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**'In On the Outside': The narratives of creative
writing practitioners working in prisons**

by

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of Bath
Spa University for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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Preface

This thesis contains many stories; the story of how the arts inveigled their way into prison, the individual stories of the creative practitioners who continue to carry the arts through to the inside, the story of story itself and the ways it has come to inform the criminological imagination and, central to all of this, the story of this doctoral research project, which is, perhaps, a type of frame story enabling all the other stories to be told.

One story I was adamant would not be told was my own. Criminological research, and particularly prison research, has consistently foregrounded the voice of the researcher, often to the detriment of the knowledge produced. Before coming to academia I spent the better part of a decade working in custodial environments and was repeatedly frustrated by the inability of research studies to tell us anything, or at best, anything new. The real experts were always the men and women I worked with, both prisoners and practitioners, whose grasp on the carceral estate was often nuanced, always insightful and refreshingly free from the positionality of privilege. Even the researchers who came and really paid attention to our words didn't seem able to resist making themselves the ultimate teller of the tale (with a few notable exceptions). As Alan and Beth Weaver have written, the words of offenders (and I argue also criminal justice practitioners) 'have been fragmented, lifted out of context...(and)...trimmed to support particular criminological theories or policy initiatives' (Weaver and Weaver, 2013, p. 259).

I was determined that my own research would not replicate this kind of opportunistic meaning making, and to a certain extent I succeeded. The development of a precise, robust methodological approach based on the rigours of narratology enabled me to roll back the co-creation of the research to a considerable degree. Not, however, entirely. Despite all my professed respect for the primacy of story, I failed to recognise its relentless power. It was left to my examiners to point this out during my viva voce. My story, it appeared, was made noticeable by its absence, and no silence was loud enough to drown out a narrative drive fuelled by years of commitment to engaging the creative arts as a powerful engine for change at both

the individual and societal levels. Underneath all the other stories, below the interdisciplinarity which enabled me to make unexpected connections between crime and creativity, there was a smaller story, reduced over time to the dimensions of a vague memory. It was the story of a how a working class kid with aspirational parents, struggling with difference in an utterly indifferent town, finally found an escape into the arts. An escape that led away from delinquency and years later allowed that same kid, now grown up, to walk through the prison gates and draw keys as a creative writing facilitator. All of the stories that follow in this thesis are, to some degree, influenced by this formative story. It is my hope that where these stories meet there is mutual understanding and where there is divergence I can shut up and learn from stories that aren't my own.

Abstract:

The presence of the creative arts has a long history in prisons in England and Wales. During the second half of the 20th century the penal voluntary sector took an increasing role in the provision of authorised arts programmes in prisons, often delivered by professional creative practitioners. However, as the presence of these practitioners has increased, their voices have become less heard. The advent of evaluation research, aimed at evidencing the links between prisoner participation in the arts and positive personal change has often failed to capture the authentic voices of these practitioners, despite their indispensable contribution to the programmes delivered. There is a clear methodological split whereby practitioners are asked about their jobs, prisoners about their lives. This lack of focus on the practitioners' biography seems particularly negligent at a time when desistance theories, particularly an interest in redemption narratives (Maruna, 2001), are being accepted into criminal justice policy. This is nowhere more pertinent than in a consideration of the narratives of creative writing practitioners, whose deliberately composed life stories may tell us a great deal about these practitioners' possible significance in the custodial environment, and the value of the narratives they facilitate in their work with prisoners.

This thesis explores the narrative construction of 19 creative writing practitioners' intentions, motivations and journeys into work in prison, using an arts-based methodology combined with rigorous narratological analysis. The study found three types of narrative: the suffering artist, the (inadvertent) healer and the (human) revolutionary. None of which identified work in prison as an overarching goal. In most cases, prison was initially approached as a means to end. Some unexpected overlaps were found between the stories of practitioners and the literature on prisoner experience and there was a clear sense of 'outsider' (Becker, 1963) status expressed by the majority of practitioners. This suggests a different type of penal voluntary sector activity, grounded in an ethos of mutual aid rather than class-based benevolence, at work within the criminal justice system.

Statement of Objectives:

The key objectives of this thesis are as follows:

- To contribute to the understanding of creative writing practitioners' intentions, motivations and journeys into the prisons in which they work or have worked as creative writing facilitators with prisoners.
- To offer a systematic and robust approach, which combines creative data collection methods with analytical tools based in literary structuralism and narratology
- To offer a respectful treatment of the texts produced by research participants, one which prioritises their voices over that of the researcher.
- To employ a critical approach to the contexts of the texts' production.

Contents

Preface.....	i-ii
Abstract.....	2
Statement of Objectives	3
Chapter One – A Story of Stories: A Review of the Literature.....	7
1.1 Introduction.....	7
1.2 The Existential Importance of Story.....	8
1.3 Telling Tales - Stories from Behind Bars	8
1.4 The Stories of Creative Practitioners.....	12
1.5 Research on Creative Practitioners’ Work in Prisons	17
1.6 Research on Creative Writing Programmes in Prisons.....	24
1.7 The Loss of Authentic Practitioner Voices: Gaps in the Research.....	30
1.8 The Importance of Practitioner Relationships.....	35
1.9 The Importance of Practitioner Narratives.....	39
1.10 Conclusion	48
Chapter Two - Methodology	50
2.1 Introduction.....	50
2.2 The Approach to the Research - Literary Structuralism and Narratology...	51
2.3 Research Design.....	57
2.4 Ethics.....	62
2.5 Pilot Data Collection.....	65
2.6 Participant Recruitment in Context - The Penal Voluntary Sector.....	66
2.7 The Research Day.....	71
2.8 Raw Storyboards - An Act of Transposition.....	72
2.9 Analysis.	75
2.10 Summary	94
Chapter Three - Fabula Content Analysis: The Bare Bones of the Story	95
3.1 Introduction.....	95
3.2 Content Analysis	97
3.3 Time and Story	113
3.4 Summary	117
Chapter Four – The Axis of Desire	119
4.1 Introduction.....	119
4.2 Overview of Subject-Object Junctions.....	122
4.3 The End of the Stories.	133

4.4 Narrative Structure.....	152
4.5 Methodological Notes	165
4.6 Summary	166
Chapter Five – The Axis of Transmission	171
5.1 Introduction.....	171
5.2 Axis of Transmission/Knowledge	173
5.3 The Structure of Practitioners’ Motivations - What They Are and Where They Appear in the Narratives	174
5.4 The Content of Motivational Themes	180
5.5 Beneficiaries of Practitioners’ Motivations	192
5.6 Summary	196
Chapter Six – The Axis of Power.....	201
6.1 Introduction.....	201
6.2 Coding Helpers and Opponents.....	203
6.3 Findings.....	204
6.4 Negative-Positives	237
6.5 Equivocal Helpers.....	245
6.6 Summary	252
Chapter Seven – Conclusion.....	254
7.1 Introduction.....	254
7.2 The Narrative Content.....	256
7.3 The Structure of Narratives	276
7.4 The Structure of Analysis.....	278
7.5 Foregrounding the Text.....	283
7.6 Limitations	283
7.7 Conclusion.....	284
Bibliography	288
8 Appendices	352
8.1: Appendix 1: Review of Key Narrative Criminology Collections.....	353
8.2 Appendix 2: BSU Ethics Approval.....	366
8.3 Appendix 3: Participant Information Sheet	375
8.4 Appendix 4: Participant Consent Form.....	378
8.5 Appendix 5: Research Day Information.....	379
8.6 Appendix 6: Research Day Workshop Plan	381
8.7 Appendix 7: Example of Raw Storyboard.....	383
8.8 Appendix 8: Example of a Fabula Table.....	384

8.9 Appendix 9: Methodological Issues – Table of General Actions/Event Summaries	385
8.10 Appendix 10: Methodological Issues - Limits to the Analysis.....	390
8.11 Appendix 11: Methodological Issues – Coding Objects.....	391
8.12 Appendix 12: Methodological Issues – Relationship of the subject (practitioner) to the object (goal or ambition).....	393
8.13 Appendix 13: Methodological Issues – Implications of Breaking with Narrative Convention	395
8.14 Appendix 14: Methodological Issue – Detailed Explanation of Axis of Desire Process	397
8.15 Appendix 15: Detailed Tally of Helpers and Opponents	400
8.16 Appendix 16: Methodological Issues – Axis of Power, Specific Categories and Overlaps Between Categories	422
Additional Publications.....	427
The Routledge Companion to Rehabilitative Work in Criminal Justice Arts-based interventions in the justice system,.....	428
From the Outside In: Narratives of Creative Arts Practitioners Working in the Criminal Justice System.....	440

Chapter One – A Story of Stories: A Review of the Literature

1.1 Introduction:

This thesis is concerned with the stories that creative writing facilitators craft about their journeys to working in prison environments. There is currently very little known about these practitioners within a criminal justice context (Anderson, 2015a) and even recent literature that purports to describe practitioner motives has failed to support those claims with first hand accounts taken from a representative sample of practitioners (e.g. Walsh, 2017). The aim of this exploratory study is, therefore, to better understand the journeys of creative writing practitioners into jail and how these might be significant in the work they do with prisoners, through paying close attention to the stories these practitioners tell.

First, it will be instructive to consider the importance of stories within the contexts of criminal justice and criminological theory more widely. This chapter will outline the history of the presence of story, literature, creative writing and the creative arts from the inception of the modern prison and earlier. It will connect this history with the underpinning theories and policies that have led to the creative arts and more specifically creative writing gaining access through the prison gates, and subsequent attempts to justify their presence through research and particularly evaluation. It will also offer a rationale for why the close study of narrative affords a highly pertinent means to understand creative writing facilitators' possible significance within the custodial environment, which is underpinned by recent insights taken from narrative criminology and theories of desistance.

1.2 The Existential Importance of Story:

Story has a formidable longevity that predates literacy (Wilson, 2018) and outlives authors (Presser, 2016 p. 148). It is a form that is 'ubiquitous to human existence' (Copeland, 2018 p. 4). As described by the French literary theorist Roland Barthes, 'narrative...is transhistorical and transcultural' (Barthes, 1966/1975 p. 237). There is no time and no place that is without story as a form of human communication. Literary scholars, unsurprisingly, argue for the 'complex existential relevance of narrative for our being in the world' (Meretoja, 2014 p. 2), however those from scientific disciplines have also concurred with this view. Literary Darwinists (Gottshall, 2015; Storr, 2019; Dunbar, 1996; Carroll, 1995, 2004; Gottschall and Wilson, 2005; Storey, 1996; Disanayake, 1998, 1992; Barash and Barash, 2005; Dutton, 2009; Greenburg, 2009; Sugiyami, 1996; Boyd, 2009), for example, have argued that storymaking rests at the very heart of human evolution and survival, such that the human species has been variously described as homo fictus (Gottschall, 2012 p. xiv following Forster, 1955 p. 55), homo narrans (Fisher, 1984) and homo narratus (Paul, 2019). Emerging from what has been termed the 'narrative turn' (Polkinghorne, 1988; Czarniawska, 2004; Herman, Jahn and Ryan, 2005; Goodson and Gill, 2011), narrative criminologists are among those who state the centrality of narrative for human existence (Presser and Sandberg, 2015a, p. 1; See also Sandberg and Ugelvik, 2016, p. 129). Recent desistance theorists have also acknowledged the significance of narrative in the processes of desisting from crime, in particular the work of Maruna (2001), whose seminal study on the narrative aspects of desistance is a key underpinning influence in this thesis. However, the presence of story in criminal justice practice and theory has a much earlier provenance.

1.3 Telling Tales - Stories from Behind Bars:

The presence of story and the arts more generally has a long history in custodial environments in the 'penal-welfare' states (Garland, 2002) of Britain

and the North America (Cox and Gelsthorpe, 2012; Hughes, 2005; Johnson, 2009; Sivapalan, 2015; Johnson, Keen and Pritchard, 2011; Ryan, 1976; Gardner, Hager and Hillman, 2014; Hillman, 2003; Brandreth, 1972; Brown, 2002; Gussak and Ploumis-Devick 2004), and beyond (Foucault, 1977; Keneally, 1987; Wertenbaker, 1995; Gauntlett, 2012; Marcetti, 2012, p.11). Indeed, 'there is a longstanding affiliation between confinement and creativity' (Smith, 2008: np) despite the apparent contradictions between the underpinning rationales of carceral and creative practices (Peaker and Vincent, 1990, p. 1; Walsh, 2017). Caulfield and Simpson (2019) note the inclusion of artistic and literary content in official prison regimes alongside the emergence of the modern penal system, as described by Foucault, and as early as 1837 at the House of young prisoners in Paris, amidst a routine of reveille, hard labour and austere rations, the rules included:

'Art. 22. School...The class lasts two hours and consists alternately of reading, writing, **drawing** and arithmetic....

Art. 27. At seven o'clock in the summer, at eight in winter, work stops...For a quarter of an hour one of the prisoners or supervisors **reads a passage from some instructive or uplifting work.'**

(Faucher, 1838 cited in Foucault, 1977, pp. 6 - my emphasis).

In the same text Foucault (1977) identifies the hospital, the school and the factory as the key 'instrument(s) of subjectification' (Foucault, 1977: 224) on which the modern prison is built. These three disciplinary instruments are also the key conduits via which the arts gained official access into the prison: through the psychological discipline of art therapy (Cox and Gelsthorpe, 2012; Duguid, 2000; Laing, 1984; Whatmore, 1987; Brown, 2002¹), through education allied with religion (Cooper, 1995; Rogers, 2013; Fyfe, 2002) and later, through education based on a liberal arts ethos (Peaker and Vincent,

¹ More recently, there has been a shift towards a more holistic view of the arts' capacity to impact on mental health (Parkes and Bilby, 2010; Wilkinson and Caulfield, 2017; Bilby et al., 2013; NCJAA, 2019; Carpenter and Knight, 2018) under the umbrella term of 'health and wellbeing', with much of this evidence collected together in a recent review of the evidence from Arts Council England (ACE, 2018), which explored the impact of the arts on health and wellbeing in criminal justice settings.

1990; Forster, 1996, p. 102; Vella, 2005, p. 134; Brandreth, 1972, p. 32). More recently education has become increasingly allied with vocational training (Coates, 2016; Bayliss and Hughs, 2012, p. 300; Forster, 1996, p.102; Clements, 2002 cited in Clements, 2004; NOMS/BIS, 2011; MoJ, 2018).²

The three entry points of psychology, education, and vocational training are significant to a consideration of the importance of the arts and literature in prisons, firstly because they demonstrate how these creative practices entered the prison as official guests and therefore gained some amount of legitimacy. However, further to this, an official invitation into the jail suggests that not only did prisoners find purpose in the arts, but so too did the prison authorities, based on notions of rehabilitation through education and employment and through therapeutic benefits. As suggested, these purposes resonate with Foucault's analysis of the creation of the modern prison (1977) and arguably these disciplinary methods were at work in the official entry of arts and literature through the prison gates.

² This latter shift in education policy began with the 1992 Further Education Act (Bayliss and Hughes, 2012: 300), which saw the introduction of competitive tendering for education contracts (Forster, 1996: 102), where learning became viewed as a 'competitive commodity' (Bayliss and Hughs, 2012: 300) and there was a significant shift in focus away from arts and crafts and onto Skills for Life and the Core Curriculum (Bayliss and Hughes, 2012: 300). This policy shift saw "the renaissance in prison arts replaced by an age of instrumental reason and measurement" (Clements, 2002 cited in Clements, 2004, p. 173). A greater emphasis on employability (NOMS/BIS, 2011; MoJ, 2018) has further exacerbated the inflexibility of provision (Coyle, 2005, p. 118). Although, more recently the Coates review (Coates, 2016) of prison education has argued that "employability should not drive the entire focus of the curriculum" (Coates, 2016: ii) and she observed that where one-off arts projects have been delivered 'they are often the first thing that prisoners, staff and Governors tell me about' (Coates, 2016: 29). However, this is not the first government commissioned report to show support for arts provision (e.g. House of Commons Learning and Skills Committee, 2005) and other, earlier criticisms have been forthcoming (Bayliss and Hughes, 2012, p. 300-301). The Coates review recommended that there should be 'no restrictions on the funding for arts...if the Governor believes these are appropriate to meet the needs of prisoners' (Coates, 2016, p. 63). According to the Prisoner Learning Alliance (PLA 2019), this call was in part addressed by the Prison Safety and Reform White Paper (2016), which has since been developed into the new prison education contract, replacing OLASS 4 (SFA/NOMs, 2015). The restructuring is intended to give prison governors more autonomy over education provision through a combination of a core Prison Education Framework and Dynamic Purchasing contracts (Justice Committee, 2019; PET, 2019). However, there is no stipulation that arts provision must be included, and the decision now rests with each local prison governor

Certainly their appearance in the official prison regime did not occur in a vacuum. Spargo and Priest (2014, p. 1) suggest that there is a relationship between creative writing provision and the evolution of public policy both historically and currently. From a cultural perspective these ideas can be mapped onto wider cultural conceptualisations of the impact of the arts. In their overarching survey of the intellectual history of the arts (in particular literature and performance), Belfiore and Bennett (2008) identify historical discourses that view the arts as educational and as cathartic, which clearly link to the delivery of the arts for educational and therapeutic purposes. These ideas present a challenge to the caricature of the arts as 'a fluffy non-essential' (Robertson, 2013, p. 2) or a 'soft option' (Johnson, 2008 cited in Nugent and Loucks, 2009, p. 2; Spargo and Priest, 2014, p. 18; Baker cited in House of Commons, 2004-05: Ev27; Goddard, 2006, p. 11), and emphasise the instrumental over the intrinsic value of arts activity (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008)³. Nor have these notions of the arts as catalysts for personal reformation, social rehabilitation or therapeutic benefit been lost to history. Articulated in the vocabulary of 'desistance' (Maruna, 2010; McNeill et al., 2012; NOMS, 2014; Maruna and Mann, 2019), these notions continue to inform contemporary practices and research focus on the use of creative arts in prisons. Though, to a large extent, research has failed to substantiate these beliefs and there is 'a growing appreciation in pertinent scholarship that arts-based programmes are unlikely to lead to desistance by themselves' (Cheliotis and Jordanska, 2014, p. 1 see also Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016, p. 47-48).

Not all creativity was officially sanctioned and a substantial amount of creativity appears to have entered through the prison gates as 'contraband' (Jacobi, 2003; Parkhouse, 2001: 51-55; Cheliotis, 2012p. 4; Brandreth, 1972) from as early as the 17th century (Brown, 2002). The practice of creative arts in prisons is still seen by some as controversial (Walsh, 2017), even subversive, with one experienced prison tutor writing that 'paper was an

³ The instrumental dimensions of the creative arts are, at times protested by creative producers themselves, who insist on literary autonomy at the expense of all else (e.g. Tusa, 2002, p. 117; Habib, 2008, p. 489).

illegal currency...(and)...giving out an exercise book for anything other than 'educational' purposes... a subversive act' (Joy, 1999, p.155). A number of researchers have noted the continuing resistance of some prison staff towards creative work (McKeen, 2006; Walsh, 2019: np; Cox and Gelsthorpe, 2012, p. 263; Silber, 2005; Cohen, 2012).

The points made in this section as to the contexts of delivery are largely supported by Peaker and Vincent (1990)⁴, whose research represented the first serious attempt to offer a comprehensive overview of prison arts in British prisons (Hewish, 2015, p.13; Liebmann, 1984, p. 6). However, Peaker and Vincent (1990) identify a fourth source of ingress into the prison in the form of visits or residencies from creative practitioners, a source of delivery that is central to the current study, and one which highlights the role of the professional arts practitioner.

1.4 The Stories of Creative Practitioners:

It is not clear from the literature at what point professional creative practitioners, nor specifically creative writing practitioners, first entered into the prison. However, it was certainly the case that prior to there being a recognised role for creative practitioners in prison there were artists working there, finding routes in via education and psychology departments, where they employed their specialist creative skills as tutors, therapists and volunteers, and there appear to have been some tutors who encouraged prisoners to engage with creative writing (Brandreth, 1972, p. 59; Roberts, 1968). Peaker and Vincent (1990, p.65, p.105) found examples of many tutors who were also professional artists and a number of art therapists also identified as artists (Malchiodi, 2012, p. 459). For some, their practice as fine artists was a key part of how they worked (Liebmann, 1994, p. 10).

⁴ Peaker and Vincent (1991) find three main locations where creative arts take place in the prison: officially organised activities in the chaplaincy or education department and unofficial prisoner-instigated activities on the wings or in cells. They find a small amount of arts activity delivered by prison psychology departments.

Anecdotally, it appears the lack of accurate distinction between therapists, teachers and artists was (and remains) a common feature of prison art provision (e.g. Beauchamp, 2010; Cort, 2013; Meadows, 2010, p. 14). Nickeas (2016, p. 2) goes as far as to claim that all art teachers in prisons are 'dual professionals', working as both tutors and professional artists, although her sample size is small (n.8) and may not be representative of all art teachers in prisons. Where the overlap of roles occur, it seems art therapists have not always been entirely averse to exploiting the benefits of disassociating themselves from the 'therapy' label with all its negative connotations for prisoners who fear 'prison authorities or whomever, want to get inside their brains and... in prison parlance, "fuck with their heads"' (Gebler cited in Broadhead, 2006, p. 124). Indeed, Laing (1994) recommends to art therapists that 'as the concept of the artist seems readily acceptable, it may be worthwhile simply being considered as the artist who visits the prison' (Laing, 1984, p. 120)⁵.

The invitation to professional arts practitioners to facilitate creative activities in the prison expressly in the role of creative practitioners occurred during the 1970s and 80s when there was:

'a generously selective opening of the prison to the community represented by religious organisations, civic associations, sponsors from industry and commerce, volunteer tutoring, artistic groups and theatre companies.' (Duguid, 1988 cited in Vella, 2005, p. 24).

Parkes (2011) too identifies the 1980s as a notable period for the delivery of what she terms 'enrichment activities' in prisons in the UK, which followed on from similar developments in the US during the 1970s (Currie, 1989), while Hewish (2015, p. 213) identifies the period between 1987 and 1994 as the

⁵ Art therapists, however, may have been less willing to take on the mantle of teacher due to their collective endeavours to professionalise (Waller, 1991/2013) and in the general art therapy literature there appears to be a concerted attempt to stipulate the separation between therapy and teaching; Dalley (1994), for instance, is clear that 'art therapists are not art teachers' (Dalley, 1994: xx).

beginning of a 'burgeoning movement' in prison arts, which has led to somewhere in the region of 900 creative arts practitioners now delivering programmes across the criminal justice sector (NCJAA, undated).

Garland (2001) details the wider context in criminal justice at this time, which saw the treatment or medical model of offender rehabilitation, prevalent from the 1950s, fall out of favour due to 'an astonishingly sudden draining away of support for the ideal of rehabilitation' (Garland, 2001 following Allen, 1981). This position found an apt summary in Martinson's (1974) findings that 'Nothing Works' in offender rehabilitation (Garland, 2001, p. 58 see also McWilliam, 1987 cited in Liebmann, 1994, p.4)⁶, and into the ensuing climate of pessimism and the shift from reform and rehabilitation to a focus on the 'management of prisons' (Mott, 1985, p. 2 cited in Duguid, 2000, p. 75), emerged the 'opportunities approach' (Duguid, 2000, p. 76), which led to the entry of a large number of outside agencies into prisons, as prison administrations sought to contract services out (Duguid, 2000, p. 93). From a practitioners' perspective, Brown (2002) augments Duguid's (2000) 'opportunities' era exposition, claiming that at the end of the 1980s 'there seemed to be a feeling that art in prison was about to become a vital new way of helping individuals to change' (Brown, 2002, p. 106). Peaker and Vincent (1990) identify specifically: the emergence of participatory arts, in particular Gina Leveté's Shape organisation; a policy commitment from the Arts Council, set out in the Glory of the Garden report (ACE, 1984) which aimed to democratise the arts; a number of 'profound' changes in the prison system in terms of management; a new understanding of prison service purpose, led by Dunbar's (1985) seminal report, and changes in the organisation of education.

The result was an increase in creative practitioners through the prison gates from a mixture of creative and ideological backgrounds, although according to Hewish (2015, p. 212) during the 1980s their numbers were small. Some

⁶ Hollin and Bilby (2007, p. 610) note that Martinson (1974) was not alone in his findings and that other research contained similar sentiments (Bailey, 1966; Robinson and Smith, 1971 cited in Hollin and Bilby, 2007)

practitioners were part of the developing community arts movement which had emerged out of the countercultural revolution of the 1960s (White cited in Moser and McKay, 2005) and brought a new kind of activist politics (e.g. Insight Arts discussed by Johnston, 2004 and Motionhouse discussed by Fegan in Peaker and Vincent, 1990: 105) that used creativity as a powerful tool for radical political struggle (Rimmer, 2020; Lewis, 2014; Kelly, 1984, p. 11). Not all community artists subscribed to such radicalism; other community arts practitioners focused on supporting 'individual self-expression and self-creation through art' (Wetherall, 2013, p. 244). Other creative practitioners came from mainstream conservatoire backgrounds, for example, the Royal Shakespeare Company's residency in Broadmoor (Cox, 1992)⁷. As Thompson (2003, p. 45) has noted, there is no single agenda or ethical agreement concerning the purpose of arts in prisons⁸.

Specifically in terms of creative writing in England and Wales, the first dedicated prison writer in residence was the playwright, Tom Hadaway, who drew keys for the first time at HMP Durham in 1985 (Broadhead, 2006). This appointment lagged somewhat behind the United States, who were at the forefront of placing professional writers in custodial settings, with organised and facilitated creative writing programs emerging during the late 1960s and early 1970s as a result of 'the burgeoning prisoners' rights movement' (Samarco, 2005, p. 199). Scandinavia too, saw groups from as early as the 1950s (Nellisen, 2000 cited in Messner, 2012, p. 5). However, in England and Wales it was Hadaway's appointment that augured the beginning, seven years later, of the Writers in Residence in Prison scheme (Squirrell, 1999a, p. 161), jointly funded by the Home Office and the Arts Council of England (O'Keefe and Albertson, 2012a, p. 4). By this point, at policy level at least, the idea of giving prisoners the opportunity to engage with their own literary

⁷ Thompson (2003, p. 46-47) gives a specific example of the values of conservatoire training colliding with the carceral regime in his vignette of an 'accessible' dance company's refusal to commence a project in a young offenders' institution because the classroom floor wasn't sprung.

⁸ Clements (2004) offers a concise review of the various conceptualisations of the value of arts education in prisons.

creativity and explore that of others ‘was thought to be a “jolly good thing”’ (Squirrell, 1999a, p. 161). In 1998 the Writers in Prison Network (WIPN), headed by Clive Hopwood, tendered for and was appointed to administer the scheme (O’Keefe and Albertson, 2012a, p. 4). The Network had ‘a long and illustrious history of delivering arts to offenders’ (O’Keefe and Albertson, 2012a, p. 71), operating in prisons in England and Wales between 1998 to 2011, after which the organisation’s Arts Council National Portfolio funding was withdrawn (Page, 2011; O’Keefe and Albertson, 2012a, p. 25). A key role of WIPN was to provide support for individual WiR, all of whom were professional writers (O’Keefe and Albertson, 2012a, p., p.33) and in its 13 years of existence the Network recruited and facilitated approximately 100 residences (WIPN, 2020a).

There is an amount of literature which has been produced by prison writers in residence in British prisons, much of which is anecdotal (Smith, 1989; Hopwood, 1999; Hadaway, Ward and Menhennet, 1993; Flusfeder, 2004; Wade, 2008; Bidder, 2016; Thorn, 2012; Bridgeman, 2013; Gavron, 1996; WIPN, 2020a; Fulleylove, 1998; Home Office Standing Committee for Arts in Prisons, 2001), focusing on the working lives of Writers in Residence (WiRs) in the prison environment, and offering opinion on the benefits of creative writing for prisoners. Some writers speak more candidly about the impact of a residency on their own lives (Bidder, 2014), while others appear to exploit their residencies and specific prisoners to further their own writing careers (Gavron, 1996; Bridgeman, 2014). A small amount of later work is more robust in its approach (Crowley, 2014; Thorn, 2012; Swann, 2017). The limited literature produced by WiRs may be down to ethical considerations, articles of the nature published by Gavron (1996) and Bridgeman (2014) are frowned upon by other WiR (Reynolds cited in Broadhead, 2006, p. 121) and a tutor at Holloway who taught English and Creative Writing for over 20 years was of the opinion that:

‘All that many prisoners have is their stories, and they should not be stolen and claimed by other writers’ (Sherrin cited in Broadhead, 2006, p. 117)

However, none of this work focuses on the writer's own story; a detailed biographical account of why and how they come to work in the prison environment. Some writers offer a brief synopsis of their immediate circumstances before becoming a WiR (Millington, 1999; Carr, 1999) and one writer, somewhat surprisingly, offers intimate detail about her sexual reactions to the male prisoners she works with (Maitland, 1999), but in the main, the emphasis is on the work they do and the prisoners they work with. This is also the case in most of the academic research conducted on creative arts in prisons, as the following section will examine. However, again, much of this research is concerned with ascertaining the benefits of the creative arts programmes on the participants rather than the experience of those who deliver the work.

1.5 Research on Creative Practitioners' Work in Prisons:

Criminological theory has demonstrated a considerable interest in the stories of offenders (Verde, 2017; Bennett, 1981, p. 120, p. 302) and delinquents (Thrasher, 1927; Anderson, 1923; Shaw, 1930; Shaw and Moore, 1931; Shaw, McKay and McDonald, 1938)⁹. However the same interest has not been extended to the narratives of those who work with offenders in a professional capacity, leading Ugelvik (2016) to call for the 'backstage stories' of practitioners to be foregrounded. There has also been considerable neglect in terms of wider research into the arts in prisons, and despite the long history of arts in prisons, academic research into the field has been a much more recent entrant (Gardner, Hager and Hillman, 2014; Cheliotis, 2012,). Although in recent decades there has been a 'significant

⁹ The research of Shaw and his associates (Shaw, 1930; Shaw and Moore, 1931; Shaw, McKay and McDonald, 1938) are most relevant to the current study. These researchers not only interviewed juvenile offenders, but also encouraged some of their participants to author their own stories (Bennett, 1981, p. 277). In some cases these autobiographical manuscripts were sourced from prisoners while still serving their sentences:

'Someone would drive down to the prison two or three times a week to pick up life histories that had been written and to arrange for the writing of more' (Bennett, 1981, p. 278-279).

expansion' in the field (Cheliotis, 2012, p. 7). The dominant research questions have focused on evaluating the efficacy or impact of creative arts programmes for prisoners (for a summary see Caulfield and Simpson, 2019) rather than considering the creative practitioner's perspective or more holistic understandings of the value of the arts (Clements, 2004, p. 172). Early studies (Fischhoff, 1973 cited in Ryan, 1976: 39; Mecnick, 1984; van der Hoven, 1988 cited in Peaker and Vincent, 1990) conducted in the US and Holland concerned themselves with the psychological and educational benefits of the arts, demonstrating again the underlying disciplinary concerns at work in arts provision. There were also attempts to demonstrate the impact of creative arts programmes on recidivism outcomes (Brewster, 1987 cited in Brewster, 2010, p. 35 also see Cleveland, 1994; Currie, 1989) along with a cost-benefit analysis (Brewster, 1983) which explored the monetary value of the Californian Arts-in-Corrections programme (McLewin, 2014).

Research into prison creative arts came to the UK slightly later and was very much the preserve of a few practitioners working in isolation and even fewer academics with an interest in the area (Cheliotis, 2012, p. 7). A good deal of earlier literature has been criticised for presenting anecdotal accounts of arts practice (Hughes, 2005; Djurichkovic, 2011; Meekums and Daniel, 2012, p. 3). While, as noted above, Peaker and Vincent were the first researchers to show a concerted interest in prison arts in the UK (Hewish, 2015 p. 13), an amount of early literature was generated around the Barlinnie Special Unit (e.g. Cooke, 1989; Carrell and Laing, 1982; Boyle, 1977; Cooke, 1987 cited in Cooke, 1989; Whatmore, 1987), again with a therapeutic focus. In some ways Peaker and Vincent's (1990) broad ranging study may still offer the most authentic report on the practitioners' perspective, with an entire chapter devoted to the experience of artists working in the prison environment. In it the dancer Kevin Fegan is cited as speaking about the challenge presented to the status quo by the essentially anarchic qualities of the creative process (Peaker and Vincent, 1990, p. 105). More generally, there appeared to be an agreement that the function of the arts was to encourage questioning and critical thinking on the part of prisoners, who are considered to be adults while the practitioners saw themselves as without power or authority,

ultimately as outsiders on the inside of the prison. Practitioners spoke of staff perceptions of them as subversive, as a security risk or just a nuisance, there were complaints in one prison about the use of bad language in a drama performance, while in another a writer was dismissed by officers as a 'long haired git' (Peaker and Vincent, 1990, p. 126). At the same time, practitioners themselves spoke about the need to be 'extremely professional' in terms of both their approach to the work and their interactions with prisoners and staff (Peaker and Vincent, 1990, p. 113). Even in this study however, the main focus was on benefits of arts programmes to the prisoners, albeit while using a 'pluralist approach', which recognised that different groups would evaluate the activities according to their particular position within the prison (Peaker and Vincent, 1990, p 184). As such, it is necessary to 'read between the lines' in order to elicit the attitudes and motivations of the practitioners, and there is an absence of biographical detail that might give added insight into why these practitioners chose to work in prisons in the first place. The pluralistic approach did, however, enable a wider recognition of benefit than found in later, large-scale evaluations. While the disciplinary aims of psychological and educational benefits were identified, leading to personal and social skills development and therapeutic gains, the study also pointed to increased autonomy, opportunities for recreation and pleasure, and the production of valued and admired objects that could be exchanged or sold (Peaker and Vincent, 1990, p. 184): benefits associated more with personal empowerment than institutional compliance.

The next major reviews of the research literature (Hughes, 2005; McLewin, 2011) served to strip back the practitioner voice further. These reviews identified 'a number of major thematic strands in practice, which included: 'arts to enrich and broaden the education curriculum; arts education; arts as therapeutic interventions; arts as adjunctive therapy; arts for participation and citizenship; arts as a cultural right' (Hughes, 2005, p. 10). It is striking how similar the perceived outcomes from arts activity were to those described by Peaker and Vincent (1990) in terms of psychological, educational, social and personal development. However, the findings were presented in the very

different language of social policy goals, which was consistent with both 'a new and all-pervasive managerialism that affect(ed) every aspect of criminal justice' (Garland, 2001, p. 18) and the arts sector's developing remit on the social value of the arts (Landry et al., 1993; Matarasso, 1996, 1997, 1998; Galloway, 2009 cf. Landry et al., 1996), which was adopted by New Labour (PAT 10, 1999; Jermyn, 2001; SEU, 2002; Clements, 2003). There was a shift away from the language of beneficial outcomes to one of 'impacts'. The 'increased autonomy' referenced by Peaker and Vincent (1990, p. 184) is also absent from the Hughes (2005) report, the word is used only once, replaced more generally by the psychological terminology of 'self-efficacy' (Hughes, 2005). References to the pleasurable aspects of arts participation are much less pronounced, as are those to money, which in the latter report are almost exclusively concerned with debt and limitation rather than financial gain from selling art products (although the Fine Cell work scheme is discussed in these terms: Hughes, 2005, p. 49). Hughes (2005) concludes that, despite a 'paucity of high quality research and evaluation in the field... the quantity and consistency of findings from across key areas of criminal justice service provision suggest that there is a strong case for the effectiveness of arts practice across a range of areas' (Hughes, 2005, p. 9). However, in the absence of significant research evidence, it could also be argued that these findings tell us less about the value of the arts and more about how the arts have come to be valued.

By the time McLewin (AMA, 2011) extends Hughes' (2005) study by collating research conducted between 2003-2010, there is an explicit commitment to focus on outcomes that specifically relate to criminal justice priorities (AMA, 2011, p. 27). There is also an increasing shift away from what prisoners and practitioners value about the arts to themes which prioritise the goals of offender management, an issue which is highlighted in the wider literature on arts engagement evaluation, which finds that some stakeholders perspectives are simply not included (Dunphy, 2015, p. 1). These themes were further atrophied in the latest, and arguably most comprehensive review to date (Cheliotis, 2014), which distinguished three sets of outcomes relating to: psychological and attitudinal changes; learning capacity and

motivation; building social skills. In this formulation, any reference to citizenship or participation is reduced to a generic set of social skills which are concerned more with conformity to societal norms than with democratic rights. Meanwhile, Burrowes et al. (2013) employed three evaluation criteria in their rapid evidence assessment, narrower than Cheliotis (2014), and focusing specifically on the ability of arts projects to improve in-prison behaviour, individual psychological factors and education and offending behaviour programmes. This narrow focus served to remove all reference to social skills outside of a framework of institutional compliance, thereby returning the debate to the focus of the first key studies of arts in prisons (Fischer cited in Ryan, 1973; Mecnick, 1984; Brewster, 1983), and by implication Foucault's disciplinary instruments of schools, factories and hospitals (Foucault, 1977, p. 228). Arguably, this refinement of possible outcomes to those directly related to the interests of the prison regime is an example of what Belfiore and Bennett (2007, p. 6) describe as an 'advocacy agenda' in which research intended to make a case for the arts is disguised as dispassionate enquiry and is less a case of "evidence-based policy-making", but rather a phenomenon of "policy-based evidence-making" (Belfiore and Bennett, 2010, p. 136), where research is designed to demonstrate what policy requires it to demonstrate.

