no evidence of sharing a Buddhist philosophy. He reveals that he thinks yet seems to mean that he conjures up a thought which he quickly forgets. In addition to this the attraction of Buddhism for him seems to be that he does not have to behave in a prescribed way as with Christianity, he says,

A:I read a small booklet and that just - that was it for me, I was just... pretty straight forward. You know there was no h-h-have to do this to be right in the Christian, have to do this, have to do this. No, there's none of that. It's just a way of life, really. I find it helpful.

A: I've never really had any beliefs as such, and I still haven't as such, but y'know it's made me aware of the fact, not to be frightened of anything. Y'know I used to worry about things and fret and I don't now.

When asked to describe himself Adam replied that he was relaxed and easy going. However he had previously claimed that he spends the weekend in his room drawing and draughting. He also said he would rather sit back and listen rather than join in. This indicates a lack of credibility.

As far as being reconciled is concerned Adam has a long way to go, he firstly needs to identify a self image or imago within himself before he can reconcile the disparate parts as he says,

“.....I’m scared of what I might do. I’m saying I’m scared of meself. Cos I kn-kn-know I’ve committed a violent crime, for more or less no reason as such - there are reasons, I’ve just got to find them, and I’ve got some - a f-f-fair work to do, but I don’t want violence. See cos I don’t know what I would do. Right I know I can control my temper to a... y’know in t-t-ten minutes y-y-y-you could be having a go at me, right and I wouldn’t say anything or do anything, I’d just - I’d just try and talk. See I don’t want it, I don’t want it. I’m just scared of me when I’m violent. See that’s helped me here as such; this crime, to know... that I’m violent, I know. Specially doing a life sentence as well, you can’t have violence in here.”

Adam shows that he is unhappy with not knowing the circumstances under which he is violent. This is not the mark of an individual who has achieved “wholeness”.

Similarly, Adam is not generative, this was demonstrated in the main by lacking any concern for another individual. Apart from his overall style he revealed that he was unsure whether he ever wanted a partner or children, one of the main ways adults are generative. However generativity usually emerges at mid-life and he was twenty six at the time of the interview.

Summary of the Results

Adam offered an incoherent account of his life. He seemed to prefer to say as little as possible, and was evasive when asked to supply an explanation of any claim he made. These were usually vague and impoverished. He indeed left the interviewer confused and struggling to make sense of what he was saying, often jumping to the wrong conclusion when attempting to make any sense out of it. Part of the problem appeared to stem from the inability to differentiate feelings and thoughts due to a penchant for not thinking about himself in this manner. Preferring to give a running commentary on certain events rather than offering an opinion to their meaning i.e. when discussing the murder.

At the end of the interview the reader is no clearer about why he acted in the way that he did other than to say he seemed to displace pent up feelings of anger. No explanation can be offered about why that particular lady was targeted.

The narrative was seen to be incredible in a number of ways. Adam attributed qualities to himself that had no supporting evidence, for example he claimed that he was relaxed and easy going because he preferred to have no involvement and therefore no "aggravation": with other inmates.

He seems to feel self praising about the fact that he admitted guilt to killing a woman saying he has always been honest, rather than understanding it is of little consequence to him to deny it.

He claims that he is a Buddhist who spends time meditating and thinking yet demonstrates an aversion to thinking in any great depth.

He makes claims that he is focusing on his future yet, cannot describe any specific future he may envisage.

There is a rigidity in terms of a continuing theme of lack of thought and thus a continued lack of ability to make any sense of his life what so ever. There does not appear to be any attempt made to make sense of his life. He remains, it would appear unable to cope with life. This is revealed in his lack of ability to be realistic when anticipating a future, preferring not to think about negative things. This then will not enable him to change if he cannot consider alternative futures.

Adam is far from being reconciled, he is barely aware of any aspects to him, and these are usually false, i.e. Buddhist, easy going, a coper. In addition to this he revealed that he is scared of himself as he is totally unaware of what he is capable of.

This narrative was marked by a disconcerting about of egocentricity without any acknowledgement of the fact that he felt in the least remorseful about what he had done. On the contrary gave the impression that he was unconcerned about the fact his actions resulted in a tragic loss of life. His lack of generativity was also evident when he suggested that he was not sure if he wanted a partner or children on his release.

Other findings

Adam demonstrated a flat emotional tone in describing all events. A main theme was his inability to identify thought and emotion.

DAVID

David shows his story to lack coherence, credibility, openness to change, reconciliation and generativity.

David's opening statement was devoid of a valued end point. It also consisted of a number of jumbled statements. It did not give any information about the story of his life.

"Well I - I've got a mum that comes from Cornwall, dad that comes from London. Um, I spent most of me time in, well lived most of me time in Buckinghamshire. Uh, me family split up when I was fairly young and I used to spend, like, six months in London, six months in Cornwall, and that's how it used to go on for, well until I was round about fourteen, fifteen. Um I didn't go to school, 'cause I used to be able to get out of that because of the travelling, so there was no, what you could call hard school records on me, Um, I spent... about two and a half years before I come to prison, um, just like pottering about from, like, step family and everything else. Um, apart from that, there's - I've got one half-brother, six, um, step-sisters and seven, like, step-brothers between everyone that's collated into one family. Um, I've been known - do you want, like, the different names that I've been known under as well, or?"

Rather than expanding on any given statement, David asked whether he needed to give the other names he has had. It is unclear as to how this would advance his life story. For example he does not suggest that he has had an unsettling upbringing marked by disruption which caused him to "go off the rails". Rather he hints that he has a vague awareness of the issues involved but does not link them in any causal manner, leaving the reader wondering whether or not he realises the effect these events have had on him. The point he makes is not value laden just stated. This gives an initial impression of an incoherent account.

This is similar to the next statement he made.

"I was engaged when I was fifteen, um, I wanted to get married at sixteen but I wasn't allowed because I didn't quite understand that me - me step dad turned round and said that he had the legal rights to me until I was twenty-one, and that I couldn't marry until after I was twenty-one. Well because I couldn't

read, couldn't write and I didn't understand the way things were, I took that as gospel and eh, I never got married. But, eh, I ended up in prison at seventeen. I did, um, I went out and - friends that I'd seen were enjoying themselves and everything else, and eh, me being a bit easy to, like, lead on, and eh, I was a bit impressionable I suppose, I - if someone turned round and said, oh this is good, try this, I'd try it. So I was start - I started drinking way before then, but um, I ended up on one Friday night with two - about two hundred pound in me pocket. And I just wanted to get rid of the money as quick as possible, have a good time, and really let me hair down."

Here David again hinted that he may have thought this was unfair, nevertheless he leaves the reader to draw his/her own conclusions. He seems to suggest that this was a betrayal of trust but does not say it. Rather he moves on to declare that he ended up in prison, thereby talking about something else. Like Adam there appears to be a flat style to the delivery.

There appears like Adam to be an inability to differentiate or identify his own behaviour in terms of intentions. He states that he is easily led and impressionable, but the behaviour he describes is impulsive and driven by a loner not someone who seeks the approval of others. The extract thus lacks clarity and coherence.

"I got to know someone and eh, I ended up buying some LSD, um, I didn't know what you done with the stuff I just knew that you just take the tablets and, like, taking morphine or anything else, I just dropped em, and eh, just started drinking. Um, I didn't understand the situation on these tablets and what they do to you, and at the time I was with, um, a girl that I was going out with, and a couple of guys were making eyes at her. Well I didn't quite understand, like, what was going on at the time, and eh, I lost me temper in the pub. Um, I got up, I decided, like, I could handle meself in a drink, even when I was young. I thought, well I'll make a stand and it might make her realise how much I care for her, cos I didn't know how to, like, just turn round and tell her how - what - so I walked up and started on one guy, but his mate got up to stop me from having a go, because I didn't quite understand who I had stood up against, and I didn't find out until I ended up in court who I've got up against. And eh, it was the local bouncer from one the clubs round the corner. And eh, I hit the one guy with a bottle, he slightly, like, sat down again and I didn't realise that all I'd done is stunned him. And that's when his mate jumped in, and I ended up in the car park with eh, three other guys flagging me out with this guy coming after me as well. The landlord who knew me and knew me reputation, but, like, didn't care - if I had a chance I'd use a knife and eh, get out of trouble that way. Well he called the police. I took a fair few punches and eh, me girlfriend, she was laughing, joking, thinking it was right hilarious that there I am trying to take on a fully-grown man. Well with all the drink, tablets and everything else, I didn't quite understand what was going on, all I wanted to do was put this guy down and make sure he never hit me again. Um, one guy grabbed hold of us, he slammed us up against a car and told me that, like, I can either go on and eh, pay the consequences what's going to happen, or I can walk away from what's happened, and eh, get meself together, and nothing'd be said, and there'd be no come-backs on it. Well one of the guys mentioned that the police were on their way, well I didn't want to get in trouble with the police, not again heh, because I'd been done for, like, nicking motorbikes and everything else, and they turned round and said, like, when they get me they're going to put me inside properly. Well being a bit of a.. a coward at that time I decided to back off and, like, let everything go."

Thus the behaviour that David describes is not congruent with his self image. In addition to this when he makes the sensible decision to "back off", he interprets this to

be cowardice. Thus again David showing an inability to differentiate behaviour and thought. Another strange aspect of this exert is the reason David gives for hitting another man. He does not say he was becoming too familiar with his girlfriend or that he was jealous (which still might be considered unacceptable yet logical). The reason he gives is that he wanted to show her how much he cared. Perhaps she was the type of girl who would respond to this approach however this is not made clear and has the overall appearance of being strange-thus incoherent.

The point of relating this event not too clear or coherent. David gives a description of a violent young man , who tended to drink to excess without seeming to have any opinion or indeed valued end point. This will be shown to be a recurrent theme throughout the narrative. It is similar to Adam's narrative in this manner, that is, it is descriptive rather than explanatory, although there is much more detail in this one. The events related together in a rambling manner, rather like thought association devoid of meaning.

David then drifted into how his girlfriend and him got into a fight and then how this led to the murder of an innocent woman. With hindsight then, David began telling the story of the night of the murder, without giving any clue that this is what he was going to do. This then does not follow one of criteria for a coherent story. It does not mark when a tale is going to be told. For example he did not say "Do you want me to tell you about the murder", like many did or, I got into a fight the night I ended up killing someone". In other words there was nothing to mark the beginning of the story of the murder.

David showed similarities to Adam in another way too. He uses specific terminology that he does not explain for example,

"Well, me and her had a slight ding-dong on the doorstep of the chip shop. The guy in the chip shop didn't like it because, like, place where we are it's um, about twenty mile away from the nearest police station and it takes a little while for the cops to get there. Well the cops were already outside the pub. Well the pub's only just round the corner and now I'm starting another ding-dong with her outside the chip shop.

I: What's a ding-dong exactly?

A ding-dong is, like, I've hit her, she's hit me, I've hit her back, she's hit me, because the girls round where I live are built like men and when they hit, they can - they can hit you just as hard as what a man can."

At the time of the interview the interviewer took "a slight ding dong" to be a verbal dispute and wondered why the chip shop proprietor was concerned enough to want the police. When asked it transpired that a slight ding dong is not a minor altercation but a violent brawl. Thus like Adam, David expects the listener to know what he means without explanation. It is also unclear why he was of the opinion that the man in the chip shop wanted the police. There is not enough information to know what went on, whether the man became involved or whether David is simply trying to imagine how the man felt. This last possibility is unlikely due to David's inability to recognise his own intentions, yet he gave no information to support his claim. The extract also continues with the flat emotional tone facilitated by the lack of detail and appropriate adjectives, a slight ding dong understating the actual events that occurred.

David continues to relate the events of this night, offering and incoherent and incredible account of the murder.

So, like, I'm dazed, I've got a cut on me head, uh, me ribs are hurting because I've already had the ding-dong outside the pub, and eh, I ended up, like, slightly grovelling on the floor at her feet because she's hit me in the wrong place. And eh, I've lost me temper, um, I swore I was gonna get her, and eh, she's gone running off, and... I've, like, managed to get me sense together, and I've gone to wander off back to where her place was. Well someone that was dressed in jeans, blue top, same colour hair, I've gone, gotcha, I've gotcha. And without saying a word, I've just gone running up, punched her on the back of the head, gone down, hit the floor and I thought, right, now I've gotcha, you're not gonna, like, show me up in front of everyone again. And eh, I didn't realise it was the wrong person. We started having, um, bit of a row, she did give me a kicking heh. (I: Who had, this girl?) Yeah. She gave me a right good kicking and I don't know - and I should've realised then that not even me girlfriend's gave me a kicking like this before. Now I've lost me temper, and I've - I've really lost me temper, and there was a wall. So I've automatically just brought me feet up, and I've just slammed me feet at her. And um, she's hit the wall. And it wasn't till then that um, it wasn't till I've looked down that I've realised that this is the wrong person, um, she's hit the corner of the wall and eh, I didn't realise until I got to court that um, she was still alive. But eh, she wasn't when I finished, because, like, I panicked, and I really panicked. I've carried her off the main street, down to the station where we live and just laid her on the tracks and thought, well, that's it, I can go, get out the way and everything else. Um, I ended up back home around about two in the morning. I couldn't get in, I'd lost me car keys, I've lost the house keys, I didn't know where they were. So, me, I've just put the back door through. Um, dad's come down, he's gave us another belt, uh, I ended up in bed. But eh, Saturday morning I've woke up and, like, me dad didn't even notice me, really, he's gave me a belt and everything and, me being covered in blood, that's - that's normal for me, I've normally been in a fight normally."

David therefore expects the reader to accept that at the same time, in the same place (a village), there is a girl walking around who is identical from his girlfriend. David

then offers that he did not realise that he had the wrong person, despite the fact that they had started having a row. According to David account unless this girl could kick backwards it seems very unlikely that firstly she gave him “ a good kicking” and secondly that he did not see that it was someone else. David then suggests that he panicked however he did not just run away, but took this woman and laid her on the railway tracks. This is incredible and incoherent. It does not makes sense, it is not logical or believable. Nevertheless unlike Adam, David tries to offer an explanation of the murder. It is incoherent and incredible but makes an attempt to account for his actions. As can be seem from the CPS report this account is nothing like what was claimed to be the true course of events. David offers no opinion about his actions stating that he returned home and went to bed, like Adam he appears to be emotionally unattached. This suggests he cannot or is not willing to think about himself, his behaviour and what this says about him as a person. The lack of concern and self focus is a feature of egocentricity not generativity. Much less is the likelihood that he has reconciled what this says about him as he does not appear to be concerned. David continued with the story seemingly unconcerned about what he has done and like Adam drifts into a story about how he was arrested, without giving an account of how he felt.

‘And eh, round about ten o’clock mate’s come round for us to go off to, um, a car place to pick up another car. I didn’t quite understand what was going on Saturday morning, because I’ve left the house with him, and eh, there was a car, police car at the end of the drive, well at the end of the street. I’ve walking along, got in the car, and it was following. I didn’t know what was going on. Got to the car place, car was still there. He’s turned round and said it’s probably me because I haven’t got tax on me car, so that’s totally took it off of me now, I can’t...At about twelve o’clock we’re going back. Now I’m in the car that we’ve just bought. The car’s still behind us following us all the way back home. We’ve dumped the car back home, I’ve decided to go to Reading. I’ve gone into town, there’s a cop car and everything, and now I’m getting paranoid because, like, there’s a copper following me. But nothing was done until the Sunday. So Saturday night I’ve gone back out, I’ve gone to exactly the same pub where I was the night before, and there’s nothing in the area that can tell me that something was wrong with the area. There was um, there was a copper in the pub, but I thought that was basically because of the night before. I had one drink and the landlord’s turned round and said, out. I’ve left, and I’ve gone, well I’m going back home. So I’ve gone back home, and eh Saturday - Sunday morning, woke up, nothing wrong, there’s nothing in the newspapers there’s anyone been killed from what me mum was saying. I couldn’t work out why everyone that I knew was staying away, but come the afternoon, I’ve realised, because um, I’m having a bath, I’ve heard cars pull up... it was unusual for our street that a lot of cars pull up at the same time. I’ve got up, I’ve looked out the bathroom window, and there’s Cortina’s, Rovers, all unmarked. At the time I didn’t realise they were police cars. I’ve heard the back door, and the front door’s gone. No warning, and all I’ve heard is people running up the stairs. I can hear me brother screaming, I can hear me mum shouting and I can hear me dad saying, “he’s upstairs”. Next minute, bathroom door’s in, and there’s, like, load of police trying to get into the bathroom, and um... they asked me me name, I told em me name, everything, cos at the time I was known as David Beamer then. And um, the police have dragged me out of the bath, dragged me into the bedroom, slammed me down on the

floor, there was one guy with his knee in me back, there was another one with a gun to my head. I didn't know what was going on, all I - realised when things started to calm down a bit and I was calming down a bit, they were asking where me gun was, and I'm there thinking, hold on a minute, what - what do they want me gun for, I haven't done anything with me gun. It ain't been out the house for, like, five-six weeks. Told em, pointed, they took me gun, gave me five minutes to get dressed. Well I thought, well it's something to do with me gun, what did I do with me gun a couple of weeks ago? So I've decided, I'm not staying around, I'm going out the back window. I've opened the back window, and eh, I wasn't quite prepared for what I - what I see. There was a guy standing by the greenhouse, there was one by the shed, and there was one underneath the window. There was no way I was leaving out the back window. The police opened me bedroom door and said, "get your clothes on, you're in the car". Duly I've got in the car. They took us off to the police station, I was put in, well cell similar to this, and uh, the door was left open and there was three police officers outside the door. They've turned round, before I've even realised what was going on, the guy says, "you're never going to see the light of day again", and I'm like, "what have I done wrong?" Now I can't remember what happened on the Friday night because of the tablets, and it's not clicked on until, like, it was only about four and a half year ago that I realised exactly what went on because I went through exactly the same thing with tablets again, but this time from the prison system. Um, I had me dad come up, me mum's been driven up, and I've got, like, half the family in the cell going, "what did you do this for?", and I'm going, "I don't even know what you're on about." I had, um, about eight interviews in one night. I didn't know about a solicitor, I didn't know that I - because I couldn't read and write, I didn't realise that... I didn't have to do anything, and it's similar to this but a big machine, they asked me questions and um, then from that one I went to somewhere else and they started again, but by then I already knew the answers to say because I'd already said it in another room. The guy said, you've done this, we've got your fingerprints on this, we've got - and I'm going, well, I done this because I've been told they had fingerprints. And eh, about three days later I ended up in court. I was sentenced - uh, remanded to Brixton prison in London, um, I got to there and they turned round and said, we can't hold him because he's a kid. They tried to move me from Brixton to somewhere else but instead they ended up putting me in the hospital wing, I was on, um, tranquilisers to calm me down. I didn't realise, um, they put a piece of paper in me pad saying, like, you could - now I know what they were, but they were, like, you're entitled to a phone call to your mum, letter, VO's and everything for visits. They had a doctor there that's put me through some thing for my head, and eh, load of bits and pieces on the table for her to find out what I knew. And eh, suddenly I've got a solicitor, and I'm like, "who are you?", he's gone, "I'm your solicitor, your dad's got me. Now, have you said anything to the police?", I said, "yeah I've told em", he's gone, "well you shouldn't have. Now we've got a harder thing to do. We don't know what we're going to do, do you know bits and pieces, where were you, what did you do, what did you take, how much did you drink, and everything else". Um, I ended up with eh, sixteen years inside. I was sentenced April 1st ninety - hold on, eighty three. Um... I've done fourteen years up to now inside, um, four and a half year ago, me mum was killed through um, someone outside, well, killed me mum. I lost my head and I tried to commit suicide.

This reveals a number of issues. Incredibly, despite the fact he has killed someone he was reluctant to accept that the police were following him, describing himself as paranoid. This was not paranoid but realistic given what he had done. He showed an inability to think coherently about the events that had taken place the night before, in fact he showed like Adam that he preferred not to think. He had already stated that he was paranoid about the police so it does not make sense to say that he could not work out why every one was staying away.

The way David relates the arrest by the police seems to suggest that he thinks they were unreasonable. He does not address the fact that his behaviour may have warranted this, or does not explain why he feels he did not warrant this.

Like Adam the focus is on himself not on the victim who he does not mention. He chooses instead to discuss what happened to him at the police station. So the pattern of David's narrative is to string the events together as they happened in sequence, which is a sign of incoherence, and does not make any valued judgement about it. For a narrative to be coherent, a valued end point is usually saturated with value which is considered to be undesirable or desirable. David gives no value to the account at all this as Gergen 1986 says is extremely rare in Western culture.

The narrative again is very similar to Adams in that David feels he started to learn about himself since coming to prison and in fact seems to view prison in a positive light.

"Um, she started teaching me to read, write... prison here found out I suffer from dyslexia. No-one's ever known that. And, uh, they got a special dyslexia teacher in to teach me. By the time I was... twenty-nine, I could read, I could write, I've done maths, uh, I've done City and Guilds now, I've done, I've done pretty well, I passed a Business Studies course, which eh, really done me mind in, because I didn't realise I could actually do it. Um, I done First Aid, I've even learnt to cook. Um, I can sew, iron, eh, I can - there's things I can do now, that, like, I didn't even realise I could do. I've done the first stage in, um, Heraldry, I've done me first stage in jewellery making. Uh..."

Despite this there is little evidence of openness to change. David has related a story about a very violent past, there is little evidence that this has changed or will change in the future. He punched the policeman on the jaw, who came to tell him his Mum had been killed. He has only two years to go and will have served sixteen years. He reveals,

"Um... if me and me girlfriend, well fiancée now, stay together and I'm actually released from prison, um, my big fear is if someone actually hurts her, because I don't know what I'd do. I don't know what I'd do. Um, I don't know what I'd do if I actually lost her. If I was actually outside, married, everything else, I don't think I could cope. I think I would come back to prison. I think I'd actually do something to make sure I actually did come back to prison, like I could, I could walk up to a copper and punch him in the jaw. And I know for a fact that they would go, right, bang, prison."

He also reveals like Adam that he is scared of his violence,

"[if] it goes past the verbal stage, have I got the bottle to turn round and walk away? I don't know. And that's another thing that scares. Cos, um, if I don't turn around and walk away I don't know what the consequences'd be. I know what I can do. I've seen what I can do and

I've seen what I can do in prison. Um, it's very hard to know if I could actually walk away, I don't know. And that's being honest, I wouldn't know"

Therefore there appears to be little change in the main reason why he was incarcerated fourteen years ago. This also shows a lack of reconciliation. David feels that he may be unable to cope living outside prison. This would not suggest that he has come to terms or even knows who he is and thus can function appropriately in the outside world.

Although David seems to realise that he did not used to think coherently, he often says, I didn't understand, or I didn't realise, there is evidence that he still thinks incoherently, illustrating two points, one that he still is incoherent and two that he has not changed.. The following is his description of an incident that happened in prison. It also includes his enjoyment of violence.

"Um, I had an incident at Parkhurst when I first come in and that was a riot on the wing, um, I've - I agreed with the rioter, that, like, um, they'd turned the telly off, and uh, they stopped us from watching an important of - it was some - I dunno if it was the FA Cup or the World Cup, but they switched it off, and told everyone to bang up because something went of on um, F and G wing. And eh, the reason why F and G wing went up was because that was over the football as well, and suddenly, like, C wing's gone up. And I quite enjoyed it until I see, like, staff coming in with batons and sticks, and I thought, this isn't for me, and I just put meself behind me door. Um, there was pictures and everything, and they knew who was, like, the ringleaders and, for some reason my picture was in the middle of it.

I: It wasn't, or it was?

It-it - my picture was in the middle of the, um, like they come out with all the pictures of everyone that was involved in the riot, and my picture was there and I've gone, hold on, I come out me pad, I just agree with it, I threw a few chairs about, so what? Um, apart from that, what's the problem. I got seven days, um, C.C., that's um, not allowed anything. Um, then they moved me off to Wakefield maximum security prison and that is the place where I basically grew up. Uh, they had IRA, you had Libyans, you had....."

David does not accept that he was a ringleader, possibly getting this idea confused with who's idea it was in the first place. He describes the incident as a riot and then asks what the problem is. Then without giving a opinion about that moves on to talking about something else. Thus denying himself the chance to think and reflect inhibits his ability to understand and make sense of the world.

David shows that he still has difficulty in acting appropriately towards others in a non hostile manner. He related two incidents. One involved the prison psychologist and the other his step fathers wife and children.

"now I'm talking to Fiona, and eh, she's - she's not too bad to talk to, but em, I feel a bit... a bit, like, over-powered by her. So um, so I know - cos she comes out with words that I don't even know, so I went and got um, two psychology books and eh, she hasn't seen me for three weeks, heh, cos I turned the tables on her, and eh, now she's not quite eager in, like eh, messing about up in - up top, because it takes me a long time to calm down."

This not only shows a hostile attitude but the inability to understand or at least give any concern to the intentions of others. David seems to ignore the fact that the psychologist is there to help him preferring to view it as a competition of intelligence. This would appear to be evidence of ego centric behaviour. The other incident with his step father's wife is similar.

"He's got a new wife now, I don't like her. She's come up once or twice on visits, and eh, I've told her I don't like her, because, um, she turned up on a visit and she goes, "well I'm your mum now", and I turned round and I says, eh, "you will never be me mum, um, if you feel that way, get off the visit", and that's when, like, me and me dad started, and... she doesn't come up no more. Um, she tried to get her daughters to write to me, um, I wrote back and told em that, eh, to me they're nothing to do with me, um, he's only me step-dad so basically leave me out of it - I don't want to part of any family."

Whilst the comment perhaps was insensitive to suggest that David's mother could be replaced, David does not consider the underlying intention. This lady need not bother making the effort especially as David is unpredictable and violent. Despite his reaction she encouraged her daughter to write but he cannot see the situation from any other perspective than his own. This is an example of David's inability to empathise with someone else's point of view. The whole focus of the narrative is egocentric with no evidence of any generativity.

The emergence of David's self image that he is violent came about when he was a child. Interestingly this is one of the few parts of the narrative that is coherent.

"I - with me stepfather, Mr Beardmore, I used to get, like, I could come home late, and um, I'd be beaten up by him. I'd be hit, punched, kicked and everything and then put to bed for a couple of days without any food, and um, that was from, like, the age of eight upwards. The only time I got out of um, being like that was when I was down with me mum. Um, I didn't want to leave me mum, because I knew what'd happen when I get to the other end. Mum didn't believe me, um, I started having fights down mum's end and uh, I was under, I think it was a probation officer. I had psychologists when I was younger, but I didn't take any notice of em.....Mum wouldn't fight back. Um, I think that's why, when I was um, my stepfather that used to beat me, because he used to hit me mum and mum used to cower away, I used to cower away. But it wasn't until, um, they'd split up and um, it was Mary, me second, me - well I suppose you'd call her me step-mum, and me dad hit her and um, it was a funny day that day because I've never seen - that was the day I first seen me, um, stepfather go flying across the room. Because she hit him hard, and um, he run off out the house, and eh, she turned round to me and says if your dad ever hits ya, fight back, because if you don't, then eh,

you're just gonna be a punch-bag all your life.....I didn't quite hit back at me dad, he was still hitting me, but um, if I got - if um, like at school there was a fight and everything, I'd start to kick, punch, and I learned to fight that way, by actually jumping in on other people's fights. Um, I ended up in hospital a few times. Um, I've ended up in hospital quite a lot. Um, I ended up in the police station for assault on another kid, and um, they said that I kicked and punched him"

This is coherent as it offers a logical if not acceptable rationale for fighting. David suggests that he fought others as a way of learning to defend himself against his step father. Nevertheless this appears towards the end of the narrative and so did not fore run any information related to his own violence. In essence he did not tell a coherent story.

There would appear to be very little change in attitude even if there has been a small improvement in behaviour. David says he is not being violent at the moment because he wants to go on a home visit. This is simple operant conditioning. No change in attitude has come about he even says he does not know if he could resist getting into a fight. David seems to suggest that if he could get away with fighting he would.

"Um, but eh, I calmed down a lot since mum because um, I was jumped on at Maidstone by... five, six blokes and given a bloody good kicking, um, because they thought - I didn't, at the time, I didn't know what I was saying. Um, I turned round and said, like, I've had my mum murdered, and they took it that I had had someone outside kill me mum. Well I didn't quite understand what I was saying. And eh, so they took it out on me. And since that day I've been fairly calm on fight, uh, I've only had one here. Uh, it's come close once or twice for fights, but um, as Mr Taylor says, if I fight in this prison, I'm never gonna get another home visit. Cos eh, I go and visit me Nan now, they take me out to see me Nan, and eh, I think I'm out - I think I'm out on one next week, but they won't tell me, so I'm being good."

David does not appear to have made any sense out of his life or changed at all as either a result of the murder or prison. His narrative lacks coherence, credibility, openness to change, reconciliation and generativity. This chaotic lifestyle was thus mirrored in the way he gave an account of his life.

David's narrative illustrated incoherence as there was little evidence of a causal linkage. The lack of coherence is also manifest in the descriptive rather than explanatory style of delivery. It also contravened other features of coherence. There was often no clear end point, that is no demarcation of a beginning and end to a story, and there was no value assigned to any point made. It was very difficult to know exactly what David thought or felt about claims made and like Adam left the reader

wondering. This does make sense, if someone cannot make sense of his her life they would not be able to provide an explanation rather just be able to list events.

David showed his lack of credibility in an important part of the narrative account the murder. It actually bore no relation to the events that were deemed to have taken place by the CPS report. Even without the report the events did not appear possible or credible.

He has shown a great rigidity in himself and his behaviour, demonstrating a hostile attitude towards others and the tendency to be violent, even suggesting that this may be an adaptive way to achieve his needs.

David is far from reconciled, he barely knows who he is. here is a discernible theme running throughout his narrative of someone who is violent, which has not changed, he discusses a number of events, prior to prison in prison and discusses its place after prison. It is evident in his ideology reported events and self image, relating how he became violent as a child and why.

David tends to exhibit very egocentric behaviour, like Adam it was astonishing that no mention was made of his victim other than to say that he has killed her, he also demonstrated this in his dealings with others in prison.

He mentions nothing about enhancing the future for others just helping himself. He talks about his achievements and seems to think one of his greatest achievements in life is learning to read and write. This narrative was very self focused.

A striking similarity to Adam's narrative account was of the flat emotional tone marked by the particularised use of euphemisms. These tended to fail in the task of communicating a true reflection of behaviour and emotional attitude. Another similarity was the lack of ability to differentiate particularly with respect to thought and emotion, the intentions of others and personal motivation. There appeared to be a characteristic lack of thought that seems vital in any sense is to be made of one's self and one's life.

RICHARD

Richard like the other two lacks all five criteria, coherence, credibility, openness to change, reconciliation and generativity.

Richard attempts to provide a coherent personal narrative but fails in this quest. This is apparent in his opening paragraph. The interviewer's questions were included to demonstrate how extra information was sought to understand the content of what he was saying.

Well I'm forty-three years old now, and I'm in for life on two charges - one's for murder and one's for arson. But if I'm going back to my very early age, em... let's see, when I was born I was born and lived in Watford from Scottish parents. My father was on the run from the police at the time, eh, he was living in London at the time.

I: What was he on the run for?

R: Well I didn't know until last year; he likes little girls, I just found out. Em... when I was born I nearly died because I had gastro-enteritis and it was me father, he's played a big part in my life, because he took me to the hospital and left me there and said, "I'm going to come back at six o'clock and find out how he is", and they said, "well you can't just leave him here, you've got to stay with him". So he disappeared and when he came back the police was there waiting to see him, there was a big fight, and em, I got better. But because of that I've always felt that I've owed my father a lot.

I: What, because he put his life on the line to take you to hospital, do you mean, or?

R: Well, it was just, I suppose I would do the same if it was my son or my daughter, but I think I would stay there, but he disappeared and then he came back, etcetera, because they needed the money when I was young. Em... let's see, I've always been afraid of my father; he has an aura about him -

I: Was he never picked up, then, so he was with you all your life? (Mmmm) You said he was on the run, so he managed to get out -?

R: No, he never got picked up. There were a few, like, things that went wrong later on in me life, that I thought were a bit dubious, y'know, but eh, I didn't really know fully until this last year as I say. Em, my mother and father were always at each other, very violent household. (Literally physically violent) Oh yes, yeah. He used to knock her around and eh, she used to complain about him... raping her all the time. And eh she used to leave - disappear, and after about a year or so she'd be settled down with somebody waiting for a divorce, and he'd turn up again and there'd be big fights, and broken windows and broken furniture. And, eh, they got together about five or six times during my younger life, my adolescence.

Richard is rather incoherent about his attitude towards his father. He says he felt he owed him a lot because he took him to hospital when he was born, yet says that he would have done the same and probably stayed. He also makes no comment about the fact that his father is a pedophile. Instead of discussing this he chooses to change the

subject and discusses the relationship between his mother and father. This incoherence may be a result of lack of reconciliation about his love for his father and accepting who he is as a person, a theme that he mentions further into the narrative. It is hard to ignore the lack of emotional detail. Richard does not address how this has impacted on him. Richard seems to find difficulty in expressing his ideas, the following extract illustrates this further.

“It was violent when I was at school, cos I felt that I was the odd one out, y’know, I was the only, em, guy from Watford in a class of, say, twenty or thirty from Leeds. Made friends easy, but, eh, it wasn’t with the people that used to go out and play football and rugby and that... the eh, the hard nuts of the class - I wasn’t too keen on the hard nuts, y’know, I was usually getting beaten up or picked on by them. But I did make friends easy. Em... I joined the army, em, the junior leaders when I left school, I was more or less engineered into it by my step-father, who wasn’t a step-father then, eh, he wa my mum’s boyfriend, but he was an RSM - Regimental Sergeant Major.”

It is not clear why he stated that he did not make friends with a certain “type” of person, it is not clear whether he thinks he should have or that given his violent crime it is assumed that he did. This again has a feel of drifting, Richard like Adam and David does not afford any relationship between events just lists them in a disconnected way.

He continues talking about the Army and shows how incoherent he is by saying,

“My stepfather was always on about the army, my mother had been in the forces, most of my family have. Em, either the RAF or navy or whatever, and my mum was always saying that when she was in the - I think it was - the-the - not the Wrens, the-the rats or something like that, during the second world war, she said that she had a good time in there and so, so I just had a good vision of all these forces and things, and I joined and found it wasn’t all good, some bad too. I was home-sick, and... I adapted well when I was in the army because I felt I’d now got something that I could look after - look like a father-father figure, you know, a Sergeant-Major or whatever, em, and we were more frightened of him than we were of each other, so it was, like I say, a father-figure. I was homesick and I wanted to come out of the army, and I went to stay with a friend one weekend in Blackpool and I got hit by a car, and eh... it - I knew who I was, but I didn’t know where I was from, and I couldn’t remember any of me friends’ names, and it was the most annoying thing in all my life.”

This shows how difficult it is to follow what Richard is trying to convey, he does not explain any comment made before moving onto the next one. The next extract shows the interviewer’s confusion. Richard continues to “explain” what happened following the car accident, having lost his memory.

“.....it was like that for two days, and then eh, I realised what had happened, and I got in touch with the camp and they came and picked me up. But they - they charged me with AWOL - absent without leave - which, eh, I thought was a bit much. But, eh, I was given seven days junket that’s where you go in the guard house and spill pud - peel spuds and stuff.

- I: Didn't you go to hospital then when you got knocked over?
- R: Yeah I was in hospital when I phoned.
- I: Oh and they didn't think that was a good reason.
- R: Well they did... but I shouldn't have been there to be knocked down, I should have been further - on the train home. I'd have been about five hours overdue anyway, so, AWOL. Em... came out of the army in '70, '71, after a couple of years, and went to live in Bradford with my grandmother."

This demonstrates that Richard does not provide enough information for his story to "ring true". It also shows how he contradicts himself, saying he thought that the punishment was harsh and then showing himself to be cogniscent of the reasons why. Rather than pondering these inconsistencies Richard, like the others moves swiftly on to talking about something else, showing again the rambling disconnected manner his life story has taken on.

Richard then returns to the issue of his father, he seems to be trying to come to terms with what he knows about him, by attributing his behaviour to having a harsh upbringing himself and trying to find answers, at the very least the next extract shows that this is one aspect of Richard's life that he cannot reconcile.

"I couldn't settle down, em... I kept talking about me father all the time, cos I'd seen him recently, and I couldn't understand why me grandmother wouldn't have anything to do with him, never could understand it. She was always saying he was a bad - bad person, like you know. And I thought, I knew what was going on between my mother and father, but that was a - that was a marriage, and something that I wasn't able to, sort of, interfere in. Even though I did try, y'know, try and stop the fights. I used to get clouted a lot when I was a nipper, and eh... it became sort of like a way of life, y'know, you walk past me father and you're waiting for the flinch. I think it was because... there was a lot of frustration in me old man, but eh, he couldn't vent it, he couldn't express himself, y'know, he had three brothers - sorry two brothers and two sisters - and eh... that period of him growing up was a difficult time with the family like living in Scotland, em, I think that that's affected him somehow. I'm not sure about my father's background completely, em, he used to teach judo in the forces, but before that when he was a lot younger, that's a mystery to me, he would never talk about it. And nobody really knows anything about it, apart from, em, his surviving sisters, two brothers are dead. I would like to sit down with my father and ask him a lot of questions, but at the same time I'd like to hit him too, for what I've found out about him, y'know, it kind of changed my life completely. Don't get me wrong, I still love my father, but at the same time I hate him, y'know; it's something I can't really explain too well, eh, it's just this horrible feeling I've got about him now. Em... when I came out of the army, I went to live with my grandmother, but we weren't seeing eye to eye; there was a lot of arguments, and I felt that the longer I was there, the more it was going to affect her health, so I decided to go off live in Leeds - em, Scotland. Eh... I was there for about a week, and I had a letter from my father saying that he'd like to see me, could I go and see him in High Wycombe where he was living in Buckinghamshire, eh, and meet his new wife. And I was quite shocked when I met her, small Greek woman. (What?) Greek - Greek Cypriot, and eh, oh she had a temper, and she kind of ruled the nest, and it was a strange thing seeing it - knowing my father for what he was, not fully at the time, but what I knew of him he was a strong dominant type; aggressive. And then

seeing this little woman, kind of ruling the roost if you like, and just seeing him sat there, saying nothing; it was awkward, it was, eh, it was uncomfortable, y'know, it was just different, totally different. We get on well, em, my stepmother, her name was Sonia. Her real name was Shebi, that's the Greek, but everybody called her Sonia. We got on OK. to begin with, but, eh, I felt that... he was trying to play the father figure to me at the time, but with a new woman in his life, and it just didn't- didn't work, and I never felt that he couldn't - she could take the place of my own mother, so em, there came a few arguments, and once or twice I said, "who are you talking to, you're not my mother" you know, behave yourself, you know, talk to reasonably but don't shout at me just cos he's had a go at you. Bigger argument - I was asked to leave the house a couple of times. But eh, in High Wycombe, eh... my father had a hot-dog barrow that he rented from my stepmother's brother, called Mr Rachi,.... I'd go to football matches with the barrow, and then we got two barrows and then it was three barrows and then it was an ice-cream van and a couple of barrows, and then it was two ice-cream vans and then it was a tea-van as well, and we just kept making more money - he's a good business man. But eh, then he sold that lot and got himself a... a breakers yard in High Wycombe, ...and eh, it was ...rough..., em, people coming in and nicking stuff, catching them and saying, "take it out your tool box" or "empty your tool box out", and fights and stuff. And I suppose aggression's been around me all the time, really, one way or another, eh, but I was a frightened little boy when I was younger, and I think what brought me out of it, really, was being in the army. Em, I suffered a lot of physical and sexual abuse when I was a kid, em, something that took me fifteen months to get out of, sort of, to talk about when I was at Grendon, I had it clamped up a lot. Em, just people that were at school, em, people from down the road."

This extract reveals the problems Richard has with coming to terms with his father's behaviour and the way that he cannot express himself coherently. He mentions at the end that he has suffered sexual abuse yet does not connect this in the same sentence as his father's behaviour. He does not say for example that he has difficulty coming to terms with what his father has done especially because he has been a victim of sexual abuse himself. Also absent at this stage is the fact that his father has abused his two eldest step children who he adores. He mentions that he still loves his father but has a horrible feeling about him. The amount of time he spends talking about him shows that this is an issue that has not been reconciled. Again the pattern of mentioning events and feelings exist in isolation devoid of any discussion, moving on to talk about another topic. This is indicative of the descriptive thought association style not the reflective analytical style.

Richard drifts back into talking about doing karate in the Army. He says,

"I liked it but it was too aggressive, it just wasn't for me, and I kept getting bullied to do it and do it and do it; I was doing catas that's the set movements and stuff, I was doing that - I was enjoying it, but it was the actual, em, sparring I didn't like. Em, I was a bit soft I think, in the head. But, em, I took up karate then, and found that it gave me inner confidence that I'd never had before, and eh, I could see what me father was always getting at, y'know, to stick up for yourself, and never be frightened. Even in confrontations now it's not so much fear that I have to worry about, it's the over-confidence, y'know, incase I get lumped one while I'm talking. And, eh, I think I've kind of quietened down since I've been in, but eh... that

aggression that's in me it's all kind of controlled now, whereas one time it was kind of raw, y'know, I was pure aggression and I wanted to get out."

Richard seems to contradict himself when talking about aggression first saying that he did not like karate because it was too aggressive and then saying that he used to be very aggressive. This also shows its incoherence by lacking the ability to communicate his point about being over confident.

Richard demonstrates like Adam and David a lack of differentiation in thinking and emotion. This is revealed in his description about an ex girlfriend.

"Em, I think I was kind of besotted with her when I first met her because she was kind of bubbly personality, very laughable, jovial, happy person, y'know. Em, she couldn't sit quiet for five minutes, so, she was always teasing me and pestering me. Something I found that was different. It was usually me that was teasing people. Eh... I have a funny quirk about me - it's I prod and poke people, jovially in the ribs and make them... y'know, just jovially, I think that really is me trying to say, "I'm in control, stay away", y'know, but it goes further than that. Like when I'm down the gymnasium and I'm playing football or volleyball or badminton, or something, I'll take the - I'll do the score. Like if somebody does a good ball, I'll say, "oh, nice ball", y'know, I'm not frightened to speak, em, I'll get up and pick a team without anybody asking, so I'm quite forefront y'know."

It is not clear what characteristic Richard believes he has, possibly that he is assertive or even intimidating. Even so these emotions are not usually expressed by "horse play" which seems to be an intimate, trusting interaction, in fact just the opposite of Richard's conception of it. He would appear to be unable to discriminate very far between any physical contact. This lack of discrimination could in part make sense of the murder which he committed. Perhaps not surprisingly, like David, the account he gives of the murder is not credible. Richard's description of events demonstrated an egocentric perspective not dissimilar David's. He indicates that he is aware that she is upset and needs company yet does not feel inclined to help her, choosing to interpret her behaviour as sluttish.

"...she was in the car, in the passenger seat in front and she was crying, and I was saying, listen you're going to get your act together, y'know, if he doesn't want you, there's you and the kid there, find somebody else. Get your life together, cos at the moment your very depressed and all you want to do is cry and cry and cry, he's not going to come back.And I was asked to go in that night and stay a little while, and I said, I can't really, and her hand was on my leg, and "please come in I need some company" all that. And I said, "no I've got to get back; it's not my car, it's my father's car, and I've only got a couple of minutes to get back, y'know they'll be wondering", "well will you come round tomorrow and see me, we'll talk". I never went round. Then she saw me in the street about two weeks afterwards and I felt that she was... over-familiar, y'know, too... I dunno cloying. And every time I spoke to her, em, "when you coming round, when are we gonna see you" and all that. Although I did go to her house once, I never went inside cos there was a load of people messing around. Sounded like a party, load of bikes outside. Em... I actually saw her naked once in the front lawn. She was

stoned out of her head, and it was on a bus route too, cos there's no fences or anything, just open gardens. In and out of the house, into the back garden, doing a barbecue out the back and they was running into the front and then the police came. And I was going by in a car, I couldn't believe it."

Richard's description of her implies he does not really like her behaviour. He does not seem to appreciate her flirting with him, or acting in a hedonistic manner. Yet he still went round there as he was thinking of renting a room from her.

"And eh, I got to her place and said, listen I need to talk to you, can I come and have a chat. Em, and as soon as I'd sat down it was, "do you want a cup of tea? Is there anything that you want?" and I stayed until nine o'clock and then Tommy Ball came round the ice-cream van, so I popped out and seen him. And it's, "hello Richard, what are you doing in there" we know what you're up to (laugh). Well, I didn't know at the time that - I wouldn't' call her a loose woman, but, she had plenty of fun, so you can take it, y'know."

This is both a contradiction in the way he described her, he says he did not know what she was like after reporting seeing her naked on the lawn drunk. He continues

"Eh... I stayed that night, em... cos I got onto the phone and said to my landlady and said, "I'll be home late, leave the door open", and eh, when I put the phone down, Simone said, "you don't have to go", and one thing led to another, we ended up upstairs in the bedroom. Em, Simone disappeared downstairs, I think went to the loo upstairs and came back and asked me if I wanted to be tied up. And I said, "no", I said "it's not really my thing", she said, "well tie me up but don't do it too tight", so I've tied her left wrist, put it round the back of her body, put the cord round her, it's gone round her neck three times and back down to her hand, and although it was tied to the other wrist, it wasn't tight to her, and she could still move her hands up and down. And we're making love in the bed, and eh... because she's being pushed up into the bed, it was constricting on her neck. And eh, she was shouting that she liked it harder, and harder and harder, and I was saying, "stop shouting in me ear", etc."

Richard reveals in this last sentence that he was irritated by Simone, showing the difference in emotional involvement between them, she seemingly happy with the situation him not so. He continues,

"...And I hadn't been to sleep that night, and the following day I went to work and I was digging these trenches for trees and things, then night after sex I was tired, and eh, I got off of Simone, laid there, meant to take the cords off, not to go to sleep but to, y'know, have a cigarette or something, cos I used to smoke then, and eh, put me head down on the side and I was asleep. And I woke up and it was light, and I knew something was wrong. And eh, I said to Simone, "wake up" and she was still with cords on, still in the same place, minus clothes, and I shook Simone and said, "wake up" and her head lolled to one side and I said, "Simone wake up" and I've got up out of bed, and gone round to her side of the bed, tried to slap her face, and said, "Simone wake up". Now I got a bit panicky then. I'm trying to get the cord off her, trying to wake her up, trying to put her clothes on, and I'm panicking. And I put the trousers on back to front, and trying to get the shoes on and they won't go on properly, trying to get me shirt on and can't button it up and it's all buttoned up wrong, and eh, I got the cord off her eventually, and I was shouting at her and shaking her, and I've got a hold of her by the neck and I'm shouting, "Simone wake up wake up", slap slap. And what I'd done is... during sex, em, the cords had become so tight that she's fainted, she had lack of oxygen in blood to the brain, and it's caused unconsciousness, but she was still alive. But over the night, it's, em, cos she's been unconscious all this time, and it's not been any slack, it's the same tightness, I hadn't turned over in the night, and she hadn't turned over in the night. She's kind of - not

deathly white but pale, y'know, from what she was, her lips are kind of a purply-blue, kind of puffy. And I was trying to hit her saying, "wake up wake up" and I started to cry and panic and shout. And eh, I was shaking like a leaf, adrenaline rush was going haywire, and I couldn't control meself, and I was shaking her that much that she's fallen onto the floor and I've had to put her back on the bed and shake her and shake her. And I've got hold of her by the throat and I'm going, "wake up wake up wake up", and there's tears just cascading off me, and I'm shouting out "wake up wake up", swearing, and hitting her harder and harder, and I realised then that she's dead, and eh, I got just like this and I couldn't pick anything up. Me head felt very light. I could hear, what I thought was trees rustling; it's the blood in me ears, y'know. I never went blank; I was kind of close to it, y'know, very very panicky, em... and then I started to cry and wail and shout and all sorts, I didn't know what was going on."

The description that Richard gives of his panic does not seem congruent. He sounds as though he is describing the image of someone who ought to be in a panic, like an author might. It is questionable as to whether he would have remembered that much detail about his clothing if he was in a true state of panic where remembering nothing would appear more appropriate.

" And em, I've picked up Simone's lighter, the Marlborough lighter, and set fire to some magazines on the floor and disappeared. Now then, eh... she had a child, she still had a child, em, who was in the next bedroom, eh, next door. Em, me shouting wake up wake up, eh, has woken up Andrea, the child. And I've left the house, totally gone, don't know what's going on, "Christ I've killed her, when you kill somebody what's going to do, what am I going to be picked up, I know I'm going to be picked up, the fire, fire, shouldn't have lit fire to it, get back, put it out, no better go, y'know, going to get caught." And it wasn't till I heard da da da da (sirens) I realised, "Christ, no, Andrea, Andrea" and I turned round and I stopped and I thought, no I can't there in time, I can't get there in time, but eh, she'd come out of her bedroom, pushed her mum's door open, the smoke's hit her, and she's eh, come back and she's run into her mum's bedroom, and she's run into the floor where there's some magazines on fire, and it's burnt and bit of her petty-coat and eh, burnt her right ankle. Thank God she didn't die, thank God it wasn't a bad burn, but she could have died in that and I think, Simone's death doesn't bother me that much now, there are times when I feel really bad about it, but overall I think I've got over that now, I kind of... I kind of said that, y'know I've forgiven myself for it in a way. But it's taken a long time, I've been away sixteen years now, sixteen and a half years, but Andrea - and I think it's cos I've got kids meself and I miss em, I think that's why it plays so much, and there's been a few nights I've been in me cell and I've had a few tears there, but, y'know. I think that affects me more than Simone's death."

Although it would be natural for an individual to feel guilt about endangering a child's life and actually causing a burn to their ankle. It is questionable if this would be deemed more traumatic than killing a woman. This could possibly reveal something of Richard's attitude towards his victim in that he really was not that concerned that he had killed her, he does actually say that he has forgiven himself. This shows some more emotional content than the other two, yet still he does not seem unduly concerned about his actions, this being the only comment he makes on the subject. Evidence for this assumption is inherent in his discussion of his inability to understand his need to set fire to things he says,

"But there's some - must be some link there that I can't fathom out to destroy things with fire, y'know, when you're in heavy stress. Eh, what would I do now? Well I'd know now that.. I would never get out again if I ever did it again; I wouldn't want that, I really want to go out now. Em, to - I can understand wanting to get rid of the body but really I should have gotten in touch with the police and said, listen there's been an accident, perhaps I wouldn't have got lifed off, perhaps I might have got, I dunno, ten years or something."

He reveals a total lack of empathy and an egocentric focus. Firstly he refers to "getting rid of the body", which at the time was preferable to calling an ambulance. Secondly he talks about it in terms of receiving a reduced sentence not saving the life of someone.

He further implicates himself during further discussion by saying,

"If I'd have phoned a doctor they would have come and found that she was dead, or when I found her still tied off, take the cords off and phone the doctor or somebody, this wouldn't have happened. Too late now, it's gone. But I'm aware of what I've done and I'm aware of what I should have done. There's a certain amount of aggression that was in me that wanted to come out too. If somebody tells you off and you know you're in the right and, ooo, you feel like really stamping, you want to stamp your feet, and somebody else comes up to you and slags you down, or somebody else comes up to you and punches you, or says something wrong, you can just flip and think, ooh, y'know. And then afterwards you think, why did I do that, y'know, should have kept me temper there. And it's the same sort of thing."

Although it is not clear what point Richard is trying to make, he does imply that he felt aggressive at the time. Possibly he interpreted her instructions with respect to his sexual performance as bullying or intimidating or just not good enough, nevertheless he implies that there was a trigger to these aggressive feelings that were at least in part responsible for the death of this woman.

Richard's inability to reconcile issues seems to stem from his inability to be coherent when thinking about them.

"I also found it this last year that.. he [his father] abused the oldest two of my children too. It made me want to kill him.

I: Abused your children?

R: My children, yeah. My son, well my step-child, my step-children, my son and my daughter. (Not Carole?) No, the oldest two. And when I found out, I was like a bear with a sore head, and everybody that used to speak to me on the wing, "piss off, I don't want to talk to you, sod off", bit stronger than that. And, eh... I lost a lot of friends on the wing over it. A lot of them are gone, there's a lot of new faces around, but, em, I've had to talk to the few people in here, few people that I think I can trust, five or six inmates that I sit down and talk to, and say, "listen, when I get into a bad mood it's because..." and they've gone, I understand it now. I was going into the charity shop in the morning at eight o'clock, I was working until dinner time, coming back during the dinner hour, working till tea-time, coming back after tea until

security stopped it, until about eight o'clock, seven. And working the weekends too. But they stopped that as well. And then I was working - I did woodburning at the pyrography, and jewellery boxes and dolls houses and all sorts, and I was bringing work back to me cell and spending, say, from eight o'clock till nine o'clock doing my own bits and pieces, and from nine o'clock till, say, two or three in the morning, doing their bits and pieces. Going in for half an hour late. And then when I found out me father - me father's, y'know, done this, it was sometimes an hour late, sometimes half an hour late, but I would always do something late at night. And then one day I said to some chap, "can you tell me about the red bands" cos I had a red band cos I had to work out my cell. I never asked for it, I was given it. "Can you tell me when the money for the red bands is going to go up to ten pound rather than seven?" and they said, "well, we'll look into it", and that came back saying they would look at it generally, there wasn't enough money. And then the following week I got sacked, "you're not the type of person that we want in the -". Well what it was is someone who's just taken over now, called Mr Ball, he's out here a lot, deep voice, he takes snuff. Eh, the chap before him was called Roger, em, Roger Hall, Rocket Roger, uncle Roger, and eh, he was quite good at what he was doing in the charity shop. He'd come across, "what do you need?" he'd go out and sort it out and then he'd come back with a tea boat, we'd drink tea or coffee. But since the other guy's gone in there he won't buy you a cup of tea. And all the stuff that's in there doesn't go to the charity shop at Whitby, it gets sold to the officers, and I was putting me foot down, "you can't be doing that" you know, "it's a registered charity, and it's got to go to York", and they said, "oh, we'll send them half, they don't know", and I didn't like it. And I've done charity stuff all the time I've been in prison, I've bought St Paul's hospital in Guernsey, em, for their children's ward, em, a 26inch colour TV, a video cassette recorder, eh, twenty pre-recorded tapes, and ten unrecorded. I sent a thing to... let's have a look at it... eh, Rainbow's a wood-carved picture to children's hospice in Dudley, West Midlands."