While earlier research attempted to demonstrate direct associations between arts interventions and hard measures such as reduction in recidivism (e.g. Brewster, 1983; California Department of Corrections, 1987), these methods have increasingly been called into question in both the arts and criminal justice sectors (Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016; Anderson et al., 2011 following McNeill, 2009; Caulfield, 2014, p. 8; Parkes and Bilby, 2010; Albertson, 2015; Belfiore and Bennett, 2008; Farrall, 2002, 2004; Maruna and LeBel, 2010, p. 66) and the yes/no binary (Anderson et al., 2011, p. 7) of reconviction studies is no longer assumed to be the best way to measure changes (Bilby, Caulfield and Ridley, 2013, p. 10)¹⁰. Some relatively recent

¹⁰ There have been wider calls within criminal justice to move away from a 'what works' approach to one that can describe 'how change works' (Farrall, 2002, 2004; Maruna and

studies that include creative writing (e.g. Cheliotis, 2014; Burrowes et al., 2013; Bilby, Caulfield and Ridley, 2013; Caulfield, 2014; Hurry et al., 2014; Anderson et al., 2011) highlight the use of 'intermediate outcomes' which take into account indirect as well as direct changes that are associated with a reduction in reoffending. Importantly, some of the outcomes may concern social and individual benefits with no demonstrable link to offending (Maguire et al., 2019, p. 6), and this has enabled researchers to return to some of the more holistic benefits of the arts found in earlier studies (Peaker and Vincent, 1990). These studies take as their theoretical base the concept of desistance (Farrall and Calverley, 2005; McNeill and Weaver, 2010; Maruna, 2001; Giordano et al., 2002; Rocque, 2017; Farrall, 2019; Runggay, 2004), which refers to 'the long-term abstinence from criminal behaviour among those for whom offending has become a pattern of behaviour' (McNeill et al., 2012, p. 3). Importantly, in this view, desistance is a process and not an event (Laub and Sampson, 2001; Paternoster and Bushway, 2014), which allows researchers to assess the journey towards non-offending rather than just the final destination. Intermediate measures can therefore be used as a 'bridge' between desistance and reoffending rates (Crossick and Kaszynska, 2016, p. 49). In this formulation however, the outcomes remain tethered to the disciplinary goals of the factory, workshop and hospital, which, while pragmatically expedient to 'policy-based evidence-making', neglect a more nuanced appreciation of creative arts programmes and the practitioners' roles within them.

Researchers and practitioners alike, cognisant of the need for a theory base on which to extrapolate models of change (Hughes, 2005, p. 11) were quick to recognise the resonances between the new conceptual framework of desistance (Anderson et al., 2011), in particular its subjective factors (Maruna, 2001; Graham and Bowling, 1995) and creative arts practice (e.g. Davey, Day and Balfour, 2014; Cheliotis, 2014; O'Keefe and Albertson,

LeBel, 2010, p. 66), or a 'stepping stones' approach (O'Keefe and Albertson, 2012, p. 75). This resulted in an exploration of the use of process led models (e.g. Miles and Strauss, 2008), using a realist methodology (Pawson and Tilley, 1997). More recently Mann and Maruna (2019) have set out a rationale for combining the 'What Works' agenda with approaches based on desistance theories.

2016, p. 498). In particular they saw considerable synergy between creative practice and the strengths-based approach of the desistance model, as well as a good deal of connection between many of the change factors identified by desistance researchers and key components in arts projects delivered to offenders (AMA, 2011, p. 33; Clinks, 2013). The distinction between primary and secondary desistance (Maruna et al., 2004 following Lemert, 1951) also afforded a clear articulation of the distinction between intrinsic and extrinsic (Unit for Arts and Offenders, 2001 cited in Allen, Shaw and Hall, 2004), direct and indirect benefits (Allen, Shaw and Hall, 2004), or hard and soft outcomes (Reeves, 2002; Jermyn, 2001; Hughes, 2005). In this formulation, primary desistance refers to a 'crime-free gap' in an offender's behaviour and therefore relates to the hard/direct outcomes of, for example recidivism reduction or educational attainment, while secondary desistance is concerned with 'identifiable and measurable changes at the level of personal identity' (Maruna et al., 2004, p. 274). It is to these subjective and 'measurable' changes that research has increasingly turned (Anderson et al., 2011; Bilby, Caulfield and Ridley, 2013; Hurry et al., 2014 Davey, Day and Balfour, 2015; Hill, 2015; McNeill et al., 2012), with wellbeing included as an intervening variable by some researchers (Anderson, 2015b) and taken up more widely by the arts sector (ACE, 2018).

The desistance model has now been widely accepted within the criminal justice sector (ACE, 2018, p. 12), and particularly in Scotland (McNeill et al., 2012; Sapouna, Bissett and Conlong, 2011; Anderson et al., 2011; Creative Scotland, 2012; Armstrong and Sams, 2014), where policy has increasingly taken an 'asset-based, desistance-led' approach (Sams, 2014, p. 199; Scottish Prison Service, 2013; Hill, 2015). In England and Wales, HMPPS, in association with RAND (who produced the earlier rapid impact assessment: Burrowes et al., 2013), have recently developed a toolkit intended to measure intermediate outcomes for arts and mentoring interventions (IOMI) (Maguire et al., 2019).

1.6 Research on Creative Writing Programmes in Prisons

While these recent approaches offer the potential for more nuanced lenses through which to view the contribution of creative arts to the change processes of prisoners, there are two major issues with the work: first, the loss of authentic practitioner voices in the research, based in part on the continuing tendency to tether the creative arts to rehabilitative goals within a framework of evaluation and second, a failure to engage fully with the potential of narrative, both as a creative arts activity to effect change for prisoners and as a method with which to better articulate those change processes. Even O’Keefe and Albertston (2016, p. 505), whose study of evaluations of creative writing programmes in prisons calls for innovation in approaches to outcome measurement and close alignment to desistance principles, do not consider the possibilities of narrative as an analytical framework with which to measure change.

In general the evaluation literature pertaining to creative arts interventions has failed to fully utilise the findings from the desistance literature on the importance of narrative to the process of desistance (esp. Maruna, 2001). If, as Maruna claims (see section 1.9), there are common features in the narratives of desisting offenders when they are asked to relate their life stories, it would appear reasonable to assume that the life story would be a primary source of data when evaluating shifts towards desistance in prisoners participating in creative interventions. However, researchers tend to ask for prisoners’ opinions on how the intervention has impacted them rather than asking prisoners to share their life story, despite Maruna’s (2001) foundational research finding evidence of desistance in exactly the latter source¹¹.

¹¹ One exception to this neglect of narrative in the pertinent research is found in Cursely and Maruna’s (2015) narrative evaluation of a music programme: The difference evokes a distinction identified in narratology between the ‘telling’ and ‘showing’ (Klauk and Koppe, 2013) of a story. In the former the events are presented as a report of what happened, while in the latter, events are constructed in such a way that the reader feels they are a witness to what happened. The same may hold true for the difference between existing evaluation research, where prisoners offer comments on their experience of the intervention and how it

It is perhaps surprising that while creative writing is seen as ‘a steadfast component of arts based projects’ (Anderson et al., 2011, p. 20) there are so few studies conducted on its benefits. Nor has this changed greatly in recent years. The National Criminal Justice Arts Alliance’s (NCJAA) Evidence Library (as of October 2020) lists only eight studies that are concerned with creative writing (Cheliotis, 2014; Hurry et al., 2014; O’Keefe, 2013; Bilby, Caulfield and Ridley, 2013; Albertson and O’Keefe, 2012a, 2012b; Anderson et al., 2011; Clarke and Miles, 2006), out of a total of 104, and only four of these studies focus on creative writing exclusively (Hurry et al., 2014; O’Keefe, 2013; Albertson and O’Keefe, 2012a, 2012b). The earlier study of a Writers in Prison Network (WIPN) project (Clarke and Miles, 2006), was based on the American Changing Lives Through Literature programme, and as such was focused on reading rather than creative writing. The work of Anderson et al. (2011) signals the shift to desistance-focused arts research which attempts to understand the contribution of arts projects to ‘opening up the possibilities of and prospects for desistance from crime’ (Anderson et al., 2011, p. 7). In this context they offered tentative findings that suggested that involvement in arts projects can develop maturity, social bonds and identity (Anderson et al., 2011, p. 63)¹², the three key areas which desistance researchers suggest are important to the process of desisting from crime (Albertson, 2015, p. 278)¹³.

However, not all studies consistently employ desistance as an underpinning theory. A three part evaluation of WIPN (O’Keefe and Albertson, 2012a, 2012b; O’Keefe, 2013), which built on a previous evaluation (Squirrell, 1999b), did not always incorporate the concept of desistance into its

might impact their lives, whereas a life story approach may enable researchers to witness these changes at work in the narrative construction of the story itself. This postulate is based on the theoretical perspective taken by narrative criminology, which views narrative as constitutive of reality (Presser, 2009).

¹² These findings were in addition to more usual findings on educational engagement.

¹³ The main framework for evaluation in Anderson et al.’s (2011) study involved aligning National Strategy for the Management of Offenders outcomes with evaluation criteria which was based on previous arts, arts education and desistance literature.

methodology (O’Keefe and Albertson, 2012b). Where the concept of desistance was used (O’Keefe and Albertson, 2012a), there was not always a clear framework for its application, and there was a reliance on interview data but with little explanation of how the data has been analysed. However, what the studies lack in rigour they gain in extensive description of the details of creative writing residences in prisons. Elsewhere, O’Keefe (2013) provides more robust evaluation criteria, though this is related to wellbeing rather than desistance, as is appropriate for a study that evaluates a creative writing programme delivered on a Dangerous and Serious Personality Disorder (DSPD) unit. Hurry et al. (2014) clearly stipulate the desistance-focused intermediate outcomes used in their evaluation of a creative writing programme delivered in 28 prisons and incorporating a national creative writing competition. However the report is largely descriptive (Hurry et al., 2014, p. 11) rather than analytical and the evaluation of desistance factors takes up only a small proportion of the wider report, which appears focused on developing a wider infrastructure for the delivery of creative writing programmes in prisons.

The final two evaluations archived by the NCJAA are much more tightly focused on desistance factors relevant to arts programmes than those discussed above, however neither deal exclusively with creative writing. Cheliotis (2014) evaluates the outcomes of a national mentoring scheme for prisoners (generally) post-release. This study has the benefit of being able to assess the impact of the arts over a sustained period of time (12 months mentoring programme), which addresses one of the key criticisms of arts in prison programmes: the short-term nature of programmes/interventions (Cheliotis, 2014; Cursley and Maruna, 2015), making it very difficult to ascertain any lasting impact (Anderson et al., 2011, p. 6)¹⁴. Cheliotis (2014, p. 8) reported evidence of a range of improvements for participants (e.g. self-

¹⁴ There are exceptions to the short-termism displayed in many arts programmes, see for example: Cursley and Maruna, 2015; Caulfield and Wilson, 2012; Kennedy, 1999; Reiss et al., 1998; Dawes, 1999; Goddard, 2005; Cox and Gelsthorpe, 2008; Wilson, Caulfield and Atherton, 2008; Caulfield et al., 2009; Anderson and Overy, 2010; Boswell et al., 2011 cited in Cheliotis (2014).

esteem, sense of achievement and empowerment, learning capacity and motivation, improved social skills) all of which related to desistance factors, and were in keeping with earlier findings. Bilby, Caulfield and Ridley (2013), also covered a range of art practices in their study, not just creative writing. The research design was qualitative and the data were analysed using a clear thematic content analysis, enabling less explored benefits of creative projects to come to the fore. Some of these findings echo Peaker and Vincent's (1990) early research, which break away from 'sanctioned', rehabilitative outcomes. In particular, Bilby, Caulfield and Ridley (2013, p. 45-46) noted that the creative writing project provided opportunities for participants to make autonomous choices, for recreation and pleasure and the production of valued and admired objects, similar to outcomes found in Peaker and Vincent (1990, p. 184).

In addition to evaluations listed in the NCJAA Evidence Library, there are a number of other studies that have applied a wider range of theoretical lenses to the study of creative writing in prisons in England and Wales (DeValiant, McGrath and Kougiali, 2020; Spargo and Priest, 2014; Seal and O'Neill, 2019; Hinton-Smith and Seal, 2019; Albertson, 2015; Tomczak and Albertson, 2016). The first four studies used cultural or literary approaches, rather than social scientific evaluation methods underpinned by desistance, although they all - to varying degrees - considered the effect of creative writing on participants. DeValiant, McGrath and Kougiali (2020) employed 'poetic inquiry' in their analysis of 27 pieces of published poetry sampled from Inside Times (sic) newspaper in order to investigate the "harder to reach" aspects of subjectivities and emotional experience of those living in custodial settings. While some attention was given to how the research might contribute to future desistance from offending, this was more concerned with the creation of 'safe spaces' in which prisoners may explore non-criminal selves and engage in emotional authenticity, which may or may not involve creative arts activities. Spargo and Priest (2014) focused on the 'reduction of recidivism' rather than desistance in a writing programme that combined the

expertise of cultural historians and creative writing academics¹⁵. Findings tended to echo the evaluation literature in terms of self-esteem, hope, ambition, self-identity, including possible futures and empathy (Spargo and Priest, 2014, p. 8-9). Seal and O'Neill (2019) offered a more deliberate rejection of the rehabilitative dimensions of creative writing in prisons through a lens of 'imaginative criminology' (Frauley, 2010, 2015 ; Barton et al., 2007; Barton and Davis, 2018; Jacobsen and Walklate, 2017; Wood, 2019; O'Neill and Seal, 2012), which sought to engage and analyse prisoner creative writing 'as creative writing, rather than simply as exercises of rehabilitative programming' (Seal and O'Neill, 2019, p. 55). The focus of the study was on the 'threefold dimension of space' consisting of relational, imagined and in some cases openness to future possibilities, concluding that the ability of writing to allow participants to represent themselves in words and to recover emotions and autobiographical stories was experienced as 'transformative'. The fourth study (Hinton-Smith and Seal, 2018) focused on one of the two creative projects examined in Seal and O'Neill (2019) and used an ethnographic approach to explore the experience of researcher participant-observers in terms of gender and 'boundary crossing'.

The final two pieces of literature (Albertson, 2015; Tomczak and Albertson, 2016) focus on two key dimensions taken from desistance research: the importance of self narrative (Maruna, 2001) and of relationships (Sampson and Laub, 2003; Weaver, 2012, 2015; Weaver and McNeill, 2014, 2015; McNeill and Weaver, 2010). Tomczak and Albertson (2016) offer a preliminary analysis of the relational dynamics between voluntary sector practitioners and prisoners, finding that a positive and 'distinctive relationship' exists between the two groups which is different from relationships prisoners experience with education or uniform staff.

¹⁵ Spargo and Priest's (2014) study included input from creative writing facilitators (Creed and La Tourette) both of whom had previously worked as prison WiRs. Arguably this research, which resulted in a joint anthology of prison and academic writing (Creed, Priest and Spargo, 2014) along with articles exploring the history of the arts in rehabilitation (Rogers, 2009; Rogers, 2012a, 2012b) and fictional work (Creed, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013) is the first example of a creative and interdisciplinary, university-prison partnership in England and Wales in which academics actively led the design, development and delivery of the creative writing workshops (LJMU, 2014).

Furthermore, they suggested that such a relationship has 'distinctive transformational potential' (Tomczak and Albertson, 2016, p. 66) that may endure over time and may be more significant than engagement with the creative activities themselves. However, while prisoner interview data is sourced from participants in creative writing, literature, and media projects, some of which relates to the earlier WIPN series of studies (O'Keefe and Albertson, 2012a, O'Keefe and Albertson, 2012b) and some of which was taken from research on the Prison Radio Association (Davidson and Wilkinson, 2009), the practitioner data is collated from support services in the wider penal voluntary sector which may or may not include arts organisations (Tomczak, 2014) and this may have a bearing on these findings. Through the perspective of prisoner feedback it becomes clear that creative arts practitioners are seen as more relaxed than their colleagues in prison education and custodial roles and that they treat prisoners as equals (see also Albertson, 2015; Peaker and Vincent, 1990). This is reinforced in practitioner comment, although as suggested above, it is not clear that the practitioner sample is representative of creative writing practitioners. Furthermore this finding conflicts with Bilby, Caulfield and Ridley's (2013) study which suggests instead that creative practitioners are valued for their professionalism rather than their egalitarianism. Albertson (2015) reached similar conclusions to Tomczak and Albertson (2016) about the distinct relationship engendered between prisoner and practitioner in creative arts activities. She uses a similar participant dataset to that included in Tomczak and Albertson (2016), consisting of participants involved in radio production and creative writing/reading based activities. However, Albertson (2015) focused on desistance narratives and the ways in which insights and subjective skills such as reflectivity, expression, imagination and empathy, arguably gained from participation in creative arts activities, may enable the 'claiming (of) a desistance narrative' (Albertson, 2015, p. 286) by prisoners. As with the link between practitioner/prisoner relationships and desistance, there is much to be gained from an exploration of the links between creative writing projects and desistance narratives. However Albertson's (2015) argument is more poetic than analytical and offers little detail of the narrative mechanisms involved in the creation of such desistance narratives. Section

1.8 and 1.9 of this thesis will pick up on the importance of the points made by Albertson (2015) and Tomczak and Albertson (2016) on desistance narratives and prisoner/practitioner relationships and the links between the two. First, however, a consideration of loss of authentic practitioner voices from the research and the relation of this to the continued tethering of creative arts practice to rehabilitative goals, albeit through the language of intermediate outcomes.

1.7 The Loss of Authentic Practitioner Voices: Gaps in the Research

The vocabulary of desistance offers a 'stepping stones' approach (O'Keefe and Albertson, 2012a, p. 75) to understanding the impact of the arts for prisoners. However, those stepping stones continue to lead to the disciplinary instruments of the hospital, the school, and the factory present in the early incarnations of the modern penitentiary (Foucault, 1977), and therefore fail to take account of more critical forms of pedagogy (Clements, 2004) that entered the prison with the radical community arts companies of the 1970s and 80s (Kelly, 1984, p. 11). While more critically directed studies (Hinton-Smith and Seal, 2019; Seal and O'Neill, 2019; Spargo and Priest, 2014; Devaliant. McGrath and Kougiali., 2020) may capture some of this radicalism, this work does not speak to the increased efforts of evaluation research to address policy concerns and achieve social scientific rigour. Cheliotis (2014, p. 24-25) has suggested that official support is a means by which the arts as a tool of resistance are neutered. He describes how arts-in-prisons are used to encourage prisoner compliance, in diametric opposition to the stated aims of such creative activities as offering mental and imaginative liberation. Following Cohen (1985, o. 157), he argues that the arts, rather than effecting any substantive change for prisoners are merely "a good story" that appeals to the middle-class segment of the population' (Cheliotis, 2012, p. 12), and which ensnare prisoners in 'cultural goodwill' (Cheliotis, 2012, p. 10 following Bourdieu, 1984) that sets them up for multiple kinds of failure. This view of the arts as a tool for compliance runs

counter to early research by Peaker and Vincent (1990, p. 105, p. 128), who found some practitioners to be motivated by anarchistic ideals, displaying attitudes that were anti-bureaucratic and anti-hierarchical and aimed at facilitating political rather than merely personal change (Rimmer, 2020; Lewis, 2014; Kelly, 1984, p. 11). However, in more recent research, these disruptive sentiments appear to be absent and this highlights an important gap in the research, which rests in the ways that the evaluation of the impacts or outcomes of prison arts programmes may have removed the authentic voice of the practitioner from the conversation (O’Keefe and Alberston, 2012a, p.43)¹⁶, raising questions about the current motivations and intentions of those practitioners. Have the politically radical motivations of practitioners simply drained away to be replaced by the instrumental aims of the criminal justice system (CJS) in the last 40 years? Or have these motivations merely been effaced? The exclusion of practitioner voices reaches its apotheosis in the IOMI evaluation tool, where researchers made a deliberate decision not to include the creative practitioners' views in the final 29 item questionnaire (Maguire et al., 2019 , p.21), based on consultation which found staff had limited time and would be reluctant to engage with the measurement instrument. What this decision does not question is the reasons why practitioners might find a quantitative data collection tool ‘burdensome’ (Maguire et al., 2019. p. 21).

It is arguable that the direction and focus of the research has shaped the narratives of creative practitioners. Cox and Gelsthorpe (2012, p. 258) note how arts programmes are shaped by the struggle to gain legitimacy within criminal justice systems, and this became more pronounced with the introduction of Prison Service Order 50 (PSO 50, 2008) which required prison governors to make a judgement on the acceptability of arts projects to the general public (Walsh, 2019, p. 69-70; Hewish, 2015, p. 216), although the regulation was later replaced by PSO 38 (2010). Further to this, the non-

¹⁶ The loss of practitioner voice has been less the case in North America, where a good deal of research is practitioner-led and auto-ethnographic (e.g. Plemons, 2013; Palidofsky, 2010; O’Grady, 2009) and there are still rare examples of this kind of reflection in the UK (e.g. McNeill, 2015; McKean, 2006; Shenai, 2001).

statutory funding of the arts (Cox and Gelsthorpe, 2012, p. 261)¹⁷ in an era of evidence-based policy making and ‘What Works’ (Hollin and Bilby, 2007; Maguire, 2002) requires creative practitioners to ‘prove’ the impact of the work they do in prisons (O’Keefe and Albertson, 2012a, p.12-13, p. 74-76; Walsh, 2019; Hewish, 2015) which became even more pressing with the introduction of the Transforming Rehabilitation agenda leading to Payment by Results (MoJ, 2010; Arts Alliance, 2011; Senior, 2010; O’Keefe and Albertson, 2016), in the wider context of the austerity era (Bilby, Caulfield and Ridley, 2013) and more recently the introduction of the new Prison Education Framework (Justice Select Committee, 2019). There are examples of creative practitioners taking up the discourses of psychology, education, and employability (Mer, 2012; Thompson, 2003). O’Keefe (2013) details how a writing residency on a DSPD unit led to a request for the Lead Writer to ‘feed into the core behavioural monitoring programme on the Unit’ (O’Keefe, 2013, p. 19). Interestingly, the researcher viewed this as a successful outcome. Crowley (2014, p. 14) details a similar experience of collaboration with a prison psychology department, where he took an active role in delivering victim awareness workshops where creative writing was used to imagine victims of crime. At a policy level, creative practitioners have adopted educational discourses, as can be seen in responses to the introduction of the Core Curriculum (Bayliss and Hughes, 2012, p. 300), which was followed by a concerted effort on the part of practitioners to demonstrate the relevance of the arts to basic skills education (Home Office Standing Committee for Arts in Prisons, 2001; Hughes, 2005, p. 39). More recently organisations including Clean Break and WIPN have developed routes of academic and professional accreditation for creative writing

¹⁷ Historically the arts, crafts and literary activities offered to prisoners were the result either of delivery via official prison employees or the work of philanthropists, and a direct line can be traced from the early charities and the pioneering work of individual reformers through to the present day (Carey and Walker, 2002, p. 62). Although a great deal has changed in the prison landscape since the 19th century, the two modes of funding, discretionary public sector and charitable, remain the same, although their configurations are somewhat different. The advent of Transforming Rehabilitation (MOJ 2010; MOJ, 2013; MOJ 2015 along with changes to education provision (MOJ/BIS, 2011; MoJ, 2018; PLA, 2019; Gove, 2016, Justice Select Committee, 2019; PET, 2019) has seen third sector organisations move from acting as ‘suppliers of largely supplementary services’ to become ‘providers of core services’ (Corcoran and Hucklesby, 2013). See Simpson, Morgan and Caulfield et al. (2019) for a full review.

courses (Clean Break, 2016, p. 14; O’Keefe and Albertson, 2012, p. 4) and WIPN developed an accreditation with the National Union of Journalists. Safe Ground’s core programme also offers a clear example of a programme that is shaped by policy priorities, addressing directly the children and families pathway of NOMS resettlement priorities (Boswell and Poland, 2008), while Making for Change, a London College of Fashion design programme in partnership with HM Prison Service, aims to train participants for later work in the fashion production industry (Caulfield, Curtis and Simpson, 2018). Walter Benjamin described the way in which artists respond to threats by embracing them, though with misgivings (Benjamin, 1936 cited in Lemos, 2011, p. 21) and this may be the case in terms of the prison, where it is suggested ‘(a)rtists have fought back in the currency of their defeat’ (Lemos, 2011, p. 21).

This instrumentalist approach which has seen practitioners shape their discourses, though not necessarily their practices, to policy requirements (e.g. Mer, 2011) appears to have led to a loss of the authentic practitioners’ voice in the research (O’Keefe and Albertson, 2012a, p. 43). Practitioners have been dismissed for presenting anecdotal accounts of arts practice (Hughes, 2005; Djurichkovic, 2011) and replaced with the disinterested, third person presentation of social scientific research (AMA, 2011, p. 28 e.g. Harkins et al., 2009, 2011; Blacker, Watson and Beech, 2008). When practitioners do speak, they have tended to frame their contributions in the policy discourse of the ‘What Works’ agenda (Maguire, 1995). The paucity of research describing what practitioners ‘actually do in sessions’ has been noted by Anderson (2015a, p. 372 see also Crowley, 2014 cf. Hurry et al., 2014; Crowley, 2012; Creed, Priest and Spargo., 2013) and it has been claimed that the ‘What Works’ movement has led to a separation of the ‘deliverer from what is delivered’ (Johnstone and Hewish, 2008, p. 5). This gap in the research also extends to practitioners’ journeys into working in prisons. There are exceptions (Hewish, 2015; Nickeas, 2016; Hurry et al., 2014; O’Keefe and Albertson, 2011a, p. 43; O’Keefe, 2013). However, two of these practitioners do not work within the field of creative writing, Hewish

being a theatre practitioner while Nickeas' study concerned the continuing professional development of artists working as teachers.

Where studies did concentrate on creative writing, practitioner input has focused on the participants' involvement rather than their own (Anderson et al., 2011), or on the training needs of new prison writers (O'Keefe and Albertson, 2012a; Hurry et al., 2014), or the logistics of taking an arts programme into a prison (Anderson et al., 2011; Hurry et al., 2014). These were not always easy and in one case (Anderson et al., 2011, p. 92) appeared to indicate in actions, though not words, similar anti-authoritarian attitudes to those reported by Peaker and Vincent (1990). There are other examples of subversive elements in practitioners' presence in prisons. In Bilby, Caulfield and Ridley's (2013) study, creative writing project leaders articulated self-expression and self-reflection as the stated aims of the project. However the content of the workshops, which focused on feminist activism, suggested a more critical pedagogy at work. This was also discernible in the case study presented by Anderson et al. (2011) which encouraged women to consider issues around gender and their own roles within society, however the reasons for these choices were not elaborated by practitioners or researchers. The presence of this critical pedagogy is implied rather than stated, however, in discourses which, arguably, are shaped to meet the requirements of the evaluation rather than revealing the authentic voice of the creative practitioner. O'Keefe and Alberston (2012a) do devote some discussion to WiRs' values and motivations (O'Keefe and Albertson, 2012a, p. 46-47) and a much fuller study of the qualities required of a successful practitioner in O'Keefe (2013), although this is extrapolated from a sample of three participants.

At times, research conducted outside of the framework of evaluation has also served to sideline the voices of practitioners. In particular Hinton-Smith and Seal's (2018) ethnographic approach prioritised their auto-ethnographic experience of participating in creative writing workshop alongside prisoners over and above the experience of anyone else in the group. While this offered valuable insights into the blurring of boundaries in relationships

between prisoners and non-prisoners, it missed almost entirely these dynamics in relation to the creative writing facilitator (named as a creative writing consultant in this particular study). The creative practitioner's story is, in this instance, effaced and replaced by those of the researchers.

This review of the recent literature on creative arts programmes in prisons suggests that while desistance theories have been utilised to varying degrees in a number of research studies, many of the findings reiterate older studies albeit with a more nuanced understanding of the stages towards cessation of offending. Other studies have considered creative writing activities in prison through a wider range of theoretical lenses, from carceral geography to literary criticism, autoethnography to cultural history. While this work has drawn out insights that enrich the field of study, their underpinnings in cultural theory do little to advance the evidence base for creative writing projects in prisons and some of this work is more concerned with the researcher than the practitioner story (DeValient, McGrath and Kougiali., 2020; Hinton-Smith and Seal, 2019). Tomczak and Albertson (2016) and Albertson (2015) tease out two important features from the desistance literature, prisoner/practitioner relations and the role of narratives in the desistance process, and these can benefit from more detailed examination. Addressing the absence of the voices of creative writing practitioners in much of this literature by paying close attention to the autobiographical narratives of their journeys into prison may offer valuable insights into the work they do with prisoners, and in particular the prisoner/practitioner relationship.

1.8 The Importance of Practitioner Relationships:

Tomczak and Albertson (2016) are not alone in their recognition of the significance of relationships in creative arts, and specifically creative writing projects. Desistance research (Sampson and Laub, 2003; Weaver, 2012, 2015; McNeill and Weaver, 2010; Weaver and McNeill, 2015) has increasingly recognised the relational aspects necessary for a person to

move towards non-offending. Cursley and Maruna (2015) point to literature that identifies the importance of forming 'strong human relationships' (2015, p. 8) in reducing rates of recidivism and/or promoting desistance (e.g. Trotter, 2009; Anderson et al., 2011; Bilby, Caulfield and Ridley, 2013; Cursley, 2012a; see also Rowe and Soppitt, 2014). A good deal of literature has highlighted arts interventions that enable the development of relationships between prisoners (Caulfield, 2015; Goddard, 2005 cited in Anderson et al., 2011, p. 25; Silber, 2005; O'Keefe and Wilkinson, 2012, p. 66; Lemos, 2011), giving prisoners the opportunity to interact socially (Digard, et al., 2007 cited in Anderson, 2014, p. 14), including across ethnic groups (Nugent and Loucks, 2011) and within and across age groups (De Viggiani, Macintosh and Lang, 2010) and with volunteers from outside the prison (Cohen, 2007, 2009, 2012). This can lead to improved interpersonal relationships for prisoners and former prisoners (Anderson et al., 2011; Cursley and Maruna, 2015) through collaboration in group work (Dawes, 1999; Moller, 2004; Miles and Clark, 2006; Wilson and Logan, 2006; Digard and Liebling, 2012; also Harkins et al., 2011; McKean, 2006; Caulfield, 2015) and through team working towards a shared goal (Anderson et al., 2011; Cox and Gelsthorpe, 2008; Cursley, 2012b; Johnson, Keen and Pritchard, 2011; Silber, 2005; Palidosky, 2010; Moller, 2003). Cox and Gelsthorpe argue that these relationship skills can positively impact on an individual's human capital, which, in turn may afford possibilities for greater social capital (Cox and Gelsthorpe, 2008, p. 2, cited in Cursley and Maruna, 2015, p. 7). Both types of capital are seen as integral to processes of desistance from crime (McNeill and Weaver, 2010).

Prisoner/staff relationships have also featured in some research into the benefits of arts interventions (Menning, 2010; Caulfield, 2015; Wilson, Caulfield and Atherton, 2008; Shenai, 2001; McKean, 2006). Nugent and Loucks (2011, p. 363) described the 'softer' more approachable side displayed by women and staff towards each other during Arts Link Courses at Corston Vale. Boswell, Wedge and Price (2004) found that a Safe Ground parenting course had the potential to change prisoners' attitudes towards staff members and those beyond their immediate family. However, Anderson

(2014, p. 14) notes there is further work to be done in order to understand how the arts can lead to development of relationships between prison staff and prisoners. Some research into arts activities also focuses attention on relational ties between offenders and their families (O’Keefe and Albertson, 2012, p. 28, p. 66; Boswell, Wedge and Price, 2004; Palidofsky, 2010; Kinsella and Woodall, 2016; Cox and Gelsthorpe, 2008; Boswell, Poland and Moseley, 2011).

A small number of researchers (e.g. Bilby, Caulfield and Ridley. 2013; Cursley and Maruna, 2015; Cox and Gelsthorpe, 2008; Albertson, 2015) have also begun to consider a factor which has, by and large, been missing from the evaluation literature: that of the role and relationship of the creative practitioner to their prisoner participants. Although some creative practitioners have been aware of the importance of these relational dynamics for some time:

“human beings, everywhere love personal attention...(a)s an aspiring writer, to have the undivided attention of a professional for 30 minutes or an hour while they discuss your work... is bliss.’ (Hopwood, 2001, p. 31)

It has also been suggested that as the deliverer and the delivered are inseparable in effective facilitation (Johnson and Hewish, 2008), attention needs to be given to the practitioner in terms of understanding their creative workshop methods (Anderson, 2015a) along with their values and motivations. Swann (2017) offers a rare and recent insight into the motivations, teaching methods and aspirations of a WiR. However, to some extent his focus is more concerned with his own creative process than that of his workshop participants. Cursley and Maruna (2015) offer one of the first pieces of research that specifically links the success of a long term music project to the relationships that participants formed with creative facilitators, concluding that the strong interpersonal relationships and creative activity influence and strengthen each other. Additionally, a small amount of preceding studies recognised elements in the practitioner/prisoner

relationship that contribute to the success of arts programmes (e.g. Caulfield, 2015; Wilson and Logan, 2006; Michelucci, 2012; Bilby, Caulfield and Ridley, 2013; Hill, 2015; Anderson et al., 2011; Goodrich, 2004; De Viggiani, Macintosh and Lang, 2010; Cox and Gelsthorpe, 2008; Blagden and Perrin, 2015; Winn and Behizadeh, 2011), although these observations tend to form the backdrop or 'sub-theme' (Caulfield, 2015) rather than a main focus in the research.

Of particular relevance to the current study are claims that creative practitioners may act as role models to prisoners (Van Maanen, 2010; Goodrich, 2004) and former prisoners (Cheliotis, 2014), though not always in a conventional manner (Cheliotis, 2014, p. 30). O'Keefe and Albertson (2016) suggest that the practitioner/prisoner relationship may be of greater importance than the art activity itself and that prison writers in residence are 'effective "change agents", providing a catalyst for change through meaningful and empowering relationships' (O'Keefe and Albertson, 2012, p. 69). Meanwhile, Bilby, Caulfield and Ridley. (2013) suggest the practitioner's professional status and ability to set boundaries are important factors in creating positive outcomes. As discussed in the previous section, Tomczak and Albertson (2016) have begun to explore the 'distinctive relationship' fostered between penal voluntary sector practitioners and prisoners. However, the practitioners in this study were not all creative arts practitioners and the sample was almost entirely made up of penal voluntary sector staff who occupied a management or director level role rather than on-the-ground practitioners (see Tomczak, 2014).

There is an amount of research from the wider criminal justice field that indicates the importance of relationships in reducing reoffending (Burnett, 2004; Burnett and McNeill, 2005; Leibrich, 1993; McIvor, Murray and Jamieson, 2004; Walker, 2010; Crewe, 2011; Stevens, 2013; Donohue and Moore, 2009; Kirkwood, 2015; Liebling, Price and Elliott, 1999; Crawley, 2004; Liebling, 2004; Auty and Liebling, 2019), some of which suggests that the practitioners' own personal experience may be an important element in this interaction (Harris, 2017) and all of which supports further investigation

into this area in terms of relationships between prisoners and creative arts practitioners. Relationships after all are an interactive process and it is necessary to understand the role of the practitioner as well as the prisoner in the relationship. However, in the research to date there is generally a clear methodological split whereby practitioners are addressed in terms of their professional roles, while prisoners are addressed at the level of emotion: practitioners speak about their jobs, prisoners about their lives. If a clearer understanding of the relationship between the two is to be gained, there is a need for a fuller appreciation of the practitioners' 'own story'. How did they come to do the work they're doing? What motivates them? What do they take from it? The task of eliciting this kind of authentic practitioner narrative, however, is made difficult by the instrumental shaping of these narratives to evidence-based policy requirements and the prevalence of evaluation research which focuses on participants' experience within a framework of intermediate outcomes tethered to the disciplinary instruments of the hospital, school, and factory.

1.9 The Importance of Practitioner Narratives:

There is already a growing literature that explores the role of narrative in the desistance process¹⁸ a small amount of which is specific to creative arts practice (Davey, Day and Balfour, 2014; Colvin, 2015) and some of which uses creative arts methods to deliver the research (Canter and Youngs, 2015; Canter, Youngs and Rowlands, 2019; DeValiant, Mcgrath and Kougiali, 2020). Maruna's (2001) seminal study on the narrative aspects of desistance is a key underpinning influence in this body of work, and in particular his notion of the 'redemption script' or desistance narrative (Maruna, 2001: 85-108).

¹⁸ Martin et al., 2019; Stone, 2015; Stone et al., 2018; Liem and Richardson, 2014; Hart and Healy, 2018; Vaughan, 2007; O'Sullivan et al., 2015; Anderson, S.E. 2016; Schinkel, 2015; Hockey, 2016; Sogaard et al., 2016; Allen, 2018; Bullock et al., 2019; Kirkwood, 2016; Hallett and McCoy, 2015; Meyer, 2016; Giordano et al., 2015; Berger, 2015; Stevens, 2012; Carlsson, 2013; King, 2013; Hart and van Ginneken, 2016; Gadd and Farrell, 2004; Leverentz, 2014; Marsh, 2011; Paternoster and Bushway, 2009; McClean et al., 2013; Maruna et al., 2006; Rungay, 2004; Leibrich, 1993.

Maruna argues that in order to desist from crime a person must have 'a believable story of why they are going straight to convince themselves that this is a real change' (Maruna, 2001, p. 86). Furthermore, the story needs to be consistent with the person's sense of self and contain a satisfactory 'narrative logic' (following Bruner, 1987)¹⁹. Maruna (2001, p. 88) found three core themes in desistors' redemption scripts: core beliefs that characterise a 'true self' which is distorted but not erased by their criminal endeavours; a sense of 'super agency' which gives desistors the conviction that they have more personal control over their futures than circumstances suggest; generativity, i.e. a desire to give something back to society and especially to the following generation. Some of Maruna's participants framed their newfound motivations in terms of creative projects: one talks about songwriting, another identifies as a fine artist (Maruna, 2001, p. 100). However, in some sense, whether more generally productive or specifically creative, there was an overarching sense of desistors committing to a purpose that was meaningful to them and generative in some way. Maruna (2001, p. 104 following Shover, 1996, p. 190) also notes a common desire expressed by a number of ex-offenders to produce their life story in written form and concludes that '(t)he construction or reconstruction of one's life story into a moral tale might... be an important element of sustaining significant behavioural reform' (Maruna, 2001, p. 105). While Maruna has asked and gained considerable insight from the question - why do some people stop going to prison? When it comes to the relational dimensions of creative arts interventions, it may also be profitable to ask - why do some other people (i.e. creative practitioners) start going to prison? And to utilise some of the key theoretical concepts employed by narrative criminologists to do so. This is explored further below.