This conversation started off by claiming that his father had sexually abused his children. This demonstrates that there is no logical progression through the events chosen to talk about to back up the claim. Richard discusses it almost in passing preferring to talk about something else.

Richard reveals his feelings about his children that could be interpreted as generative, he says,

"They've got a new father, she's got a new husband, so, I always felt that I was interfering cos every time I saw the kids she couldn't control them afterwards. So... I was asked if I could... dampen it down a bit, and let him take the role of father, and I said, "yes". I hurt me a lot to do it, but I thought, well, for the benefit of the children, yeah, OK. I'll do that and take a back seat. But, eh, I found that.. as time went by and the visits didn't come, eh, and I didn't know why, and me father's attitude to me children now, and my ex-wife's attitude to me, I think that tells a lot."

Rather than being generative, there is also the possibility that Richard identifies with children. The style of the narrative reflects an image of someone who is a victim who feels aggressive when frightened or bullied. He showed an uncharacteristic concern for all children in the narrative including his victim's daughter, and those in the hospital that he has done charity work for. He shows a self image of an abused child who has not developed since. After all if he was generative which is about protecting children he would have notified the police not for his children's sake but for the good

of all. In addition to that Richard and his step mother had difficulties because allegations had been made about sexual abuse when Richard was working with his father and she has refused to believe it was her husband and accused Richard. So he is aware of the problems caused by abusing children as he has been abused himself and suffered the pain of being a father of abused children and accused of it yet incredibly when he is asked whether he reported his father he said,

“No, no. I tried to talk to my ex-wife once about it, she slammed the phone down on me. I can understand her being upset, uptight about it. But there’s not anything I could say or do about it, I was that mad. I wouldn’t like to say what I would do because I just don’t know. I don’t think I would do anything too aggressive to him, I’d have a go at him verbally, but he’s getting on now, he must be about seventy two-seventy-three. I couldn’t really hit him, probably kill him. Times when I feel that I’d like to, hit him I mean. He’s an aggressive person, there’s a certain amount of aggression in me that I can see is hereditary if you like, but also the way the family was brought up played a big part.”

So Richard tries to make excuses for his father instead. This would not be a responsible way of dealing with this situation given the dangerousness of this man, Richard even believes that his aggression comes from his father, so it would make sense to want him to be kept away from the innocents of society.

The next extract shows the emergence of his inability to differentiate abuse and love.

“... I got caught by a... neighbour, taking in doors, cos I had a bowl of cherries that I picked off a tree, up this wall. I couldn’t get into my house because there was nobody at home, I wanted to wash them, and he knew the family, lived about three doors down in some flats, and on the balcony. And eh, he said, come inside you can wash them in here. And when I got inside he gave me a clout round that head, and he was knocking me about, took into the bedroom, and eh, sexually abused me in there. And I couldn’t get away from him cos I was wearing those sandals with the - the buckle on, y’know, the red ones and the green ones, kids shoes. And they were stuck on the eiderdown and every time I tried to get away I was stopped, and he was grabbing me back and doing this to me and doing this to me. And when it had stopped he kept saying don’t tell anybody because I’ll go to prison and so will he, and me family will get beaten up because people that know him will gone round and see them, and it’s our secret sort of thing. And although I felt sick about it and wanted to say something, I just felt I couldn’t say anything to anybody, so I kept quiet, and eh, I found that when it did happen again, it was best just to keep quiet, let things happen. But I found that what I was after was the fatherly bit from people, y’know, the people that were doing it; it was like a caring thing, and I was turning the physical stuff into a caring thing, and pretending it hadn’t happened afterwards, but it had. And eh, I was sick with myself afterwards, and... my mother used to say to me, you go through a lot of underpants, cos I couldn’t control my bowels when I was a kid, and things were happening that often, I used to throw them out the window in Maisonette’s. And eh... the eh, people downstairs once pulled me into the lobby of where we were living and saying, why are you throwing things out of your window, why don’t you clean them. I felt very embarrassed and she said she was going to tell me mum. I said, no please don’t please don’t please don’t, started to cry. And I think she realised what was going on, and nothing was said. Done at school, I didn’t do anything to stop it. Didn’t like it, didn’t dislike it, what I disliked was the hurt, y’know the pain, eh, people being aggressive, beating me up, stuff like that. And I think that’s where it’s made me become a bit more aggressive and forthright with people,

say, that's as far as you go, and that was another reason why I took up martial arts when I was outside. So that I then knew that if anything did... y'know, occur, I was in full control. When I was in the army somebody tried to grab hold of me, frightened the life out of me and I froze. I could have grabbed hold of him and thrown him, punched him, done anything. And I just froze. Then I kind of realised what was happening and walked off. Eh... and afterwards I was shaking with adrenaline, fear, and it brought tears to my eyes, but, I kind of got over it".

Richard actually states he put up with the abuse because he wanted close physical contact. He also shows how frightened he was. What does appear strange is that Richard was abused as a child, as were his children and his father was an abuser of children yet Richard does not mention whether or not his father abused him, or if he did not why he did not given that he was a pedophile. He does not resolve this issue.

When asked for his beliefs and values Richard replied,

"I don't think that I believe in anything really, except that we exist and then we die I think."

It would appear that Richard has not really changed, when asked if he was still aggressive (which is a major part of his self image) he says,

"Ah, comes on and off. You see having done karate and martial arts, eh, it became not a way of life, but a pass-time, and I used to enjoy the camaraderie with other people. Now I train people up in here, em, have a sparring session. And there are about eight of us that have done martial arts outside."

This not only shows that he has not changed but he is unable to differentiate his aggressive feelings from physical contact, a behaviour learned as a small child.

Summary

Richard's narrative lacks in coherence, credibility, openness to change, reconciliation and generatively.

It lacks overall coherence as it has no end point, and the selection of events do not link together in an unfolding, progressive way, there is no development. There is a lack of coherence too at the level of conversation. Richard demonstrates that he has difficulty stringing a coherent sentence together.

The narrative lacks credibility and this is revealed when he tried to explain the circumstances around the murder he committed on a young woman, the way he

portrays his feelings towards this woman are contradictory. He implies that he is irritated by her and claims to be devastated at her death. He then goes on to reveal his lack of concern for her death but his life sentence.

Richard's narrative shows a rigidity in terms of a lack of change apparent in his attitude or ability to differentiate thought and behaviour. He admits to being still aggressive, a theme running throughout the narrative.

Richard has a lot of issues that require reconciliation. He implies that he is still deferent to his father, failing to report him for abusing his children and claiming that he still loves him. He cannot sort out the way he feels about his father which understandably appears to be causing him distress.

Overall there is little evidence of a generative outlook to life. He appears generative towards his children but this may be because he still identifies with children, not having really developed as an individual.

The narrative appeared confused, undifferentiated and aggressive, which was much the same story for Adam and David, the other two offenders in this group. As with Adam and David, there is no discernible end point, there is no selection of events to support the end point and there is no causal unfolding process. Thus the narrative like the others takes on the form of a descriptive rambling set of "facts". Like David, events were revealed that are probably associated with his behaviour but they are not told in a sequential order, in other words, no apparent sense has been made. However, unlike the other two, he does try to assemble his narrative into some kind of order but it becomes quite clear that he is unable to do this.

The main striking feature of these three narratives is the inability to differentiate thought and action. The lack of thought, self knowledge and the egocentric focus. Emotional issues were often delivered in a flat unemotional tone.

RESULTS

Chapter Eleven: Group Two – The Deceivers

Lenny

Benny

Frank

RESULTS: CHAPTER ELEVEN**Group Two The Deceivers**

That which cannot be changed must be ignored

The offenders in this group are Lenny, Benny, and Frank. These characters were similar in that they did not give a credible account of their lives. All offenders in this group also showed a lack of generativity, reconciliation, and openness to change, offering support for the hypothesis. In addition, all the narrative accounts offered in this group had a coherent structure which also supports the initial assumption.

LENNY

The overall structure of Lenny's narrative was coherent, allowing for a discernible end point to be identified. This was "value laden" as Gergen (1993) suggests it should be, and there is a clearly identifiable self-image. The coherent structure makes it possible to give a brief outline to the story.

This is the story of a man who had the odds stacked against him from near enough the day he was born. There is a catalogue of events that Lenny reveals to illustrate how nothing in life has worked out for him. Towards the end of the story one is left with the impression that he feels there is some sort of conspiracy going on to keep him in prison. The coherence in this first extract is also manifest in the detail given and the commentary he gives on what he is revealing.. It also shows the emergence of the self-image as a victim of circumstance (hard-done-by).

Yeah. Em...my name's Lenny. I was born in Edinburgh, 1965. I'm the oldest of two children. Robert's my younger brother. My mother and father - mother was a Protestant, father was a Catholic, and they decided to get married on the New Year's Eve which caused massive tensions between the two sides of the family. I've never been christened because of that; because they both fell out with their respective religions and families. At eighteen months, no...must have been nearer two years, my mother fell pregnant with my brother. She had difficulties in the pregnancy and I was put in a home. No sooner had I come out of the home, took my father eighteen months to come out, though, to get me, because the rest of my family would not pick me up from the home, and soon as I come back from there I couldn't stomach meat, couldn't stomach the sight of blood, and totally changed as far as my father was concerned; he said it wasn't the same kid that he'd seen before I went in the home, but I can't remember nothing about it. I hadn't ate meat or anything since. The actual atmosphere in Edinburgh is pretty intense: I seen a dead body at four, and that was just two guys arguing over

a dove. It was quite a lot of people round where we lived, they had dovecotes in the tenement roofs and these two guys were best mates, and what had happened is they'd fallen out over a dove. And I've gone to get some bread at about half eight-nine o'clock at night, and I've looked up the alley-way and I can see them both fighting underneath the street lamp, and one of them's actually axed the other one, and he's fallen on the floor, and the other one's run off, and I've walked up and I can remember kicking the body and seeing the blood, and this just didn't seem real. And I went back to my mum and says there's a guy bleeding, lying bleeding on the street, give's me a back-hander, "get to bed and stop lying". Fighting all the time, usually at school; Catholics and Protestants, cos they put two - in their intelligence they put two schools back to back, one Catholic, one Protestant; there was a lot of tension anyway, bricks sometimes thrown through our window because either somebody was having a go at the old man because he was a Catholic or somebody was saying that the old dear was this that and the other because she was a Protestant. So in a way I was glad to get out of there, to move down to here, to Cheltenham. The old man had come down about two years before us, and he was working in Cheltenham, we moved to. My gran - that's my dad's mum - had moved down here about eight or ten years before us, with other members of the family. The old man's family was a big family, the old dear's family was a big family, I think twenty-one in my old man', seventeen in my mum's. Spread all over the place. And em, so we decided to come down to Cheltenham, and as soon as I reached Cheltenham I knew it was...alien. I felt outside and I felt outside and I didn't get on with anybody. It took us...nearly two and a half years to actually have a conversation with the next door neighbour, and yet the houses were attached, which just didn't happen, was alien, from the community in Edinburgh where everybody knew everybody. Em...come down in '74, '77 the old dear and the old man split up; I think that just totally fucked my head up. I can remember just wondering round drinking, ran away from home, lived on the streets.

The style of this narrative is evaluative. Lenny comments about changing as a result of being put in a children's home. He expresses an opinion about Edinburgh, and then goes onto qualify his statement telling the story of seeing a dead body. He also introduces at this point, the harshness of the treatment meted out to him. Not only did a four year old have to witness a murder, he was given no support in fact punished for lying. Thus very soon introducing the harshness of his life to the reader.

He continues with this coherent style when he expresses an opinion about the logic of putting two schools of opposing religions, within close proximity to each other He qualifies this by relating tales of conflict. There are a few incidents recalled which all convey the notion that he is a victim. Lenny implies that he was unhappy there as he remarked that he was happy to leave. Thus setting the scene for another fall. After explaining why they moved particularly to that area, i.e. giving context to the point, he disclosed that he was isolated and alone. Then, as if this was not bad enough, his parents split up, marking the beginning of his downfall. The coherent manner in which Lenny talks allows for the tone to be communicated. He reveals a gradual escalation of causal events which intrinsically reveal his fated self-image .

The next extract continues in a coherent manner directly from the last extract after the interviewer asked Lenny how old he was at the time. The focus this time however is on how Lenny allows his self-image to emerge. It also highlights the distortions he makes of reality to allow his self-image to survive introducing the idea that the narrative lacks credibility.

Twelve, thirteen. Totally - I enjoyed school when I was in Scotland, but when I came down here - see they start Science in schools earlier in Scotland than they do in England. In junior school I was doing science tests, when I came down here, this is, like two years after I done it, I was sitting in class and everything they were doing I'd already done, and every time I stuck my hand up to give the answer, it was "shut up". And my accent caused people a lot of difficulty understanding me, and it was always, "pardon, what did you say", no matter what I asked for. And em, it just grew frustrating, so I just...withdrew. And found solace in the bottle. I've had treatment for alcoholism. I got banged up first time DC. I got in with the wrong crowd, there was about twenty of us, used to always get in fights with other gangs in the town. First one was a street fight. WE were in - there was a bonfire. I've got the centre post, big fight starts, I'm just standing there, guy runs into the centre post I'm holding. Fractures his skull, I get done for GBH with intent. I'm on remand - no I'm on bail for that when in the local community centre, this guy I knew from school gonna batter this other guy. I know this other guy through the school. And I knew this guy that I hang about with was handy with his fist but I knew the other guy wasn't, so I'm thinking to myself, he's going to get a pasting. So my mate's tore off after him, I've tore off after my mate, and we've caught them fighting, and he's really battering this guy, so I've dragged him off, carried this guy home, knocked on his door, sister came to the door, said you better get an ambulance I said, cos he's bleeding from his ears. No sooner have I done that, gone home and the police are round my house, I'm arrested, handcuffed for this assault. Up in juvenile court, two charges of GBH with intent, and this guy actually stood up and "yeah it was him". It was nothing to do with me at all but then again in another sense, if I hadn't got the DC I'd have still been on the bottle. Came out from there...and virtually got a gate arrest from DC, was out about three or four weeks, got charged with stealing a bicycle under the influence of alcohol and selling it, and got another DC. Couldn't have been out more than three months, got arrested again, that's right I was on bail, done a runner to Wales, got re-arrested when I come back to Cheltenham, got a Borstal. I'd done about six or seven months on remand and I got the Borstal that didn't count. Come out of the Borstal 5th of October 1981, got a job, job flat roofing. 6th December 1981 phone call, mother's in hospital. She always had high blood pressure anyway, gone to hospital, flowers, box of chocolates, got sent in the lift, just about to set off, priest comes running across, presses the button, steps in, soon as I seen the priest I knew she was dead...I just - my brother said "what room is she in?", I said, "just follow the priest", we did and he went into her room. She was there on a life support machine. She dies of a cerebral haemorrhage. And I never really got to know her. Got to know her in Borstal. But you don't get to know somebody across a table in a visit. The old man was a bit of an alcy, still is. I'm probably closer to my old man than I ever have been on the out.

Lenny continues with relating how his life became worse since the move by suggesting that he was ignored and isolated at school. He uses this to explain why he got in with a bad crowd. His style changes when he talks about his criminal charges he offers little or no explanation of events. In the first instance he claimed that the other person ran into the post he was holding with his head. Despite a big fight starting and he is supposed to be just standing there. Lenny does not explain how he got a GBH

with intent. Thus being selective with the amount of detail he offers, again adding to the feeling of a lack of credibility. Similarly in the next fight he suggests that he became get involved for altruistic protective purposes. Again Lenny offers no account of how he came to be charged with that assault, simply using each story to build up a picture of hardship. He reveals a number of other events almost in passing, including disappearing whilst on bail yet gives very little opinion of this behaviour. Instead Lenny chooses to focus on the death of his mother, as this is more commensurate with his portrayal of him as a victim not a criminal. The contrast in the descriptions between this event and the criminal activity is stark. Here Lenny affords a melodramatic dialogue held between himself and his brother. Lenny seems to give detail then, when it is self serving and minimises the detail when it does not reinforce the image of victim. Thus raising questions about credibility.

The focus of Lenny's mother's death is based around how his father could not look after his youngest son. Lenny discloses how he gave up his job to act as carer.

Em....after than I - '81, end of '81 - that's right, comes back from the hospital, never realised then until we pulled up outside my old man's house, he'd got remarried two years before, and it turns out that this day happens to be his anniversary with his second wife; 6th December - the same day. So my brother goes into the house, the old man's in bits now, doesn't want to celebrate nothing, and because my mum and his second wife got on well, she was just as bad. He swapped the house for a flat, my brother was in his last year of school, and he was always - he'd never get up on his own, he needed everything laid out for him. So I've jacked in my job to make sure that he can get through his school. He's finished school, we've had a fall-out over something, he's moved out, I stays on living in the flat. Then em...met a guy at a gig who lived in Cheltenham who wanted somewhere to stay - I've got two bedrooms in the flat - invited him to move in if he wanted to move in...couldn't get a job; every job I went for, it was internal. Office work, I mean I prefer outdoor work - roofing - manual work more than mental work. He was the opposite, Paul; Paul was more of a technical drawer and he always got offered the plastering jobs and the roofing jobs. Soon as I put my name forward the employment office didn't want to know, "it wasn't offered you, it was offered him" and vice versa. So he's got disenchanted with even looking for work. Then I heard on the grape-vine that there was a...Merco were doing local community stuff, so I got involved in that. Moving old people, painting, re-decorating, painting old people's houses, single parent families, doing the gardens up. And I enjoyed doing it. I was working in a pub at night, five, six nights a week. New flats from one side of the road to the other, a new block of flats opposite us was full of youngsters that played music all hours of the day, and this old couple wanted to move out, to move across to the other side cos it was quieter, and we swapped with him.

Despite the emphasis Lenny placed on looking after his brother he is evasive over the reasons that they "fell out". After observing Lenny's style of conversation it might be suggested that if it had been his brother's fault, this would have been disclosed as an opportunity to exonerate himself. Continuing with the imago of victim, Lenny moves on to talking about how the job centre was against him despite his best efforts to gain

employment. This leads into a story about how he was able to be the hero again, not only helping old people but swapping homes so that they could have peace and quiet. Thus far then Lenny has revealed an increasingly underprivileged life and a tendency to give the impression he is a hero by accentuating those points he can to reinforce this image and ignoring or minimising those that do not.

From here on in, the narrative becomes confusing and lacks the usual articulate and insightful approach. This account is of the period of his life that includes the murder victim.

By now there was about...anything between five and seven different people living in the flat, some students, some on the dole, some working...I've always been averse to, em...heavy drugs, and everybody that came into the flat was always averse to heavy drugs, or led me to believe. Come home one day, girl who's staying there...I walked into the bathroom, door's not even snegged, walked into the bathroom, she's lying there, wasted on the toilet, knickers and trousers down by her ankles, syringe in hand, tourniquet round one leg, "what the fuck's going on here?" Sorted her out, took her out, coffee, walk walk walk walk walk, said to her she better give it up, otherwise I'm offsky, "yeah yeah yeah yeah". Now this bird as well as three others had always said to me, I used to like a bit of weed, and they were always averse to me smoking weed in the house, and then I comes home to this. And I suppose that's when trouble started between me and guys on the estate who sold heroine, because there was so many of them preying on single parent families, and round there, offering bags to the women, getting the women hooked on it, and then just - abusing them. So I started getting in trouble with them, started jumping them, taking their stuff off them, pouring it away. Came to a head, comes back again - no that's right - sitting in there, four o'clock in the morning car pulls up outside, knock knock on the door, opens the door...one of the birds falls in, she's got puke all down her, stinking to high heaven, gets her inside. Not only is she puking but her nose is bleeding, an absolute mess, I thought she was actually drunk...gets her into the bathroom, and she's - she's just absolutely wasted, somebody's doctored her drink or whatever. So I've piled her into the tub, switched on the shower, as I'm picking up her clothes, she's got stuff on her. That was it, I sorted her out, fired her to bed. She woke up the next morning, said "I'm off", I said, "If you're not off the stuff, I'm offsky". So I bugged off the Scotland. Before I goes, there was a guy, two guys, two other Scottish guys who owed me money. And I've said to them, just pop it on, give them the address I was going to in Scotland, my uncle's address. So I goes up there, phones them up, not having it, not getting the money, bugged off. So I've come back down to see these two guys, one of them's already done a runner, but I seen the missus of the second one. She sorted me out with the money, he wasn't coming to see me. She's one of the birds that had been staying with me in the flat. Soon as I seen her I knew that she was still on the stuff, "have you got any money?", I says, "yeah", I said, "but I've got no money on me", "will you come round tomorrow morning and see me", "no problem". Goes round, cos she was looking after some records and tapes that I'd left behind, goes round, comes out, walks round, gives the money, I buggers off, as I'm bugging off, she shouts to me, "you've still got some records, I'll bring them round tomorrow", I said, "no problem". Buggers off over the pub, has a pint, goes back to the flat that I'm staying in, goes over to my mates gaff, has a couple of pints that night, goes back to the flat I'm staying, arrives about one o'clock in the morning, falls asleep, wakes up in the morning, the girls who are in the flat wakes us up saying they'll be back that afternoon, wakes up about two in the afternoon, hung about, didn't even bother going out, they've come back, nipped across to the...precinct to get some fish and chips, has the fish and chips, sitting there watching EastEnders, police knock on the door. Bump bump bump. Kathy answers the door, looking for me, I've gone out, "what's happening here?", "Do you know Emily Rowland?", "course I know Emily Rowland...what's the cure?", "We've found a dead body further on down the street", "What?" I said, "Forget

any more," I said, "Just let's go down the police station", well, I said, "let's go down the police station", I said, "It's got nothing to do with me; go down the police station, I'll answer it". Handcuffs. I said, "you don't need the bangles, I'm coming down the police station anyway". No; handcuffs. Haven't been out since. Soon as I seen the statements by the police officers I knew that they weren't interested in who dunnit; they wanted a fucking square peg in a round hole and they got it. End of story.

Lenny does not make it clear that he is having a relationship with the "girl who's staying there" also referred to as "this bird". Lenny also informs her that if she does not stop taking the drugs, he is leaving. The natural conclusion to be drawn then is that they are having some kind of relationship. This may not be the case, either way the story is not coherent.

Lenny having been given a legitimate reason to be violent and heroic, goes after the drug dealers with vengeance. The subsequent description of his girlfriend (it is presumed) does not lend itself well to a compassionate caring intention. Rather she is described in such a manner that the reader is to feel that Lenny indeed is a hero amongst the vomit and blood. It is thus argues that the sensationalist description is self serving rather than truly altruistic.

This assumption has some evidence given the reported action of the hero with respect to "buggering off" for his own purposes.

As he approaches relating the murder Lenny's style becomes more incoherent. The contrast between this and his ability to describe non implicating events is stark, again giving the account a lack of credibility. The story becomes increasingly difficult to understand. Lenny would have the reader believe that he went to collect a debt from one man and received the money off his partner. She is then supposed to ask him if he has any money (having just given him some) to which he replies that he has not any money on his person (yet she has just given him some). Lenny then gives a garbled account of his subsequent movement of that day until he is arrested by the police. He does not say how he knew the victim, why he elected to go to the police station, or why he assumed she had been murdered. Lenny would rather focus on how the police "stitched him up". When Lenny was asked if he knew what had happened to this girl he says that there are two different stories about what happened, given he has been

shown to have the ability to be articulate he is struggling so much to give an intelligible account of the first theory, he at last said,

The other one was that somebody - Sally's [one of the girl's who shared the flat]first husband was a biker and that was - the problem was Sally and Emily used to go shopping together, used to wear the same stuff, used to swap stuff, both blondes, both the same height, you couldn't really tell them apart if you didn't know them. So that was logical, but the other one wasn't logical, and this was - I heard this from a biker in Bristol, that it was Sally's ex - but surely if it was Sally's ex he would have recognised her. So that didn't hold water. Anyway the whole thing annoys me in the sense that...previous record has got to have a violent guy.

This might indicate that Lenny was making the story up as he went along given that he contradicts himself about what is logical and what is not opting to change the subject. Lenny returns to talking about how he has been victimised so badly by a variety of agencies one is left wondering if there is a conspiracy going on.

I've probably had one fight that actually drew blood in the whole time I've been on earth. And yet if you look at my file...I'm a violent man, yet, not had a fight in prison ever, and I've spent a third of my life in prison. And...it frightens me that you can think up a record like that without actually doing anything. That's you fucked for the rest of your life, if you've got a record like that for nothing. OK. I'm not saying I was that - I'm not saying I didn't do any crime, but I was more of a commercial burglar than anything else; I'd never do anybody's home, because then you're just robbing off yourself, but...Woolies, WHSMith's they can afford it. You can't afford it, you can't afford it. But em, I just think it's crazy that...you can get a record like that and you've not actually done anything at all, and further along the line it actually helps the police force to get these beautiful league tables; the more you arrest, the more money you get. I mean they just arrest anybody then, it's no different from a police state; you're actually organising a police state.

This is another example of how Lenny responds to any criminal involvement, either he ignores it, minimises it or justifies it. The rest of the narrative is based around how the legal system have let him down. This involves the judge at his trial, his barrister, and the lawyers involved in his appeal. He even thinks the home office have treated him badly. The following theme was so focused it was hard to take an extract, therefore any edited version of the unabridged version has been provided. Firstly Lenny talks about the unfairness of his appeal, then the unfairness of his trial, then the incompetence of his barrister. He finishes off by saying that he is at the mercy of the corrupt prison system

Well see the appeal, the appeal process was...it was jinxed before it even started. It took me four and a half years to actually get my case paper work off my trial solicitor. Between him...his wife, who was a duty solicitor at the time, and my council barrister QC, they just kept passing the buck to one another; we aint got this, he's got that, he's got this, I've got that, he's got this, and nothing was actually done. They lost all materials that I thought was going to actually be used at trial, so that I couldn't' actually bring them up,oh that's gone missing, this has gone missing, that's gone missing. Em, statements went missing, trial

transcript - supposed to be kept for seven years - disappeared after four and a half years. First appeal went in had to do it meself; didn't have no paperwork whatsoever, didn't even have set of...em...transcript of anything. Asked for more time because I didn't have any paperwork and he gave me six weeks. So I came back - got knocked back on that. Then I applied to the solicitor's complaints bureau to complain about my brief's behaviour, and they wrote to him, got a letter back off him denying everything, and that was it. But that took me eighteen months, cos they lost my letter seven times, and I kept getting replies back from different...branches. Wrote to the bar council about my council, and they didn't even reply...and it just seemed to me that it was a total and utter closed shop, and I've seen an independent solicitor about it and as soon as she seen the...she seen the stuff, she said "where's your solicitor's statements?", no statement. Done everything through this. And em, set up. Set up. Don't have to look at anything else; you've been set-up. I bet your bottom dollar that the solicitor that you got is the duty solicitor. I said, "yeah". Don't need to go any further; all you stuffs gone missing; all the important stuff's gone missing,

.....Not only just that - the judge that actually...everything about the trial was, like, surreal the court,..... and I can actually hear the press screaming and shouting at this judge, "what the hell do you call this judgement?"; previous case, the guy jumped out of the car; he actually sprunged us in the dock;... He grabbed hold of the prosecutor and showed the prosecutor in the court what he'd done to this geezer on a zebra-crossing, just by pressing the button. And went into detail that he was a knife-smith; he knew how to use knives, and he only needed one stab to kill this guy; to cut his heart. And he walked out with two years, manslaughter. So this judge was getting it. No sooner had they stopped shouting and he wants me up there to start the trial. He's been called out of retirement for that trial, my trial and the trial after mine. The trial after mine went to appeal, and the guy got out. That guy before me...was a crazy case; how he actually reached the decision that he did was phenomenal, and...mine. The guy's now probably dead, the actual judge, he was - I think he was eighty-six.

Yeah, but the problem was that...it was my barrister - I was actually arguing with my barrister over every single thing. Any questions that caused the prosecutions witnesses to falter, I'd actually asked myself; I'd actually written down on a piece of paper. And I'm thinking to myself, "wait a minute, this guy's a QC, and I'm telling him what to do", that doesn't seem right; he should know what to do. And if I asked a question - writ down a question, he'd write back to me, "you're opening a can of worms". Wait a minute; this is my fucking life we're talking about here. Does it matter how many cans of worms you've got to open; open them. And he wouldn't do it.

Well see that was another one. I got told by the...governor - Governoress in Bristol... I think her name was - got took down to her office...about...February or March '88, and she pulled me in, she was reading from a Home Office, em, piece of paper. She said, em, "Your tariff's nine", which means it's nine plus three. OK. that meant '96 - '99. Right. Then I gets a letter from the Home Office saying it's not nine plus three, it's twelve plus three. No reason for...the update, and they carried on as if there hadn't been any three years added on, and any enquiries I've made of it, they've denied all knowledge of this sheet of paper; and the problem is because you're not allowed access to files, you don't know what's actually held on you. Right, I came for...review board two or three months back - no, yeah - two or three months back for parole board, and out of the blue there's a paragraph written that I was suspected of being involved in fire started on a wing in a previous prison. There's no nicks...no reports; nothing. Yet fires carried on in the prison, on that wing, after I'd left, and fires were carrying on before I'd even got to the prison, yet none of this was taken into account, yet it's on file on my file in big red letters; and as soon as the parole board look at your file they're looking at this. Yet you've got reports from the prison: caused them no hassle. And that...4UKB I got. Just for somebody writing that. So you're getting a four year sentence for somebody not liking you, or somebody not getting on with you. And it just goes on and on. And then you've got...the police officers reports; they can write a letter to the Governor and say what they want;

you're never going to see it. And yet it's in your file. How can that get in your - why should it get into your file - what right has this guy got to do anything? It's just like you - me and you meeting now - you could write a letter saying whatever you want, and that goes into my file. And it's classed as fact, which has got to be wrong, it's got to be wrong."

These last extracts show that Lenny is not open to change, in that he has a rigid self-image of being a victim of authority and society. There is no development of the character and no diversity. That is, everything makes sense to him in terms of being a victim of a conspiracy.

The fact that Lenny is coherent and competent at story telling ironically highlights the implausible parts of the story. Lenny is not only coherent at the structural stage of the narrative but with the informal points too. His style was shown to be explanatory often offering an opinion. In other words he offered a rich amount of detail to enhance the story. This style changed though when he was trying to account for his actions immediately prior to the murder and at the time of the murder. The narrative is rendered unintelligible which continues as he tried to offer some rational theory of what happened to the victim. Once Lenny starts talking about his life sentence it returns to a coherent form, where he continues with the theme of being victimised by those in authority.

The other way in which Lenny lacks credibility is when describes events that do not fit in with his self-image, for, example the idea that he is a murderer or indeed a criminal. Lenny portrays a hero, a modern day Robin Hood, but it is not always congruent with the other events in the story. Thus the strategies used to enable individuals achieve intrapersonal congruency are abused by distortion.

The self-image portrayed by Lenny of "hard - done - by -hero", is unchanging throughout the narrative. It is as much apparent at the end of the narrative as at the beginning. There are no other images of self-portrayed in the narrative. There is no development of the hero. Indeed, Lenny was shown to minimise and almost negate his image as criminal. An explanation can thereby be offered regarding his adherence to a plea of innocent. Lenny cannot incorporate the self-image of murderer into his unifacted self-image, that of "hard-done-by-hero". This then would not only suggest he is lying but that he has disassociated himself from this event.

As it has been argued that Lenny has disassociated himself not only from the murder but from most of the criminal activity he has been involved in it can be concluded that he has not achieved reconciliation. It would seem that these other facets of the self have nothing to be incorporated into because of the fragile, singular self-image. This supports Linesville's theory that the fewer images the self has the harder it is to function in the world as there are fewer directives for behaviour. It would also appear that this causes the individual to ignore the behaviours that do not fit in to the framework of self.

The whole narrative tone is self-focused. Lenny is quick to reveal all the good deeds he has done but gives the impression that these are revealed for self-serving purposes, rather than genuine altruistic ones. There are discrepancies between his reported motives and his description of events. There is no overt reference made to generative issues. That is no philosophy or ideology is offered in support of his professed heroism. Overall the whole tone was that of self-pity, with little concern shown for anyone else in the story.

BENNY

The overall structure of Benny's narrative was coherent thus allowing for an outline of the story to be given along with an identifiable character and a tone, McAdams 1995 or value laden end point Gergen 1993.

Benny's narrative was strikingly similar to Lenny's. The story evolves around an individual who again has not been lucky with the hand that fate dealt him. He relates a series of events, social, financial, and personal that contribute to an underlying theme of how unfair life has been to him. Benny tells a story of a young man who thinks he is a cut above the rest and the law for that matter. This young man who aspired for greatness, saw himself as virtuous despite his criminal behaviour.

Benny like many other offenders, revealed a profound identity truth in the opening stages of the narrative.

"Just- well I always wish that I was in someone else's shoes, y'know, rather than the ones I've been in all my life."

Given that distorting reality to maintain a congruent image of self is a strong theme in this chapter, it is interesting to note that Benny indicates at the outset that he is unreconciled. He goes on to qualify this claim by cataloguing a series of events that would if they were true, render this claim absolute. Benny tries to justify his criminal activity by ascribing honourable reasons for it. In the first incident he reports how he was convicted and given a youth sentence of six months for no good reason.

I was in three different gangs you see when I was growing up. And like that in itself was was...messy, y'know, and em...I mean with respect I mean I've been charged with this I'm not honestly saying, well there was an occasion where I've done six months for, absolutely, well nothing in my eyes because I actually turned round and defended myself...against students from Leicester University. I got dragged into this particular event...because it was highlighted in the papers as student bashing, you see, and I wasn't into that kind of thing. So what it was I mean I got off the bus, went for a drink, in ...Leicester, and eh...and two so-called mates turned round and eh...there were about eight guys, big stocky guys outside this chip shop. And like cos we'd grown up in that chip shop - was our chip shop, you see, cos you have you're little patch don't you. But like, em, they wanted me to start, like, getting involved and causing a bit of hassle so that they'd react, and I said no. And then that caused friction between me and one of the two, and em.. and then they did it - they went messing about with them and...they started em...getting aggressive with them, while I sort of went the - rather than go through them I went around them you see. And I was on the path and there was a busy road here. And there was two student guys standing in front of me, and they joined in, and they just stood there and took stance on me, you see, and...well I looked behind me and I knew I wasn't going to go backwards, and to go - they wouldn't let me go forward - they'd had a drink as well, so they weren't too em... y'know reasonable. So I just reacted and put them down like, and then walked away. And ah...that was it - that was it basically and then I went home, and then over this period of, like, four weeks, a gang developed and these students got together and - there was about forty students against fifteen guys and they were just doing - that was all it was, I mean pinching wallets and - and things like that.

I: Who was pinching who's wallets?

B: Oh it was a member of this gang pinching the students' wallets. Em...to be quite honest with you, like, not because...of what I just said, like, cos you were students, but obviously a bit - it wasn't their fault, but when they've had a bit of drink, student guys, they're like anybody else, and just because they're studying something doesn't mean they're any different. And just fighting, like over the top, y'know, and then someone got arrested and they mentioned me you see. And I got six months for that. And whatever, I mean I couldn't have gone backwards and I couldn't have gone forward, and by going forward I had to sort of defend myself. Cos they were drunk, you know what I mean, and I didn't have much of a chance. But the police turned round - I mean at the end of the day I put it down to em class...I mean that may sound sad but it's the truth. They were in court, like, cheering every time someone went down. Em, and then booing whenever anybody got community service. Only two out of the six - I got six months.....

Benny remains focused on the point of the story thereby demonstrating the ability to be coherent. Benny shows a penchant for paying attention to the details that are self

serving in terms of maintaining a congruent self-image of some one who is always virtuous and minimising the negative contradicting ones. Benny firstly skipped over any comment about the connotations of being in a gang. He was keen to impress that "student bashing" was not commensurate with his self-image. Then Benny introduces his friends as "so called" thereby exonerating himself of any impending blame. Benny then contradicts this suggesting it is usual to have an exclusive territorial area for a gang. As they had chosen the local chip shop as their "patch", they were not prepared to share it. So whilst he seems to think that it is acceptable to have a patch, says that it is not acceptable to defend it. This would not appear to make much sense as it rather defeats the object of being territorial in the first place. The idea of having a patch is immature yet this point is not raised. Benny offers a reasonable account of what happened next in that he defended himself against drunkards until it is viewed in the light of information he would have rather skipped over. Benny still seems to think it was unreasonable of the students to react to having their wallets stolen. Benny was asked why he got sentenced and the others did not, a reasonable question to ask based on what he has said. Benny replied,

Well what it was, I mean it was quite stupid, really because I was - that night I've just mentioned to you was one night and it went on for six weeks but because, em...I walked away from this - I mean I could have gone and got me chips and come out again, but it was just too messy, you know what I mean? Em...and like basically they can't defend themselves...against that kind of - ... on the streets - guys off the street...., like on average they've fought maybe once a week, whereas I've always seen guys fighting once a day, know what I mean, so they're sort of more used to it. Whereas, like, student guys have probably gone out for a quiet drink, em...and then found themselves in this sort of situation, yeah? And maybe they wanted to talk their way out of it, but because they're drunk they can't, and I mean at the end of the day a man's a man and a man has an ego, y'know, and they probably wanted to sort us out -sort them out, like, y'know, and when my mate was pulling this guy's hair to start it all off and I wanted to just basically go round...they eh...I think basically that was it - fuelled the fire, like, y'know, stoked the flame. But, like, they didn't stand a chance - that was in my view. And I wasn't a violent man - I was a petty criminal but I wasn't a violent man. I mean that sounds a bit hypocritical because I'm in for a violent offence, but we're talking later - I was eighteen years old then. I was twenty-two when I came.

- I: If they had been able to defend themselves, if you, if you like, called it more of a fair match, would you be more inclined to fight them?
- B: I like to separate myself from that point of view, because like I said, I didn't go - I had no intention to fight them at all.

This neither answers the question of why only him and one other youth out of six received a sentence. This lack of ability to provide a coherent answer renders the explanation flawed. The reason why it is incoherent points towards the fact that Benny

would rather attempt to maintain a positive self-image that attend to non sensible statements. Indeed in trying to draw attention away from the impression that they were thugs Benny ascribes an honourable cause to the gang. This all adds to a sense of lacking credibility.

Well, no, what I'm saying to you is I didn't know they were students and I don't think the other two did either. What we did was, you see I was a Rude boy...this is what this chip shop was like - I was a Rude boy, y'know, which is anti-racism, anti A.P.O. y'know, anti British movement and all that. Bit of a Labour voter sort of thing, but like we dressed up and we - the trilby hat and that. And...there was only about twelve of us, and there was a few girls and that, but from outside the area. And em...we listened to UB40, Ska music, reggae and all that, on that chip shop. And we grew out of that, y'know, cos I done borstal for - I had done burglary when I was sixteen, that was my first burglary, my only burglaries up until this particular one. And em I didn't even want the money so to speak, you know what I mean, and it wasn't about money it was about the buzz. And em I was young, unemployed; didn't have, didn't have much going on in my life. Um...and, like, the guy that I was with, he was criminal anyway. He'd been doing things - approved school and all that. So really he was qualified to convince me that it was a good idea, y'know, cos we'd like - I used to sleep till about two or three in the afternoon, and used to, like, walk about at nights. And em, my life was upside down anyway, since my teens. So I took it that I went working with them. And em - we did that. But anyway I got Borstal for that.

Benny tries to exonerate himself from being a criminal by suggesting that he burgled because he had nothing going on in his life whereas if his motive had been for the money then that would have been unacceptable. He absolves himself further by suggesting the other man was equipped with the correct skills to encourage him. Benny was asked what kind of a burglary it was. He continues to try to minimise the gravity of the deed by his use of terminology and again impressing upon the interviewer that it was not for the money. This would appear to be the worst motive.

It was just a dwelling, it was just a normal, there was like 1800 quid there in cash (in a house, or?) oh a house, a dwelling, yeah. Em...and it was just a buzz. When I had all this money I didn't know what to do with it. Cos I wasn't money orientated, I just eh...I just - when I was in there, like, I felt my heart beating-pounding and the rush and the legs were shaking. And em...it was the kind of rush-feeling I got when - cos I did a bit of boxing - and we used to sit, like we were here and the ring was there, and you had to wait, it was like school, y'know two there and two in the ring and they'd leave when you got in. And, like, you're all nervous, yeah? Em whereas professionally you can walk about the ring and loosen up but you have to sit down as a child, like, y'know there's your opponent there, like you know what I mean, you're having a conversation with him. But you're nervous, like, y'know? And that's the sort of thing that's going on. Being somewhere that you shouldn't be, doing something that you shouldn't be doing. And being discovered, you know what I'm saying? Like hearing a noise and listening, and then - that was like. But I didn't know what I was looking for, but anyway I found the money, em...never seen so much money in my life, but it wasn't some of that - when I found it, like, it was there. But I gave it away. I went to, like, ah...arcades, to the fair - the arcades, spent money in there. Bought everybody clothes, recruited more members, basically by saying - cos I remember there were these girls used to wear, like, these em...legging-things. (Pedal-pushers) Pedal pushers. So what we did was we dressed all the girls up in pink pedal pushers. Em...he got arrested - Steven - em...I got arrested cos he...put my name in. Em...and that was basically it, I mean...to be quite honest with you, I can sit here and tell you well my

form is theft of a giro cheque, em (who was that from?) which I did in cash. That was at Burnsville college. I ended up at Burnsville college. Because I really wanted to do something - I didn't have an education at school. I was at a very violent school, Middlemore - I had to get pulled out. Em...and then eh...I went there on a training scheme. But I was more interested in - you see when I looked at it I knew there was a difference - and I saw that there was a difference between the students - cos what you had to do was mix with students there, they were doing their, like, what you're probably doing now, or whatever, and...you're doing, like, woodwork, I mean, and like - there wasn't no ignorance there, they never, like - there was no - but you could just see that there was a difference, you know. There was, like, you've got the snotty girl, like, and you've got the nice girl who was well-presented, yeah? And em...you know, I met this girl, and em...it was a stupid scenario as it goes because I mean...if you read it - got it in me cell there it's a strange thing because what the police actually say is um...she was actually my girlfriend. I wanted her to come back to my place to stay. I'd cleared it with my mother before-hand that my girlfriend could stay, but she said she'd judge her, you see, that was what she was like, because me mother wanted me to be with a nice girl you see. So anyway, I was convinced that she'd like her, but she wasn't having any of it, so I was messing about with her and saying I'll leave (?) you'll miss your bus. But I had the normal bus and she had the Riddle and Red - going further up into the city. And em...I took her bus pass and said, no you've got to come with me, like, messing about. But I was only messing about, I went away from her and then my bus came. So I gave it to a guy called Paul Moffitt you see and he was on the Riddler as well, and he ended up on that scheme. But em (ended up what?) on that scheme with me. It's just, like, coincidence. So I said, give her the bus pass back, cos I didn't know, I mean it was giro day, but I didn't know where she put it, you know what I'm saying, I didn't really give a damn, like. Anyway I give it him back - give to him to give to her and I got on my bus. But the Riddler and Red went past, cos like, for every three stops the normal bus there's only every - only one stop - so like it went past. And eh - he got off, and I got off my bus-stop. And he asked me to cash his giro if he could at his cos he's was going to stop at Fred's. Now none of this - I didn't feel, you know what I mean, I didn't feel em...I didn't feel suspicious, because I knew him, I knew that he hanged around that area, and it didn't sound strange. So anyway I went down with him, like and em...it was only until he turned round and said, like, his name was Alison like, that I realised what he was doing, but I didn't say anything. I didn't want to look like I was a grass, like. Anyway the post man, like, the man behind the thingy knew my dad well, and he turned round and said, is this right? And I went, yeah. That was my crime. To all this. Basically by saying yes - I suppose I should have turned round and said no, but you've got to understand, like, that if I'd have said no and he'd have got arrested, I would have been in some trouble, with the rest of the lads, cos you don't deal with grassing.

This like Lenny is not coherent. This is another example of how Benny tries to explain away his criminal activity as he does not want it to be a part of his self-image. So, rather than accepting who he is he would rather distort reality. This all then goes to add up to a story of how unfair life has been. So in attempting to maintain a positive self-image, the account lacks credibility as it becomes incoherent when talking about criminal activity.

It has been shown that Benny cannot accept his criminal behaviour as wrong. To do so, would destroy his image he has created for himself. It is therefore interesting but not surprising that Benny seems to misconstrue the attributions of others. The following extract shows how he attributes a policeman's attitude towards him to his attire.

.....on the Monday I got arrested by the CID. Police station's across the road, and em....he just said to me, well run. This copper said run. And I said why? He said just run, I said I've got nothing to hide, he said I want you to run, I said, why, he said so I can run after you and catch you. I turn round and asked, well why do you want to do that? He said cos then I've got an excuse to give you a good slap. I said, well I don't really understand that because I'm not running cos I've got nothing to hide, I said, but I want to know why you want to hit me. And he called me a scumbag and everything else - I suppose it was the way I was dressed, really, you know? My appearance. Cos like my trousers were basically up my legs and I had white socks, and you had black em...shoes they were - with little bobbles on - Fred Perry you know - and then I went over there and he just showed me this statement that indicated that it was me, constantly me, that I took it and told him all this that and the other, and it was all bull like. And em...they kept us apart - cos I told him after a while I started getting a bit p-ed off with this appearance in court, juvenile courts, and em - kept us apart. He got done separately and I ended up with a fifty pound fine and a possibility of DC. Em...but I didn't even - didn't do anything to anybody else before that, I didn't, like, have any kind of record. And I thought to myself, ooh, is this what it's all about, you know? I mean, like, he didn't have good fortune in life anyway, he was, like, lower class if you put it. And...em...

So Benny does not accept that his deviant reputation is the cause of the policeman's negativity. He attributed this to him being lower class. He incredulously mentions that he was getting fed up with the court appearances but does not mention his part in being there in the first place. It is interesting to note, that like Lenny, this pattern of descriptions of incoherent events can be seen to be distortions of reality whereas the narrators themselves appear unable to see them. That is they do not realise they are lacking credibility. What Benny is describing is a deviant impulsive criminal. He goes onto say.

Em...then I found myself out outside my curfew whilst on bail. Em...and we walked past this, we were going from the pub and we were going home. And Simon, his brother went into a car, took a camera, and took photographs of us. See? This is how stupid it is. I looked up and saw this curtain twitching and just ran off, as boys do. And em...he put the camera back in the car. And then we run off, and em - I broke my bail, I was outside my curfew - I was supposed to be in at ten o' clock. And em...I got roughed up a bit there, on that point.

I: What do you mean roughed up?

B: Well the police - what it is, once they see your face more than once you're a trouble maker,

Benny fails to address the point that he has broken the conditions of his bail rather choosing to focus on the "unfair" treatment of the police officers. He seems to disagree with the police labelling persistent offenders as trouble makers. Again showing how he would rather shift the responsibility elsewhere. Benny makes it quite clear then that he still justifies his actions. This also shows that he still hold a self-image of someone who is virtuous, and that he has not changed his attitudes to how they were some years ago.

In maintaining the self-image of victim, Benny reveals that he thought he was dealt a raw deal by the parents of his girlfriend.

the relationship with Alison, that deteriorated due to the fact that her mother didn't really like me. She wanted her daughter to ah...have better, you see? Em...it was quite unfair, really, because at the end of the day em...I went out to look for a job - I got a job where I got £5 - I was on a building site job where I got £5 a week. Em - slave labour I call it. But eh...I'd carry and everything. But eh - and I gave her that five pound. So basically I got up at, like, eight o' clock in the morning, I went on this building site till four o' clock and then they let me off, and that was every day for five days, and I got five pound a week, just to go home to her and give her five pound. And she got that five pound, I didn't have anything. Em...although I was drawing in my dole money as well. Em...you'd call that deception really, but, you know eh - the point of that is that she said that I couldn't live with her - she wouldn't let me live with her - I asked her if she'd have my baby, she said yes, it wasn't like the baby was em...unexpected. Um...she got pregnant, I did the right thing, I went home and told her parents, em...and they just hated me - they just disliked me, cos of where I was from and my appearance.

I: Were they aware of the trouble - was the trouble before this, or after this when you met the parents - you know all the - detention centre and stuff?

B: I didn't do detention centre (Did you do borstal?) I done borstal (that's a different thing) There is a difference, yeah.

Benny again attributed his girlfriend's parents dislike of him to his appearance, not the fact he was a criminal. He tries to appear virtuous by informing the girl's parents that he had got her pregnant, although it may have been more virtuous not to get a teenager pregnant. Benny dismisses the fact that he was defrauding the social security. He acknowledges it but does not seem to make any connection about what that says about him as a person. The other manifestation of this need to appear virtuous reveals itself as a hero/martyr. This is revealed in talking not only about the relationship with his girlfriend but also his father.

And em...I'm loyal...and she - I'm pretty sure she wasn't, you know, but like I loved her anyway. So, like, I didn't really dwell on it too much.

I: Where were you living at this point then, were you -?

B: Well hang on a minute - where was I at this point? Southgate at this point. (On your own, or?) Well with me dad, cos mother and father divorced, um...so I stayed with my dad, like, you know?. Cos he didn't have much company - me mum had lots of company everyone sort of like stuck with me mum. But I stayed with my dad, and em...pulled him through it.

Benny implies that he put up with infidelity, and supported his father through a traumatic time. This is not really very credible unless supporting his father meant persistent offending. Benny illustrated a need to better himself and tries to convey that he tried hard to do so. What he actually portrays is that he starts to believe that he is better than he is and gets involved once again in criminal activity.

This story begins when he manages to get a job in a "posh bar" where the people were "nice people, social people", as a glass collector which he said he enjoyed. Nevertheless he aspired to work behind the bar but was refused because of his tattoos. Benny acquired a wing collar shirt and a dickie bow to hide his tattoos and thus was allowed to work behind the bar. Given Benny's need to be a success the next extract is most congruent.

And there was - a lot...a lot of people - I don't know whether it was me but I mean it must have been cos they had a lot of more custom come in, and em...me brother got a job there and we used to, like, mess about with the bottles. He'd asked me for a soda, like, and I'd flick it behind - you must have seen that film - I was messing about doing things like that - half the time the bottles'd go down the - down the...passage, like. And eh...yeah it was great.

Benny therefore attributes the increase in custom to his appearance behind the bar. He does not seem to think about the waste of profit, just as long as he "looks good". This indeed proves to be the case. Benny gets so carries away with his own sense of importance that he ends up losing his job.

you had to keep your custom. So I used to, like, em...a guy would come up to me, like, and he would, like count pennies in front of me - he had something like twelve pence in pennies - one pence pieces. And I could see he wasn't really em - I think he was a nutter to be quite honest - I think he was, like, a strange guy, like, anyway - he wanted pints, he said, what can you do for that? And I said, well there isn't much I can do for that, I said I'd probably give you a glass of water. And he said, no, he said there's enough there for a pint. So I turned round, I said, right, so I'll take his money and I put it in and I gave him two pints of mild for twelve pence. And he went, whoa, and I said, well just take that, and then there was girls - there was this one girl, she took the piss, like, em...I used to give her drinks to keep her, cos what it is, I'm keeping people coming you see. And em...keep them happy. They make a punch one evening, and it was shite, this punch. It was, like lemonade and a bit of wine, you know. And nobody was touching it, so what I did was, I got this huge bowl, and I went round all the optics, and I gave it two squirts, see? So I filled it up. And then I just offered people a free drink; said if they liked it then it was a pound. Well hence everybody liked it, because there was more alcohol in it. Em...and they started selling it. And he was amazed this guy; this manager bloke, David But he didn't know what I'd done, you see, if he'd a known that I'd just gone through all his optics, poured rum, brandy and everything else in it, he wouldn't have been quite as happy. But he was thinking this guy's like a salesman, you see; he's selling something that's shite to people - I wasn't really - I was just - I made it taste better. But anyway, I got to know the doormen, through my brothers, like, cos two of my brothers are doormen, bouncers. And em...that was great. And I started em...undoing the till. And - I learnt that from the girls behind the bar. Basically taking a forty pound round and putting fifty pence up on the till. Cos there were always fifty pee - and you could Orangina or a Britvic. Em...and there you have thirty-nine pound fifty you see in your pocket. So I did that, em...and then I bought all these presents you see. I got this job and I bought these presents for me daughterAnd then on this Sunday, I wanted to be a bit naughty - I felt as if I wanted to be a bit naughty, so I - there was only, like, three people on that night, about fifteen people in. And I just - me brother opened the till, I went into the till, and I just grabbed all the tenners and just gave them to the doormen. I said, there, I said, keep hold of that. And eh...I didn't want the job. I didn't feel as if I wanted the job, know what I mean, I'd - if you haven't got nothing around, and

you've got small things -if you take away the small things, and you haven't got anything, you don't give a toss, know what I'm saying - you don't. Know what I mean? Cos I wasn't going to be able to get them back - I'd spent three years with Alison and I didn't get nowhere, and then she started talking like that. You see she went from one person to another; she became, like the loving girl that was going to be my wife and have my kids and all that, and then she went from...listening to her mother all the time. And she was, like, implementing her mother's views into our relationship, and eh..that just poisoned it. Anyway that night we was fifty pound under and he - I lost my job that night, and I went the next morning and...I picked up me wage slip, which was twenty seven pound, which now was a pound. And I asked him to work in the (???) He said, listen, he said, you can still drink in here. Well anyway, I met this girl you see, called Maria she was half-Spanish. And em.. she used to go out seven nights a week - quite an expensive girl as it goes. So I turned round and I eh - I needed the money for that and I didn't have the money after a couple of weeks. I had (????) money, I had my wage and I had my dole money. Em...so I turned round and eh...I borrowed. I didn't want to turn round to her - I used to make out to her that I had a job, you see, Maria. And I had to keep that pretence going and borrow money in order to, like, take her out and have a drink. And I used to drink orange juice, and she'd say, why orange juice, I'd say, well that's what I prefer, I like to stay conscious, you see. And eh - I just couldn't keep up with the - what I owed."

The way that Benny justifies his actions is testament to the fact that he has not changed. He continually explains why he had to give drinks away free, and why he had to doctor the punch. He justifies why he got into debt because he could not let this new girlfriend know that he could not afford to take her out. This was the attitude he held towards the world at the time of the interview, justifying all his past behaviour in order to keep it commensurate with the self belief that he was "someone", who was virtuous and special.

This also shows an egocentric focus there has been no apparent consideration of the other person's point of view. Throughout these extracts there is no condemnation of this behaviour just justification yet Benny would have the reader believe that he has changed. Rather than condemn this past, or at least accept personal responsibility, the stance he takes at the time of the interview is commensurate with his reported actions of the time.

Benny, in keeping with his self-image, feels uncomfortable talking about the murder he was involved in. It is relayed in a garbled manner with as many pacifying devices as possible. These include not being sure it was technically a burglary because she allowed him in the house, and suggesting that it was not pre-planned or that he had no intention of harming the old woman.

So I went out and eh... burgled a house - an old lady...was involved and em - I'd the - I obviously thought I knew myself - understand what I'm saying - I knew what actions that I could take, you know like, I needed money; take the money and leave, you know? But it didn't turn out

like that - it didn't turn out like that. I eh...left the living room to go upstairs, but pretended to her - thinking that she'd think that I was leaving the flat - the house, em...

I: Did she know you were in there?

B: Oh yeah, yeah. I mean eh...it was a burglary, like, they say it was burglary, like, but...I mean if you enter someone's house...know what I mean, it's - you're not - they don't want you there, I suppose it is burglary, you know? Em - don't know how the law stands on that, all I know is they said burglary and that's how it stood. Um...

I: Why did she let - did she let you in?

B: Yeah I was - pretty em...pretty sick, really, cos I coned my way in. Um...

I: What did you say to her?

B: I just asked if she had a pen and paper. Cos the - I knew the neighbour you see. And...I knew they were out. But when I knocked on the door previously - this is when I realised they were out - I wanted to see Fred, and...there was no answer, so I knew they were out. And then on that particular moment then, at that point I realised...that that's when I decided to do that house. Understand what I'm saying; I didn't wake up that morning and go, I think that woman there.

It would appear that Benny coned his way into the old ladies house, pretended to leave but actually went upstairs. She followed him and he tried to run away and needed to get past her on the stairs. The old lady was trying to stop him and he pushed her causing her to fall down the stairs. She had hold of his ankle and he beat her severely in order to get away.

Benny actually admits that he used to fit the situation to suit his mental state. He says

I've run off. And I've convinced myself, I think more through immaturity that then, eh...she'll be discovered, I'll be charged with assault, but I've got the money to pay them debts off. Right, eh...no common sense there at all, but anyway...

So Benny would like to think that he does not do this anymore but he has shown this to be exactly what he does still questioning whether indeed it could be classed as a burglary.

The description of how he feels when he found out she had died serves to illustrate the course of action Benny took, when he could not alter the facts of the situation.

And then the next thing I remember it's like, she died, she passed away, and...it was on a Wednesday and on the Thursday I wanted to - kill myself because I felt filthy scum horrible; I felt disgusting, you know because it all came into contact you know, because the picture actually was drawn on exactly what had taken place, and that I'd taken someone's life you know. Anyway um...and I kept saying to my mates in the pub, I kept saying, like, on the Wednesday night, I said "What if you found out your mate had done something like that?" and he said, "Well none of my mates would do something like that". I've known this guy since we

were in shorts, and I thought, oh here we go, like, y'know what I mean, like, and I said eh, "what if you found out it was me?" He turned round and he said, oh, he said, you ain't going to do something like that, y'know what I mean. And I thought - I wanted to say something - I wanted to tell someone basically, y'know what I mean - I'd worked meself up. But it's difficult because...if he'd of said to me, well you didn't did you? then it would've been easier, wouldn't it? But now he's said, well no way, you wouldn't do something like that, and basically to be quite honest with you I wasn't capable of doing something like that and I'm still not. We had something like a devious twenty-two year old, who wanted to go in and rob and old woman, or rob anybody really, but that house was that - sort of like I say, decided when - at the point of me not knowing no one was in, I was, like, asked this woman for a pen and paper and - fell in like.

This extract shows that Benny has no resources to cope with what he has done. He said he felt like scum and wanted to kill himself. This behaviour not fitting in with his image of, himself as virtuous and honourable. In order to ascribe some sense out of his actions he asked his social peers what the appropriate response is. He then blames them for not telling anyone at first because they did not ask the right questions. He agreed with his friend who said that not of his friends were capable of this sort of behaviour. Benny concludes that indeed he was not capable of doing this despite the fact that he did suggesting he lives as "ought" self rather than "actual" self. This would appear to show that there has been no attempt to reconcile his actions with a more realistic and true representation of himself. Thus Benny is still separating himself from his behaviour. Nevertheless he could not function with this knowledge on his own, so decided to take an overdose or give himself up. He revealed that he did not have the "guts" to give kill himself so he gave himself up.

The way Benny tells the story of the arrest is as though he is the hero. He implies that he and the police thought he had done them a favour. He was standing at the front door of a friend who lived next door to the victim.

I went down to the house, to Fred's house, knocked the door to see if they were in to tell them that I wasn't going for a drink tonight, cos we'd planned it. And...there was no answer, so this detective came down and I said, listen, I said, you need to talk to me anyway, he said, about what, I said, about this. He said, you'll have to wait - we're already interviewing people. I said, no I think you should interview me now. And he turned round and said, no, he said, you know there's no hurry, I said, no I think there is a hurry, I said, you know - I couldn't turn round to him and say that I did this cos it's - you know what I mean it was just sickening wasn't it really if you think about, you know it's not something you just come out with. So the next thing I did - he asked me to stand outside this portakabin, so I did, for five minutes, and then he came out, he said, right, we got in the car. By this time there was loads of CID - they came from trees, from stones, they just came from everywhere. And then we got to the police station...um...loads of lies - took - just constant lying, you know what I mean - I wanted to tell them - they knew anyway - the coppers knew. Um...that I was basically leading up to something. And that's basically what it's all about, you know, cleansing yourself, and I was cleaning myself out; I had some - I felt as if I had a lot of evil in me which was sort of, like,

coming out. Um...I cried a hell of a lot - something that I didn't do previously. Um...and I just did it openly in front of them, and then I just broke down and said, like, you know, this is the situation - this is what happened. They said, well listen, you know, can you take us where you put the purse, because we've gone through the entire street and found absolutely nothing - no clues. So they took me down there in this paper suit, eh...went there, and I pointed to a hedge, and they got out, they went over there and they got down and they - they found it. And he was laughing, I mean the geezer like, saying, well you know it's taken forty police officers two days to sort of go through here, and you've just come along and it was there all the time.

So Benny relates how he saves the day, by approaching the police officer and finding the purse. He does not mention crying for his victim but for himself. He appeared to be preoccupied with what this said about him as a person that is that he was evil thus illustrating an egocentric focus. Benny tries to unsuccessfully to illustrate the damage he has caused to a variety of people but it reverts to a conversation about how he feels about himself, referring to the person who committed the crime as "that person". So apart from showing no generativity, there is no reconciliation within himself.

I pleaded guilty in the end, pleaded guilty to this; I wasn't afraid of jail, wasn't afraid of what - because at the end of the day, like, I've destroyed my mother, destroyed people around me that...the people that love me, um....the sadness - they sort of like - the realism of something like - y' know I know that person that's done this and that person's not capable of doing that. That kind of thing - it really cut me up badly, like - I had nightmares. And em...I just turned round that day - I went to court and eh...I was up and down, like, y'know; I tried to commit suicide a few times in the hospital and in prison. Set fire to me jeans while I was sat on the toilet like that, set fire to them, just sat and thought, it's going to go up. And the outside of the jeans burnt, rather than the inside of the jeans burnt, and when I went to douse it like that, all me hair - it burnt all me hair and I jumped up - was too painful, took em off and changed them with another prisoner. Em...I just couldn't do it - didn't have the - when someone commits suicide, like, it just cuts me up because I don't know how the hell they can go through with it. I wanted to die. If you put a noose or a rope round me neck, I mean now I've got so much - I know I've got a lot to offer people out in society. For the rest of my life, for this lady Miss Baxter, I have got to remain a good citizen; a law abiding one, is on her behalf, you understand what I'm saying, because I feel as if I owe it her because I've seen all me ways, I've grown up, matured quite dramatically, and I don't think - I think at the end of the day, if it hadn't have happened, where would I be? You understand what I'm saying?

From what Benny has implied rather than what he has explicitly stated it would appear that he wanted to remain good not for his victim but to realign his self-image. As he goes on to say,

I've just grown up and I've done so many things, you know, I've been in ten years now. And em - music and poetry - I write poetry - that's what started off - I met a guy, a musician from Leeds who was in here, and em...I put my poetry to his music, and eh...we won an award. I wrote three songs and I won an award. And I've just done it again - I've got two awards in three years, and I'm...y'know what I mean - I've just studied. I've got a qualification now, I've got a trade. And em...what I'm going to do is I'm just - I save money now, more conscious of saving, I'm not restless any more.

So being good, to Benny means enhancing his own life not society demonstrating an egocentric focus. Benny shows his lack of reconciliation about what he has done when he discusses himself in relation to other prisoners.

and I mean, like, let's face it; we're all in the same boat here. We've all done a terrible thing, y'know? And eh, a lot of the guys they don't even want to - they don't even address it,

It would be argued that not all prisoners psychologically are in the same boat. Not all are sentenced for murder and fewer have beaten old ladies. In fact it has been expressed by a number of offenders that the prison culture does not tolerate old person and children offences. Not only then does he try to make the other offenders similar to himself, he implies that he is superior as he has addressed it. The same self-image apparent at the time of the interview as is evident from his reported past. In talking about how he has addressed it and "come to terms" with what he has done Benny again reveals how has not reconciled what he has done or who he is. Rather than incorporating his past he has decided to divorce it. Benny was asked who in his life had been the most negative influence.

The person in here...when I first matured, he was the negative person in my life. (When you first?) Well when I grew up - there was two people in my life - there was him who was twenty two - before twenty-two, and there was him after twenty-two - I'm a different person now. Whenever I do something I sit down and think about it; if someone asks me to do something I think about it. I won't do something, y'know what I'm saying, unless I know what I'm doing and for whose benefit I'm doing it, and if I'm doing it for rightly or wrongly you know? And I wrote a poem called the reflective mirror, you see, based on me and him, and he was very immature and very stupid, and very selfish, and em - callous.

This is an clear example of how Benny has not grown up, not only does he not accept who he is or was, he remains totally self absorbed. In describing himself Benny says,

I am laid-back. I am more conscious, more mature, more responsible. I am...a better person for the...the brutal act; it sounds terrible, but it's true. Em...I'm more thoughtful, more educated. Em...what else would I say I am. Em...generous. Em...more at peace as well. Cos if you - if you sit back and you reflect your life, and you look at the people you've hurt. I mean, there's silly things, like, I mean...the cigarette I pinched - I've never pinched a cigarette in my life, this is just a for instance - I pinch a cigarette. I sit back and think, oh god, what a terrible thing to do, you know what I mean, what was that for, I mean. I've cried, I mean I'm not ashamed to say that to anybody, like at the end of the day, I've been a bit of a bastard, for - I'm not as - I mean you read the papers and you read about these particular people that have done some nasty terrible things, like, you know what I mean, but I put into perspective everything; I go through everything, you know what I mean? Em, now I'm a better person, is all I can say, and...people are going to hear about me, if I get my way, for the better, know what I mean, because em...I've got limited em...means, I've just got to get - I've got a two hundred pound

keyboard coming in. Um...nobody will accompany me - sing with me. Em... I write the songs, I've got a few people that have said to me, like, just keep at it. So now what I do now is I have to get my tape recorder, I'll get the keyboard, I'll get the music sent, like the general rhythm with the words, yeah? Write the song out, put the earphones in, put the tape in like you're doing now, have it quiet; make sure it's quiet. About three in the morning in here.....

Benny implies that he is reconciled suggesting that he is at peace. He shows a lack of differentiation in what it really means to be a good person. He believes he is as he has become more educated. He drifts once again into talks in about himself and his own achievements rather than focusing on the plight of others. This indicates that Benny lacks generativity and is indeed essentially egocentric.

Benny was able to give a clear and coherent account of his life in so far as it was clear what he was implying. However he repeatedly showed how he based his self-image on fantasy not reality. Or phrased differently how he distorted reality to in order to maintain a congruent self-image. This lead to a narrative lacking credibility as the main theme. He is similar to Lenny in the self-image he portrays. He reveals a self-image of a crusader, or a hero who always has honourable intentions. However the events and personal qualities he chooses to ignore to address properly or at all, i.e. that he has acted in a deviant and criminal, suggest that he is not basing his self-image on reality thus rendering himself implausible for the same reasons as Lenny..

Benny's justification of his past behaviour and unchanging attitude towards himself, that he is right and good, has not changed. He continues to separate himself from that which he finds unpalatable. It was interesting to note that one method Benny employed in order to "cope" with the fact he had murdered an old lady was to disassociate himself from the person he had been, talking about him and me. He revealed that he thought him before was a "scumbag" at the time he committed this offence whereas he had grown up since. Thus the same technique he uses to maintain his positive self-image as a young man is in action.

Benny also lacks the ability to incorporate his behaviour and ideology into a meaningful whole. There was direct evidence of this when he was asked to explain a statement he had just made. As this was not possible he offered that he would like to separate himself from the statement. Thus like Lenny, he shows an inability to reconcile the disparate elements of his persona into a synthesised whole. He can also be described as having a unifacted self-concept which cannot account for all the

behaviour engaged in. The motto for these two is that which cannot be explained must be ignored.

The narrative that Benny told was very self focused. Despite claims that he has changed he chose not to talk about generative issues as was the case with the offenders who had changed but about his new found creativity with respect to writing poetry for the prison magazine. In fact he saw himself as superior to many of the inmates who he saw as making no effort to better themselves. Apart from being very self-focused there were no overt references to generative issues.

FRANK

The overall structure of Frank's narrative was coherent thereby enabling a valued end point, or the tone and point of the story to be identified. The main character of the story was also easily identifiable.

Frank told the story of a violent and criminal child who grew up into a violent criminal man who had been a football hooligan, in and out of approved schools, borstals and then prison for the majority of his life. Frank's narrative was coherent in that the events he chose to disclose all added up to give an account of how he was a criminal the point of it however was to claim that he is pleased that he has changed. However when Frank said he had changed there was room for doubt, thus raising questions about this credibility of this claim.

The grounds for questioning the credibility came in the congruency between, expressed ideology, reported behaviour, self-image, appearance and inability to articulate any detailed rationale for this change. In purporting that these are congruent is to show how that Frank maintains a strong criminal self-image and thus change is the incongruent factor.

Frank begins his narrative account by giving a coherent account of how he used to be.

I'm a criminal, y'know, I've been a criminal since the age of ten, believe it or not, y'know, and...Eh, I was born in 1956 which makes me forty years of age, yeah? Eh... when I was nine years of age I was taken into a... a, like a children's home thing, yeah? And when I was ten, I had me first encounter with the police, eh, and I was locked away for three years in an approved school for stealing a gun, or shopbreaking, whatever, yeah? Then, eh... I done three more approved schools (You done -?) three more approved schools, y'know? Eh, then I done a borstal, eh, and eighteen month sentence, a two year sentence and a three year sentence, eh... I was like a... y'know because I was brought up with - in - with eh, y'know like with an approved school you're like with a male population haven't you, y'know, like in prison a male population and whatever. And it was just, like eh, y'know, when I got out I missed out on me youth and everything, y'know, and I became a football hooligan, em... and all, y'know, drink drugs and everything else goes with that lifestyle, yeah? Em... and in 1983 eh, I killed a - a murder, yeah? On me girlfriend, em... and here I am now. I know it's short and whatever, but -

In this Frank reveal a consistent self-image based around criminality and violence. These self-image s are revealed in the events he recalls from childhood. He related two events one when he was at home and one when he was in the children's home.

I can remember when I was about ten years of age, y'know, and me mum had to drag me away from throwing bottles, y'know, at rival supporters at ten years-eleven years of age, y'know, I can remember that.

when we went out and - it was me - y'know we raided the orchard, y'know, it was like a hurricane had hit the orchard, y'know, we all went out and... we got smacked round the mouth for that. Eh... absconding, coming back and having to clean a big, like a courtyard, y'know, just me shorts on and with a toothbrush and whatever, yeah? And all sorts, y'know, certain football matches that I used to play in. Just the run of the mill of eh, of the eh, approved school I suppose.

When Frank describes his adolescence, he also does this in terms of being a criminal, demonstrating that his imago has not changed up to this point.

I was still in approved schools then, y'know, right up until I was fifteen, yeah? Then I left approved school when I was fifteen, got meself a job - well me dad got me a job actually - working in a factory where me dad worked yeah? Didn't last too long. Then I was back in trouble again, y'know, and eh... went to borstal, y'know, at the age of seventeen. Then I met me wife - me girlfriend at the time, em... and that was it really, y'know.

In fact Frank still seems to discuss his life as a criminal which raises doubts about the credibility that he has changed. Thus the credibility of his story. The following four extracts show how he describes his past criminal and violent behaviour.

Most of it happened - there was an occasion when - I can remember it quite clearly - I was walking down the street with my, eh, wife at the time and me brother, yeah? and there was this fellow in a leather jacket strutting about across the other side of the pavement, y'know, and I just went across and headbutted him and whatever, for no apparent reason, y'know, no drink, no... y'know, eh.. that was it, ...

Y'know there was other times when, y'know, being in the pub and I've come out and there's been, say, two three hundred supporters there, y'know and I've just gone straight in there, y'know, and whatever, y'know.

I'm walking down the street and these two lads are sitting on these milk churns, or milk whatever you call em, you know with bottles in and that, yeah? (Oh crate) Yeah, right, so I said, what are you looking at you, with a bit of f-ing and f-ing in it, yeah. So - I forgot what was said and y'know and one thing led to another and there was... just went off like, yeah. And I got arrested and nicked for two ABH's yeah?

.....when I got a bit of parole, or whatever they call it from borstal and they were saying that eh, they thought I was going to be one of their successes, y'know, because of me relationship with me girlfriend at the time. But I lasted about six weeks I think, y'know, then I went back and robbed again.

I: Can you remember what got you back into trouble?

F: Yeah, em... theft - theft from a person, y'know, like a snatch, y'know, eh... that was it.

I: Is that cos you got no job or?

F: No, we wanted to go to a football match away from - y'know I forget where it was - Middlesborough, or a long long way, yeah? and we didn't have - me and me brother didn't have no money to get on the train or coach or whatever, so we done that and then went to the football match or whatever, yeah? Em... and that was it, yeah.

Not only does Frank talk exclusively as a criminal, in terms of the content of the recalled events, he lacks any non criminal reaction to what he reveals. That is he offers no explanation or opinion or even condemnation of this earlier behaviour. Thus the implausibility about any change is indicated by a lack of explanation or opinion of anti social behaviour as would be expected.

There is further evidence to refute Franks' claim that he has changed. When talking about being a football hooligan Frank says,

I: ...what was the kind of structure of the people - of the gang, y'know, was there a leader?

F: There always was, yeah.

I: Who was the leader?

F: I can't remember - was it Pete - I'm not saying his second name, like, but yeah he was a good lad him.

I: Did he end up in any kind of trouble or?

F: Yeah, loads of trouble.

This response would imply that Frank's attitude to violence has not changed. He seems to hold Pete in great esteem because he was violent. This is reinforced by his wish to protect his identity.

Frank claims that he changed for two reasons but does not give a logical or at least an adequate account of why he changed. The way he describes the change is vague and unenlightened.

Like I say I'm a lifer, and five and half years ago I'd a fight with somebody in another prison, yeah? and I committed an injury on him - d'you know what I'm saying to you? - where it made me realise, y'know, stop your violent, eh.. behaviour and all that, you know what I'm saying? and ever since then I've kept a bit - it was that turning point, but it was also a report that a psychologist done on me saying, like Frank is able to control his temper blah blah blah, and I respected that person for that, y'know, whereas you've got other people like psychology - I don't mistrust em but I've got me doubts about them now because of a certain event happening. Eh... but that changed me yeah, y'know, me violent side of things, yeah.

I: How did it change, cos obviously if you've got a temper you've got a temper and it's quite a difficult thing to change.

F: I found it quite easy to change, me. I did honestly, yeah. Eh... y'know I don't know why it changed.

Frank pin points an events that marked the cessation of his violence. He fails however in his attempt to explain why that had an affect on, he just claims that it did. Frank also suggests that a professional telling him that he can control his temper helped but again does not say why. When Frank is asked about this change, he reveals that he does not know why he changed. Self-awareness has been suggested as a requirement for potential change, Frank shows no evidence of self-awareness.

The interviewer tries to elicit the reasons why the psychologist telling him he could control his temper helped, him. The account Frank gives is disjointed with him finding difficulty in expressing himself, showing this part of the account to be incoherent.

I: Right OK. You know when you talked about the psychologist who said that they thought you could changed your violence, that he thought you were able to change it, and controlling your violence, and you thought, you said that that made you -

F: I respected that person, y'know, because that person was talking note - that person believed in me, y'know, and I respected her, y'know, and to this day, every since I read that, y'know, then I thought to meself, there's a person here, Frank, who one for the time being is believing in you, y'know, and ever since that day, I have never ever so much as laid a finger on anybody, or caused anybody any grief, as far as I can remember, like.

- I2: That made you feel good. Do you think it's really important that other people trust you and that they think, y'know, like you were saying, oh, y'know he's really tall and he's a bit of trouble - that people don't think that, that they actually trust you and think that you're a really good person and that you'll be a good friend?
- F: No, I'm not really bothered about what certain people think - like the people in here who - like I said to you - I'm not going to contradict meself and say that no-one here's got no values, because everybody's got values, it's up to them whether they improve themselves or whatever, but em... lost meself then. Eh...
- I2: What I'm trying to get at is when -
- F: What you're saying is it - does it need someone to say to me that you're doing well because, em...
- I: I thought maybe if you didn't believe yourself, then you needed someone to believe in you.
- I2: Yeah, and it other people believe in you and think that you're worth something, you can do something, do you think that's make you stronger so that OK. fine I don't always have people around that think I can't do it, so I'm not bothered, but if I have people around me...
- F: No, I wouldn't say I wasn't bothered, that was part of it - that was part of the process, where the triggering of, y'know... I'm going to prove to these people that person believed in me, y'know, and I'm going to show to the rest of the world now that Frank's sorted, like, y'know, it's, y'know.
- I: Are you saying that before this person came along, the psychologist, that there'd been nobody there to say I believe in you?
- F: I distrusted people, y'know, and to a certain degree now because of after a certain event - I'm not going to go into the details of this one - but the psychologist, right, this certain psychologist, where I got be doubts now. And this person has given me valid reason for me to believe in that, y'know. I wish I could go into details but it's in the hands of me solicitor at the moment, em, anyway. But eh... yeah it doesn't need someone to say, like, you're doing good, Frank, that self motivation of whatever, eh, because I'm doing it, y'know, meself now.

This shows how Frank cannot give a coherent account when talking about change.

This incoherence is apparent when Frank is trying to talk about violence in a negative way. When Frank is asked what kind of T.V he likes watching he replies,

"I don't like watching violent films to be quite honest with you. You know, like you get these American films like where they shoot about thirty bullets into them, he gets up and walks away, like. I'd sooner watch a decent film, like."

In trying to assert his dislike of violence Frank discloses that it is the lack of realism not the lack of violence he dislikes. This shows how Frank is not au fait with discussing violence in a negative light. This is an indication that he has not changes his attitude and beliefs about violence at all. It also shows a lack of ability to differentiate in his attitude towards violence.

This shows that Frank can talk coherently about being a criminal but not so coherently about change. This also shows that he has a rigid self-image of being a criminal. All the self-descriptions he used in the narrative referred to before his claim to change, were for instance criminal, and football hooligan. Since his claim to change he does not reveal a self-image at all. This is in contrast to many of the other offenders who claim to have changed and have evidence that they have. The only way he describes himself in relation to this is,

I believe that the time I'm spending in prison now is just... is just pointless, y'know, but I understand people's reasons for concern, I do honestly, but it's invalid, y'know, because I know meself and at the end of the day there's only one person knows... isn't there, y'know what I'm saying, that's me, and I'm quite positive that, eh, everything's going to be OK. when I get out there, yeah? I'm not criminally minded no more, y'know? Believe me or not, honestly I'm not criminally minded no more.

So the self-image Frank seems to have is that he is not something rather than he is something. He does not reveal then, who he has changed into. Apart from a lack of credibility and a very self-evident rigidity in self-image and behaviour, Frank does not appear to have achieved reconciliation. This is revealed when he says he is looking forward to his future.

Does that make sense? Does it make sense that I'm so much looking forward to me future, y'know? When I get out because I know that I'm going to be, y'know, all right, like, but I just want to forget about me past, y'know, I really do, I just wanna forget about it all.

I: Is that because you find it uncomfortable?

F: I do find it very uncomfortable yeah. Cos like I said there's nothing to look back on where it's been... there's periods of me marriage when I've, y'know, I get letters off me ex-wife still, or used to anyway, and she was saying like everything... y'know, things was - it could've been a really really good marriage, d'you know what I'm saying to you, because we're both made for each other, em... but it was just me, y'know, I blame meself, yeah. But to look back on it and think to meself, you've got nothing to be proud of, y'know, which I've not.

I: Sometimes, though, you can look back and it's good because you think well I'm not going to make the same mistakes again.

F: I've done all that. I've done all that, y'know, and you can only look back on it and I've looked at everything the way things went wrong in the past, yeah? and I've done all that and there's no more to look back on now.

Frank had not incorporated his past in to his new found (non) identity, preferring to forget it. He admits he finds it uncomfortable to speak about and thus has not come to terms with it preferring to ignore it. The content of his discomfort, stems from him feeling that he has failed in giving himself a happy life thus far. It is to be noted that he does not mention that fact that he need to reconcile the fact that he has murdered a

school-girl. Perhaps the biggest indicator that Frank has not changed was his reluctance about discussing the incident at all. He does not have seemed to have addressed this at all.

Frank like Benny tries unsuccessfully to explain why he does not want to be violent.

I don't want to hurt anybody's feelings and it causes too much grief, y'know, when someone has, like a violent nature and he upsets people. And I've been through that, y'know, I've been on the receiving end of it when I was a kid, and I've been on - I've been the perpetrator when I was I got older, y'know, and none of it's no good, y'know, and it's just a case of... y'know just not wanting to... y'know to cause any grief for anybody, including meself. Eh... but it's took a long time, that's the most frustrating part, it's took thirty-six years, or thirty-five years of whatever to eh, to realise all this, y'know, and that's the frustrating part, and plus someone's lost their life... because of it, y'know, and...I'm happy - I'm pleased with meself, y'know, but it's so frustrating in here, y'know with these idiots in here, like, all the time, y'know.

Frank sees the primary victim of his violence to be himself, with his murder victim second. This goes to show that he has an egocentric focus with a lack of generativity. Like the others in this group there is no overt reference to concern for anyone else apart from himself. When Frank gets arrested then, it is commensurate that the way he feels is based around what is going to happen to him, how this violence affects him, with little regard for the target of his aggression. He reports feeling,

Scared. Very very scared. Eh... y'know at the time I was... y'know it took me a long long time to realise that... y'know, that it wasn't me that had done it, y'know, I know it was, and I'm not getting away from the fact that it wasn't, but... I can't believe that it was me that had committed such a... y'know such a violent. The violent side of things I suppose was, y'know, because like I said I was cutting me wrists at the time, y'know, on three occasions, I was taking drugs; I know it's no excuse but I was told from a psychiatrist that I was eh very very angry with meself, y'know, in a lot of inner anger, yeah, and it just came out, and unfortunately... y'know.

Overall Frank tells a story of a violent man who has changed his ways. Although it is true that he is no longer violent in prison, there was no evidence to suggest that he had changes in his attitude towards violence. In short Frank gave no evidence that he understood why he used to be violent and how he had made sense of this. On the contrary, Frank said he did not know why he had changed and could not offer a reasonable account.

Although Frank was not the most eloquent of individuals interviewed, he was nevertheless coherent at the informal level, when talking about violence and criminal activity, which was in contrast to the indigent "discussion" about his new found

persona. Thus suggesting that he still had a rigid criminal self-image into which he tried to fit his knowledge of the world.

With respect to the above comments. Frank has shown a rigid self-image of being a violent criminal.. With respect then to openness to change, it was shown that Frank had a very rigid criminal self-image that was not open to change. Frank revealed some impoverished rational for no longer being violent. More directly, however he revealed evidence to suggest that he had not undergone any change as far as his attitude to violence was concerned. This was apparent in his remembering a fellow football hooligan in a fond manner, and a lack of condemnation about his violent behaviour when recalling specific incidences. Frank was frightening in appearance. He looked like a football hooligan as he sported a skinhead. The fact that Frank had not realised how incongruous this looks raises questions about the credibility of his claims. Frank had not been involved in any violent situation for the last five and a half years. However the most logical explanation of this is that he was approaching the period in his sentence where he was supposed to prepare for his release. Having learned the basics of operant conditioning is a far cry from changing a whole belief system. Frank shows no convincing evidence to support this latter concept. This renders his narrative implausible.

It is difficult to know whether Frank is deliberately lying or deceiving himself. However either way, reconciliation is not possible. If Frank believes he has changed, he has a disparity between behaviour (lack of violence in prison) and ideology (acceptance of violence). If Frank is lying and he still has a criminal violent self-image, he has shown that he has no other aspect of himself to incorporate. By definition then reconciliation cannot take place without more than one part. It could be argued that either of these situations will eventually lead him back to prison.

This is perhaps the main area to support the notion that no change has taken place in Frank. It is totally devoid of any concern for anyone other than himself. He shows no remorse for his victim only pity for himself that he has spent so long in prison, paying impecunious lip service to the murder. There is certainly no overt reference to any generative issue, Frank showing an ego-centric focus to his narrative.

It has been shown then the ways that these narratives lacked credibility. They lacked credibility in quite different ways. The first two, Lenny, and Benny, lacked credibility within the self-image. They backed up the claim they had made, that is that they were victimised and hard done by but showed how they had to distort reality to do this.

Frank on the other hand, failed in his attempt to portray a coherent narrative of change. He was coherent in that he backed up this claim with stories of change but as these lacked coherence, the story was rendered incredible.

These then are two ways in which the whole narrative can be implausible, either a fundamental distortion of the self-image, or the inability to give quality evidence not just evidence to claims made.

RESULTS

Chapter Twelve: Group Three – The Single Identities

Kashif

Ted

Peter

RESULTS: CHAPTER TWELVE**Group Three The Single Identities**

That which cannot be changed must be endured

The offenders in this group are Kashif, Ted and Peter.

This group were similar as they clearly behaved in a manner that was commensurate with their self-images. They had a clear self-image which seemed to be responsible for the behaviour they engaged in. This self-image however appeared to be unchanging. That it is seemed to have emerged at a young age and had remained unchanged. The rigidity of these self-images seemed to be responsible for the dysfunctional manner in which the offenders interacted with the world. Indeed McAdams says the "normal" adult is occupied by a number of selves. Linville asserting that a multifaceted self concept being essential for functional living.

It will be shown then that the self-images are rigid and not open to change. It will also be shown that this group are coherent, credible but lack openness to change, reconciliation, and generativity.

KASHIF

Kashif tells a coherent life story based around the stress he has faced at the mercy of two conflicting cultures. Kashif relates a series of related unfolding events starting in childhood about his need to conform to both cultures. He explains how this leads to the death of his wife. Thus at the structural level the events selected and the order and causal relationship is apparent. At the content level that is each event will be shown to contain the same criteria thus showing how it is coherent. Kashif relates events together in a causal manner from the outset suggesting that he has at least attempted to make sense of his life. That is there is some evidence of thought.

Em...family life was decent. Eh...the only snag there - looking back now, I mean you obviously didn't realise it then, was that being brought up in...being born into a Western society and then being brought up in a Asian culture - the two cultures don't mix, and obviously the things you saw your friends doing, your parents - because they didn't understand - I mean it was me mum, really, God rest her soul; she's passed away since - eh....not understanding exactly what we was doing - there was a clash between the two cultures. Eh...I mean strict - I mean I am a Muslim. I don't believe I've been brought up what people class as strict, or fundamentalism, I was brought up in I mean - do what you like as long as it's in

the realms of morality then you're OK..... it's not so much rebelling against what your parents are saying, it's just that - doing what you thought was right because other people were doing it. You know like, eh...when I was in the Cadets and I wanted to go camping with the Cadets, my mum would oppose that: why do you want to do that, why can't you stay at home; do this, do that, help out in your dad's shop, this that and the other. You know at that age you thought, well why, I can't understand why I can't go. Eh...whereas my dad saw it differently, me dad would say, well let him go if he wants to go, enjoy his - he's only young once, let him enjoy it. My mum saw a different side because obviously she didn't understand it, me dad was a bit - I mean he could speak English, but me mum, I mean, very little she could speak English. Uh...

This shows that Kashif has identified the common thread throughout his life taking on an explanatory style. He has reflected upon the source of his problem and understood the conflict. Kashif claims that the two cultures do not mix and then goes on to give a logical and credible reason why he thinks this, that is a difference in ideology and expected behaviour. It is well known that many individuals of one creed living in a different culture have a variety of problems specific to that situation. Thus Kashif is not describing a unique situation but perhaps even a typical one. Thus the stress he is describing is known about and valid.

This first extract also reveals Kashif's self-image of conformist. That is he would like to belong to both cultures. Kashif reveals the self-image of being a Muslim, ironically a factor in the murder of his wife.

Although this extract does not address whether this conflict has been reconciled in later life, it does indicate the disparate parts to be reconciled. The need to conform and the need to be autonomous.

The pattern of Kashif conforming to the wishes of others at the expense of his own autonomy can be seen to emerge in childhood. The first childhood scene he recalls demonstrates this.

my first fight was in secondary school - I think my last year. And that was really caused - I mean the guy wanted a fight with me and I said, no I didn't want a fight; didn't like fighting anyway. Eh...but...friends arranged a fight.. and ended up having a fight with this guy...

Here Kashif shows that he "gave in" to the wishes of his friends, the need to conform governing his behaviour rather than the need to be autonomous. Thus showing no evidence that he was developing skills to cope effectively with this conflict.

Kashif shows the narrative to be coherent again as he introduces the situation that had the most profound impact on him therefore introducing at an early stage what he sees to be the catalyst for the biggest impact on his life.

Eh...you know I was going out with an English girl prior to getting married, eh...

I: How did you feel about her?

1: Oh I mean...I was young I was in love and this that. Eh and then the marriage came up...arranged marriage - family, you know you've got to get married. I was making excuses up that I didn't want to get married, uh...because I mean I don't know if you know how the Asian community works, like...the elders get on to their kids and things like - I mean me mum's father, God rest his soul as well, uh...he was getting onto me mum and, like, her brothers were getting onto it, I mean, why don't I want to get married, and the only reason I was saying is, I want to build my own life. My own life. Make my own money. Build my own life and - that was one excuse, and the other excuse obviously, the English girl they didn't know about. Eh...but one thing led to another - I mean I was going to tell the English girl, but - (you were going to what?) Tell her - tell the girl - her name's Clare, but just didn't have the courage cos I didn't want to hurt her or anything. Eh...got married. I got married to my wife and my sister got married to her brother so it was a double wedding. Eh...and then you could say I was leading a double life, that's when everything - I think that was an impact, yes, I would say my marriage was an impact on me because I thought it would be easy. I mean a year prior to getting married, I was getting hassle - well, I say hassle - asking - questions were asked of my mum, what about marriage, this that and the other. It was all the time. I mean I was studying at the time. And then when the word marriage came up, my mind just started drifting off and, didn't want to study. In fact I was doing A levels at the time, and eh...I just thought, well no, then I started taxi-ing. I'd come home different hours to avoid my mum. But then... y'know sometimes she'd catch me -sometimes she'd be waiting up, sometimes I'd come in two-three o'clock in the morning, and she'd be waiting there. And then, y'know, it's start again, and sometimes she'd start crying. And that started affecting me. I thought all my life, I mean, I've never had no pressure or anything else, and this is just banging on me - I can't take it. And then seeing my mum cry, and I could see the kids - I mean I say the kids, me young brother and sisters - it started affecting them as well, cos like, well cos my mum was angry at me, they were getting it, and then it started affecting my dad, and I seen my dad's face, and I thought, no I can't take no more; the pressure's just so much. I couldn't tell my family about my girlfriend, because I knew it'd hurt them; I couldn't tell my girlfriend about what they were saying because I didn't want to hurt her, so I was in this little land of my - world of my own where I was getting - I mean everything was just building up. Then I got married cos I thought, y'know, it might release the pressure.

Kashif remains very logical and focused on building up a picture of a very stressful situation where he further alienate himself from the people he cares about. Once again the credibility is apparent as the emotional turmoil he describes is commensurate with the situation he finds himself in. He also shows how he held off for quite some time until he had to alleviate the conflict. This was done once again by conforming to his parents wishes The identity as Muslim eventually leads him to get married. Kashif thus sees being a conformist, the way to reduce dissonance. This shows then that thus far he has not managed to reconcile the two identities.

Kashif shows this inability to reconcile these identities and the need to conform the greatest one, to be recurrent themes in the narrative. Thus resulting in identical behaviour patterns and thought process. Kashif goes on to relate how this situation just leads to a worse one.

I: Were you still seeing your English girlfriend when you were married?

I: Yeah I was, yeah. Eh...I mean I really, honest I really did want to tell her but, no guts, no...then I think - I got married in October...and it was round about December time and I was just sitting in me girlfriend's house and her mum was there. I was watching T.V. - I don't know what was on - I can't remember what was on - I just started crying, cos I mean the pressure - over the years the pressure built up and then...for the past three months I was just living in this - in this world and I just couldn't take it. I mean me wife was nice, there was nothing wrong with her - it was just me, y'know, o.k. I found out afterwards, which is not relevant now, that she didn't want to get married to me: she was forced into the marriage, but I mean that's irrelevant now. Eh...but whereas my brother, eh...whereas my brother-in-law and my sister: their marriage was sort of pre-arranged years ago that they knew they were getting married. Eh...

I: So you were sitting in your girlfriend's house at this time, and -

I: Yeah, and eh...her mum asked me what's the matter, and I told her. I told her that I'd got married, and obviously I could see the shock, but, like...I mean I dunno if I'd released a bit of pressure off me, but it felt as if, y'know, I felt a bit easier because someone else knew about my problem.

I: So your girlfriend still didn't know at this point?

I: She didn't know, no just her mum. And I told her mum not to tell her, cos I would tell her, and I'll leave the decision up to her what she wants to do. But I couldn't, I just couldn't do it, couldn't tell her, I mean it was after Christmas, after Christmas day, I think it was boxing day that she confronted me, I mean, have you got something to say to me. And I went, no, I mean lying to her. Again, prior to that me and her had been so truthful to each other in everything, but after the marriage I just started lying, and it started - it did start affecting me a lot. Then she told me her mum had told her, her mum was waiting for me to tell her, and I went, yeah it's true. I mean...I dunno what to do. She goes, well it's up to you, and I go, well no the choice is yours. She goes, I want to stay with you, so I went, that's my feelings as well, eh...then obviously I wanted to get a divorce, but I didn't know how to get a divorce, I had to go round getting a divorce. I mean we wasn't married in the English way, we was married in the Muslim way. Now I couldn't just turn round to me father and say I wanted a divorce.

Kashif shows that although he wishes to be autonomous he has not developed the skills to be so. Away from his family and his culture he does not appear able to cope, thus his need to release the pressure i.e. telling his girlfriend's Mum that he was married ultimately lead to another problem, the issue of divorce. Kashif being a Muslim found himself in an impossible situation once again trapped and looking for an answer. Kashif shows how he returns to the same behaviour again, avoidance tactics.

Eh...I started taxi-ing again, it was my brothers taxi. Eh...the first couple of months it wasn't too bad, the pressure wasn't too bad. Then my mum started saying, why aren't you taking your wife out, what's the problem, why aren't you getting on with her; we weren't sleeping together. I was, like, talking to her, but I was in and out of the house, I couldn't stay in the house. Where I wanted to be was with my girlfriend. Now obviously my girlfriend knew about my wife now. So I was getting this stick from my family, from my mum, "why aren't you getting on with your wife; what's the crack", stick from my girlfriend: "what are you doing?" I mean nagging all the time. And, like, I'm thinking, well, I'm lying to my girlfriend, saying, oh she's going living with her mum, we're getting divorced, this that and the other. I mean divorce wasn't easy for me because my sister was married to her brother, and if anything happened to her marriage, my sister's life would have been ruined. Eh, so you can see, really that part of my life - prior to that I was happy-go-lucky and everything, but...from my marriage - or, should I say, I don't know whether it's when I met Clare or what I dunno, but from that period from - until coming to prison, my life was literally hell. And it was times that I just wanted to die, you know. I dunno if you know Nottingham at all, you know the Trent bridge? Near the cricket ground. There was times when I just wanted to turn my car, my taxi and just drive straight over the top. I mean I actually - I started working at Boots...um...and I was taxi-ing, and I was getting, for about two-three month before coming to prison, I was getting about two hours sleep if that cos I was working - this was to stay out of the house all the time - I was working in Boots from 8 in the morning till 5, coming home for about an hour, going back out taxi-ing, meeting Clare about 7, staying with her till about 10, half-ten, eleven, going out drinking of whatever - well I mean I didn't drink, but to the pubs, something like that, or going somewhere sitting down, talking. Going out taxi-ing till about two-three o'clock, coming home, getting a couple of hours' sleep, going back out again, going out at six o'clock in the morning, doing about an hour and a half taxi-ing, going to work: this was my life for about two three months prior to coming to prison. And I was literally living hell,....

Kashif gives a very coherent and credible account, informing the reader of the details of why he was trapped. He explained about the impact a divorce would have on his sister. He spoke of the pressure he was getting from his mother. He also showed that he was exhausted as in trying to get away from this problem he was working very long hours. Thus whilst trying to maintain the image of conformist but relying on being autonomous guide his behaviour, Kashif shows that he is so dysfunctional that something has to give. Kashif is able to convey a strong emotional tone to the reader allowing the reader to empathise with his dilemma.

The image of conformist like Linville suggests is so linear that Kashif does not have the relevant skills to deal with the situation he is in. This rigid self-image is totally inadequate to allow him a peaceful life. This need to remain loyal to his family and maintain his self-image thus results in murder as Kashif cannot generate any other solution to this problem. He relate a story of how he tries to find another way but could not.

I had, just this whole massive problem. I mean I was talking - I mean there was times I was talking to customers that I didn't even know, people I didn't even know, about - not this

problem that I had - this problem that a mate of mine had. And I was trying to pick out solutions of what to do. (Pause) Christmas '89 (sigh) I come across these guys I didn't even know. Purely by accident I met 'em; they called the taxi firm, another taxi firm, I went to pick up someone else at this health club, I went to pick up someone else...this geezer wasn't there, but these people waiting for a taxi, these - I mean I didn't even know them.. And I started talking about this problem I had - this was in the morning - and...what I wanted was for my wife to get drunk, to be seen with English guys drinking in the pub, take her home to my parents and say, look, she's been drinking, I don't want her no more, my wife, get a divorce; no effect on my sister, their marriage wouldn't be affected. But what these guys went and done is went and killed her. I mean I don't know what happened - what - I gave them drinks for her to get her drunk in this place that - I picked her up - I mean...(sigh) I picked my wife up from work, dropped her off somewhere in this secluded place.

I: Where did she work?

I: She worked in this eh blind place. Eh...(long pause)...and then I dropped these guys off in this place - this secluded place, dropped my wife off, I mean I don't know what I was thinking, my mind was just shattered I'd -...

I: How did you explain - how did you get her to -?

I: She didn't question me. I just got out of the car and walked away and they just got out and dragged her out of the car. I mean I didn't hear nothing, didn't see nothing, just drove off, it was five o'clock, six o'clock in the evening time. And eh...I dunno my mind was just a blank - what I can recall now is, what I can recall now is, like, all I could hear is laughing, clowns and that. I mean...I know my mind was really wrecked...eh...I mean the plan was to get her drunk there, take her to a pub, call me, i.e. taxi and I was to go there and see her drunk with these guys. I didn't think at the time what the outcome was, all I knew was I wanted a divorce from her. I mean she's totally innocent in all this. And I don't think - I mean I will carry that burden with me for the rest of my life...of her death. It is my fault even though I didn't physically kill her. Even though I know I didn't want her to die I am guilty of her death.

Despite the overall credibility of Kashif's narrative and perhaps because of it, this explanation of events is not credible. It is not credible that if he did not know that these men were going to kill her he would have been alarmed to see them dragging her out of the car. The location raises doubts too. How would Kashif explain to his parents that he had driven his wife to a secluded place where he had allowed four men to drag his wife out of the car and left her. If she got drunk she would no doubt tell them this account which would have negative repercussions for Kashif. After all his wife must have told his mother that they were not being intimate. A more credible account is that these men suggested "taking care of it", and Kashif closing his mind to the details and focusing on the solution. (It was decided however not to include this in the lack of credibility group as it is the only part of the narrative that is not credible. Added to that Kashif does take responsibility for his wife's death and may be embarrassed telling to female interviewers the nature of his crime. Unlike Lenny who had a recurrent theme of incredibility. The pervading theme after all was a rigidity in self-image.)

Although Kashif does not actually use the word conformist, he recalls events that he hold responsible for him being a conformist and what is more, that he never developed appropriate coping strategies.

This is another thing that...(sigh) when I was in the Cadets, I mean I got to the highest rank that as a Cadet you can get, and I could get responsibility. But I tell you...I was trying to look for that responsibility - I wanted responsibility. But I was always being put down, you can't do this, you can't do this. I mean...what my mum, God rest her soul, wanted me to do was to do medicine; to become a doctor. But I didn't want to do that, I wanted to do something mechanical; Engineering, things like that. Now I know what I wanted to do, but coming home and saying, do this, I was in two states; I was unsure what I wanted to do. Now money, I say wasn't a problem for me...uh...I mean I started work - I started working in restaurants, starting working in a night-club-cum-restaurant as well, and I was getting money from there. Uh...but all the money I was getting was going to my mum.. Because I can remember getting my first wage - I mean I was part-time worker, part-time student as well, but my first wage - I was so happy - and I come home and I goes to my dad, I got - I think it was forty or fifty pound, and my dad goes, "give it to your mum", and I went "What?" You know when you're like, frigging hell what it's my first - and he goes like that, give it to your mum. And my mum was sitting there, and I thought, no I can't do this. I goes "it's my money" and he went, son give your first wage to your mum. And I did, and I was gutted, but me dad I mean a couple of things, I goes dad I want some things, he goes go and ask your mum then. So I went, "mum I want some money", she goes, "how much do you want?" And I thought "what?" I mean before it was, like, why, what for, this that and the other, and now it was, "how much do you want?" And I thought, well, I mean it's a change, and I goes "twenty pound" and she goes "here you are, take thirty" And I felt good, I mean, but it was always, like, I couldn't find the responsibility that I wanted to take.

Kashif then shows that he had basic western values of autonomy but never learned how to make responsible choices because of the confines of his parents culture. Kashif reveals that since coming to prison he has learned to fend for his self and take responsibility. However there is evidence to suggest that his self-image as a conformist has not changed and leads him into similar difficulties as he has found himself in all his life. Kashif relates a story that had happened recently about how the other Asians in the prison wanted him to join their gang.

Now I was in a situation where...you can say I was getting bullied by these guys; I couldn't talk to authority cos if I turned to authority I was definitely labelled a grass. Now all this was going on with the Asian community that was upstairs. Uh...the other part of the prison don't - well, I say did know, some of them knew what was going on, but...and this was just going on and on, and...(sigh)...the people - I turned to a few people - well I say I turned to a few people; people who knew me from the other prisons come up to me and said, what is the problem here? You know I mean we can see you reclining to yourself; what's up? And at first I'd say nothing. And when they started calling me a grass, they said, we want to talk to you. And I told them what the score was, that because I didn't want to go with them, and I couldn't believe how many people said to me, and most of these were lifers, if anything goes up, I swear to you we're going to go for them, we'll do them. And I thought no way do I want that to happen, because if it does, and lifers are going to go for determinates, it's going to be big roar. And I just thought, what the hell do I do now? And there was a couple of Asian guys

who didn't want to go into their crowd as well, one of them moved downstairs and he actually went and told one of the officers what was going on upstairs, and he told me that he was going to tell the officer, and I went "if you do, do not bring my name into it cos I don't want nothing to do with it". Uh...then another guy - Mr Singh his name is - he, uh...he actually said to him if any of them lay one hand, that he didn't give a damn how many people they were; that he would roll straight through them.. That scared me even more, because I didn't want other people to get into my fight, so I was asked by an officer what was going on, this is my personal officer, and I told him the score - exactly what was going on. The pressure that I was under released, you know, I thought, well at least people know about it. And I thought if it does go off, and the officer said, what the officer said to me was, if you get into any - you've told me that you don't want us to get involved. Now if we get involved, your name will be shit; you'll get plastered all over the jail that you've done this. Best thing you could do is find out the (???) and grab him on the landing and give him a good belting. Now I thought I don' want to get into this; I don't wanna get into a fight. And he goes, if you do go down the block, get nicked, I'll definitely put in a paper to say what you've told me, that this was happening for a long time and you've informed us but we couldn't do anything because of that situation. I mean at one time I thought my life was threatened, cos they're the sorts, that I was getting to the end. Uh I was on a visit - I mean when I was - when I phoned up my family, when I was phoning my family and they were saying, what's up, what's the problem, and I wasn't telling them; when they were coming to visit, they could see the change in me. I mean I went down to eleven stone - I mean eleven stone - I'm eleven and a half now, but I went down to eleven stone, I was really, like, you know what I mean, didn't want to say anything, do anything, and in myself I was burning, literally burning inside me. And my family asked me, you know, and me two sisters came up once and my niece and eh - they goes, we've had enough of this, we want to know what's happening, so I told me sister on her visit that this was happening, and I told her not to do anything. Well family being family she actually phoned up the prison and spoke to the deputy governor, and he goes, I didn't know this was happening, I was aware of something was happening, but I didn't know it was this, and - I know - you know, obviously the governor goes he knows me, and he has seen me a couple of times and he has seen me reclining to myself, he wasn't this happy person that I've known him to be before. The day my sister phoned him, the day that - two of the main culprits up there got shipped out.

This illustrates the difficult situation that Kashif gets himself into needs as needing to the norm of the culture. Unfortunately there are a number of unsavoury options, one is fighting, which is the usual method of resolving differences, which he does not want to take, the other being "a grass", which is also considered unsavoury. Ironically the situation is resolved by his family, highlighting indeed that Kashif cannot live with them or without them.

This would indicate that Kashif has not resolved these images of self and is not even aware that they are still in conflict therefore there is a lack of reconciliation.

Kashif has made no overt reference to generative issues. His aspirations for the future are based around bettering himself through education.

....mean I've come in with what I see as very little, and when I walk out - I mean I'm aiming for a Ph.D., but if I walk out with a degree I'm laughing. But it's the experience I've gained while I've been in prison, it's mixing with people that are, mixing with the right mature people, that, you know, you can go and ask a question and you get, you'd feel you'd get a mature answer,

you know. Things like that, I mean, on the out I couldn't find that. It was there, but probably I was looking in the wrong places, but in prison...

Kashif sees prison has his appropriate socialisation process, he talks as if he is still growing up and in many respects this is probably accurate. Thus it would not be expected for him to be generative at this point in his life.

Kashif offers a coherent account, which is focused and linked in a causal manner.

With respect to the content of the story credibility is apparent because the emotions and feelings and thoughts Kashif describes are commensurate with the behaviour he engages in. In other words there is no evidence of contradiction. At the structural level the reason for the murder is credible in that he was in love with someone else and the constraints of his self-image precluded him having the ability to make informed and appropriate choices.