Maruna's (2001) study is a much admired (Sandberg and Ugelvik, 2016, p. 130; Fleetwood et al., 2019, p. 2; Presser, 2009, p. 185)

¹⁹ The phrase 'narrative logic' is cited by Maruna (2001, p. 88), however this phrase does not appear in Bruner (1987).

precursor to the 'subdiscipline' (Fleetwood et al., 2019, p. 3)²⁰ of narrative criminology (Presser, 2016, p. 139). According to the Narrative Criminology Research Network (2018), narrative criminology is an 'emergent theoretical framework for the study of stories in criminology' (NCRN, 2018), in which '(n)arrative criminologists ask how narratives, particularly narratives of the self, influence criminal and other harmful action' (Presser, 2016, p. 137). However, as the field developed there has been an increasing recognition that narrative analysis can also be applied to 'helping' actions (Presser and Sandberg, 2015a, p. 291) and extended beyond 'the usual suspects' to include the narratives of criminal justice workers (Fleetwood et al., 2019). In this vein, Ugelvik (2016) has studied how detention centre officers achieve legitimacy through their shared stories (Ugelvik, 2016), while work has been conducted on the use of story, both factual and fictional, in police work (Kurtz and Upton, 2017; Kurtz and Colburn, 2019; Van Hulst, 2013, 2014, 2020; 2014; Colbran, 2014; Hirschfield and Simon, 2010). Meanwhile Offitt (2019) and Tornqvist (2017) examine the role of narrative in the professional identities and commitments of prosecution lawyers. Finally, both Evans (2016) and Petintseva (2019) consider how the narratives of youth justice workers shape criminal justice practice. To date there has not been a study of the creative arts practitioner's narrative from within the theoretical framework of narrative criminology, although Colvin (2015) explored the use of literary texts in a prison arts project facilitated by a Berlin theatre company, aufBruch. However, she focused on the practitioners' use of literary fiction as a tool for rehabilitation rather than engaging with the significance of the practitioners' personal stories.

Narrative criminology emerged, albeit somewhat late (Presser, 2016, p. 137) from the wider narrative turn in social sciences (Hyvarinen, 2010, 2016; Mitchell, 1981; Brockmeier and Carbaugh, 2001; White, 1973; Ricoeur, 1983,

²⁰ Narrative criminology has also been described as 'emergent theoretical framework' (Narrative Criminology Research Network, 2018), 'an emerging paradigm' (Presser, 2017), and an 'upcoming field' (van Hulst, 2020, p. 111).

1984, 1985; Bruner, 1986; Sarbin, 1986; Richardson, 1990; Polkinghorne, 1988; Czarniawska, 2004; Herman, 2009; Herman, Jahn and Ryan, 2005; Goodson and Gill, 2011). Hyvarinen (2010) has written on the confused history of this turn²¹. However, underlying the shift in focus to narrative in a wide range of social science disciplines (Czariawska, 2004, p. 3 see also Sandberg and Ugelvik, 2016), was an increasing awareness of the ways in which knowledge is entangled in narrative, while at the same time acknowledging the contribution of narrative to the construction of knowledge (Brockmeier and Carbaugh's, 2001, p.3). The developing theoretical engagements of narrative criminology are summarised in three key collections (Presser and Sandberg, 2015a; Sandberg and Ugelvik, 2016; Fleetwood et al., 2019) along with a detailed paper on narrative criminology's engagement with the narrative turn (Presser, 2016) and a paper that sets out the argument for how narrative criminology can support critical criminology (Presser and Sandberg, 2019). Four broad, and frequently conflictual theoretical contexts are identified (Presser and Sandberg, 2015a, p. 8-11): narrative psychology, ethnomethodology, cultural structuralism, and postmodernism. Underpinning all of these approaches is a commitment to constructionism (Presser and Sandberg, 2015a, p. 8), as set out in Presser's (2009) seminal paper (Sandberg and Ugelvik, 2016, p. 131; Sandberg, 2010, p. 452; Fleetwood et al., 2019, p. 2), in which she coined the term 'narrative criminology'.

An essential aspect of narrative criminology lies in its commitment to a constitutive view of narrative (Presser, 2016, p. 139) in which 'narratives produce experience even as experience produces narratives' (Presser and Sandberg, 2015a, p. 4). Presser (2009) clearly sets out the theory underpinning these ideas²². She identifies Ricoeur's (1984 cited in Presser,

²¹ Hyvarinen (2010) argues that there was not one but four narrative turns in literary studies, history, social sciences plus a wider cultural turn to narrative. He suggests that each turn was fragmented by a 'diversity of disciplinary histories' (Hyvarinen, 2010, p. 72) and that each discipline that turned to narrative had its own attitudes and agendas.

²² Presser is generally considered to be the pioneer of the field (NCRN, 2018;) with important contributions to establishment of the subdiscipline (Presser, 2009, 2010, 2012, 2013) and a previous study (Presser, 2008), *avant la lettre*, on the narratives of men

2009, p. 181-186 as summarised by Polkinghorne, 1988, p. 67-68) three conceptualisations of narrative and summarises these as narrative as record, narrative as interpretation and a constitutive view of narrative. The key relationship in all three perspectives, she writes, rests on the relationship between narrative and experience. In narrative as record and interpretation, experience is assumed to be separate from its narration, the only difference lies in the faithfulness of the narrative to its representation of what 'really' happened. In both cases the narrative 'signposts' (Presser, 2009, p. 184) something that exists outside of itself, with narrative as record offering the more accurate report, while narrative as interpretation introduces a subjective dimension both in terms of the self-referentiality of the statement and its bias. Presser (2009, p. 184) makes a much clearer distinction between these two conceptualisations of narrative and the post-positivist understanding of narrative which she calls 'a constitutive view of narrative' in which the separation between the narrative and the experience is blurred. In this conceptualisation, 'experience is always known and acted upon as it has been interpreted symbolically' (Presser, 2009, p. 184), narrative in this instance is not a way to reveal reality, but a way to constitute it. As a result:

'Narrative criminologists are interested in what stories do... and not principally in what they reveal' (Presser, 2016, p. 139)

The narrative is seen less as a psychological vehicle able to reveal suppressed voices or unspoken thoughts (Presser and Sandberg, 2015a, p. 2), but rather 'attends to discourse, not minds' (Presser, 2009, p. 178)²³.

convicted of violent offences. At the very least Presser's (2009) ideas have served as the point of convergence for a number of developments in social sciences (Sandberg and Ugelvik, 2016, p. 131), which Fleetwood et al. (2019, p. 2) describe as 'like a spark in a fireworks factory'.

²³ This rejection of the psychological dimensions of the study of narrative runs counter to the explicit connection between narrative and identity, which was highlighted in early work on narrative in the social sciences (Brockmeier and Carbaugh, 2001; Polletta, 1998; Freeman and Carbaugh, 2001; Lieblich and Josselson, 1997; Josselson and Lieblich, 1999; Mischler, 1999; Widdershoven, 1994; Squire, 1999) and has continued to influence research across the social sciences (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 20085; Georgakopoulou, 2006; Bamberg, 2004, 2007; Gergen, 2005; Haynes, 2006; McAdams, 2006; McAdam, Josselson and Lieblich, 2013; Josselson and Lieblich, 2006; Josselson, Lieblich and McAdams, 2007; Piazza and Fasulo, 2015; Mishler, 2015; DeFina, Schiffrin and Bamberg, 2006; Andrews,

Narratives do not reveal the person behind the narrative, the person to some extent becomes the narrative. As Bruner (1987, p. 15) has written, 'in the end we become the autobiographical stories we tell about ourselves', although the transaction is not one way, and we are both narratively constituted and 'socially constrained' by narratives (Presser, 2016, p. 145).

However, narrative criminology fails to capitalise on a key aspect of this work: the actual written texts that are so central to creative writing practitioners' experiences. Hyvarinen's (2010, 2016) exploration of the wider narrative turn in social science disciplines has found a reliance on talk rather than text and this is also noted in the field of narrative criminology where Zhang and Dong (2019, p. 430 see also Presser and Sandberg, 2015b; Sakacs, 2018; Sandberg, 2010; Waldram, 2007; Yardley et al, 2015; Dearey et al., 2011, p. 88) observe that that the majority of offender narratives have been collected in oral form in both the West and China (cf. Tutenges, 2019, p. 27).

The primacy of spoken discourse is borne out in three landmark collections of narrative criminology to date (Presser and Sandberg, 2015a; Sandberg and Ugelvik, 2016; Fleetwood et al., 2019), analysis of which reveals that out of a total of 39 papers that conduct or discuss empirical research: only five focus exclusively on written text; 11 dealt with either a mixture of text and image or exclusively on visual texts; and 22 used narrative interviews and ethnography. This is perhaps unsurprising considering that narrative criminology draws on the traditions of symbolic

Squire and Tamboukou, 2008). This type of approach has been referred to as the 'life-story' model, which views people as striving to create a single, coherent story out of the 'bits and pieces of lived lives' (Sandberg, 2016, p. 7), and is the approach at work in Maruna's (2001) study of the narratives of desistors and persistors, discussed earlier. In this view '(s)toried are, simply put, at the core of what makes us who and what we are' (Sandberg and Ugelvik, 2016, p. 129). Although other researchers have observed multiple narrative identities (Yardley et al., 2015) or characters (Sandberg, 2013) at work in the construction of a single self. Sandberg (2016) finds that the majority of narratives in his study were not coherent and could best be described as 'elastic narratives' (following Presser, 2008). He concluded that while storytellers strive for coherence and unity in their narratives, it should not be considered a necessary characteristic of narratives, although it is still important for researchers to try to understand these attempts at coherence (Sandberg, 2016, p. 9).

interactionism and social constructionism in its analysis of meaning making (Presser, 2016, p. 138). These two theoretical perspectives have been criticised in terms of their inadequate treatment of language, in the case of the symbolic interactionism, due to its 'simplistic theory of language' (Denzin, 1992, p.3), while social constructionism has been criticised for a failure to define "the common language" used by people in everyday life' (Klapproth, 2004, p. 44). Arguably, this makes the two perspectives an inadequate basis on which to build an understanding of narrative constructionism, and indeed narrative criminologists identify within their own work a need for an expansion of the 'methodological toolkit' (Presser and Sandberg, 2015a, p. 289-90) beyond a concentration on ethnographic methods, and to embrace types of analysis that enable more concentration on the linguistic features of narrative (Sandberg and Ugelvik, 2016, p. 132). Fleetwood et al. (2019 p. 8) have argued for the benefits of 'already finished texts', however, they go on to claim that there is little difference between transcriptions of interviews and previously written (and crafted) texts, and there are examples of this kind of homogenous treatment of oral and written texts in the literature (e.g. Presser, 2012). This suggests a lack of appreciation for the significant differences between orality and literacy (Ong, 1982) that exist in different forms of communication and which may have important implications for the analysis of written texts.

A small number of narrative criminologists have begun to explore the insights to be gained from more focused attention on deliberately crafted texts. Studies that have used written narratives generated by or about offenders include Sandberg's (2013) study of the manifesto of the Norwegian far-right terrorist, Anders Breivik. A second study (Sandberg et al., 2014) combined Breivik's manifesto with official documentation and media reports concerning school shootings concluding that in addition to political rhetoric, these cultural scripts also influenced Breivik's act of terrorism. Others have also used media texts as source materials to better understand narratives in terms of tax evasion (Tognato, 2015), civil disorder (Katz, 2016), drugs wars (Jerome and Barrera, 2019), far right terrorism (Graed, 2017) and the construction of bereaved mothers, who are the secondary victims of homicide, as 'victim-

heros' (Wright, 2016). Keeton's (2015) study analysed two sets of historical documentation, the bible and legal and policy documents surrounding the Indian Removal Act of 1830, arguing that the exodus narratives of the former shaped the rhetoric of the latter. Presser (2019) focused attention on an influential criminological text (Gottfredson and Hirshi, 1990) in order to consider the importance of textual exclusions.

In a criminal justice context, Offitt (2019) has examined legal texts generated by prosecution lawyers, Verde et al. (2006) examine the narrative structures of psychiatric reports, while Baker (2018) has worked with the written texts produced in narrative verdicts produced by coroner's courts in England and Wales. In addition, Evans (2016) has produced a specific literary focused study in which he explores in 'granular detail' the 'convenient fictions' written by youth justice workers in their pre-sentence reports, in their role as 'state-licensed storytellers'. He makes interesting use of the narratological concept of the 'unreliable narrator' in this work. Petintseva (2019) also uses case file documentation of young offenders in her study, though these are combined with interview data. Brisman (2019, 2017) complicates the line between fact and fiction further, contending that deliberately crafted fictional texts (in this case, children's stories) should be analysed for their narrative import in the field of green criminology. He asks why narrative criminology has thus far limited itself to non-fiction texts (Brisman, 2017, p. 66) and calls for a 'literary bend' to be added to the study of criminology (Brisman, 2017, p. 70). Meanwhile, Vannier (2019) focuses attention on the importance of prisoner's letters and their ability to express the unseen experiences of 'extreme penal severity'.

Perhaps most pertinent to the current research are a small number of studies that focus on autobiography (Zhang and Dong, 2019; Copeland, 2018, 2019). In his study of terrorist autobiography Copeland (2019, p. 131) argues that autobiographies are underutilised in narrative criminology but can offer 'an exceptional form of data' (Copeland, 2019, p. 132) with which to better understand how stories can motivate, sustain and decrease involvement in harmful activities. The same can be argued for autobiography that concerns

those who work in criminal justice, though with the focus on 'helping' rather than harmful activities. Zhang and Dong (2019) have also studied autobiography, though from a very different angle. In their consideration of the uses of mandatory prisoner autobiographies to shape processes of discipline and rehabilitation in Chinese prisons they seek to highlight the ways in which the prison context may engineer 'offender selfhood' more broadly. One of the benefits of engaging with autobiographical texts lies in their deliberate and considered composition (Copeland, 2019, p. 132).

Narrative criminologists have been slow to engage with these ideas, perhaps due to the tradition of narrative ethnography in the field (Sandberg, 2016, p. 4), and therefore favouring the spontaneity of speech and the speech act over the deliberation of composition. There are traces here of what Derrida (1976) refers to as logocentrism, in which the oral is privileged over the written because speech is seen to offer a direct line of communication from thought, although he goes on to repudiate this notion. Certainly what might be gained in terms of the researchers' access to subjectivities communicated in a spontaneous narrative may be to the detriment of the research participant for whom a more empowering approach could be found in the opportunity to author a deliberately considered narrative, to reflect for themselves prior to the reflections of the researcher, on the ways in which their narrative shapes their understandings of themselves and their worlds. This idea is supported by Copeland, who argues that authors create meaning from events and experience through their writing of those events, he writes:

'Through narrative we are able to bring our own meanings to the public domain, further renegotiating and reconstituting them...(I)in other words, individuals do not merely express meaning through stories but fundamentally create meaning in the process of constituting their experiences in narrative form (Bruner, 1990; Gotschall, 2012)'. (Copeland, 2013, p. 6)

The study of deliberately crafted, written autobiographies is nowhere more relevant than to research with professional writers, and perhaps nowhere

more so than those writers who chose to facilitate creative writing in a prison environment. This is particularly the case in light of the growing importance placed on narrative highlighted in the study of desistance. However, as illustrated in this chapter, research over the last 30 years has increasingly privileged the voice of the researcher and/or evaluation methods over that of the practitioner and has failed to fully engage with the potential of narrative as a method to effect or measure change for the prisoner, or explain the practitioner's possible significance in that process. Even within the field of narrative criminology, to date, no study has elicited the creative practitioners' own story.

While there is no equivalent research to that of Maruna (2001) on the life stories of creative practitioners working in custodial environments, there is every reason to believe that a close analysis of the narrative construction of practitioners' life stories can offer greater insights into why these people come to prison in the first place and what this might contribute to their relationships with the prisoners they work with.

1.10 Conclusion:

This chapter has argued that stories matter both at an existential level and within the prison system: for prisoners, practitioners, and academic researchers. Stories have existed in prisons for as long as prisons have existed (Spargo and Priest, 2014), though much of this was in the form of contraband. Where the arts did gain official ingress, they were admitted through their associations with the prison's educational or psychological functions. During the late 20th century, professional creative arts practitioners were officially invited into prisons for the first time. While stories have been foundational, their benefits have not been easy to quantify, which may have contributed to a continued resistance to their presence. More recently, researchers and practitioners have taken up concepts from desistance research in a bid to demonstrate the worth of creative arts in prisons; however this work has failed to fully engage with the narrative

dimensions of the desistance process and has remained tethered to the rehabilitative goals invoked in Foucault's (1977) disciplinary instruments of the hospital, school, and factory. Furthermore the drive towards evaluative techniques has often silenced the authentic voices of creative practitioners.

There is some recognition that the relational dimensions of arts activities may prove significant to an increased understanding of the benefits of creative arts activities and that the relationships between creative practitioners and prisoners may be an important element of this. However, the effacement of practitioner narratives in the current literature makes it difficult to glean a fuller understanding of these relationships. Narrative criminology may provide a useful theoretical framework to support a move away from more established research and evaluation, in order to think differently about how narrative can be best employed in understanding the dynamics at work for both practitioners and prisoners engaged in creative writing activities. Most relevant to the current study are the ways in which the narrative construction of practitioners' life stories can offer greater insight into their perceived intentions, motivations and journeys into jail, and how this may contribute to their 'helping actions' once on the inside.

Chapter Two - Methodology

2.1 Introduction:

The literature review identified two key issues that the current study sets out to address. Firstly, the absence of meaningful practitioner voices in recent research on the arts in prisons and secondly, a failure to fully engage with narrative methods as a way to better understand the creative writing practitioners' possible significance in the work they do with prisoners.

As outlined in chapter one, the bulk of research to date in the field of narrative criminology has focused on ethnographic research methods and in particular the use of interview data. However, such an approach tends to prioritise the meaning-making of the researcher over that of the research participant. As the cultural ethnographer Paul Willis explains it:

‘the ambition at least, is to tell “my story” about “their story” through the fullest conceptual bringing out of “their story.” (Willis, 2000, pp. xi-xii)

The point, however, is that no matter how couched in the terms of egalitarian representation, it is the researcher who holds the balance of power. As Packer (2011) writes:

‘interviewers in large part control the interaction, yet in doing so assign themselves a supporting role, playing only second fiddle.’ (Packer, 2011, p. 51)

This stance is disingenuous. The researcher chooses to disavow their position of power from a position of power (Packer, 2011, p. 97).

The current research sets out to redress this researcher privilege and to prioritise the practitioner's story, while remaining mindful of the researcher's inevitable influence over the research produced. Rather than capitalising on this co-production, as recommended by Presser (2008, p. 38-45 see also Connelly and Clandinin, 1990, p. 5), the current study aims to minimise it by applying a structuralist narrative analysis to the practitioner's own story.

This chapter covers the approach to the research, the methods of data collection, and methods of analysis employed throughout the research. This chapter serves as an overarching guide to the methods, supplemented by more detailed descriptions and reflections in data chapters three to six.

2.2 The Approach to the Research - Literary Structuralism and Narratology:

The rationale for the utilisation of an approach based in literary structuralism, from which narratology emerges (Fludernik, 2005, p. 38), is twofold and concerns both the data collected and its analysis. Firstly, it seems highly appropriate that a study of creative writing practitioners and practices should base its epistemological concerns on the literary texts produced by those practitioners, rather than a researcher's reconstruction of their stories. As Copeland has argued in the context of terrorist autobiography, authors create meaning from events and experience through their writing of those events (Copeland, 2018) and this is surely pertinent in the case of these creative practitioners. Secondly, the employment of an analysis informed by literary structuralism, and in particular the discipline of narratology, offers a systematic and rigorous approach to the analysis of the data collected.

Although perhaps not the 'science' that policymakers had in mind, the structuralist approach to narrative was, nonetheless, an unashamedly scientific one (Mitchell and Egudo, 2003; Todorov, 1969; Hyvarinen, 2010) in which the mechanisms of literature 'could be classified and analysed like the

objects of any other science' (Eagleton, 1996, p. 92). As Fludernik has written on early structuralist narratology:

'narratology promised to provide guidelines to interpretation uncontaminated by the subjectivism of traditional literary criticism' (Fludernik, 2005, p. 38 cited in Hyvarinen, 2010, p. 73).

One criticism of narrative research as it has been applied in the social sciences, has been its failure to adopt the precision of literary structuralism's terminology and methods (Hyvarinen, 2016, p. 45; Copeland, 2018; Mildorf, 2010; Andrews, Squire and Tamboukou, 2008), arguing that academics have exhibited 'a cavalier attitude towards the term 'narrative'' (Copeland, 2018, p. 2), and these scholars have all made calls for greater engagement with literary theory, some quite boldly:

'I think that discussion of narrative materials could sometimes benefit from closer linguistic and especially narratological analysis.' (Mildorf, 2010, p. 238)

This is not to deny that the narratological tradition has itself come under significant criticism. In the wider shift from a structuralist to a poststructuralist ontology (Eagleton, 1996, p. 94-116) there has been a serious and credible challenge to some of the central tenets of structuralist theory, not least its claims to an objective, scientific reading of literary texts (Eagleton, 1996, p. 106) and the insistence found in the 'hardest' forms of structuralism that each individual narrative was nothing more than a manifestation of a deep and universal structure 'embedded in a collective mind which transcended any particular culture' (Eagleton, 1996, p. 94-95). This sort of universalism was contested by later poststructuralist theories, which view 'meaning to be fluid rather than universal or predicable' (Barker, 2010, p. 1). However, specifically in terms of narratology, which has classical (i.e. structuralist) and post-classical (i.e. poststructuralist) iterations, there is a mutually reinforcing relationship:

'Structural analysis is neither a (merely temporal) predecessor of, nor a theoretical alternative to postclassical narratology; it is an integral part (though no longer exclusively representative) of contemporary narrative theory' (Sommer, 2012, np; see also Alber and Fludernik, 2010)

The proposal made in the current study is that structuralism's 'clinical approach to the mysteries of literature' (Eagleton, 1996, p. 94) may be adopted in order to speak to some of the doubts about rigour raised in the criminal justice literature on arts interventions (Burrowes et al. 2013), while simultaneously engaging with the greater possibilities of the constitutive properties of narrative opened up by poststructuralism and explored in the plural iterations of postclassical narratology (Herman, 1999a, 1999b; Nunning, 2003; Alber and Fludernik, 2010). The intention is not to subscribe entirely or uncritically to the narrowness of literary structuralism, but rather as Hebert (2011, p. 11) suggests, to utilise specific analytical tools generated by its theorists. Such a rigorous approach also speaks to calls from narrative criminologists for the importance of 'careful research designs and methodologies' which can lead to the expansion of the 'methodological toolkit of narrative criminology' (Presser and Sandberg, 2015a, p. 289-90).

2.2.1: The Importance of Structure in the Analysis of Narratives:

A common characteristic of a great deal of narrative research within the social sciences is an emphasis on the content or 'what' of the narrative, as opposed to the structure or 'how' of the narrative's construction. Mildorf (2010, p. 234) has observed the heavy reliance on thematic analysis, identified by Riessman (2008) as one of four types of narrative analysis used in social science research. An approach that focuses on 'what is said rather than how it was said' (Caulfield, 2012, p. 58). Thematic analysis is frequently conflated with qualitative forms of content analysis (Bryman, 2012, p. 557-559), however they are not the same in a number of ways (Viasmoradi, Tureunen and Bondas, 2013), not least because content analysis, even in its

qualitative manifestations, enables the researcher to quantify the data while continuing to engage with its qualitative dimensions (Gbrich, 2007). This ability allows a move away from the heavy reliance on researcher interpretation that has become ‘embedded in the hermeneutic tradition of enquiry’ (Lawler, 2008, p. 14). Mishler (1999, p. 22) describes interpretation as ‘the pervasive and inescapable problem’. As such, the current study acknowledges the importance of content in narrative research, but frames this data in a content analysis based on the structural properties of narrative rather than the hermeneutic dimensions of thematic analysis.

From a narratological perspective, thematic analysis is considered to lie at the extreme end of the ‘undertheorized pole of narrative approaches’ (Nunning, 2003, p. 256), a view that is echoed in the social sciences (Bryman, 2012, p. 578) and this kind of undertheorisation seems also to be prevalent in studies conducted in narrative criminology. The researcher demonstrated this by applying an adaptation of Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach and Zilber’s (1998) model of life story analysis to all of the studies contained in the three key narrative criminology collections to date (Presser and Sandberg, 2015a; Sandberg and Ugelvik, 2016; Fleetwood et al., 2019)²⁴ (appendix 1). Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach and Zilber (1998) allow one to discern whether analytical emphasis is placed on content or form, and the extent to which the data is treated holistically (i.e. as an integral story) or categorically (i.e. broken down into its constituent parts):

Table 2.1: Model of Life Story Analysis

Holistic-Content (What is the story about? Example: Thematic analysis)	Holistic-Form (How is this story structured? Example: Genre or plot analysis)
Categorical-Content (Precisely what is in the story? Example: Content analysis)	Categorical-Form (exactly how is the story composed? Example: Linguistic analysis)

(Adapted from Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, and Zilber, 1998)

²⁴As Mildorf (2011, p. 237) notes, Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, and Zilber’s (1998) model is also appropriate for other types of narrative analysis.

It was found that out of the 38 papers 23 involved a holistic-content approach, which according to Nunning (2003) lies at the undertheorised side of the spectrum. Only two studies adopted a categorical-form approach, which provides the most rigorous analysis of the structural dimensions of a narrative (Copeland, 2019; O'Connor, 2015). This review of the three key narrative criminology collections suggests that Mildorf's (2010) findings on the reliance on poorly theorised methods of analysis in the wider social sciences are also applicable to narrative criminology.

2.2.2 Quantitative Methods:

One possible way to bring more 'science' to research on creative arts interventions is through the introduction of quantitative methods and both Sandberg and Ugelvik (2016, p. 132) and Fleetwood et al. (2019) have called for more use of quantitative approaches. The work conducted by Canter et al. (2019)²⁵ which develops the narrative roles questionnaire (NRQ) (Youngs and Canter, 2012) and Life as a Film procedure (LAAF) (Canter and Youngs, 2015), is most relevant to the current study in this respect. Canter, Youngs and Rowlands (2019) suggest that the self-narratives generated by criminal episodes (NRQ) and the wider life story trajectories (LAAF) of offenders are important to gaining greater insights into the instigation, continuation and cessation of offending. The articulation of narrative based on a prior system of literary definitions contributes considerably to the creation of a standardised, replicable procedure which is amenable to statistical representation (Canter, Youngs and Rowlands, 2019). However, the methodology is based primarily in psychological (McAdams, 1993) and liberal humanist literary theories (Frye, 1957/2000²⁶), which serve

²⁵ See also: Canter and Youngs, 2009; Canter et al., 2003; Canter and Youngs, 2012; Youngs and Canter, 2012; Ioannou, Canter, Youngs and Synnott, 2015; Ioannou, Canter and Youngs, 2017; Spruin et al., 2014; Ciesla, Ioannou and Hammond, 2019; Kruttschnitt & Kang, 2019.

²⁶ The work of the formalist literary critic Northrop Frye was also later employed by McAdams (1993), whose work in turn influences that of Maruna (2001).

to develop a method of analysis that is premised on literary form (i.e. genre) rather than structure (in the precise sense of the term²⁷) and which serves to 'reveal (...) aspects of the person that might otherwise be defended against' (Canter and Youngs, 2015, p. 4, my emphasis)²⁸. Such a humanist-centred treatment of literature runs counter to the constructionist foundations of narrative criminology in general and the concerns of the current study, in particular, which, in line with a structuralist ontology, proposes a 'rejection of the myth that meaning begins and ends in the individual's experience' (Eagleton, 1996, p. 98).

A second concern implicit in Canter, Youngs and Rowlands' (2019) work lies in their view of the research participants they worked with, who they assumed to be incapable of comprehending 'the notion of their life as a book²⁹, with distinct chapters' (Canter and Youngs, 2015, p. 3). This they ascribed to limited intelligence/education or dysfunctional lives and an inability to offer articulate accounts of their own lives (Canter and Youngs, 2015, p. 3; Canter, Youngs and Rowlands, 2019, p. 358). However, this 'othering' (Jensen, 2011) of their research sample is not borne out by creative practitioners and other researchers in the field, who find high levels of storytelling competence among offenders (Sandberg, 2016, p. 2) and 'extraordinary' abilities (Fulleylove, 1998, p.171). A propensity to 'other' offenders is present in much conventional criminology (Young, 2011) and the large sample sets and resulting aggregation, commonly used in quantitative

²⁷ Eagleton (1996, p. 82) warns that Frye's theory is only structuralist in a 'loose sense', as it does not subscribe to the fundamentally relational doctrine of 'structuralism proper'. In this sense, it can be argued that, although Frye (1957/ 2000) ostensibly rejects formalism, certainly as it was practiced by the new critics (Bloom in Frye, 2000, p. viii), his system of categorisation is based on formal rather than structural properties of literature.

²⁸ Although Canter, Youngs and Rowlands (2019, p. 346) acknowledge the role of cultural narratives on the actions of offenders, there is a central concern with 'self agency' (Canter, Youngs and Rowlands, 2019), 'effective individuals' (Canter and Youngs, 2015, p. 1) and a suggestion that individuals are predominantly collectors rather than collections of stories (Canter, Youngs and Rowlands, 2019, p. 362).

²⁹ Canter & Young's (2015) Life as a Film procedure is based on Mcadams' (1993) notion of 'Life as a Book'. However due to the researchers' perceptions of the offenders they work with as unable to grasp the conceptual dimensions of the reading process, they adapt the method to the 'more culturally appropriate' medium of film (Canter & Youngs, 2015, p. 5).

research, what Mishler (1996, p. 8) describes as ‘variable-centred approaches’, increase this bias towards the stereotypical. The ethical commitments of the current study, which aimed to privilege the voice of the participant, made methods such as those employed by Canter, Youngs and Rowlands (2019) inappropriate for the task.

2.2.3 Robust Qualitative Research:

As outlined above, the key elements informing the methodology of this thesis are: a determination to prioritise the voices of research participants over that of the researcher; a robust analytical approach firmly grounded in a systematic knowledge of narrative construction; respectful treatment of the texts produced by participants combined with a critical approach to the contexts of their production. These commitments were prioritised and taken forward in the research and a research diary was kept throughout the process in order to document it in a transparent manner.

2.3 Research Design:

The rejection of more commonly employed narrative research designs in social science research (Riessman, 2008) led to a search for a more appropriate methodology. As already discussed, the discipline of narratology; ‘the study of the logic, principles, and practices of narrative representation’ (Meister, 2014, p. 1) recommends itself as a suitably robust approach, with ‘explicit models and theories, a distinctive terminology...(and)...transparent analytical procedures’ (Meiser, 2014, p. 9).

There are two main advantages to using the insights of narratology, and particularly classical narratology to inform both the data collection and data analysis stages of research. Firstly it encourages the researcher to consider the narrative as a literary text rather than a record of a conversation. Employed with rigour and imagination a narratological approach can offer the

practitioner the kind of autonomy required to craft their own self story in this way. Secondly, close attention to the text invites a shift away from a subject-centred, humanistic analysis, influenced by the researcher's assumptions about the author or the worlds they inhabit.

‘a subtle narratological analysis... temporarily brackets both ends of the embedding reality, the reality of events ‘out there’ and the reality of the ethnocentric reporter’. (Bal, 1997, p. 179)

This in turn leads the researcher to create a helpful separation between the story and its author, which is always fraught with issues of interpretation. Invoking the New Critics' notion of ‘the intentional fallacy’ (Wimsatt and Beardsley, 1946), Bal suggests that it is ‘both impossible and useless’ (1997, p.7) to generalise about the author's activity, that ‘how writers proceed we cannot know. Nor do we need, or even want to’. (Bal, 1997, p. 9)³⁰

Both of these aims, to give the research participant more autonomy in how they tell their story and to focus the analysis on the narrative not its author, sought to address in some small way the issues of power inequalities, already discussed (see section 2.1) in the research process. Two key undertakings were employed in order to achieve these aims: firstly, the design of a data collection tool which developed an innovative storyboarding method and secondly, research into narratological concepts that could provide appropriate tools with which to analyse the storyboards.

2. 3.1 Data Collection:

The life story interview (Bryman, 2012, p. 489 following Miller, 2000) is perhaps the most obvious choice for a data collection tool used to elicit autobiographical stories of creative practitioners' journeys into prison. This

³⁰ Ricoeur (1981) uses the concept of distanciation to articulate the disconnection between the text and the author's intention: ‘what the text says now matters more than what the author meant to say’ (Ricoeur 1981, p. 201)

would certainly be in keeping with the significant amounts of research in narrative criminology, which relies on interview (see section 1.9). However, while such a method offers rich data generated by an unstructured interview format (Bryman, 2012, p. 489), it is also the case that no matter how open ended an interview schedule, the underlying assumptions of the researcher will be implicit in the design (Caulfield and Hill, 2018),³¹ and this in turn will shape the responses of the research participants. A key motivation for employing a creative data collection tool was to move the current study away from this type of shaping.

2.3.2 Creative Data Collection:

Arts-based research has been recognised as one of four key areas of creative research methods (Kara, 2015, p. 3) and it incorporates a wide range of data collection tools from creative writing and poetry (Kara, 2015) through photovoice (Wang and Burris, 1997) to body mapping (Gastaldo et al., 2012) and the Vidaview Life Storyboard (Mignone and Chase, 2015). Specific to criminology, there is increasing interest in the utilisation of more creative methods, with Jacobsen (2014) making a recent call for a 'poetics of crime', and narrative criminology's growing incorporation of visual research methods into its repertoire (Fleetwood et al., 2019, p. 9; Copes, Hochstetler and Ragland, 2019; Carrabine, 2016, 2019; Copes and Ragland, 2016; Brown, 2014), which are recognised as a rich source for the study of meaning making (Presser and Sandberg, 2015, p. 296). Visual criminology has been considered a way to 'disrupt the particular power imbalances between researchers and participants and aid the empowerment

³¹ Caulfield & Hill's (2018) warning about the interviewer unintentionally shaping the research participant's answers is exemplified in Mishler's (1999) research on US craft artists. Despite his study being acclaimed as a 'radical revisioning of the research interview as a narrative event' (Riessman, 2008, p. 16), and the keen reflexivity demonstrated by Mishler concerning the danger of over-emphasising the importance of the early memories of his research participants, he still begins his questioning by asking for childhood recollections (Mischler, 1999, p. 28). This has an immediate impact on the shape and tone of the interview, redolent as it is of notions of psychoanalytical formation of the self.

of participants (Wang and Burris, 1994).’ (Brookman and Copes, 2018, p. 417). Storyboarding, too, with its combination of text and image offers a way to allow participants to validate their own experience (e.g. Lemos, 2013, p. 7) in particular within the area of life story narratives.

The current research responds to the strengths of both narrative and visual criminology by designing an eight-frame storyboarding technique, which gives space enough to narrate a meaningful life story, but is concise enough (fitting on a single page) to force the participant to make selections as to which life events are most relevant to the story they are telling. Copes, Hochstetler and Ragland (2019, p. 191) note, ‘(p)eople are not just the writers of their life stories, they are also the artists of them’ and the option to include both written text and images encouraged creative responses.

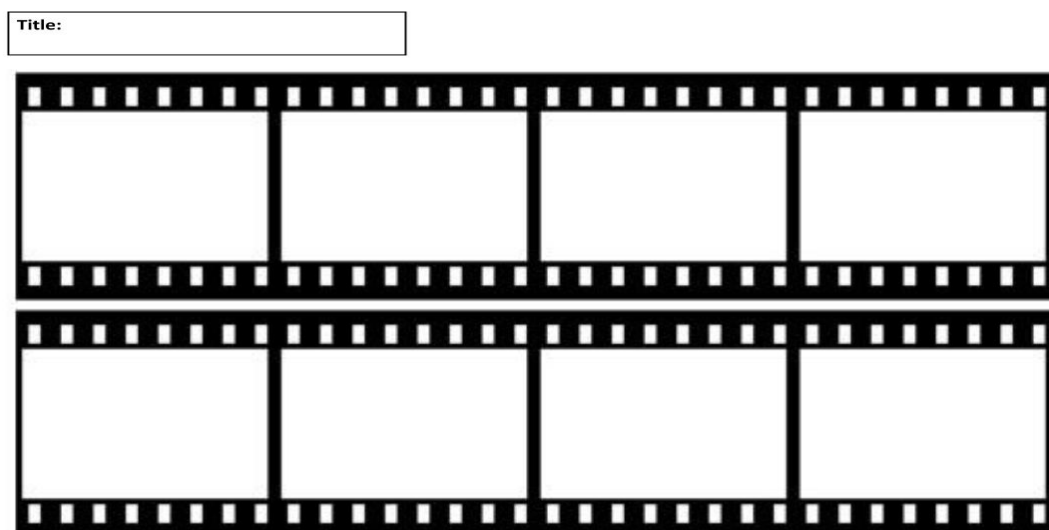
Another advantage of the eight-frame storyboard technique concerns its ability to capture the research participant’s words quickly and concisely and to provide intact and transparent records of the data collected. The time consuming nature of life story interviews has been noted (Mann, 2016, p. 101), with two or three sessions of one or one and a half hours not considered an unusual amount of time to spend on a single interview (Atkinson, 2004). This followed by at least six hours of transcription for every one hour of recorded interview talk (Bryman, 2012. p. 93). The fragmentation of research participants’ narratives is also problematic, despite the efforts of narrative researchers to keep these narratives intact (Reissman, 2008, p. 74). The eight-frame storyboard technique addresses both of these issues. Firstly, the delivery of the technique can take as little as 30 minutes, as compared with the two or three hours required in Maruna’s (2001) adaptation of McAdams’ (1993) life story model. Although in the current study the storyboard was embedded as part of a whole creative writing workshop, which lasted two and a quarter hours and included other methods of data collection, though these were not incorporated into the final analysis (see section 2.7.1). Secondly, the brevity of the format enabled the final narratives to be stored and accessed in their complete form. While it may appear the truncated form would lead to a loss of richness in the completed narratives,

Sandberg (2010) has noted an interesting paradox between the quantity of data and the generation of meaning: 'The more data you have...the harder it will be to discover the nuances of narratives' (Sandberg, 2010, p. 451).

While this method aimed to shape as little as possible the narratives told by the practitioners, the format wasn't able to entirely overcome the inevitability of researcher influence. In particular the cultural assumptions that participants held about what makes a 'good' narrative unavoidably impact on the narrative's composition (Reissman, 2008, pp. 2-3), however the weight rests more on what the participant believes the expectation for the story is rather than the researcher's assumptions.

The eight-frame storyboard technique found its genesis in the creative practice of the current researcher where it was originally conceived as part of a larger intervention to enable prisoners to re-narrativise their life stories in ways that can support desistance from crime. The method was informed by key research on the importance of narrative identity in the processes of desistance (esp. Maruna, 2001; Giordano et al., 2002) and the role of bearing witness (Anderson, S.E. 2016). The technique has latterly been developed to act as a method of data collection as part of the current research.

Figure 1: Eight-Frame Storyboard Template



Each creative practitioner in the current study was asked to write or draw their own autobiographical story, in no more than eight frames, of how they came to be in prison. The only stipulation was that the eighth and final frame of the storyboard should narrate the start of the participant's work in jail. The other seven frames were open to whatever memories, events or reflections the practitioners chose to narrate. There was no further instruction offered with regard to expectations in terms of form or content of the narrative.

2.4 Ethics:

Historical abuses in social scientific studies (e.g. Milgram, 1974, Haney, Banks and Zimbardo, 1973, Humphries, 1975/ 2008) have led to an increased awareness of the importance of ethical standards in research (Wassenaar and Mamotte, 2012, p. 269). This extends beyond merely adhering to a 'neutral set of rules' and requires that the researcher engage critically and reflectively with the complexities of the ethical dimensions of their specific research projects (Caulfield and Hill, 2014, p. 38). In the spirit of encouraging this type of researcher engagement, the British Society of Criminology (BSC) make clear that their 'Statement of Ethics':

'...does not seek to impose a single model of ethical practice but is a frame of reference to encourage and support reflective and responsible ethical practice in criminological research...It is thus an aspirational code, not a prescriptive one' (BSC, 2015, p. 2).

The BSC outlines five key areas of researcher responsibility: general responsibility, responsibility towards criminology as a discipline, responsibility towards colleagues, to research participants and to sponsors and funders. The BSC statement extends and complements Bath Spa University's Code of Good Practice for Research, (undated), which has a particular focus on professional standards and training, and both codes were consulted, reflected upon and applied during all stages of the current research. Ethics

approval was sought from and approved by Bath Spa University's Research Ethics Committee (see appendix 2), with the two minor revisions implemented shortly after approval was granted.

2.4.1 Minimising Harm and Vulnerable Groups:

Of most immediate import when working with human participants is the researcher's responsibility towards their participants, ensuring that personal harm of any kind is minimised and the rights of participants are protected (BSC, 2015, p. 5-9; BSU, undated, p. 9). Although creative practitioners working in a custodial environment are not, themselves, considered to be vulnerable, it is important to recognise that the groups they work with are vulnerable. As such, consideration must extend to protecting the rights of prisoners who may become the topic of conversation in the course of the research. In particular it is vital that the researcher observe the 'duty of confidentiality' in order to prevent unintended information being made available to third parties. Research participants were also asked to maintain confidentiality about all discussions and conversations that occurred during the workshops and this was agreed upon by all participants while setting the ground rules at the beginning of each workshop.

2.4.2 Informed Consent:

it was important that the research adhered to clear standards of informed consent, in order that the practitioners could make informed decisions about their involvement in the project. A participant information sheet was produced (appendix 3) and distributed some weeks ahead of the research day. Individual participants were then spoken to in a one to one capacity in order to address any concerns they may have had, questions or comments on the research. The researcher also explained and discussed issues of confidentiality and the right to withdraw without penalty with each practitioner on an individual basis. Of particular importance to these practitioners was

maintaining the anonymity of the prisons they had worked in. Assurance of this was given in the participant information sheet stating that prisons would not be named nor any information shared that might identify a particular prison.

On the research day participants were asked to sign paper copies of the informed consent form (appendix 4) and time was set aside to answer any further questions. This was particularly important as one participant (Tracey) had not been directly in contact with the researcher prior to the day, and additional time was set aside to allow this participant to read the participant information sheet and discuss this with the researcher. All participants were given a written copy of both the participant information sheet and the informed consent document to take away with them.

2.4.3 Incentives:

Practitioners were not paid for their involvement in the research day, however travel expenses were paid and refreshments and lunch provided. This was financed from the researcher's individual research budget, which was provided by the BSU fee waivership scheme. Overnight accommodation was not funded, however the researcher provided personal contacts as needed to enable a small number of practitioners to secure inexpensive accommodation.

2.4.4 Anonymity:

Anonymity was also guaranteed for the participants themselves. Following the research day each participant was allocated a first name pseudonym and a single document was created to cross reference the actual practitioner with their pseudonym. This document was encrypted and held securely by the researcher. In addition the original storyboards, which contained the real first names of practitioners were scanned, encrypted and held securely on the

researcher's computer. The storyboards were also checked for the names of prisons and a total of five prison names and the initials of a further one prison were found and redacted. Finally, the original paper storyboards were gathered together and stored in a locked cabinet. The photocopies of these storyboards, which enabled participants to share their stories in material form in the context of the workshop, were shredded. Participants were allowed to take a single copy of their own storyboard away with them. These precautions meant that anyone accessing the data would be unable to identify individuals or prisons from the available documents.

2.4.5 Data Storage:

All data was collected and stored in line with the Data Protection Act 1988, which was the legal standard at the time of data collection. In line with BSU's Research Data Policy (BSU, 2019) the original data will be held securely for a period of ten years after publication of the research. Meanwhile a redacted version of the storyboards will be made openly available through the BathSPAdata platform.

2.5 Pilot Data Collection:

As Robson (2008) advises, the first stage of data gathering involved a pilot study, which enabled any potential problems to be identified and overcome before the research was implemented on a larger scale. Two months prior to the research day (see section 2.7) the researcher delivered the eight-frame storyboard method to an experienced creative writing facilitator who was unable to attend the main event. The session consisted of a writing warm-up and the eight-frame storyboard exercise. It was conducted using a Skype video link. Following completion of the two exercises the practitioner offered valuable feedback, not only on the exercises themselves but on the wider context of facilitating the workshop. This was especially useful and helped the researcher to refine their ideas. In particular the practitioner made some

helpful suggestions in terms of creating a forum to set collaborative ground rules right at the beginning of the session. The researcher had originally intended to simply give a list of ground rules, but the suggestion of a collaborative approach had advantages in terms of group 'buy in'. In addition the practitioner helped the researcher to review projected timings for each exercise and made recommendations cutting down on 'read round' time in the warmup exercise, which the researcher adopted.

The majority of points raised in the practitioner's feedback on the storyboard method were overwhelmingly positive. The practitioner particularly enjoyed the opportunity to express her story in pictures as well as words, commenting that '(i)t does help to think in pictures' (Research diary). She also commented on the originality of the storyboard exercise, which considering her many years of experience, suggested innovation in the field of creative writing as well as criminological research methods. The eight-frame limitation was also considered to be a positive, as this restriction coupled with the stipulation of what the final frame should contain gave the exercise 'a good focus and meant the writing didn't meander off' (Research diary).

2.6 Participant Recruitment in Context - The Penal Voluntary Sector:

It is difficult to formulate an overview of the delivery of creative writing activities in prisons, as with creative arts in custodial settings more generally, the terrain is by no means fully charted (AMA, 2011, p. 26). The continuing gap was noted again in 2015 at the launch of the Arts Practice Development Group (NOMS/NCJAA, 2015), and the last comprehensive directory of arts activities was produced by the Unit for the Arts and Offenders some 13 years previously (Webb, 2002). It appears that these practitioners 'form a hybrid group' (Simpson, Morgan and Caulfield, 2019, p. 386), some working as self-employed freelancers, others in a mixture of state funded and charitable organisations. The National Criminal Justice Arts Alliance (NCJAA), the representative body for creative practitioners working in the CJS, report a

membership of over 900 creative practitioners and organisations who deliver creative interventions to offenders. However, only a proportion of this work is delivered into prisons rather than in the community. Similarly, Clinks, the umbrella organisation for voluntary sector organisations working in the CJS found that 20% of member charities who responded to their survey offer arts-based provision (Clinks, 2019) although, again, this work is not necessarily in custodial settings. In addition both of these organisations provide statistics based on their own membership databases, which suggests a less than rigorous survey of all prison arts provision. Prisons themselves often do not have an accessible central point of contact for information on creative arts provision (Rideout, 2011) and anecdotal evidence suggested that creative practitioners often operate below the radar of officially commissioned purposeful activity, later born out to some extent by the research participants in the current study, with practitioners finding diverse routes into the regime (chapter one; see also Caulfield and Simpson, 2019). This ‘below the radar activity’ (Proctor and Alcock, 2012 cited in Nickel and Eikenberry, 2015, p. 394) and a wider gap in knowledge about the broader penal voluntary sector has been noted elsewhere (Tomczak, 2017, p. 1). Even where research has been conducted it has been heavily focused on the macro levels of operation within the penal voluntary sector (e.g. Gojkovic, Mills and Meek 2011; Wyld and Noble 2017; Carey and Walker, 2002; Corcoran, 2011; Corcoran et al., 2018; Benson and Hedge 2009; Maguire 2012) with one or two notable exceptions (Tomczak and Albertson, 2016; Tomczak, 2017b). However, even scholarship that focuses on smaller charities has tended to rely on official documentation and interviews with managerial and director level staff, and there is a scarcity of data relating to the motivations and practices of front-line workers. Where research does exist (e.g. Salole, 2018; Quinn, 2019) it suggests practitioners’ views often diverge from those espoused in official criminal justice mandates.

2.6.1 Practitioner Recruitment - Method:

It was important that participants had relevant, on the ground, experience of running writing workshops in prisons in order to fully address the research question. Bryman (2012, p. 418) advises clear criteria for inclusion/exclusion. The inclusion/exclusion criteria developed for this current research were as follows:

- Participants must have facilitated creative writing workshops in prisons (not simply given literary readings or had managerial responsibility for the provision).
- Participants must have worked in prisons for a minimum of one year.
- Participants could be based in any prison department (education, resettlement, mental health, chaplaincy) in order to include the wide array of entry points suggested by the literature.

These were a priori (Hood, 2007) criteria that remained constant throughout the recruitment process.

In order to identify relevant practitioners who fitted the stated criteria two recruitment strategies were employed. Firstly, key creative arts penal voluntary organisations were approached. Secondly, snowball sampling (Bryman, 2012, p. 424) was utilised to reach practitioners who may not have otherwise heard about the research project. This is noted in the methodological literature as an effective way to engage with hard-to-reach populations (Bryman, 2012, p. 424). In a bid to make the research more attractive to practitioners, the research workshops were also combined with a full-day symposium on the value of creative arts in the CJS (see section 2.7, below).

Writers in Prison Network, National Association of Writers in Education (NWAE) and the National Criminal Justice Arts Alliance (NCJAA) were the

three key organisations used to support participant recruitment. The directory of NCJAA was consulted for suitable practitioners. Potentially suitable participants were searched using Google and contacted via email. The NCJAA also offered additional support in recruitment by posting the call for participants and details of the symposium on their website and monthly mailout. The NAWE's directory provided an online form to contact individual practitioners which was completed for every practitioner who included prison work in their biography. All potential participants who responded were also encouraged to pass the invitation on to their own networks. Writers in Prison Network, which until 2011 was the most visible provider of creative writing provision in prisons, emerged as the most active supporter of the research; utilising relationships the WIPN co-directors had built with prison writers over the years, they personally contacted individual writers and one of the directors also offered to contribute presentations to the research day symposium. This support was extremely valuable in recruiting a substantial number of participants, although it is noted that the concentration of writers from a single organisation risks selection bias due to the shared culture and tacit knowledge specific to the network. In addition to these three organisations, universities offering degrees in Criminology and Creative Writing in the South West of England were also contacted, primarily with regard to attendance at the complementary symposium, but also as an additional way to snowball the call for research participants. Finally, the researcher utilised personal networks developed over a decade of work as a creative practitioner in the CJS.

In total 48 practitioners responded to the call for research participants and of these, 23 had been contacted by the Writers in Prisons Network, 10 were contacted by the researcher via the NAWE professional directory, six were personal contacts of the researcher and the remaining nine made contact with the researcher having found out about the research via other sources. There was no further selection criteria employed and the final 19 practitioners who participated in the research attended based entirely on their availability.

2.6.2 Participants:

19 creative practitioners participated in the research. In line with the selection criteria, all participants had at least one year of experience working in prisons, while two practitioners recorded 20 years of experience each. The ages of practitioners ranged between 32 and 72 years. Four practitioners failed to provide an age when asked, however the median age for the remaining 15 participants was 58. This suggests a level of maturity in this particular sample, although this may not necessarily be representative of all creative writing practitioners working in prisons. 11 of the practitioners identified as female and eight as male. In terms of ethnicity, all 19 practitioners were white. 13 of the final participants had held residencies with WIPN, while six were entirely independent of the Network. It is notable that out of all the practitioners who expressed an initial interest in the research (n.48), the majority (n.32) were not attached to WIPN. It is unclear whether the greater commitment shown by WIPN associated writers resulted from the positive encouragement of the co-directors of the organisation to have writers attend, whether there may be a shared ethic among the particular group, or if other reasons contributed to the high turnout of WIPN writers.

Not all of the practitioners were currently working in prison at the time of the research, and the employment status of these practitioners is noteworthy. The withdrawal of funding from WIPN in 2011 had a significant impact on a number of the writers who had residencies through the organisation and of the 13 WIPN writers only five were still doing some amount of work in prisons. Overall, of the 19 writers, 10 were still doing some work in prisons; only one was full-time and was funded through a teaching contract of which creative writing provision was only a small part. The rest were working freelance, part-time or for just a few hours per week or month. Five wanted to work in prisons but weren't able to find funding. Three had chosen to stop doing the work and one was semi-retired. It also transpired that two of the 10 practitioners who worked in prisons were doing so on an entirely voluntary basis and funding their involvement with other jobs or fundraising. This suggests that a clear degree of precarity was present in the lives of these

practitioners, which was also found by O’Keefe & Albertson (2016, p. 497, cf. Cheliotis, 2012, p. 8) who found evidence of the poor funding and marginalisation of some creative arts interventions in the sector.

2.7 The Research Day:

In order to make the prospect of engaging in the research more appealing to creative practitioners, a one-day symposium was organised on the topic of ‘Criminal Research: Writing Wrongs in the Creative Arts in Prisons (see appendix 5), which ran simultaneously with the research groups. This event brought together creative practitioners, criminal justice professionals and interested academics to discuss the potential for a writer-led research agenda for creative writing in criminal justice. In addition to the 19 research participants, the event was attended by a further 50 individuals from the CJ, creative arts and university sectors. The programme of events, which included eight speakers, three panel discussions and a workshop exploring a writer-led research agenda, was organised in order to enable each research participant to spend the morning or afternoon session at the symposium and the other session participating in a specifically designed creative writing workshop which aimed to elicit their life stories.

2.7.1 The Creative Writing Workshops:

Data collection was conducted in the context of creative writing workshops, designed and facilitated by the researcher. Each practitioner attended one of two identically structured workshops, each lasting approximately two and a quarter hours. The first workshop had nine participants, the second, 10. The structure of the sessions included: (see appendix 6 for full workshop plan)

- Ground rules and introduction.
- Writing warm-up exercise designed to allow practitioners to evoke memories of the prison environment (20 mins).

- Eight-frame storyboard exercise (see section 2.3.2) in which practitioners composed their storyboards and were given an opportunity to read their completed narratives to the group (all practitioners participated in the sharing of work).
- A discussion of storyboards.

It was initially envisaged that data collected from the eight-frame storyboards and ensuing discussion would be augmented by semi-structured interviews with at least two thirds of the participants. These interviews were conducted and transcripts of group and one to one conversations were produced. However, it was later decided that data from the storyboards alone presented sufficient rich data. The transcripts from discussions and interview were, however, used to verify information alluded to in the storyboards.

2.8 Raw Storyboards - An Act of Transposition:

The storyboard technique enabled participants to use text, image or both to communicate their autobiographical journeys to prison, and there was a wide range of responses incorporating varying balances of text and/or image. Overall, nine storyboards contained written text only, nine contained a mix of written and visual text and one was almost entirely composed of images. The possibilities for analysing texts narratively (Chase, 2005; Riessman, 2008; Frank, 2012; Gubrium and Holstein, 2012; Ochs and Capps, 2001; Clandinin, 2007; Kurtz, 2014; Herman, 2009) and visually (Spencer, 2011; Carrabine, 2012, 2016; Pauwels, 2017) are numerous. Although it has been argued that both 'pictures and words...are interwoven in one and the same semiotic fabric of meaning' (Brockmeier, 2001, p. 255), after some initial attempts to combine elements from both perspectives it became clear the diversity of media would benefit from a narrower analytical approach. As Kiefer (2008) has noted, although there are many similarities between visual art and language 'the two are not identical' (Keifer, 2008, p. 278). It was therefore necessary to bridge the gap. Bal (1997, p.164) makes clear that narratology can be applied to visual as well as literary texts (Bal, 2009) and she offers an

example of an analysis of a text which mixes text and image (Bal, 1997). However, Bal (2009) herself, at times, lacks transparency in articulating how she has arrived at an interpretation of a text and she writes of using 'intuition' in her analysis (Bal, 2009, p. 32)³². Arguably, intuition is ideology in a psychic guise; it certainly appears to be difficult to defend at the level of structural analysis. Therefore, in order to more clearly outline the denotative³³ value of the practitioners' storyboards, the first stage of the current study was to distil the two different sign systems into a written medium, what became known as 'raw storyboards'. Writing was chosen over images due to the researcher's own skill set and lack of aptitude as a visual artist. Perhaps also, at a less conscious level, because written language is seen as the staple communication system for dissemination of academic research. Certainly, it has been claimed that writing has a 'vatic' quality (Ong, 1984, p. 77) which lends a sense of irrefutability to written statements.

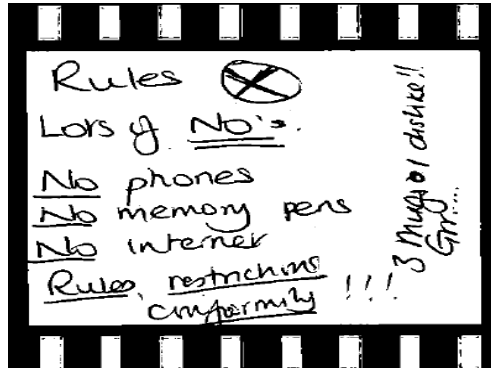
In order to achieve a basic or denotative reading of the practitioners' narratives, 'raw storyboards' were produced by the researcher, which converted images into written text using as little elaboration or interpretation as possible (see appendix 7 for example of raw storyboards). Carrabine's (2016) proposal for visual analysis of criminological texts was borrowed for

³² Herman (2009, p. 4) also incorporates his own 'intuitions' and those of others with regard to narrative research. While this type of intuitive approach may be thought suitable in interdisciplinary research agendas, it speaks hardly at all to the concerns outlined by criminal justice policy makers, which has led to the continued discrediting of qualitative research on the value of creative arts interventions in prisons.

³³ The distinction between denotation and connotation in a narrative is far from simple. Barthes (1968, p. 89-94), extrapolating on the work of de Saussure (1913/ 2011), initially argued that denotation and connotation were distinct concepts (Barthes, 1961, cited in Barthes, 1977a, pp 15-31; Barthes, 1964 cited in Barthes 1977a, pp.32-51). However, in later work (1974/ 1990) he came to view denotation as an illusion of connotation, 'thus denotation is just another connotation' (Chandler, 2002, p. 138). For the purposes of the current study the analytical distinction is preserved, with denotation seen as the 'definitional, literal...meaning of the sign' (Chandler, 2002, p. 137), while connotation refers to the associative dimensions of meaning (Chandler, 2002, p. 138). This decision is a pragmatic one, rooted in the desire to achieve a starting point for analysis which, as much as possible, limits the researcher's own reading at the level of connotation, or phrased differently, interpretation. It is far from perfect, however the instruction to focus on what is 'denoted' by the text at least gives a clear focus to the analysis.

this purpose, and specifically, the first level of his 'tripartite levels of signification' (Carrabine, 2016, p. 257 following Panofsky, 2009/1939). This level, the pre-iconographical, aims to identify the objects and 'pure forms' in the picture (e.g. people, animals, buildings) and their 'mutual relations as events' (e.g. meals, interviews, exhibitions) (adapted from Panofsky, 2009/1939, p. 222 cited in Carrabine, 2016, p. 257). In terms of written text, the procedure was straightforward and involved a duplication of each sentence or phrase from the original storyboard into the raw storyboard, without interpretation, and in the exact sequence they had been written by the practitioner. The researcher read from left to right, top to bottom of each frame, in line with English language reading conventions (Herman, 2009, p. 52). However, images proved less amenable to this kind of duplication as there was a greater distance between the image and what it represented. As described by Sontag (1979, p. 6), paintings (and by implication drawings) are 'narrowly selective interpretations', which in the current research were then interpreted for a second time into words. This was especially the case in instances where the practitioner lacked the necessary aptitude in fine art (Research diary). Pauwels (2017) notes that 'images produced by respondents mostly need verbal clarification by respondents, and such verbal clarifications may elucidate aspects that even the image-makers were not aware of during the image capture' (Pauwels, 2017, p. 68). Where possible, when an image was unclear, clarification was sought from the group discussion and interview transcripts. However, because the interviews were conducted before the storyboards were analysed, specific questions had not been identified (see section 2.7.1). Coding notes were kept in a research diary throughout this process in order to document the researcher's awareness of the distance between the image and its interpretation in the raw storyboard. Where there was a lack of clarity in what the image was intended to convey which could not be resolved through consulting the transcripts, the image was described as literally as possible. For example a drawing of a cross contained in a circle was transposed simply as 'cross-in-circle'.

Figure 2: Example of Storyboard Transposing to Raw Storyboards



2.9 Analysis:

Having generated data that was as unimpeded as possible by the expectations of the researcher, it was particularly important that the data was given the same space to breath during the early stages of analysis³⁴. As Bal (1997) directs 'we must restrict our investigation to only those facts that are presented to us in the actual words of the text' (Bal, 1997, p. 116).

This section provides an overview of the approach to analysis. In addition, a more detailed description of each component is integrated into each of the four analytical chapters that follow. Two separate but interrelated methods of analysis were employed, both borrowed, as Hoesterey (1991, p. 214) recommends, from the 'toolshed of narratology'. Firstly, a content analysis was designed that focused on the objects and processes in the storyboards, both of which were intended to articulate the fabula (see section 2.9.1) of the narratives. Next, an actantial analysis was applied, which aimed to elucidate the specific narrative functions within the fabula (see section 2.9.6). The choice and sequence of these methods emerged organically as the

³⁴ The concept of allowing stories to 'breathe' is very different to the way that Frank (2010) enables stories to 'breathe' in his socio-narratological approach, where ambiguity is encouraged rather than foreclosed.

research progressed, arising in order to fulfil the requirements of the next stage of analysis and in response to limitations of the preceding stage, rather than following a prescribed plan. However, although the overall sequence was novel, each method individually was supported by a significant literature. The stages of analysis were conducted as follows:

Table 2.2: Stages of Analysis

Stage	Method	Source	Purpose	Process	Key literature
(I) Findings in chapter three	Content analysis of fabula: Objects	Raw Storyboard	Identify all objects contained in the fabula	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Objects = nouns and pronouns * Single adjectives which modify nouns may be included * Identify patterns and common objects across raw storyboards 	Bal, 1997, 2009
(II) Findings in chapter three	Content analysis of fabula: Processes	Raw Storyboard	Identify processes contained in the fabula	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Processes = the changes that occur in, with, through and among objects. (Bal, 1997, p. 182) * Transfer all narrative elements from the raw storyboard to the process analysis with as little interpretation as possible * Identify the narrative function of each sentence * Create an 'event 	Bal, 1997, 2009 Fludernik, 2000

				summary' consisting of all sentences which have a narrative, conversational or instructional function	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Object analysis is used as a basic content analysis of what is in the storyboards. ● Together the object and process analysis serve to discern the elements present in a fabula. ● Not all of these elements are strictly narrative, and therefore some do not have a place in the fabula. ● The function of each sentence in the fabula is then coded and sentences that contribute a narrative function are placed into an event summary which represents the distillation of the storyboard down to the minimal fabula. ● The event summaries remove character emotion and therefore crucial dimensions of motivation and intention - the actantial model (stage III) was used to address this. 					
(III) Findings in chapter four-six)	Actantial analysis	Results from Process Analysis (see II)	Identify how each textual element in the process analysis contributes to the construction of the overall storyboard.	* Actants = 'the great functions or roles occupied by the various characters in a narrative, be they humans, animals or simple objects' (Vandendorpe, 1993: 505) * Code each textual element into one or more actantial classes of subject-object, sender-receiver, helper-opponent * Code each actant in terms of intentional/unintentional,	Greimas, 1966/ 1983 Greimas and Corte, 1984 Herbert, 2011

				active/ passive and possible/real * Analyse for patterns	
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2.9.1 *The Fabula*

The narratological concept of the fabula, arguably, refers to the most basic form of chronological story content. The concept has numerous articulations (Culler, 2002, pp. 169-170) but for the purposes of the current study Bal's (2009) detailed distillation of previous definitions is used. Bal (2009, pp. 3-7) artificially divides the narrative into three layers: the fabula, the story and the text. As described in Simpson, Morgan and Caulfield (2019), the text is the material artefact, the book, the film, the piece of art, in this case the eight-frame storyboard; the story is the layer that is concerned with the particular way in which a series of events is told, focusing on aspects such as the sequencing of events, characters and points of view. Finally, the fabula is 'a series of logically and chronologically related events that are caused or experienced by actors' (Bal, 1997, p. 5). Essentially, it's the bare bones of the narrative³⁵: what happened to each creative practitioner on their journey to prison, or perhaps more accurately, the events each creative practitioner chooses to include as having occurred. Bal (1997, p. 9) makes clear that the

³⁵ Hernstein Smith (1980) disputes claims by Chatman (1978) and other structuralist narratologists of a 'two levelled model of narrative structure' (Hernstein Smith, 1981, p. 215). She argues against the existence of a linear, chronological sequence underlying every narrative. However, she writes predominantly on the topic of literary and folkloric texts and makes the admission that 'to the extent that perfect chronological order may be said to occur at all, it is likely to be found only in acutely self conscious, "artful", or "literary" texts' (Heinstein Smith, 1980, p. 227). This description would appear to apply to the creative practitioners' storyboards, although at the same time, a strong version of constructivism (e.g. Polkinghorne, 1988) would contend that narrative and experience are inseparable, there is no gap between the awareness of the experience and its narrative representation. In either case, the linear sequence of the narrative (the fabula) can be discerned from a close analysis of the narrative. Whether the fabula precedes or proceeds the telling of the narrative is of less importance than its existence.

fabula does not represent an uncontested sequence of facts existing outside of the narrative, but is rather produced through a reading of the text. However, from a structuralist perspective in which meaning is always relational rather than essential, and arbitrary rather than fixed (Eagleton, 1996, pp. 82-83) a pragmatic solution was required. The fabula appeared to offer the best primary reference point for analysis because it is the textual level least open to interpretation by the researcher. The object and process analyses were both based upon and generated from the textual level of the fabula.

The fabula consists of two distinct but overlapping narrative elements:

- 1) 'fixed' objects - the actors, locations and actual things contained in the fabula.
- 2) the processes - 'the changes that occur in, with, through and among objects'. (Bal, 1997, p. 182).

The 'fixed objects, the actors, locations and actual things', formed the focus of the object analysis, while the process, i.e., 'the changes that occur in, with, through and among objects' served to define the focus of the process analysis.

2.9.2 Fabula Analysis - Object and Process (Stages I and II):

The object and process analyses (stages I and II) are both forms of content analysis that lead to the articulation of a narrative's fabula. The object analysis (stage I) perhaps represents content analysis at its most basic:

'Content analysis is a research technique that objectively, systematically, and quantitatively describes the manifest content of communication' (Berelson, 1952 cited in Bazerman and Prior, 2004, p. 13)

While the process analysis (stage II) served to contextualise the objects within the sequence of sentences and narrative structures.

Huckin (2004, pp. 16-19) sets out a clear procedure for conducting content analyses. He notes that there is some latitude afforded to researchers using this methodology in terms of iteration between steps (Huckin, 2004, pp. 16). Set out below is an adaptation of Huckin’s (2004) methodological procedure for content analysis along with detail of how this was applied to the specific object and process analyses in this study:

Table 2.3: Huckin’s Stages of Content Analysis

Huckin’s Stages	Application in Current Study
Pose a Research Question	What stories do creative writing facilitators construct about how they came to work in prison?
Define the appropriate construct	Significant elements in practitioners’ narratives
Select an appropriate body of texts	Eight-frame storyboards completed by practitioners
Determine approximate unit of analysis	Objects as outlined by Bal (2009) that appear in the fabula level of the texts
Gather data	Analyse storyboards for relevant objects and identify any significant objects that repeat across more than one storyboard
Interpret findings	Identify significant objects across storyboards and their role in the processes of the practitioners' narratives.

The sixth stage of Huckin’s (2004) procedure is intended as a final stage which enables analysis of the data against the research question. However,

in the current study, the content analysis is an initial stage which goes on to inform a second, actantial analysis (section 2.9.6). Huckin (2004) has noted that content analysis in contemporary studies tends to be used in a 'supporting role for more sophisticated forms of discourse analysis' (Huckin, 2004, p. 13), and while the current study did not employ discourse analysis per se, the content analysis does form a foundation on which a more detailed structural analysis of the practitioners' narratives is built.

2.9.3 Fabula Analysis – Object (Stage I):

The task of distinguishing each object in the fabula was far from simple. As Bal (2009, p. 189) notes, an object can simultaneously be a process and vice versa dependent on the context. In addition, there were words in the text that had importance (especially verbs) yet that did not qualify as 'fixed objects... actors, locations and actual things' (Bal, 1997, p. 182). In order to better ascertain the function of each word and its inclusion or not as an 'object', two different types of assessment were conducted. The first was conceptual, relying on Bal's definition of the fixed object, each word was checked against the category of actor, location or 'thing'. The second assessment was grammatical and aimed to clarify what might qualify as a 'thing', which is a somewhat nebulous term. The initial decision on what was included based on a conceptual understanding of an object was then augmented with the application of a grammatical understanding of that object (i.e. nouns), using the Oxford English Dictionary for clarification of word status where necessary. By doing so it was discovered that both concrete and abstract nouns had a role in the fabula, despite 'thing' implying a tangible object. The selection criteria for objects were extended accordingly.

The object analysis included pronouns as well as nouns because, despite being subjects and not objects in a grammatical sense, these clearly related to the concept of 'actors' in the fabula. A single preceding adjective to a noun/pronoun was included if it contributed an important qualification to the meaning of the noun/pronoun; integral phrases were also allowed. All the

objects were identified and categorised by hand rather than computer, this enabled increased sensitivity to object meanings. For example, the object, 'TV' (Jessica, fr. 3) clearly delineated the object denoted, however the presence of the adjective 'no' immediately preceding it had a significant impact on what could be understood of that object. These adjectives were noted for further consideration in the findings.

Once all of the objects contained in the 19 individual storyboards were identified and recorded on a fabula analysis template (for an example see appendix 8), all 1133 discernible objects were analysed to find repetition of words and related words. The aim of this analysis was primarily to discover objects that were significant between storyboards rather than within individual storyboards, although some patterns were also found within storyboards.

2.9.4 Fabula Analysis – Process (Stage II):

The process analysis formed the second part of the fabula content analysis. The intention was twofold. Firstly, to identify the processes, i.e. 'the changes that occur in, with, through and among objects.' (Bal, 1997, p. 182) in order to give context to the significant objects. Secondly, to identify the fabula contained in each storyboard.

Every sentence from the raw storyboards was transferred to the fabula content analysis template, which also contained a breakdown of the objects in each storyboard (see appendix 8). Where necessary, the sentences were amended to allow for greater narrative coherence. This was particularly the case in terms of the literal descriptions of images transposed by the researcher from the original storyboards to the raw storyboards. These descriptions were integrated into the written narrative. For example, a drawing of a keyboard and guitar in Bob's storyboard were transposed into a sentence that read:

'I play guitar and keyboards' (Bob, fr. 4)

as it was clear from the rest of the storyboard that the practitioner was a musician. Where it was necessary to resort to the use of connotation or interpretation, a note was made in the research diary (section 2.2.3) to that effect. Where the drawings were too unclear and a guess was necessary, this was highlighted in the process analysis itself with the use of a grey rather than black text. All words that were not contained in the original storyboards, whether text-and-image or text-only, were written in brackets to indicate these words were not the verbatim work of the author. The resulting sentences were used as points of reference to give context to the significant objects already identified.

Once all the raw storyboards had been transposed onto the process analysis template, the second task was to distinguish the specific sentences that contributed to the fabula. In order to achieve this, the function of each sentence was identified. Bal (2009, p. 31) suggests that not all sentences contained in a narrative can be described as narrative. She identifies three types of sentence, narrative, descriptive and argumentative, and suggests that there can be value in examining the alternations in sentence types in order to 'evaluate the ideological tenor of a text' (Bal, 1997, p.34). Bal does not use the term, but 'text type' is the more common definition for this kind of abstract category, which is intended to articulate the key intention of a text or a part of a text (Herman, 2009, pp. 75-104; Santini, 2006, p. 69). For Bal (2009) the concern is to expose the hidden ideology in a text, however, as the current study illustrates, close attention to differences in sentence function can also help to articulate the fabula with greater clarity. Initial attempts to achieve this, however, proved problematic. Bal's (2009) typography was found to be overly restrictive, allowing only narrative sentences a place in the fabula. Fludernik's (2000) concept of 'natural narratology' proved fruitful here. Although Fludernik is primarily concerned with spoken narratives, her three level multiple typology of macro genres, text types and discourse levels offered a wider range and more nuanced appreciation of categories which could more accurately describe the range of

sentence functions at work in the storyboards. Augmenting Bal's three sentence types with Fludernik's macro-genres, six sentence functions were identified: narrative, descriptive, argumentative, instructional, conversational and reflective. This typology is something of a heuristic combination of two systems intended for somewhat different purposes, the separation of narrative and description runs counter to Fludernik's intention, but is in line with Bal's. Definitions adapted from combining the work of Fludernik (2000) and Bal (2009) were as follows:

- Narrative: Has a 'chrono-logic' (Chatman, 1990, p. 9), whereby there is both an external and internal logic to the event presented.
- Descriptive: No events are presented, objects may not be exclusively those from the fabula.
- Argumentative: Refers to an external topic. Concerns opinions and declarations.
- Instructional: Contains directives and exhortations.
- Conversational: Contains address and dialogue.
- Reflective: Contains meta-linguistic statements. Concerns abstraction, speculation or play.

(Adapted from Bal, 1997, 2009; Fludernik, 2000; Chatman, 1990)

Every sentence in the process analysis was coded for one of the six sentence functions, with the initial of the function (i.e., N, D, A, I, C or R) placed in square brackets at the end of the relevant section. Once a storyboard was coded in this way, the descriptive, argumentative and reflective sentences were removed and the just the narrative, conversational and instructional sentences were compiled into a single 'event summary'.

2.9.5 Event Summaries:

The original intention was to use the 'event summary' as the key source for the next stage of analysis. However, during the course of compiling the event

summaries it became clear that the removal of the descriptive and reflective sentences stripped out some of the more significant dimensions of the narratives in ways which risked impoverishing understanding of those narratives. This was particularly the case with regards to the emotional content of the stories. The fabula provided an overview of the sequence of events contained in each practitioner's story, however beyond basic causality it did not offer information as to why these events had unfolded or the practitioners' responses to them. The starkest example is demonstrated in Joanne's narrative, which constructs a journey beginning with a disaffected school life, through a string of unfulfilling jobs and onto the beginnings of a process of healing enabled through the pursuit of writing, both through her own poetry and facilitating the writing of others. Along the way Joanne is diagnosed with body dysmorphic disorder and experiences an array of negative emotions from boredom and shyness, to anger and frustration. She is unhappy and 'gobby', however she also recognises how writing helped her personally and how this comes to have a generative effect, when she discovers she also 'love(s) helping others through words'. However, none of the affective dimensions of the narrative are contained in the fabula, which simply reads:

'[I'm at school]. I escape through English. [I] left school [at sixteen]. [I] worked in different jobs. People paid me to write for them. [I think] I know if people pay me let's start a bespoke Poetry Service. All this time I'd had BDD. [At 29 I] finally wanted to stick at something. [I] got onto a degree [course]. [I asked myself] who else might be trapped? [I thought] Prisoners. Whilst having a brew on the stairs I had [an] idea. [I] pitch[ed my] idea to HMP [and] won 10k.' (Joanne)

This event summary captures the mechanics of the fabula's chrono-logical structure, but it loses a great deal in terms of the motivational drivers that construct the causes of actions and the results of reactions to the events.

The original intention had been to move from analysis of the fabulas, what is told, to an in-depth consideration of how the fabulas were structured, by

conducting analysis using Bal's (2009) second level of the narrative, the story. However, the absence of substantial components of the narratives appeared to be an omission too great to ignore. The process analysis, which contained all textual elements of each raw storyboard offered a kind of 'fabula plus' which could form the basis for further analysis and an alternative method through which to do so.