Kashif has recurrently shown that he is not open to change in that his behaviour and thought is very much governed by a image of himself as a conformist. The singular nature of this self concept preventing him from being able to cope in a whole range of situations, including a recent prison event, the personal deficit in coping manifesting itself in an identical way-allowing the situations to be resolved by others.

This point is related to openness to change. Kashif says he has changed and grown up yet demonstrates he has not. This would suggest that he has not reconciled the disparate facets to his self-image.

Kashif talks very fondly about the Asian community and his family. On the other hand he had his wife murdered who was also his cousin. He did show concern about the repercussions on his family but this is not the same as advancing the next generation. Indeed the only advancement Kashif talks of is that for himself in terms of academic achievement. Thus there is no real evidence of generativity.

TED

Ted is very coherent. He gives a clear life story of being a criminal. The events selected are coherent and logical this unfold in a chronological and ordered manner. He backs up any claim made with evidence (however harsh that might be).

Ted's opening statement reflects his complete narrative in a nut shell, indicating a coherent explanation of his life events in terms of causal relatedness.

Well, y'know, I think I've been a criminal since I was about... early, about fourteen I should think. And then just progressed, y'know, which you do. I mean I come - I did - I had a good background, I mean, like, y'know, my parents weren't poor or nuffing, but eh, I dunno I think it was just probably the people I hung about with, y'know. I mean, y'know, when I left school, I went into the Print, which was a closed shop, like say, like that Docks are in Liverpool. But eh, I mean it was good money, but it was, y'know, you didn't do much. And so, like, you had a lot of spare time on your hands, and eh, as I say, when you was young, when I was sort of fifteen I was working on the evening news and I think me first weeks wage was about a fiver. Which was, y'know, wasn't too much, but eh, y'know, I had loads of friends with, like, who had money, and so of course, like, y'know, you start robbing. And then you progress. I didn't start, I didn't start robbing at first, I was sort of like a petty thief, eh... y'know, burglaries, and the normal, y'know, the TDA's and what have you. And then as you - as you sort of get older, you know people that are doing different things and depending on who you are and how well you can sort of keep your confidence... they'll let you in the circle. And the next thing I know I was sort of eighteen, I think I was about seventeen - eighteen I think I was, when I first went on robberies; that was armed robberies, y'know. And eh, after that I think it was the money was that easy, I mean it was... it just progressed. And this - this what I'm in for now, I mean I'm doing life now, I mean, that was down to, like, drugs.

One reason why Ted's narrative is credible is that he does not make excuses for his behaviour. This is because he does not see anything wrong with it. For example many individuals would suggest that their criminal involvement was due to coming from a poor family. In some cases this would be true in others not true. However there is no reason to doubt Ted's claim that his parents were well off. To consider that he is implausible about this matter would be illogical. He has nothing to gain from implying his parents are rich when he steals money.

The coherence is apparent in the logical sequence and "natural" progression Ted talks about a developing self-image as a top criminal. Indeed this opening paragraph includes the way Ted sees himself and offers an explanation for his behaviour.

Ted goes on to relate the story of why he is incarcerated. His actions are logical in so far as his aim was to maintain his self-image, that of successful money maker. His rational is credible if lacking in compassion.

T: Well, see, well we had a buyer and he was having 25K every three month, which is a lot of money - coke - sixty pound a gram, well y'know, comes to money. And all of a sudden he's coming for 50K, which we can supply, but is he going to pay? Y'know 25K he was paying for, as I say, once every three month, but eh, when you start coming in for 50K, it's - y'know it's a lot of money; your talking millions (millions?) and eh... anyway Ma- the fellow who was behind it he said to, y'know, he made the meet and he decided he's give him the 50K's so I said, "well if you want to give him the 50K's, I want to be there when you - when you, y'know on the meet". So I was there and eh... I just had a feeling about the fella, y'know, I just had a feeling and I thought we was gonna get rumped for it. But eh... and that's what happened (laugh).. But on the meet, I told him, I said, If you go - if you go on the rump - if you rump us for 50K, I said, you're going, no two ways about it, y'know.

I: What's on the rump?

T: You know, just getting... (laugh) well putting it bluntly, like, getting fucked for your money, y'know what I mean, they're gonna (not pay it off) yeah they're gonna have the gear, and like, that's it. They're not gonna pay for it. And eh, y'know, you just can't afford to let people do that. Because if one person does it to you, and they get wind of it, everyone'll do it to you, so you might as well pack it up. So, y'know, so you gotta keep it, y'know, tight.

This extract shows again that the self-image Ted has precludes any other course of action. He is involved with multimillion pound deals and states that he cannot afford to let people run away or else he will have to stop being a top criminal money maker, which to Ted is not an option.

When Ted went to retrieve the drugs he found he had no choice but to shoot two people.

I sat - it was strange because I sat on the house all day, y'know, making sure he was in there on his own, cos like I didn't want to go in there and shoot anyone unnecessary. But unfortunately (laugh) I mean it's not a laughing matter, really, but I mean, like, there's two in the house. I sat on the house for 24 hours, and eh, yeah. But eh, yeah, so anyway, I knocked on the door, and he opened the door, and eh, surprise surprise. "Listen, listen", I said, "I don't want to listen", I said, "where's me gear?", "I ain't got it, I ain't got it". Well, no reprieve, I just shot him there and then, there was no, y'know, no two ways about it. I just - I shot him, that was it.

.....

.....I: So what about the other person in the house then?

T: They got shot as well. But it was - it was unfortunate, I mean it wasn't meant to happen, y'know, he - he should have been on his own, and I-I- and I mean it sounds so callous, but I've shot him, and then one's walked in... on me, y'know, and it's obviously the - like who he's dealing with, or who he's having it with, so he's part and parcel of the - of the rump, if you know what I mean.

I: So that's two dead.

T: Yeah, two dead. I mean I didn't mean to... y'know, how can you say that, I mean, y'know, but as I say, y'know, I shot one, and eh, he's dead - I know he's dead, and I've gone to put the gun away and go, and then another one's walked in. So, like, he's seen me, so like, y'know, what option is there? So I shot him as well.

This action is logical and credible. Ted offers an clear account of what happened and again there is no reason to find the account lacking in credibility as Ted acted in a manner which is commensurate with being an organised professional criminal.

This also shows that there is a lack of change in the self-image. Ted at the time of interview is asking what choice did he have. So he would appear to uphold the decisions he made at the time. This would be explained by suggesting he still has the same self-image.

The self-image as a top criminal is evident in the next discussion relating to the time he has spent in prison. He describes himself as a high risk prisoner because he is a top criminal.

Got rec twenty - life with a recommended twenty. High risk. That's when I first come in, I was high risk prisoner, Cat A, and they put me in the Unit in Parkhurst..... Category A prisoner. (yeah but - ?) High risk. It's a double A, it's like a double A. You got a Category A's and you got High risk which are, like, double A's..... I mean they know, I mean because I've got a criminal record, and the circles I moved in, they know I've got the people out there to - to go if I wanna go. And so the biggest part of your sentence they'll tell you will be spent in dispersals. For being a high risk prisoner, like a double A, like, say like, the IRA bombers are and that, they put you in a position where you haven't got a chance to escape. And then it was just like the SSB in Parkhurst, or the SSB in Leicester, which are like, Special Security Blocks, it's like a prison within a prison, and if you come out of that - that environment, you have, like... say, like four officers round you with a dog and you-you-you can't move, you really can't move. And I had that for, what?, nine and a half years. It's not what I've done,it was just circles I moved in. I mean the police have got their own intelligence, and that's what it is, they know. I've been made a target a few times because I was a high profile robber, y'know, I was having bits of work... eh... like the Daily Sport, years ago; we got done for the Daily Sport. A guard got shot. I never shot him, I've got to be honest, we got put on trial for it, we got Not Guilty, but eh... as I say it was £280,000 went - four of us. And there was eh, Barclay's bank, we done Barclay's bank, went in there and done the bank. I mean that was - what did that come to - that come to four hundred something thousand pounds; it's a lot of money, y'know what I mean?

Ted has such a strong self-image of being a top criminal he appears unable to talk about anything else. This conversation moves into a tactical lesson on how to detect and avoid the police. This shows however the events are all linked by a strong self-image thus showing a logical connection throughout the narrative.

The next event Ted discusses is when another multimillion pound scam was foiled, thus attempting to reinforce his self-image.

Eh, Conspiracy to Defraud... that was Chanel - you know that perfume that a lot of women buy out of suitcases, well we was making it and it was - it was good money earner, you know. We had an industrial chemist making it in a bath - it was (laugh) - sounds crazy but it's true. You can get the smell just right, y'know, and then you bottle it - I mean - as I say cos I worked in the print, I knew printers who had small printing firms and they was printing the boxes, we was getting the bottles, and as I say we had this industrial chemist mixing it and putting it in the bottles and eh... it's exactly the same - you wouldn't know the difference. (Which one was it?) Chanel (haha) (Which one - which Chanel one?) Chanel no.5 yeah? Yeah. As I say, so don't buy none, if you see any cheap. (I don't think I ever have) It's alright, I mean it's - you won't tell no difference until after about three months, and then it just completely changes and it smells like stink bombs, but eh - yeah, but eh, yeah ha ha.

I: So you got caught for that one?

T: Yeah. Caught with eh two million bottles in a warehouse. You know. Standing us in thirty - I think they - I think it cost us thirty bob, which would be one pound fifty... for a fourteen ounce bottle - that's what it cost us, our outlay. We were selling em for... three fifty - which is, like two hundred percent profit, really - well not two hundred percent, but near enough. And then, like, they were selling - I mean they was going in the shops for I think it was about fourteen pound, and we were selling em on, like say for four quid, and then the fly pitchers - the people you buy it off of in the street they were selling it for seven, which is half sort of price. So everyone gets a good deal out of it, you know. But we was earning fortunes.

Ted still finds the idea of this scam amusing suggesting Th there has been little change in his outlook. All the characters that Ted has mentioned so far in the narrative have been "high flying" criminals as well.

The ideology that Ted adheres to is reflected in his reported behaviour, rendering his narrative coherent and credible.

Ted talks about his personal philosophy to violence and backs it up with some examples.

when I was robbing, it was a case of eh... I mean you never went out to commit violence, you never - although the threat of violence was always there. No one likes violence... y'know I don't like violence - I'd rather walk away. But eh, I mean obviously in that type of crime, I mean when you're on the pavement and your - you got a gun, you're not - you're not - you haven't got the gun to wave about, y'know it's there for a purpose. And your there for a purpose. I mean one of the fellows we worked with, his dad worked on security express, so we had inside information: what was being moved where - we knew, like, y'know, what to go for and what not to go for. And we knew the set up on the vans. Cos on each van there's a captain - what they call captain - he's the man in charge of the van. And if you've got him they'll open up - I mean we wasn't there just to take a bag, we was there to take the van. You know we wanted the lot - we wasn't interested in one or two bags, we wanted the lot; everything that was on it. And nine times out of ten we got it. But eh... y'know it was a well-organised, like, group that we was in.

I: What's the most extreme thing then that you've had to do to ensure that you get the van? How far would you prepared to go?

T: Oh well we've - y'know - as I say I mean, well we had eh a fellow get shot in a bit of work. But - as I say - they're told to give the money over - the money's insured. Now... we used to go to work with an gun which fires nails into concrete. On the armoured vans, like, if they was in the van obviously you can't get into them unless you've got a bazooka or bomb or something, you know what I mean? But this gun, if you run up and put it on the window and fire it it fires a nail straight through the glass, which gives you an hole about that big which is big enough to get the barrel of a gun in, and then you just tell em to open up. If they don't open up, they're gonna get one. Obviously you don't, like, shoot em to, like, to kill em - it's one in the leg or something, y'know, and they'll open up. They will open up - they're told to hand the money over. I mean we was never there to - to - to be violent, y'know, I never wanted to ... use violence. Not - and as I say - nine times out of ten we didn't have to. (So are you saying -) The threat was enough. (- the gun was a form of control?) Yeah. As I say I mean I've - it sounds crazy, but I've - I mean I've been standing on the pavement and the robbing's been going off and I've had an old woman come up and start clumping me. You know what I mean, I mean you can't turn round and go, "here", you know what I mean? But you've - you've gotta sort of hold her off haha - it's crazy but you know. (And you wouldn't shoot her?) No course not - I mean you - you don't. I mean, like, y'know, there's no way I'd shoot a woman... intentionally, and there's no way I'd shoot children, y'know what I mean? Obviously you have these have-a-go heroes, I mean I just can't make it out - what do - what are they doing? You know, they know you're there for a purpose - I mean anyone with a bit of common sense knows what you're there for. And if they see guns what are they doing? Run in trying to stop you. I mean it's crazy innit? It is - it just don't make sense, but you get em unfortunately. As I say this fella that got shot on the Daily Mirror robbery, he was eh, like a doorman on the Daily Mirror, and eh, he was in the van lay when they van come in. And he'd been - we didn't find out this till later - but he'd - he'd - he'd been shot before, on a similar bit of work, where he'd had a go. I mean what is he doing - he's been shot once, what, y'know, he must've wanted to make a career of it, y'know, it was crazy, but eh... as I say. He went to grab the fella's gun and, y'know, if you - if you grab a gun and pull it it's obvious that the trigger's going back innit - it's gonna fire. And that's what happened. He's grabbed the shot gun and as he's pulled it the trigger's gone back - bang - he's shot hisself near enough. You know, so. And that was it - he's shot - he's on the floor. But eh...

Ted seems to suggest that everyone else should be aware of his self-image and the values, beliefs and behaviour that accompanies it. He expects everyone to play by the rules of the game, which he explained and cannot understand those who do not. This may be because he has such a rigid criminal self-image that he cannot make sense out of any behaviour that contradicts it.

The memories Ted recalls are couched in a criminal framework. When asked to remember a particular important event he recalls,

T: What any particular event, or? I remember Kennedy getting shot, men landing on the moon, and vividly as well, yeah.

I: What you mean you can remember what you were doing at the time?

T: Yeah, oh yeah. I mean when they landed on the moon I was working on the Evening News as I said, I was - it was - when was it about sixty - sixty eight sixty nine wasn't it? And eh, cos I was working on the - on the - on the London paper, London Evening News, they done a big front, y'know, colour spread on the front page, and eh, my round was Marble Arch, which is Oxford Street, so eh, y'know... we got loads of papers; we just filled up the van and we were

selling em - every (???) we was selling we was putting in our pocket, y'know, it was great heh, good time.

Ted's self-image is so rigid it is apparent in the literature he reads and the T.V he watches.

T: I'm reading a good book at the minute.

I: What's that then?

T: Sins of the Father. Kennedy, Joseph Kennedy.

I: What's that about?

T: Kennedy's.

I: Oh right. So it's a true story.

T: Oh yeah. Yeah, good book, worth reading. If you get a chance I'm saying, it's a good book, it is a good book. It's eh, well he started the dynasty didn't he?

I: I didn't - I'm terrible.

T: Yeah, this is Kennedy's father, yeah. It's like Bobby Kennedy, Teddy Kennedy, and eh, what's that - Jack Kennedy, like, who got - y'know the president that got shot. John F Kennedy, Jack they call him, but eh, the father started the dynasty but he was - he was ruthless, absolutely ruthless, I mean he earned his money through prohibition; bootlegging and - and you wouldn't believe - you gotta read the book, I mean he was so involved with, like, crime, it was unbelievable.

This next extract illustrates Ted's attitude towards non criminal identities.

T:like the documentaries - the Cook report and all that - I've got to see him get clumped - I mean he's gotta get a dig soon (laugh) he really has, honestly. Someone's gonna end up putting one in him, I can see it, honest. It's funny..... No, it's funny cos I know a few people who he's gone after. I really do, I mean he was out in Spain after Jimmy Green. This fella got off on a gold bullion robbery at Heathrow airport and he was supposed to meet a Mr Big in Spain running the drug empire out there. And he is involved, but not to the extent that Roger Cook was saying, and eh, it was funny, really funny. I thought he was gonna bop him one but he never and I was a bit disappointed, y'know.

Perhaps the most telling evidence of a rigidity in self-image and a lack of change comes when Ted is asked if he would have taken the same course of action again. He replies,

I: If you had your time again, what would you do different, or would you do the same things?

T: What would I do different? I wouldn't have shot the fella.

I: Obviously apart from get caught.

T: No, I wouldn't have shot the fella, simple as, I think I might y'know paid someone to do it. But eh...

- I: You might still have got caught doing that.
- T: Well there you go, that's right. But eh, y'know, that was the circles I moved in unfortunately. But eh, it's - it's.... I don't think there's a lot I'd change. I mean, y'know, you don't know do you, you don't know, you can't say. I mean, y'know, if you could change it you most probably would, but you can't so you're stuck with what you got. But as I say I was never deprived as a kid, I mean my parents never deprived me of anything. But eh... it was, it was just... I dunno boredom, the circles I moved around in, and eh, the people I knew. As I say I come from the East End of London, I mean it's well known, like say, like - like where you are Huyton, I know plenty of people in Huyton who are robbing and what have you.

This indicates that Ted has not changed and does not want to change, in fact he goes on to say that he wished he had the contacts he has made since coming to prison sooner so that he could have master minded a nationwide operation.

I mean I've made so many contacts since I've been in, as I say all round the country, because you're meeting different people. You know up your neck of the woods I've met so many, it's unbelievable. And if I'd knew em before, it would've made things such a lot easier, because I could've moved big loads of dope without having to go through, like, people that were a bit untrustworthy, where these people are solid, y'know, so it's eh, y'know

The way in which Ted talks about prison suggests he has no intention of changing.

- I: Em, did I ask you what your greatest positive influence was - I did, you said your dad, yeah. Em, what's your greatest negative influence?
- T: What, eh, at the minute, at this particular -?
- I: In life.
- T: Just the waste, the waste, in these places, you know what I mean. Alright I've done a couple of sentences now, but it's eh, y'know, your just left to your own devices, really. You are, you really are. There's nothing, y'know. All it is is just killing time. That is it.
- I: And you don't - well obviously you think that's had a negative effect on you?
- T: Yeah, well y'know, you're not doing nothing, you're just marking time. And as a lifer now they've brought out all these things they call eh, what do they call em? Risk factors. And you have to remove these risk factors before, y'know, you're ready for release. And eh, about three year ago I never had none, and then all of a sudden they've found some, but it's just to give you something to do, like, they've told me to do a communications course, y'know. I said, "what?", he said to me, "we want you to do a communications course", I said, "listen guv", I said, "I don't want a job with BT when I get out, y'know", I said, "what are you talking about?", he said, "well we don't think you communicate -". I've - then you've got a group in here called the Listeners, y'know, and I do this, but he's saying - he's telling me I don't communicate, y'know, don't show enough empathy. But, like, they just find things for you to do, honestly. But after so long I'm just tired of playing their games, you know what I mean, you can see if coming a mile off. But -

Ted does not see that he has to change, as he considers the courses in prison non applicable, and prison itself as marking time. This in itself implies stasis and non movement. With respect to reconciliation then there is nothing to reconcile. Ted only

has one self-image which makes him dangerous to the rest of the world. There is no other self-image to mitigate or temper his behaviour. In this sense then he is not reconciled as there is not more than one part.

It is difficult to assess whether Ted is generative or not. As far a society at large is concerned he is not but he does show some awareness of the plight of the young.

these are not good places really, not for youngsters, they, y'know, they're not, they're not. They are, they're schools of crime, that's what they are, they are, they really are, and I believe that, I really do... I think they younger it does, the younger person it does. I really believe that. Because as I say, they're so gullible when they come in here, y'know, they've been done for, say eh... petty crimes, eh, sort of burglaries and, y'know, and it-it-it's a natural progression in here; they're mixing with people who - who've done robberies and what have you, and if they're sort of around them, the natural thing is - I don't know why they look up to them - it's wrong, but they do, it's just how they are, they're so susceptible to it, that it's a natural progression. When they get out what they gonna do? There's no jobs out there is there? You know and where it's sort of like, what's their dole money? Don't come to nothing does it? (About sixty quid) That's it, y'know what d'you do on sixty quid? What can you do on sixty quid, there's not a lot you can do is there?

However he also reveals he is not particularly moved to do anything about this. Of the younger inmates he says,

No you just leave em alone and let em get on because, like you know they're young and a lot of em are stupid, I've gotta be honest, and so you have to give em a wide berth sort of thing, you let em do their own thing. I mean I've got me own set of, sort of mates in here. And I wouldn't deal with anyone else, y'know what I mean, because I've known em from other prisons in the system. And eh, it's hard to make new friends in here, if you know what I mean,

Overall then this would suggest that Ted is not generative. In addition to this the whole focus of the narrative has been egocentric where society is a means for Ted to make money anyway he chooses. Rather than enhance it then, he is happy to take from it. Not the actions of a modern generative adult.

There is little question regarding the coherence of Ted's narrative. It is almost too coherent, in that everything stems back to him being a professional organised criminal. Added to this he illuminated a very obvious central character.

Ted gives a credible account of his life, there are no contradictions. His self-image as a professional career criminal would appear to be based in reality. The rationale he often gives for his behaviour or based upon the ethic of the underground criminal world.

Ted tells the story of a career criminal that is completely unchanging. Since his young teenage years the imago has stayed the same with the same beliefs and attitudes not least behaviour. This is apparent in almost any comment he makes. And can be seen to govern his behaviour very clearly even today.. Not only does Ted lack any evidence of change in his life story, he also lack a desire to change, offering no suggestion of why he would want to change.

Ted has such a singular self-image there is nothing to reconcile. He has only ever seen himself as a criminal and there is no conflict within himself to rival this. However in order to be reconciled there must be at least two components, as is the case with most people. Therefore Ted is not reconciled as there is nothing to reconcile. This appears potentially dangerous, often other self-images enable an individual to reflect on what they are doing and in some cases may serve to inhibit.

Ted is pleased that he has been able to provide a good education for his children and provide for them financially. He also feels as though ha has let them down by being in prison. However there would appear to be only concern for his own children rather than having any interest in any one else. Overall Ted's narrative had a very ego centric focus which lacked generativity at anything other than an egocentric level.

PETER

Peter tells a coherent story based around being a drug user, and the problems this entails. The events recalled are of how drugs have been related to his criminality . In telling a coherent life story Peter sets the antecedents for his drug taking behaviour by revealing an anti authority attitude from a young age; in narrative terms reveals the birth of the imago.

When being asked about school he replied,

P: No, I didn't like it, no. I remember from about the age of fourteen I never went.

I: Umhmm. (pause) What, what was wrong with school then?

P: What was, for me, for me I just knew, it was just authority, I didn't agree with it, I didn't like it. It seemed to me the more rules your laying down, the more, the more sort of anti-authority I was getting.

Peter identifies with being anti authority from an even earlier age,

P: Not really, I know the, I know the first thing I do remember is the first bit of trouble I ever got into. I'd been about three years old, I remember pinching urrrr uhh, I remember thieving and uhh getting , getting into trouble for that.

I: Umhmm. Tell us a little bit about that then.

P: I don't know, I did um, I took a fiver off the top of the fridge, went to the shops and bought, bought you know them tin, tin helicopter things that you run across the floor with the propeller things, nicked-pinched-bought one of them didn't I. And me mother found out so I ended up in trouble for that.

I: What did she do?

P: She didn't, she just thought, she just left it at that thinking that I was too young to uhh, I was too young to know. And I'd learn from me mistakes, that sort of thing. And I never did. Cause the more she seemed to leave it like that, the more I seemed to think 'Whoa, it's all right to get into, to do it.'

Peter has made sense of himself by reconstructing his life in terms of being deviant. His first memory involved him being deviant as he saw it. This was the precursor to the development of his self-image which has remained unchanged since he was eleven years old.

I: Moving on a little bit now, when you were a teenager, what stands out in your mind about being a teenager?

P: Apart from being sort of eleven years old and never being straight. What I mean by that is always using substances, from an early age sort of ten years old. Then uhh, sort of eleven years old we were thieving, we were, we were getting into the shops thieving cause we were glue-sniffing. And, uhh that's how we were getting, getting the stuff, we were turning to shop lifting. And that's when that's when, me mother, the first thing me mother did when she realised what were going on. The police said they were going to give me a caution, me mother said 'No keep him overnight, keep him in the cells overnight so he knows what its like. Hoping, hoping that'd it uhh, hoping that'd it a straighten me out, but it didn't.

I: When, when did you decide or when did you first get into that, that sort of scene?

P: Well cause, a lot of the lads 'round our area were sort of two years- three years older than me, and they'd been into the punk music and cause that's when I was just getting into the stuff and they were into the glue, and to be with them it seemed like you had to be, you had to be doing what they were doing. And it ended up being, instead of it being a ha, instead of it being uhh, just doing it for a laugh, it ended up being a habit. It came to a case of we had to , I had to do it to actually feel normal to actually get through the day.

This shows how the first part of the narrative sets the scene for the events surrounding the murder of a tramp. The events that Peter has chosen to relate thus far are causally related, appropriately selected and ordered which give details of how he sees himself. He reveals his self-image of a drug abuser. Again like Ted this is credible as Peter has nothing to gain from this by lying. The behaviour and self-image are commensurate.

Like Ted the rigidity of the self-image appears when he relates a variety of events. When Peter was asked what was one of the most important events that had occurred in his life, he replied when his daughter was born., this is told within a deviant framework For instance Peter did not focus on the joy of seeing his daughter for the first time, but the criminal journey to the hospital.

Ohh well I remember, well how I remember it is, I remember being in Manchester 'cause, I was I'd been moved to Manchester for the courts, I had to, I couldn't get home so that night I ended up pin, I ended up having to nick a car to get home, and getting stopped on the way home. And when I explained my piece to the police they ended up giving me a lift to the hospital, didn't they?

Similarly when Peter is asked about one of the best things that has ever happened to him, this drifts into a drug related story.

Well, uhh, when I left school, I think that was one of the best, because because I was thinking it was going to be straight from school, straight on to the dole but it wasn't. I actually got into a job that I enjoyed which a....that I enjoyed. And I was, don't know why, doing short-screen printing. and I enjoyed myself for two years and then ah, then ah after that ah, I ended up on the dole living, living on me own.

I: How come the job came through then?

P: Because I'd done me two years, you were only able to, you were only able to do two years. And alot of the firms had sent me too. Because there was alot of chemicals around that were getting turned out, little things like that, and the..and in this case we don't want it.

I: What little things were happening there?

P: Well, cause there was chemicals around, it was stuff that you could get off on that we was pinching- well, I was anyway, I was pinching it. And they would notice little things, they'd put a liter out and find, and find there was half of it missing and that- and they decided they decided I'd done it cause I was there, so they got rid of me.

I: What did you think about that?

P: Well, I don't blame them. Looking, looking back on it now, I don't blame them, cause they're just looking, looking after the money, aren't they? Cause if I'm using a machine and I've and um I've been using it's not gonna be safe is it? So ah, so ah, they just got rid of me.

Peter is not too consistent in accepting the responsibility. Although he admits he was stealing the chemicals, he said they fired him because he was there. This could suggest that Peter is uncomfortable thus unreconciled dealing with knowledge that drug taking has had very negative consequences.

This seemed to mark a downward spiral. Peter describes the next phase of his life as chaotic and unstable where drugs are at the centre of his identity.

Well ahh, Seve.. I was seventeen. I was seventeen and a half when I fell, living in at London in Leeds. And I had me own flat, well I'm not really sure about that, cause, cause I was using. I'd I'd drifted from using, using glue to cannabis and and speed. So from there we'd gone.. uh I, I'd got alot of friends, the friends I had were were all sort of in that sort of scene. So they were all into the same stuff as me, and and ended up, ended up car, pinching cars, theiv..theiving, and uh and uh eventually uh attempted armed robbery. And that's when I was moved to Manchester. Cause what they thought was, because I couldn't, because I couldn't cope with me, uhh, with living on me own, they wanted me to go to the rehabilitation center and start from scratch and see if they could put me back on the, back on the streets living on me own with being able to look after meself properly. Cause I've always been into, into, into the drugs and all that and having no money. The hardest part of it was actually surviving, was actually making sure you had something to eat that day. That's where alot of the, the shoplifting came in. Cause we were all, I'mmm, well myself anyway, I was trying to, I was trying to look after meself. And then in '87 when I was living on me own, I met Caroline who's the daughter, who's the daugh....the mother of me daughter. And uhh, she slowly started, started pulling me ticker about getting, trying to get married together which was, which was working, but then I think I stepped out of line and she dotted off. And uhh, I think that's when I started getting a bit more violent than what I was. That's when I was getting into a lot more trouble.

I: What kind of trouble?

P: She was saying we never had the money in the house and it was a case that he had to get off his behind and start doing something. That's where I was, that's where the attempted armed robbery came in. I'd actually gone into the bank, pulled the gun, and then bottled it. And decided this ain't for me. I'm not gonna allow a bird here, and I just couldn't, I just put it back in me pocket and walked out. That's when I got arrested. I was looking at nearly about ten for that.

Peter gives a reasonably coherent account of the vicious circle he had found himself in, needing money to survive which lead him to criminal activity. This is a plausible account as the behaviour and lifestyle Peter reveals are commensurate with what is generally known about drug dependency. The salient point being that the narrative is based around an unchanging image as a drug user.

Peter reveals that he had difficulty living on his own. His girlfriend left him the September and by the November Peter has become a murderer and sentenced to life in

prison. This certainly backs up his claim that he found great difficulty living on his own.

Drugs were an intrinsic part of the murder, in so far as Peter was out looking to steal some equipment in order to raise some cash to buy drugs.

I'd been up, I'd been up the red light district in Leeds to see a few people and on the way home I'd no mon- I'd no money to, so I'm the one smartly thinking, go into a building site, any building site and there's obviously gonna be a couple of those, you know like a shed or something that's locked. All I was thinking of is power tools, power tools turn into money, money turns in- into solvents again. That's all I was thinking and that's when the fella jumped me and tried to, as far as I was concerned he tried sexually assaulting me and that's why he died. So I killed him.

.....

I: When you went to the building site?

P: No, it wasn't a building site, it was an actual building site itself.

I: A building site.

P: Cause I have to cause where I'm walking, I'm walking back from, from Chapel Town in Leeds. I'm going, I'm going home, but I managed to pass the building site at the time. So that's why I decided that, there's always, if there's gonna be a hutch or something with a padlock, you're gonna get power tools, ain't ya? So from there I was thinking ahhh, I was just my object at that time was money, was power tools into money, money into glue. And that, that was me problems and that was me day's grass so all I needed to do, isn't it, then you got that fellow in there.

I: Ummm...This guy that jumped you...

P: Yeah.

I: Why, why, did you think it was going to be a sexual assault?

P: Because he put his hands between me legs and was licking me in the face and he told me what he'd like to do to me.

I: Oh, I see, that's very, very direct, isn't it..

P: As far as I was concerned, he he made it plain and there's nothing else I could do.

When asked why this was not classed as self defence Peter replied quite honestly,

P: Cause, at one point I cleared off and come back and done more, and done more damage to him.Yeah, cause I cleared off, I cleared off and on the way out I stopped at the petrol station and bought tobacco, nad the first thing I'm doing is I'm looking for me tin, me little tobacco tin and cause, the reason I got panicky about it was, everytime I'd been arrested some police officer always mentioned, there's always a, there's a painting on the front one of me mates had done and and I'd lost it, so as far as I was concerned if I'd left it next to the body they'd con- they'd connect me, pin it on top of me. So I went back. And where, where I'd left it, was only, think there was the main police station for Leeds 'bout fifty-sixty yards away. And he was still making a lot of noices and that's when, that's when I panicked and tried shutting him up. And the only way, the only way I shut him up was...when he died.

This is a credible account of the murder because Peter gives a plausible account of why it was considered murder, that is he went back and killed the man. Peter explains why he thought it was a sexual assault giving a logical reason.

Even though Peter returned later to this man, the whole episode had been impulsive and not planned, behaviour commensurate with taking drugs.

This however shows a lack of remorse, later in the interview Peter is brutally honest and admits that he thought he knew he was going to kill the man. Peter was asked if he was scared or angry.

I think it made me more angry cause on a couple of occasions I said to him, I-I actually said to him once, I said, oh I'd like to tell the police, I could tell them if you think you're going to walk the streets again think again. I actually knew what I-I, subconsciously I think I must of known I was going to eventually kill him.

Peter never mentions how he feels about killing the man and gives the impression he does not really care. However this may be mitigated by the fact that the man was a known sex offender who had himself served lengthy jail sentences for sexually abusing a number of individuals including children. Nevertheless perhaps some comment about this might be appropriate.

Unlike Kashif and Ted Peter has made some attempts to change. He offers sound and credible rational for this and reveals quite an insight into the effects drugs have had on his life. Peter gives a coherent and credible account of how they have ruined his life. However he still sees certain drugs as part of his future. Thus he is still unable to shake off the identity of drug user completely. In addition to this Peter has not offered any other identity.

When Peter is asked what the greatest negative influence in his life has been he replied,

In me whole life, drugs. If I, if I hadn't started drugs, I don't think I'd have been in prison.

To support the fact that he has not shaken off the old identity and found a new one, peter reveals he needs a partner who will keep him in check.

If, if I could settle down with the right person, yeah. Cause what I'm looking for is, is for somebody, is if I start stepping a little bit out of line she'll just grab me by the collar and say hang on a minute and slow me down. Because I'm easily led, I know that. And if, if she can keep me, if she can keep ah, keep an eye on me, I'll be happy with that.

This then does not look to hopeful if Peter has to live on his own . This also shows a lack of generativity. Peter is expecting to be parented himself, admitting he can not cope living an adult life on his own. Apart from this there is no generativity revealed. He was asked directly about any future involvement with illicit drugs he says,

No, that's not honest, no, no. No, I've giving the, I've giving the glue up. That's gone full stop. I've, I've, I've stopped everything else but if I got back into the, if I got back into cannibus right now, I wouldn't see that is a, I wouldn't see that is a problem. I wouldn't see that as a problem because it's going to be by the time I get out anyway.

So even though he claims to have kicked the habit he still sees drugs in some form as part of his future.

Peter does however lack reconciliation. He knows that he has to give up drugs but does not really elicit any other strong identity at the moment to rival it. He does mention being a father, once at the beginning when he revealed this as an important event, and as one incentive to stay off the drugs. Peter can objectively offer a reasoned argument for being drug free.

Because, the only way of getting out is, now, is going dry. Cause as far as they were concerned the murder was committed under the influence of drink and drugs and while I'm still using they see it as I'm still a risk.

I: How do you see it?

P: I beli-I believe that's right as well. Because when I was at Forseth I had ahh, a couple, couple of problems where they had to ahh, where I nearly killed meself doing the drink.

I: Deliberately or accidentally?

P: Accidentally, throu-through over-indulgence. And I decided when I came here that's it, I've had enough. Time for quieting down and t-, and try and get out. Cause I wanna be out for me daughter's fourteenth, not her, not her twenty-fifth. So now it's time for quieting down.

So there is a conflict between being a drug user and not being a drug user that Peter has not resolved.

Overall Peter has given a narrative account of being a drug user. The events selected lead up to his chaotic lifestyle which culminated in murder. He knows he has to

change and reveals some ideology to suggest he will but more convincing evidence to suggest he cannot. For example he has not talked about why he was deviant and needs excitement and how he is going to replace the drugs. Thus this shows a lack of reconciliation. He does mention wanting to be out for his daughter's birthday but also admits needing someone to control him. Thus suggesting that his craving for stimulation has not been channelled. There was also a lack of generativity.

Like Ted and Kashif the narrative is focused around one central and clear theme thus giving a coherent account of his life. The claims that Peter makes do not contradict themselves. His self-image indeed appears to be based in reality.

Peter admits that he needs to change and will try but success does not look very promising. Peter has never been able to identify the reasons why he abused drugs. All the events in his life are about drugs and he knows that they have been a bad influence but there is no other real rivalling self-image to replace it. There is also a lack of self-awareness for instance he has recognised his past behaviour e.g. being anti social and disliking authority but made no comment or attribution about himself.

Peter recognises a need to change but he has thus far been able to do so. He wants to be a good father to his daughter but is a drug dealer. Therefore he needs to reconcile these two identities into a whole, or indeed replace the old for the new.

Like Ted, Peter has a concern for his daughter but beyond that there is little evidence of generativity. He does not seem to have any remorse for his victim, who was a known sex offender. This could be seen to be generative but Peter never refers to doing society a favour. Overall then Peter too lacks generativity.

Thus the three characters in this group gave coherent narrative accounts, which were credible, yet lacked openness to change, a rigidity in self concept being the similarity between them. Thus that which cannot be changed must be endured. There was a lack of reconciliation and generativity supporting the model. The rigidity in self-image being responsible for the behaviour and in particular responsible for the murders.

RESULTS

Chapter Thirteen: Group Four – The Searchers

Woody

Simon

George

RESULTS: CHAPTER THIRTEEN**Group Four The Searchers**

*There's a period of life when we swallow a knowledge of ourselves
and it becomes either good or sour inside*

(Pearl Bailey 1988)

The three characters in this chapter are, Woody, Simon and George. These three have achieved coherence, credibility, openness to change but lack reconciliation and generativity. The similarity between this group is there lack of reconciliation.

WOODY

Woody tells the story of a victim whose life changed drastically when he was raped at the age of sixteen and the murder for which he is incarcerated. The opening statement outlines his narrative in a nutshell orienting the reader to the essence of his identity. This shows how Woody is coherent.

"Right, um...I was born in Bradford, 1968. Had a pleasant life...till I was sixteen, then...I was - I was raped by a man at sixteen, and...six years after that I was different, just totally different; just wanted to hurt people after that. And then when I was twenty-two somebody else tried to rape me and I killed him. I came to prison, that's about it, really."

Woody talks about the first event in a manner that could suggest that he suffered a post traumatic stress syndrome response. He reiterates throughout the narrative how he was unable to cope with the rape and how this single act committed upon him lead to murder. Woody sees himself very much as a victim from this time onwards describing his life before the attack as a "normal childhood".

However when he recounts stories in his life he seems to couch them in terms of being a victim. The first nuclear event he recalls is,

"there was one time when I was...ten...and I used to see things, see funny things; pictures and stuff, and eh....I used to go out with this girl Sharon, and eh...walking around the field on the way back to school...and she said, she'd never leave me and she loved me, and she gave me a

kiss and then I saw something; saw a funeral, and...three months later she died. And, eh, I've just never been the same since then, but eh...strange - a lot of strange things have been happening like that. But that's in - it's in the family anyway."

This reflects how he sees himself as a victim and how he has made sense of his life by saying that he has never been the same since. Of the ability to have premonitions he says that he has been left with "the brunt of it". So a situation that could be construed positively or negatively has been construed in a way which is conducive to feeling like a victim. Given that Woody sees himself predominantly as a victim he very quickly focuses on the event that he sees to be most significant to who he is. Woody very quickly addresses the rape he endured at the age of sixteen.

"...my sister knew him, I didn't know him. Em...I don't know, I just felt that everything was...I wasn't happy, and...and I never liked school. I never used to be - people used to say that I wasn't thick or anything like that, I just didn't like school. And, em...I don't know I just - I just wanted to live, you know what I mean, just get away from everybody. Just wanted to be alone. See it's almost - it's almost madness going on outside...and then you understand that you've got to go out there and you've got to live amongst them, and you just don't live among 'em...that society, it's this country, you can't get away from them. I can't leave the country when I get out so I've got to make do with what I've got. And, em...I just want people to give me a chance. Whether they give me that chance or not is a different matter."

This introduces idiosyncratic themes of feeling vulnerable and trapped, the aftermath of being abused. To recap this piece seems to be focused around disillusionment and perceived hostility of others, phenomena associated with being a victim. This is coherent and credible. Woody is successful in conveying a coherent story. The sentiments that he describes are in keeping with the trauma of being raped.

These feelings of vulnerability and fear of attack that is being a victim act as a causal link to the next statement he makes-the murder as this is the next event he discusses. It is noteworthy that Woody's choice of topics to discuss are based around emotional connections rather than chronological connections. He has not yet explained what happened regarding the rape and the murder choosing to focus instead on the emotional detail of his feelings and thoughts at the time. Thus the feelings he has generate the self-image which links the statements.

"I just...everything just came flooding back. It was like...I was drunk, I was extremely drunk. Used to drink to forget the past. To stop the nightmares and things like that. And, em...this guy is...being confrontational, and I just lost it. We were fighting, and he was punching me in the back...and it was like I could feel the adrenaline rushing up my body from my feet. I was getting really warm; nothing was hurting me, and em...then there was a big bright light, and I was awake, and...I was in a place that's like - I don't know - I've done meditation and things like that, and eh...it's just like a bit like escapism, really. Well, that's what it was like; it was

like meditating and there was this big beautiful place, fresh grass, bright blue sky, perfect world so to speak. And I looked round and there was the guy from the past inside my head, and...I killed him, not the man that I killed, which some people don't understand. But, eh...in my head...there was no weapons, the way I was hitting him...not just punching, but eh, banging down...with the hand like that, like a knife action, banging down on him. That's the way it was, the difference between reality and what was going on in my head. I was killing somebody in my head, but not realising I was doing it in real life. And, em...he said, he said, "help me"...some time afterwards, and then that's when I stopped, I just sat there and looked around and saw what had happened, and...just freaked out. Went to see the neighbours, got them to phone the police."

This description of the murder is quite unique to any other offered by the inmates. Many are reluctant or unable to give an account of what actually happened, others give straight forward factual accounts sometimes accompanied with feelings of remorse. Very few offer factual and emotional information about what happened. In addition this is very vividly conveyed, Woody, describing the physiological arousal he felt. He also seems to relive the actual killing describing the precise physical action almost as a forensic pathologist would. He again uses great imagery to try to explain how he felt. He describes the process of becoming aware of the reality and then immediately summoning help. (This was indeed what happened according to the C.P.S. files. It was also revealed that Woody ripped off the man's testicles. There is certainly the objective information to support the frenzied cathartic attack he describes. Indeed the description describes a release. Catharsis being the process of freeing repressed emotion by association with the cause, and elimination by abreaction. This could suggest that Woody had not come to terms with being raped and coloured his thought and action in this situation.

It could also be argued that the way in which the story was told to the interviewer was cathartic, Woody vividly conveying the factual minutia of the killing action. Further evidence of this being a cathartic reaction comes when he says,

"I'm not a violent man, I'm not. I probably couldn't raise my hand to anybody in prison, or even outside, I couldn't do it; I killed a man, the fight's gone. (What's gone?) The fight; there's nothing there. Don't get me wrong, I did karate for years, I did a bit of boxing, was taught by my brother how to fight. My father taught me how to fight on the street: I know how to fight, but I can't raise my hands, because... when, when... when you feel so much anger and so much hate, and all that adrenaline running through your body, it's got to go somewhere, and when you release it, it doesn't come back, it hasn't come back to me. Because the anger came from the rape, that's the only thing, that's the only place it came from. I don't blame what I did on the rape, I blame myself; I'm responsible for everything that I do, but... the killing stemmed from the rape. Now when I killed this man, I got rid of everything, all that stuff inside me for six years: the hate, the guilt, eh, the depression, y'know, suicidal tendencies; everything. Everything came out and was sent to the - the man that I killed."

Woody has made sense of his thoughts emotions and behaviour by viewing himself as a victim. He even describes the murder as taking place because he was attacked. Woody has explained to himself in great detail the rational for his actions. This offers some support for the idea that Woody is in tune with his emotions and has differentiated how he felt and why he acted in the way that he did. Woody has been able to reflect on his life and actions and make a coherent and credible story. The very focused nature of the narrative is further demonstrated by the fact that Woody goes on to describe the events leading up to the murder.

"We were drinking in the pub. I was, I was - my girlfriend was there as well, and my brother. Em, and my girlfriend's gone home to her mum's, and my brother's still in the pub, and I've decided to go home. And, em, he's going home as well - the one that I killed. And because he was behind me, and he wanted to use the toilet, I said, "well, you can go from my house", which was about ten minutes to get home. You're polite and that's what happens. But, em...he took advantage of that..."

Along with giving the impression that he was trying to help he adds that the man "took advantage" there again revealing the theme of being abused or victimised.

Woody then links the two events together, the rape and the murder, trying to understand the intentions of his attacker / victim in terms of his previous experience.

"...that's what I was thinking, well not at the time, but afterwards, you know, why. Cos I spent a lot of time going over why I was raped, I didn't know why I was raped, and I didn't know what had I done to deserve it. I actually spent a lot of time in Wakefield prison, talking with, em...a homosexual pedophile, partly because he was a homosexual, partly because he was a predator, I'd been preyed upon, and I thought, maybe he's got the answers. Em...but I - I was struggling from the age of sixteen to...twenty-three with my sexuality. But not, like, every day. Happened at the time of the rape, and I convinced myself round about three months afterwards that I was not a homosexual. I used to go out and just pick up women everywhere, and not give a damn who it was. Em...that was basically to prove to myself that I wasn't any different. But I used to - I thought about, y'know, maybe I've done something to lead this guy on and not realised what I've done, but em...no I thought he was after my wife - my girlfriend at the time, my wife now, but he wasn't."

Woody reveals that he is motivated to understand what has happened as he says he has spent a lot of time thinking about it. He reveals he has tried to make sense of it by making a variety of attributions including the possibility that he might be homosexual, yet discounting these, as he gains a further understanding. . He has taken active steps to understand in fact empathise, empathy being the ability to identify oneself mentally with a person or object of contemplation to promote full comprehension (Oxford Dictionary). In needing to understand this process he goes to see a homosexual

pedophile, a logical step to take. This discussion leads him to relate the circumstances of the rape.

Woody's brother-in-law had offered to take him out for a drink to celebrate the fact that he had left school.

"So they took me out and my sister was there...and, em...it was about half past nine, and we met this guy. My sister knew him because he used to go with one of my sisters friends. Em...we were having a drink, and it got to about, what, half past ten, and me sister said that she wanted to go home. She even suggested that if I wanted to stay out, then I could stay with this guy and he'd look after me, you know, he wouldn't let me wander off or anything like that. So I thought, well, o.k.....and then after that we went to another pub, and he just bought me drink after drink. But it wasn't, y'know, just lager, it was, like, shorts, and em...by this time I'd had enough to think that I was just one of the lads, and eh...I didn't really like it but I couldn't stop it. And then, em...he said we were going to a night-club...and as we were walking towards the night-club...gone in an alleyway, he said he wanted to have a pee, so, o.k. And I was sick...and then that's when it happened. But, em...it was strange, it was strange, because...I mean the guy could have killed me, he said he was going - the guy that raped me - he said he...he said he could kill me and nobody would know, and em, I had to do what he said, em, and he had a knife. And he made me do all sorts of dirty things, and...and then he raped me and I screamed and then that was it; he didn't do any more. He just said, don't tell anybody, or he'd get five years in prison (laughs) Five years in prison. He got twenty-one month."

(Woody required stitches to his anus following this assault.)

Woody chooses to mention the fact that he had been entrusted into this man's care. He implies that this man was trying to get him drunk. This seems to suggest he felt misled and taken advantage of as indeed he had been. He also reveals feeling disillusioned with the system - his attacker receiving what he perceived to be a light sentence. (This was also verified by the C.P.S.) reports.

Woody provides a substantial amount of superfluous information, which adds to the image he tries to convey. In this description of events it is quite clear that he was the victim of a vicious and cruel crime. Woody provides details beyond the facts. He implies a betrayal of one of his sister's friends who was supposed to be looking after him not raping him. Woody goes onto further describe his feelings.

"I felt ashamed. I felt like it was my fault, and, em...I don't know why I thought it was my fault. Spoke to my dad afterwards, he was the only person I could go to. And I don't know why because he's only my step-dad, and I loved my mum to bits, but I couldn't' say anything to my mum....And...I told my dad everything that happened. I told him that I felt guilty, and...I didn't know why I was hurting so much inside, and em,....I just felt alone, and I've never really, I've never really come out of that. I want to be on my own. I've always been introvert, but never.... the problem: I don't know. It was strange, I couldn't - when you're at home and you've got two brother who were living at home at the time- my sister was, she was on her own, well she was with her boyfriend, em...I couldn't be near to my brothers.

I couldn't go in the bathroom, and, y'know, get in the bath, have a shower, or whatever, or if they were in the bath, the shower, I couldn't go in there. And...I don't know, my dad was the strongest person in the family, and I just didn't want to know anybody, and he...he came in and sat down, and he was talking to me, gave me a cuddle, and he reassured me that everybody loved me, and it wasn't going to happen again. He was trying to tell me that it wasn't my fault, but em, couldn't explain why; just...just kept slagging this guy off, that he was a dirty animal and this that and the other. Em...I don't know, em...it was probably the worst experience of my life I think...I mean not even coming into prison is worse than that, because my life has changed since I came into prison. I know I seem a bit morbid now, but I've just woke up (laughs), but eh...it's given me a chance to look back and everything, you know in my life...I always wanted a father. I know that comes into the psychological make-up of why I was raped and why I was almost raped again, em...my mum was divorced when she was - when I was four, and I never really knew my real dad; he used to send money and letters and that, but he never came and see us. So it was my mum that brought us up. I was the youngest, and...basically I had lots of cotton wool wrapped around me, and em...I never got to see a lot of sadness in the world, even though I felt it, em...I love my mum to bits...but she could - it's...she did a, she did a good job, but she couldn't replace...the father that I never had, em...which wasn't her fault, really."

This demonstrates how Woody has been unsuccessful in his quest to find out why he was raped (assuming there is an answer). He has attributed it partly to himself because he did not experience a relationship with his real father.

Woody goes onto explain the continuing emotional turmoil he felt after this traumatic event. He begins by saying his attitude changes towards people.

"...not so much violent in the physical sense, but in my approach, my attitude towards people. Em...I used to go out, used to go out for a drink, and want to cause an argument, em if say like, there's be a nice woman that I'd see, and I'd think, yeah I want that. And I'd go out of my way and I'd try and take this woman home. Well if she had a boyfriend, husband or whatever, I didn't mind. I thought, well, sod it, if he wants to fight with me, I'll let him fight with me. I can fight, I've been rained to fight, so what do I need to worry. But - didn't help me when I was sixteen, and I suppose that's why I wanted to used it, that's why I wanted to hurt people, cos I couldn't, I was helpless and this guy had a knife, and I would try to take knives out of people's hands, and...just, nothing; my head was blank. And...you feel like...the fly walking around the table, surrounded by loads of people, and your wings are broken; you just feel vulnerable...can't do a damn thing, can't go anywhere, can't get out of the way; you're trapped. And...basically that's what I hated about myself, because I couldn't fight back, because I panicked, and...because he kept telling me so many times that if I didn't do as he said, he'd kill me, and if I said anything to anybody he'd kill me, and he could throw me over this wall and nobody would know, and I'd be dead, and y'know all this. Em...yeah...that did a great deal for my head, that. But I used to go out and - not abuse women, but, y'know, just go out and pick up a woman, and go to bed with her and just forget it the next morning, and em...I got a name for myself. But, eh, it didn't mater. Didn't matter at all, I just went to different places, um...but I knew, I knew I wasn't homosexual, and I thought, why am I trying to prove to myself? Why am I going with all these woman, and, y'know, being a complete prick...but it never stopped, until I was - what? - eighteen, nineteen I was. I wanted to settle down, find a nice woman, have kids and get married, and, y'know. But I had nightmares and daymares, just couldn't get on with my life, cos my head was still clouded with the past."

This is an example of feeling extremely angry and irrational. This description implies that Woody's anger was directed at innocent persons who ceased to be seen as beings in their own right but a source for him to vent his anger. So the same type of "egocentric" attitudes, albeit more understandable are seen. This seems to be a more temporary reaction than a constant state. He talks about feeling vulnerable and

incapacitated, and at the mercy of others. The fact that this became all consuming is evident in the relationships he had with persons. That is the imago he holds as victim sought out other victims. A point worthy of mention is that he can describe accurately the process that lead him to feel this way, he seems to have matched accurately thoughts and feelings. Even though his behaviour may seem irrational the way he describes his feelings makes sense of his actions. In other words he paints a picture of at least being analytical and able to label the way he felt, this being in tune with his thoughts and feelings. He has obviously put a lot of time and effort into thinking about these events in order to make some sense out of them. He again uses metaphors to accentuate his emotional reaction. Being a "rape victim" was understandably utmost in his mind. The suggestion that he has identified with individuals in a similar position to himself suggests that he "accepts" this rather than blocking it out. He seems to have actively sought information from others.

" And, eh, it's strange how you go through life, and you meet people - it's amazing how many women have been raped, it's amazing, you come across so many, and it's like a little dark secret in the corner, and they bring it to the front of the surface. Well, can I tell you about something that happened to me, yes o.k., and then they tell you. Brings everything back up, and you talk to them about what happened to you. And I thought I had the ideal woman, and...and she was...she was abused by her father, and she was raped also by somebody else."

Sadly these individual that he sought to be close to had their own emotional difficulties which then accounted for a series of disastrous relationships with women needing him for a huge amount of support that he could not give due to him trying to deal with his own problems. These comments are based around disillusionment about people. He concludes by saying he will never get married (again).

"every relationship I've seen has gone to nothing, apart from my mum and dad now. They've...my mum's always been very mature, and my dad...and my dad he used to be a violent man, was a violent man....My step dad. Em, he used to - he used to have a name for himself for fights when he was a young lad, he used to be a bouncer, and this that. But...when he'd go out and get drunk and come back, he's beat my mum up, and my mum used to go out and get drunk, she'd come back and beat him up. And it was a continuous cycle, until they both went out together and then they just didn't want to know. But, yeah.. I got sick of seeing violence, and upset...people getting on at other people all the time; shouldn't be like that."