2.9.6 Actantial Analysis (Stage III):

The next stage of the analysis involved applying Greimas' (1966) actantial model³⁶ to the 'fabula plus' narratives produced by the process analysis. The model has precedence in the field of narrative criminology where it has been used in a study exploring young people's perceptions of procedural justice as delivered by police and security guards (Saarikkomaki, 2015). The actantial model enables an action, defined as 'a syntagmatic organisation of acts' (Greimas and Courtes, 1984, p. 6) and simplified here to refer to the specific practitioner storyboards³⁷, to be broken up into six structural components, or actantial classes.³⁸ Unlike previous models of narrative structure (Propp, 1968) which focused on the function of character actions to the overall plot

³⁶ Greimas' (1966) original actantial model was later modified in conjunction with Rastier (Greimas and Rastier, 1968) and further articulated in conjunction with Courtes (Greimas and Courtes, 1982). A later version of the actantial model (Greimas, 1973) reduced the number of actants from six to four, with the helper and opponent functions being demoted to 'auxiliants' (Prince, 2003, p. 2; Herman, 2002, p. 128).

³⁷ In Greimian terms, an action is 'a syntagmatic organisation of acts' (Greimas and Courtes, 1982, p. 6). This is simplified here to the concept of 'narrative', which, although lacking the nuance made possible by Greimas' model, does not fall outside of his definition, whereby textual elements combined in a sequence (syntagmatic) proceed from a subject 'doing' something to the achievement of a state or change of state (Greimas and Courtes, 1982, p. 3).

³⁸ Greimas (1966) developed the actantial model based on the work of Souriau (1950) and the Russian formalist, Vladimir Propp (1968), and borrowed the term 'actant' from the linguist Tesnière (1959/ 2015). However, while Propp's structuralist analysis of Slavic folktales prioritised the functions of character actions to the overall plot (Czarniawska, 2004, p. 77), Greimas substituted character for the concept of the 'actant' and distilled Propp's typography of 31 character functions (Czarniawska, 2004, p. 80) down to down to six possible actantial classes: the subject, object, sender, receiver, helper and opponent (Herbert, 2011, p. 71).

(Czarniawska, 2004, p. 77), Greimas substituted character for the concept of the 'actant'. Such an 'actant' need not necessarily correspond to a human being, or even an anthropomorphised being. Although it can correspond to either of these things, an actant may also correspond to an inanimate element in the story, a concrete object (e.g. a rock, mountain etc.), an abstract object (e.g. a smell or a time of day), or a concept (e.g. love, fear, doubt) (Herbert, 2011, p. 73). Any element within a text can essentially be assigned to one or more of the actantial classes, or to none (Herbert, 2011, p. 73). For the purposes of the current study, where a textual element is not assigned to any actantial class, it is coded as a non-actant³⁹. Working with these six actantial classes any narrative should be reducible to its basic structural components, as set out in the typology offered by Greimas and Courtes (1982). By doing so it becomes possible to frame the content of the narratives within a clear structural framework that helps to identify patterns within and across narratives and to articulate these both quantitatively and qualitatively.

The six actants comprising: subject, object, sender, receiver, helper and opponent, in traditional folktales referred to the stock characters of the narrative, for example the sender might be the king, who requires the prince (subject) to rescue the princess (object), while on his quest the prince will encounter helpers and opponents, which support or obstruct him on his quest. The receiver, who again could be the king, prince and/or princess or any other relevant element contained in the narrative are those elements that benefit from the action instigated by the sender. As already outlined, in Greimas' iteration none of these actants need be human, so for instance the prince may be helped by his courage or opposed by his laziness, by the time of day or the weight of his armour (Herbert, 2011, p. 71). When applied to the

³⁹ Herbert (2011, p. 75) uses the term non-actant to refer to what Greimas and Courtes (1982, p. 249) refer to as a negactant, and what Hebert goes on to distinguish as 'real/possible' and 'active/passive actants. Greimas and Courtes (1982) do not use the term 'non-actant' anywhere in their text. For the purposes of the current study, the term 'non-actant' is used to designate a textual element that has no actantial function, while the terms 'real/possible' and 'active/passive' are employed to distinguish different actant subclasses.

narratives of creative practitioners these actantial classes enable coding for the motivations (senders) and aspirations (objects) of the subject, in a way that treats the subject as a constitutive part of the narrative structure rather than a bundle of unquantifiable subjectivities, difficult to code beyond psychological or intersubjective themes (Vandendorpe, 1993, p. 505)⁴⁰. This is not to deny the internal processes and characteristics perceived to be constitutive of the subject, however in an actantial analysis these dimensions become accessible to coding in terms of their supporting or obstructing functions and are conceived as helpers or opponents to the subject's aim or ambition (object). Helpers and opponents will also include any external factors, circumstances, events or other actors, who assist or obstruct the subject's achievement of their object. From this coding a detailed inventory can be compiled which shows the percentages of helpers to opponents as presented by the narrator, thereby allowing insight into the ways in which the narrative construction contributes to constituting the subject's 'reality' and resulting actions. Although the relationship between authors, narrators and subjects (protagonists) is far from unproblematic in autobiographical writing (Lejeune, 1989; Freeman, 1993; Neuman, 1981; Gordon, 1988), it appears reasonable to suggest that the 'reality' narrated by the narrator is shared to some degree by the author, and therefore findings from the narrative can be extrapolated to the creative practitioners (see section 4.4.2 for further discussion).

The six actants (subject, object, sender, receiver, helper and opponent) are separated into three pairs: the axis of desire, axis of power and axis of transmission or knowledge (Herbert, 2011, p. 71). The pairings are frequently conceptualised as binary oppositions (e.g. Moto, 2001; Hawkes, 2003, p. 72)⁴¹, however a detailed application of these three axes suggests this to be

⁴⁰ The distillation of characters to their functions within the text is a key feature of structuralist analysis more generally (Culler, 2002, p. 272).

⁴¹ A review of the literature on the issue of actantial oppositions suggested that more authoritative writers (e.g. Culler, 2002; Prince, 2003; Vandendorpe, 2003) do not make such bold statements about the binary relationship between actants in each axes and it may be that misunderstanding has ensued in which less experienced authors have confused the

a somewhat simplistic definition. While clear cut codes are indisputably helpful to moving the analysis away from a purely thematic approach, there is a danger that the nuances of the narratives are lost as a result of the binary coding. This was particularly the case in terms of the axis of power (Herbert, 2011, p. 71), where an element may be seen as either a helper or an opponent but with no gradation between the two. This is where the concept of actantial subclasses proves particularly instructive. Herbert (2011, pp. 74-76) sets out four actantial subclasses, which he has refined and, in places, modified from Greimas and Rastier (1968). Of particular interest in the current study are the subclasses of real/possible actants (considered in terms of ontological status), active/passive actants (referring to the degree to which a helper is actualised) and intentional/unintentional actants (which relate only to anthropomorphic actants, and in the case of this study, only to the subject. The concern is with the degree to which a subject is responsible for creating a helper or obstacle) (Herbert, 2011, pp. 75-76). These three actantial subclasses enable a much greater degree of nuance to be ascribed to each textual element because it allows for a consideration of the varying degrees of assistance or obstruction in any given element of the text. This enables a more subtle reading of the narratives, which moves beyond the initial quantification in order to afford insights into the degree, for example, of the subjects' agency in achieving their object or the relative influence of a particular helper.

2.9.6.1 Procedure for Actantial Analysis (III):

As outlined above, the actantial analysis was based on the practitioners' narratives, as represented in the process analyses⁴². Herbert (2011, p. 72) suggests that multiple actantial models can be used if necessary when

binary oppositions, central to the deep structure of narrative, with the surface structure of the communication of individual narratives.

⁴² The original storyboards were only referenced when the meaning of a specific frame could not be ascertained from the process analysis alone. This was to prevent any additional interpretation of the storyboards contaminating the transposition of word and image which had been clearly documented during the fabula analysis stage of analysis.

analysing a single text, however 'in a short analysis, it is often best to examine a single actantial model' (Herbert, 2011, p. 72). This was the case with the creative writing practitioners' storyboards, where the total number of sentences to be analysed in any one storyboard did not exceed 53, the least sentences in a storyboard was eight, and the average across all 19 storyboards, was 24.5 sentences. This certainly qualifies the storyboards as constituting a short analysis.

A series of steps were devised for conducting the analysis and two iterations of the actantial analysis were conducted, some weeks apart, in order to assess intracoder reliability. The initial procedure was based on Hebert's (2011, p. 72) three basic steps for performing an actantial analysis. These steps were augmented after the first iteration of analysis in order to give improved clarity to the coding procedure.⁴³

1. Identify the general action, i.e. the action that best summarises the text

2. Select the subject and object. Specify the type of junction that exists between the subject and object (conjunction or disjunction). Specify if the junction is achieved and whether it is achieved, completely or partially and with certainty (a real junction) or with doubt (a possible junction).

- 2.1 Write out in full the junction between the subject and the object (e.g. Henry wants to be a full time writer) in order to have a definitive junction to refer back to when coding for helpers and opponents.

- 2.2 Write out in full the justification for specifying a conjunction or disjunction, justify why it is coded as completely or partially achieved and with certainty or doubt.

3. Select the other actants.

- 3.1. Identify the sender, this should be the initial motivation, wherever this is mentioned in the narrative. If no sender is stated it may be

⁴³ The steps set out by Hebert (2011, p. 72) are listed in whole numbers, additions and details are included in decimals.

necessary to posit what the sender may be, based on information in the process analysis - document this interpretation in the research diary.

3.2. Identify the primary receiver. It is possible to add additional receivers/beneficiaries stemming from the achievement of the junction if they are encountered later in the text.

3.3. Identify helpers and opponents. Work line by line through the process analysis and code each sentence in turn, asking:

- Does this element help or oppose in the achievement of the junction?
- Is the element generated by the subject? If so is it intentional or unintentional?
- Is the helper/opponent actively helping/opposing the achievement of the junction (if unsure, use the drowning man test⁴⁴:

For opponents ask, does this element actively put a foot on the drowning man's head? Or does the element stand on the river bank and frown?

For helpers ask, does this element actively extend a hand to save the drowning man? Or does the element stand on the river bank and smile?

- Is the helper/opponent a real or a possible helper/opponent (real helper/opponents have direct effects on the junction, possible helper/opponents have indirect effects).⁴⁵
- Helpers and opponents should be coded as they are presented from the narrator's point of view.
- Elements which neither help or oppose the achievement of the junction and are not coded as sender, receiver, subject or object, should be coded as non-actants.

⁴⁴ The 'drowning man test' was devised by the current researcher as it emerged that Hebert's (2011) guidance lacked clarity on this point.

⁴⁵ The direct/ indirect qualification was devised by the current researcher as it emerged that Hebert's (2011) guidance lacked clarity on this point.

3.4. All coding should be based on what is apparent in the text as communicated by the narrator. The role of interpretation should be kept to a minimum throughout the analysis and where speculation is made, should be noted carefully.

In this line by line analysis, no detail was too small to escape coding. This attention to detail counters the reductive tendency of binary categories. Herbert (2011) encourages such detailed analysis arguing that ‘an analysis done at the level of the parts helps to reveal the differences that emerge between a description of the whole and that of its parts. To return to the earlier example taken from a traditional folktale; a detailed analysis can show that the Prince, who is an overall helper in his own cause, also harbours characteristics that act as opponents’ (Herbert, 2011, p. 75) such as laziness or carelessness. This allows for an understanding of the complex construction of an event without resorting to psychological subjectivities.

2.9.6.2 The Actantial Template (III)

In order to capture the quantitative dimensions of the analysis along with the fine grain details that comprise the narratives, an actantial template was created. This table was based on an example provided by Herbert (2011, p. 72). However, additional sections were added to accommodate the junction and non-actant categories:

Figure 3: Actantial Analysis Table

Sender:			Receiver:
	Subject:	Object:	
	Junction:		
Helper:			Opponent:
Non-Actants:			

Detailed notes were written beneath the tabular format, which kept a record of coding decisions, potential issues or ambiguities in the coding and rationales for particular coding choices which were made based on interpretation. This was particularly important when coding subclasses, which is not a precise exercise and involves a greater degree of interpretation than when coding the straightforward binary of helper/opponent. While not eliminating this hermeneutic ‘creep’, the detailed notes offer a robust check on the rationale behind each decision.

2.10 Summary:

This chapter provided an overarching description of the methods applied throughout this research. First a theoretical underpinning was offered based on the potential of literary structuralism, and in particular narratology to offer a robust basis for analysis of the autobiographical narratives of creative practitioners. In this narratological approach the content of the narratives is articulated within a clear structural framework which enables the data to be evidenced both quantitatively and qualitatively. A move away from a hermeneutic framework of analysis follows from such an approach, which shifts focus from a humanistic, subject-centred sensibility to one in which meaning is considered as relational rather than based on essential qualities. This enables a better understanding of how narratives may contribute to the construction of the practitioners' realities and actions, rather than how these realities may contribute to practitioners' stories. In order to minimise the amount to which the researcher shaped the data an innovative data collection tool was outlined, which aimed to give participants as much autonomy as possible over their own story. Two key methods of analysis were employed, again aimed at reducing researcher interpretation, and pinpointing the moments when this becomes unavoidable. Firstly, a detailed content analysis of the fabula, which identified both the objects (I) and processes (II) present in the bare bones of each narrative and their significance across storyboards. Secondly, an actantial analysis (III) aimed at articulating the function of each textual element in the narrative in order to better understand the construction of the practitioners' intentions, motivations and journeys into prison. The following four chapters will each deal with a specific dimension of the resulting analysis. Readers of this thesis should refer back to table 2.2 as a reference guide when reading the following data chapters.

Chapter Three - Fabula Content Analysis: The Bare Bones of the Story

3.1 Introduction:

This chapter focuses on the findings of the fabula content analysis (both object and process) described in chapter two, which aimed to delineate the fabula in each of the 19 narratives (as summarised in table 2.2). The findings presented in this chapter have been published as Simpson, Morgan, and Caulfield (2019).

Table 2.2: Stages of Analysis

Stage	Method	Source	Purpose	Process	Key literature
(I) Findings in chapter three	Content analysis of fabula: Objects	Raw Storyboard	Identify all objects contained in the fabula	* Objects = nouns and pronouns * Single adjectives which modify nouns may be included * Identify patterns and common objects across raw storyboards	Bal, 1997, 2009

<p>(II) Findings in chapter three</p>	<p>Content analysis of fabula: Processes</p>	<p>Raw Storyboard</p>	<p>Identify processes contained in the fabula</p>	<p>* Processes = the changes that occur in, with, through and among objects. (Bal, 1997, p. 182) * Transfer all narrative elements from the raw storyboard to the process analysis with as little interpretation as possible * Identify the narrative function of each sentence * Create an ‘event summary’ consisting of all sentences which have a narrative, conversational or instructional function</p>	<p>Bal, 1997, 2009 Fludernik, 2000</p>
<p>(III) Findings in chapter 4-6)</p>	<p>Actantial analysis</p>	<p>Results from Process Analysis (see II)</p>	<p>Identify how each textual element in the process analysis contributes to the construction of the overall storyboard.</p>	<p>* Actants = ‘the great functions or roles occupied by the various characters in a narrative, be they humans, animals or simple objects’ (Vandendorpe, 1993: 505) * Code each textual element into one or more actantial classes of subject-object, sender-receiver, helper- opponent</p>	<p>Greimas, 1966/1983 Greimas & Corte, 1984 Herbert, 2011</p>

				* Code each actant in terms of intentional/unintentional, active/passive and possible/real * Analyse for patterns	
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The content analysis had two stages: an object analysis and a process analysis (stages I and II). Together these two analyses were able to identify the objects (i.e. the actors, locations and actual things) that appeared to hold significance across the narratives, and to contextualise the objects as they appeared in the specific processes (i.e. chronological sequences) of each fabula. The purpose of such a detailed analysis was to ascertain the fabula, found in the practitioners' narratives and to identify any commonalities or patterns between narratives. The chapter will begin by setting out the key findings from the content analysis of the fabula before going on to discuss the findings. A wider consideration of the chronological order of events in the storyboards concludes the chapter, where it is noted that the story level of the practitioners' narratives did not deviate from the fabula level. Reasons for this are speculated upon and consequences for the research suggested.

3.2 Content Analysis:

The first detailed analysis undertaken of the storyboards was a content analysis that focused on the objects and processes contained in each fabula (see sections 2.9.2, 2.9.3 and 2.9.4). Brockmeier (2001, p. 271) suggests that the fabula is of little relevance to the process of meaning construction in an autobiographical narrative, claiming that 'only the sjuzet...(i.e. story)... fills the story with life' (Brockmeire, 2001, p. 271). Bal (2009, p. 32) also, at times, skips over detailed analysis of the fabula, at one point summarising a particular fabula 'intuitively'. However, by neglecting the fabula in this way these theorists prioritise interpretation and connotation over description and

denotation and the 'life' that fills the story becomes as much the life of the researcher as that of the author. The commitment of the current research to roll back the co-production of the research as far as possible meant that in the first stages of analysis a close examination of the fabula offered a way to more firmly ground the narrative in the 'facts' (i.e. objects) on the ground, as represented in the practitioners' storyboards.

3.2.1 Findings - Object Analysis:

The first stage of the content analysis was to simply identify all of the objects (i.e. 'actors, locations and actual things', Bal, 1997, p. 182) contained in each story and then to count their frequency within and across storyboards. Bal's definition of an 'object' at times failed to offer descriptive rigour and it was augmented by grammatical criteria which identified nouns and pronouns as the two textual elements that qualified as 'objects'. Nouns were divided into two categories: concrete nouns (i.e. tangible objects) and abstract nouns (i.e. intangible objects) and the Oxford English Dictionary was used as a point of reference to ascertain the correct ascription of each textual element to its grammatical category.

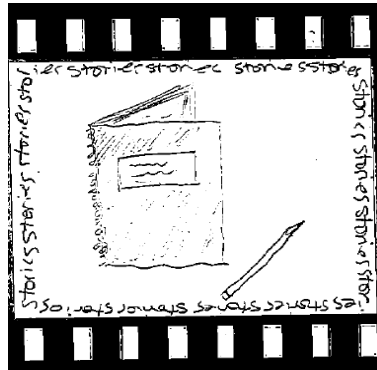
The greatest frequencies across storyboards accrued to the pronouns 'I' (n. 145) and 'me' (n. 47), which was an unsurprising finding in the context of autobiographical narratives, although a more detailed discussion of the representation of the subject and pronoun use in the storyboards is offered in section 4.4.2. Beyond this, a total of eight practitioners (Rebecca, Joanne, Ben, Cindy, Jean, Samantha, Bob, Steve) had one or more objects in their storyboard mentioned four or more times.

Table 3.1: Frequency of Objects Found in Raw Storyboards

Practitioner	Object	Frequency
Rebecca	Mark	10
Joanne	Job	4
Ben	Book	4
Cindy	Stories	16
Cindy	Woman	4
Cindy	Person	7
Cindy	Plant	5
Cindy	Animal	5
Jean	Bird	8
Jean	Person	5
Samantha	Soldiers	4
Samantha	Person	12
Bob	Music note	10
Bob	Person	5
Steve	Prison	4

No other clear patterns emerged from this element of the storyboards. The majority of these frequencies were a consequence of drawn images being represented in words, Bob's 10 'musical notes' and Cindy's 16 'stories' being a case in point.

Figure 4: Examples of Object Frequencies Generated by Images



(Cindy, fr. 1)



(Bob, fr. 4)

This was also the case for the four storyboards that repeat ‘person’ as an object. In all of these cases the word ‘person’ was an attempt to transpose a drawing of an unidentified figure into words. In a sense these objects represented the crowd scenes in the narratives. Rebecca’s repetition of the name Mark was a written proper noun in the original narrative and appeared to be employed as a literary device intended to emphasise the importance of this particular person in the narrator’s life. It is notable that Jean’s representation of eight birds, although transposed from images, appeared to be used to symbolise a motif of freedom (fr. 6) and also in juxtaposition with a prison building (fr. 8). This is relevant to the discussion of escape considered in section 4.2.1.2. However, none of these objects formed noticeable patterns within the individual storyboards themselves.

When the frequency of objects was considered across storyboards, however, more meaningful patterns emerged:

Table 3.2: Frequency of Objects Across Raw Storyboards

Object(s)	Total	Notes
Pronouns (I, Me, You, My)	227	* Ties in with ideas about different representations of the self (Buber’s I/thou?)
Person	28	

Arts	114	* Practitioners are multidisciplinary * Links with a community arts ethos
Writer (including WIP/N and WiR)	12	
Education (including books)	67	* 7 narratives include as positive factor * 6 narratives include as negative experience
Employment	53	* Majority of references relate to regular employment not work in the arts. Negative experiences
Prisons/Freedom	41	* Mainly prisons. 2 freedom/escape antonyms * Negative experiences of youth contact, plus as career option
CJS	14	
War/Peace	25	* Protest movements and political commitments
Animal (various species)	18	* Random but there are quite a lot of mentions although only over 2 storyboards
Family	18	* Potential to combine these two themes?
Community	15	
Mental Health	16	* In terms of survivors and recognition of others' needs
Time	14	* Practitioners awareness of relationship between narrative time and 'actual' time.

3.3.2 Findings - Process Analysis:

Working from the findings of the object analysis, the next stage was to understand the context in which each object was narrated: where in the story did the object appear, what was its impact on other objects, what was the

impact of other objects on it? This was achieved by conducting a process analysis of the raw storyboards (see section 2.9.4), which was then used as a reference point to enable a fuller understanding of the significance of each object. The findings from this analysis are set out in the following seven subsections (3.3.2.1 to 3.3.2.7).

3.3.2.1 *Outsiders:*

The key finding of this analysis concerned the presence of various types of ‘outsider status’ running through 16 out of the 19 practitioner narratives. These findings have been published in Simpson, Morgan, and Caulfield (2019). The arts as a corrupting or distracting force have a long history in the development of Western cultural practices (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008, pp. 40–53) and along with it, the notion of the writer, or artist, more generally as an outlaw, outsider or rebel (Rader, 1958). For the purpose of this study, outsider status and experience has been conceptualised as alterity, ‘the state of being other or different’ (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 2013, p.11). Through their narratives, participants describe a sense of their ‘otherness’. Working from the fabula, six categories of alterity were identified:

Table 3.3: Categories of Practitioner Alterity

Art itself	Anti-authority/ protest	Reject status quo	Early institutional experiences	Identification with/help the ‘other’	Mental health
Eight participants: Bob, Eric, Steve, Henry, Ben, Rory, Joe, Janet	Five participants: Jean, Janet, Susan, Joanne, Tracey	Four participants: Jessica, Dave, Henry, Joe	Three participants: Samantha, Dave, Steve	Five participants: Joanne, Jessica, Janet, Steve, Dave	Six participants: Eric, Jessica Rebecca, Joanne, Henry, Susan

Each category was included in the narrative of at least three practitioners. Seven storyboards contained one form of outsider experience, three

contained two forms, and six practitioners detail three types of alterity. While some of the categories were concerned with 'active' forms of rebellion (anti-authority/protest; reject status quo) others described passive experiences of othering/otherness (negative experience of the CJS and mental health). The category of 'art itself' was constructed either actively or passively depending on the way in which the activity was pursued, while 'identification with/help the "other"', did not easily fit into the active/passive distinction. Each of the six categories is discussed in turn below.

3.3.2.2 *Art Itself:*

The first category, 'Art itself', relates to the association of creative practitioners with rebellion (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008) and/or alienation (Rader, 1958) and was evident in eight storyboards. This category emerged in these storyboards in a number of ways. For Eric, it was a series of frames that toggle between the hedonistic rebellion of 'wild times', 'creative chaos' and 'drinking', to 'unemployment', isolation and homelessness (Eric, fr. 3, 5, 6). Ben's storyboard also suggested the decadence of a creative lifestyle:

WIN A PRIZE! MAKE MONEY!
PISS IT ALL AWAY. (Ben, fr. 3, 4)

Three storyboards explicitly contrasted 'trying to be sensible and have a professional career' (Henry, fr. 1) with 'creativity' (Janet, fr. 7). This was sometimes framed in economic terms, 'I always wanted to write... but I also needed to earn a living' (Steve, fr. 2). Bob, by contrast, highlighted the notion of 'passion' as a driving force, which implied he was at the behest of a deep emotional driving force (see section 5.4). Rory also arrived at a point in his creative journey where 'There's no going back. There's nothing else left!' (Rory, fr. 6). Nine of the 11 remaining storyboards contained objects and processes relating to the arts. However, in these storyboards the arts were presented as unproblematic, simply another part of the fabula rather than an experience of othering/otherness. A final two storyboards did not contain

reference to the arts at all (Joe, Samantha). These omissions are discussed in section 4.3.1.2. Eight of the storyboards do, however, demonstrate the experience of alterity connected to these practitioners' attempts to pursue their ambitions in the creative arts.

While the presence of art is less remarkable than its omission in the context of these storyboards, the range of arts practice is more diverse than expected. All participants were recruited on the understanding that they had extensive experience of delivering creative writing workshops in prisons. However, one practitioner focused solely on music (Bob), another was a trained visual artist (Eric), and a third described a background in drama facilitation (Kate). Even in storyboards that displayed a focus on writing, only seven of these engaged exclusively with the written form. For Dave, Barbara, and Steve, drama featured alongside their literary activities. Rory found that studying art and performances was much more satisfying than his original attempts to study for a degree in English (Rory, frames 2, 3). Henry worked in fine art management before succeeding as a full-time screenwriter, and Susan made allusions to films and art before becoming a 'WRITING WRITE WRITE WRITE WRITER IN RESIDENCE' (Susan, frame 8). Jean, too, shared an image that includes painting, film, literature and music. There are ten storyboards in total that evidence multidisciplinary arts practice (see also sections 4.2.1.1, 6.3.2.1 and 6.3.3.3 for fuller discussion).

3.3.2.3 Anti-authority/Protest:

In total, there are five storyboards where fabula content was suggestive of anti-authoritarianism or protest. Two of these storyboards dealt with individual acts of defiance: Joanne's extreme resistance to formative education and employment which left her feeling 'ANGER, BOREDOM... ANGER! FRUSTRATION!' (Joanne, fr. 2, 3); and Tracey's statement that she dislikes 'Rules, restrictions, conformity!!!' (Tracey, fr. 6). Jean, Susan and Janet's storyboards, all contained clear indications of organised political action and consciousness. Both Jean and Susan's storyboards contained

images of protest banners on issues such as anti-war/peace (for example, Vietnam, End War), anti-Thatcher rhetoric of the 1980s (Coal not Dole), and a range of humanitarian causes (for example, End Apartheid, Save Biafra, Shelter). Meanwhile, Janet's storyboard details an inventory of activist-related terminology ('giving others a voice – a way to express social conscience/access – Freed up to be more politicized' (Janet, fr. 6, 7).

Analysis of the storyboards highlighted that there were ten storyboards that referenced multidisciplinary arts practice (see section 3.3.2.2), and that each of these displayed, to differing degrees, engagement with the anti-authoritarianism sentiments of the community arts. At its weakest, this may be a casual association derived from facilitating creative writing activities in the community setting of a prison, which has been seen as one avenue for community arts practice (Johnston, 2004). At the other extreme, participation in organised political action existed independently of the practitioners' creative practice, and while that may have exerted an influence on their creative aspirations, this was not clear from the fabula of the storyboards. The clearest indication of a direct link between creative arts and activism was found in Janet's storyboard in a matrix of activism, socialism, facilitation and teaching that follows being 'freed up to be more politicized' (Janet, fr. 6). Finally, the less organised, more individualistic kind of anti-authoritarianism found in the storyboards of Joanne and Tracey appeared to be more of a reaction to outside forces than a revolutionary attempt to overthrow them. The five storyboards contained in the second category of alterity, however, all displayed another aspect of the practitioners' sense of being on the outside of society.

3.3.2.4 Reject Status Quo:

Four storyboards appeared to reject the status quo from within it rather than from a position of alterity. Each of these practitioners (Joe, Dave, Jessica, Henry) displayed what might be considered an 'insider status'. Henry was

'articled to a criminal lawyer' (Henry, fr. 2), Dave and Jessica both worked as probation officers, and Joe had 'a career in respectability' (Joe, fr. 6) and yet they all wilfully rejected the normative values of 'respectable' employment in order to pursue and place themselves on the outside of the system.

Furthermore, in three cases this concerned a system dedicated to bringing outsiders who have offended against the legal code back 'inside' using disciplinary methods, suggesting some degree of rejection of the principles or practices of the CJS. Jessica no longer wanted to be 'at the beck and call of the Courts and Home Office (Jessica, frame 4), Dave described how his 'Job of Dreams' in youth justice involved spending 'all day on a computer with little time for young offenders' (Dave, frame 4) noting wryly that it's 'what managers value' (Dave, fr. 4). Henry appeared to spend the least time working in the CJS. However, much later in the storyboard a memory of 'having to tell a wife her husband is going to prison' (Henry, fr. 7) was juxtapositioned with the decision to apply for a prison writing residency, implying that the former experience motivated the latter. Again, these storyboards displayed another dimension of practitioners' various experiences of being apart from the mainstream, of being outsiders.

All of these four storyboards used employment as a symbol of the status quo. However, practitioners' relationships to employment were instructive across the whole spread of storyboards and references to work and jobs occurred 53 times across the 19 fabulas. Rader (1958) traces the artists' outsider status back to Hegel's (1977) notion of alienation and argues that the Italian Renaissance and the emergence of capitalism began a process whereby the artist became increasingly separated and detached from the rest of society (cf. Kaufman, 2015). "Alienation" is an abstruse concept (Safraz, 1997, p.45) with no single general definition (Schacht, 2015) and while a Marxist perspective on the concept is by no means invulnerable to critique, such a focus on material conditions seems highly pertinent to the experiences of these practitioners. Marx' (1992, pp. 326–30) identification of four facets of alienation: of worker from product; of worker from the act of production; of worker from their human essence; and of worker from other workers, were present in various forms in the fabula. At its most obvious, this

kind of economically generated alienation was seen in Joe's storyboard:

'Broke – flat, stony and regularly – between jobs that were one by bloody one breaking me to bits – bit by bit.' (Joe, fr. 5)

Rory, too, spent an amount of time prior to achieving financial viability for his creative endeavours, engaged in the kinds of employment that are most clearly associated with Marx's description of enforced, dehumanising labour in which the worker has no control over either process or product:

'I work digging ditches.' (Rory, fr. 5)

Alternatively, when the storyboards detailed employment in the arts it was often not described in terms of work at all. Nor was it ever described as a career. There were two mentions of the word career, both pertaining to jobs in non-creative sectors; Joe's 'career in respectability' and Henry wrote about an attempt at a 'professional career "to fall back on"' (Henry, fr. 1). Seven storyboards made reference to the central protagonist's creative facilitation role in prison but did not describe those activities as work. An additional two storyboards related this role to work, but only in the context of the application or interview process. Eric wrote about the 'job interview' (Eric, fr. 8) and Kate described 'applying for the job' (Kate, fr. 3). Jean was the only practitioner to describe her writing residency as a job, and this raised complexities discussed more fully in appendix 16. The majority of cases, however, suggested that these practitioners may have viewed their engagement with the arts as a kind of "nonalienated labour", similar to Mishler's (1999, p. xiv) rather romantic notion of the craft artists in his study of US arts practitioners. As Mishler's (1999) empirical research goes on to discover, the lived experience of his practitioners is somewhat less utopian and they were:

'keenly aware of the constraints of "how the world is made", and tried to find ways to continue with their work within that reality.' (Mishler, 1999: 161)

A key dimension of these constraints, Mishler found, was economic insecurity, where practitioners were 'just getting by' (Mishler, 1999, p.161). This is consistent with the financial precarity found in the storyboards. In total, seven storyboards contained references to a lack of money. In addition to Joe and Rory's manual labour, discussed above, Henry's storyboard described having no money despite being a successful writer (Henry, fr. 6), Susan is 'skint, skint, skint' (Susan, fr. 7), the protagonist in Barbara's storyboard had no car despite living in Los Angeles (where travel without a car is extremely challenging: Barbara, fr. 5). Before working in prison Tracey was 'running around four jobs' (Tracey, fr. 5), while at the other extreme Eric found himself underemployed and spent a period of time without any employment at all (Eric, fr. 2). Ben's storyboard suggested an amount of wealth earned from his literary career, but juxtaposes this with a decline in fortunes, albeit self-imposed. An amount of pragmatism is also demonstrated by Ben and Rory in their decisions to work in prison. Ben's storyboard suggests that work in prison was precipitated by a need for money, while Rory agrees to go into a prison because 'It's work' (Rory, fr. 7) (see section 4.3.1.1 for a fuller discussion of the link between financial precarity and work in prisons).

Overall, the storyboards contained an amount of nuance concerning the practitioners' relationships to employment. There were examples of all-out rejection of mainstream career paths (Joe, Jessica, Dave), as well as instances that appeared to illustrate classic experiences of alienation through economic coercion. Economic considerations also seemed to inform two practitioners' decisions to facilitate prison arts. However, a further seven do not make associations between their creative facilitation roles and work, which may indicate a view that is closer to Mishler's (1999) concept of 'nonalienated labour' (although this is not without its financial precarity). A Marxist perspective is highly pertinent to a discussion of employment and adds an economic dimension to the political and creatively informed categories of alterity discussed previously.

3.3.2.5 Early Institutional Experiences - The Educational and Criminal Justice Systems:

The fourth category of alterity captures findings on early negative experiences of the CJS and experiences of the education system. There were three storyboards detailing encounters with the CJS. While this did not constitute a high frequency of incidents, in conjunction with other findings it began to build a picture of oppositional actions and reactions to authority, both in terms of active protest and passive experience. Dave's storyboard noted a 'Run in with police on the estate' (Dave, fr. 1), while Steve stated 'more than one teacher thought I would end up in prison ...' (Steve, fr. 1). Samantha, had a different experience of British law enforcement, when, while on a trip to Donegal during the period of internment, she witnessed her 'dad pulled out (of the car) and marched away' (Samantha, fr. 5) by soldiers. Taking into consideration Becker's (1963) seminal work on labelling theory, it is arguable that such formative encounters may contribute to these practitioners' perceptions of themselves as outsiders.

A more usual reference point for formative experience concerns educational encounters. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the storyboards contained a total of 67 objects pertaining to education. However, beyond this headline figure there were some less-expected findings. Only five of the storyboards made any reference to school, which appeared to be a low number for a regime which all the practitioners were, presumably, exposed to over the course of their childhoods. Why so many practitioners chose to leave this part of their autobiography unnarrated is discussed further in section 6.3.2.2, where it was found that only seven practitioners refer to childhood experience more widely. Of the five storyboards that address school experiences, only Rory's storyboard featured an unequivocally positive event in which the young protagonist's literary ambitions were encouraged by a teacher. Meanwhile Joanne was left 'bored' and 'angry' by school, Janet was labelled a 'dirty gypo' (fr.1), Joe 'broke out of school as often as opportunity handed me the crowbar' (fr. 3) and Steve – as previously mentioned – was labelled as a potential prisoner (fr. 1). Finally, while Eric did not include school in his

narrative, he contrasted 'no more school days' with the 'discovery' and 'enlightenment' of the next phase of his life at art college, which is labelled 'The Start' (Eric, fr.1).

Of the remaining 14 storyboards, five were concerned with post-16 education. Three of the storyboards referencing school also contain discussion of adult education. There is a slightly higher rate of positive experiences described in these references and fewer negative ones. Both Joanne and Janet, who reported negative experiences of school, display greater commitment to, and enthusiasm for, their return to education as mature students. Conversely, Rory, whose storyboard contained positive sentiments about school, described a more mixed experience of undergraduate education. An attempt at an English degree left him baffled, 'no, what's that all about?' (Rory, fr. 2) and it is not until he begins to study art and performances that he was able to engage. Practitioners who wrote exclusively about post-16 education construct a higher degree of positive experience. Dave did not just go to study a degree he, 'escapes to university life' (Dave, fr. 2) and Henry loved university, although he was less inspired by his degree subject, which he hated (Henry, fr.1). Eric, as previously indicated, saw art school as a period of 'discovery' and 'enlightenment'. Only Jessica was neutral about her university experience. Susan's storyboard was the sole one to suggest a negative experience of academia, which she represented as a building with bars on the windows (Susan, fr. 3).

The findings in terms of educational encounters appear too varied to draw any clear conclusions with regard to practitioners' experience of alterity, although the construction of post-16 education as a positive contributor to the practitioners' goals is discussed further in section 6.3.2.3. Certainly for some of the practitioners (Eric, Dave, Janet) it appeared that university may have offered something of a transformative experience, though this may have been less concerned with a reconciliation of these students with establishment mores and more a reinforcement of their identities as creative practitioners. All of the practitioners who went on to further study, with the exception of Henry (Law) and Susan (whose subject is not stated), appeared

to have done so in arts subjects, and, in particular, creative writing. As Rory writes: 'it was always to do with language' (Rory, fr. 3). It may be that the opportunity to engage for a protracted period of time in creative practice served to deepen these practitioners' construction of themselves as artists, and with this their attendant identifications with an outsider status.

3.3.2.6 Identification with/help the 'Other':

The fifth category of alterity proposed is that of identification with and/or help for the 'other'. This notion of 'helping the other' is complex and at a superficial level may appear to be aligned with more conventional notions of philanthropic endeavour, which have a long history in penal institutions (Martin et al., 2016, p.26). Indeed, Jessica's storyboard had a suggestion of this kind of benevolence where the more advantaged in society offer succour to the unfortunate:

'Born sympathetic to the underdog and with a fascination for a life other than the one I grew up in.' (Jessica, fr. 1).