Again this shows how let down he feels by those closest to him even though he loves them. So this too is disillusionment with people, a theme of intimacy. It also shows how "affected" he can be emotionally by others and seem to hold this idea as protection of himself.

The following highlights how Woody sees himself in that he does not see himself as a criminal but a victim.

".....Em...but yeah, I was violent...in everything I did, in my approach. I mean some people say in here that I've got a bit of an attitude...I...well, yeah, maybe I have; I don't know. I'm not stupid, I know I'm not stupid, I understand prison, I know exactly what this prison is doing to all the individuals, and I'm a life sentence prisoner, I know where I'm going, I know what I want, I know what I want to do, and when you get smackheads, y'know, the gits that come up and start giving you grief, you don't want to know. And they wonder why you're pushing them away. Well I'm like, I'm one of you, I'm a con, why are you doing this to me? Because I'm not a con. I've never stolen a damn thing in my life. I never lied about anything in my life. I killed a man who tried to tamper with me, and I didn't want that to happen. Because I know what it feels like when it does happen, and...I'm not a criminal."

Woody even feels victimised in prison as he is not like the "other cons".

" . Em...then I had problems with accepting, em...murder, em...I mean as far I was concerned I was protecting myself. Afterwards... well during, when I lost my head, em...I didn't know what I was doing, but, em, I used to blame myself for killing an innocent man...em...even though - well no I shouldn't say that. The man was....he had over forty-two different charges of child molestation and child abduction, em, indecent, em, indecent assault, sexual assault on kids. And the police wanted me to feel better about that. Well you've done society a favour, this that and the other, so why do you feel like this? And... people were trying to make me feel worse. My probation officer in Wakefield, "tell me about what happened", so I told him, and there was the height of my grief, and he told me to shut up and stop crying, he says the guy deserved it, and I just - I wouldn't' speak to anybody for a month after that. But, em...he's still a human being. But I knew...I knew what was going to happen, I knew what was going to happen. I mean...when I felt all the adrenaline rushing through my body... people - psychologists say it's either fight or flight - it's not that kind of situation whatsoever. It's rooted to the spot, and feeling... like a rat in a sewer; you come across a rat in a sewer and what does it want to do; it wants to get by you, and it feels scared and trapped and then tries to jump over your shoulder, you get in the way and then that's it; it starts chewing away at you. That is how I felt: trapped...because I'm getting punched in the back, same situation, and...but I wasn't - well, not from when I was sixteen - I was being beat upon, and I thought, well all right yeah, he's punching me, and if I go on the floor and he knocks me unconscious, or he gets the better of me, what's going to happen? You're going to have to go into hospital again, stitched up, and go through the same thing over again. I'm not going to do that. Not what I've lived through the past six years; revisiting the rape over and over again. I'm not going to do it."

This offers a little more in terms of how he felt. The emotions portrayed in these extracts map onto the way he felt when he was raped at sixteen. The fact that he cannot come to terms with the fact that he has murdered a child molester is telling. Many people would have difficulty in coming to terms with taking the life of someone else but many would not under these circumstances especially if one had been attacked before. He still feels compassion for his victim as a human being. Whilst others around him are judgmental he remains perturbed by the fact he has taken a human life. Woody has gone to great lengths to try to reconcile the way he feels about

the murder and the rape but still seems to have difficulty coming to terms with it. After all the whole focus of the narrative is on these two issues.

In attempting to reconcile his life Woody has spent time talking to sex offenders to gain insight into their motives and to try to share the perspective of the victim with them in the hope that it will prevent them harming anyone else. This is an act of altruism and a way of helping himself bring some good from a very harsh experience. Woody seems to easily take the perspective of the other. Not many individuals especially victims of brutal rapes could place themselves on a wing of sex offenders but Woody was very keen to turn this experience into something positive. The following is an example of the "work" he did with a number of sex offenders.

"Jim, refused...refused to tell me the truth about his crime...eh...he used to say he...almost - cos he's only doing a discretionary life sentence - tell me that he almost killed a man; beat him up and this that and the other. And he didn't, he raped a woman badly, and beat her up and everything, and em...I sat down - I got my suspicions. It's just - I mean little things, you know, cos I don't miss a great deal. You know so like when you're walking down a landing and all of a sudden he says, "oh look at that woman on the telly, I could do this and I could do that" and it's just non-stop all day: sex sex sex, and you think, there's something dodgy about that. And...I told him about the rape - when I was raped; told him how a victim felt, and...just before I left, he says "it's going to help when I gets to Grendon because I've heard it from the horse's mouth", and I thought, yeah at least it's done some good."

Woody shows an acute ability to understand another's perspective. He noticed that another's conversation was extreme and he considered inappropriate. After all many men comment on attractive women but he "noticed" a difference. This type of observation surely comes about when one is very much in touch with differentiated emotion and thought. It also shows Woody's desire to act as a protector of others. He feels that by sharing his experiences with sex offenders he is reducing the likelihood of attacks on others.

Woody has the prerequisites for higher identity achievement, such as self-awareness. He has demonstrated an ability to change certain aspects of himself. For example he has differentiated his sexuality, no longer thinking he is homosexual. He has changed from feeling globally violent and wanting to hurt people to wanting to help them. He has not reconciled the fact that he was raped or committed murder, perhaps not surprisingly. The overall tone tells a story of his attempt to understand why the rape occurred. There is no overt evidence of generativity, on the other hand there is no

overt evidence of egocentricity, although he did feel uneasy about having committed murder. This of itself however is not enough to suggest a theme of generativity.

SIMON

As with the coherent narratives there is a strong identifiable point to the story. Simon tells the story of a boy who is badly treated by his father who leaves him emotionally insecure lacking in confidence and craving affection. Much of the narrative is focused on a variety of interpersonal relationships he has experienced. The opening statement illustrates his claims that he has no confidence.

"Em, I was born in a small town called Whitmore D'you know it? (I: Roughly, I think I've been there, yeah) Em... I don't know what to say! What else can you say?

I: It's all right. What about any brothers and sisters or anything?

S: Yeah I've got one brother, one sister, I've got a sister Janet, she's thirty, I've got a brother called Paul, he is twenty seven. And I've got me mother and father still alive, me father was an Engineer, em, me mother's a house-wife.

I: Still together?

S: Still together. Married thirty five years next month and they're Jehovah's witnesses, eh, so I was given a really strict upbringing. Em, and at the moment I'm working towards an appeal for next year. Em, because things weren't brought out on me, eh, y'know me trial original for the brutality of what I endure all me life off me family. Em, let's see, eh, I left school at sixteen, is this all right? (I: This is fine) I've never done this before, eh, not used to talking. Eh, so I left school at sixteen, eh, no qualifications at all, really, apart from one GCSE in English. Em, see I've worked in eh, little factories and, eh, few criminal things, y'know, got in trouble and got sent away, things like that. Em, then I came home, met a girl, got married."

The conflict to be reconciled is introduced at this early stage, that is the difficulty he has concerning the relationship between himself and his father. Simon attributes his lack of confidence and criminal behaviour to the treatment he received as a child.

Simon goes on to talk about his family. This could be seen as generative, or it could be a function of his need for close relationships.

"Em, got three children, two from the marriage and one from a previous relationship. I'm in touch with that girl still from the previous relationship, I've got a little girl to her. She came up last week, first visit in ten years - I've been away ten years. Em, meeting me little girl for the first time, next visit."

The next statement Simon reveals is concerning his ex - wife.

"And even though she got married while I was on remand, em, told her to go find someone which she did, her relationship, I've always been there to help and that, she's had problems. And I have my own, and her relationship with her husband's gone, he walked out about two month ago, so I've been there supporting her and all, she came up to talk to me and that. I said, well I'll help you,...."

He talks about this close relationship in terms of support. The next extract shows that he continues with the interpersonal theme. Although this does not specifically inform on the themes it does demonstrate that Simon has a focus that is important to him. He goes on to talk about his daughter.

"Em... I mean I speak to her on the telephone as I've done for the last twelve months. We write to each other... em... but I don't know how I should approach her, y'know if she comes up, I don't know whether I should just grab hold of her and give her a big hug and that, or whether that might be too much for her, so what I'm gonna do when I walk in the visit room, I'm just gonna see her reaction, maybe she'll come running to me, innit?It's so hard.I don't know if you can understand."

When asked what important events he could remember in his life he replied that it was watching his children being born. This then is commensurate with his previous focus on interpersonal relationships.

"I think watching me children be born. That's the one that sticks out in me mind. Just sat there and watching them come out and be, y'know, and cutting the cord and then just wrapping up and holding the baby right, like. That's really a thing that sticks out in my mind, em..."

Simon seems highly intimate, emphasising the physical closeness he shared with the baby.

Simon was asked to relate key turning points in his life, he chooses to discuss the circumstances for which he was incarcerated. He was convicted with the murder of a man who he got into an fight with on a bridge. He pushed the man over the bridge and subsequently died. He begins,

"Em... what's the best way to explain it to you? Em... many months before, I went out for a drink in this particular pub, the landlord owned the pub, the landlord, he was the son of the deceased. And... he had another brother who'd hung himself couple of years before, Timothy. And I knew Timothy very well but I didn't know Philip. And the two looked very much look alike, and I said, "hello Timothy", and he said, "hey I'm not Timothy, I'm Philip", when he was collecting glasses in the pub. He were nasty like, y'know and I - my friend explained and I says, "oh well I didn't know", cos I'd been away you see. Em... then this particular night in the pub, I saw this guy eh, handed us pint and I didn't really cotton on, but when I went back out and that cos... I saw this guy on the bridge and we got talking and apparently he used to stand on this bridge whether it was hail or rain or snow or any - thunder or lightning, he'd be there overlooking the water, obviously... and I spoke about it to him and he took offence. And turned on me and it got into a fight and... it all happened. Em, but I mean it was a period in me life where... I'd gone through the - well I was going through the divorce, em, I didn't have a

job so I had to find other means of making money, em, I was with this girl who was expecting a baby, y'know this one now I was on about, em, and I was very depressed. Em, trying to make peace with me family, and it just got all too much for me and in the end I took an overdose. Em, that was about twenty hours before this offence happened. And under the effects of those drugs combined with alcohol, y'know, partly, I don't mean I'm absolved from it, but I feel partly it's responsible, plus my upbringing in a small way. And all these things come together, it was just too much for me at the time."

Simon describes the event in terms of his mental instability. Like Woody he demonstrates a victim type imago. He was a victim of trying to make conversation with first the landlord's son and then the landlord both of whom rebuffed him. He was a victim in terms of going through a divorce he could not cope with and facing imminent fatherhood. The description of events is credible in the light of his father's attitude towards him. Simon reveals (later in the narrative) that his father was rejecting towards him which caused him great distress. It is conceivable then that being rejected on every attempt he makes to initiate contact would be distressing for him. Added to that the focus thus far has very much been on interpersonal closeness, something that Simon would appear extremely desirous of.

The earliest memory Simon has demonstrates his need for closeness. It also focuses on distress in an incident with his mother.

"I can remember me mum taking me there, and what used to be, eh, the headmistresses office, staff room, was a classroom at the time. And I can remember me mum taking me in and letting me go and I burst into tears and... I run away."

Given that Simon is now in his thirties, it is perhaps surprising that such incidents are important to him. However Simon has constructed a reality that is based around the distress his parents has caused him. He goes on to describe how it all started. This shows coherence, that is continuing with the same theme.

"That's when I started, well my father says we became rebellious. It just totally changed my life. One minute we're having Christmas and Easter and birthdays and... being able to do normal things as a kid can do, and then in the next instant about the age of nine, they'd become baptised Jehovah's Witnesses and all this, and we don't have none of those things. Then we're not allowed to associate with what they call worldly people, y'know, people outside their religion, so we couldn't associate with other kids, so then I was very lonely. And then he used to be, like, 'spare the rod spoil the child', so whenever I did anything wrong, he would beat me with brush tails or mop tails or garden canes out the greenhouse, or rip me clothes off me and beat me with garden canes....This is how it suddenly changed. And things just went worse and worse and it just totally changed me."

Simon implies he was not able to be "normal". This therefore would suggest that at least from his perspective he felt stigmatised and alienated from what he believed was a "usual" way to live. Simon goes to back this up with an example.

"I used to get people come to my house from school, fifteen sixteen, and my father wouldn't let me out. So I didn't have my girlfriend till I was, like, seventeen, didn't know what it was like. I hadn't a clue.....well it was very restricted. Everything. It was only till I left home that... I started to experience things, and I think in a way it's not been good because I feel... I feel it's made me immature. It's made me - I think it's made me, em... perhaps nervous when talking to people. Em, and prison's not helped, y'know, it's made me nervous, em, me communication social skills are undeveloped because of it, em... em...it's just not been good at all, em, not being able to develop proper through formative years. When you read that, I've picked that right up I've done. Cos it's sort of expressed it through prison social conditions: damaging social conditions, plus all the formative years of growing up I've not been able to experience, I've not been able to grow, I've not been able to mix or anything. Y'know, it's just - it's totally stunted me. I was doing things at eighteen and nineteen what perhaps boys of fifteen, sixteen were doing when I was that age group. The people that I hung around with when I was that old there, although they were forward. I mean this is what always shocks me today, like, speaking to me daughter on the telephone, I'm thinking, God, y'know, the things she comes out with, the things she'll say, and it just totally blows my head because I think, God she sounds older than that. Y'know, when I was outside I used to knock around with a guy ...now I was - I was twenty-two then and he'd be about seventeen, ...Like, when I was sixteen, once I did leave home, I used to see my mates going to work, I mean I wouldn't know about this, see my mates going to work, and they'd come out from work and they'd have a girlfriend and they go places; I didn't. And I was on my own, I didn't have anybody.....I can remember my first girlfriend. Eh, she lived in this, em, this big massive mansion. Em, she was about sixteen, I'd be about seventeen. And it was a children home, y'know, a foster home place and she was about sixteen. But eh, I didn't know what to do! Y'know what I mean, I thought what do you do with her, and my mates used to say, take her out, y'know, take her out to the Palace, take her to the pub, y'know, so I used to go up the pub. I hadn't a clue. And I feel, I look back now and feel it's because I wasn't allowed to have girlfriends, it was all alien."

Simon has made sense of himself and his life by feeling that his emotional growth was stunted by his father. Again he feels he suffered in particular in the area of interpersonal relationships. Even though he makes reference to his daughter he remains focused on the point he is making. This is credible as the events he describes would very possibly have a deep impact on a developing person, therefore it is credible.

Given that this group is based around unreconciled problems, Simon continues to implicate his father when talking about a girl.

"Well me brother, he was about... thirteen and he had a few friends down there and they used to come down, y'know what I mean, cos I used to get all the records in them days, and start buying David Bowie and like that, that's what I'm into, and I feel he was an influence on me, David Bowie's music, it's really - do you like David Bowie. ...He's good. And I started - I'd be about fifteen, started listening to David Bowie, and I thought yeah it's good stuff, and me dad didn't like it, so, y'know, "you're not playing that, y'know, I'm not listening to that", but

still I would listen to it in school and all that, but when I left school and everything and I used to buy me own records and all that. And these people used to, "oh our Bob's got some of that, y'know", so I went to this home and I got talking to this girl and she was into it all. So we started talking and said do you want to come out and ????? crap like that, y'know. Not very exciting is it?.....Well so far innit, it's not been very exciting, it's been a bit drab hasn't it?"

Simon, still appears to "suffer" the consequences with respect to self assurance. The reoccurring theme thus far is that the harsh treatment he received has, he feels rendered him inadequate in his important quest to have close relationships. He expands on this theme. Showing an attempt to differentiate the motivations his father had. This narrative is successful in conveying a tragic emotional tone.

"It's made me very angry, very bitter I'm very angry with me father, but in the other sense I feel sorry for him... em.. Because he - I feel he needs help.. Em... it wasn't about punishment, I feel it was more brutality. Em, I wouldn't - well the have authorities just said that he's more of a dogmatic and domineering bully, and child welfare people....I think,.. the problem with me father is that he still wants to dominate my life, he still wants me to do things his way..... He's got a hold on me, yeah, because my father's last letter to me which me mother wrote, he's just sat there, about four years ago, was that "you say nobody loves you, for instance, what have you done for me or your mother? You haven't changed, you haven't proved yourself to me and you haven't, eh, changed now, or while you was outside". So how does he know that I haven't changed, I mean I've - I've - I've passed me English exams, I've done maths, it's only RSA maths, y'know what I mean, but I've done me maths and me English, em, Engineering, em, bricklaying, plastering.....it's emotional blackmail."

This shows that Simon has not resolved or indeed reconciled the relationship with his father. Despite purporting him as brutal he still accepts his father's suggestion that he should change. The letter was asking yet again for acceptance. Simon does not seem to have accepted that his father is unlikely to change and that unless he learns to reconcile this will always be a painful issue for him.

Another strong theme in Simon's narrative is the tendency to make known his acquaintance or friendship with eminent, intelligent, persons of respected standing . In Simon's case when taken with the whole narrative it can be understood in terms of having a low self esteem. Sometimes the desire for favourable presentation leads people to associate themselves with the success of others. (Deaux and Wrightsman, 1988) This basking in reflected glory is a self-presentation strategy and arguably utilised by persons with a lack of confidence in themselves. Simon therefore demonstrates a need to be accepted, possibly as a result of being rejected by his father. Ironically some of the individuals he looks up to are males who are about his fathers age.

"I've got a friend on another wing over there who's em, a qualified law student, he's got his LLB honours.he's doing life for murder of his lover who's now been found alive and well. And the other guy, the other inmate, he's been lifed up for the murder of, um, of somebody, and they found out through this guy, the other inmate, that the skull fracture was done before he'd even done it. It was a very old - it was an old one, so he's inno- so he's innocent aswell, he hadn't fractured his skull, so he's been lifed up as well for nothing. Eh, the other guy who's up on ??? he's a - he's a pilot. Em, my interests are, like, adventurous things, eh, make a bit of a ??? I suppose, and I've been studying about paramotion. (I: Para?) motion, and parachuting, and paragliding. I keep reading books, writing off to air place, this guy's a qualified pilot upstairs, and em, says to me he wants to keep in touch, he says to me, "I'll take you up in my aeroplane", cos he shows me all his photos of him in ??? I don't want to be a pilot, but at the moment I've been reading books on navigation, cos I'm trying to learn that."

This seems as though Simon is trying to feel important to others. The other inmates he mixes with are in his eyes respectable and worthy. This seems to be an attempt to elevate his own self-esteem.

There is evidence to suggest that Simon has changed when he is asked to recall a book that sticks out in his mind. Given that he has been involved in a whole range of serious crimes he a) remembers *Great Expectations* and b) the moral of the story he says,

"I think it's just, he helped the guy, didn't he, he was kind, showed kind to the - to the convict, em, that kindness and goodness come back to him, yeah. I think that's the moral of the story."

What Simon has taken away from the book is the message if someone treats you with kindness it will be returned. Perhaps this applies to his father, showing yet again the need for reconciliation. Simon gives a description of himself with is commensurate with his focus on interpersonal relationships. Giving the narrative credibility and coherence.

"Well, I certainly have all my morals and principles. Em, I have respect for other people. Treat other people right. Em, I mean at the end of the day... I'm not what the public perceive us to be. I mean the public perceive us to be cold, heartless people cos of the media, and we're all tarred with the same brush as, say, Myra Hindley, or, em, some of these, like, ??? in Wakefield and all these others, y'know, you've got pedophiles, you've got rapists, you've got, y'know, a whole range of serious crimes but yet we're all tarred with the same brush. But at the end of the day I'm not a cold-hearted person, I know what I've done, and I have to live with that. I still have me dignity and pride. Em, still have morals, principles, still have compassion. Still have love in there. Still have something to give in there but I suppose it's all buried. I suppose if I got out with this woman, I eventually came to meet another woman it'd slowly come out all this. Y'know, buried and suppressed it all..... I am a bit of a softy I suppose. (I: Bit of a softy?) Yeah, inside. Em, eh, with a woman, em, I mean the thing that I miss in jail is not about sex, it really isn't, I've grown to understand that. What you miss in prison is physical contact, to hold somebody. I mean I'm the type of guy, I don't mind, I feel good to be with a woman, just hold her hand when you walk down the street. To just embrace a person, show them that you love them, that you care for them, that you want their interests,

y'know, their thoughts, their opinion, to value them, to make them feel valuable, y'know, that they are worth it. Just like that."

When asked to describe himself, he needs to reveal this in terms of what one of his "respected" role models say about him. He says,

"Well Derrick Homes (Famous person) did me, em, a thing for me board about ten month ago. I asked him earlier this year, January this year, yeah, January this year. I said I needed a - a thing writing, y'know, sort of a - a reference about me and all that. And he wrote me a very positive one, said he'd been writing to me for about ten year - although he'd never met me in person which he hopes to do, em, from what he's seen of me, he said I've had me depressions, periods of considerable depression at times and all that, he says, but I've always come through, but he said, like, y'know, he said, where people have interests or many interests and he said Simon has one which is astronomy, y'know, and he's happy from time to time to??? he says, but, I've not only kept my interest on astronomy but I've grown with it and expanded with it which is very hard to do isn't it, y'know I've stuck with it. Eh, and I've done courses and all this that and the other and I've come across to him as a sensible person. Y'know, eh, he doesn't know a lot about me crime other than that it resulted in the death of a person, but he feels that, y'know, I am a person who is, y'know, a remorseful person, eh, in his eyes I'm all right, y'know, what I mean."

This need for an eminent person to say that he is a worthwhile person seems very important to Simon. It seems almost like a child eagerly awaiting a good school report. This type of approval seeking behaviour is reflected in his continued attempts to make his father accept him. It would therefore seem reasonable to understand that Simon cannot stand rejection. If he needs to go to such lengths to have his self worth confirmed, any reinforcement of himself as an unworthy person would understandably cause him great distress.

He says of himself.

"I think I need to work on me confidence, is this the sort of thing you mean? I need to work on me confidence, eh, I need to be stronger, emotionally stronger. Em, I want my - I want my independence back, it's been took away cos I've been in prison. But I need - certainly need to work on, eh, like when I get out, I'll need to mature more. But I certainly need to be more confident, eh, more positive. Is that the right way to answer this, or -?"

Simon quite clearly is trying his best to answer correctly. He is astute in recognising he has a problem and has identified where this has stemmed from. Although he does not seem to have totally changed, he recognises the need possesses the prerequisite for change-an awareness of the causality. Simon actually implies that the murder occurred as he could not bear another rejection.

"when I pushed this guy off the bridge... I mean I can remember having the fight, pushed this guy over the bridge Hammersmith, my head just went y'know what I mean, it was like, like, the way I've been able to explain it to Michael, when this guy attacked me, cos he was like my father's age, it was like, oh no here we go again. I think that's the way I look at it. And my head just sort of (click fingers) y'know it just went because it was like seeing me dad, y'know what I mean."

There is a similarity in the interpersonal interaction of the murder between Woody and Simon. This again is described as a cathartic reaction. The other similarity is that they both seem highly sensitive and have a high need for intimacy.

There is a huge need for Simon to reconcile this issue. The whole narrative has focused on himself in relation to other people. He seems chronically in need of reassurance and acceptance. He even wrote to the interviewer after the interviews offering his services should they be required. The narrative then is coherent, and credible. Simon knows he has to change and is open to the idea of it. Although he has not changed fully, he is under no illusions unlike others from lower groups who feel they have. Simon has made some progress in accepting that it was not entirely his fault and that his upbringing at the hands of his father has a large part to play. He shows a great awareness and has been able to make sense of his life even if he is still not yet happy regarding the relationship with his father. This is a main issue in his life which has yet to be reconciled. As far as generativity is concerned, it is difficult to tell. This is compounded by his need to be close to others. Apart from wanting to offer support to his ex girlfriend and his children Simon does seem overly concerned with the wider issues. Added to this is the fact that he did not focus particularly on his victim or any of the victims of his crimes. He said he has to live with what he had done, but it did not seem to cause him as much distress as the issue with his father. The style of narration seemed brutally honest and if Simon had felt remorse he would have been likely to discuss it. Overall then the narrative did not show any overt themes of generativity.

GEORGE

George is the last member of this group. He tells a coherent and credible story of a young boy who was unfairly treated and let down by a number of authority figures and how this led him to becoming deviant. His story shows coherence by beginning in a chronological manner which explains his formative years in terms of the factors that lead him down a path of criminal involvement and emotional turmoil. The first extract concerns his mother-the source of his conflict.

"Me mother she was a hot-tempered woman and with me being the eldest of four children, one brother two sisters, eh, I think the onus was on me to show the other three how to do things, how to go about things and help me mother and father out when they weren't around. Em, I think I was - I was one of these that - I rebelled against me family at an early age. I didn't really like responsibility; I didn't really take responsibility seriously, and through this it ended in with, like, me mother being violent towards me, em, I mean she used to hit me with, like, the hairbrush. I mean I say violence but most of it was... just normal, well I don't know whether I

say it was normal because to me it was normal but to others it might not have been. Em... the earliest act I can remember was when me mother hit me over the head with a hairbrush and caused a hole in me head and I had to go to school with a big hole in me head, em, which - I didn't really nothing of it at the time, and, I mean I don't think it's really affected me, maybe's it has, later on in life it's bounced back on me but at the time it didn't really affect me."

George begins then by showing how he has thought about the precursors to the shape his life has taken. The next statement introduces the idea that he harbours some resentment towards his mother.

"we moved, we moved from the house that we were living in at Eastside which was a fairly, I can't say posh but it was fairly, it was o.k., it was a nice area, we had big fields in front of the house and everything, nice little park and that for us all to play in. Eh, we moved from Eastside to a rough estate, Parkfield, because me mother wasn't getting on with the neighbours and me dad had also attempted to murder me mother, eh, there'd been a - me mother and father were fairly, it was a fairly violent relationship what they had. I can remember one time when I was sneaking down the stairs, I'd heard me mother and father arguing, I've sneaked down the stairs and basically there was a loud bang gone off and what had happened is me father had tried to shoot me mother with a shotgun. Em, I shit meself and ran back upstairs, ran back upstairs and cried me eyes out and that and just thought nothing of it."

George continues to focus the narrative around his mother with respect to the violence he showed her. Even this focus shows that he has picked out certain events that link together as opposed to rambling through a series of life events in a seemingly unconnected way.

"..things gradually got worse about two three year afterwards when me mother was, eh, she was still aggressive towards me in particular, and every time, every time, like, me sisters were in the wrong, the blame was always put onto me, no matter where I was, I mean I could be out miles away, yet I was I was the blame for not being to keep an eye on them. I'd come back and that and there'd be all hell break loose, "where've you been this and where've you been that", and "I dunno, it's nowt to do with me, I've been up the woods playing or whatever". And there was one time when I woke up, we've all got up for school one morning, mother and father have got up, no me father was at work, he used to work shifts. Eh, gone downstairs, me mother's getting us all ready for school and what have you, making us all breakfast and that and I think I'd - me and me brother had been getting in the way a bit, and like, me two younger sisters, I mean me younger sister at the time was only, like, a baby, and I'd have been about, what, seven eight year old, no, maybe's about nine, em, I can remember I was in the junior school, which is, like, after the infants as you know, em... I've come downstairs one morning, I've been - I've got in the way of me mother, and she's just gone to town on me. I mean like physically gone to town on me and she's pushed me and I fell over her clothes horse, she had a clothes horse up with clothes drying on it and that. I fell over on that and I've cracked all me skull open. Cracked all me, well it was, cracked all me skull at the corner there. And I knew I'd done some damage, I knew me mother had done some damage to me there and then, but she still sent me to school. Sent me to school and, like, of course the teachers have all got onto it and that, like, "what's happened here, what's happened there?" I just told em that I fell down the stairs. And the teachers at the time, I don't think they believed it because they made a bit thing out of it. I mean in them days it wasn't really heard of for, like, child-child-child abuse and stuff like that. Em, and then the teachers, like I say, they made a big fuss about it and they put me in front of the assembly. Plumped me in front of the assembly and, like, this is what happens if you're a bad lad at home and all this garbage, and I just couldn't handle it. Couldn't handle it and that and I ran out of school. Ran out of school and that, ran home, and me mother didn't want to know. Me mother didn't know, basically she chased me back to school. I think -

well, I think now when I look back on it now, I think it was more she was frightened of what she'd done more than anything else. Eh, that incident happened, I mean, she took me - I mean eventually she took me to the hospital, took me to the local hospital and that, and it was found that all I'd suffered was, like, concussion, and double vision, I was getting double vision and what have you. Eh, I've gone back - gone back to school couple of days later, stayed off school cos I didn't want to go, well me mother was sending me to school but I wasn't, I was going round me mate's house and just staying round there all day out the way cos, like, me mate's mum and dad were, like, second parents to me. Eh, I've gone round there, I've stayed round their house for a few days, and eventually I went back to school."

George describes these events in a way that conveys strong emotion. He portrays the lack of support and hurt he felt. First of all he reveals that he felt particularly victimised by his mother, he felt singled out for punishment. He describes the attack as though he felt it was unjust. The act of being in some one's way hardly constitutes a fractures skull. This is compounded by the fact that she sends him to school regardless, thus conveying her lack of concern for him. He then feels spurned by the teachers who do not believe him and further compound the problem by making a spectacle of him and humiliating him in front of the school. George runs "home" (a safe haven) where he is chased back to the source of his humiliation by his mother. She eventually takes him to hospital where indeed he has sustained quite serious injuries. The "eventually" also emphasises her lack of thought interpreted by George as concern. He stays at place where he can get attention and love considering his friend's parents to be like second parents. These all reflect themes of rejection, disillusionment, being upset at the lack of care and concern anyone including his mother had for him. This reveals an imago of victim with respect to rejection and a lack of acceptance. It is a credible account, a child may certainly experience the described emotions if s/he experienced these events. George continues with the theme of being victimised and bullied, demonstrating coherence.

The next incident George discusses is being terrorised by a gang of boys. However the "moral" of the story or valued end point focuses on being let down by his parents and those who should be there to protect him not compound the problem.

"what I'll have been about, what, thirteen, fourteen, and at that stage I got in with a gang of lads from school, a gang of lads from me own estate and that. We used to bike riding and doing things what kids did and that. And we've gone up to the local woods one day and I got kidnapped, I got kidnapped by two older lads. Now this I've always said has had, I mean it's got to have had some sort of effect on me but how I don't really know. I've never really - it's not that I've never really looked at it because I've looked at it in depth and it's - it's frightened me. Basically what happened, there was - I was held at gun point. I was fifteen year old, I was held at gun point by two lads with air rifles, but I didn't know they were air rifles, they were just guns to me. Eh, I was shot several times, I had me head shoved in a bag full of ferrets, em,

I was made to walk across a sewer pipe across the roof of the ??? and basically I was pushed off and left for dead. And I managed to escape, managed to escape that, I've gone home, I've told me mother and father what had happened, and they phoned the police. Well when the police came they just turned round and said, well basically you shouldn't have been up the woods in the first place because it's private land. But I mean all kids go up to these place and we didn't know what was what or anything we just went there. And the police came and said, like, you shouldn't have been up there in the first place so from that moment I thought, well stuff you's. And... I don't know, it was just - it was weird at the time, because I was, like, I was shell-shocked. I was shell-shocked because nobody really... I suppose nobody really cared for what had happened at the time, it was just, like, oh he's all right sort of thing and he'll live, he'll get by, which I suppose is, like, the macho image sort of things and the macho thing to do, but I didn't really see things that way at the time. Em, things have move- things have moved on from there. I was arrested - the first time I was ever arrested was when I was thirteen year old for burgling the local school. I'd been, I mean it was a gang of kids and that"

George reveals a number of points. Firstly that he recognises the importance of the way he saw events at the time as having a bearing on his subsequent behaviour. He says they were just being kids this implying that were acting normally as opposed to deviantly. The language he uses "kidnapped" and at "gun point" reflects his feelings of terror. He also reveals that he has looked into this in depth because he knows the whole experience has had a profound effect on him, thus revealing a certain degree of insight. He shows how at the time due to the depth of terror he felt that he thought the attitude of the police and the parents was totally unacceptable. He seems to suggest that their tendency to focus on the fact that they were in fact trespassing, when they did not even know, did not support his need to have effective measures taken against the bullies, rather to victimise him further. He also reveals being let down by his parents who did not appear to talk to him about how he felt which he suggests he needed. They simply expected him to pout a brave face on.

This reflects the theme of feeling let down like the teachers, of those who are there to protect and care. This theme is reflected again in his next nuclear event. The narrative then, is focused based around the way in which George has interpreted those around him. He conveys to the reader the injustice he felt and the anger which he says subsequently led him into criminal behaviour.. Shortly after this incident George begins a spree of criminal behaviour seemingly fuelled by a need to be deviant rather than for monetary gain. This is interesting because George relates an incident of when he committed a crime. In this instance even though he has broken the law, he chooses to select those pieces of information that are congruent with his image of being let down and victimised, thus strengthening his resolve to "act out".

"I was first arrested when I was thirteen for - I think it was breaking windows at the local school. We'd been messing around with - I don't know, in the local school, couple of windows had been broken, we'd all been dropped for it. I was took - no, sorry, tell a lie, it was for shoplifting the very first time I... yeah cos I was getting away with all the hard stuff and I got caught pinching a Yorkie heh heh! And that, eh. And they've took me down to the police station and I think they tried to, I dunno, I think they tried to, like, brutalise me in making sure that I never did it again, which... cos I got into the cells, I was, like, thirteen year old, young little kid and all that lark, and basically the coppers kicked the shit out of me when I was in the cells, put me in the chair and battered. Kicked me out the cells, got me dad down, me dad's come down, and, like, I was crying and in a state and everything, me dad's made a complaint and basically they've turned round and said, well hopefully he'll learn his lesson from that, which I suppose me dad took em, like, yeah, sort of things, he might do. Where it just made me all the more determined to... I dunno I suppose it just made me all the more determined to... I suppose in one sense to get one back at them. But I never really, I've never really plotted it or planned it or anything. Em, but that happened when I was thirteen."

So George even though he understand the reasons why they tried to do it focuses on his emotional state at the time which was the link to where he is today. He focuses on being terrorised and that his Dad let him down once again. It also reflects George's ability to make sense of what has happened.

George marks this as the beginning of a string of events.

"there was a string of, I dunno, since thirteen to, well, when I were convicted of murder when I was twenty-one. I mean I've been in and out of, in and out of police stations, eh, various charges, I mean arson, burglary, shoplifting, car theft, em, I got done for - me first prison sentence - no, me first ever conviction for, when I got sent away from me mother's house was, eh, I got done for GBH, which is eh, I was coming back from a party one night, we'd all been bunking school, big gang of lads and that, bunking school and that, and we used to go to this local youth club in, like, a posh estate and that which was, it was about two mile away from me mother's house. And we've come back, I've come back home about ten o'clock at night, and I'm - I've cut across the park, big daft park, cut across the park and there was a figure in the bus stop with a bag over her shoulder, it was, like, a woman in a bus stop, and I don't know what got into me head, but I think I thought to meself, I know, I'll rob her, I'll try and rob her and that. So I've ran up, I've tried to grab this woman's handbag and during the course of the struggle she ended up with a two inch knife wound in her back with a pen knife. I had a pen knife on me which some - which somebody gave me, and that, I was, I dunno just messing around with it whatever, and eh, I ended stabbing this woman in the bus stop. And she got, eh, two stitches in her back from - I didn't really - I mean when I went to court for it and that, I didn't really understand what they were saying to me, like, this was attempted murder this - it wasn't it was just a robbery that had gone wrong and... I'd been convicted of it, and I got - I got sent to the... care of the local authority, and from there I was put into a special unit for juvenile delinquents that had serious, or they thought, serious mental problems. Which, I suppose, I mean to me it was just - to me it was just one big one joke because we were all away from home, it was like on holiday and that, they were looking after us and taking us to places that I've never really been to and... I mean it was all right, I liked it there. But I got out of - I got out of care when I was, what, sixteen, sixteen and a half, I'd missed all me exams what I should have took at school, em... got out of care because I got a YTS job, managed to get a YTS job, got out of care and I was doing well. I got out of care, got meself set up at home and that, was paying lodge and everything to me mother, em... what happened then, sixteen? Yeah I was about sixteen and a half and I got arrested for... burglary, I started burgling shops, burgling shops and that - I don't know why really, but I think mainly it was for... something to do because I mean it wasn't for the money because I had money, I already had the money that I needed and that, well I think it was more for something to do and plus I got a kick out of it. I used to get a kick out of creeping round all these empty shops and that when - like, doing my shopping when all the shops were closed. Eh, I got arrested for shop burglary, I got fined, I think I had numerous fines over the years between sixteen and, what,

me next sentence when I was eighteen for burgling shops. I mean there was one time when I was burgling a solicitor's office for... a mate of mine had said that he'd just bought a house for cash, put the money in the solicitor's office, and would I go and get the money back. So I've burgled the solicitor's office and as I was coming out the police had - I'd set off an alarm in the office, the police had all circled the place, so I'm running across all the rooftops and that, and I fell off. I fell off the roof top and smashed all me leg, smashed all me face in and cut all me stomach open, and I spent six months, I think it was about six and a half months all together in the hospital. Em... that - I dunno, it put me off, it put me off climbing on house roofs. And I didn't really, I thought, like, I thought to meself, like, I should have learnt me lesson, when I look back on it now, but I never."

The description George gives of his criminal behaviour emphasises the need to act out and be deviant rather than to burgle for personal gain, even to the extent where he seems compelled to do it. George even describes events that should have lead him to stop but he could not. The wide variety of offences and details also suggest deviance. This does indeed seem to mark a turning point, from going from his portrayal of a lack of support and hurt at rejection, he has focused exclusively on a theme of anger and indiscriminate anti social behaviour. This is a credible description of events. This behavioural description is commensurate with the feelings and emotions elicited by the abuse he felt he received prior to this period of time.

George shows the ability to change in his desire to "settle down" and build a future with his partner that does not involve crime. The next series of events George chooses to discuss are around his intimate relationships.

He goes straight on to say that he met another girl and how keen he was to "settle down", he also peppers the description with his mother, revealing that she kept throwing him out because they were not getting on very well. It would therefore not be surprising to reveal that George after the initial euphoria of deciding he wanted to settle down with someone realised that she was not what he was ideally looking for.

"the girl I was living with, we'd gone through, I suppose it wasn't a rough patch, it was just that when she'd mentioned, like when we'd agreed to get married, and like at first it was, yeah we jumped at it, and thought yeah we'll get married this, it'll be great and all that, like we love each other etcetera etcetera, and afterwards I've sat back and, like, thought about it and I thought well is this the girl for me sort of things and I thought, well no not really it isn't. But I felt, I felt as though I owed it to her, I felt as though I owed it to her to stand by her after what she'd done for me and everything and that so I stuck it through. But we never ever got married anyway".

George is willing to try to make a relationship work with a woman who offers him support who is in sharp contrast to his mother who he kept visiting and staying with in

an attempt to have a relationship with his mother. The murder happens one night when he is returning home.

After pay day George and his colleagues go out drinking where he becomes very drunk, he bumped into his victim on the way home. Again the way in which he describes this series of events is him as a victim.

"I'm on me way home, decided to walk back home and that, realised I didn't have any cigarettes on me so I've gone round to the all-night cafe, there was a 24-hour cafe thing, and just as I've walked into this cafe, this - I mean this woman come walking at me, I mean she was... she was gorgeous basically and that - and I mean, well I don't know whether it was the drink or anything but basically this good-look - this attractive woman's come walking towards me and that and said, do you fancy a good time. And I'm like that, cos I was drunk and that I said, yeah go on, and sort of thing, I said, yeah I'll go for this. We got in a taxi, went up to her house, I didn't really think, I didn't really think nothing of it, I thought, well it's something I've never done before, it's something new to me, it's something different. Gone up to her house, eh... paid the taxi, gone into the house, gone upstairs sort of thing, had sex and that, and during - during which she had a baby-sitter. Now the baby-sitter, she shouted the baby-sitter upstairs cos she's asked me if I had any cigarettes, she shouted the baby-sitter upstairs, and like, I was just sprawled on the bed, me, I was just still tanked up and that. And eh... the baby-sitter's come upstairs, said no he hasn't - he hasn't got any in his jacket pocket, and she went back downstairs. Well I'd saw, I'd saw the girl go into me jeans pocket and take something out, which I didn't know what it was, I thought it was the money that I owed her for her services or whatever. And I'd seen her do this, and hadn't really thought nothing of it, and like we've finished having sex and that, getting ready again, got dressed, I've gone to put me hand in me jeans pocket, check to see if all me money was there and what have you, and all the notes had gone. So I've asked her, I said, well where's me money. She said, well I haven't got it, started denying it and everything, started arguing with me and that, and I've left it because I'm not really one for arguing, I wasn't really one for arguing with women or owt, I mean I'd argue with a bloke till the cows come home, but with a woman I won't, I dunno for some reason, I think it's got something to do with me mother or whatever, but I won't argue, I'd just rather walk away. Eh, we've gone downstairs, as we're going downstairs I've felt something go across me back, now I didn't know what it was, I later found that she'd attempted to stab me, stab me with a dart, stuck a, slashed me back. Gone downstairs, sat down in the front room, and I've put me work boots back on and that, getting ready and that, and as I'm doing that I'm thinking to meself, this girl's robbing me, she's robbed me, just blatantly robbing me, and I think to meself, well I'm not gonna go home without getting me money back, I want me money - I need it cos I had a mortgage to pay, I had bills to pay etcetera etcetera. So I've got - I've asked her, I said, "listen", I said, "I don't mind what you've took for what I owe you", I said, "but can I have the rest back?" and she started f-ing and blinding and all that lot and shouting and screaming and everything, and I just thought, oh fuck this, I'll work it out tomorrow. I'll go home, I'll tell me girlfriend, I dunno, I got robbed or whatever and we'll sort it out from there, we'll sort something out. But as I've stood up, as I've stood up I think this girl's took it as threatening, and she just pounced out - she was sat in an armchair - and she just pounced out the armchair and she had a, well I now know it was a knife, but I mean at the time I didn't really see it as that, all I saw was, like a flash go in front of me eyes, and I've grabbed it and she carried on attacking me, so I mean I've, I think the drink took over, the aggre-anger took over, aggression took over and a few other things took over, like, I'm not letting her rob me etcetera etcetera. And I ended up stabbing her to death, and the next thing I can honestly recall is I've seen her lay - I've seen her slumped to the floor, I've realised what I've done, I've bent down and all that, check to see if she's still alive or see if she's o.k. or whatever and all that lot, I put her head on a pillow, put her head on a pillow and she was making all these weak gurgling noises and that, just shit meself basically. I've ran out the - I've ran out - by this time the baby-sitter had already ran, I mean she gone - she didn't see any of the actual attack or anything or what happened or anything, and I ran out the house, and I threw, I've still got the knife in me hand, I dunno if it was just stuck to me hand or whatever, and I've just - I've threw that away. I've ran out the house, ran home and basically I just got home and that, well me girlfriend was working nights, she used to work as a care assistant in an old people's home, and I've got home, I've changed all me clothes and all

that lot, I've sat down, I've cried me eyes out, I was screwed up, I was - do I phone the police or what, or do I just - and I think at the end of it I thought, well, I mean with me being from criminal - from a criminal background, there would - the last thing we do is say to the police, like come and get me I've done a crime, and so the way I thought about it at the time was, like, I'll bluff it out, I'll pretend it wasn't me, I don't know anything about it, and that was it."

George starts by saying that she approached him. Following the act of sexual intercourse he describes how he was robbed, in other words made a victim of crime. He decides that this is not acceptable and challenges this person who has robbed him, who he sees as starting to attack him. He says the anger and aggression took over. He implies being unaware of being aware whilst he is actually stabbing her. This would imply some kind of catharsis, followed by panic and disorganisation. This is similar to the other two murderers in this chapter-they have murdered a person who has treated them in the same way as their tormentors in this case George's mother.

He reveals in this that the initial reason he did not argue with "her" is something to do with his mother. George provides assertions that seem to support the idea that this was a cathartic experience.

"I've changed as a person. Eh, one almost definitely the morning after I committed the murder. The morning - I mean it was all off. It was as though every pent up aggression, anger, emotion, anything like that just disappeared. It was as though it was a lesson that - I dunno, I see it as a lesson in life that I've had to learn but why it took me to kill somebody or to end the life of somebody that freaks me right out."

This also suggests that he accepted this as "strange" behaviour. Some offenders do not really address the impact or analyse their actions. This shows that George realises that these responses to feelings he had were more than inappropriate. He seems to suggest that he was not normal.

George has chosen to put his experiences to good use. He is involved with a community programme to help prevent other young offenders turning out like him.

"I mean all I want to do now is get out and be a asset to the community, I want to go out there and help people and help young kids and that, see the errors of their ways and hopefully put them on the right track and that..... probation, social work, yeah I want to do that. (I: Oh yeah) Yeah which I'm training - well... I can't say training for but I'm getting the basics. I'm doing the basics for it now..... I'm working on the Encounter group.... It's working with the local social services, and they're bringing, well it's once every other month now through red tape, eh, they're bringing kids that are, like, fourteen fifteen year old - (I: That have been in trouble?) That have been in trouble but not necessarily been to prison yet, and we show them the ropes, and show them what's going to happen to them and. But I mean it's not as... it's not as direct as I'd like to be,..... But eh, I mean most of these kids are streetwise anyway, I mean

we know the score where they're coming from it's just, like, social workers and that with them all being straightheads, they don't understand."

So George sees his life as being based around the journey from victim to offender to saviour demonstrating that he is open to change.

George demonstrates potential generativity when he says,

"I believe that one day I'll get out, I'll get married, I'll settle down, I'll have a family, I'll live a normal life, and values are that take life one day at a time, take life one day at a time and learn, learn from life; life's a lesson."

However there is not a recurrent theme of generativity running through the narrative and therefore cannot be said to be present. The recurrent theme running through the narrative is in fact associated with his mother. George has not come to terms with the abuse he suffered at the hands of his mother. He has demonstrated the ability to change, and the precursors of change, self-reflection, insight and understanding. The narrative was credible as childhood deprivation as a predisposing factor to juvenile deviancy is well documented. The story was coherent, following a logical sequence, with a valued end point to the overall narrative structure and each statement made.

The characters in this group show some unique similarities on a number of points. Firstly they stand out has being sensitive and having a high need for intimacy. They all have seen themselves as victims two sharing similar emotions of rejection and a need for acceptance, all needing personal closeness.

Another similarity is that the murder was a cathartic experience two of them stressing that the pent up anger they felt has been released and has never returned.

The last similarity is that the victim seems to represent the formative abuser in all three cases.

The issue to be reconciled surrounds their imago as victim, Woody regarding the rape and murder, Simon his father and George his mother.

RESULTS

Chapter Fourteen: Group Five – The Enlightened

Tom

Jock

Carl

RESULTS: CHAPTER FOURTEEN**Group Five The Enlghtened**

*I matured..here and I ..opened my eyes.
 .it made me realise that there are people ..worse off than me.
 There's people in here... doing four or fivr years..and they say
 "I don't know how you could do a life sentence",
 but they'll all do a life sentence.
 They'll just do it in smaller sentences, bit by bit....
 So...I might say most of the people in here, that's their story.*

(Carl)

The three murderers in this group are Tom, Jock, and Carl. These three subjects were similar in that they all shared all the themes, coherence, credibility, openness to change, reconciliation and generativity. The recurrent theme being generativity. The extracts taken mainly demonstrate the presence of generativity and in doing so the other themes are apparent and will be commented on as they appear. The narrative extracts were taken in sequence.

CARL

Carl tells the story of a young man whom as a boy lost his father in tragic circumstances. Subsequently he experienced behavioural difficulties. He felt he was very immature which was involved in him committing murder. The main unique theme is of realisation and in his words "waking up".

The first extract is Carl's comments when if his childhood memories were happy.

"Yeah yeah they're happy ones in general you know I haven't really got any real bad memories of my childhood. I remember getting pretty harshly punished by my dad once when he punched me just cos I lied which was a bit over the top but I had been winding him up most of the day so I think he just lost his temper. Yeah I think compared to a lot of people I think I've had quite a good upbringing really."

This illustrates initially a coherence to the points Carl is making, and a reflective style. He seems to have reconciled his father's actions by rounding the statement off that he was overall happy. Carl goes on to talk about school demonstrating his ability to give a coherent account, moving through his life in a chronological fashion.

"the early parts of school seemed to be absolutely fine. I found that when you actually go from middle school to secondary school, when really you're looking at going for your subjects or whatever, I went to a different school from my brother and my two sisters. This is after my dad had died. And I think my mum being a catholic - I wasn't a catholic, but - my mum being a catholic she wanted me to go to a catholic school. And there was one that was fairly near to where we lived. And she thought it would be good for me if I went there. And I did. And I suppose I did have a bit of desire anyway - part of my nature anyway at the time was wanting to be different and do things that were different and so I went for it. But it didn't really work out, ah, not because, ah, I wasn't up to it so much but I think because I didn't know anybody when I went there I sort of messed about to get attention and - ah - as a result I got the attention of, like pupils that liked messing about basically. And they could have been you know messing about because ah...they could have been like messing about because perhaps they weren't up to the work in the classroom or wherever it was or they found it tough in their own backgrounds whatever. So I ended up getting in the wrong crowd. And although I was there for a couple of years I sort of messed things up and ended up getting kicked out. And I ended up going to the school that my sisters and brothers went to anyway. But by that time my school life was a bit - I'd knackered it up a bit - and ah ruined my chances of coming out of it with any qualifications - I ended up getting kicked out of the other school too and ah that was the end of my school life. And what probably started out to be quite promising, and I think my mum was probably quite hopeful - ah - probably was a bit of a let down at the end of the day. I felt under pressure because a lot of the tasks and the things that were put in front of me I actually found reasonably easy. So I didn't put a lot of effort into doing them. I just did them and then carried on doing whatever it was that I wanted to do. And I was always constantly told that I could do better, even though I was doing what was, like, sufficient. And ah, so on the times when I did actually put some effort in and tried to maybe get some positive attention or whatever I was always told that I could do better so it kind of put me off doing anything at all. And ah - I used to see- my brother, unfortunate for him, he's - sometimes he's a bit slow - and ah I don't know whether being older or whatever he felt pressured or whatever to try and do better than me - to show some sort of an example, but ah - he got quite a lot of the attention because he was a little bit slow and he needed that attention y'know. He needed to be shown. And I dunno I kind of like resent that a little bit. Because ah he would produce something which was good for him but ah wasn't necessarily good for me, he'll get a lot of attention because he put a lot of effort into doing it, so I'd work hard at something and then be told I could do better. So it kind of put me off doing anything. So I chose not to do anything, really, apart from like mess about."

This extract reveals that Carl has thought hard about how his own behaviour has had a negative affect on him. He does not blame anyone else and his description and comments about this period of his life suggest that he has accepted that it was his own fault. He understands and explains the factors involved that is wanting attention at a new school and being jealous of the attention his brother was getting. Carl feels part of this need for attention was due to the fact his father died when he was twelve.

When describing how the family coped afterwards he goes on to say.

Well I suppose I just - I tried to become - well I probably did become more closer to my mum. Because obviously she was thrown into the role of like mum and dad. But it was hard for her too. She had to get up and go out and get a job, bring up, like four kids, all going off - like, y'know, not off their heads, but like misbehaving if you like in all different ways..... s trying to bring us all up. My sister, y'know, I think she become a mod or something and she was into drugs a little bit. My other sister ended up getting pregnant. My brother was like beating up everybody in sight basically at school. And I basically just chose to mess about. Ah - probably a form of getting attention, and ah...I think I realised after a while that I could get

away with things whereas I probably would be disciplined a bit more harshly by my dad. If I was squandering my potential or just messing about anyway, I knew that my mum could have a go at me verbally, but physically she couldn't. And so I went that step further. I was getting suspended from school whereas I probably wouldn't have even dared do that with my dad being alive - not because he'd every really physically hurt me but because I was probably always worried that he would. And just the threat was like enough. But with him being out of the way after a while I got used to that and I abused it really. And I used to come home and say "I'm suspended" and it got to the point where my mum would have a go at me and I used to say more or less "so what". And ah - looking back I kind of regret that sort of and obviously I was young and immature and that but I kind of regret taking that attitude with my mum cos it was a hard time for her and I think looking back I've gained strength from how she behaved then and now I've coped and it's helped me cope now.

Carl gives a detailed picture of the circumstances following his fathers death with the focus on how difficult it must have been for his mother. He regrets the way he was and sees know that she was very strong. Carl has contemplated her coping strategies and find that it helps him now. He has tried to learn by example. In describing the time before his father's death he manages to convey the strain the family were under.

" think that they did have their problems. When he got ill it was about two years before he died - ah and I think he was - when we officially knew that he was ill - he died of a brain tumour he had cancer. And it affected his behaviour. He got very short tempered and what have you. But before we even realised that this was what was the matter with him, ah, this brain tumour obviously had bearings on his behaviour anyway before we even knew he had it. And that put a strain obviously on the marriage and he ended up moving out to a flat - ah - and when he got very ill he moved back because they though it would be unsafe for him to be on his own. He had to lose his job as a result cos he used to do a lot of driving selling insurance and he couldn't do that because he had black outs. So they said that'd be too dangerous."

This shows a maturity. Instead of focusing on the negative impact it had on him he focuses on his father and the family as a whole. The way in which it is described shows an understanding of the situation and concern.

Carl was then asked about the time when he was involved in the murder. He reveal again someone who lacked maturity.

"I honestly believe that really I was just leading like a pretty normal life really, rather than any really significant happenings. I had a job, a steady job, I was doing course work, I had a steady relationship with me girlfriend, friends, we used to go up the pub, go on holidays, had a car, used to - y'know go into town, y'know, down the night-clubs all the rest of it. Ah...and I can't really think of anything that happened, cos I came in when I was eighteen years old..... had sort of two girlfriends and one of them yeah definitely. And for some reason I broke off that relationship and I do believe that if I hadn't of broken off that relationship...ah...I wouldn't be in prison.I chose to break it off because I used to get the piss taken out of me by my mates and what have you, saying you're getting serious you are and all the rest of it and, y'know, you've gotta be too young to be settling down and all the rest of it, y'know, you should be out with your mates and what have you. And ah - and although - what was - when I think about it, I did really think that I loved this girl and I did really think that I wanted to spend the rest of my life with her. But ah I kind of believed what they were saying and thinking, well am I thinking along them lines about this girl because y'know, I'm not really grown up to look at it

in a more serious view, y'know, perhaps I should leave it for a while and I broke off the relationship and it was really painful to end it, and it was really painful for her and it was really painful for me and I don't really know - I dunno it's just daft I suppose - and within three weeks I was in prison."

This lack of maturity is demonstrated in a number of ways. Firstly he ended the relationship because he friends were disapproving, despite the fact that he was happy. Secondly Carl seemed very dependent on his girlfriend and "fell apart" when they split up. This shows he has reflected upon what went wrong at this stage in his life and has identified the factors involved. Carl identified the biggest change in his life and goes on to give a thorough account of this process.

"The most major one is prison. Ah - I had to grow up. Came in when I was eighteen. Never been inside before in my life. I'd been in trouble with the law, I've got a bit of previous for arson - arson's quite a serious charge but this particular arson I got a £20 fine, it was setting fire to an old settee, bit of criminal damage and theft..... when I came inside, yeah, I was pretty scared as it goes. Ah - bloody petrified. And I kind of sort of wished that maybe I'd been put inside for say, like the arson or the criminal damage, cos I think being as scared as what I was when I came inside I don't think I would have come back. But ah - y'know, that's the past. But yeah, and at first I was in Lewes prison, which is just outside Brighton which was just like trying to get used to being inside at all anyway, and getting used to this new world, ah - and I was there for about three weeks and they made me a Category A prisoner. Now Lewes doesn't hold Category A prisoners and ah - so I was moved to Brixton, which really scared the hell out of me as it goes. Cos the only thing I'd ever heard about Brixton was like black people and riots and I thought, well I'm gonna die or something, but that wasn't the case, I was just a bit naive. And ah - I went there and within a couple of weeks, somebody killed themselves on the wing - ah - and all the doors had hatches cos it was a medical wing and there was a lot of mentally disturbed inmates that had committed crimes but hadn't been like certified to hospitals. Ah - so they were kept on remand on that wing. And - yeah just complete lunatics. And ah - so for your like normal guys, it was quite a horrible time really. Especially if you weren't used to it. And I realised I was just coming up to my nineteenth birthday, just two months after I'd come into prison, and I thought "I'm really going to have to grow up here". Because it was like, I was almost taking it as some sort of adventure. You know? And I thought if I don't grow up, I'm not going to survive this. It's going to be too much. And ah - so I tried to look upon things as a little bit more serious, and knuckled down and got on with it. I had a lot to learn, and I had to tread carefully. But yeah it was literally - I even remember sitting in my cell on my nineteenth birthday crying my eyes out reading my mum's birthday card to me and thinking I'm going to have to wise up cos otherwise I'm gonna die cos I thought I'd probably end up y'know, doing myself in or something. I used to always think of my dad as it goes whenever I felt that I might y'know, want to end it all - I used to think well his life was taken and he didn't want it to be so it would be selfish to take me own and all the rest of it, so I probably gained strength in some sort of hidden way from that. It's opened my eyes to other people - other characters. I think that in prison you - all the people that you're ever likely to meet in life, you meet under one roof. There's every character in here. You've got from probably the most polite decent people, well, obviously they've done something wrong to come inside, but they come across as polite decent people, to really the worst people that you'd hate to meet in a dark alleyway at night, and ah - and the scale is enormous. And I became a listener here, and I got to know a lot about people's backgrounds and their problems and all the rest of it and ah - and it was such an eye-opener, it really was..... It's made me appreciate a lot of things, it's made me appreciate my upbringing and really that I was fortunate that - to have the things that I had and the opportunities that I had even if I squandered them. I appreciate that they were there. A lot of people, y'know, they've had nothing. And y'know, they've just had, like abuse and what have you all their lives and there's no surprise at all that these people are inside and will continue to be

inside and will spend the rest of their lives inside and ah it saddens me. And it actually makes me feel grateful, although I'm doing a very very long time, at the moment I've got a very high tariff that I'm currently fighting, and a lot of people say "I don't know how you cope, and how do you manage this and..." A lot of people inside, they choose to take drugs to block it all out, and I don't, because I just think to myself "well at least I've had some sort of life" even if it was only up to the age of eighteen and I might have messed it up or whatever. Some people have had nothing. And they never will have anything. And some people that could have a good education, they never had it in the first place and they're never going to get it now."

This passage is about growing up. It is coherent and credible shows Carl's openness to change and his ability to come to terms with a thirty year tariff. Carl explains why he had to grow up and how he had conceived of the event before-an adventure. Carl has had to change in order to survive the sentence and has reconciled his situation by being grateful that he was given the opportunity to have had a good quality of life prior to coming to prison. He shows concern for others, taking note of the circumstances which has lead to their incarceration and feeling sad about the same. He is a listener, (a prison Samaritan) and demonstrates generativity. The passage also demonstrates the ability to differentiate to a high degree within the prison population. The overall tone is about developing an awareness of self and giving serious thought to himself. The next extract illustrates reconciliation and generativity.

"So I was sent to a YP jail. And ah - but I'd been there about eight months and they told me that my date was twenty years because what used to be the law was that if your date was higher than twenty years, they wouldn't tell you, they would just tell you that it's twenty. You knew that it could be more, but you knew that it could be twenty. So if somebody's date was nineteen years, they would know that that is their date, whereas if they were told that it was twenty they didn't know it was their date. And that always sort of bothered me during the early stages of me sentence, I used to think, well if it's more could you tell me. And they'd say, "Well, we don't know." And the prisons don't actually know; it's just the Home Office that knew. And ah - what was happening - you literally had guys that were progressing through the system and they were getting up to C Cat, and they were getting to the point where they'd done their twenty years and were due to get released, and the parole board would suddenly get the information that they had another ten years or something to go. And they were saying "oh sorry - through no fault of your own we thought you'd be suitable to go out but we have to send you back to the B Cat; you've got another ten years to do". So there was a lot of guys getting pretty devastated, and then some of them took it to the House of Lords or took it to Court or whatever, and the Court turn round and said "Yeah you can't do this - you've got to tell them" So they told everybody. I thought that my date would actually be twenty years because of the way that I was progressing. I didn't think that the Home Office would let you progress, y'know, let you get to the C Cat, if they knew that your date was going to be date, but because the jails didn't know, the jails were making recommendations, "yeah, this inmates OK.; let him progress" and they were progressing. A lot of people got - sorry - I was just going to say that a lot of people got a shock y'know, thought they were going to go home."

The general flavour of this extract is generative. Carl begins by talking about his own situation but finishes by discussing the plight of fellow inmates demonstrating a

concern for them. He reveals that he has reconciled the issue surrounding his tariff, claiming it was difficult to deal with at first but now he can cope with it. The next extract relates to the circumstances of the murder. He was approached by a friend of his older brother who asked him to do an armed robbery with him.

"...he actually wanted to do an armed robbery. Ah - because he was debt. He owed on HP and stuff like that and I kind of saw myself as a bit of a jack-the lad that could help other people, and I didn't want to say no to anybody and if any mate came up to me and said "Can you help us do this, can you help us do that" I'd say "yeah yeah" y'know, whatever it was, if I felt I could help y'know, I would. Ah - now he came up and turned round and said that he'd like - well he'd actually approached my brother, because he went to school with my brother and ah - he asked him if he'd ah - help him do an armed robbery to get some money and my brother said "no way"; he said "I'm not doing that". Cos em - he had a job and what have you. Didn't want to lose it. Y'know, we all had pretty good lives really compared to some, but ah - he asked me and I thought "Well, yeah I can handle that y'know", and ah - and y'know, I said "Yeah". So he said that his dad was a member of a gun club or something I dunno; he's got guns and all the rest of it and he can get ammunition and stuff and he turned up with a gun one day and I thought "Cor bloody hell"; I must admit I felt as though I was giving it the brave bit; turned up with a gun and thought "bloody hell, he's really serious this guy, y'know, he really wants to go and stick a gun in somebody's face". And and ah - I just like lost my bottle or whatever and just said "No I don't think so", and he said, oh but you said you'd help us and all the rest of it, and ah - and he says, well, I says no I'm not doing an armed robbery, so I turned round and suggested, well I'll help you do a burglary or something but I'm not doing an armed robbery and I think to me it was like an easy option, rather than going y'know, pointing guns at people and stuff and ah - so he said, yeah, and we literally just walked round our area looking for likely places to burgle. We chanced on a house that had a window open and ah - we climbed in, burgled the place -.... I 'd not done a burglary on like a house or anything like that -.... and we went in this house. There was an elderly lady that lived there. She woke up whilst we were there, ah - my co-offender stuck a pillow over my face, he asked me to help him and I sort of helped him, although I didn't help him, I ended up holding down the edge of the pillow without any real force whilst he suffocated her and I didn't really do anything to stop him. And ah - and I thought she was still alive when we left, but some pathologist at court turned round and said something about - I dunno - gases leaving the body or something, cos I thought she was breathing you see, when we left, but - apparently she had died. But nothing came about after, like, that killing. It was - ah - put in the paper as...'passed away in her sleep' ah 'natural causes' and ah - and there wasn't any investigation of anything. So we done this burglary and ended up killing this woman and ah - and nothing had happened. Now my head was in absolute turmoil because I hadn't done, like, hardly anything really, on a criminal view. Ah - and nor had I needed to, and yet next minute I'd been on this burglary with this guy and ah - and somebody was dead. Ah - now it - I sorted of wanted to turn round I wanted to like go to like my girlfriend and go to like my mum and that and like tell them. But I thought like how can I just sit them down and say like, I've done this. And like I couldn't do it, I just didn't have the guts to do or whatever it was. So I was like walking round with this sort of like burden like on me, that ah - didn't really know what to do with it and my co-offender turned round and said, look listen; OK. yeah we did do this, but - and cos he'd seen her name in the obituary column in the local and says that ah - it's natural causes so we might have like helped her along or whatever but basically dissuaded me that it wasn't us. And I think what it was was that deep down I knew that it was, I chose to believe that it wasn't cos it was an easier option and it was easier on the conscience. Ah -so I ended up doing another burglary with him and going back to that same burglary again about two weeks afterwards and ah - and that was an old couple and...and we killed them too. Which was - - I look back in complete disbelief. And ah - and y'know, I really don't know why it is that I even chose to do another burglary let alone...go to that house and think about y'know, doing anything like what had happened before. And ah -when we first did the second house ah...we knew that there were old people that lived there.... the idea was ...that we could run away - that was the idea so that they wouldn't be able to y'know, catch us, or y'know, physically apprehend us - we'd be able

to get away - it would be OK. Ah - and we'd gone there, we'd burgled the house, got some money, we'd nicked a couple of items of silver - ah...and left, my co-defendant kept on saying that he wanted to go back, ah I said that y'know, I wasn't really too sure about that or what, I probably still had the first burglary in my mind. But ah - I ended up taking the pieces of silver that I'd taken to a bloke who worked up the road from me who used to accept goods from the shop that I worked in that I used to steal, and he looked at it and said, yeah this is valuable piece of equipment, have you got any more? And basically stuff like that. So I-I knew that there was stacks of this silver in this place, mentioned it to my co-defendant and he said, right, we'll go back then. Went back, ah...got in the house...ah.. he wanted to go upstairs to get some money off them, I said, look I'm quite happy just to grab the silver cos it was downstairs anyway, ah...so he says, no, so he went upstairs to try and get some money out of the bedroom where we'd been before, I went to go in the bedroom, the door creaked, they woke up from inside cos it was locked. I said, well come on then let's run, he went and hid in the spare room, and I followed him, they came out, they searched the house, they came into the spare room, and ah...and he told them to get back, put them back into their bedroom, we asked them both to lie down, ah...he turned round and asked for the money - my co-defendant - they were like on separate beds that were about half a foot apart and ah...they were just both like facing down and...the old woman was on the part of the room that I was on, and she kept getting up and pulling at my jacket and saying, "we've been burgled we haven't got anything, why don't you leave us?" And I just used to say to her, "look calm down, face down and you'll be OK". So she kept on getting up and tugging my jacket again. The old boy was just facing down, and wasn't doing anything: he was just lying there. So my co-defendant came over and he pulled her to one side and he says to me he says look in the cupboard, so - and I seen him grab a pillow and I know that he's going to suffocate her, I know he's going to do it, and I didn't stop him or anything. And I just stuck my head in the cupboard like he'd asked me to do. And she's fallen onto the floor off the bed, and in between - like I'm looking at the cupboard here, he's suffocating her here and the door to room's here - so I'm thinking, well, other than actually clambering over them, I'm not going to be able to get out of here, so I literally chose to ignore what he was doing. And ah - he suffocated her, I turned round and the guy's like lying down facing down, and I turned around carried on looking in the cupboard, and eventually I pulled myself away from the cupboard, and he's got a belt round the - ah...the guy's neck. That snapped. He put a pillow over his face. I went over to him. He's taken away the pillow, the guy's died, he was - ah - the guy was in his eighties and he died very quickly, and ah - I'm like - I just "I'm off" and we just ran. I think it was, I went to I went to - my head was in bits - I went home. He lived in a flat above a butcher shop, ah...I stayed - that's right - I stayed the night there because the burglary was in the early hours of the morning. Ah...I went home later on - no about mid-day the next day, ah...spent most of my time in me bedroom, just on my own wondering like more or less what to do. Ah - my co-defendant was actually working cos he worked in the butcher's, ah - and then...during the evening like my mum came in; she'd been shopping or something, and obviously she was just like normal, my head was battered it was absolutely battered, and I wanted to sit down with my mum and say, like "help", y'know, "I want you to help me cos like I've been involved in something you won't believe". And ah - you're talking about a nice area of Brighton, it's just unheard of y'know, things like that just don't happen, and yet it had. And ah...so I couldn't bring myself to talk to my mum about it and I ended up going up the pub and sitting up there, my friend ended up coming up as the evening went on, my girlfriend came up and we decided to go to town, to go to a night-club. Ah... before we got into the night-club, I sat my girlfriend down and I told her because I just-I just had to get it...like off my chest y'know, I thought like I was gonna burst or something, and ah...I told her and she - she was just - head was shot.....I told her about the whole lot - the whole lot. Because ah - she - everyone knew at the time you see. So ah...and then went round my co-defendant, and ah - he was just in his flat with his - he lived with his girlfriend, he's fiancee. And ah...he was just sitting there like, y'know, like normal really. He hadn't told her. So I said, like, listen you've got to tell her really. And we've got to do something, you can't just...plod along like - like nothing's happened so he told her. Like she went mad, and we decided that we were going to run away. Ah...so we ended up going to town, got a train to London. Stayed at London for a few days. I ended up ringing my brother from Gatwick cos I ended up buying tickets for Italy and ah...that was the only place that had tickets immediately or something out of the country. Ah...I rang my brother. He came up to Gatwick with my girlfriend and ah...and sat me down in the hotel and they're

talking to me. And he asked me is that - y'know, he said y'know, what's happened? And he says well, he says you haven't actually killed anybody. I said, well yeah but it doesn't matter I was there and that. He says, but you haven't...killed anybody. So I says, well yeah. So he says, well go back. And tell the police that, and tell them everything that happened. I says, yeah all right then. And I did; went back. Says to my co-defendant you can have the tickets, he says, of no if you're going back, I'll go back too. Came back, we got arrested, and ah...15 month on remand, got convicted, life in prison. And ah...and at court they says that - if two people go, or one, y'know, two or more people go on a criminal expedition whatever crimes they're going to commit ah...if other crimes are committed on that expedition, they're all guilty of it. So I was convicted of murder"

This extract demonstrates many of the themes. It demonstrates coherence and credibility. Even though he attributes the murder to his co-defendant he is still credible. The fact that he is the weak link, in telling his girlfriend and making his co-defendant do the same shows he is cannot cope as well as the other murderer. In addition to this he describes not being able to function whereas his friend is carrying on working in the butchers as if nothing has happened. Also he came back willingly as he believed he had not committed murder. Furthermore the amount of detail Carl supplies would indicate that he is telling the truth. The account is coherent and consistent. He demonstrates change in that he now reflects upon his life, admitting that at the time he was not thinking just going along with some one else. It is doubtful that the person he describes he could cope well in a category A prison facing a thirty year sentence. He also reinforces this with his comments saying that he looks back in disbelief.

The following extract shows generativity in terms of concern for others including remorse. Carl has reconciled the fact that he is a murderer but is none the less unhappy about this. That is he accepts responsibility for his own actions.

The biggest regret I've got in my life is having to live with it for the rest of my life knowing that I got involved in what I did, and ah...threw away me own life and me own potential. Perhaps that was ruined a bit anyway because I squandered my school life. But ah...nothing will ever excuse the fact that them people died for absolutely nothing. And I have nothing but shame for that. I always will..... You have to carry on and live - a lot of the time, like especially now, I choose not to even think about it. I know that it's part of my history, but if I can...forget about it, then I choose to do that because it's painful, it really is, cos people died for nothing. It's - the whole thing's disgusting really, in my mind. And there's no excuse. But...can't change it now. I think that - perhaps if my co-defendant had ever approached me two or three years later I might have been a different person; I probably would have said no. But ah...I didn't; I went along with it, and I've got to put my hands up now and say "Yeah I got involved in that". And ah...and just...make myself a better person during these years, and ah...try to get out there and rebuild my life and...

In making himself a "better" person Carl talks not about what he has achieved for his own ends but about how he has become less self focused. He talks about the appropriate processes that indeed will lead him to living a more functional life.

"I matured a bit here and I think I opened my eyes a bit more probably as a result of the listener scheme. Ah...to other people's lives, and their backgrounds. It helped me appreciate me own. Whereas before I was probably a bit selfish and used to feel a bit sorry for myself and what have you. And ah...then it made me realise that there are people that are a lot worse off than me. There's people in here - they've only done a couple of - might only be doing like four or five years.....and these people come up to you and they say "I don't know how you could do a life sentence, I think I'd kill myself". But ah...they'll all do a life sentence. They'll just do it in smaller sentences. Bit by bit.

This is quite a philosophical statement. Carl shows a profound understanding of criminal behaviour, he has demonstrated that he can differentiate between himself and others and the processes that lead to habitual offending. He illustrates this last point when he discusses a fellow inmate.

"he's spend most of his - and he's done time before, even before that five that he did, and ah...yeah and it saddens me that - honestly he probably gets out there, he probably goes back to the life that he's been leading when he is on the out. He's probably got friends that commit crime; whatever it is they do; they nick cars whatever it is, get into fights, whatever. And he walks straight back to that. Ah...and I kind of wonder what chance he's got of ever getting away from that. Ah...you know? Because every time he gets out he's going to walk straight back and he's going to have that pressure. His mates are going to say "come on". So... I might say most of the people in here, that's their story."

An interesting point to note is that the focus of the narrative has again returned to the plight of others. It is generative that Carl who is serving a longer sentence than most, can still have concern and understanding for those around him. This shows that he has not only reflected on his own life but the lives of others and the social processes involved in committing crime. This shows an awareness of himself and his environment.

Carl demonstrates a change of attitude regarding his former behaviour. He talks about his biggest failure.

Greatest failure. Me school really. Really regret that. Messing about. Just basically being an arsehole and choosing to ah...play the idiot. Yeah I got plenty of laughs and everything else, I was the clown of the classroom, and everyone got a laugh out of me but the joke was on me in the end really. Because ah - I could have walked a completely different road of life altogether, and didn't."

The notion that Carl has changed from a selfish immature man to being more altruistic and prosocial is reflected in his choice of film that he remembers.

I thought a very moving film that I liked was Schindler's List. Ah...yeah it really was - I liked that film. I think it's an eye-opener. That one in particular, yeah.. I think it was about Schindler really himself. You had a guy that really - only really motivated by greed. And then he learned to find what was important in life and it was life itself. And in the end he realised he couldn't do enough. And ah - from - he went from one extreme to the other. From being extremely greedy to be extremely generous to the point where he could give life to people. And all he could do at the end was cry that he couldn't give more, when at first he was all about taking. And it ended up he was just all about giving.

I: What had changed him?

Seeing the horrors probably, or y'know, and ah - just realising. And something must have like dawned on him. And ah...when you see that he had all these people, y'know, the Jews and how they were being treated and, like, processed like cattle, y'know, and ah - just getting wiped out. And obviously his conscience caught up with him, and he just thought, no. At first he was all part of it - he was exploiting them, to work in his factories and what have you. So he could make vast amounts of money. And he ended up using the money to buy them back. The same people. And I think sometimes if people just open their eyes it can help y'know, people to live in a better life.

So again Carl talks about realising and opening one's eyes. This in essence describes the process of self awareness, moving from mindless behaviour, almost ritualistic behaviour to reflecting on the meaning of one's actions and thoughts. In addition to that Carl promotes generativity, performing acts of goodwill towards others. Even when they have nothing to gain. This generative theme is also reflected in the book he chooses to describe.

"I remember ah - when I did my studying for my GCSE in English I had to read a book called - ah.. To Kill A Mockingbird. And ah - I watched the film of that, too. And ah - yeah I thought that was a very good book.... It was just basically about this guy that was a lawyer, and he lived in the southern states in America, which always had and probably still do a lot of racial tension and what have you, and he chose to defend a black guy that had been accused of rape. And he was completely innocent. Some bloke had attacked his daughter, and because it came on top decided to blame a black guy. And - no that's right - sorry the daughter had tried to seduce a black guy and the black guy didn't really want anything to do with it. She persuaded him to come into the house to fix her door or something, and ah - they were used to being told what to do by white folk and what have you, and ah - she tried to seduce and molest him; they got caught by her father, so she said that he tried to rape her. And he got sentenced to hang or something I think in the end. But, yeah, there was this guy who decided to actually stand up as a lawyer against everyone's wishes and what have you in the town and say, yeah I'll defend him and really put up a proper case, not just say, well y'know, not guilty, OK. fine then; guilty, and then go home. He put up a proper case. And ah - yeah - I kind of like that book."

The way that Carl describes the message of the story is that a) one should try to defend the plight of others and b) one should try hard and do it to the best of their ability. The themes of generativity and reconciliation are revealed in the way he describes himself.

"Am...I think I'm...I think I'm reasonably cheerful most of the time. Ah...I think I'm patient. Ah...think I'm, y'know, fairly easy-going, ah...got time to listen to others, ah...that's about it, really."

Given the difficulty Carl faced when he was first incarcerated, to be cheerful and easy going most of the time suggests that he has changed his outlook on life. He seem too to have reconciled many issues associated with being in prison i.e. separated from ones family, loss of freedom and being a murderer. He describes himself as patient and having time to listen to others, thus reflecting a concern and acceptance of other persons, which may not be an easy achievement in prison. The last extract too demonstrates change when talking about the tattoos he had done when he was younger.

"I think if I didn't have any tattoos now I wouldn't get any done. (You wouldn't?) I wouldn't get them done. I think, y'know, when I was younger I just thought it'd be a hard thing to do. So I did it. But ah...it was pretty stupid really. I suppose it's the life isn't it? And I suppose it's - when I look at pictures like that I think, well it's a pretty crap picture to have on my arm for the rest of my life. Whereas if I could think of something that is more directly important to me, I dunno like a chess piece or something y'know I dunno, then, like, yeah get a chess piece on me arm or something cos it's more directly involved to me, so I might think, well yeah it's significant to me."

This shows differential thought, he reveals that he would not have a tattoo for the sake of it, as he had done in the past. That is if he was going to get one it would have to be highly significant to who he is as a person now.

Carl gave a coherent and credible account of someone who had changed. Indeed many of the extracts reflected this change. He has demonstrated an openness to change and has reconciled a number of personal issues. There was no evidence of egocentricity and an concern for others which reveal evidence of generativity.

The next individual in this group is Tom.

Tom began by giving a detailed account of his life until the present day. This is an example of a coherent and credible account. It is chronological with events that link in a causal manner.

"I was born in Newbury Em, I've-I've-I've em, my mother, eh, who is, um, unfortunately deceased, uh... she married again, she is a Jewess, or she was a Jewess (I: Jewess?) Yes. (I: What's that?) A female Jew. (I: Oh right, yeah). Yeah, Jewess. And... on my mother's side..."

obviously they're all Jews, so I am of Jewish religion, because of that. Um... I left Newbury when I was, what?... fivish I suppose, I can't remember much because it was so far back, eh, and... I came to Banbury to live. Our first address in Newbury was Oxford Street which was a two up two down. And eh, just a moment please (tape switched off and on again) As if I weren't confused enough ha ha ha. Eh, yes, um, our first address when I moved over, eh, the water as it were, to Newbury, um, to a two-up two-down, and outside toilet and everything, y'know. And em, then we moved into Ashcroft House um, I was about seven I suppose, and I went away to boarding school, um, at about nine, um, because, frankly my mother never had the money to look after me, y'know, uh, there was no money around in those days, I mean there's - there's precious little about these days, but, but there was no money around those days. Um, and... by this time my mother had married again to my step father. He did his best, but eh, y'know, eh, them days being what they were, y'know, there was, y'know, um, there was no money or nothing, y'know, and eh, most stuff was still on rationing, y'know, like-like-like you couldn't get fresh eggs for the life of you, y'know, eh, y'know, so. Um, but, um, I... left my first boarding school, uh, (???) in Seven Hills where I live, Over Heath bunks, uh, when I was about eleven, and went to Hiilside at um Sunningdale, um, I believe, Cornwall Road I believe it was - or was it the other way round? Anyway, yeah I moved from there to Sunningdale. Um... about sixteen and a half when I left, something like that, um, didn't have an outstanding mathematical achievement. Eh, mostly I excelled in English, eh, and eh, nature things, y'know, I love - I love nature things. Um... ornithology's my speciality, well if-if it's called a speciality, I suppose, y'know, I'm not an expert on anything, I'm a jack of all trades, master of none, really, I know a little bit of this, little bit of that, and... not everything of anything, you know what I mean ha ha. Um, but eh... I was born 27/5/50, eh, makes me forty-six, forty-seven next birthday. I was - what? - um... about seventeen or eighteen when I joined the army, two years, eh, came out when I was about twenty, eh, dishonourable discharge. I... lost me temper and em, struck a superior officer. Um... then I - I... well was just... dossing about, really, y'know, working here, working there, y'know. Legitimate work, y'know, eh, little bit of thieving here, little bit of thieving there, y'know, and em... the next major event was eh 1979. Uh, round about February '79 I suppose it was. Can't remember the exact date. Uh, where I - I got into a - I got into a place, broke into it, um, the occupant disturbed me, I killed - I killed them and eh, and eh, I am - I am - I'm now in prison because of that. Uh, hit them with a hammer. Uh, I'm not proud of that, eh, in fact if anything eh, I'm not really good at discussing my feelings, y'know, but um, I feel - I feel grossly ashamed of myself because of that. And I'm not just paying lip service, I do, I do feel grossly ashamed because of that. I had no right to take a life, I had no right to steal, and I had no right to go out robbing. And because of that a man died, and I don't like that. That was - that was - that was - that was not - that was not eh, how it should be. Eh, because of my greed, y'know. Um, of course that plays on my mind a bit, uh, and if I could turn the clock back, uh, not just for the bird, y'know, not just for the sentence, if I could turn the clock back and give that man his life back, and give that family all the suffering that they've had back, I would. Uh, believe me. But, uh, unfortunately I can't do that. Um, I... I've not had a prison - brilliant prison record. I have not had a, um, uh, uh, an outstanding prison career - I'm not a model prisoner - I wasn't up till... three years ago. Um, so.. I eh... I had a war of attrition with em for ten years."

Tom demonstrates an explanatory approach offering comments on his life and behaviour revealing that he has thought about himself and his life. After the brief overview as requested Tom returns to the beginning and starts revealing events in his childhood.

"My earliest clearest memory was uh, when my... uncle, uh - I say uncle - invested commas uncle - attempted to sexually assault me, when I was probably about... I was - I must have been about seven. Just before I went to my - to my boarding school. I screamed my head off and me other uncle came in and knocked him round the kitchen."

Tom shows how he has internalised this event to make him homophobic. Whilst this is not necessarily the way all individuals would make sense of this events, it is at least logical and credible. Thus Tom has attributed this event to his ideology. He goes on to say,

'I didn't know at that time, um, I know now, of course. I didn't know at that time. Um... and it has made me homophobic. Um, I've never liked homosexuals anyway, to be honest with you, y'know, uh, but I've never - well I think this has made me homophobic, uh, i.e. I... I don't just not like them, I detest them, y'know, because of this, and I think this is part of my outlook towards child offenders. I haven't got an adult outlook towards child offenders.

I: What's an adults outlook?

T: An adult outlook is, well if they do that then they do it. You know what I mean? But to me, I say, if they do that, they're scum. (I: I think lots of people have that attitude) They're filth, y'know. But me, I would take it one step further if I could, ha, and uh, assault them, if I could. But unfortunately I can't do that. Because it is my - it is my - it is my uh, my-my-my parole, well, my-my release or licence I'm thinking of. And uh, the more violence I show, then it's-it's-it's the longer I'm going to be in. And I've been told that if I show any violence, because of the violence I've shown in the past, um, if I show any more violence, then I'm just likely to end up, uh, back in dispersals, or back in - uh, that's the, uh, prisons that are the Category A prisons, that sort of thing, y'know what I mean, or I'm liable to end up on the ghost train, which is the uh, from block to block on 28 days, or back in the special units and that, y'know, and oh, I don't want all that, thank you very much, y'know, uh, so to assault them, or to assault anybody in fact, would be a retro-retrogressive step. And we must look at progressive steps.

This shows that Tom has changed his behaviour but not his philosophy. Nevertheless this is a more functional approach. The next childhood memory Tom reveals has a similar thematic basis, that of a male adult trying to hurt him.

"I remember a head master, he was a horror, um... he used to cane me till I was sixteen and then uh, he didn't cane me any more ha - he didn't cane me any more because I told him that if he caned me again I would em... put the cane where the sun don't shine, because by then I was - I was - I was boxing a bit, y'know, because my-my-my uncle, uh, Jack White the boxer,... taught me a bit about boxing"

This also shows a similarity in the way these episodes are resolved. That is by using violence against the aggressor, Tom protects himself. This leads Tom to discuss his ideology about the way children should be treated.

I couldn't ever lay a finger on my children, I couldn't lay a finger on any child. And I will never understand anybody who can, because children are defenceless basically, and if you go round beating them up, or-or-or whacking them with sticks and things like that, you're a coward. You're a coward. And I have no time for cowards, I hold them in contempt. You know, and that is another reason I suppose why I don't like sex offenders, cos I believe that it's just... it's cowardice, y'know they pick on the defenceless, they pick on the weak, y'know, I don't - I don't - I don't believe that should be done. Same as bullying, I don't like bullying. Um, when I was at school I was bullied a little, uh, I think everybody was, really, y'know, by the big boys."

This introduces the self image of protector. Tom shows a concern for those who need to be protected, a generative theme. This leads him to reveal another similar event about when he was bullied by an older boy at school. So a former imago of victim of bullying and abuse is being revealed.

"...he used to bully me until one day I uh... I uh, took him in the changing room and we had a couple of rounds and then he stopped bullying me again, y'know. But if I hadn't stood up for myself, then that would've continued. Um, I believe that - very firmly - that if, say for instance, uh, I'm not being patronising here, but say for instance if you were my son, yeah, you were at school, uh, and you were being bullied...um, I believe that it is up to you to stand up to them. And I believe that I should not intimidate you into standing up for em, if you don't - if you don't - if you don't hit him, I'll hit you. No, no, no that's not the way. That will only compound the problem."

Tom's style of talking reveals that he qualifies his claimed with rational and reasoned thought. It is clear to see where the self image of protector has come from and shows how strongly he feels about educating children, this demonstrates a highly generative theme.

"I believe the progressive way is to persuade the child, to teach him the basic rudiments of defence, or her, y'know, whichever, y'know, teach them the basics rudiments of defence, and teach them that defence is to be used at the last moment, for defence, uh, speak softly and carry a big stick. And I believe that it's a parents' job to arm them with a big stick, in case it ever needs to be used, but only - but stress - *only* when necessary. You know? If you do need to, then strike first and strike hard, and make sure he's a biggun. You know? And that'll be uh, a salutary lesson to everybody else. Even if you lose the fight, make sure you give em a good hiding, or make sure you do the best to give em a good hiding, y'know? And even if you lose the fight, he goes round with a black eye, you might go round with two, but he goes round with one, oh, next one's gonna get one like that. It'll soon stop, because bullies are basically cowards, you see, they're basically cowards, they-they-they have no - they have no-no-no spine whatsoever. If they did they wouldn't pick on the weak, y'know? And I don't - I don't believe that any man, or any boy, or any person has any right to pick on somebody simply because they are smaller or weaker than themselves. Like um, a chap here funnily enough ha ha ha, he had a right go at me, and it really wasn't my fault, I mean it's hard - but I was, well I'm sixteen and a half stone, I mean I'm a strong boy, y'know, um... I just walked away... because he was smaller than me, he was weaker than me, and I knew that he was - he was stupider than me. Cos otherwise he'd have ascertained his facts before he jumped in, y'know, so um, and if he didn't have the intelligence to differentiate between what was right and what was wrong, then that's - that wasn't my problem, that was his problem, y'know, so um, it became uh, an SEP - somebody else's problem, y'know, and I detached myself from it, and walked away.

Tom makes a point and then backs it up with a detailed personal event. He demonstrates that he practises what he preaches, he does not believe that individuals in superior position albeit physical strength should use that to their advantage against less able persons. Tom also reveals in the next extract that he has developed strategies to cope with confrontation in prison and also the benefits of these strategies.

I had to fight myself to do it, to be honest, I was tempted to dot him, ha, I was tempted, uh, but I had to fight myself to do it, but I did say to him - I did say to him, I said, "listen, I am walking away now... I don't want you to follow me, I want you to give me a bit of space, couple of minutes, till I cool down. When the situation has been diffused, then perhaps we can talk". And he came to my cell afterwards, uh, left me alone for a couple of hours, came to my cell afterwards, quiet little talk somewhere, y'know, nice little cup of tea somewhere, y'know, sorted it all out, and it was somebody else doing the stirring, heh, y'know, heh heh, so apologies were made and accepted and everything was fine.... I'm glad of that because - because - because it's shown, um, it's taught me, um, there are other ways apart from confrontation to handle eh, to handle, to handle eh, differences of opinion, y'know, eh, and we're all learning every one of us, y'know, we - we never stop learning, y'know, eh, to the day we die we're still learning, eh, the man who knows it all hasn't been born yet, only the Almighty knows it all, um, and also uh, me being a Jew helps because I ask myself, ah, is this what God would have me do? ah, and if it isn't, then I don't do it. If it is then that's what I would do, .. if I get into a situ - I mean we all get into situations, ah, that later we think, oh what brought that on, y'know, phew, it's one of them days, Murphy's law struck again, you know what I mean, I mean we've all - we've all been there, I mean I'm sure you have and I know I have, y'know what I mean, many's the time, but... it's not the situation, it's the way... you handle it, and what comes from that situation that's important. Um, some people have got the attitude where, oh if I provoke an argument, I'll test his reactions, that is absolutely stupid, that is utterly stupid because - and not only that, it could be downright dangerous because you've got some nutters in prison, and I mean some right loony-tunes, y'know, who wouldn't think twice at picking up a blade and whumph, you're history, y'know. Um, I know, because I used to be one - heh heh heh, y'know, so I know, I - I-I've been there, I've done that. But these days I don't do that at all, these days, these days, um, for the last - what? - more than three years, I think it's about - I think it's about five years now, for the last five years, I eh, I don't - I don't get involved, y'know. Of course if somebody raises his hands to me I will defend myself, and I - haven't spent two years in the army and learnt nothing, but I will defend myself, uh, as long as, as long as... you see everybody has, um, moments where they think, right, God help the next bloke, y'know, he's gonna pick up the bill for the lot, y'know, um... I have those moments, everybody has them, y'know, I mean we have them outside, we have them even more so in here because the - because - because eh, we're under more pressure than we are outside. But the way I handle that... is quite simple, uh, for me, because I've had five years practice, well four years' practice, uh, it took me about a year to adjust, y'know, from the old to the new, uh, 'course the odd relapse here and there, but eh, y'know, y'know, on the whole, y'know. Um, I think the way to handle that is quite simple, uh, for me. I just go, right, OK, then, I was gonna devote this hour to my time anyway, so I'll bring it forward, from five o'clock to four o'clock, so from four to five instead of from five to six will be my time; this is my time out, y'know? So I take that hour for myself, during which time I have time to brood on me own, and I have time to just work things out on me own, and try to get to the root of the problem. See because the root of the problem isn't immediately apparent, y'know, I mean somebody - somebody else might think, oh God help the next bloke, y'know, and I might just be the - I might just be Mr unlucky number, y'know -...Uh, but... the thing is, I am really glad that that has taught me because it is something that will carry with me. Uh, like-like-like everybody else, I'm a creature of habit. Uh, the old habits have gone, it took me, as I say, uh, at least a year to get out of the old habits, y'know, uh, and they've gone, they-they-they are no longer there... Not only inside but outside also Because outside you might get the pressure, the boss might say, eh, oh he's had a pig of a day, the missus has been at him, y'know, eh, y'know, and eh, and probably the bit on the side as been at him as well, y'know what I mean, and everybody's had a go at him, y'know, the world and his brother has come down, his superior has been on him, y'know, so he's gone, oh, I've had enough, so, who's the target, y'know. Like, OK, he's looking round, y'know, he wants a target. You might be him, you might go in there, "what's the next job boss?", "wa-wa-wa-wa", y'know, and if you go crack you're out of a job, y'know. Whereas if you go, oh I understand he's had a pig of a day, all right, misses has been at him, or, whatever, y'know, car broke down or whatever, y'know, OK, boom boom whaptido, y'know what I mean, and you mustn't blow things out of proportion, you must keep everything in proportion.

This lengthy extract is about change. Tom explains that it was not easy and had the odd lapse here and there. This is one of the factors that makes this a credible account. A previously violent individual, or someone who resolves differences in a violent manner, can expect to find the transition difficult. Tom explains why this has benefited him in that he has learned to resolve disputes in a functional manner. He also talks about differences of opinion in that he is more accepting of them and of keeping a sense of proportion. These are mature sentiments which indeed imply that he has changed. Tom demonstrates that he thinks about these incidents and that he is concerned for how the other individual feels. Tom say,

"And then it really brings it home to you and you think to yourself, I was a bit hard on them, y'know, and then later you might say, come on mate, come and have a drink, y'know, here you are mate; you've made a friend instead of an enemy. Whereas if you got fisticuffs, you've made an enemy. It's far better to make to a friend, isn't it, y'know, I mean let's have it right, y'know, um, and this is what, this is what, this is what prison has taught me, uh, this, well, not prison as such, but I think this is what... all right I must claim some of the credit, I must - I must claim some of the, some of the lime-light because if I didn't want to be taught I wouldn't have been taught, y'know, if I wasn't open to the suggestions, I wouldn't, I wouldn't have eh, I wouldn't have progressed, but I think because... this new personal case officer scheme as well, it's only been out a couple of years, I think that's, that's a good thing as well. (I: What's that about?) Ahm, uh, you take it to him. (I: If you've got a problem?) If you've got a problem, you take it to him, say for instance if this young man is my personal case officer, and uh, you're another prisoner we say and you're winding me up and everything, without grassing of course, you don't, you don't grass, without grassing you go like that and you go, no them. Or if you've got problems outside, y'know, go up to your personal officer, "excuse me, can I have a - if it be convenient, can I have a word? Look I'm getting a bit wound up about this, blah blah, this is the situation". You don't mention, don't mention any names, y'know, um, might have been John Smith who's having a go at you, y'know, John Smith's having a go, oh this person - it doesn't matter who it is, but I'm really getting a bit fed up with it, how do I handle it? You know, I don't want any violence, how do I handle it? And the personal case officer will then, well, this is the way. What can I do to support you? You've got a sympathetic ear. You've got somebody to unload on. We all need somebody to unload on, y'know, and, y'know, and this is what, this is what it becomes and I think, I think it really helps to diffuse the situation. Also female staff help to diffuse the situation."

Tom continues the theme of learning to deal with conflicts in positive and appropriate ways. This gives an overall tone of a change from immaturity to maturity. This is also evident in the next statement. Tom reveals that he is able to reflect on his own behaviour, and being given responsibility actually enables him to do this.

I mean this is the most laid-back prison I've ever known. But it, y'know, I mean this is the only prison I know where I can, where I can, where I can have a slanging match with the governor and not get placed on report for it, y'know. No, this is the - ha ha - I mean I've never known anything like it, and even when you do get placed on report, you've got to go down to report to the block yourself, you knock on the door, instead of the eh, visitors coming and escorting you down, y'know, heh heh heh, y'know, the way it's usually, y'know, and um, so I think the atmosphere in this prison helps. I think the fact that it is a laid-back prison helps, because we

all know when we're wrong, everyone knows when they're wrong. I mean you may not know immediately, but eventually, y'know, you think to yourself Tom you could have handled that a bit better, y'know what I mean, or, cor you was a bit out of order there, Tom. You know, you know, so, so, so you think to yourself, y'know, I mean everybody does it, y'know.

Tom actually backs up the idea that Tom has undergone a maturing process whilst being in prison .

To be honest with you, this is what prison has taught me. Prison has made me grow up, because outside I wasn't particularly mature, um.... I was twenty-nine when I came away. .. - I think that prison has really made me more mature, more aware of the other man's point of view, y'know, which comes with maturity. If a man approaches me, uh... and says, look, I've got a problem, whereas before I would have said, oh, on your way son, we've all got problems, y'know, which is basically a selfish attitude, y'know, that man may be - may-may need to confide in somebody, y'know, whereas I'll go like this now, and I'll go - even if I'm busy - I won't say, oh come back in a couple of minutes, son, y'know, hang on a minute, look give us a few minutes will you, boys, uh, I want to talk to this man alone, come here mate, sit down, right, cup of tea, y'know, that sort of thing, y'know, eh, now what's the problem?

This shows that Tom has developed the ability to empathise and show concern for others thus revealing a generative theme. This is evident in the imago he reveals as father figure.

Yes, I find a lot of younger element coming to me. I'm like a father figure, you know. And I don't mind this, I don't mind this at all, because it gives me a sense of purpose, it gives me a - i-i-if I can lead a man from that path onto the path where he will do the most good for himself, then I feel as though the day hasn't been wasted, y'know, uh, and also I feel as though I'm putting something back into society, y'know? Um, it's, it's, it's also, uh, it's the same as when we were doing presentations in Gartry, uh, giving soft toys and things to LORIS and things - the Leicester relief for the - uh, Leicester Organisation for the Relief of Suffering. Um... we'd be doing it for that particular organisation which looked after old people, things like this, y'know, terminally ill patients. I felt a sense of achievement, because I felt as though I was putting something back into society, y'know, I felt, well, if I can just help one person today, y'know. This is, I mean, I mean I'm not goody-two-shoes, y'know, I'm not - I mean if I was goody-two-shoes I wouldn't be in here, y'know, I'm not, I'm not Mr Perfect, I'm not polishing up me halo and putting it on a front for you, y'know, there's-there's-there's-there's no - there's no need for me to do that, y'know, uh, I'm not, well I try not to be an hypocrite, y'know, but what I'm saying is, y'know, the way my attitude has changed, whereas the old Tom would say, eh, don't bother me, y'know what I mean, y'know."

This is credible and coherent. Tom describes the natural process of growing up. Moving from egocentricity to being generative. Indeed he raises a valuable point, this change may have occurred despite being in prison.

I don't know whether I would have changed anyway as I got older, because as you get older, y'know, you mellow out, y'know, you're no longer cock of the walk, y'know. I mean we're all cock of the walk when we're kids in't we, y'know what I mean, I mean, y'know, I mean y'know heh heh heh, I've no doubt that, y'know, eh, you are, y'know, when you're, y'know, y'know, when you're young men, you are, you are, when you're young people, you are; cock of the walk, y'know, you're, you're, you're, y'know, you're you're the, you're the new kid on the block, uh, everybody plays to your tune, y'know.... But as I've got older I've sort of mellowed

out. So I don't know whether it's because of prison or because I'm getting older, but I think actually that, um, prison's helped. I think prison has helped. In the last five years it's helped certainly. Um, as I say, not so much dispersals, really, uh, I suppose I've gone through a lot of self-assessment, we all do this, we all, we all, we all assess ourselves and we all, and we all, uh, we all, we all, um, look for improvements, um, uh, you see during, you see, I've got an hour a day which I say, as I said to you, I class that as my time. That's my own personal time.

In the above statement Tom describes the process of self awareness with a positive attitude towards change. He backs up this statement by giving a detailed account of how he engages in this.

Um, that is my time; that hour is my own... particular time. Usually it's between five and six, as I say, when I'm behind me door for tea. That is recharging battery time... because like everybody else I need my, I need my space the same as everybody else does, y'know. That is my, that is my own time, nobody disturbs that time. That is time set aside for me, that is my selfish hour. You know? I mean everybody's got that haven't they? (I: You've got to have your own space.) You know? And then I go like that and I think to myself, now, what have we done today? Right, OK. this is what we've done. This is what we should have done. Right, OK. then, now where do those match? OK. that matches with that, that matches with that, that leaves that what we should've done, that's what we done. Right what have we got out of what we done? And why haven't we done what we should've done? Right, tomorrow they go onto the list of what we should do. That goes onto the list of why we've done that, now why have we done this, what have we got out of it. What have we achieved out of these, out of these little movements today? Right, OK. then. Add em all up.... Could we have done better than that? ...if somebody comes to me and says to me blah blah like this, I say Now did I advise him right? Was that the right thing? Not what I believed to be right at the time, because it isn't necessarily the same thing, y'know? You go, now was that the right thing? Now, could I have advised him to do something else? You know? Uh, and if I advise him to do these things, right, these are the things I could've advised him to do, this is the thing I did advise him to do. Right, OK., versus that. You know? Right, OK., what would have happened if I'd have advised him to do this? Blah blah blah, that? blah blah blah, that? blah blah blah. Yes. Well perhaps he would've been better with this. So I would then go back to him, and I would say, have you got a moment, please? Look I've had a little think, I've had a little work out, y'know, this is your alternate course of action, now you can follow that course or that course. You know, whichever you feel. If you don't feel that that's working, try this. you know what I mean? But I wouldn't say, well try this, when I know it's wrong. You know, even after I've worked it out I know it's wrong, y'know? So this is what - this is, this is basically what I do, y'know. Or I say to meself, I go, now Tom, this is what you could've done, this is what you haven't done, right, OK., blah blah blah, or that, y'know, it's all the same, y'know, it's the same sort of movement, y'know, sometimes it's for somebody else, sometimes it's for me.

It is interesting to note that Tom focuses on assessing his role as mentor, helper or advisor. So the self assessment tends to be based around being generative. This theme reoccurs when Tom is asked what his greatest achievement is.

I suppose what it is really, I suppose, if it's an achievement at all... I suppose it's really... more mature, I suppose... Yeah, more mature and I've learnt to control my-my violence, so that must be an achievement, y'know, uh, I've learnt to control that and I've learnt to re-channel it, uh, so I think, uh, I think that's about it, yeah, really. I mean sorry it's nothing very spectacular, but I haven't lived a very spectacular life, y'know, heh. I mean I can't really - I can't really say hand on heart now that I eh, that I've done anything outstanding, uh, nothing certainly -..... I think it was something that had to happen. I think it was something that had to happen, because if it didn't happen and I went back in the old ways and carried on

in the old ways, y'know, um....I think - I think I've had a lot of help, uh, as I said, I think I've had a lot of help. I certainly wouldn't have been able to do it on my own. Um, I think I've had a lot of help from other cons, and from prison officers as well. Yeah, yeah, I think - I think - I think that's about it really, basically, I mean sorry it's not very interesting, but I'd like to tell you something interesting but it wouldn't entirely be frank would it, heh heh, y'know.'

This is a credible answer as the changes required to Tom's outlook and behaviour were difficult to make from his description of his former self. Tom also shows that with maturity he has learned to differentiate his emotions. He talks about the mistake he made in marrying his wife.

Well, uh, totally unsuited. Totally unsuited. We-we were - what it was, she was a nice-looking girl, y'know, and I was besotted with her, really. Uh, and I mistook that for love, and it wasn't. Y'know? I now know it wasn't because I had a woman, Rebecca, and uh... I love her very very dearly. And, as I say, I find it a bit hard to talk about my feelings, but I love her very very dearly, my-my woman outside, Rebecca. Even when I was married to Sharon, y'know. Um, but I think if anybody I should have married, I think it would've been her. I think it must have, y'know, should have been her. And it will be her if God spares me, y'know, uh, I'm determined to waltz that woman down the aisle, y'know, heh, but eh, y'know, that's how it should've been in the first place, really, not with - not with that-that-that other woman that I married, Sharon, she - ooh, dreadful woman.... To be honest with you I - frankly - I fancied her rotten and and I-I-I mistook that for love, in my in my in my stupidity, I mistook that for love. And um, wasn't till after we were divorced that I realised that it wasn't love at all. I was thinking with um, not with my head, uh, a little bit lower down than that, but I was thinking with that, y'know, instead of my head, y'know. Uh, not to put too fine a point on it, Indeed the only - the only good thing to come out of her was two kids, y'know. It's the only good thing to come out of that union, and as far as I was concerned, uh, y'know, uh, she's divorced me, well it's good riddance, heh, I'm better off without her, y'know. Um, I don't think I would ever have been allowed to develop with her, mentally, um, because she was very insecure herself, uh, but I thought I could be uh, the great protector, the knight in shiny armour, y'know, that sort of thing, y'know. Biggest mistake of my life, I think. Uh, that was my - that's my one regret; not marrying Rebecca, but marrying this... instead, y'know. Uh, I don't feel any bitterness towards her really, y'know, well I suppose I do, but, but but, y'know, not really to any extent. Y'know I think, I think I-I-I I think the feelings I felt for her have gone, y'know, it's as if, it's as if really we've never met, y'know, but I should never have got to that situation. I was - I was - I was eh... I was baited... hooked, oh yeah, I took the bait all right, took the hook, took the rod as well. Heh heh. Gave me a lot of indigestion believe me, ha ha ha.

This reveals a number of factors. That Tom acknowledges the mistakes he has made in the past and understand why the situation did not work out. In this he reveals the imago protector and that he would never have been allowed to mature. He also shows that he has reconciled the issue. He is honest about the way he feels but ends statement by making a joke illustrating that it does not cause him too much cause for concern. Tom also shows the ability to empathise when he talk about his mother.

"she was, she was, she was a very very sweet dear woman. She was a very very sweet dear woman, my mother. My mother was the type of woman - oh, I'm biased, y'know, I'm biased. If, if there's anybody I love more than my mother, then I don't know of that person. My mother was singularly the person, y'know, she was my - she was my life. Um, I adored my mother. I still do now, although she's no longer with us. Um... my mother did her best. She

couldn't do much, but whatever she could do she did. And I don't, and I don't, I do not hold a grudge with her sending me away to boarding school. I do not hold a grudge at all, because that was all she could've done. In those days there was nothing. Uh, one pound ninety and six, I think was the average wage. Y'know, there was nothing at all, nothing. Y'know, cars? Ha ha ha. Cars? Ha ha ha ha, you're lucky to have an inside kazi never mind a car, y'know, heh heh heh. If you had an inside kazi you were posh, y'know, if you had - if you had back windows instead of sacking you were posh. Y'know, that's how it was, y'know. If you had a garden instead of a yard you were posh.... I think basically what it is, it's selective memories of my mother. .. you tend to get coloured vision when you're talking about somebody close to you, don't you, y'know, and you only tend to remember the good things, y'know, and you tend to put the - put the- put the bad things in the filing cabinet, y'know, and that's what I think I-I-I do, I remember the good things about my mother, y'know. Y'know, of course she wasn't perfect, nobody's perfect, but... I think eh, as I say, I think we tend to get eh, to get the old rose coloured spectacles on when we're looking back on somebody we love, y'know, You know, just like somebody you like, you love very much, you-you-you don't want to take the rose coloured spectacles off, y'know, because you don't want to look at the warts do you, y'know, you, y'know, y'know, I like to remember her as-as-as-as-as-a very very good person, which she was really. Y'know, she used to F and blind a lot of course, but don't we all, y'know, ha ha ha ha?! We all use French don't we, heh heh heh heh?!"

Tom reveals that he has reconciled the issues he had with respect to his mother, taking a very mature approach and understanding that she had her flaws as indeed does everyone. The themes of generativity are demonstrated in Tom's coherent and credible account of the murder that he was involved in. This reveals a change from initially being unconcerned about his actions to contemplating the impact his actions have had on the lives of others. Tom describes the processes that lead up to this change.