This ethos reflects the roots of British civil society organisations which 'are located in charity distributed by the elite and middle classes to the poor (Taylor 2004; Kendall and Knapp 1996)' (Helminen, 2016, p.75). This kind of patronage assumes an affinity between the practitioner and mainstream society and a desire to reproduce its values; the charitable patron is an insider bestowing alms upon the socially marginalised and needy. However, as has been posited, the storyboards detailed a number of ways in which practitioners themselves aligned with the outsider experience. Wispe (1986) defines sympathy as a 'heightened awareness of the suffering of another person as something to be alleviated' (Wispe, p.318). However, rather than such ameliorative intentions, it may be that the practitioners in these storyboards identified, rather than sympathised, with the prisoners' underdog or outsider status. This suggestion is displayed in the storyboards of Steve and Dave – discussed in section 3.3.2.5 – where they had their own

experiences of being seen as at risk of offending. Similarly, in Janet's storyboard, which referenced a background in a travelling community, making it more likely that she would be on the receiving end of charitable endeavour. All three of these storyboards contained evidence that these practitioners invested in helping the prisoners they work with. Dave 'Spends time with cases in his own time' (Dave, fr. 5), while Steve applied his 'aptitude for enabling others to be creative' (Steve, fr. 4) to prisoners. Janet 'branches out' in order to bring her increasing politicisation to her work in criminal justice. Joanne's motivations for working with prisoners were less politically motivated, and she appeared to make an empathic connection between her own experience of feeling trapped and the situation of prisoners. There is a sense in which one outsider experience meets with another. Even in the case of Jessica's storyboard, which began with the idea of the underdog as an entity that is separate from Jessica, in the development of the storyboard she experienced a crisis that led to a rejection of the expectations of mainstream society. It is suggested, therefore, that practitioners' experiences of alterity enabled them to identify with the different, yet similar, outsider status of the prisoners with whom they work.

3.3.2.7 Mental Health:

The ability to identify with outsider status is also the case with regard to the sixth and final category of alterity, that of mental health issues. Mental health issues appeared in six out of 19 storyboards. Specifically, Susan's storyboard discloses experience of 'madness, anxiety, loss'. Joanne was diagnosed with body dysmorphic disorder to which she ascribed a history of dysfunction. Rebecca described a terror that could no longer be hidden and results in 'valium at 15'.

Jessica and Henry's storyboards each named objects that indicated a lack of mental well-being, which Jessica described as 'midlife crisis', and Henry wrote of feeling like he is two people (with reference to his failing marriage). While Eric's narrative did not include specific objects that explicitly indicate

mental health issues, it included the words 'isolated, casa-less (he uses the Spanish word for homeless), vulnerable, regretful, abandoned' (fr 6). This, in addition to a repeated reference to drinking, suggested a lack of mental well-being. These experiences demonstrate a sixth way in which practitioners may experience alterity, although this is qualitatively different from the active categories where practitioners demarcate themselves as outsiders. Interestingly, when further attention is shone on mental health in the actantial analysis, in many cases it takes on a different and, to some degree, lesser significance (section 5.4.2.2).

3.3 Time and Story

In many respects the content analysis of the fabula revealed outsider status or a sense of alterity among the 19 practitioners. The majority of practitioners, in some way, narrated deviant experiences. However, at the level of the narrative itself all of the practitioners were surprisingly conventional. The process analysis revealed a surprising adherence to the chronology of life events in the practitioners' telling of those events.

There is a wide ranging literature on the relationship between narrative and time (e.g. Ricoeur, 1983/1990, 1984/1985, 1985/1990; Freeman, 1993; Genette, 1980; Currie, 2007; Chatman, 1978, 1981; Bal, 2009; Bakhtin, 1981; Bender and Wellbery, 1991; Sternberg, 1992; White, 1981; Brockmeier, 2001; Goodman, 1981). Most pertinent to the current analysis is the tradition of narrative theory which 'seeks to describe narratives in terms of temporal deviation between story and discourse' (Scheffel, Weixler and Werner, 2014, p.18). 'Story' and 'discourse' are closely related to the concepts of fabula (story) and story (discourse) described by Bal (2009) (see section 2..9.1). In this conceptualisation the fabula is generally viewed as having a chronological sequence (Bal, 2009, p. 79) which is 'autonomous,

linear, and homogeneous' (Scheffel, Weixler and Werner, 2014, p. 18)⁴⁶. Brockmeier (2001, p. 253-254) adds to this, the 'deterministic tenor' fostered by the teleological construction of linear time, which serves to transform the 'flux of life' to 'a flux of necessity', where the random chance of living becomes unified into a straight plotline of causation. In contrast, the story level of the text serves to 'artificially transform' (Scheffel, Weixler and Werner, 2014, p. 18) or deform, disrupt, reorder and even avoid (Lammert, 1955/1967 cited in Scheffel, Weixler and Werner, 2014, p. 26) the order of the fabula in its telling. Genette (1980, p. 35) identifies three types of temporal deviation that occur between the two textual levels: the temporal order of the succession of events; the variable duration of those events; the frequency at which events are narrated⁴⁷. Bal (2009, p. 82) argues that anachrony, understood to be the first of Genette's types of temporal deviation (Herman, 2009, p. 181), is present in 'practically all novels', while Brockmeier (2000, p. 59), focusing specifically on autobiography, claims that the autobiographical narrative does not follow chronological time and that there is 'hardly any autobiography that does not use narrative techniques like flashback and connections of flashback and flashforward' (Brockmeire, 2001, p. 271).

It was surprising therefore, to find that the practitioners' narratives deviated from the accepted claims of these two respected narrative scholars. Once the sentences containing descriptive, reflective and argumentative functions (see section 2.9.4) had been identified by the process analysis and removed in order to create a fabula or event summary (section 2.9.5), the actual correspondence between the event sequence in the fabula and in the story were identical in ten of the storyboards (Rebecca, Joanne, Ben, Susan, Jean, Tracey, Bob, Kate, Steve, Jessica). The other eight storyboards (Eric,

⁴⁶ cf. Herrnstein Smith (1981) argues against the dualistic separation of, what she refers to as 'basic story' (fabula) and versions (story) of that story. She asserts that 'there is no single basically basic story...but, rather, an unlimited number of other narratives...' (Herrnstein-Smith, 1980, p. 221). Herrnstein-Smith (1980) is dealing with fictional stories, however this claim has interesting implications for autobiographical narrative.

⁴⁷ Genette (1980) uses different terminology here, referring to story and narrative as opposed to fabula and story.

Henry, Samantha, Dave, Rory, Barbara, Joe, Janet) also had fabula and story layers that corresponded closely to each other. However in at least one frame, the sequential order of events was too close to be separated. For example in Eric's storyboard his 'post art school' and unemployed status (fr. 2) appeared to be simultaneous events rather than occurring in sequence. It was certainly the case that there were examples of deviation between fabula and story in terms of frequency of an event (e.g. Rebecca's repetition of the name of a prisoner who was significant in her journey; 'Mark, Mark, Mark, Mark, Mark', fr. 6) and the duration of events (e.g. Jessica covered the distance between birth and midlife crisis in the ellipsis between two frames (fr. 1 and 2) while the much shorter actual timescale of the recruitment process to become a WiR was stretched over three full frames (fr. 5-7). However, in the order of events themselves there was an apparent mirroring of chronological sequence at the levels of fabula and story. This finding has both theoretical and practical significance for the current study.

In terms of theoretical considerations, Barros (1998, p. 17) cautions against a too literal understanding of the notion of chronology in autobiography, citing the work of Herrnstein Smith (1981), who argues that only 'acutely self-conscious "artful," (sic) or "literary texts"' may be found to contain a '*perfect* chronological order' (1981, p. 227, original emphasis). This raises the question of why, in the case of the storyboards, did all practitioners appear to adhere to a strict chronological order of events when composing their stories: beginning at birth, childhood or late teenage years and, progressing along a developmental trajectory that references, even when it didn't adhere to, regular life course stages? Why chose to tell a life story as a chronological sequence (although clearly using a selection rather than an inventory of events⁴⁸)? One reason for this may be that these narratives were produced in a particularly 'self-conscious' manner. This may have been due to the

⁴⁸ Brockmeier (2000, p. 63) has pointed out that a life story is always a 'highly selective reconfiguration' of that life, a representation rather than a presentation. This, for no other reason than the time it would take to narrate every single event in a person's life would preclude the necessary time to tell or write it. See also Sandberg and Ugelvik's (2016) commentary on Ironmonger's (2012) novel for an extreme example of a narrator's attempt to capture every single event in his life.

research context in which they were composed. The Swedish artist, critic and philosopher, Lars O Ericsson (2020, following Svenstedt) has suggested that there is a conflict between the practice of fine art and the system of academic rules that govern research. This wariness also appeared to be reflected in the attitudes of WiR in England and Wales where, according to a detailed study of the obstacles to outcome measurement in creative writing residences, it was found that practitioners had 'neither the time nor energy to engage themselves' (O'Keefe and Alberston, 2016, p. 501) with the relevant social scientific research methods. It was perhaps this wariness, the sense of research as something 'other' than art that led practitioners to describe events accurately in order to satisfy the 'academic system of rules' (Ericsson, 2020 following Svenstedt). Alternatively, the professional context of this particular group of professional writers may have created anxieties in some of its individual members about their ability to produce 'good' writing, resulting in an unwillingness to take creative risks. Evidence for such unease is found in the comments of practitioners themselves, One practitioner (Susan) commented on her discomfort at exposing her writing to such an audience in the workshop, and another did so in a later conversation with the researcher. Whether or not either of these explanations is correct, it is certainly surprising that a group of professional authors failed to employ the literary devices of analepsis (flashback) and prolepsis (flashforward), which, based on the claims of Bal (2009), Herrnstein Smith (1981) and Brockmeier (2000, 2001) are so frequently employed in narratives.

Another explanatory possibility for this apparent mirroring of chronology in fabula and story is concerned rather with the reader than the writer of the text. In this view, it is the reader's propensity to discern coherence in random events and to build a temporal sequence based on their understandings of life and life narratives that render a narrative into a chronological sequence (Barros, 1998, p.17; Herman, 2009; Barthes, 1966/1975).

On a practical level, no matter the degree to which chronological sequence is a construct, the apparent mirroring of chronological events in the fabula and story proved particularly helpful in the process analysis. As discussed in

section 2.9.4, an appreciation of the order of events formed an essential role in discerning the context of significant objects found in the fabula. The relatively uncomplicated chronological structure encountered in this mirroring of the two textual levels, therefore, facilitated a more straightforward analysis in which fabula supported story and story reinforced the fabula.

3.4 Summary:

It is perhaps surprising to find such a rich seam of material emerging from an analysis of the basic fabula of the narratives of these 19 practitioners. Using nothing more than the chronological sequencing of practitioner selected life events that led to their working in prison environments, it has been possible to identify six types of alterity experienced by 16 out of the 19 practitioners: art itself; anti-authority/protest; reject status quo; early institutional experience; identify with/help the other; mental health. There is a sense of resistance running through these narratives which centres on outsider-ness or other-ness, conceptualized here as alterity. This supports the notion of the writer or artist more generally as an outlaw, outsider, or rebel, and potentially the idea of the arts as a corrupting or distracting force (Belfiore and Bennett 2008, pp.40–53). Rader (1958) discusses a more existential version of the artist-outsider as ‘the type of man [sic] that feels estranged from the world and his own deeper self’ (Rader, 1958, p. 306). Both types of outsider-ness are present in the practitioners’ narratives, and warrant further discussion in Chapter Seven, where a consideration of the implications and consequences of these findings for creative arts interventions in criminal justice are discussed.

There were, however limitations to the content analysis of the fabula. As noted in section 2.9.5, the fabula or ‘event summaries’ removed emotional exposition from the narratives and with it, crucial dimensions of the construction of motivation and intention. The analysis had successfully stripped the narratives back to the bare bones of the fabula, enabling an unobstructed view of the chrono-logical structures of each narrative with as

little researcher interpretation as possible. However while this clearly set out what happened in the narratives, it could not shed light upon why it happened. In order to achieve this aim, the descriptive, reflective and argumentative elements of the original narratives were reincorporated alongside the narrative, conversational and instructional dimensions of each narrative. This was achieved by using the process element of the fabula analysis (the fabula plus) rather than the event summaries (the fabula) as the text for analysis (see section 2.9.4 and 2.9.5 for further detail). A suitable framework with which to analyse the process analysis of each of the narratives was found in Greimas' (1966) actantial model (stage III), which, as outlined in section 2.9.6, focuses on six drivers of (or obstacles to) narrative action (including motivation and intention). This approach spoke directly to the needs of the current research to identify the intentions, motivations and journeys of the practitioners into prison.

Table 3.4: Key Findings from Chapter Three

Key Findings	Section
Identification of six types of alterity/outsider status across the 19 narratives	3.2
Practitioners apparent adherence to chronological order of life events in their telling of their stories	3.3

Chapter Four – The Axis of Desire

4.1 Introduction:

This is the first of three chapters that apply an actantial analysis to the practitioners' narratives. In this chapter focus is given to the axis of desire, which contains the subject and object of the narrative.

Table 2.2: Stages of Analysis

Stage	Method	Source	Purpose	Process	Key literature
(I) Findings in chapter three	Content analysis of fabula: Objects	Raw Storyboard	Identify all objects contained in the fabula	* Objects = nouns and pronouns * Single adjectives which modify nouns may be included * Identify patterns and common objects across raw storyboards	Bal, 1997, 2009

<p>(II) Findings in chapter three</p>	<p>Content analysis of fabula: Processes</p>	<p>Raw Storyboard</p>	<p>Identify processes contained in the fabula</p>	<p>* Processes = the changes that occur in, with, through and among objects. (Bal, 1997, p. 182) * Transfer all narrative elements from the raw storyboard to the process analysis with as little interpretation as possible * Identify the narrative function of each sentence * Create an 'event summary' consisting of all sentences which have a narrative, conversational or instructional function</p>	<p>Bal, 1997, 2009 Fludernik, 2000</p>
<p>(III) Findings in chapter 4-6)</p>	<p>Actantial analysis</p>	<p>Results from Process Analysis (see II)</p>	<p>Identify how each textual element in the process analysis contributes to the construction of the overall storyboard.</p>	<p>* Actants = 'the great functions or roles occupied by the various characters in a narrative, be they humans, animals or simple objects' (Vandendorpe, 1993: 505) * Code each textual element into one or more actantial classes of subject-object, sender-receiver, helper-opponent * Code each actant in terms of intentional/unintentional, active/passive and</p>	<p>Greimas, 1966/1983 Greimas & Corte, 1984 Herbert, 2011</p>

				<p>possible/real * Analyse for patterns</p>	
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As noted in section 3.4, there were limitations to the fabula content analysis (chapter 3), which resulted from the removal of all narrative elements pertaining to the emotional dimensions of the narratives. Even when these were reinstated through the use of the process element of the fabula content analysis as a more suitable text for analysis than the event summaries derived from these, this did not immediately present a framework for the next stage of analysis. Greimas' (1966) actantial analysis was chosen because it enabled the inclusion of the emotional dimensions of the practitioners' journeys to prison which, in turn, enabled an understanding not only of what happened in the narratives but why it happened. As outlined below, this chapter identifies the goals and ambitions of the creative writing practitioners, and how far these were met in relation to their creative arts practice in prisons.

The axis of desire relates to one of Greimas' (1966) three pairs of narrative functions: the subject and the object of the narrative or, in other words, the main character in the story and the goal or ambition which that character desired (for further details see section 2.9.6). The subject-object relationship is framed as a junction, which can be either positive (the object is something the subject welcomes), known as a conjunction, or negative (the object is something that the subject wishes to reject) known as a disjunction (Herbert, 2011, p. 71). Whether positive or negative, it is also possible to articulate the degree of success in achieving the junction through coding for complete or partial achievement, and whether the junction is achieved with certainty or doubt (Herbert, 2011, p. 72). The subject is defined as that which 'is directed towards the object' (Herbert, 2011, p. 71). As such the subject is defined in relational rather than essentialist terms, which have important implications for understanding the construction of the narrative subject and its relationship to the research participant (see section 4.4.2). This chapter will outline findings

from an analysis of the axis of desire, in which the characters and their goals, found in each process analysis, will be described, along with discussion of the outcomes of these ambitions and their significance for the creative practitioners and creative arts practice in prisons. In addition, consideration will be given to two key structural dimensions of the narratives and their significance in the construction of the practitioners' narratives and potential implications for their work with prisoners.

4.2 Overview of Subject-Object Junctions:

Table 4.1 sets out the subject-object pairing for the storyboard of each practitioner, based on the process element of the fabula content analysis. In addition to identifying the subject and object, the table also gives detail of the type of relationship between the subject and object (conjunction or disjunction) and the degree to which the subject achieved the object. There were limitations to narratives that could be analysed using this method, and it was discovered that it was not possible to analyse a high concentration of poorly drawn images without an overreliance on textual interpretation. (see appendix 10). This resulted in the removal of Cindy's narrative from the actantial analysis at this stage.

Table 4.1: Subject-Object Junctions

Subject	Object	Junction	Junction Type	Complete/Partial achievement	(achieved with) Certainty/Doubt
Kate	A new job	Kate wants to have a new job (as a WiR)	Conjunction	Complete	Doubt

Henry	A full time writer	Henry wants to be a full time writer	Conjunction	Complete	Doubt
Idealistic Idiot (Dave)	'Job of his life' in youth justice	The Idealistic Idiot wants to work in 'the job of his life' in Youth Justice.	Conjunction	Complete	Doubt
Steve	To write	Steve wants to write	Conjunction	Complete	Certain
Rory	'something to do with writing'	Rory wants to do something to do with writing	Conjunction	Complete	Certain
Barbara	Writing	Barbara wants to write	Conjunction	Complete	Certain
Joanne	Escape through English	Joanne wants to escape through English	Conjunction	Complete	Doubt

Ben	Write a book	Ben wants to write a book	Conjunction	Complete	Certain
Jean	Creative arts	Jean wants to engage with the creative arts	Conjunction	Complete	Certain
Eric	Make art	Eric wants to make art	Conjunction	Complete	Certain
Tracey	Teaching job in prison	Tracey wants to have a teaching job in prison	Conjunction	Complete	Certain
Bob	Music	Bob wants to make music	Conjunction	Complete	Certain
Rebecca	Mental terror	Rebecca wants to escape from mental terror	Disjunction	Partially	Doubt
Jessica	A life other than the one Jessica grew up in	Jessica wants to explore a life other than the one she	Conjunction	Complete	Certain

		grew up in			
Joe	Being who he is	Joe wants to break away to who he is.	Conjunction	Complete	Certain
Susan	Status quo	Susan wants to reject the status quo	Disjunction	Partial	Doubt
Samantha	Escape	Samantha wants escape	Disjunction	Partially (Samantha escapes from a conventional narrative)	Doubt
Janet	A world different to Janet's own 'lived reality'	Janet wants to inhabit a world different to her own 'lived reality'.	Conjunction	Complete	Certain
Cindy	?	?	?	?	?

4.2.1 Subject-Object Junctions:

The following two subsections identify the different underlying ambitions constructed by the creative practitioners and finds that one group of practitioners construct ambitions based on professional vocation (4.2.1.1), while a second group articulate their ambitions in terms of a rejection of, or escape from an unsatisfactory past (4.2.1.2). A third subsection (4.2.1.3) concludes with a discussion of the positive or negative relationships that were found between the subject and object, that revealed an apparent tension between the findings on alterity and rebellion (chapter three) compared with practitioners' capacity for openness in the construction of their personal ambitions.

4.2.1.1 Professional Vocations:

Unsurprisingly, in many instances, and no doubt influenced by the professional creative context in which the narratives were produced, nine of the objects coded related to the subjects' creative ambitions (Henry, Steve, Rory, Barabra, Joanne, Ben, Jean, Eric, Bob), while two focused on non-creative work in the criminal justice environment (Dave, Tracey), and one practitioner (Kate) combined creative and criminal justice work in a desire to gain employment as a prison WiR. All 12 of these practitioners framed the relationship between subject and object as one of conjunction (i.e. the object is something that they desire). The most immediate point stemming from these 12 storyboards is that only one narrative defines creative work in a prison as their main ambition or object. Even here, this was related in large part to the structure of the narrative itself rather than any kind of overarching ambition (see section 4.4.1). This suggests that these practitioners construct their work in creative arts in the criminal justice sector less as a vocation, something they have named and strive to achieve, and more as a support or augmentation to their central aspirations.

In 10 of these 12 narratives, the creative arts themselves are constructed as a vocation, although as indicated in the previous paragraph, one of these practitioners (Kate) combined the field of creative arts with criminal justice in a manner perhaps influenced more by the narrative structure of the storyboard than a comprehensive composition of life events. There are two quite distinct ways in which creative vocation is framed: as a professional endeavour involving commercial outputs, and as a more abstract desire to engage with the creative process. Two practitioners expressed clear-cut professional ambitions. Henry and Ben both defined professional ambitions in the field of literature, Henry wanted to be a full time writer (fr. 5), while Ben's goal appeared to centre on authoring a book (fr. 2).

Four practitioners had goals that also concerned literary achievement, however their ambitions were less defined by professional measures of success. Steve and Barbara simply wanted to write, while Rory had the broader aim of doing 'something to do with writing' (Rory, fr. 2) and Joanne wanted to 'escape through English' (Joanne, fr. 2). A further three practitioners desired involvement in the wider arts sector, Bob in music, Eric in visual art and Jean in the creative arts, echoing findings from the fabula content analysis on the prevalence of multi-disciplinary arts practice among the practitioners (chapter three)⁴⁹.

The objects articulated by these latter, seven practitioners make up the second category of abstract creative aspiration, which is more concerned with involvement in the creative process. This finding suggests that, in the main, these practitioners are less concerned with commercial achievement than with their desire to create art in various forms. This idea finds support in Broadhead (2006, p. 122-123) who argues that few WiR are successful professional writers. A closer consideration of the trajectories of these

⁴⁹ Of the objects outlined in this paragraph two were clearly stated in the text (Steve, Rory) as ambitions (e.g. 'I always wanted to write', Steve, fr. 2), three were stated (Henry, Ben, and Joanne) but not in the context of an ambition (e.g. 'I am a full time writer', Henry, fr.5) and the remaining seven (Barbara, Bob, Eric, Jean, Kate, Tracey, Dave) required some interpretation based on the series of events narrated.

practitioners' ambitions across the full eight frames of the storyboards (section 4.3.1), along with a broader consideration of the motivations and beneficiaries of the practitioners' ambitions in the axis of transmission (chapter five), will contribute further to this discussion.

Not all of the 12 practitioners under discussion framed a creative ambition as their object. Tracey and Dave each identified work in criminal justice as their main focus. For Tracey, this was a job teaching English in a prison, for Dave the 'job of his life in youth justice' (fr. 3). There is an implicit connection between teaching English and creative writing, as is suggested in the literature review (chapter one) and further supported by the employment history of another of the research participants in the current study, who went from working as a WiR to an English tutor in the same prison (chapter two)⁵⁰. It may be that Tracey also uses her employment as a tutor to support her interests in creative writing facilitation, however this is not clear from the object stipulated. Dave's ambition to work in youth justice is fulfilled very early in his narrative and the progression of his story will be further examined in section 4.3.1.3 when the full narrative trajectories are examined.

4.2.1.2 Rejection or Escape:

Discussion in this section has so far focused on the professional lives of 12 of the practitioners and their creative or career ambitions. However, a further six practitioners constructed an object that was premised on more personal aspirations, at times placing the existential at the very heart of the narrative (Rebecca, Samantha, Joe, Janet, Jessica, Susan). All of these objects in some way appeared to be concerned with an escape from or rejection of previous states of being, whether individual or societal. For Jessica, Janet and Joe this involved a desire to explore, inhabit or break into different

⁵⁰ Although according to Parkinson (2018) a recent reformulation of the basic skills curriculum in prisons in England and Wales presents a 'significant challenge' to incorporating creative writing into formal education provision.

worlds, lives or selves⁵¹. Jessica wanted to explore a life other than the one she grew up in, Janet aimed to inhabit a world different to her own lived reality, and Joe, perhaps most dynamically of all, strove to break away to be who he was, suggesting the pursuit of an authentic self. These three objects all suggest a move towards something different, however the remaining three practitioners express goals in which there is a decisive move away from previous situations. For Rebecca this is about escaping from her own personal mental terror (she uses the image of an imprisoned mind, fr. 6)⁵², while Susan wants to reject a wider, external status quo⁵³. Finally, Samantha stipulates neither what she desires to move away from nor what she wants to move towards, simply naming escape as a primary and early preoccupation (fr. 1)⁵⁴. The directional contrast between the three practitioners in terms of 'moving towards' or 'away from' their object is articulated in coding for the type of junction. Jessica, Janet and Joe's subject-object pairings are all coded as conjunctions, while Rebecca, Susan and Samantha construct their objects as disjunctions, i.e. their objects are something they wish to reject or escape from.

⁵¹ Objects and junctions are taken verbatim from Janet and Joe's process analyses. In both cases the junction is coded from the first desire contained in the process analysis that could be considered an ambition (Janet, fr. 2; Joe, fr. 7), although neither narrative states this. Jessica's storyboard is slightly different in that the noun 'fascination' in the sentence 'a fascination for a life other than the one I grew up in' (fr. 1) was replaced with the verb 'explore'. This enabled the creation of a junction which reflected the idea of fascination in an active rather than descriptive manner.

⁵² Rebecca's narrative did not explicitly state the object, as a result the junction was somewhat unclear. The coding notes reflected this difficulty and acknowledged that the final word choice of 'escape' may have been due to the researcher's own 'storytelling impulse leaking out' (Research diary). The less hyperbolic way to structure this junction would have been to describe it as, 'Rebecca does not want to feel terror'. However the passive framing of the sentence did not accurately reflect the active attempts of the subject to move beyond her childhood trauma. These considerations, combined with Rebecca's use of the antonym, 'imprison' (fr. 6) led the researcher to select the more emotionally charged verb 'escape', in order to reflect the emotional intensity contained in the narrative.

⁵³ As with Rebecca's narrative, Susan did not use the verb 'reject' to describe her junction, however her inventory of involvement in 'politics and punk' (fr. 2), radical left wing politics (fr. 3) and alternative lifestyles (fr. 4), suggested a clear rejection of the mainstream. In order to capture this panoply of oppositional politics the object was, therefore, coded as the status quo, which Susan 'rejects'.

⁵⁴ Samantha explicitly stated a desire for escape in her process analysis (fr. 1), however she was less specific in terms of the object she wanted to escape from. For this reason, the act of escape itself is coded as the object in Samantha's axis of desire.

The desire for escape is also suggested in three other narratives which do not identify a personal aspiration as their goal. Joanne wants to escape into English (fr. 2) (and also gave her overall storyboard the title 'The Great Escape'), while Dave escapes to university life, where he studies English (fr. 2). Although not explicitly using the word 'escape', Barbara writes about how she 'felt so happy in fiction' (fr. 7) constructing literature as a place she travelled to, and Tracey suggests her new job in prison allows her to escape the logistical demands of previous employment, 'running around 4 jobs' and 'overtime hours' (fr. 5). Meanwhile Jean uses the word 'freedom', which can be considered a corollary to 'escape'.

There is a certain incongruity to the idea that practitioners who strive to escape, whether from their current state of being, personal circumstances, or to reject a wider social normativity, should come to work in prison. This is certainly the case in terms of Susan's junction. Active rejection of the status quo would appear to include rejection of its institutions. However, in the other narratives this rejection is less pronounced. Indeed, in the case of Jessica and Janet's narratives, there is a sense in which the prison represents the achievement of their objects; for both of these practitioners, to a greater or lesser degree, it offers a different world or 'lived reality' from their formative experience. Although it is the case that Janet appears to have experienced poverty in childhood, this does not seem to lead to her personal criminalisation. These outcomes for both practitioners subvert the 'dominant social mobility narrative' (Folkes, 2019) with its encouragement of aspirational goals⁵⁵, and suggests instead a possible descent down the social ladder in order to consort with the criminal classes. This subversion is even more marked in Joe's narrative, where his breaking away to be who he was, is immediately proceeded by the sentence, 'broke into the prison' (fr. 8), suggesting that his authentic self is connected with an outlaw status.

⁵⁵ The uniformity of such a neoliberal discourse is, however, contested by recent scholars who find alternative narratives that create different measures of value (Folkes, 2019) and contest the linearity of conventional narratives of social mobility (Savage and Flemmen, 2019).

Meanwhile, both Rebecca and Samantha's attempts at escape appear to be in diametric opposition to their later association with the confinement of the jail.

The subversive edge suggested by a juxtaposition of the notion of 'escape' with that of the 'prison' has implications for the relationship between the prison system and the creative practitioners that work within it. On a logistical level, at least four of the practitioners' personal ambitions are not entirely supportive of the 'Good Order and Discipline' so central to the maintenance of the prison rules (Prison Rules, 1999, Loucks, 2000). Neither the instability suggested by 'mental terror', the indiscriminate impulse to escape, nor the rebellion implicit in an 'outlaw' authentic self are immediately suggestive of the necessary reliability and conformity required for the safe and secure running of a prison regime. This is even less the case for Susan's ambition of rejecting the status quo. It is possible that such goals contribute to a narrative that constructs these practitioners as a 'security risk' (Peaker & Vincent, 1990, p. 126) in the eyes of prison staff, a perception that may result in uniform staff's resistance to creative activities (see section 1.3).

However, this finding raises an alternative question, one which is not clearly articulated in the research literature, although is perhaps more common as a literary trope (Fludernik, 1999). What is the connection between these practitioners' desires to escape and their subsequent choices to work in a prison environment, which is the apparent antithesis of escape? Fludernik (1999) identifies the notion of the carceral container metaphor, which delineates an inside/outside binary but includes a liminal space of 'transcendence (and/or transgression)' (Fludernik, 1999, p. 47) which exists at the threshold of both the ingress and egress of the prison. Is it possible that these practitioners construct the prison experience in such a manner that part of their escape from, rejection of or move away from their previous lives is somehow answered in the potential for transcendence or transgression promised by this literary trope. Again, comments offered at this stage of analysis can only be speculative as there is a good deal of fabula separating the practitioners' ambitions from their failure or success. In

section 4.3.1 this journey from goal to outcome will be investigated in greater detail.

4.2.1.3 The Subject-Object Relationship:

The junction, as already set out, is the relationship that exists between the subject and object. It can be a positive relationship in which the subject desires to attain the object (a conjunction) or a negative relationship, where the subject seeks to reject the object (a disjunction) (Hebert, 2011, p. 71). The fourth column of table 4.1 codes for the type of junction between the subject and object. In total 15 of the actantial models were coded as conjunctions and three as disjunctions. This suggests that a majority of the practitioners constructed their goals positively, although as section 4.3.1 will illustrate, a positively framed junction does not necessarily lead to a positive narrative trajectory. All ten of the junctions that related to ambitions in the creative arts were, unsurprisingly, framed as conjunctions and were therefore goals to be welcomed (Henry, Steve, Rory, Barbara, Joanne, Ben, Jean, Eric, Bob, Kate). This was also the case for the two practitioners who constructed non-creative professional ambitions as a prison education tutor and youth justice worker, respectively (Tracey, Dave). The three practitioners who framed their goals as disjunctions did so within the context of personal ambitions (Rebecca, Samantha, Susan), and in two cases (Rebecca, Susan) the arts were used as a way to support or temper their goals to escape or reject unwanted obstacles from their lives.

These findings show that overall practitioners select objects which they value and they are motivated to pursue. Only a small minority of practitioners focus on negative dimensions of their lives and their attempts to be free of them. This is perhaps a surprising finding when compared to the key features of resistance and rebellion found in the fabula content analysis discussed in chapter 3.

4.3 The End of the Stories:

Table 4.2 (below) details the degree to which each practitioner's object or goal was achieved in the course of the process analysis. There are two separate codes which identify whether the junction was achieved partially or completely (to what degree did the practitioner succeed in their goal) and whether the junction was achieved with certainty or with doubt: did the participant get what they wanted (a real junction) or is there some doubt about the desirability of the outcome (a possible junction) (Herbert, 2011, p. 72). In short, was there a happy ending? This table also shows the exact frame in which each practitioner's goals was achieved in their storyboard.

4.3.1 False Endings:

The following three subsections will consider the individual narrative trajectories of the 18 practitioners, highlighting patterns between narratives where they emerged, and including discussion of their significance for the creative practitioners and their creative arts practice in prisons. Three particular patterns emerged from the narratives, which pertained to: creative ambitions (professional and process-led) (section 4.3.1.1), personal aspirations (section 4.3.1.2) and professional non-creative goals (section 4.3.1.3). Three broader, cultural narratives were also identified that construct the arts as beleaguered, as therapeutic and as transformational.

Somewhat surprisingly, 16 out of the 18 narratives failed to conform to conventional narrative structure in terms of alignment of the achievement of subject-object junctions with the end of the story (Brockmeier, 2001; Propp, 1968), i.e. the achievement of the goal constitutes the happy ending or the failure to achieve the goal leads to an unhappy ending. It was not that junctions were not achieved; in 15 out of 18 storyboards the junction was coded as achieved completely, and in 12 of those cases the achievement was certain, i.e. the outcome was the one desired. However, as table 4.2

shows, only in two cases did the junction occur in the eighth and final frame of the storyboard (see section 4.3.1.3 for discussion of Tracey and Kate's storyboards):

Table 4.2 Differences Between Achievement of Junctions and Endings of Stories:

Subject	Complete	Partial	Certain	Doubt	Frame junction completed in
Kate	X			X	8
Henry	X			X	5
Dave	X			X	3
Steve	X		X		5
Rory	X		X		6
Barbara	X		X		2
Joanne	X		X		2
Ben	X		X		2
Jean	X		X		5
Eric	X		X		1
Tracey	X		X		8
Bob	X		X		4
Rebecca		X		X	
Jessica	X		X		3
Joe	X		X		7
Susan		X		X	

Samantha		X		X	
Janet	X		X		2
Total	15	3	12	6	

Of the remaining 13 storyboards the completion of the conjunction was spread fairly evenly across the storyboard frames. One practitioner achieved his goal as early as the first frame (Eric), while a second practitioner constructed his as occurring in the penultimate frame (Joe). The greatest frequency of junctions achieved was in frame 2 (n.4), meaning that in a quarter of all conjunctions (n. 15) the achievement of the junction marked the beginning rather than the end of the story. However, the successful completion of a junction was not a guarantee of a happy ending. Even in the majority of the storyboards (n. 12) where the conjunctions were completed with certainty, the narratives often extended beyond a putative success story to one which contained continuing vicissitudes (n.5) or simply the quotidian events of a life extending beyond a denouement (n.6)⁵⁶. The remaining three narratives (Rebecca, Samantha, Susan) achieved only partial junctions and as such these junctions were also coded as doubtful. Interestingly, these three narratives were the only ones based on a disjunction rather than a conjunction; the ideal endings to their stories rested in the end of unhappiness rather than the beginning of happiness. It is not clear why this patterning occurred, however the phrasing of the junctions themselves as disjunctions may have played a role in their achievement or lack thereof⁵⁷. It

⁵⁶ Joe's storyboard is not included in this tally as the completion of his junction in the seventh frame leaves very little time for any continuation of the narrative.

⁵⁷ The phrasing of the junction itself may have an impact on how likely that junction is to be achieved. Certainly in the case of disjunctions the indeterminate nature of the aspiration to 'reject the status quo' (Susan), 'escape from mental terror' (Rebecca) or even more generally, to 'escape' (Samantha), make it difficult to ascertain whether this aspiration has been achieved. For example in Rebecca's process analysis she claims that 'Mark teaches me no one can imprison your mind' (Rebecca fr. 6). However, is that enough to conclude that Rebecca has overcome deep intergenerational trauma? Certainly the final frame, where she describes 'losing it' (Rebecca, fr. 8) would suggest that a certain amount of mental fragility remains.

is perhaps more difficult to ascertain the removal of unhappiness than it is the achievement of happiness.

4.3.1.1 Creative Ambitions:

The starkest example of a conjunction completed early but not maintained until the end of the narrative, or in other words a good ending gone bad, was found in Ben's storyboard. Ben's ambition to write a book was achieved completely and without doubt (fr. 2). However, rather than heralding the beginning of a successful literary career, initially suggested by Ben's winning a prize and making money (fr. 3), his subsequent profligacy ('PISS IT ALL AWAY', fr. 4) appeared to preface a period of self destructive behaviour in which he struggled to replicate his early literary success (fr. 5, 6 and 7). The 'good ending gone bad' scenario was also played out in Henry's narrative, the only other practitioner to identify a professional creative ambition as his goal. Despite the success of his first film (fr. 4), leading to the achievement of his ambition to be a full time writer (fr. 5), he is unable to maintain his career success, which is subsequently beset by psychological and financial challenges (fr. 5 and 6). In both Henry and Ben's narratives, creative success is constructed as a dynamic process not a destination, and in both cases their decision to apply for a prison residency was substantially motivated by a need to make money ('I have no money/It's harder and harder to find work', Henry: fr. 6; 'Need money? Find a job', Ben: fr. 7)⁵⁸. Though it is not certain that a prison writing residency will be enough to sustain Henry's professional career in the longer term, leading to the achievement of Henry's junction being coded as 'with doubt'. This financial precarity echoes findings from the earlier fabula content analysis (see section 3.3.2.4). The finding also

⁵⁸ In the case of Henry's narrative, however, there was an additional rationale suggested by Henry's recollection of an event he experienced as a criminal justice practitioner when younger and the part he played in the damage delivered by the criminal justice system (fr. 7). There was a suggestion that this memory played a role in Henry's decision to apply for the WiR job, perhaps as a way to make reparation for earlier damage. The use of such 'cognitive links' in practitioners narratives will be discussed in section 6.3.3.4.

captures more specifically the financial benefits of a WiR job, constructed as necessary by Henry and Ben to assist them to achieve their ongoing professional creative ambitions.

A lack of money was also a direct motivation for Rory, whose ambition was more concerned with creative practice than product ('it's something to do with writing', fr. 2), and the worry of financial precarity also figured in the calculations of Henry, Steve and Janet as to whether they should pursue their creative ambitions in the first place. Financial difficulties among practitioners aiming to engage with their creative practice signalled that difficulties in achieving creative ambitions were not exclusive to those practitioners concerned with professional success. Two of the seven practitioners who identified engagement with the creative process as their ambition also framed their attempts as involving struggle (Eric, Rory). Eric encounters destructive working relationships and 'creative chaos' (fr. 5) as he is precipitated into a spiral of decline (fr. 6), while Rory works digging ditches as he struggles to break into the literary scene. From the vantage point of his first writing residency, Rory reflects that there is nothing left in his old life to draw him back (fr. 6). Even after Rory begins to secure a consistent creative practice, his decision to accept an invitation to a prison is based on the fact that he needs the employment ('it's work', fr. 7). This suggests that for almost half of the practitioners who constructed creative ambitions (Henry, Ben, Rory, Eric) those ambitions were something pursued in spite of the difficulties they presented. Not all of the difficulty was financial and practitioners express emotional or psychological difficulty in three cases (Henry, Eric, Ben).

No matter the type of difficulty however, these narratives appear to reflect (or reproduce) the 'saga of the suffering artist' (Rothenburg, 2001, p. 132; Schneider, 2015) and in turn the wider 'narrative of crisis and beleaguerment' in the arts (Belfiore & Bennett, 2008, pp. 4-5), which predicts the imminent demise of the arts due to their underappreciation. The pessimism of this view is perhaps one of the reasons why arts activity is sometimes discouraged in prisons.

The narratives of three of the four practitioners with a creative ambition, who construct a narrative of beleaguerment, also contained expression of satisfaction that was derived from their creative work (Henry, Eric, Rory). In two cases (Henry, Rory) this was mainly tied up with the satisfaction they derived from facilitating the creativity of others, although Rory includes a childhood event when a teacher's praise for his composition leaves him feeling self-satisfied (fr. 1). Later in his storyboard Rory comments that the writing workshops he ran in the prison chapel every Wednesday afternoon were 'enjoyable' (fr. 8) and Henry writes about the excitement and happiness he felt while working as a funding officer and gallery manager, supporting the work of other artists (fr. 3 and 4). While not financial in nature, the benefits expressed by these two practitioners were also ultimately framed in terms of personal benefit. It may even be that the satisfaction they derive from supporting others' creativity acts as a kind of respite from the struggles of their own creative endeavours.

Eric's focus was somewhat different, resting more on how he benefited from as well as battled with his own creative practice. He framed his first experiences of making art as a time of 'discovery and enlightenment' in which he 'finds' himself (fr. 1) while at art school. Later in the storyboard, following a difficult period in which he found himself out of control (fr. 5), homeless, mentally vulnerable (fr. 6) and smoking and drinking (fr. 7), he was able to regain self-respect as a result of his introduction to the prisoner writing organisation, WIPN, where he felt 'respected, taken seriously [and] valued' (fr. 8)⁵⁹. In this narrative again, there is evidence of a practitioner's inability to maintain their creative ambitions. Despite Eric achieving his goal of being able to make art in the first frame of the storyboard, where he experiences a sense of enlightenment, he then writes about repeating this self discovery in a 'slow process of awakening' in frames 6, 7 and 8. It is arguable that in Eric's story a wider narrative concerning the therapeutic (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008, pp. 102-106) or even rehabilitative value of the

⁵⁹ Eric does not explicitly state that he was employed as a WiR by WIPN, however previous conversations with Eric meant that this fact was well established

arts is present. While Eric does not come into contact with the criminal justice system as an offender, there is a sense in which he experiences the rehabilitative value of the arts in a broader, health-focused context (Raynor and Robinson, 2005, p. 3).

Eric's storyboard also locates his arts practice within a community context (as does Steve's), which is suggestive of the wider benefits of the arts as a social good. In frame 3 he described his involvement with Bloom 98, a large scale community art project where performance artists and allotment owners in Birmingham came together to celebrate processes of growth and cultivation (Crouch, 2010, p. 97). Eric also touched on his work as an artist in a local prison in Yorkshire (fr. 3) and involvement with Hull Time Based Arts, a collective of underground artists responding to a lack of cultural provision for communities in a northern city (V2, undated). More generally, there were several references to Eric's involvement with communities (fr. 2, 4 and 5). However, his relationships with these networks were mixed, including stages of difficulty (fr. 2), wild times (fr. 3), creative output (fr. 3, 4) and chaos (fr. 5), resulting in a period of significant vulnerability (fr. 6).

The remaining five practitioners who identified creative practice as their goal (Joanne, Bob, Barbara, Jean, Steve), constructed their storyboards less in terms of the suffering artist saga and all but one of them (Jean), stated emotional benefits derived by themselves and/or the prisoners they work with. Four of these five practitioners constructed a relatively seamless progression of events. After a childhood that was, literally, presented in dark colours, Jean progressed through political protest and literature (fr. 3 and 4), into poetry composition (fr. 5) and on to achieving engagement with the wider creative arts (fr. 7) before arriving at the prison gates (fr. 8)⁶⁰. The greatest obstacle to her creative process seemed to be in the form of a 'disruptive cat' (fr. 5). Barbara's desire to write fulfilled in frame 2 of her storyboard when

⁶⁰ The image used in the final frame of Jean's storyboard does not clearly show the building she entered was a prison. The process analysis describes it as, 'I walk towards a tall fence' (fr. 8). However, the context in which the storyboard was composed suggested that the assumption that the tall fence was a prison fence was a reasonable one.

she became a fiction editor for a teen magazine, subsequently proceeded through a progression of creative assignments which she nurtured among changing life circumstances. Steve too, after initial concern about the financial implications of a creative career, carved a steady path through a variety of jobs in theatre, publishing and the community arts (fr. 3, 4 and 5) before becoming a prison WiR (fr. 8). Meanwhile, Bob's narrative described a smooth and concise trajectory from an early passion for music (fr. 1) through a developing career as a popular musical entertainer (fr. 2, 3, 4, 5) before entering the prison gates at the result of an unexpected invitation (fr. 6, 7, 8)^{61 62}.

Interspersed through three of these four narratives were a number of benefits identified by the practitioners (Bob, Steve, Barbara). Barbara described the personal satisfaction she took from story writing ('I felt so happy in fiction', fr.7), while the other two practitioners referenced back to the gratification derived from facilitating the creativity of others. Bob described the music workshops he facilitated in prisons as the '(m)ost rewarding job ever' (fr.8), while Steve, who discovered an aptitude for facilitating the creativity of others while working in the community arts (fr. 4), included an awareness of the workshop participants' perspectives as well as his own enthusiasm for running workshops ('It was brilliant', fr. 5). He noted the ways in which the work that he did addressed manifestations of imprisonment both for those outside jail and those within (fr. 8). Steve's storyboard is the one out of the four which most clearly demonstrates the benefits of creative engagement for the participants he works with, however all four narratives, to some degree, intimate the therapeutic value of the creative process as it pertains to their own experience of it.

⁶¹ It is possible that the lack of dramatic conflict contained in Bob's storyboard was as much a reflection of this practitioner's specialism in music and lesser experience in crafting narrative. However, this suggestion is speculative and would require a more detailed analysis of the comparative stylistics of the practitioners' writing rather than focus on the narrative structure itself.

⁶² It is notable that Bob delivered music workshops in his role as a WiR with WPIN. This diversity was one of the features of WPIN, who made a point of not confining their activities to the written word (Hopwood, 1999, p. 13).

The second, therapeutic narrative discussed here, which runs counter and sometimes parallel to the narrative of beleaguerment, may offer a further incentive for the practitioners' entry through the prison gates. This may be as a direct consequence of their personal enjoyment of facilitating the creativity of others (Bob, Steve), perhaps motivated a little more by selfish than selfless considerations, or there may be an element of their wishing to share with prisoners the same benefits they themselves have derived from their creative practice (Eric, Barbara). Although all of these practitioners have achieved their goal before they enter the prison, there is a sense in which the prison allows them to either extend their own creative satisfaction or to extend that satisfaction to others.

None of the four practitioners discussed in the previous paragraph clearly state their desire to share their personal benefits of the arts with others. However, Joanne's narrative, which is the fifth and final storyboard to contain a goal focused on engagement with creative practice, does so explicitly. This narrative is somewhat different to the other four in that it contains a process of struggle. The struggle, however, derives from personal psychological battles that precede Joanne's creative ambition, and her desire to escape into English serves to alleviate rather than exacerbate her problems. While the narratives already discussed in the previous paragraph contain elements that counter the notion of the suffering artist and the narrative of beleaguerment with notions of the benefits of creativity, Joanne's narrative contains the most powerful testament to the benefits of creative practice and furthermore, brings together elements of both emotional ([I] love helping others through words, fr. 7) and financial ('People paid me to write for them', fr. 3) value. Joanne's goal, to escape through English, was achieved early, in frame 2 of the storyboard, as she wrestled with the feelings of anger, boredom and shyness engendered by school (fr. 1 and 2) and later diagnosed as a symptom of body dysmorphic disorder (fr. 5). Joanne goes on to realise that her refuge in writing could also be financially profitable (fr. 3 and 4), as well as emotionally beneficial to herself ('writing helped me a personally' fr. 5) and others ('[I asked myself] who else might be trapped?', fr. 7). The final frame of Joanne's storyboard represented a drawing together of

the financial and emotional benefits she derived from writing, as she created a writing programme for a local prison ('I pitched my idea to [name of local prison]', fr. 8) and succeeded in securing funding for the venture⁶³.

Joanne's narrative contains what Belfiore and Bennett (2008, p. 4) describe as a 'narrative of transformation', in which 'the arts have the power to transform lives and communities' (ACE, 2003, p. 2 cited in Belfiore and Bennett, 2008, p. 3). It is the antithesis of the narrative of beleaguerment and is a frequent claim made by researchers and practitioners working in arts in the CJS (e.g. Robertson, 2013; NCJAA, undated; Djurichkovic, 2011; ACE, 2018; Williams, 2003, p. 5, p. 236). The ubiquity of this cultural narrative makes it all the more surprising that only one of the practitioners with a creative ambition in the current study constructed a storyboard that was explicitly shaped by this transformational story. It appears that while practitioners may give voice to the transformational power of the arts in public facing settings, this was an experience that only one (Joanne), and less explicitly, two (Eric) practitioners out of a total of nine, identified with when asked to narrate their life story by a researcher, who also has experience of facilitating creative writing in prisons.

The reasons for the relative absence of transformation experiences in these narratives can only be speculated upon. Perhaps as Cheliotis has suggested the arts are nothing more than "a good story" (Cheliotis, 2012, p. 12 following Cohen), one which not even the practitioners who facilitate the work are able to vouch for based on their own experience. Alternatively, it may be that these particular practitioners, who have chosen to shape their narratives around their professional goals, construct biographies in which they present themselves as deliverers rather than recipients, experts rather than receivers of the kind of personal transformation sometimes claimed for the arts. The professional status of artists in delivering arts interventions has been highlighted as important in the evaluation literature (Bilby, Caulfield and

⁶³ Not all of the information discussed in relation to frame 8 of Joanne's storyboard is apparent from the text and further details were elicited as a result of a conversation during the research day.

Ridley, 2013; Caulfield, 2011) and it may be that practitioners presented this facet of themselves in the current study.

4.3.1.2 Personal Aspirations:

As discussed in section 4.2.1.2, not all of the creative practitioners in the current study expressed a creative goal and a further six practitioners framed objects that concerned personal, or even existential goals (Jessica, Janet, Joe, Rebecca, Samantha, Susan). While creativity was not at the centre of these practitioners' aspirations, it did however feature in the achievement of those aspirations in the cases of Janet and Jessica, and also in the narratives of Rebecca and Susan, although in the latter two storyboards the (dis)junctions were not achieved. These narratives tended to make greater positive claims for the value of the arts and one practitioner (Janet) constructs the second example of a transformation narrative. In these narratives, rather than pursuing a creative goal, in most cases creativity appears to support their goals.

The clearest example of this is found in Janet's narrative, where her desire to inhabit a world different to her own 'lived reality' is achieved completely and with certainty in frame 2 of the storyboard. While still a child Janet discovered she could inhabit an alternative reality through 'writing/daydreaming/reading' (fr. 2). A family that rejected both Janet (fr. 1) and the value of literature (fr. 3) led Janet to early school leaving/job/children/marriage (fr. 4) and it appears that writing continued to be something of a personal saviour (fr. 2, 3, 4, 5) long before it became a way to support others (fr. 6). A return to education as a mature student appeared to be the decisive point at which Janet discerned that she was 'writing with a purpose' (fr. 5), which led to the realisation of 'my "other" life' (fr. 6) where she worked with marginalised groups and individuals. In frame 8 Janet went on to form a writing collective and '(e)stablished myself as a writer' (fr. 8). Prison writing (fr. 8) appeared to be part of a constellation of activity that Janet engaged in in her roles as

'Activist/socialist, Facilitating/teaching' (fr. 7) although Janet suggests that prison writing allowed her to 'recognise a part of me that is very important' (fr. 8). The progression of the narrative from initial achievement of Janet's goal to the final frame of the storyboard constructed her struggle in a somewhat different way to those of Henry, Ben, Rory and Eric. This was not the struggle of the artist wrestling with their art, but rather of a woman struggling against the barriers of class and gender and finding empowerment through creativity.

The narrative constructed by Janet resonates with research on desistance narratives (Paternoster and Bushway, 2009; Soyer, 2014) which suggest that an alternative future self is first imagined and then (potentially) realised. This trajectory is demonstrated in Janet's storyboard where her aspiration to inhabit a different and less harsh world, occurred first in the realms of imagination where she was 're-writing/making sense of my own history' (fr. 4). However, an interesting transition occurred in frame 6 where Janet refers to her 'other life'. At this point the potentiality of writing to enable a change in 'lived reality' decisively shifted from existing as an imaginative process only, and achieved instead a material status which made qualitative differences to the shape of Janet's life and, through creative writing facilitation, the lives of others.

Janet's narrative offered by far the most powerful illustration of a narrative of transformation in this group, however other narratives concerned with personal aspirations also framed their creative practice as a component in the achievement of their goals. The role of writing in the achievement of Jessica's conjunction, to explore a life other than the one she grew up in, is emphasised less than in Janet's storyboard. However, it is still present. A midlife crisis, experienced in frame 2, is constructed as the catalyst for Jessica to begin her exploration of alternative lives ('Hand in my notice after 20 years in probation', fr.2). However, a lack of detail about Jessica's childhood (fr. 1) and the subsequent ellipsis of 40 or 50 years between her birth in frame 1 and the midlife crisis she experiences in frame 2 made it impossible to discern what the life Jessica grew up in might have looked like.

It appears highly likely, however, that a sabbatical in Tanzania with Voluntary Services Overseas (VSO) (fr. 2) following her resignation from the CJS presented a very different life to her quotidian formative experience. This is further supported by Jessica's initial reaction to her VSO experience, ('Feel like I've been scoured with a Brillo Pad', fr. 3)⁶⁴. While creative practice was not mentioned in the first three frames of Jessica's narrative, the publication of two short stories in frame 4 and her subsequent identification as a writer, suggested that Jessica's creative ambition either supported or was supported by her time spent volunteering in East Africa. The subsequent frame (fr. 5), which provided retrospective detail about Jessica's Master's degree in creative writing, would suggest that her time spent with VSO supported an already established writing practice rather than initiating one. Certainly it was her interest in creative writing that enabled Jessica to find a more sustainable way of exploring an alternative life for herself through her appointment as a WiR. Simultaneously this role also allowed her to explore the lives of prisoners vicariously, through her admittance to the closed world of the prison.

The narratives of Rebecca and Susan, although based on only partial, doubtful disjunctions, both frame creative practice as contributing to their attempts to escape mental terror (Rebecca) and reject the status quo (Susan). Rebecca, who is exposed to intergenerational trauma as a child (fr. 1 and 2) seeks escape from mental terror in compulsive reading (fr. 3), editing a collection of poetry on mental health (fr. 5) and authoring a collection of poetry about her childhood as the daughter of a holocaust survivor (fr. 7), along with the more usual pharmacological route of 'valium at 15' (fr. 4). However, it is through her written interactions with a prolific prison writer, Mark⁶⁵, that she has a moment of epiphany, realising that 'no one can imprison your mind' (fr. 6). This encounter, however, may not be enough to

⁶⁴ Jessica's earlier, 20 year career in the Probation Service (fr. 2) may also have been representative of a break with her formative world, however this was more difficult to ascertain due to the lack of detail about her upbringing.

⁶⁵ It was unclear from Rebecca's storyboard who Mark was, and this was clarified with the practitioner in a subsequent conversation. The same prisoner was also known by another of the practitioners in the research group as a prolific and able writer.

conclude that Rebecca has fully escaped her mental terror. Certainly the final frame, where she is 'late and lose(s) it on the bus' (Rebecca, fr. 8) would suggest that a certain amount of mental fragility remains.

Susan's storyboard, which describes a narrative trajectory beginning in the 'politics and punk' (fr. 2) of the 1970s, before travelling through the radical left wing politics of the 1980s (fr. 3) and onto the alternative lifestyles of the 1990s (fr. 4) is to some degree underpinned by the influence of the arts, certainly in terms of her engagement with the punk movement and the circus she ran away to join (fr. 4) after university (fr. 3). However, the value of the arts is made explicit in frame 5 when, following a dramatic romantic breakup ('[I'm] falling out of love [I'm] falling out of the sky', fr. 5) and a subsequent period of mental ill health (fr. 7), Susan surrounds herself with 'Books, books, films, writing, art, filming' (fr. 6). The suggestion being that creativity served as a protection against and healing from the worst ravages of 'anxiety, loss, stress, deaths [and] madness' (fr. 7) that she is exposed to during the period. In this narrative the arts serve two different functions, firstly as a kind of resistance to authority and latterly as a palliative to the excesses of emotion experienced by Susan. Interestingly, in the final frame of Susan's storyboard, increased writing practice leads to a job as a WiR, which seems to temper rather than assist her aspiration to reject the status quo, a point which will be discussed in greater detail in section 6.5.

The final two narratives produced by practitioners who construct personal aspirations make no mention of their creative practice at all. Joe's goal was not explicitly concerned with writing or the creative arts and the process analysis revealed that he didn't directly reference these activities anywhere in the storyboard. His engagement with words was through music ('revised album covers in record stores diligently, fr.3) and his poetry appears to be contained in the writing itself (this is by far the most poetically composed storyboard of the 19) and in a reference to a Leonard Cohen lyric from the song, The Old Revolution. Prior to achieving the junction in frame 7, the fabula content analysis details key stages in, what appears to be, a fairly normative life course: birth (fr. 1) playgroup (fr. 2), school (fr. 3), romantic

relationships (fr. 4) and un/employment (fr. 5 and 6). However there is an underlying implication of enforced conformity: he was coerced into joining playgroup ('pushed from behind by my dad', fr. 2) and openly rebelled against school ('Broke out of school as often as opportunity passed me the crowbar', fr. 3). Even following a period of erratic employment in 'jobs that were one by bloody one breaking me to bits - bit by bit' (fr. 5) a 'career in respectability' (fr. 6) does not resign Joe to conformity. His break away to be 'who I was' (fr. 7), which represents the achievement of his object, is not framed in terms of becoming a writer, but rather the realisation of his authentic self, and his entry into prison is constructed as being supportive of his process of personal discovery rather than his development as a creative practitioner:

'Learned something about how we all make our own breaks
Or don't.' (Joe, fr. 8)

Similar to Joe, the storyboard of Samantha also made no reference to the creative arts. However, unlike Joe's narrative, which offered a cohesive autobiographical account of his life from birth to prison, Samantha's storyboard was fragmentary and lacked clarity. There was not even a clear statement of her entry into prison, which was instead represented by a drawing of the Queen (interpreted to be an allusion to the photograph of Her Royal Highness, which is hung in every prison gatehouse in England and Wales). Beginning with an early memory where Samantha tried to extricate herself from involvement in a family photograph (fr. 1) the rest of Samantha's fabula content analysis detailed a series of situations which suggested a limiting of freedom due to the politics of nationalism (fr. 2, 4, 5) and of the playground, where she is bullied for her Irish accent (fr. 6), alongside an occasional glimmer of freedom (fr. 3). It is not possible to ascertain from Samantha's narrative if she succeeded in escaping, nor indeed what she might have escaped from. However, a literary interpretation of this storyboard might suggest that the unarticulated object that Samantha desired escape from was the plot of the narrative itself. As documented in the research diary:

‘Overall, I think the analysis of this storyboard suffers from the fact that the storyboard does not follow a conventional narrative structure. I can read things into the storyboard, but I can’t really evidence these interpretations...I think my favourite idea from my analysis of this storyboard is that Samantha actually succeeds in escaping from the conventional narrative form.’ (Research diary).

However, such a metatextual interpretation says much more about the researcher’s ability to create a story than it does the practitioner’s ability to tell one that communicates a clear message. Perhaps the most conclusive thing that can be said about the narratives of Joe and Samantha in terms of the role of creativity is that rather than communicating about creativity in their narratives they communicate through it.

One thing that could be discerned from Samantha’s fabula content analysis was that the four frames that suggested a limit to Samantha’s freedom (fr. 2, 4, 5 and 6) all link in some way to her experience of Irishness during the period of the Troubles (McKittrick and McVea, 2001). This political dimension is repeated in the other two narratives where the subject-object relationship is based on a disjunction (Rebecca and Susan). Rebecca’s framing of her experience as the child of a holocaust survivor offers a further example of a narrative underpinned by memories of a politically motivated genocide and in both Samantha and Rebecca’s narratives this appears to lead to a desire to escape or disconnect from clearly painful individual and collective experiences of the Irish and Jewish people, respectively. Susan’s case is somewhat different. Her experience of oppression appears to stem from showing solidarity with oppressed groups, rather than being personally oppressed (‘Coal not Dole’, ‘CND’, fr. 3). However, in all three storyboards there is some aspect of politicisation expressed. This suggests a possible pattern linking narratives constructed as disjunctions with practitioners who demonstrate a keen sense of political awareness. Although it is the case, that the narratives of Janet, who was ‘freed up to become more politicised’ (fr. 7) and Jean who attended numerous protests (fr. 3) also included political dimensions and yet constructed the subject-object relationships as

conjunctions. Certainly this finding suggests that a considerable number of practitioners, a quarter in total, have narratives that are influenced by political concerns. This resonates with findings in the fabula content analysis in chapter three⁶⁶, and suggests that the findings from the earlier literature (chapter one) concerning the radical voices of practitioners are still active in a proportion of these narratives, although they have become muted in the public facing discourse of the evaluation literature. These political influences will be returned to when discussing the motivations of the practitioners in chapter five.

4.3.1.3 Professional Non-Creative Goals:

It is unsurprising that the majority of practitioners focused their narratives on creative ambitions or personal aspirations that were supported by creative practice. However, three practitioners gave emphasis fully or partially to a somewhat different aspect of the writer in prison role, focusing on the criminal justice environment rather than the creativity they might bring to it. Kate's storyboard sat somewhere in between the two, and her narrative constructed her ambivalent journey from a colleague's recommendation that she apply for a WiR position (fr. 2) on the basis of her abilities as a youth theatre facilitator (fr. 1) to her first, somewhat reluctant day in the job (fr. 8). While creativity was central to the WiR position, Kate's desire to secure it (fr. 3) was countered by concerns about working conditions in a prison; sombre colours and faces, artificial light (fr. 4), 5am alarm (fr. 6) and an ambivalent attitude towards the prospect of being a WiR; 'I'm not happy and I'm not upset but I need to think' (fr. 5); 'I'm still not sure' (fr. 6). Even in the final frame of the storyboard, as Kate draws keys and prepares to enter the main prison, she does not appear fully resolved, and has to 'paint a positive look on my face' (fr. 8). It is not clear if material need or creative satisfaction

⁶⁶ The categorisations between the fabula content analysis and the actantial analysis cannot be accurately mapped onto each other. In particular, Susan's aspiration to reject the status quo is not labelled as such in the earlier content analysis, where Susan's political activities are categorised as anti-authority/protest.

encourages her to overcome her reluctance. The narrative is coded as a conjunction achieved with doubt, as there is a possibility that the employment Kate thought she wanted may turn out to be unsatisfactory. This is perhaps the case more widely in the appointment of creative practitioners to deliver prison programmes, although it appears to be little documented. Arts organisations have tended to concentrate on successful residencies, although it is also the case that ACE warns writers of the challenging nature of the work (Armitage, 2003, p. 3).

Tracey's narrative contains a similar narrative trajectory to Kate's, and these two storyboards were the only ones that conformed to a conventional narrative structure (see section 4.4.1). However, while Kate's narrative concerned an application for a creative role, Tracey applied for a position as an English tutor and there is no mention of Tracey's individual creative practice anywhere in the storyboard. The bulk of this storyboard is taken up with Tracey's considerations of whether or not she should take the job (fr. 2-6), although she appears to be more sanguine than Kate about her decision to accept the position, describing it as a 'new adventure' (fr. 8). In many ways the narratives of Tracey and Kate offer the greatest detail but least information about their journeys to prison. This is arguably because of the structure of the narratives. The event story format (see section 4.4.1) limits the time period in which these goals are fulfilled, which can be no more than two or three months in 'real' time. This appeared to encourage reflection on the minutia surrounding the event, but gave less of an overarching view of what brought the two practitioners to those events. The reasons for this can only be speculated upon. There may have been an unwillingness on the part of the practitioners to share greater detail about their lives, or they may simply have interpreted the instructions of the writing exercise (to tell the story of how you came to be in prison) more literally than others.

Dave's ambition lay beyond the prison estate and he located 'the job of his life' in the youth justice sector (fr. 3). Dave achieved his goal in frame 3, however as with the narratives of Ben and Henry, achieving his ambition unleashes a dynamic process rather than signalling a destination. By frame 4

there is some intimation that the job wasn't everything he had hoped ('...spends all day on a computer with little time for young offenders', fr. 4) and by frame 6, the '(i)dealistic idiot is disillusioned'. Running alongside the attainment of and subsequent disappointment with his goal is an underlying engagement with literature and creative writing. Dave's interest in English is noted in frame 2 when he 'escapes to university...(and)...studies English', and in the final three frames of the storyboard Dave engaged with creativity through writing and drama both as a practitioner ('...writes a novel about [the] end of idealism', fr. 6) and a facilitator ('Works rest of time in youth theatre', fr. 7; 'Goes into jail as a writer', fr. 8). This suggests that Dave used his creative abilities as a means to repair and readjust his original ambitions to work in criminal justice, both at the level of his reconciliation of expectation and logistically, in terms of material/financial support. His original ambition however, while achieved completely was highly doubtful in terms of the desirability of the outcome. The final frame of the storyboard cast further doubt on the success of this junction when, while in prison, Dave met one of the young offenders who had been on his caseload when he was a youth justice worker.

These findings link into the fabula content analysis (chapter 3) where it was found that both Dave and Jessica rejected careers in offender supervision in preference for more creative methods of intervention with offenders. It is not known how common this route into arts delivery in prisons is, or even whether an early personal commitment to the arts or their benefits might underpin the motivation of official criminal justice staff to join the probation or prison service in the first place. It may appear an unlikely route, however the fact that the storyboards of two out of 18 practitioners began their careers in official criminal justice roles suggests further investigation may be fruitful. This idea also suggests a different route for contraband arts to enter the prison, smuggled in by those staff members most often seen as obstacles to their passage.

4.4 Narrative Structure:

This chapter has, so far, focused on the content of the practitioners' narratives and the trajectories they construct as leading them to jail. In addition, there are wider structural points to consider concerning the ways in which practitioners structure their stories and the implications of these narrative choices. Two structural features are identified: firstly, narrative breach, which refers to a disalignment between the achievement of the subjects' goal and the end of the story in a manner that breaks with narrative convention. And secondly, narrative distance, which refers to the ways in which pronominal usage and temporal features of the narratives serve to place distance between the practitioner and their story and the practitioner and themselves. These will be discussed in terms of their significance for the practitioners' understanding of their own experience and the possible implications for the work they do with prisoners.

4.4.1. The Breach of Conventional Narrative Structure:

As already discussed, the majority of the storyboards, 17 out of the 18, achieved their goals at least partially, with Samantha's narrative being something of a moot point (see section 4.3.1.2). However, somewhat unexpectedly, only two of these 17 achieved the object in the final frame. At the level of narrative structure this finding has interesting implications, in particular in terms of the possible significance of such a breach of conventional narrative structure.

Brockmeier (2001, p. 251) has discerned in autobiographical narrative a 'retrospective teleology' in which the sequencing of lived events as a narrative event inevitably shows the development of a life towards a particular end goal; 'the putatively typical autobiographical view "from the end to the beginning"' (Brockmeier, 2001, p. 256). In traditional folk stories, such as those analysed by Propp (1968), this is also the case, with the

achievement of the goal or, to use Greimas' (1966) term, junction, occurring at the end of the story; the prince marries the princess, the knight slays the dragon, the boy defeats the giant and everyone lives happily ever after. However, the patterns that emerged from the storyboards were different. While the overwhelming majority of the practitioners' narratives had a clearly identifiable telos or ambition (see section 4.1), in only two cases was the achievement of that telos or goal found in the eighth and final frame of the individual narratives. Such a large scale deviation from the norm appeared to be worthy of greater consideration.

It is possible that the two narratives that conformed to conventional narrative structure did so due to the type of story told by these two practitioners (Kate, Tracey), which had a different structure from the other 15 narratives. Sandberg's (2016) identification of the 'event story', by which he refers to 'concrete stories about particular events' (Sandberg, 2016, p. 3) in contrast to the 'life story' is relevant here. The narratives of both Kate and Tracey focus on a very specific event in their lives (i.e. a job application process), and both practitioners describe a similar narrative sequence; beginning with a job application for a prison role (as a WiR and English tutor respectively), a period of uncertainty in which both narrators express ambivalence about the prospect of working in a custodial environment and a final decision to take the job⁶⁷. Meanwhile the other 15 practitioners all offer a narrative based on Sandberg's (2016, p. 3) life story model, which recounts the wider trajectory of a person's life as an attempt to give coherence and meaning to that life by creating a 'narrative of the self'. It may be that the event story has a structural template which more easily lends itself to the eight-frame storyboard, whereas a story told with a view to incorporating whole life events is less easily contained within such a concise framework.

⁶⁷ With regard to the object selected in Tracey and Kate's narratives, the wording of the junction is very important. These two practitioners do not want to 'get' a job but to 'have' a job. Being offered a job is achieved by Tracey in frame 2 and Kate in frame 5. However, this discounts the importance of the decision making process each practitioner undergoes before they finally 'have' the job in the final frame.

An alternative explanation for the deviation of the majority of the practitioners' narratives may have been that practitioners deliberately challenged the conventional narrative structure. Bruner (1991, p.11 see also Hyvarinen, 2016) offers the concepts of canonicity and breach in order to give insight into the conditions necessary for the creation of a narrative. A sequence of events that are entirely predictable does not become a narrative because they are hardly worth telling. This does not mean such sequences are unimportant and, according to Bruner (1991), they form the basic foundational scripts on which narratives are organised. However, only when canonicity is breached is there impetus for a narrative to emerge; this is the point at which there is something worth telling. Nonetheless, '(b)reaches of the canonical, like the scripts breached, are often highly conventional and are strongly influenced by narrative traditions' (Bruner, 1991, p.12). Bruner (1991) goes on to argue that the innovative storyteller has the ability to transgress the boundaries of these conventions and by doing so enables readers to 'to see human happenings in a fresh way, indeed, in a way they had never before "noticed" or even dreamed' (Bruner, 1991, p.12). Bruner's discussion is focused on the readers' engagement with the story. However, the writer is, in an important sense, the first reader, and as such a challenge to the conventional structuring of the narrative may also allow the writer to view the events narrated in an alternative way; to create meaning by making meaning. This possibility has implications for the use of creative writing as a specific form of creative arts intervention. While participants will not, in the main, possess the same level of literary skill as professional practitioners and while not all creative writing in prisons is based on autobiographical subject matter, the process of composition under the guidance of a professional writer may nonetheless enable prisoners to see old narratives in a new or alternative way. This idea ties in with the Russian Formalist concept of defamiliarisation (Shklovsky, 1917/1990) and will be discussed further in section 7.3.

4.4.2 Breaking Down the Subject - Authors, Narrators and Protagonists

This chapter has, so far, treated the narrative subject as an unproblematic singular entity, however this has been more for purposes of clarity than analytical precision. In the final part of the chapter an examination will be made of the composite elements of the narrative subject and its implications for creative arts interventions delivered into prisons.

The subject is defined as that which 'is directed towards the object' (2011, p. 71). Initially this coding appeared straightforward. The task of the analysis was simply to identify the main character or protagonist, distinguished by their consistent desire for, and pursuit of a specific object or goal. In the case of autobiography, the apparent inseparability of the author, narrator and protagonist appeared to make this task even easier⁶⁸. It also offered a clear link between the author's experience and that of the protagonist, bridged by the narrator's telling. The subject, stated simply, was both the author of the text and their representation in the storyboard. As such, it was possible from a research perspective to extract the story narrated in the storyboard and apply it to the life of the author. However, this was not the case.

The first indication of a more complex relationship between author, narrator and protagonist emerged in Dave's storyboard, where the story was not narrated in an autodiegetic⁶⁹ voice, which is by far the more usual narrative

⁶⁸ Lejeune's (1989) concept of the autobiographical pact articulates a deeply held cultural belief about the inseparability of the author, narrator and protagonist in autobiography. In this view there is an unspoken agreement struck between the writer and the reader in which the author, narrator and protagonist are treated as one and the same person (Missine, 2019, p. 222).

⁶⁹ Genette (1980, pp. 243-252) distinguishes three kinds of narrative voice: the heterodiegetic, homodiegetic and autodiegetic, which describe three different relationships between the narrator and the character. The heterodiegetic narrator is a narrator who narrates from outside of the narrative, while the homodiegetic narrator is present in the narrative as a character. The third type of narrator and the one most usual in autobiographical writing is that of the autodiegetic narrator, who is not only present in the story but is also the protagonist or hero.

voice used in autobiography (Genette, 1980, pp. 243-252). Instead Dave chose to use a heterodiegetic narrator who told the story of a protagonist called the 'Idealistic Idiot'. For example:

'Idealistic Idiot studies English' (Dave, fr. 2)

and

'Idealistic Idiot is disillusioned and writes a novel about end of idealism' (Dave, fr. 6)

This discovery exposed very clearly the way in which:

'the protagonist of an autobiography is not the author; he (sic) is someone who has developed into the author' (Neuman, 1981, p. 321)

Closer examination of the other 17 narratives showed that the separation of the subject into three narrative components (author, narrator, protagonist) was to some degree present in all of them, though not in such a self conscious way as that employed by Dave. This construction of narrative distance appeared to be achieved in two ways: through pronominal usage and temporal separation.

4.4.2.1 Pronoun Usage:

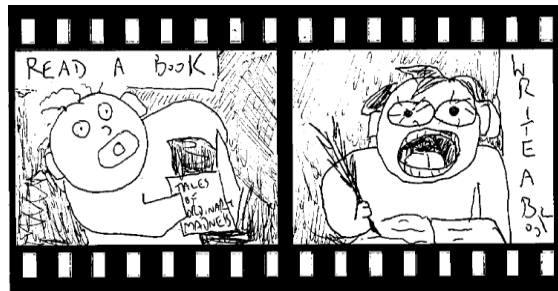
Attention to pronoun usage revealed a complex picture both within and between storyboards. Firstly, the mixture of image and written text meant that the central protagonist was represented in differing ways. Out of the 18 storyboards, six (Ben, Susan, Jean, Dave, Bob, Eric) did not use the personal pronoun 'I'⁷⁰ at all in reference to any of the three narrative positions of author, narrator or protagonist, which stands in contradiction to Lejeune's

⁷⁰ The original storyboards do not contain any uses of the pronoun 'I', however the researcher added 'I' pronouns to five of the six narratives when compiling the process analysis to give a sense of 'flow' to the narratives. This was indicated by placing all 'I' pronouns in square brackets in the process analysis.

(1989) notion of an autobiographical pact in which all three narrative positions are consolidated into one overarching 'I'. However, in five (Ben, Susan, Jean, Bob, Eric) out of the six cases the storyboards used a mixture of written text and image, which suggested that the written pronoun 'I' was simply substituted for a graphic representation of the protagonist/narrator. There appeared, however to be a qualitative difference between the use of the written 'I' pronoun, which tends towards a representation of an inner self that is projected onto the world, contrasted with a drawn image of the self, which begins as an external representation of that self. This idea is reminiscent of the distinction made by James (1890/1983, 2007, p. 371) between 'the empirical person' (the 'me') and the 'judging thought', (the 'I'), or framed slightly differently, the self as an '**object** of experience' (i.e. 'me') and the self as **subject** of experience (i.e. 'I') (Wozniak, 2018, p. 1). This distinction was utilised when transposing the original storyboards into the raw storyboards (i.e. converting all elements in the storyboards into written text). Any drawn image that represented the main protagonist in the storyboard was demarcated with the use of the 'me' pronoun, while no change was made to the written 'I' pronouns. This allowed the distinction between the written and drawn representations of the subject to be observed in the analysis.

Close scrutiny of pronoun representation in the six storyboards which included both text and image, but contained no 'I' pronouns, suggested that a distance was created between the author/narrator and the protagonist in a visual equivalent of the heterodiegetic narrator (see footnote 69). The 'me' designation given to the drawn image of the protagonist highlighted the way in which the self was represented as an object, something separate from or outside of the author/narrator in these storyboards. The most extreme manifestation of this type of objectification of the protagonist was found in Ben's narrative, which employed instructional sentences throughout and used the protagonist almost as an actor-demonstrator, illustrating each stage of the story.

Figure 4: Example of Narrative Distance Created Using Drawn Images:



(Ben, fr. 1 and 2)

Not all of the storyboards created such a concerted separation between the author/narrator and the protagonist through the use of pronouns, and 12 of the storyboards used the written 'I' pronoun autodiegetically, suggesting an imbrication between the author/narrator and the protagonist, with a total of 145 uses of this pronoun. However, there was not a neat division between text/image and text-only storyboards and four of the 12 storyboards included both text and image (Tracey, Samantha, Rebecca, Joanne). Of these, three used both image and textual representations of the protagonist, therefore using a mix of written 'I' and visual 'me' pronouns, which suggested that these narrators presented their protagonists as both subjects and objects of the experience described. 11 practitioners also used the written pronoun 'me' in their storyboards, although there were less of these compared to the 'I' pronoun, with only 40 uses in total. In general the written 'me' pronouns appear to have been used because it was the correct grammatical choice for the sentence rather than to objectify the protagonist; e.g. 'Writing helped me personally' (Joanne, fr. 5), 'Will it suit me?' (Tracey, fr. 4). However, there was one exception to this. Kate's (text-only) storyboard used the written pronoun 'me' in a manner that presented the protagonist as the object of experience. For example:

'Me - soberly dressed in flat shoes...' (Kate, fr.4)

and

'Me opening a letter' (Kate, fr. 5)

As with the seven text/image storyboards that used only visual representations of the protagonist, Kate's written use of 'me' presented the protagonist more as an object outside of the narrator, rather than an extension of the narrator's experience.