Well the person I killed, John Philip Beaumont. He was the owner of an antique showroom, uh, it was called the Princes's cave robbery,... Um, anyway, I've got into this shop, he come down the stairs and eh, one thing led to another, I hit him with an hammer, he died ten days later of an haemorrhage. I wouldn't say anything, I wouldn't sign a statement, nothing like that, I've got murder, went like that, guilty. '79 bang. What led up to that was, quite frankly, shortage of money. I was sick and tired of being short of money,... a friend of mine, um, he, he, he actually put me onto the job, y'know, and I eh, I did it, and it was three-quarters, well 754 thousand pounds worth. Um, I was offered a third of that, quarter of a million, which would have been eighty for him, eighty for me, eighty for Spencer and then it would've been ten grand for the job, to pay me mate. Y'know, so three whacks and a drink, y'know, a whack is a cut, and a drink is a, something that you give, y'know, for information. You give me information about, say for instance, the jewellers there, yeah, me and him go and do it. Me and him'll get a whack and you'll get a drink. Y'know? Which is less than a whack, y'know. Anyway, yeah, ah, so, shortage of money, eighty grand would've set me up nicely. I didn't expect anybody get hurt, nobody was supposed to be there, y'know. Um, my sole intention was to get away, I didn't even know Beaumont, I didn't even know Beaumont, I didn't even know him. So anyway, my sole intention was to get away. Um... at that time... when I found out he'd died... to be honest with you, I did not feel a thing. I did not feel anything. I felt no remorse, I felt nothing at all. I didn't feel any pride in the job, certainly not. But that was only because I'd got caught and I was facing a life sentence. I felt sorry for meself, I was self-centred, and I shouldn't have been.... But, but, but, but I... having given time to reflect... I didn't feel anything at all for about a year. And then I thought to myself, well what is this?

Y'know, and then I started thinking about the job, y'know, and about what went wrong. And I started thinking, and I thought to myself, no this isn't right, y'know, why should you have had the right to take that man's life simply because you wanted his silver? You haven't got that right, nobody's got that right, y'know? So I thought to meself, right, OK. then, fair enough, we'll leave it, y'know? And then I got thinking again. What it was, it was me conscience coming to a fore, that's what it was, nagging me. And then I thought, y'know, then it again, y'know, and then, finally, I admitted to meself that I was wrong, y'know. And I admitted to myself that, yes, all right, fair enough, I shouldn't have been out there, I should not have stolen, I should not have killed him. He was forty-two, I was only twenty-nine at the time, he was an old man compared to me, y'know. And I should not have killed him, I should not have gone up there and did the job, I know this, but I also know that, I don't intend to mitigate my crime because I feel now very very bad about it. I feel totally different to what I did feel. Y'know, things change. I... I thought to myself... no, no, no, this definitely should not have happened, you should not have gone out there, you should have tried to go out there and try and earn a living, and in those days it was easy to get a job, there was no excuse, y'know. But this was easy money, as I thought. It was only a matter of going in there, getting the stuff and going out again, he wasn't even supposed to be there, he was supposed to be away. Anyway. It went wrong, and I feel now, I suppose it's come with maturity, I feel now as though... if I could turn the clock back, give that man his life back, I would. I feel very very - I feel very very... more than guilty. Guilty is inadequate, I feel very... sort of... I feel rotten about it, to be honest with ya, y'know, I do, I feel rotten about it, because... what about his family? What are they suffering? What about his children, what are they suffering? What about his grand children that he's never - that he probably, y'know, probably hasn't seen, or might have seen, what are they suffering? They've lost a valued member of the family there, y'know. What about those, what about the people I've hurt there, I haven't just messed his life up, I've messed everybody's life up. I've messed his family's life up, I've messed his children, y'know, I've messed my life up, y'know, although really, I mean I don't really consider that, uh, uh, an important point. I consider the important points as - if his family wrote to me and said, right, OK. we want to talk about this, I would say, yes, but not immediately. And the reason why is because I would be so - I wouldn't have the, I wouldn't have the bare-faced cheek to face his family immediately. Y'know, I-I-I couldn't do that, y'know, I would do it, but I - but I would say, well give me time, y'know, because I-I-I would have to - I would have to build up... uh, the courage to face his - to face his family, really, that's what I think it is. Because I-I don't feel clever about doing that. I mean, y'know, the-the-the man who says he feels clever about doing that, that he's proud of this, y'know, take-take-taking somebody's life like that, bashing em over the head with an hammer just because you want their silver, y'know, I mean, y'know... I'm human, I'm not a robot, I have feelings. I agreed - agreed - I-I-I lacked the finer feelings in life, but I think that I'm beginning to recognise them now, y'know... Well I suppose I had these things, but I - but they were buried deep, y'know, um, I mean... lately, these last four-four years, three years, four years, I think I've become more compassionate than I've ever been. Um, I-I'm thoroughly disgusted with myself for one thing. And I believe that I have got every right to feel that way, y'know. I don't believe that I have got any... any rights at all. Because I forfeited my rights the moment I... took that man's life. I don't feel as though I deserve release, but these - but these are, really, not compassion, these are... senses of justice, really. Y'know, I think I've got a - I think - I think I've got a sense of justice that I never had before. Um, I think I've got, yes I do, yes yes yes, I have got compassion, yes yes. Um, I've got compassion for the man's family, uh, certainly yes. Um... I am capable of feeling remorse and I believe I do feel remorse. Uh, I'm certainly sorry for what I done. I've certainly, uh, if I could turn the clock back I would. Not because I'm in prison, but in order -

(end of tape 1)

I feel as though I... I've done some - I know I've done grave wrong. I know this. But I also feel more than that. I feel as though what I did wasn't necessary. It was greed. And that is the worst possible motive for removing a life from somebody. That is the worst possible motive: greed. I did it strictly and solely because I wanted his silver. And I didn't want to get caught for it. That does not make me a pleasant person. That makes me a piece of trash, because of what I did, and the reason why I did it. Now, had the man attacked me in the street, and I had defended myself, whereas that would not be right, I don't believe that I would've felt this self-

disgust that I feel now. I believe that I - there would've been some justification. But to do it, strictly and solely because you want the money, I think that is absolutely horrific, and that does not make me a pleasant person.

Tom makes a profound distinction between the different types of murder, believing that greed is the worst motive. In some ways he seems to have reconciled who he is, never the less as the next extract shows he does not feel he could ever come to terms with it. Having said that, perhaps it is not possible to come to terms with such acts if one has changed into a more compassionate person.

To be honest with you I don't think I will ever come to terms with what I've done. I don't think I will ever come to terms with murdering a fella simply because I wanted his money. I don't think that is something that anybody can come to terms with. But what I can do is - I know this sounds awful, but I don't mean it the way it sounds - but I can make the best of a bad job, y'know? I can... attempt to help other people, which is what I do, I can try to do something constructive; this is part and parcel of me - that hour what I said, what have I done today, what have I achieved out of what I've done, y'know, this is part and parcel of it, y'know? Uh, I need a sense of achievement, I need a sense of purpose. I believe by-by-by doing something constructive every day, or by doing as many things as constructive, uh, every day, as I can, I believe that that would... not redress the balance; nothing will ever do that, but I believe that that would... (I: do some good) do a little bit of good, yeah, yeah, and if I can help somebody every day, then I believe that I'm putting something back, y'know,

Tom then tries to reconcile this by being generative towards others and repaying his debt. Tom closes the interview with a coherent recap of the essence of his narrative. The message is that he had to change and the only way is through self evaluation.

And my advice to anybody considering a life of crime is don't do it, because I've been inside seventeen and a half years now, Mary, y'know, and believe me I have - I have fought the system, and fought the system and fought the system. I had a ten year war of attrition with the system. I have got a record like that, disciplinary record. A hundred and forty previous reports, a third of those were assaults, y'know? Not pretty, y'know what I mean, not pretty. It's not something which I can be proud of, but I've changed, because to be honest with you, I've bloody well had to change. I've had to change. I couldn't go on like that, go on like that, no, I'd never get out, 'cept in a bag with a zip up the side. So I had to change. Not just to get out, but also I had to change to become a better person. And the only way you can become a better person is by self-assessment, finding out what's wrong, and changing it into what's right, or what's acceptable. Y'know, I mean I can never, I can never become a different person. I-I-I will always be me, but you can - but you can actually self-assess yourself and become, and change what is unacceptable into something that is acceptable, yeah? At least that's my philosophy anyway, for what it's worth.

Tom seems to have successfully come to terms with himself and understands his life. He accepts that he is the same person but believes it is possible to change if the motivation to do so is there.

This account was very lengthy basically because Tom had numerous comments to make about any issue raised. The main imago was protector, stemming from being bullied as a youngster. The interesting point is that the imago did not change but how the imago acted did. He also revealed the imago of father figure, which he felt gave him a purpose. This was evident of generativity.

JOCK

Jock tells a very coherent and credible story of a man who was badly abused as a child which lead him to becoming a murderer. The framework of the narrative is on how he has reflected upon his life in order to change. Jock begins by outlining the early part of his life.

Em...it's a very haphazard kind of life. My family were all Scottish, and eh...some time in the fifties .. they moved down to England for a new life, and I was born in Cleveland in Somerset. Am...then they...they moved to Shipley near Bradford, .. when I was three or four years old.. . My mum was killed in a car crash when I was seven years. And ah...my dad turned to drink. And after that it was just chaos. It was just - I had a little sister; she was a year old when my mum was killed, and ah...my dad turned to drink and he seemed to - after that he went with a succession of ah...different women, and dragged me and my sister around with him, y'know. But during that period that's when I was subject to- really to violence, great violence from my dad when he was drunk. From one particular woman that he lived with - she used to beat with a brush handle, y'know, regularly, and ah...

This then identifies what Jock sees to be the start and the underpinning factor responsible for the shape his life has taken. He elaborates on the point he made about his life being haphazard. Thus giving the narrative coherence.

I was about eight then. I was a happy kid before thatBut then after that you saw a disaster, y'know. When I was about ten, ah...my dad left me living with one of these women that he was living with and she - then he left her, left me and left me with her and her family, and she just kind of kicked me out after a few weeks. And I lived in an area shelter for a few weeks then I started breaking into places - I broke into a grocer shop, bowling alley; daft things, y'know, stealing crisps and fruit. Then I got picked up by the police and sent to a home and I lived in a home for a few years. And home was alright. Y'know it was a council home but there was no abuse or anything like that or violence, not that I was - affected me. Left the home at fifteen, went to live with my dad in Western Supermare; he moved down there with another woman, and am...we didn't really get on. By then - by the time I was fifteen I was quite a big lad. And he - although I was still frightened of my dad, he wasn't able - I don't think he felt confident enough to kind of beat me up...like when I was a nipper, y'know. Em...things weren't - didn't go very well and eventually I left and lived rough for a while...lived at friends and kinda relatives, over the period till I was about twenty - no till about nineteen. I seemed to drift around the country really. ..And I seemed to just take jobs... all kinds of manual jobs, and lived rough for a while. And then when I was nineteen I met a girl called Annette, I fell deeply in love with...and - but I wasn't really fit to have a relationship - I mean I was still emotionally immature, y'know; I was very mature in experience...for such a young man, but emotionally I wasn't mature at all. Am...we had a little girl - Anita - she's eighteen; she was eighteen last

week. Am...it was a disaster. I didn't know how to get a house together, y'know; get a family, or work, and am...but I tried hard to do that, but I had a drink problem myself by the time my teenage years, y'know, I was drifting and everything, I was a drunk as well. And I often got into fights in pubs and bars. And em...my behaviour with Annette was am...it was o.k. at first but gradually - it lasted three and half years this relationship...it got worse; I got violent towards Annette over the years, em...I once - I grabbed her by the hair once and pulled her over the couch...in a drunken rage. But my violence, really towards her was more verbal, and em...aggressive behaviour, y'know, she was frightened of me in the end and gradually led to end of the relationship. Em...when I left Annette - well...I kind of sank into oblivion and drifted more through chaos, y'know, for a couple of years. Just, y'know, living rough; went down to live with my dad, he had a little bedsit in Radgate, used to go and stay in his place. But he was the same cos my dad was a drunk all his life. Because he just...after my mum was killed he wallowed in self pity and neglected me and my sister. Just really his am...his attitude to life was...he lived very much in a pub culture - liked a drink, played the guitar in pubs, he had mates and women in the pubs, and consequently me and my sister - he neglected us for love and security. I didn't realise that I'd grown up so insecure - I didn't really have any measure to go by just - I didn't really know much about myself apart from I was chronically insecure, chronically inarticulate....chronically shy...am...but when I'd had a drink, I opened up you see. Trouble was when I drank all these other, kind of, chronic inhibitions which developed I suppose over the years, they were released and I used to get really quite violent. I used to get really sad - really sad, and then really angry about...am...frustrations, about...my inability to communicate, my inability to have relationships, friends; I mean the only friends I knew were people that I'd met in pubs. The only girls I knew were girls I met in pubs or nightclubs, but they didn't know me when I was sober, they only knew me when I was pissed, y'know.

This is a very detailed account, which is chronological and coherent. Jock relates his life in the form of an explanation. He shows that he has reflected and been able to identify the causes for his violent drunken behaviour and the difficulty he encountered trying to sustain interpersonal relationships. It also shows how he takes responsibility for the failure of the relationship he had. The way he talks about himself at this period of his life is in negative terms indeed the impression he gives is of an inadequate and pitiful man. He does not try to justify his behaviour but explain it in accordance with the way he has made sense of his life. This is coherent and credible and also introduces the idea that he has changed. The next short extract reiterates this.

When Annette left me in the end I was twenty-two. Went down to my dad's - he was still drinking, and I used to go drinking with him. Really it was the same path of no direction. Em...I often smashed pubs up single handedly

This reinforces the imago of drifter, thus rendering the narrative credible, the label he gives himself matches the behaviour he describes. Jock then goes onto explain that he has changed.

You see, what I know. You see, I'm not a violent man. I'm not by nature; it's not incredible if you can view my history fully. My nature's not violent - when violence comes up in here I get as frightened as anyone else...I want to be a civilised human being who communicates articulately and enjoys relationships with other people as a fellow human being. Now I was never like that before I came to prison - it's only in prison that I've learnt why I reacted and

responded to different social situations em...and it's taken years, y'know, to appreciate this. ...I was terrorised as a kid; I was really beaten badly and terrorised and brutalised. I didn't function properly, I didn't develop properly. ...I wasn't, like, this person you can see now - I wasn't like this when I...when I killed two people. You know - I was quite a damaged man.

This reveals that prison has acted as a catalyst for self reflection. This has led to a process of understanding. Jock thinks of his former self as being damaged. In a consistent style this point that Jock has made is backed up with a fuller explanation, lending credibility to the account.

I mean I do talk of - these people they ask us about our lives; the psychologists at Wakefield - when I first came to prison I was too ashamed to admit that I was guilty of two murders, I couldn't admit that. I was determined never to admit my guilt; I was just too embarrassed, too ashamed. Gradually as I thought, well, the psychologist at Wakefield was very, ah...very helpful, very - allowed me to feel safe to talk about my life and everything, and gradually I decided that because I trusted this lady, and because she'd been obviously so kind in giving me her time and her patience and her understanding, I felt obliged, I thought I can't go lying to this person. So one day I made my mind up to go in, and just admit that I was guilty you see. And it was then that I started to be able to look at my whole life properly without hiding from things, you know.

This is a reasonable account about what is known about the psychology of change. That is that Jock needed to be honest and come to terms with his own behaviour. Only then as he says could he move forward. Another factor that lends credibility to this statement is that Jock now asked whether or not the interviewer wanted him to talk about his crimes. The account is very coherent, Jock furnishing it with a great detail which sets the scene, helping to create a very vivid picture about how he was and the style of his life at this time.

Em...I told you when I was living in Epsom, living rough, I had a girlfriend; I actually married this girl. But it was a disaster, I was living - I left Epsom, lived in Brighton, stayed on the beach - I was living rough there for a while. And it was rainy, I couldn't get any work, so I phoned this girl up that I was going out with, she told me she was pregnant. She wanted us to get married, so...foolishly I ended up getting married, y'know, I stole a car in the morning, drove up to Epsom and got married the next day. Then I left the next day cos I knew it was a disaster, I left and went to live in London at a friend of mine who had a squat; a friend that I knew from Yorkshire - he moved to London and was living in a squat, and I went to stay with him and his girlfriend. You know...that's when I started getting involved in petty crime really. and when I went to London to stay with this friend of mine, he used to go out burgling at night, him and his mate; him and his brother-in-law. And the car that I'd stolen in Brighton I used it to get - when I left Epsom to go up to London, and so I used to take this car at night time burgling places. I used to wait in the car, he used to break into various places. And that was the lifestyle, really, we were living in this squat, trying to get a few pounds that these guys made out of their burglaries. Anyway, but I also tried to - I mean I tried to actually - I used to get the paper every day, the Evening Standard and look through the vacancies, trying to get work. Cos I - even though I lived this chaotic lifestyle, I was always a good worker. Well, y'know, I always looked for jobs. If I wasn't working, usually it was because I just really couldn't get a job, y'know, em...whenever I moved to a new town - usually I got a job first before I got somewhere to stay, I'd live rough and work. I started ah...getting the Evening Standard and looking for various jobs. One day I was in an Irish bar in the West End. A man

started talking to me; he started buying me drinks. Now I didn't know he was homosexual. I didn't have any - much experience - well no experience, really, homosexuals. It wasn't unusual living my kind of lifestyle to talk to strangers in a pub, it wasn't unusual...to buy a stranger a drink and get him drunk and have a drunken night with a stranger, y'know, people I'd never met before. Anyway, eventually we had a few drinks and this guy told me he was a homosexual...he invited me back to his place to drink, and I went back...to his place. Em...drank some...and while he was in the kitchen doing...goodness knows what - cooking something - I stole a twenty pound note from his mantel piece. I went to the bathroom, climbed out the bathroom window and got a taxi back to my mates' squat. And I thought no more about this incident really, em...Then I got a job as a concrete labourer. It was a really quite well-paid job - about two or three hundred pound a week; it was 1980. But really all I did when I had a fistful of money, I went drinking. I went to Burt (??) places. Went to the West End again. And again I'm in a bar - this is not a homosexual particularly - it's just a bar - it's called St James' Tavern. Guy started talking to me, and because of my experience with this other fella, I was, I thought, hold on, I was coming up for twenty three, had a brown mop of curly hair, and I suppose from a homosexual's point of view - well, probably from a girl's point of view I was really attractive youngster, really. I didn't think of myself like that, it's just looking back I think that's how I was perceived, and that's how I must have been perceived by this homosexual person. Anyway because of my experience I kind of got a bit suspicious but allowed this guy to buy me a drink. When he invited me to go elsewhere, I went with him and in the course of the journey to wherever we were going, I attacked him. Three other incidents like that over a period of about three months.

This again paints a picture of a chaotic lifestyle which is based around survival. Jock describes his act of getting marriage as foolish thus reinforcing the fact that he has changed. He reveals that he took advantage of homosexual men with the intention to rob them. Because of the detail Jock has given the inference that he was angry at these homosexual men can be drawn. Jock has revealed his desire for close relationships with women. He has also revealed he would go to any lengths to get money. This would seem to be a fair assumption, as Jock goes on to give an explanation of why these attacks took place. This then adds to the credibility of the account. There is enough similarity in the content of the narrative for such assumptions to be made.

Well that was the first one where I actually attacked someone; I'd never done that in my life before, I was twenty-three.... Ah...I think it was a mixture of anger that someone could feel that I was such a person, they could just buy me drinks and have my company. As if I was - I was, really, I was living like a bit of a low-life, y'know, in a way, but...but that was o.k. but I didn't want other people to think of me like that I suppose. I didn't like the thought of someone thinking that because I was living like that that they could just buy me drinks - that there would be some kind of relationship. Y'know, I could handle it if it was just - I don't suppose there wouldn't be a situation where a complete stranger would come to the bar and start buying you drinks and not expect something in return. This obviously was the situation with this homosexual. Anyway I don't feel it now but then I felt almost justified in doing what I did - I don't feel it now because it was a dreadful way to live and a dreadful way to behave, y'know, but in drink...I didn't really think too much about the issues involved, I was obviously quite happy to just vent my - these feelings about the situation...I don't remember it being a severe beating that I gave this fellow, but he was certainly...attacked. I went through his clothes, took his wallet - I can't remember what kind of money was there...

Jock reveals that he did not like other people viewing him as some type of prostitute. He says that he knew that he was an unworthwhile person but did not want this reinforcing by others. This seems to be a retrospective astute identification of emotion and behaviour. Jock adds that he felt at the time justified in this behaviour. This fact was not required in order for the account to seem credible yet he has added more credibility to the account by acknowledging this likely emotion.

The next event that Jock relates is in a similar style to the former, that is he sets the scene. The content of chaos and drifting, once again frameworking the account.

This was towards the end of 1982 and I just seemed to be - again just drifting, I used to go back to Epsom sometimes, the girl that I married, she had the baby - Shelly-Louise - and I'd go back and stay at her place for two or three days, I'd go down my dad's, stay at his place for a couple of days, back to the squat in London - I just seemed to be drifting then towards the end of 1982 I was drifting around in that situation staying at the squat, em...found a credit card, an American Express card, kind of used that for a few weeks. It was an Arab's card and it was - it was all written in Arabic but what I did I practised a bit of Arabic, y'know, what was on the card, used it to go in restaurants, and ah...bars...and I bought presents for the girl that I married in Epsom, I bought her things with the American Express card. So I'm in the West End again and ah...and I was - it was Saturday lunchtime and I was in a bar, guy started talking to me. You've got, y'know, two incidents like this, this was probably going to be another incident like that. The guy was very cultured, older than me, and ah - very polite, very well-mannered, and quite - obviously a nice person. Em...bought me drinks, invited me back to his place and, y'know, this was in the afternoon, so I said, y'know, yeah. Got the tube back to his place, he lived in a place called Camden Town. He ah...let me in his house, and made me a drink, and he went and bought some food. He was gone for about half an hour, he came back, he cooked a meal. I had a meal with him, more drink, and then I fell asleep on his sofa. When I woke up I'd kind of sobered up a little bit when I woke up - I was really embarrassed about where I was. You see I can manage this kind of thing when I was - when I was drunk, cos I didn't really think too much about the issues, about why, about how I would feel about this; was it wrong, about moral issues; I didn't understand any of that when I was drunk I didn't really think too much about it all. When I'd sobered up slightly I was really embarrassed about being there - what the hell am I doing in this guy's house, y'know, it's gone too far, y'know...So I went to leave, and he was all, y'know, don't leave, y'know, have another drink. I said, well I really must go - I was really embarrassed. But he said, well look, let me buy you a drink before you go back, so I allowed him to...this was obviously tea-time, pubs were open, so I allowed him to buy me a drink at a pub just two or three blocks down from his house. Bought a few drinks. I got quite drunk again. And then left him. Got a tube back down to the East End, down to where my mate was living in a squat. When I got in, my two - my mate who I knew from Yorkshire was there and his brother-in-law was there and these were the guys who were burgling places. And I said to them, look...I know a place you can burgle, and I told them about this guy's house in Camden Town. And ah...he'd told me that he'd gone to the Opera that night, and he wasn't going to be in - well he'd be out late, y'know. I told these two guys that. My mate from Yorkshire he wasn't interested, but the other guy said, well I want to steal a van - this was about eleven o'clock at night - I'll steal a van, so he stole a van, we both to this guy's house and em...(long pause)...well, I phoned up expecting to check that he wasn't in but he answered the phone. So he said, oh - I said, oh it's - y'know, explained who it was, I said, oh I've got nowhere to stay, I thought, y'know, cos he'd mentioned sometime during the evening or the day that if you want just to stay...put his number and his address on a betting slip..."where are you?", I said, "well I'm not too far", he said "well come round" - this must have been about half eleven. So I told the guy that I was with, look he's in, he said, go on go

up there go and - do him in some way. I didn't know what I was going to do, y'know, this is true, I'd no plans to be violent to this man. I'd no plans of tying him up or doing him in any way at all, but...Anyway I went, knocked on his door, he was in his dressing gown, let me in...he was all pleased to see me "Hi how are you?", y'know, all polite and couteous, gave me a drink. I really didn't want to be there, but I'd set things in motion that I couldn't seem to get myself out. Am...he invited me upstairs, into his bed. And....so I followed him up. When he took his dressing gown off he was naked underneath his dressing gown. He invited me to ah - get undressed, so I did. I was undressed, got into bed with him, but I'd no intention of having any physical relationship with him. Sometime during the time of me getting into bed with him I ah...put my arm around his neck and squeezed till he was unconscious, and he struggled quite a great deal, and the more he struggled, the more I squeezed. I fell off the bed, and I landed (???) on the floor with him on top of me, on his back with me with my arm like this holding on. It was pretty dreadful and I'm very ashamed of that, I really am ashamed. Anyway, I hung on...till he was ah...not moving... and eh...when I felt that he wasn't going to attack me or remonstrate with me for my actions, I let him go and he rolled off. I went to the door, got my clothes back on, and I kept expecting him to get up and start having a go at me for my behaviour, but he didn't - he was breathing very heavily; very laboured breathing. I made sounds on the stairs as if I was leaving and then waited. Still expecting him to get up but he didn't get up. Anyway I went downstairs, my mate Gary was across the road, he came in, ransacked this man's house while he was lying upstairs dying. Ah...infact most of that time I spent on the couch, sitting on his settee downstairs while the other kid was running around filling a dustbin bag full of stuff. And ah...and then we just both left. When we left he was breathing really heavily; you could hear him from downstairs, really heavy.

This is credible as the events which precipitated the murder were similar to those of before. That is a homosexual man had approached the offender and Jock had intended to rob him. He reveals that when he was drunk he did not concern himself too much with the morality of his actions, yet when he was sober he found it difficult to cope with. This seems to be credible. Under the influence of alcohol many individuals act in ways that they would not do if they were sober. For someone with very few or no values, the actions required for monetary gain could conceivably seem even more debase. (This is not to suggest that homosexuality is debase but the ability to have sexual relations or the give the promise of sexual relations to an individual of a different gender preference is.) This also reveals Jock's inability to function at this time, he appears to have no skills to cope or manage situations. As the event unfolds Jock offers a description of a man who engages in little or no reasoned thought, who allows himself to be carried along with the chain of events that he initiated. This is in sharp contrast to the man telling the story who offers that he has thought long and hard about himself and has changed. The last murder he describes is set up in the same manner as before.

Now I used to go to the West End myself, when I got back, like when I was with this girl Fiona, instead of just saying I was with this girl that stayed in her little bed-sit, she was with this wealthy family, I'd make up a story, y'know, I'm wheeling and dealing, I'm doing this that and the other. And they thought, oh, y'know, Jimmy's doing this he's doing that - I was creating this image which was just a load of crap. So Billy Ross - this is the guy - my co-accused - he

walks in, let's go to the West End, you know the West End, well I didn't know the West End - I'd been a couple of times, with these incidents, but I didn't really - I wasn't a part of the culture or anything. But, yeah, let's go to the West End, so we went up there, there was a pub where all the nurses went from St Thomas' hospital, took him there, y'know, to meet girls, took him to this place. We just behaved - that night we just behaved really badly, drank in this pub, acted crass really. On the way home am...I decided to go back to Epsom, he wanted to go back to the East End, so we made our way to Victoria Station. On the way there we were walking up the Mall, there was a man walking in front of us. At some stage, Billy Ross my co-accused started walking with this guy that was walking in front of us. First of all he was running all over the place; it was late on, there was some traffic, it was very deserted there weren't many people around. This guy was walking maybe twenty or thirty yards ahead of us. Billy Ross started walking with him. Em..at some stage he jumped on the fellow; they both started struggling. Very soon after that I took off from where I was and ran out and grabbed both of them, pulled them off the Causeway, proceeded to attack this fellow; this innocent man, this bystander with Billy Ross. Between us we beat this fellow up. I picked up a brick and his this brick a few times, eh...left him. He was slumped in a door so we left him there. I made my way back to Victoria station, left the man lying there...eh...got a train to eh...back to Reigate. Stayed there for a couple of days, am...that was it - there was those two incidents, both in 1982.

Although there is no mention or comment at this stage about how he feels or thinks about this, the way in which the picture is painted perhaps is an indicator. Jock describes a callous and vicious attack on an innocent man trying desperately to escape who is beaten to death for being in the wrong place at the wrong time, who meets with an undignified and brutal end, left to die alone. In other words this account could have been described in a less incriminating manner, as often the accounts in this study were. Jock then seems to give some credibility to the claim that he is honest about his former self and seriously reflected on what he has done. The process of change actually began as a result of the murders he had been involved in. In an attempt to escape from the situation he had created Jock fled and joined the foreign legion.

Well I went and joined the French Foreign Legion believe it or not.when I was in the Foreign Legion that is a culture of violence, believe me. But I could cope with that because it was structured and organised. And it was about - I mean I still drank, but I didn't get to mindless brutality; mindless fighting, mindless explosions of violence - I didn't do that. ...when I joined the Legion I discovered I wasn't such a useless inadequate, small, em...inferior person after all, I was really someone who other people looked up to - I'd never had that in my life before. I found that I was an achiever. I learnt French very quickly within three or four months, I wasn't fluent but I could speak and understand what I was told when other people were'nt so quick. When it came to physical things I was...I was quite good. Sport, things like that. Did really well in Basic Training - went to the league regiment in Corsica, it was, like, the league of all France. Em.. I went there. It was all about endurance, physical endurance and Christ I'd had a lifetime of that, y'know, so it was no big deal to sleep out rough in the mountains, when it rained; it was no big deal to me, y'know, so I was good at things like that, but the more worthy, the more worth I found by myself, the harder it was for me to cope with what I'd done, y'know. Because I found that I was better; that I could have been a normal person, that I could have been a valuable person, em, but I discovered it too late, y'know, that's the thing. ...

This again is credible, research (Hunt and Hardt 1965), has shown that individuals who have difficulty in controlling their own behaviour function far better in a structured and rule based system. Indeed this was the first time that Jock had experienced discipline and had a purpose in life. The imagoes revealed in this extract change from drifter and inadequate to achiever and worthwhile person. Thus the Legion provided the opportunity for Jock to excel in one area in his life and paved the way for a journey of self analysis. This seems to be a credible account of the sorts of issues that are involved in what is known about the process of change. This experience seemed to have a profound effect on him. It seemed to change his attitude towards violence, which was tested when he was extradited, convicted and sent to prison. Ironically Jock reveals that he was no longer had a desire to be violent yet was placed in a society that was essentially violent.

I was in a secure unit, and in the secure unit were all kind of tough guys; people who were experienced in the prison system, most of them. But I didn't like that, I mean I didn't like, y'know, straight away I was accepted, because I was in the Legion, two-three murders, y'know, eh...I was accepted as part of this culture, but I didn't really want to part of this.... But what I realised, I thought, Christ it's going to be hard because I don't want to be violent for the sake of it; it don't want to be a tough guy. I mean I was that kind of thing but it was thrust upon me, I mean I grew up not knowing any other way - I didn't know about morals and values and respect for other people. I knew the difference between right and wrong but I didn't know why I should choose right from wrong - nobody ever told me choose right, because if you choose wrong you're going to hurt people; people are going to suffer; you're going to suffer - nobody ever told me that. I've had to learn that from experience. ...What I do in here, believe me I play it all down, I go the other way, I'm ultra polite, ultra couteous, but even then they go "hang on a second" (laughs) they can't work that out - that causes a bit of confusion, y'know. But what I try to do in here - in these places is kind of show my fellow prisoners, y'know, that we don't have to be violent to each other, we don't have to be aggressive to each other, y'know, we are valuable people as individuals and if we recognise that -we mustn't allow the system to inflict systematic institutionalisation, systematic debilitation, systematic indoctrination of this culture, we don't have to have that; we can be valuable people in our right -

Jock demonstrates how he sees himself within prison. He does not engage in violent behaviour and tries to teach his fellow prisoner by example. This reveals an ideology that is commensurate with the comments he made about the self discovery process in the French foreign legion, in essence that if an individual values themselves then the violence will subside. In this then Jock reveals that he sees himself as a teacher and seems to empathise with those he sees as being in the same position as himself. Jock is able to explain why it is important.

I want us to be people in here, not prisoners that - you see society causes as well, y'know they create these prisons. Where it allows this culture to thrive. Now there are some people who are never going to think logically and rationally about morals and values, there's people who are never going to think about those things.. I obviously want to stress my viewpoint with the prisoners. You see I believe that prisoners can help each other; they don't have to be subject to the patriarch of the prison system, y'know, we are the old parents, you are naughty children. I believe that we're going to benefit society a great deal more if we can find ourselves of worth as individual people in here and take responsibility for ourselves without having Big Daddy prisoner officer, em...constantly wiping our bums, y'know.

Jock seems to be talking about dignity and self respect. He implies that prison culture does not deal with life situations in a functional manner. So again the detail he provides gives an impression of what he means which is eventually borne out by subsequent comments, giving the account a cohesive and very coherent feel. He goes on to show how conflict and irritations in prison can be used as training on how to be functional on release. He uses an example to back up this claim by revealing how he feels about the prison officers

I treat them - to me they're people. I treat them like people. I treat them with respect, y'know. Sometimes they don't always treat me with respect because sometimes they're so ingrained in the culture themselves that they forget, y'know: you're a convict, I'm a prisoner officer so I can be rude to you; I can keep you waiting, I can make things difficult for you, I can be awkward, because I'm feeling pissed off about me being a prisoner officer, I'm going to make you pissed off. But they're not all like that, but some are, y'know - And I accommodate it in my own daily life, I accommodate it; I have to, to make sure that I maximise my um...ability to live the way I want to live. Ultimately I hope it's the way I want to live on the outside - I've never functioned as a normal contributing member of society - I want to, but I've never done that before, but I'm eager to do that. I know what I've done wrong, but - and I know what I've taken away - make no mistake about that, I'm under no illusion about the grief and the horror that I've inflicted on those two people and their families, and that they've somehow lived with that; I don't know how they've lived with that.

Apart from backing up the impression that he gave, and explaining how these situations are enabling him to develop, Jock demonstrates empathy and acceptance. Firstly he recognises that prison officers are human too and just as likely to become institutionalised. He also differentiates them as people recognising the individual differences between them. Secondly he acknowledges the gravity of what his actions have done to his victims and their families. He demonstrates a prosocial attitude showing evidence of generativity actually being eager to contribute to society rather than take away. This indeed implies a turn around in his life. Jock also demonstrates that he is generative in prison.

I run the stress management group in here which I started myself cos prisoners suffer a lot of stress. Em...and it's because I can see the two sides, I couldn't imagine hurting someone, I couldn't imagine attacking someone with a brick, I couldn't imagine choking someone to life and leave him dying, I couldn't imagine doing that; but I did it.

Apart from showing concern for others, Jock also demonstrates reconciliation. He firmly accepts that he is responsible for these crimes, without following this with an excuse. Jock goes onto reveal how he has reconciled this and other issues.

I live with it because...I've discovered that I'm a valuable person myself, and I was one before but I didn't know it...and what I'm trying to do it is I'm trying to do is be a - I want to be a - you see you could just say, "Right let's have Capital Punishment, let's get rid of you because of what you've done". That wouldn't achieve anything. Whether it achieves anything having me live, and get a degree and, y'know, be a good person, does that achieve anything? I don't know. I don't know if it does. But I - I live with what I've done by making sure I live a decent life for the sake of those two men, and for the rest of my life, y'know, I'm not going to be a goody-goody Charity worker - I mean I do all that - I do Charity work - I do that kind of stuff, but...as a responsible member of the community - that is my role, that's how I see my role - a responsible member of this community. Where we're in; y'see actually this is a community. I could bring a hundred and fifty guys in here now who would dispute it's a community but it is a community, no matter how people perceive it as a community; I want to be a contributing member, a responsible contributing member of that community, and ultimately I want to be like that outside. Now there's two motivations, one is very selfish: I want to live, I want to experience relationships, I mean real ones, not flying around pissed and chatting some girl up, talking a load of crap, or, y'know, some other situation where I'm pretending to be what I'm not, because I know who I am now, so I can sit here now - I'm ashamed of all this stuff I've had to tell you, but I'm not trying to hide it - I'm not frightened to hide - to expose it, because I understand it, and I can explain to you, to anyone, how these kind of things come about. There was a thing on the news this morning about violence - corporal punishment to children - parents smacking their children - I think it's absolutely...essential, y'know, to talk about bringing laws in so that parents can't smack their children, I don't agree with that, I'm for that. The worst thing in the world - I mean I don't know if you've experienced violence as a kid, y'know, o.k. you might get away with smacking a kid's bum, or a tap round the head; you might get away with that. But anything more than that, and you damage, you damage - I know because it's happened to me - I know that you - that I'm an intelligent man - I've stood up in that boardroom - have you been in the prison boardroom at all? There's a governor's boardroom, I've stood in front of a delegation of forty Samaritans from all over the country and I stood and gave a lecture to these people about - cos I'm in the Listener scheme as well, y'know, there's a Listener scheme in the prison. If people - there's a group of us trained by the Samaritans - if guy's, y'know, get a bit suicidal, they get on their bell, "I want a Listener". So someone like me or Harry or, y'know Jimmy or one or two others, can go and sit in someone's cell and talk and listen. And I gave a little bit of lecture to these Samaritans. That doesn't - that's not the same guy that, y'know, committed these offences, that went berserk and smashed pubs up. Do you see what I mean? There's more to it than that, y'know, what happened - all that experience of violence, it just suppressed all my own ability to express myself, it just made me scared to death - scared to death of my father, made me - unfortunately it means me and my dad fell out four years ago; we don't speak. And it was because I've got a girlfriend now, I've got a fiancée, she was a teacher in prison, she's now a career's officer outside, she's got a degree and she's got a Masters and all that, we're really close, y'know, we sit and have a few hours, we can talk. Four years ago my dad started phoning her up when he was drunk and ah...y'know, being a bit...a bit forward with her, a bit, kind of naughty, y'know, I thought, Jesus Christ, this is just the same thing. Because all the years - my dad used to come and visit me in prison, but it was the same old phoney stuff, "Hello son, how's it going, y'know"; he was acting as if he was John Wayne, so then I'm acting this role that I'm his side-kick, and that's how it went. So when he was phoning Margaret up and being a bit, y'know, inviting her on holiday to a secluded cottage in Scotland, and don't tell me, stuff like that. So I phoned him I said, what's all this; you're phoning up Margaret, asking her to go away with you, I said, look just fucking keep away from her, keep away from me - the first time in my life I swore at him. First time in my life I shouted at him, first time in my whole life that I was honest with him. I slammed the phone down, haven't spoken to him since, d'you know what? I grew ten feet tall after that incident. And I really - he's an old man now, he's in his sixties, and he's going to die while I'm in here. And I'm sad about that, I really am, but...I'm glad that I'm away from him. Because now I really am my own man, I really am, there's nobody on this planet can force me from my principles, my values. Nobody. My dad could have done it one time because he still had that influence over me, that's because of the violence, y'know, because of the fear; I lived in fear of him, y'know. But I loved him at the same time - that's the incredible thing; I worshipped him after my mum was killed, there was only my dad there.

Jock then has learned to cope with this by recognising that other factors were involved which contributed to the murder. Jock is so convinced of this that he has set about trying to educate those in a position to help of his experiences and his concerns about child abuse. This is also generative-being concerned about other people's children and the quality of their lives. Jock also showed reconciliation towards his father. In order to reconcile himself he had to separate himself from his father who he now recognises as being a negative and damaging influence throughout his life. Jock paints an entirely different picture of the feelings he has for his daughters compared to those his father had towards him.

she actually got in touch with me three years ago, and we started writing...and it was, it seemed to be nice at first, y'know, but then this past year it's kind of dwindled off. I haven't met her. I left her and her mum when she was eighteen months old. I tried to explain in my letters that I regret, y'know, my behaviour towards her mum, and like, not being a good father - I explained all that in letters. I think a lot of that was a bit heavy for her mind you at that time, y'know, she eh- see she's eh - she's now at college herself, she's going to university, she's done her A-levels.... I heard from her social worker that she was very articulate, she's very popular, she has friends, lots of friends, she's very bright, she's top of the class on business studies and this that and the other. But I think Christ, but if she'd have had my kind of upbringing, she wouldn't have been all those things, well she would be but she wouldn't know she was. She wouldn't know her potential and her abilities. But the guy that her mum married, he's quite well-off - he owns a camera shop. And he's paid for her to go to private schools, so I'm grateful to him, she's had a great start to life, y'know,.. Last letter was January this year. It's always a loving letter, y'know, 'Dear dad, sorry I haven't written for a while, I've been -' she's always got this boyfriend or that boyfriend or she's gone to this nightclub - she's got a hectic social life. But she says that - I haven't written for about four months myself, because I write a couple of times and think, well does she want to write? You can't just keep writing in case she doesn't want me to. And she says, I miss your letters...em...so I wrote again a couple of times, but i've not heard anything since then - it was her birthday last week, sent her £50, Christmas card - last year I sent her a box of presents. Em...I've got a few pounds cos I save up my prison wages, y'know, but she doesn't know what it is, where I get my money from, but I also write articles, I get payment for articles in magazines and newspapers, I do writing. So em...because I ahdn't been in touch I didn't know what she wanted for her - I didn't like to ask what would you like? So I just sent £50. I've not heard anything, so I don't know what the situation is there. I've got another daughter as well in Epsom, who I've had no contact with at all. She's - she must be fifteen - in fact I think she's sixteen next month. I feel sorry - I feel sorry for both of them. I feel sorry for Anita because she said to me when she was nine, this was in a letter she told me, she was at school and she just spent the afternoon wondering about her dad, y'know. I was in jail at that time doing life. She didn't know. I've got all her school reports, she sent me her school reports and things over the yeras so I've got all that kind of stuff, but, we've lost touch. I could have been such a good dad, y'know, I know I could cos I'm - I'm a mature man, y'know, I'd love to have instilled the values, y'know, the kind of values that I understand about life, about people. I'd love to have shared that with Anita but I think she's had that from her mym, from the guy that's adopted her.

Jock shows that he is generative, ultimately he is concerned for the welfare of his daughter and takes the relationship at her pace unconditionally. He is grateful that she has had the best start in life but sad that he learned to late in order to do it for himself.

Either way this shows generativity. This leads back to the focus of Jock's narrative that the events that took place in his life facilitated a road of destruction of many including himself.

I mean the point I'm making here is...if I hadn't been exposed to violence...so badly as I was - I'm not sure about a clip round the head - I wouldn't even do that to a kid. I mean kids need to respect adults, they need to respect their parents, they need to be loved. You know I'm not whinging but I never had anybody tell me they loved me when I was a kid. I would sit on their knee - and I don't know if you two did but I hope you did, I really hope you did, y'know, your parents loved you, and tell you that. We need to feel loved and that we're important and we're secure and we're valuable to other people. Cos if you don't feel those things...I know what it's like not to feel those things, it's dreadful. When I see people in homes, or people - every time I read the papers there's a crime committed. I look at it and I think, I don't just read-listen to what the newspaper tells me cos I know most of it's a load of crap, y'know the court reports can be so deradful; the media misrepresent so much, and give the public such misinformation that what happens is...society doesn't take a proper objective look at crime and punishment and what the prison service and prison sentence, what;s it all about. They go, oh this scumbag did that, he deserves this. And it's just an inequal correlation. For someone to kill someone, for someone to beat someone to - there's some reasons there - it might turn out that he's an out and out evil psychopath, o.k. let's put him in that box. Let's have a look at him. Is he really - y'know let the experts look at him, let's monitor him, let's look at him. Then when you discover that really he's a psychopath, there's nothing you can do with him, maybe he;s got a genetic disorder or a mental disorder, fair enough: prison. If someone responds to em...to positive constructive...treatment, that's got to be taken into account cos society owes that to itself, cos I'm also part of society, y'know, I'm not...I mean I'm not sure - at the moment I'll be honest with you because of this big twenty-five years I've got I'm not even sure who I am in this world, y'know, psychologists I would say that, cos it sounds as if I'm trying to say, well - cos the easy answer is, well you killed two people; you don't deserve to part of am I - do I count for anything? Have I never counted? That's not normally I wouldn't say that, if I was talking to a probation officer or a prison society. But what about before that, didn't I deserve to be part.

In this last extract, Jock stresses the need to understand the causes of criminal behaviour and suggests that in many cases criminals are just as much victims of society as their victims are. This is commensurate with everything Jock feels and believes about himself and his life. This was a very focused and detailed narrative based around looking at the bigger issue of criminal behaviour. It was therefore coherent and credible. The change undergone was notable. From one of the most dysfunctional individuals to the most functional. There was a lot of detail about the process that precipitated change and how this was effected. There was detail on how Jock had reconciled issue and implicit evidence of generativity. Therefore this was the most functional and transformed account of all the narratives.

DISCUSSION

Chapter Fifteen: Support for the Model

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-

DISCUSSION: CHAPTER FIFTEEN

Support for the model

15.0 Introduction

The results indicated that each group was differentiated based on the five criteria of coherence, credibility, openness to change, reconciliation and generativity. The way this manifested itself was by a cumulative effect. That is if coherence was lacking then all the other aspects were also lacking. The first group had none of the criteria. The second group had coherence but lacked the other four criteria. Group three attained coherence and credibility but failed to achieve openness to change, reconciliation and generativity. The narrative accounts of the penultimate group contained coherence, credibility, and openness to change yet lacked reconciliation and generativity. There was a gap then, the last group attaining all five criteria. That is the narratives of the first group contained none, the second group one, the third group two, the fourth group three and the last group five. There could be two possible reasons for this gap. The first is that the sample was not large enough to reflect the full range of narrative possibilities. The second and perhaps more likely is the fact that reconciliation and generativity may go hand in hand, or at least very often go hand in hand, both being signs of a mature individual. Therefore it is possible that certain individuals would be reconciled and not be generative but the occurrence of this would probably be uncommon.

There also appeared to be a clear quantitative dimension to the themes, which enhanced the distinctive feel of each group. That is, the narratives of each group share a similar style to each other and differ from all the others. In group one the majority of the accounts if not all were consistently incoherent as opposed to confinement to specific parts of it i.e. discussing difficult issues like the murder.

15.1 Group One – the Non-Identites.

Group one was unique on seven points in addition to the overall confusion each narrative left the reader with. The first point is that compared to the other narratives

these were rather short. Indeed if one cannot make much sense of ones life talking at length about it is no mean feat. The second point is that the narratives were not free flowing. This was for two reasons; firstly as in the case of Adam, the interview took the form of a question and answer session as Adam required a great deal of guidance to say anything. The second reason is that the narratives were so confusing that often the interviewer asked questions in order to try to make some sense of the story. The third point is that the narrative accounts were descriptive and rambling rather than explanatory. That is, the events were not causally linked but reported. Indeed as Gergen and Gergen (1988) say life stories are not simply one 'damned' thing after another. In this sense then the murderers in group one can be said not to have a self-narrative, the possibility of which seems to have been overlooked by narrative theorists. Another distinguishing feature is the lack of emotional tone in the delivery of the narrative. Traumatic events are not described as such but revealed in a flat unemotional manner with no more discussion about them as any other fact such as a night out in the pub. This suggests not that these individuals do not feel emotion rather that they cannot identify it cognitively. That is they do not appear to be in tune with body and mind in fact the behaviour and thought seems to be separate. Not surprisingly then there were no identifiable imagoes or self-images. As this group had not achieved change the narratives were characterised by a startling lack of empathy, remorse and guilt for what they had done. They did not even seem aware that some comment would have been appropriate for the brutal crimes that they had committed. There was hardly any mention of the victim in comparison to the proportion of the rest of the narrative which was essentially very ego centric, supporting the idea that these characters were the most immature in terms of identity formation. The last point relates to the opening paragraph of the narrative, most of the narratives gave a brief outline of the story at the beginning of the interview. This helped orientate the listener to what was to follow and often revealed the main theme of the story. In this group this was not done, or the point they were trying to make was confusing and unclear.

15.2 Group Two – The Deceivers

Group two was characterised by their lack of credibility despite lacking the other 'higher' components. The reader was left questioning the integrity of these accounts. One factor that gave the impression of lacking credibility was the overall ability to be

coherent but containing recurring themes of incoherence. So not only does there seem to be a quantitative difference but a qualitative difference. For example Lenny describes a very coherent account of his formative years and only becomes incoherent when describing events that do not fit neatly with his perceived self-image. That is as he sees himself as a hero Reinforcing these facts seems easier than when he tries to convey an account of events that do not fit in i.e. when he is involved in violent behaviour. This too is the case for Benny in this group, when trying to describe events that may threaten the self-image he seems to convey them in a non-credible manner. Frank lacks credibility in supporting the claim he makes which is based around him being no longer violent when he in fact remembers, almost fondly his days as a football hooligan. The first group lacked any imagoes in the narrative accounts. The murderers in this group do have imagoes yet they do not seem credible. Both Lenny and Benny try to portray honourable victims of circumstance and Frank that he is non-violent and non-criminal indeed normal and reformed. This would suggest that each of these characters is living as 'ought' self not 'actual' self. Ought self is the way we think we should be, actual self is the way we are. The mark of maturity is to close the gap between these ideals as far as possible. Indeed a similar concept 'the wished for self' (Jacobson 1964) seems to capture the essence of these individuals. Developmentally the wished-for-self-image emerges as the child comes to understand that s/he and the mother are separate individuals. The wished-for-self-image contains no moral dimension but is preoccupied with more primitive issues, such as power and effectiveness. Milrod (1982) writes that behaviour guided by the wished-for-self-image is,

"Self-interested and is aimed at strengthening the self-representation. Concern for others is not of any importance. The wished-for-self-image is supremely narcissistic in this sense."

It would appear from the narrative accounts that the way in which these self-images are strengthened is by distorting the events that have taken place. This is possible, as attribution theory and the theory of cognitive dissonance and interpersonal congruency theory have described how people select the information that will enhance or reinforce the self-image. Nevertheless most individuals have enough self-awareness to realise what is fact and what is fiction. As these individuals have not

reached the openness to change level there appears to be no insight into the difference between actual and ought self or indeed recognition of an actual self. McAdams (1993) stated that individuals do not create themselves out of thin air but base it in reality. So once again there would appear to be a certain group of individuals that challenge this generalised assumption. Perhaps mature adults create themselves out of reality but immature individuals indeed would appear to create themselves out of fantasy. The style was explanatory; contained some emotional tone; were of an average length; would have been free flowing had the interviewer not required to clarify those issues (often frequent,) that lacked credibility. The main difference was with the explanatory style. Although frequent explanations were given which allowed causal linkage to be seen, in order to maintain a dubious self-image the explanations often seemed to have been distorted as they contradicted other information imparted. .

So the differential feature of this group is the qualitative nature of the explanations of the events in the narrative. As this model is based around a process of maturity it makes sense that the group requiring basic credibility was found to follow the group requiring coherence. This is because this moves on from no imago in the non-coherent group to a false imago in the following group. Although this feature has been linked with childhood development and immaturity in adults it has not previously been recognised as a feature of identity formation models. So this would appear to be an important finding, that narratives that lack credibility by presenting a wished for image are indications that the individual is relatively underdeveloped, the consequences of this are discussed in the next chapter.

15.3 Group Three – The Single Identities

Group three was characterised by having a rigid self-image that was not open to change. They were characterised by two distinguishing features; the presence of a clear imago or self-image; and the inability to generate alternative cognitive strategies particularly coping strategies. There were three distinguishing features connected with the imago. The first is that there were no other imagoes present to rival it. Therefore it stood out clearly in the narrative and could be seen to guide all thought and behaviour. The second issue is the onset of the imago not in the narrative but at the actual time in the individual's life. All the individuals in this group report this imago as being in

place at a very early age. For Kashif it was being a Muslim, for Ted it was being a criminal and for Peter it was being a drug user. These imagoes were in place by the time they had reached teenage years. The third issue surrounding the imagoes is that they have remained unchanged. There was no evidence of any development throughout the narrative, the individual revealing this through ideology, values and beliefs and significant others which lend support to the observation that there was no change. The second issue is naturally related to the first. That is, as no other imago is present, alternative modes of thinking and behaviour cannot be generated. Indeed as Linville (1985) said, a multifaceted self-image serves as a protector against stress as modern day events can threaten the self-image. Therefore if an individual sees him or herself in more than one way, they will be better able to cope. Throughout the narrative there were a number of conflicts or decisions made that were reported. It was clear that these dilemmas and decisions were very similar for each individual. Kashif continued to be unable to make a decision for himself leaving it up to others to lead the way- commensurate with obedient son or conformist. Ted has not changed his mind about his murderous actions suggesting that he would have perhaps hired a hit man instead. He made it clear that the option of not committing murder was not an option. Peter was a drug user and still used drugs and was sure that drugs would be legal by the time he got out of prison. The whole narrative was based around drugs; there was no evidence of change. Kashif believed he had changed yet told a story that happened to him whilst he was in prison, a story reflecting the situation which had led up to the murder, He had dealt with the two situations in exactly the same way or rather and more accurately did not deal with them at all. Ted sees no reason to change and informs the governor that he does not want to do a communications course as he does not want to work for BT upon release. Ted sees nothing wrong with his behaviour. Peter wants to change but realises that he is going to have difficulty and a lot of hard work to do and as yet has been unsuccessful.

15.4 Group Four – The Searchers

Group four had narratives that were similar because they were unreconciled. There were five characteristics. The first relates to the imago or self-image for which there are two points. The first is that all three shared the same imago, that is, of victim. This is understandable as if there are unreconciled issues, one perhaps has felt or continues

to feel like a victim. The second feature concerns the movement of the imagoes. For two of them they have turned from victim into murderer into saviour. Perhaps the most salient distinguishing feature is the emotional tone conveyed in these narratives. Of all the groups these conveyed the strongest emotion, and told tragic tales of abuse and cruelty suffered as children. The murders themselves seemed to be a cathartic experience for all of them and moreover seemed to be directed at a symbol of their own aggressors. Woody murdered a sex offender who tried to rape him following the rape he endured at sixteen years of age. Simon killed a man who rejected his attempts to make conversation, a man who he admits reminded him of his father who brought him up under a brutal regime. George murdered a woman who he thought was going to attack him which is similar to the way his mother had treated him as a child. The narratives were free flowing and contained some evidence of self-reflection. This is the first group where self reflection and introspection has taken place. However this is to varying degrees. The underlying search for peace suggests perhaps that not as much successful introspection has been engaged compared to the last group. This supports the idea that there is a quantitative dimension to these categories regarding self awareness.

15.5 Group Five – The Enlightened

Group five has eight distinguishing features. The first of these is the length of the narratives told. Each individual told long and complex tales, which involved much detail and subplots. They were extremely coherent making them easy to follow and therefore engaged the listener. The style of delivery then made the listener want to hear more. Related to this was the presence of a number of imagoes evident in the narrative account. Each offender had at least three which like the last group seemed to move from victim to murderer to carer. Even though the three revealed imagoes of carer, the older two went on to reveal imagoes of father figure and mentor for the youngsters, introducing not only generative issues but also more importantly the ability to care about and show concern for and indeed be, empathetic for others. Indeed the tone was in sharp contrast to the lower groups as the focus was on intimacy and nurturing as opposed to power and self gratification. Each individual claimed that he had changed since the murder happened. Indeed the components of these narratives seemed to support this. The imagoes have moved in a progressive fashion but even

more telling is the reflective nature of the accounts. The detail offered and the consistency of the same would be hard just to verbalise. That is, these narratives contained highly stylised and unique profound statements about change and self-realisation, which would be difficult to talk about had the individual not generated them, especially as they were perfectly complementary to all the other aspects of the narrative. It could be argued that it would make more sense that they have changed, as murder, it is suggested comes about through having a poorly structured narrative. As these subjects have made sense of their lives it would be unlikely that they were the same as they are now when they committed the murder. In addition, the way Tom and Jock talk about change in comparison to Frank highlights this further. Frank offers an impoverished shallow statement of why he has changed as opposed to an in-depth story of self-analysis. Thus there is clear evidence of change. In contrast to the former groups there is a voluntary account about how they feel about the murder. There is more detail given and deeper emotions discussed. The last distinguishing feature of this group is the underlying feeling of peace reflected in these accounts. The individuals have reconciled the conflicting forces of their life stories. For example Jock has decided that he is now a man of principle and has had to sever all contact with his father whom he sees to be the singularly worst influence in his life. Thus, Jock has realised that whilst his father is around he is going to suffer and has therefore come to terms with the fact that he had to decide to cut him off. This is in contrast to both Richard from group one and Simon from group four. Richard reported that his father sexually abused his children and talks of needing his father. Simon at least explains that the brutal treatment he endured from his father affected him and his confidence yet is still writing to his father asking for his love. He has not yet realised that this is the way his father is; he still needs his approval. This highlights a very important point, which was outlined at the beginning of the thesis. It is not the event per se but the way it is constructed into an image of self. All these three men talk about being let down by their fathers yet this event affects each in a different way depending on how they think about it. For Jock it is not a problem, he has come to terms with the relationship they had and although he is naturally sad he is reconciled. Simon seems upset by this and Richard said he had conflicting feelings about this and chooses not to think about it at all.

15.6 Does the Experience of Murder bring about Dysfunctionality?

This last point is important in addressing a methodological issue. How can we know whether the murder itself threw the individual into chaos resulting in an ill formed narrative or whether it was the fact that the individual had an ill formed narrative that led to murder?

This research would support the latter notion for a number of reasons. Many individuals suffer trauma and changes in life circumstance that can result in confusion about self-identity. Yet it makes more sense to assume that the content which sits on the framework is thrown into disarray not the organising framework itself. This last example demonstrated that each individual suffered as a result of problematic relationships with their fathers. It also showed that the further along the dimension of development one was, the more likely it could be successfully incorporated into a well-formed narrative and mature identity. Like developmental stages once each stage has been achieved there is not usually a regressive element. Stories can be transformed and rewritten and are constantly revised but the level of functioning of the organising framework will determine how successful this is. Another factor relates to the way in which these events were reported. This research developed criteria for examining the validity of claims of change. Thus it is suggested that having an ill-formed narrative was intrinsic to murder and the lower one is on the developmental scale, the more likely it is that murder will occur. The following chapter discusses the implications for being at a particular stage. A further argument for dysfunctionality precipitating murder will unfold as the functioning associated with each level of cognitive development is revealed.

DISCUSSION

Chapter Sixteen: Implications of the Model

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DISCUSSION: CHAPTER SIXTEEN

Implications of the model

16.0 Introduction

As the findings show there is a progressive movement through each of the stages, from ill-formed narratives to well formed narratives. The ill-formed ones reveal little or no self-knowledge with an inability to make sense of themselves and their lives. In this sense they are the most underdeveloped in terms of identity formation. There is little evidence of change as they talk about their lives outside as though it was yesterday. The next group which lacked credibility had made sense of their lives by believing they were someone they were not. The next group made sense of their lives by conforming to their prescribed cultures, albeit criminal and drugs populations in two of the cases. The penultimate group were searching for reconciliation; they made sense of themselves by understanding their lives as victims. The last group had achieved mature identity and showed how they have understood and made sense of themselves and their lives.

16.1 Identity formation

This cumulative model indeed complements and is almost identical to other theories of identity and developmental theory. Firstly the lack of coherence is synonymous with Marcia's (1966) diffusion group who have not made a personal commitment to any set of beliefs, they have not yet experienced identity crisis (Muuss 1988) Indeed these individuals know very little about their true identities (Heaven 1994). Group two does not seem to have been distinguished from group one in previous developmental and identity theories, yet it would appear that lacking this characteristic is a sign of immaturity (McAdams, 1989). The third group the rigid individuals seem synonymous with Marcia's foreclosure group. These individuals have made a personal commitment to certain beliefs and value acceptable behaviours but before they have experienced an identity crisis. This means that they have not had to struggle with considering different alternatives. Most often, although certainly not in all cases in this study, their values are simply adopted from the parents. Foreclosure

individuals have been strongly socialised by their parent or peer group. Muuss (1988) notes that they have not been sufficiently challenged to make their own decisions and have adopted a set of 'pre-programmed' values and beliefs.

This fact is surely one of the strongest supporting factors that the individuals were in these stages up to and at the time of the murders. That is because the circumstances of the murders exactly match and make perfect sense when conceived of within this framework. Kashif did not want to be married to his wife yet was in turmoil as he had bonded very strongly with his family and the Asian community and could not see divorce as a feasible way out. Thus he had not developed coping skills to deal with the situation and as a result found himself in complete chaos. Again Ted had subscribed to the criminal underworld from a young age and this framework makes sense of his crimes on the same two counts. Firstly that the penalty for reneging on a deal in the criminal underworld is severe and Ted not only adhered to this but explained it. And secondly could not generate any other options.

Group four was akin to Marcia's (1966) moratorium stage. In this group individuals do not know who they are yet but know that they do not know. This could explain why there was evidence of a certain amount of introspection and an underlying tone of searching. This realisation that they are unaware, can be accompanied by pervasive uneasiness and uncertainty about the future. However the moratoriums of the present should become the identity achievers of the near future as they pass from exploration to commitment and thereby form a coherent image of self.

The last group the generative group seems to equate to Marcia's fourth group, the 'Identity achievers.' This stage is synonymous with maturity and ultimately identity formation. It marks that any crisis has been resolved. It has been suggested that an achievement of identity helps link in the mind of the individual, future aspirations with the past thus creating a sense of personal continuity (Muuss 1988).

Identity achievers and moratoriums are often paired off against foreclosures and diffusions in studies of moral reasoning, self-esteem and personal relations. Marcia terms the achievers and moratoriums as higher statuses. This throws light on an interesting finding of the content of the narratives. Those above openness to change

seem to be reflective and working towards understanding of who they are whereas those below it seem to have no self-awareness. This may be important for the issue of murder. Self-awareness helps individuals monitor and regulate their behaviour. If this process does not exist then it could partially contribute to the processes that enable murder to occur. Moreover those in the higher stages of this sample have changed since the murder.

Marcia's (1966) has supported the notion that the structure of narratives is on a developmental dimension with the movement occurring in a sequential fashion. This has thrown some light on why identity formation is important in understanding the processes that give rise to murder.

Other theoretical models that seem to mirror the one offered by this research could enable predictions to be made about the future behaviour of individuals at each of these stages. Loevinger's theory of ego development (1976) is synonymous with identity formation. A model that seems incredibly similar is the interpersonal maturity model of Sullivan Grant and Grant (1956). These theories also lend support to the idea that the murderers were at these stages (apart from those who changed) at the time of the murders.

16.2 Interpersonal Maturity Model

In keeping with all developmental models the interpersonal maturity level suggests that an individual can become fixated at any point which then determines relative consistency in goals and expectations, and a 'working philosophy' of life. While there is no causal relation between maturity level and antisocial behaviour most delinquents fall into the lower categories (I-2, I-3, and I-4). Thus they assume that those progressing beyond this are less likely to conflict with society, as the focus, as with the other models seems to move away from power to empathy and intimacy.

The model of narrative structure proposed by this thesis can offer an explanation which furthers the understanding of why this is the case. Those individuals who were involved in delinquent activity and who persisted with it, never managed to make sense of who they were and how they fit into the world; these are those at the lower

stages. In other words they did not achieve identity. Those who were delinquent and claim to have changed, claims which were supported, managed to answer these two questions and featured the characteristics of the higher stages which featured higher levels of empathy. To achieve identity then is to lessen the likelihood of criminal involvement.

16.3 Model of Ego Development

To explore this idea further the features of the five groups were compared to Loevinger's model of ego development. Although the individuals of this sample did not fit discreetly into the stages as defined by Loevinger, they nevertheless followed the same order. For example the first definable stage of Loevinger's model is the I-2 stage; the essence of this is the impulsive nature of the individual with the focus of the world being egocentric. This can describe the six offenders of the first two stages, the incoherent stage and the in-credible stage. The crimes were all of an impulsive nature for example, Adam committed a frenzied attack on an elderly neighbour for no apparent reason, Richard murdered and set fire to a girl following sexual intercourse, and David attacked a woman and laid her body on a railway line also for no apparent reason. In group two, Benny committed a frenzied attack on an old lady when she disturbed him trying to burgle her, Lenny had sexual intercourse and set fire to an ex-girlfriend and Frank had sexual intercourse and then brutally murdered a female teenager. All these crimes were not planned, and were brutal and chaotic. This is also a reflection of many of the life styles described by the offenders.

The next stage is Delta denoted as the self protective stage where the individual is described as Machiavellian in his relations with others, where life is a 'zero-sum game; what one person gains someone else has to lose' (Loevinger 1976). This stage and the next which is the conformist stage (I-3) describes the behaviour and life stories of the third group the group that told rigid narratives. At this stage morality becomes conventional and is strictly defined by the rules and norms of the group – be it small scale or society as the whole. This describes the murders of two of the subjects in this group Kashif and Ted. Kashif, in order to protect himself, arranged to have his wife killed this decision was made because of his strong need to conform with his Asian culture, which rejected the option of divorce (at least this was the case

as he saw it). Ted planned to kill a drug buyer who reneged on a deal stating that he knew the rules of the game. Ted also showed Machiavellian type reasoning in the narrative when he described the various armed robberies and scams that he had been involved in. Peter was also in this group, although he does not share the planned nature of the murder he did live his life very much according to the drug culture thus demonstrating the conformist component.

The next stage Loevinger defines is the first transitional phase known as conformist/conscientious (I-3/4). In this stage the individual is becoming increasingly aware of his or her inner life, but descriptions of experience are still in relatively banal terms. This describes the unreconciled group. They have developed some self awareness but not enough to sort out completely who they are. According to this stage complex patterns of attribution occur at the later stages, which would naturally allow the individual to become reconciled. As there was evidence of change in this group e.g. George and Woody, the crimes are purported to have been committed at earlier stages and therefore will not have a particular style attributed for them in this category. Nevertheless, this stage is commensurate with their basic level of self awareness which explains why they have not yet been able to reconcile the inner conflicts they experience.

The next stage is I-4 or the conscientious stage, the main feature of this being able to differentiate more keenly between concepts, for example, Loevinger (1976) writes,

"Things are not just right or wrong. A conscientious person thinks in terms of polarities, but more complex and differentiated ones: trivial versus important, love versus lust, dependence versus independence, inner life versus outward appearance."

This stage and the next three describe the narratives told by the generative group. In I-4/5 the second transitional phase, the individualistic level, there is a marked growing in tolerance, I-5, the autonomous stage, sees the onset of toleration for ambiguity and high cognitive complexity. Feelings in this stage are expressed vividly, and convincingly, including sensual experiences, poignant sorrows and existential humour intrinsic to paradoxes of life. The last stage I-6 is the integrated stage which is basically an extension of I-5 with a 'consolidation of a sense of identity.' Jock, Tom

and Carl all possess some if not all of these features. They offered the most profound and differentiated narrative accounts, and seemed to have an existential philosophy to the paradox of life if not humour which would be perhaps not be appropriate under the circumstances. This of course is further evidence to support the notion that change has occurred for the individuals at the higher stage of the narrative model because they show the features of these higher order variables in two other models as well as the narrative structure model.

Although the cut off criteria are different for Loevinger's model the elements of the stages follow the same order as do the elements of the narrative groups. The advantage of the narrative approach is the way in which these broad descriptions manifest themselves for each individual. It is not clear if trauma can influence whether or not an individual remains at a particular stage or whether those who experience trauma at lower stages are more likely to become involved in criminal activity. This research would suggest that trauma per se is not a factor in the onset of criminal behaviour. Rather the way in which that trauma is incorporated and understood by the individual, is more likely to be the factor involved in whether or not criminal behaviour will emerge. This would explain why children experiencing trauma may be more inclined to become involved deviant behaviour than adults. Most functional adults will be able to make the information meaningful albeit painful. The child devoid of a mature cognitive schema will inevitably have difficulty in understanding and dealing with the same information.

16.4 Narrative Reconstruction and Psychopathy

This interpretation would support and further explain recent research undertaken in looking at the causes of psychopathy and psychopathic violence, with the keystone of the disorder being the absence of normal human emotion Porter (1996.) The predominant view of psychopathy has been that a genetic predisposition is essential to its formation whilst environmental factors determine the course of the disorder. Porter (1996) presents a pathway to psychopathy in which environmental factors are critical ('secondary psychopathy'). The research found empirical and clinical support for the idea that negative childhood experiences can profoundly affect emotional functioning in adulthood. Specifically, *certain individuals* who are severely traumatised or

disillusioned by loved ones might over time, learn to 'turn off' their emotions as an effective coping strategy, which later emerges as psychopathy. This is considered to be a distinct dissociative disorder based on the detachment of emotion and cognitive/behaviour. Interestingly this style of speech was a recurring theme for the subjects in group one, the group who had made least sense of their lives. The 'story' was delivered in a flat tone, any trauma been hurriedly mentioned before moving swiftly on or changing the subject. Thus if the individual does not or cannot think about it, free floating pain and anger will exist, perhaps explaining why the crimes in this group were seemingly motiveless.

As Porter says certain individuals can become traumatised by negative experiences; this research has provided a theory which can explain why certain individuals will be unable to cope effectively with these life crisis. That is, it is dependent on their level of development. For example an injustice may anger an individual in a lower group of narrative structure/early developmental stage to the extent that the impulsive and egocentric focus of the individual may be a factor in retaliation or violence, to a specific or non-specific target. This research has shown by and large that the lower the stage the less specific the target. Those individuals at higher stages may learn to look at the wider picture, not feel personally victimised and deal with the issue in a non-violent manner. The point is that whatever the situation or social referent is, the way it is dealt with is dependant on the individuals cognitive ability to deal with it. This factor will partly determine how the individual acts on this experience.

Based on the evidence of the results of chapter one, the non coherent, this research suggests further that such individuals not only learn to turn off their feelings, rather, they learn not to think about semantic issues, and the running commentary of prosaic events is testimony to this claim. This in turn denies them access to developing a self-identity, a process that requires exactly what they cannot do, introspect at a high cognitive level. This lack of self-identity means that there is no guiding framework for thought and behaviour.

The idea that a lack of identity results in the exact type of behaviour as seen throughout this study is reflected in literature. McAdams (1988) asks the reader to consider what Langbaum (1982) calls the image of the walking dead:

*"A crowd flowed over London Bridge, so many,
I had not thought death had undone so many.
Sighs, short and infrequent, were exhaled,
And each man fixed his eyes before his feet."*

(T.S. Elliot, *The Waste Land* 1922.)

The Walking Dead as McAdams points out, wander from place to place without direction, as they are incapable of sustaining vital, energising, direction-giving identities. Separated from their own unconscious selves, the walking dead are nameless and faceless, each devoid of a distinctive sense of individuality, and continuity. The walking dead cannot answer the two identity questions of 'who am I?' and 'how do I fit into an adult world?' because they fear the questions. This results in passing time ruminating over the trivialities of daily existence.

This bears a striking resemblance to those characters in the group that lacks credibility. Benny, Lenny, and Frank, convey no sense of who they really are and indeed they do not have direction-giving identities, if they did, the heroes that they portray would have been engaged in behaviour more becoming of a hero rather than a criminal. Benny offers the best example of passing time preoccupied with daily existence when he skims over his feelings towards the murder in favour of offering us a description of the daily events he has been involved in whilst in prison.

Images offered by significant works in contemporary literature offer more haunting pictures, (McAdams 1989). Langbaum (1982) describes the characters of writers such as Pynchon, Ionesco, and Beckett as having zero identities. Unlike the walking dead, these individuals are bereft of any vitality. Of these emasculated and solitary identities e.g. Beckett's Krapp and the random and chaotic life stories e.g. Pynchon's V, Langbaum writes,

"Beckett's living dead do not even walk – in the novels they hobble and crawl, in the plays they are remarkably stationary. Beckett presents in his plays unindividuated characters with stylised faces, whose single names do not name them, give no clue to family class, nation.... His characters come from nowhere, belong nowhere, have no occupation or place in society. There is no society. Society appears as the small band

that beats Estragon, when he sleeps nights in the ditch. Godot beats the messenger's brother; Pozzo beats Lucky. Beating seems the last vestige of the social principle; and for certain pairs, the tyrant-victim relation is all that remains of love."

This is a depressing and unrecognisable portrayal of civilisation after it has broken down. Such a world and how one would thrive in it is barely conceivable. Yet the descriptions of these characters and their behaviour is alarmingly similar to those murderers in the first group, the incoherent group. They have no names that name them, do not reveal any characteristics of family or class. They seem to have come from nowhere and seem also to be going nowhere. Indeed they do not seem to have or know their place in society. David suggested that if he was ever released he would deliberately walk up to a policeman and punch him to ensure his return to prison. David feels that he could not cope in society and would prefer to stay in prison. Moreover, David fought habitually, at least every weekend claiming it was normal for him to have been in a fight. He would even join in other's fights using a knife if he felt he needed to.

This is a stark literary description of what it means to have no identity. However it is important to point out that McAdams proposes that achieving identity is becoming increasingly difficult for everyone in society as the problem of identity is the problem of finding unity and purpose in our lives. McAdams (1988, 1993) feels that the onset of the industrial revolution and scientific supremacy over ideologies, beliefs and values including religion has made it difficult for many individuals to find a niche and understand who they are. So having said that, this research does not suggest that it is only murderers who have problems with identity formation. It may be the case that lower levels are more likely to be involved in violent behaviour but not all individuals experiencing problems with identity turn to violent crime. Non violent individuals have not been focused upon in this study so a definitive answer to this issue is not available. It is suggested however that temporary loss of identity or identity crisis is a different concept to achieving unity and purpose. The latter being an issue concerning the underlying organising framework of meaning (the I), the other, information pertaining to the me. This research suggests that the higher the I, the easier it is to incorporate the Me, the lower the I, the more difficulty it is to even be aware of the Me.

16.5 The Danger of a Dysfunctional Narrative

Perhaps because many theorists function at a high level, little attention had been paid to the possibility that the narrative an individual tells can be so diverse on a dimension of functionality. Indeed all narrative theorists say that the primary function of the self narrative is to enable the individual to make sense of themselves and their lives and that to live without an coherent narrative was not to live in reality (Gergen and Gergen 1988). McAdams (1993) suggested that a narrative should contain the criteria discussed throughout this work but again gave no indication as to what it would mean to live without this. McAdams even questioned whether hiccups or conflicts in narrative really accounted for severe mental illness, implying that some crisis of narrative were more synonymous with a type of crisis of conscience which could be readily talked over with friends or minister.

This is a far cry from what this research has upturned. The way that an individual makes sense of his life which is determined by the way in which he tells his narrative can have a huge impact on himself and society. It has been suggested in this research that the way an individual did or in some cases did not see himself was directly involved in the emergence of murder.

To recap those individuals in the incoherent group lived chaotic life styles and were impulsive which was a factor in the murders they committed. Those individuals in the group that lacked credibility seemed to have no control over their behaviour as they did not acknowledge who they were. Indeed Benny described his behaviour as not him, rather like an individual who shoplifts but knows that it really is not them, that they are simply engaging in a specific 'bad' behaviour, that really they are good. An overwhelmingly childlike behaviour. This is potentially rather dangerous, if the individual refuses to marry together thought and behaviour, the behaviour could continue irrespective of what the individual thinks of himself. As Benny did, he will continue to excuse himself or distort the truth to fit in with his warped sense of self. The third group who held a rigid self-image are also dangerous but in a different way. The lack of alternative self-images means that there is nothing else to mediate any thoughts they may have. The limited ability to generate solutions or develop more appropriate coping strategies means that future behaviour is likely to mirror past

behaviour. This was seen by Kashif and Ted, Kashif finding himself in a similar situation to the one which resulted in the murder of his wife. Perhaps more alarmingly Kashif believed that he had developed the skills required to cope thus demonstrating that he is out of touch with who he is and how he behaves. Ted is dangerous in another way. He sees no reason to change, his unilateral image as organised criminal guides him to murder. This image still exists and there is no evidence to suggest that he would not respond in the same manner again.

The murderers in the group that were unreconciled also seemed to murder because of the way they constructed the world. This further supports the hypothesis that the higher up the model the individual gets the less likely that murder will take place. Indeed these murders could be described as two individuals being in the wrong place at the wrong time. Moreover the victims are very personal to the murderer. This raises the question that if these personalised individuals were not in the presence of the murderer, the murderers may never have become murderers. There is an ironic tone to these murders. Woody murders a man (a convicted child sex offender) who tries to force sexual relations on him, making him relive the one situation that he cannot put to rest – the rape when he was sixteen years old. Simon, who constantly craves acceptance and approval from his father, murders a man of his father's age who rejects him when he tries to talk to him. And George, who was starved of love and abused by his mother, murders a female prostitute, who tried to rob him and attack him with a knife (or so he thought). Given too that these were cathartic reactions and left the murderers with little or no anger, suggests that this was the level that they were at prior to the murder and prison. If George had not been abused by a prostitute, if Simon had not been rejected by a man resembling his father (when he was very upset) and if Woody had not been subject to another sexual assault it is questionable as to whether these murders would ever have occurred. This then shows why the individual at a higher level of narrative structure and at a higher developmental stage is less likely to murder. There is less of a need for global aggression but are highly differentiated and personalised. Although it cannot be said that murder is inevitable at the lower stages, it seems far more likely, not least because of the egocentric and impulsive features of it.

16.6 Level of Narrative Structure and Change

Given that the owners of dysfunctional narratives can be dangerous, the issue of development needs to be looked at closely. The research paradigm indicated that there was evidence of change for the last group the generative group. This is commensurate with the idea that murder is more likely to occur at the lower stages of the model. For example Jock described himself as a drifter leading a chaotic and desperate lifestyle, consumed with anger that he could not verbalise. This behaviour and emotion is commensurate with the incoherent group. This leads onto the issue of the feasibility of change and its implications. However before that is discussed suggested implications at being at a certain stage in the model will be hypothesised.

16.6.1 The Non Identities

Generalisations about specific behaviour are difficult to make but the similarities within this group highlight some hypotheses worth exploring in the future. They are that individuals fixated at this group, are likely to lead chaotic, random and impulsive lifestyles, are more likely than the rest to be violent towards a non specific target with almost no exceptions, elderly, female, acquaintances and strangers.

Their behaviour is unlikely to change as they have no insight into themselves and no observable imago or self-image governing or guiding behaviour. Added to this Sullivan Grant and Grant (1956) report that such individuals function best in a structured environment i.e. an institution.

16.6.2 The Deceivers

These individuals are also likely to be impulsive for similar reasons to the former group. In the above group there is no imago to guide thought and behaviour. In this group there is a lack of direction – giving imago, rather a false image that appears separated from the behaviour. These characters also have an egocentric focus and are unlikely to change. In terms of murderous behaviour these too are similar to the former group, all three victims were women, one was elderly the other two had been sexually involved with the offender. All three seemed to provoke the offender in

terms of presenting them with a situation that they could not deal with. Lenny's girlfriend had left him and was threatening to inform the police about him, Benny was disturbed by the victim whilst he was burgling her house. She grabbed him whilst he was trying to escape. Franks was having sexual relations with a teenager who following intercourse began to discuss the implications of being pregnant and what her father would do. This then demonstrates impulsive, egocentric behaviour with an inability to generate adaptive modes of behaviour.

16.6.3 The Single Identities.

The third group the rigid group is also unlikely to change. The reason again is different. It is not the absence of an imago that is the problem but the unifaceted nature of the one they have. This directs all behaviour and thought. The individuals in this group tend to be more planned.

16.6.4 The Searchers

The Unreconciled group, seem indeed to present a case for a social dimension to the emergence of murder, all received harsh abusive treatment as youngsters which according to the narratives they told, appeared to account for the fact that they had unresolved narratives. Secondly circumstances occurred which served to reinforce this pain. As one can see the ability to predict who will or is most likely to murder becomes more difficult as the behaviour thought and emotion becomes less global and more differentiated as the individuals develop. In this case, the individuals are less likely to repeat this behaviour for two reasons. Firstly a catharsis was described which the offenders say has enabled them to get rid of the anger. Secondly the event, the murder has served as a platform upon which they can begin to examine their lives. Some change is apparent in the imagoes although prediction at this level becomes vague. This fact is commensurate with the model, differential behaviour being a mark of maturity.

16.6.5 The Enlightened

The last group are unlikely to murder again or indeed be involved in violent behaviour. This is for many different individual reasons but can be grouped into changes in ideology, attitude, imago, and significant others for example. It is interesting that Carl falls into this group that is being generative showing care and concern for others, as it is debatable as to whether he was ever violent in the first place. He had no previous history of violence, and revealed that he was guilty of not stopping his accomplice from carrying out the murders, rather than actively killing persons himself. So again this appears to be a commensurate fact.

The basic question is who can change and who cannot? It is difficult to come to a definitive conclusion although the individuals in this group who have changed all found the act of murder and incarceration as a catalyst for a journey of self discovery. Quite simply as the others had not changed up until the time of the interview, it would be suggested that any change is unlikely. Partly because the group that had undergone change did so in about two years and most of them have served at least a decade. Also because if murder and prison does not change an individual what will? Added to this is the theoretical argument put forward by Marcia (1966). Those in the lower stages it is suggested will never reach the higher stages where change can be effected. However this research raises a query about the fact that individuals may become indefinitely 'fixated'. This research has shown that the potential for change is immense. Jock at the time he committed his murders was arguably the most dysfunctional offender, and according to this framework has developed into the most functional one. On the other hand Frank who was in the incoherent group has been in prison for fourteen years and was due for release the following year and had not shown any evidence of real change in identity. Jock's release was years away. This raises some important questions about the function of prison. Quite clearly it works for some but not others. This would suggest that in order to safeguard society, input into the promotion for change should be evaluated, individually tailored and monitored.

DISCUSSION

Chapter Seventeen: The Applications of the Model

17.0: Introduction

17.1: For Prison Use

17.2: Investigative Application

17.3: Contributions to Research

DISCUSSION: CHAPTER SEVENTEEN

The Applications of the Model

17.0 Introduction

In exploring other issues this model has provided a framework for assessing and measuring change. This is because, naturally this was a pervasive topic of conversation and the similarities and differences between these claims apparent. This could potentially have far reaching implications for rehabilitation, probation, parole, and prison behaviour.

17.1 For Prison Use

17.1.1 Rehabilitation

McAdams (1993) suggested that certain psychoanalysts follow in the Freudian tradition of trying to repair broken and dysfunctional narratives. Although not a widely embraced practise, if this is a method that can enable an individual to make sense of themselves and their lives and in turn change into a functional person, it is worth considering this for prisoners, who, in the main, have led dysfunctional and ineffective lives.

17.1.2 Probation.

Knowing at what level of functionality an individual is, may enable a probation worker to support the murderer and the surrounding community more effectively. For example if the prisoner is still at an impulsive, egocentric phase, the chances of recidivism are greatly increased, thus allowing the probation team to implement measure to lessen the possibility. Furthermore if an individual has changed, the support needed will be minimal in comparison to the former example thus enable a more efficient use of resources.

17.1.3 Parole

This is an obvious area where such a measuring device could be used. Unlike the probation scenario where release was not in the hands of the service, assessing the suitability of a prisoner for parole is. This is not an exact science and can cause stress for the individual the service and the community, especially if an incorrect decision is made. In this situation then utilising a tool to measure development would be advantageous.

17.1.4 Prisoner Behaviour

Such a tool would also be useful in the effective management and handling of inmates. For instance it could indicate who was likely to attack other inmates, who was likely to attack the staff who was not likely to attack either. This predicts behaviour as well as measuring change. For example it may answer such questions as who is most likely to be smuggling drugs into prison and who is taking them.

17.2 Investigative Application

17.2.1 Deception

The other incidental finding of potential great worth was the ability to distinguish between truth and fiction. It may also be possible to distinguish between deliberate lies and the personal difficulty in accepting the truth. This of course may be valuable for investigative purposes when interviewing suspects.

17.2.2 Truth and Fiction

There were three ways in which narrative accounts were shown to be fiction rather than fact.

- (a) The ability to demonstrate coherence for the majority of the narrative yet relating specific events in an incoherent manner, especially when it was describing events such as the murder.

- (b) Making certain claims and then failing to back them up with any; supporting evidence, i.e. imagoes, ideology, change in attitude, aspirations, significant others and reported nuclear events.
- (c) Making certain claims but consistently presenting another picture.

The amount of distortion of truth may indicate how far someone is lying or having difficulty in understanding or accepting what they have done. The individuals in the generative group gave complete and accurate accounts of the events that had taken place at the time of the murder. To a lesser extent Kashif said that he was responsible for endangering his wife's life although he did not directly kill her. This suggests that although his story does not quite tally with the CPS report, by claiming the responsibility for the murder anyway, it is the fact that he finds it hard to accept what he has done rather than deliberately lying. The truth can be very painful and it is more than possible that this may be a motivating factor in trying to change the facts of the event. He also gave a coherent account of the stress which lead up to the event, helping to demonstrate that he was involved in the circumstances of the murder.

On the other hand, Lenny, denied he had anything to do with his ex-girlfriend's murder, and when he tried to explain the events he became totally incoherent which deviated from a very plausible and engaging narrative prior to this point. Also he does not offer any strong reason as to why the police suspected him as perhaps an innocent person would. So it is a lack of detail and a lack in style of speech which deviates from his usual pattern. Especially as the incoherent part is the explanation of the murder.

This may be useful for theoretical and practical purposes. It may contribute to the understanding of deceptive styles of speech and lie detection. If an account is deemed dubious, the investigating officer could ask the suspect to elaborate on the incoherent parts or more over generate evidence that they have the capacity to be coherent thereby supporting the fact that deception may be occurring.

17.3 Contributions to Research

17.3.1 Cognitive Psychology

This research has contributed to the understanding of murder in a number of ways. Rather than focus on biological or social causes of murder, it has taken a largely cognitive perspective, one that has been required for some years (Feshbach 1978). The most important point is that it has demonstrated that, divorce, trauma, abuse, and deprivation per se do not make a murderer. It is the way these events and others are constructed and understood by the individuals who experience them. For example, perhaps it is a question of balance; if an individual experiences a mixture of life events the counterbalance may prevent imagoes of victim occurring. On the other hand may be the delineating factor is the severity of a 'one off incident' such as a rape.

17.3.2 Personality Theory

Although this research subscribes to an individual differences perspective it is not based on personality traits rather how developed an individual is along a general cognitive developmental dimension. In this way it offers a new perspective to murder to take issue with the ideas of genetic propensities and social theories alike. Quite simply it would argue that most murderers are extremely underdeveloped individuals, immaturity leads to dysfunctional behaviour. The contribution that narrative theory can make to the study of murder speaks for itself. Not only has it shown how broad themes similar to traits can be brought out, e.g., impulsivity, generativity, but also the way in which these features interact with a social referent can be seen. This highlighted the highly stylised individual behaviours yet enables comparisons and differences to be made indeed a model of development, that draws striking parallels with empirical and well documented ones.

17.3.3 Discourse Analysis

This then has also drawn attention to the importance of the whole area of discourse analysis. One of the main reasons why behaviourism has dominated psychology in

recent years is because investigators needed to be sure of whether what they were being told was the truth or at least accurate. It would appear that instead of analysing speech and communication, it was decided that it would be easier if speech was taken out of the equation. Whilst behaviourism has made a huge undisputed contribution to psychology, there is no reason to believe that talk is any less informing. Once speech is widely accepted as a form of behaviour that can be scientifically tested, as this study has demonstrated, the further our understanding will be about the causes and process involved in human behaviour. However, the size of the contribution is dependent on a philosophical issues of cognitivism versus objectivism. If one believes there is an absolute, the truth about which can be discovered, this approach to psychology would not be as merited as it would be by a post cognitivist perspective. This philosophy believes reality is invented by the individual which after all is the arbiter of any social action engaged in. Edwards (1997) criticised narrative theory for focusing on the actor rather than on the speech. Indeed when studying murder what the speech can tell us about the perpetrator is of vital and central importance. In the case of the first group the speech as a behaviour was the main area that offered the most information as selecting recurring content themes that were causally linked was difficult. This speech as behaviour also informed on the emotional flat tone of the delivery, showing that in some cases speech as action is more appropriate. However, when the better structured narratives were being explored, searching for narrative themes became invaluable in attempting to theorise a model of identity formation. Indeed narrative theory was the appropriate research tool for this aspect. So both talk and stories have shown how they each lend themselves so well to the study of murderers. They are complementary techniques suitable for use when looking at narrative functionality. Thus the application of narrative theory to the investigation of murder has contributed to discourse analysis by offering a framework of how stories can be studied when working with this type of material.

CONCLUSION

Chapter Eighteen: An Overview

- 18.0: An overview
 - 18.1: Literary Theory
 - 18.2: Classification of Murderers
 - 18.3: McAdams' Method of Deconstructing Narratives
 - 18.4: Developmental Stage Theories
 - 18.5: Narrative Functionality
 - 18.6: The Onset of Identity
 - 18.7: Change
 - 18.8: A Model of Narrative Functionality
 - 18.9: Main Conclusion
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CONCLUSIONS: CHAPTER EIGHTEEN

18.0 An Overview

At the outset of this research the assertion was made that traditional approaches to studying murderers had suffered as a result of neglecting the important contributions that perpetrators can make. It has been clearly demonstrated that if a reason for an action or thought is sought inquirers should look at what the protagonist has to say. This extends far beyond the content of speech to the way in which it is said. The questions that can be asked of the account then are does it make sense? Does it answer the question?, Is it a reasonable answer?, is it believable?.

18.1 Literary Theory

At first glimpse these questions sit more comfortably within the realms of discursive psychology where the emphasis is on the delivery of the talk rather than the content which has been the domain of narrative psychology. But in order to answer such questions whilst understanding something of the individuals sense making process the area of literary theory enabled this exploration. Literary theory and autobiographical theories made it possible to see what sense the person makes of himself and his world thereby successfully meeting the challenge of this research offering insights of worth regarding how and why murder arises or more specifically how certain individuals end up engaging in acts of murder.

18.2 Classification of Murderers

This research quite clearly demonstrated that the narrative accounts individuals give of their lives inform as to the nature of murder and allowed a classification system to be discovered, that incorporates all types of murder or indeed murderer based on cognition rather than the behaviour.

18.3 McAdams Method of Deconstructing Narrative

In order to look at how individuals make sense of themselves, based upon the autobiographical notion that the self is a reflexive project in that life experiences shape the organising structure which in turn shape further experiences, McAdams 1988 offered a framework which allowed narratives to be investigated in this manner. The structure of the narrative could be seen by analysing the content components. This research lends support to Sarbin 1986 who claims that narratives have been difficult to classify as attempts have been made to classify content rather than structure. The way in which the content themes were utilized in this study was not only to look at what they were but also more importantly how they were presented by the individual in terms of detail, affect, and connectedness or organisation. This indeed proved to be a highly effective way of deconstructing narratives. The findings also indicated that it would have been difficult to take a traditional narrative approach of classifying content themes for example imagoes. Because of the nature of dysfunctional narratives some of the offenders did not have identifiable imagoes or coherent content themes such as threads and story lines that could be readily extracted.

18.4 Developmental Stage Theories

In equating ego state with narrative complexity, McAdams 1988, raised the possibility that the development with narrative was synonymous with that of identity and cognitive ability. In doing so the question was set as to whether functionality of narrative structure may be a developmental process based upon a stage theory as with other models of development. Although there are major differences between the theories the basic concept is the same that development follows an invariant sequence that each lower stage gives rise to the next and that the experience of the world and self is viewed from the qualitatively distinct frames of reference.

18.5 Narrative Functionality

McAdams also equated a good narrative with a mature identity in Eriksonian terms, that is one that has achieved its purpose in answering the two identity questions "Who am I? And how do I fit into the adult world?" Equally, immature narratives refer to those identities or narratives that either cannot answer the question, have answered it blindly or who have not asked it, or who are not even aware of it. The function of the narrative according to McAdams was to answer these questions therefore narrative functionality is the process at stake. Functional narratives therefore are those that successfully answer the question, dysfunctional ones are those which do not.

18.6 The Onset of Identity

These findings challenge the assumptions of Erikson 1959 and McAdams 1988 who believe that this quest begins in adolescence with the emergence of Piaget's formal operations (Piaget and Inhelder 1968). In most individuals it may begin at this time but quite clearly in others it does not. One reason for this discrepancy may be the small sample size Erikson worked with, another may be the type of individual explored. Erikson looked at intelligent functional individuals if somewhat confused with respect to identity, McAdams 1988 explored the identities of college students. This research highlighted that there exist middle-aged men who have not yet appeared to even have asked the question, namely those in the most dysfunctional group. This research then has indicated an area which identity theorists need to address more closely, such as the consequences of living without identity and the factors that precipitate its emergence and retardation. Indeed there already exists research that refutes the generalizability of Erikson's theory Heaven 1994. It has been suggested that identity achievement as originally formulated is male orientated in that it espouses the values associated with white middle class males, while under-valuing female virtues, such as warmth and understanding (McKinney and Vogel 1987, Wearing 1984). Doubt is also raised regarding whether Erikson 1968 identity theory can be applied to working class youth at all. Wearing 1984 in explicating that working class youths tend to have a more fixed and direct approach to identity possibly

because they do not have the opportunity as university students do to engage in exploration for a few years.

Another assumption that has been challenged in this research is the very notion that people necessarily live out their lives in narrative form. It is the position of this thesis that this is the ultimate goal and as McAdams suggests individuals are motivated to connect the disparate parts of their identities into a narrative whole (1993). Nevertheless there was evidence to suggest that this is not always the case. Again working with college students may not always elicit a response that can be generalized to the population as a whole. In this study there existed individuals who told narratives which reflected Barclays 1996 theory of momentary selves as opposed to narrative selves. On commenting upon Gergen and Gergen 1988 assertion regarding the importance of living with a functional narrative it is not then surprising that such an individual sooner or later engages in dysfunctional methods of interacting with the world. It is not suggested that an individual who only has a notion of a momentary self is likely to commit murder, however the narratives in this thesis demonstrate how such dysfunction can lead down that road. This offers the hypothesis as to why victims become offenders. An interesting idea is that perhaps it is not the trauma or deprivation per se that gives rise to the murder but the inability to make sense of the self or the world, attach emotion and as a result become isolated unable to share any narrative culture that supplies these experiences with a framework. So a future area for study could explore how having a momentary self as opposed to a narrative self leads to dysfunction and criminal behaviour. It is worthy of noting that all the subjects who experienced great trauma and deprivation did indeed experience at some time momentary selves. Another area of study to offer value would be to look at the range of life experiences that are associated with this psychological state.

18.7 Change

The finding of this study also suggest that a momentary self or an immature/dysfunctional narrative can develop into a narrative self or a mature /functional narrative. One of the most chaotic and dysfunctional individuals at the time of the murders was Jock. It was encouraging to see that at the time of interview he fell into the most developed group. This is sound support for the idea that change is

possible even from the most chaotic criminal. This change seemed to be precipitated by self-awareness, which in turn seemed to come about for a variety of reasons. This is another area worthy of study, that is examining whether it is possible to facilitate self awareness in offenders with a view to reducing recidivism because otherwise society has to face yet again individuals such as Frank. Frank who has spent the longest time in prison and who was one of the oldest was due for release the following year and according to the model had not changed at all. Nevertheless change has been shown to be possible further exploration may hone how and with whom it is possible.

18.8 A Model of Narrative Functionality

By organising McAdams five themes for good narrative structure into a framework based on theories of development, it was demonstrated how important it was to live with a good narrative. Joan Didion in McAdams 1998 said,

“We tell ourselves stories in order to live”

This research would expand on this by purporting that

“We tell ourselves good stories in order to live functional lives because without the ability to tell a good story is to exist in isolation from others without meaning and cohesion – indeed an identity”.

18.9 Main Conclusions

- There is a need to look at what the murderer says about the murder and his life in order to understand something about its emergence.
- It offered support for Sabin's 1986 assertion that classification of autobiography/narrative should be made on structure not content.
- Narrative structure can be explained by developmental stage theory.

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- It supports McAdams 1993 notion that a good narrative is Vis a Vis mature identity.
 - It challenges the assumption that identity formation necessarily begins in adolescence or indeed whether for some individuals it begins at all.
 - It challenges the assumption that all individuals live by narrative rather some live without narrative but leads to disastrous consequences.
 - It supports McAdams 1988 who states that narratives can change at any stage in life and can incorporate major revisions in identity.

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Appendices

- Appendix 1:** The Narrative Interview
- Appendix 2.1:** Pre-Interview Letter
- Appendix 2.2:** Consent Form

THE NARRATIVE INTERVIEW

Mary-Louise Parkinson and Laurence J Alison

Hi - I'm X and this is my colleague Y. First of all thank you for your time. I hope that you've had the chance to look through the letter we sent you. Before we begin is there anything that you would like to ask ?

Interviewer's Introduction

This is an interview about your life. We would like you to tell us about your past and present. We are collecting and analysing details of people who have been involved in crime in order to look for significant similarities and significant differences .

In telling us about your life you do not need to tell us everything that has ever happened to you. Try to focus on a few key events, relationships and themes. You should concentrate on aspects of your own life that you believe to be important. You should tell how you are similar to other people as well as how you are different.

This interview is for research purposes. Basically we're not here for a psychological assessment or as a therapy session. As we're not clinical psychologists we will not be making any moral judgements, offering counselling or giving advice or suggestions. It remains completely anonymous. However, any criminal activity disclosed to us that has not been previously known will have to be passed on to an appropriate member of staff.

The interview is divided into a number of sections. In the first section I will ask you to provide an overall outline of your life. The interview starts with general things and moves to the particular . It is not necessary to provide a lot of detail in the first section. The detail will come later. We appreciate that this can be quite difficult therefore I will guide you through the interview when needed.

Is that OK?

I would like you to begin by giving a brief introduction about you and people that are important to you for example your family or friends.

Important Events

That's fine. O.K., I would now like you to tell me about a few events that have happened in your life that you consider to be important.

(If the individual needs further guidance in order to answer the question, the following may be read out).

* A key event is a specific happening, that happened at a particular time and place. It is helpful to think of such an event as a specific moment in your life which stands out for some reason. For example a particular conversation you may have had or a particular decision you made one afternoon would be key events in your life story. So these are particular moments that happened at a certain time and place complete with particular people, actions, thoughts and feelings. An entire summer vacation - be it happy, sad or important in some way - or a very difficult year in high school on the other hand would not be key events because these take place over an extended period of time .

I am going to ask you about some specific events. For each event describe in detail what happened, where you were, who was involved what you did and what you were thinking and feeling during the event. Also try to convey what impact this key event has had in your life story and what this event says about you as a person. Please be very specific here."

Do you have any questions at this point ?

Turning Point

In looking back on your life it may be possible to identify certain key turning points or episodes where you have changed.

Tell me the some of the things that have happened to you that you think have changed your life.

Further instructions if required

"Turning points can occur in many different aspects of life - in relationships with other people, in work and school, in outside interests etc. Please identify a particular episode in your life story that you now see as a turning point."

{if the individual says they have no turning points the response can be "I suppose you could call coming here (prison) a turning point - how do you feel this has changed you as a person?}

Earliest Memory

Tell me about your earliest clearest memory.

Further instructions.

"The memory need not seem especially significant in your life today. The memory should be detailed enough to qualify as an event. This is to say that you should choose the earliest (childhood) memory for which you are able to identify what happened, who was involved and what you were thinking and feeling. Give us the best guess of your age at the time of the event."

- Was it a positive or a negative memory.
- What happened,
- Who was involved?
- What did you do?
- What were you thinking and feeling?
- What impact has the event had on you?
- What does it say about who you are or who you were?

Important Childhood Scene

Tell me about something important that happened to you in later childhood that stands out in your mind .

Further probes

- Was it a positive or a negative memory.
- What happened,
- Who was involved?
- What did you do?
- What were you thinking and feeling?
- What impact has the event had on you?
- What does it say about who you are or who you were?

Important Adolescent Scene

Tell me about a specific event from your teen age years that stands out in your mind.

- Was it a positive or a negative memory.
- What happened,
- Who was involved?
- What did you do?
- What were you thinking and feeling?
- What impact has the event had on you?
- What does it say about who you are or who you were?

One Other Important Scene

Describe one more event from any point in your life that stands out in your memory as being especially important or significant

- Was it a positive or a negative memory.
- What happened,
- Who was involved?
- What did you do?
- What were you thinking and feeling?
- What impact has the event had on you?
- What does it say about who you are or who you were?

Challenge

In hindsight what do you think your greatest challenge was.

Further Information.

- How did you face or deal with this challenge?
- Did other people assist you in dealing with this challenge?
- How has this challenge had an impact on your life ?

Achievement and Failure.

Can you briefly tell me what you feel your greatest achievement is.

Even though you may not want to think about this I'd like you to tell me what you would consider to be your greatest failure in your life ?

Influences on the Life : Positive and Negative

Positive

What do you think has been your greatest positive influence

Negative

What has been your greatest negative influence.

Stories

What particular stories or characters real or fictitious, have influenced you .

Further Information

"From an early age we all hear and watch films, and read stories. We learned about stories in school, with friends, with family; we tell stories to each other in everyday life; some of us even write stories. I am interested in knowing what some of your favourite stories are and how they may have influenced how you think about your own life and your life story. I am going to ask you about three kinds of stories. In each case try to identify a story you have heard in your life that fits the description, describe the story very briefly and tell me if and how that story has had an effect upon you."

TV, Film Performance: Stories Watched

- What is one of your favourite stories from a TV programme, or film.
- Tell me what the story is about and why you like it.
- Do you think the story has had an impact on your life

Books, Magazines: Stories Read

Is there anything you have read such as stories in books, magazines, newspapers that you particularly like. Tell me about one of your favourite stories.

Family Stories, Friends: Stories Heard

Is there any story that you were told that you particularly remember.

Further information

"As we grow up, many of us hear stories from our families and friends that we tend to remember. These include things like parents telling their children about 'the good old days', stories that have been passed on through the generations and so on. Part of life involves friends and Family telling stories about themselves and about others. I would now like you to tell me one story like this that you can remember - please include why you like it or why you remembered it - what impact if any it has had on your life."

Significant Figures/Heroes

Is there anyone that you admire or try to be like or would like to be like.

Further probes

(These can be people you know or who are famous or a character in a film or book. Tell me what the qualities are that you admire in them, and why you would want to be like them.)

NB: The following set of questions regarding possible futures should only be asked if the offender is serving a sentence of 10 years or less.

Alternative Futures for the Life Story

Up to now the interview has dealt with your past. Now I would like to ask you about your future. Please try to imagine two different futures for your life .

Positive Future

What would you like to happen in the future.

Tell me what you would like to achieve, realistically.

Negative Future

Ok, describe a future that you fear could happen to you but you hope does not. Again, try to be realistic.

{Try to get as much concrete detail as possible}

Personal Ideology

Tell me about your beliefs and values.

Further instructions

"do you have any religious or spiritual beliefs that affect the way that you approach life? This can any philosophy that you believe in or have."

Have you always felt this way or have your beliefs changed over time.

Life Theme

What sort of person do you think you are.

If this is a difficult question to answer trying asking yourself the question "who am I ?"

Other

Is there anything else you want to tell me about yourself that you don't think we've covered.

THE CRIMINAL BEHAVIOUR INTERVIEW

Ok - thanks for all your help this morning. As you know we are conducting a second interview. the purpose of this interview is to focus, more specifically on the events that have lead up to you being here.

This is an interview about you telling us in your own words how you see your offence or offences. I would like you to talk about the circumstances or situations that led up to any criminal activity that you have been involved with.

In other words this part of the interview is specifically about the crime or crimes. You may have been involved in some form of criminal activity for many years going back to your youth or you may have been convicted for only one offence. Either way, the purpose is for you to give me your version of events.

Probes

- details what happened,
- where you were,
- who was involved,
- what you did
- what you were thinking and feeling during the event.
- what impact this key event has had in your life
- what this key event says about you as a person.

Psychological Questions

So tell me how the offence came about?

Did you plan the offence

How well planned would you consider the offence?

When you first considered committing the offence was there anything that triggered it ?

How did that lead up to the offence?

Tell me exactly what happened?

Was there anything during the offence that you didn't predict would happen?

How did you deal with these unpredictable events?

On subsequent offences did you decide to change the way in which the offences were committed?

Do you think you could have done it more successfully?

Are those close to you aware of the activities you have been involved in - if not how do you cover up

Did you go about trying to avoid detection, if so how?

Aggression

{There will be a choice between two introductions to the section on aggression dependent on whether this has been previously discussed during the course of either interview}

No Previous Agression Mentioned

I would now like to ask you about any aggressive incidents that you have experienced.

or
Previous Aggression Mentioned

You mentioned that you have been involved in aggressive or violent incidents. I'd like to ask you about these in more detail.

Were there any events in the schoolground as a child such as bullying response to someone picking on someone you liked or loved.

includes hitting your family, partner and or children.

I would like you to tell me about as a many as you can.

- what happened,
- where you were,
- who was involved
- what you did
- what you were thinking and feeling
- what impact this key event has had on you and your life
- what you think this event says about you as a person.

What was it about the incident that made you act aggressively ?

Do you think you'd respond in the same way again?

What situations make you angry ?

Who makes you angry ?

What is it about them that make you angry ?

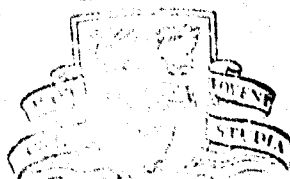
Have you ever acted aggressively in order to get what you want without feeling particularly angry towards the target? For example where the aggression /violence is primarily a form of control.

O.k. Thank You very much for your time and effort. We appreciate that it has been hard work.

Is there anything you would like to ask before we finish off.

O.k. thanks again, goodbye.

LIVERPOOL
UNIVERSITY
LIBRARY



Dear Sir,

I am currently studying investigative psychology at the University of Liverpool under the supervision of Professor David canter. As part of my doctorate degree I am talking with offenders about their lives and times. I am therefore writing to you to ask if you would agree to participate.

If you volunteer to take part, you will be asked to tell your life story as if you were writing a book. The interview will take place in a few weeks.

Should you decide that you would like to take part please inform the officer that gave you this letter so that he can include you on the list.

Thanking you in anticipation for your help.

Mary-Louise Parkinson.

CONSENT FORM

RESEARCH FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF LIVERPOOL

Under the supervision of Professor David Canter

PART ONE: ~~Retained~~ by the researcher

I agree to be involved in the study being carried ~~out~~ by the researchers at the University of Liverpool. I am satisfied that the purpose and procedures have been fully explained to me and I have received a written explanation of the study. I understand that my involvement is confidential and without prejudice to me and that I can withdraw at any time.

Signed

Date

PART TWO: ~~Retained~~ by the interviewee

I

confirm to

that all information relating to him / her in the study will be confidential and without prejudice

Signed

Date

Signed

Date