4.4.2.2 Temporal Distance

The second way in which distance was created between the author/narrator and protagonist concerned temporal distance. This applied to all of the storyboards, the 12 that made use of the 'I' pronoun, and the six that did not, although the ways in which this manifested were unexpected. Genette (1980, pp. 215-227) articulates a separation between the temporal position of the narrator at the time of narration compared to the time at which the narrated event took place⁷¹. There are four possibilities: subsequent narration (the narrator writes about what happened in the past), prior narration (the narrator predicts future events), simultaneous narration (the narrator tells it as it happens) and interpolated narrative (the narrator alternates between writing about past and present). In autobiography the general definition suggests that the narrative will use subsequent narration (Schwalm, 2014, p. 1): the narrator will write about their own past life thereby creating a distance between the narrator-construct located at the moment of narrating (the narrating 'I') and the protagonist-construct located at the point when the event occurred (the narrated 'I'). The main indicator of subsequent narration, according to Genette (1980, p. 220) is the use of past tense in the narrative to indicate the temporal gap.

However, only four storyboards used subsequent narration consistently throughout the narrative (Janet, Barbara, Joe, Steve), which appeared somewhat surprising in the context of autobiographical writing. All four of the storyboards provided examples of a distancing function between the author/narrator and the protagonist, and while it was clear that the narrator

⁷¹ In Bal's (2009) terms this would be the difference between the telling of the story compared to the process and events in the fabula.

and protagonist were constructed as the same person, through the use of the 'I' pronoun, it was also the case that a reflective distance was achieved between the positions. For example, the narrator in Steve's storyboard narrated a younger self, while simultaneously reflecting on how others may have perceived that younger self:

'When I was at school I can imagine more than one teacher thought I would end up in prison' (Steve, fr. 1)

Barbara recollected her loneliness while working as a magazine editor (fr. 2) and Joe offered sage commentary, contrasting events in his early life with his later reality:

'Broke into playgroup pushed from behind by my dad, my first step the first step of a slide's ladder. I never rose so fast in life again' (Joe, fr. 2)

Janet, too, offered insights into her early experience that demonstrated a distance between the childhood experience and adult realisations about that experience:

'First born, born too early... A family of secrets and bereavements' (Janet, fr. 1).

These four examples illustrated Neuman's (1981, p. 321) point about the protagonist being in a state of becoming rather than being the author, and demonstrated the distance created by at least a minority of the practitioners in their narration of their stories of coming to prison through the use of subsequent narration.

However, 14 storyboards somewhat unexpectedly failed to adopt subsequent narration, preferring, in nine cases, simultaneous narration (Henry, Kate, Dave, Tracey, Rory, Jessica, Bob, Samantha, Ben), and in a further five cases (Susan, Jean, Rebecca, Joanne, Eric) a mix of simultaneous and subsequent narration, which alternated between the narrator writing about retrospective events, retrospectively, and writing about retrospective events

as if they were happening in the present. For example, from the same storyboard:

'I was conceived in terror' (Rebecca, fr. 1)

compared with

'I am 13 and find a copy of Anne Frank's diary' (Rebecca, fr. 3)

This finding challenged the commonly held view that autobiographies 'should be par excellence the genre (or set of genres) composed in the past tense' (Bruner, 2001, p. 28), finding instead and in line with Brockmeier (2000, p. 57) that few autobiographical narratives are told exclusively in the past tense. Brockmeier (2000) summarises the more sophisticated perspective that the three temporal modalities of past, present and future are in constant flux in autobiography thus:

'every narrative about my past is always also a story told in, and about, the present as well as a story about the future' (Brockmeier, 2000, p. 56)

However, in the example taken from Rebecca's storyboard, the issue was less that the narrator casts their vision backwards to a past event in order to relate it in the present of the narrative, but rather that the narrator returns to and inhabits the past event as the 13 year old child, who is more properly understood as the protagonist. This elision raised questions about the purpose of these attempts to temporally elide or textually embody the author/narrator with the protagonist. One explanation⁷² may lie in the deliberate crafting of these narratives by professional writers who had an audience in mind (the practitioners were given the opportunity to share their storyboard with the rest of the group during the workshop sessions). Although not acknowledged by Genette (1980), the 'historical present' is a

⁷² Bruner (2001, p. 29), whose research findings also found significant use of present tense sentences in both research interviews and autobiographical literary texts, suggested an alternative explanation for this phenomenon. He argues that present tense indicates parts of a text where evaluation is employed with the aim of making the story more interesting or exceptional. However, this was not the case in all uses of present tense in the practitioners' storyboards.

recognised literary device, which, it is argued, creates 'enhanced vividness' or 'dramatic effect' in a piece of writing (Cohn, 1999, p. 99). This seems like an apt description of and explanation for, the use of simultaneous narration in an autobiographical text. Rather than representing a deliberate attempt to reduce the distance between the author/narrator and the protagonist, the use of simultaneous narration functions purely as a literary device aimed at giving greater immediacy and/or drama to the events described. This may certainly be the case in terms of the five storyboards that mix simultaneous narration with subsequent narration. However, according to Cohn (1999) the historical present is characterised by a tenuous shifting between past and present, which is not the case in nine of the storyboards, which maintain simultaneous narration throughout the storyboards.

Cohn's (1999) focus is on fictional narrative, and she suggests that consistent, simultaneous narration throughout a narrative is only possible in fictional work. However, this fails to explain the presence of this type of narration in the nine storyboards under consideration. One possibility is that each of these nine practitioners deliberately chose to offer a fictional account of their journeys to prison. This is a difficult premise to argue from a constructionist perspective, because, unlike Cohn (1999) who argues for an identifiable distinction between fictional and historical texts, when narrative is treated as constitutive of reality the line between fiction and fact loses clarity, and the 'factual basis' of a narrative 'is rather beside the point' (Presser, 2009, p. 191). Viewed in this way, the accuracy of a story is less important than its impact (Presser, 2016, p. 139; Presser and Sandberg, 2015, pp.1-2) and its consequences for 'people, culture and society' (Sandberg, 2010, p. 462). Bruner (2001, p. 28) too has noted that autobiographical narrative is not premised on 'a set of testable propositions' but is rather based on the requirements of narrative composition and organisation.

Whether then these nine narratives are fictional, factual or more likely occupy a place somewhere in between, the question remains, to what extent does the use of simultaneous narration in these accounts serve to reduce the distance between the author, narrator and protagonist? Taken purely on

textual terms, it is arguable that the three positions become identical in the way suggested by Lejeune (1989). However, further consideration suggests that such a conclusion conflicts with the very premise of the research project undertaken: to gather the life stories of creative practitioners who work in prisons in order to better understand their intentions, motivations and journeys into prison. This is where context becomes important, and, to a degree, where classical narratology fails to offer a helpful model. While the texts themselves might not offer explicit temporal markers in all cases⁷³, the cultural assumptions surrounding autobiographical texts (Bruner, 2001, p. 28) strongly suggest that past events are being narrated, albeit framed in simultaneous narration. This narrative situation leads to a kind of conceptual distance being created between the time of the fabula and the time of its narration, even though there are no textual, only contextual indicators of this. Interestingly, this is a different kind of distance to that created in the previously discussed storyboards. In the nine storyboards considered here, the greater distance lies between the author and the narrator/protagonist rather than between the author/narrator and the protagonist. The narrator is aligned as closely as possible with the protagonist. For example:

'I am 13 and find a copy of Anne Frank's diary' (Rebecca, fr. 3)

and

'I am at university - I love it' (Henry, fr. 1)

This alignment of narrator and protagonist, though an illusion as the narrator can only narrate from after the event (Cohn, 1999, p. 96), serves to create a greater distance between the author and narrator. This distance is created because the narrator has regressed further back in time, nearer to the events described in the fabula and, therefore, further away from the present moment and as a corollary, further away from the author who occupies a position

⁷³ The one exception to this is in the case of Rory's storyboard. In frame 8, a date, 1996, is written at the top of the frame. It was not classified as a subsequent/simultaneous narrative because the rest of the frame functioned as a simultaneous narration and this single subsequent textual fragment in an otherwise simultaneously narrated story appeared negligible.

outside of the text and after the events of both the fabula and its narration have occurred.

4.4.3 Narrative Distance - The Consequences:

As outlined in the two preceding subsections, narrative distance was achieved in two different ways in the 18 storyboards of the creative practitioners: through pronoun usage and through the creation of temporal distance between the author, narrator and protagonist of each storyboard. This finding is significant in two interrelated ways. Firstly, in terms of enabling greater nuance in the analysis of the narrative construction of practitioners or subjects, and secondly in terms of how an enriched understanding of this nuance might offer insights into the implications for the use of creative writing as a specific form of creative arts intervention in work with prisoners.

The ability to move beyond treating the author/narrator/protagonist as a unified cipher through which the research participant's motives and characteristics are 'revealed' enables a more fragmentary treatment of the various narrative dimensions of the subject. This in turn allows an analysis that takes the narrative construction of self on its own serious, narrative terms and not simply as a proxy for a liberal humanist conception of a unified self. In the current study this finding is not applied to a detailed analysis of the storyboards because the actantial model of analysis is less concerned with the subject in and of itself and more with the relational dynamics which construct that subject. However, the finding has important implications for the processes of sensemaking which may occur for the author in the act of narrative composition itself. In terms of the practitioners' narratives it is suggested that the distance created between self and story through written autobiography may offer the authors a deeper comprehension of the experiences they narrate. As Copeland (2019, p. 137) has noted in terms of terrorist autobiographies, authors have claimed to discover meanings of which they had been previously unaware as a result of the process of

narrating their memories in written form. Nor is this potential to extend understanding reserved for creative practitioners. It is highly possible that prisoners who participate in creative writing activities and particularly autobiographical ones, also create this distance for themselves between their lives, their stories and their selves.

4.5 Methodological Notes:

In addition to content and structural dimensions of the storyboards that are articulated through the analysis of the axis of desire, there were also a number of methodological issues that were of note. These are summarised in table 4.3 (below), and more detailed notes are offered in appendices 8-12.

Table 4.3: Methodological Notes Arising from Analysis of Axis of Desire

Appendix no.	Issue	Explanation
9	Capturing the gist of the story - General actions	The eight-frame storyboard technique enables concise and precise general actions to be extracted from the narratives in the participants own words/images and chosen sequence. This retains integrity of the practitioners' voices.
10	Limits of analysis in terms of images	Not all of the storyboards were amenable to actantial analysis. The storyboard created by Cindy could not be coded due to the ambiguous meanings generated by the impressionistic images she had produced.
11	Mutual defining relationships as a means to improved rigour	The actantial analysis works on a relational model, as such, objects (practitioners' goals or ambitions) are identified purely in relation to the subject (practitioner) as they appear in the narrative. This increases researcher reflexivity in terms of assumptions brought from outside of the text.

11 (cont)		In addition, the relational framework also enables a rigorous system for verifying coding decisions where researcher interpretation is required of the text.
12	Justification of the type of relationship between subject (practitioner) and object (their goal or ambition) as a means to improved rigour.	<p>The actantial analysis forces the researcher to justify the type of relationship the subject (practitioner) has with the object (their goal or ambition). This improves the rigour of coding for what is, essentially, an interpretation of an emotional dimension of the narrative.</p> <p>Enables clearer articulation of the way in which the practitioner constructs their goal (as something to be welcomed or rejected).</p>
13	Narrative breach supported validity of actantial method	Practitioners' (n.16) decisions to breach narrative convention by dislocating the achievement of ambition from the ending of their stories strongly suggested that their narratives were not overly influenced by the researcher's unintentional shaping of the narrative trajectory.

4.6 Summary:

This chapter has used an actantial model of analysis (Greimas, 1966), and specifically the axis of desire, to identify the main protagonists and their ambitions as constructed in the autobiographical narratives of 18 creative writing practitioners who have delivered creative writing programmes in prisons. It was noted that the actantial model could not be applied in every case, and one of the original 19 storyboards was removed from the study at this stage as it was not possible to analyse a high concentration of poorly drawn images without an overreliance on textual interpretation. The chapter was split into two major sections. The first considered the narrative trajectories constructed by the practitioners of their journeys into prison,

while the second gave a broader structural consideration to the implications of two key narrative features of the stories: the breach of narrative convention concerning endings and the breakdown of the subject into author, narrator and protagonist. A third shorter section served to point up some of the methodological strengths and limitations of the actantial analysis for narrative research.

A key finding rested on the disalignment between the achievement of practitioners' goals and the end of their stories; the achievement of an ambition did not necessarily lead to a 'happy ending'. A putative success story achieved early in the narrative tended to lead to continuing vicissitudes (n.5) or simply the quotidian events of a life extending beyond a denouement (n.6). These 'false endings' enabled insight into how practitioners constructed the function of their creative facilitation in prisons, along with clearer understanding of how they framed the benefits and/or difficulties of their creative practice. Four overarching ambitions or aspirations were identified: professional creative ambitions (such as becoming a full time writer, or authorship), professional criminal justice ambitions (creative and non-creative jobs in the criminal justice system), creative practice/process ambitions (involvement in a variety of creative arts, not limited to writing) and personal or existential goals (exploring alternative worlds, escaping from old ones, discovering authentic selves).

Three broader cultural narratives appear to inform these stories, the first evokes the 'saga of the suffering artist' (Rothenburg, 2001, p.132; Schneider, 2015), which in turn rests on a 'narrative of crisis and beleaguerment' (Belfiore and Bennet, 2008, pp. 4-5) in which the arts are underfunded and in imminent danger of collapse. In this narrative delivering arts in prisons is seen as a way to make money to support the practitioners' professional aspirations. A second broad cultural narrative concerned the positive emotional or psychological benefits of the arts to practitioners and seemed to feature more prominently in the narratives of those whose ambitions were focused on the creative process rather than creative product, in addition to those practitioners whose objects were framed in terms of

personal aspirations. However the categories were not mutually exclusive and there were examples of benefits experienced by practitioners who also 'suffered' for their art. For some practitioners this benefit was experienced in terms of the enjoyment they took from facilitating the creativity of others, although it is noted that in some instances this benefit is more selfish than selfless. However, other practitioners frame facilitation as a skill or 'aptitude' which takes into account the perspectives of the workshop participants rather than just their own personal gratification. Some practitioners also framed emotional or psychological benefits as experienced personally, and there is a sense in which these individual narratives feed into the broader cultural narrative of the therapeutic (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008, pp. 102-106) or even rehabilitative (Raynor and Robinson, 2005, p. 3) value of the arts. The third and final broad cultural narrative found at to be at work in the practitioners' storyboards was the 'narrative of transformation' (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008, p. 4), in which individual lives and the lives of communities are transformed by the power of the arts. This narrative is somewhat ubiquitous in discourse on the arts in prisons, however it features in only two of the stories of creative practitioners in the current study (Joanne, Janet). A key insight offered by one of the two narratives that contained significant transformational motifs (Janet) concerned its resonance with research on the desistance narratives of offenders (Paternoster and Bushway, 2009; Soyer, 2014) and in particular the importance of imagination in the realisation of alternative futures.

A majority of practitioners identified a positive goal, something that they welcomed into their lives, however three practitioners identified objects that they wished to escape or reject. This was surprising given the greater amount of anti-authority attitudes identified in the fabula content analysis in chapter three, which demonstrates the value and importance of the more detailed level of analysis presented in this current chapter.

At a structural level the disalignment between achievement of ambition and the end of the narrative also had implications. It was speculated that these breaches of narrative convention may, in the skilled hands of professional

writers, enable an alternative way of viewing ‘human happenings’, for both readers and writers alike. This in turn has implications for the use of creative writing as a form of intervention in prisons and it was suggested that the process of narrative composition under the guidance of a professional writer may enable prisoners to see old narratives in new or alternative ways both in terms of narratives of self and narratives told to the self. Secondly, the close attention paid to the subject-object relationship made clear that the practitioners did not construct the narrative subject as a unified self, but rather placed a narrative distance between the author, narrator and protagonist. This was achieved in two ways: through pronominal usage and through temporal distance. This has significance for the processes of practitioner meaning making that occur when composing written narrative, and as a result may also facilitate greater reflection and insight for prison participants engaged in creative writing activities.

Table 4.4: Key Findings from Chapter Four:

Key Findings	Section
<p>Two broad types of subject-object junction found.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Ambitions based on professional vocation 2. Ambitions based on personal desire to reject or escape previous experience 	4.2
<p>Four specific types of ambition were identified; creative (professional), creative (process-led), personal aspirations and professional non-creative goals. Only one of practitioner specified an ultimate ambition to work as a writer in prison.</p>	4.3
<p>Three narrative patterns were identified, The suffering artist</p>	4.3

Arts as therapeutic/healing Arts as transformative	
The majority of junctions are positive conjunctions, which appears at odds with the positions of alterity found in chapter three	4.2.1.3
Practitioners may breach narrative conventions in order to enable an alternative way of viewing their experience for themselves and others	4.4.1
Practitioners use two types of narrative distancing (pronominal and temporal). This may further add to an alternative way of viewing experience	4.4.2 4.4.2.1 4.4.2.2 4.4.3

Chapter Five – The Axis of Transmission

5.1 Introduction:

Continuing the actantial analysis, this chapter will focus on the axis of transmission/knowledge (Herbert, 2011, p. 71), which enables an understanding of the narrative construction of motivation, which in turn underpins the ambitions or goals of each practitioner identified in the previous chapter. In addition to the construction of motivation, the axis of transmission also sets out the actants which are considered beneficiaries to the attainment of the goals. Individual narratives will be discussed in terms of motivations and beneficiaries and patterns across narratives will be highlighted, and their significance to practitioners and the work they do in prisons explored.

Table 2.2: Stages of Analysis

Stage	Method	Source	Purpose	Process	Key literature
(I) Findings in chapter three	Content analysis of fabula: Objects	Raw Storyboard	Identify all objects contained in the fabula	* Objects = nouns and pronouns * Single adjectives which modify nouns may be included * Identify patterns and common objects across raw storyboards	Bal, 1997, 2009

<p>(II) Findings in chapter three</p>	<p>Content analysis of fabula: Processes</p>	<p>Raw Storyboard</p>	<p>Identify processes contained in the fabula</p>	<p>* Processes = the changes that occur in, with, through and among objects. (Bal, 1997, p. 182) * Transfer all narrative elements from the raw storyboard to the process analysis with as little interpretation as possible * Identify the narrative function of each sentence * Create an 'event summary' consisting of all sentences which have a narrative, conversational or instructional function</p>	<p>Bal, 1997, 2009 Fludernik, 2000</p>
<p>(III) Findings in chapter 4-6)</p>	<p>Actantial analysis</p>	<p>Results from Process Analysis (see II)</p>	<p>Identify how each textual element in the process analysis contributes to the construction of the overall storyboard.</p>	<p>* Actants = 'the great functions or roles occupied by the various characters in a narrative, be they humans, animals or simple objects' (Vandendorpe, 1993: 505) * Code each textual element into one or more actantial classes of subject-object, sender-</p>	<p>Greimas, 1966/1983 Greimas and Corte, 1984 Herbert, 2011</p>

				receiver, helper-opponent * Code each actant in terms of intentional/unintentional, active/passive and possible/real * Analyse for patterns	
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Section 5.2 focuses on the axis of transmission/knowledge, which – as noted above - enables an understanding of the narrative construction of motivation, covered in sections 5.3 and 5.4, and the beneficiaries of these motivations (section 5.5).

5.2 Axis of Transmission/Knowledge:

Herbert (2011, p. 71) delineates the axis of transmission, also called the axis of knowledge (Greimas, 1966) as the sender/receiver actantial pair. The sender is the actant identified as responsible for initiating the action, it is the element in the narrative which instigates the junction between the subject and the object. Meanwhile, the receiver is an actant that derives benefit from the junction being achieved. Frequently senders are also receivers. To illustrate, in traditional narratives the king may be identified as the sender, as his instruction for the prince to rescue the princess is the instigator of the action. The king may also be the receiver if he will benefit from the union of the two. However, there can be more than one receiver and depending on the preferences of the prince and princess, they may also be receivers to a successful conjunction of the subject (prince) and the object (princess). As with all other actants, the beneficiaries need not be restricted to anthropomorphic beings and the kingdom itself might also be considered a receiver. For the purposes of analysing the storyboards it is perhaps helpful to think of the sender as the underlying motivation that directs the creative

practitioner (subject) towards their goal or ambition (object). The receivers, meanwhile, are the elements in the text that are recognised by the narrator as benefiting from the achievement of the goal (junction).

This final point is important, the intention is not to speculate on all the possible beneficiaries of the achievement of the goal but to code only those elements that the narrator recognised as beneficiaries. By coding in this way priority is given to the view of the practitioner. This is exactly the perspective that has often been lost in recent evaluation research, where very little has been ventured with regard to why practitioners do the work they do in prisons. In contrast, a great deal has been suggested in terms of the benefits of the work, focused almost exclusively on prison participants as recipients. Applying the axis of transmission to the narratives of practitioners with a narrow focus on the story as it is narrated rather than on what the story might 'mean' to the researcher is a way to restore some of this valuable tacit knowledge. This approach furthers the aims of the current study to foreground the voices of the practitioners.

As in chapter four, both content based and structural knowledge emerged from the analysis. Attention to the structural composition of the narrative was able to reveal how the practitioners construct their experience. In the following section (5.3) this relates to consideration of how motivation leading (directly or indirectly) to prison work was constructed in the practitioners' stories. In addition, the rigorous approach to the data enabled a more robust examination of content and some wider motivational themes are suggested based on this process.

5.3 The Structure of Practitioners' Motivations - What They Are and Where They Appear in the Narratives:

The function of the sender as the initiator of the action suggested that this actant would feature within the early part of the fabula. This was borne out in the majority of the practitioners' storyboards:

Table 5.1: Location of Sender in Storyboards

Name	Frame 1		Frame 2		Frame 3		Frame 4	Frame 8
	Rebecca, Ben, Eric, Tracey, Bob, Katie, Henry, Rory, Barbara, Jessica, Joe, Janet		Susan, Dave, Steve		Jean			Samantha
	Joanne	+	Joanne					
	Henry	+	Henry	+	Henry	+	Henry	

In total, 14 of the narratives had a sender identified in the first frame (Rebecca, Ben, Eric, Tracey, Bob, Katie, Henry, Rory, Barbara, Jessica, Joe, Joanne, Janet, Henry), although two of these storyboards had senders that extended into the second frame (Joanne) and as far as the fourth frame (Henry).

5.3.1 Later Motivations - Senders that Appear after Frame 1:

In three of the storyboards (Susan, Dave, Steve) the sender was located in frame 2. In each of these latter three cases the first frame was given over to some aspect of childhood experience. For Steve and Dave this appeared to take the form of a retrospective reflection on the practitioners' own encounters with deviance, and this resonated with the finding from the fabula content analysis concerning practitioners' identification with an outsider status (chapter 3). Arguably, the first frame of Dave's storyboard, which

featured an early '(r)un in with police on the estate' (fr. 1) could offer motivation for his later career in youth justice. However, this single contact with law enforcement did not appear substantial enough to qualify as the sender. It appeared that this frame was as much concerned with character exposition as it was an actant. It may even have been evidence of a cognitive link: an attempt to build retrospective unity into the story (see section 6.3.3.4). At a causal level, of course, it was possible that early negative experience of the criminal justice system may have supported a later ambition to work in that environment, perhaps in order to change it. With this in mind both textual elements in the first frame ('Next door neighbour/school friend sent to Borstal' and 'Run in with police on estate') were coded as helpers (see section 6.2 for description of helper/opponent pairing), in order to indicate that these events may have been supportive of Dave's later decisions but were not clearly instigators of those decisions.

For Steve, his reflection that '(w)hen I was at school I can imagine more than one teacher thought I'd end up in prison' (fr. 1) again appeared to offer character exposition: an impressionistic sketch of who Steve was as a young man, or was perceived to be, rather than having a function in the action. As such it was coded as a non-actant. In the case of Susan, few conclusions could be drawn from the first frame of her storyboard, as it did not clearly communicate information beyond establishing what appeared to be a representation of a middle class family foregrounded against a large house: two parents, two children and a number of domesticated animals on the lawn (fr. 1). There was certainly not enough detail in the frame to consider it the sender for the whole action. Susan's engagement with 'punk and politics' in frame 2 was therefore taken as the decisive event when Susan became motivated by radical politics, which underpinned her desire to reject the status quo. The sender in Jean's storyboard appeared at an even later stage, and it was not until frame 3 that her attendance at demonstrations for, for example, Biafra, homelessness and anti-Vietnam war led to the identification of left wing politics as the motivation for her growing engagement with the creative arts. Jean devoted not one, but two frames to her childhood experience, however similar to Susan's storyboard there was not enough

information communicated to establish how instrumental childhood may have been as a motivation. Unlike Susan, the frames in Jean's storyboard suggested a certain amount of unhappiness associated with growing up. Rain was falling on what was presumably the family house in frame 1 and the scene in frame two appeared to involve a small child being castigated by an adult. However, these textual elements alone offered too little information to ascertain whether they represented simple exposition of an important life stage, or if they contained a sender that had not been fully articulated. Certainly there was nothing apparent in the frame that would qualify as 'that which instigates the action' (Hebert, 2011, p. 71).

5.3.2 The Motivational Outlier:

No matter the details of the above narratives, all 17 of them have an identifiable sender beginning in one of the first three frames of the storyboards. This was not the case for Samantha's narrative where the sender emerged in the final frame of the storyboard. Already identified in some ways as the outlier of this research sample due to a lack of narrative coherence in the storyboard (section 4.3.1.2), this was further supported by the coding of the sender. No sender is explicitly stated and initially, the act of escape ('[I was] Always escaping', fr. 1) was identified as a possible sender. However, when trying to code for helpers and opponents it became clear that escape was more appropriately coded as the object rather than the sender. It was only then that the influence of inequality, suggested in frame 8 ('Some children are more equal than others'), was considered as a sender and the research diary contained a note stating that this configuration was more successful. However, it was still the case that 'analysis of this storyboard suffers from the fact that it does not follow a conventional narrative structure' (Research diary).

5.3.3 Understated Motivations:

As suggested by the above discussion of Samantha's narrative, the sender was not always clearly stated and while Samantha's storyboard presented the most extreme example of this, only a minority of the narratives (Jessica, Bob and Steve) contained senders that were immediately apparent. In these narratives the motivation was explicitly stated: 'Music is my passion' (Bob, fr. 1), '[I was] Born sympathetic to the underdog' (Jessica, fr. 1), 'I always wanted to write' (Steve, fr. 2), suggesting that motivation was an important part of the narrative construction for these practitioners. These practitioners foregrounded why they were engaged in the pursuit of their goal, not simply what that goal might have been. More commonly (in 14 of the storyboards), the sender was stated in the narrative but not in the context of it being a motivating factor. In the coding process these senders were discerned through a small amount of interpretation, which was guided by ascertaining that the sender had an imperative role in instigating the junction of subject and object. The suggestion here is that, while practitioners place importance on these dimensions of the story, they present them less as a driving factor in their story and more as a factor among others that are relevant to their narrative.

Meanwhile, one narrative (Joe) appeared to suggest no motivation for the junction at all (Joe wants to break away to be who he is) and the final coding identified 'birth' itself as the sender ('Broke out blood red and bawling at 4.20am', fr. 1). This is somewhat in keeping with findings from the wider narrative trajectory of this storyboard, in which Joe's goal appeared to be based on the achievement of an authentic 'essence' rather than an external objective; something that was intrinsic to Joe's being, rather than dependent on an extrinsic achievement.

5.3.4 *Logical Stories or Story Logic:*

The majority of practitioners did not organise their narratives based on initial motivation, although by and large these factors were present. This is similar to findings from the coding of the subject-object actantial class (see section 4.2.1.1), where only two practitioners clearly stated their goal (Steve, Rory), even if one of the goals wasn't stated with any great precision (Rory's 'something to do with writing', fr. 2). This suggests that in the main, these practitioners did not construct their narratives in a rational manner set out in terms of goals or ambitions and were more focused on the sequence of events that made up the story. The motivations and goals were present in the text and could be discerned, but they were not singled out as the driving force behind the narrative trajectory (see section 5.3.3). In four narratives (Steve, Barbara, Janet and Bob) the sender and object were identical. For example, Steve's ambition 'to write' (see table 4.1) blurred with his motivation, which was 'a desire to write' (see table 5.2); thus suggesting that the trajectory of the narrative was driven by the sequence of action rather than broken down into its logical parts.

This finding is perhaps uncontroversial, illustrating rather than innovating upon Bruner's (1986) distinction between the paradigmatic and narrative modes of thought. Bruner argues that there are two ways in which experience is ordered: the logico-scientific or paradigmatic mode of cognition, which 'attempts to fulfil the ideal of a formal, mathematical system of description and explanation' (1986, p.12) and the narrative mode, which 'deals in human or human-like intention and action and the vicissitudes and consequences that mark their course' (Bruner, 1986, p.13). The latter narrative mode of thought is clearly displayed in the storyboards of the majority of these creative practitioners (although see appendix 16 for a discussion of Tracey's narrative which employs a paradigmatic mode of cognition). As writers and writers asked to produce an autobiographical account these practitioners obliged by constructing their lives not as a scientific report which categorises their motivations, intentions and objectives (much as the current analysis does), but as a narrative sequence driven by

action and awareness, or as Bruner writes (1986, p. 14) two simultaneous landscapes of action and consciousness (Bruner, 1986, p. 14). These sequences are not constructed on the grounds of logical thought but on what happened and how it made one feel. This is the same cognitive mode at work as the one that Maruna (2001) finds in his study of desisting (and persisting) offenders. For desisters, there is a logic of necessity (Maruna, 2001, p. 89) not a logic of rationality, by which Maruna (2001) appears to suggest that it is the construction of causality in the narrative sequence and the way that sequence is reflected upon that creates the 'necessity' for desisters to change their behaviour.

In Maruna's (2001) study these narratives emerge spontaneously from the life story interviews he conducted with his participants, they are stories that are formed and reformed as part of an unseen psychological process. However, it is possible that creative writing interventions offer a way to support those narrative processes by giving prisoners practice in the creation of believable narratives, whether autobiographical or fictional, that begin to offer a different set of possibilities for their lives. As with the transformation narrative of Janet, these possibilities may lie at two different levels: the imaginative possibilities of escaping into a different world but also the manifestation of those imagined scenarios. Certainly in the process of picking up a pen and beginning to write there is already the possibility of a change in how a prisoner might see themselves; if they chose to do that in the company of others, all the more so. Creative writing practitioners who deal in the currency of the narrative mode of thought are perhaps best placed to support and legitimate prisoners' attempts to shape stories rather than simply allow stories to shape them.

5.4 The Content of Motivational Themes:

In addition to the structural observations made in the previous section (5.3) and their potential implications for creative arts practice in prisons, the coding of the senders in the 18 storyboards also offer some important insights into

the wider motivational factors in the narratives. In total six broad themes emerged from the study:

Table 5.2 Motivational Themes

Motivational theme	Sender	Subject	Receiver
Pursuit of creative art (see section 5.4.1)	Desire to write	Steve	Steve (Participants in community arts)
	Pleasure in receiving acclaim for writing	Rory	Rory
	Wanting to write	Barbara	Barbara
	The book Ben reads (Tales of Ordinary Madness)	Ben	Ben
	Art College	Eric	Eric
	Music	Bob	Bob
Political resistance/ Social justice (see section 5.4.2)	Sympathy with the underdog	Jessica	Jessica (The underdogs)
	Idealism	Idealistic Idiot	Idealistic Idiot (Young people?)
	Radical politics	Susan	Susan (Society through improved politics)
	Left wing politics	Jean	Jean Society through increase in social justice (prisoners)

	Family of Holocaust survivors	Rebecca	Rebecca
	Inequality	Samantha	Samantha
Strong emotions (see section 5.4.3)	Strong emotions (Love, Hate)	Henry	Henry
	Strong emotions (Boredom, anger shyness)	Joanne	Joanne (bespoke poetry customers who need help to express their feelings on important personal occasions - people who are trapped who she helps through words)
Work-related (see section 5.4.4)	Work Colleague	Kate	Kate
	Guardian job advert	Tracey	Tracey
Difficult childhood (see section 5.4.5)	Desire to inhabit a world different to Janet's own 'lived reality'	Janet	Janet (marginalised groups and individuals)
Life itself (see section 5.4.5)	Birth	Joe	Joe

The two largest motivational themes identified from this analysis were motivation based on pursuit of the creative arts (Steve, Rory, Barbara, Ben, Eric, Bob, Jessica) (see section 5.4.1) and motivation inspired by a commitment to political resistance or social justice (Jessica, Dave, Susan, Jean, Rebecca, Samantha) (see section 5.4.2). Six practitioners framed their motivation in terms of one of these two factors, 12 in total, which represented

two thirds of all practitioners. A further two practitioners presented strong emotions as their motivation (Henry, Joanne) (see section 5.4.3), and another two appeared to take their direction from more immediate, work-related factors (Tracey, Kate) (see section 5.4.4). These latter two narratives corresponded with the event-story format discussed in section 4.4.1. One practitioner, Janet, appeared to be motivated by a difficult childhood which directed the subject towards a desire to inhabit a world different to her own 'lived reality', while in the case of Joe it appeared that life itself was the instigator of his subsequent attempts to become his authentic self (see section 5.4.5).

5.4.1 Pursuit of Creative Art:

These motivational themes to some extent reflected earlier findings from the actantial analysis described in chapter four and the fabula content analysis conducted in chapter three. The presence of creative arts as a motivating factor was hardly surprising and links to findings from chapter four on the identified goals and ambitions of practitioners, both in terms of professionally focused creative goals (e.g. wanting to write a book) and goals that were directed towards the creative process itself (e.g. wanting to do something to do with writing). It should be noted though that an ambition to be involved in the creative arts was not automatically underpinned by a creative motivation. Henry wanted to be a professional writer, however his motivation appeared to be tied up initially with the strong emotions he felt towards the career he hated in law (fr. 1 and 2). In this case the motivation led towards the goal but it did not form a direct conduit. However, in three cases (Bob, Steve, Barbara), the motivation and the goal were the same: simply wanting to write (Steve, Barbara) or to make music (Bob). Rory's storyboard sets out a broader context, showing that his literary ambitions were caused by the recognition of his literary abilities by his school teacher (fr. 1). This is what led him to want to 'do something to do with writing', although for some time he was unsure of what that might be. Eric also appeared to find motivation

for his desire to make art through his experiences in education, but for him this was less concerned with formative education and more with his studies at art college where '[I] find myself' through a process of 'discovery and enlightenment' (fr. 1).

Meanwhile, in Ben's simple series of instructional sentences, reading a book (fr. 1) was constructed as the motivation for writing a book (fr. 2).

Interestingly, in Ben's storyboard the book title in the illustration was Bukowski's, *Tales of Ordinary Madness*, which perhaps offers further insight into the forces that propel Ben. However, such insights are based on a high level of interpretation which is itself based on individual interpretation of the Bukowski stories, and therefore is not engaged with further here. The motivational theme of creativity also augments findings from the fabula content analysis, where one of the six types of alterity concerned the practitioners' creative identities (see section 3.3.2.2).

5.4.2 Political resistance/Social justice:

The second main motivational theme concerned politics and/or social justice and was extrapolated from six senders in the storyboards. This again tied in with findings from the content analysis where two of the six types of alterity identified concerned anti-authoritarianism/protest and rejection of status quo (see sections 3.3.2.3 and 3.3.2.4). In the fabula content analysis three storyboards were identified as engaging with organised political action (Susan, Jean, Janet) based on overt content in the storyboards. However, it was also noted that more than these three practitioners appeared to hold anti-authoritarian sentiments or a desire to reject the status quo. This included practitioners who had previously worked on the inside of the criminal justice system. Those findings were supported and elaborated by the actantial analysis, where six practitioners were found to be influenced by some kind of political factor ranging for direct involvement with activism (Susan, Jean) to a sense of historical, collective injustice (Rebecca and

Samantha), while a further two practitioners occupied a position between these two extremes (Jessica and Dave). Interestingly, the storyboard most identified as exhibiting a link between the creative arts and activism (Janet's) in the fabula content analysis was not directly motivated by political awareness, but by a difficult childhood ('First born, born too early...Not part of the family' fr. 1). Although it could be argued that the structural factors of poverty and class ('At school dirty gypo jibes', fr. 1) played a role in Janet's upbringing, this was not articulated by the narrator and as such is not coded as a sender. Political awareness in Janet's case appeared to develop at a later point, as a result of childhood experience processed through her 're-writing/making sense of my history' (fr. 4).

For other practitioners, however, the influence of politics, which was not apparent in the fabula content analysis, became clearer in the actantial analysis. This suggests that a critical attitude towards criminal justice may be shared by more practitioners than is indicated by simply tallying those practitioners who described engagement in overt political action. Such an underlying sense of opposition to the objectives of the prison regime may (as discussed in section 4.2.1.2) lead to negative reactions from uniform staff and those who see themselves as custodians of the system. However, it is possible that it may also offer a sense of mutual understanding between practitioners and prisoners. As Brown (2002, p. 110) has written of prisoners' perceptions of the Koestler Trust and its staff, it is important, almost imperative, that the organisation is seen as separate from the regime: 'controlled by but not part of the prison system' (Brown, 2002, p. 110). It may be that these practitioners in their more understated resistance occupy a similar position to that of the Koestler Trust⁷⁴.

The senders coded in Susan and Jean's fabula content analysis have already been discussed in section 5.3.1 in terms of the position of senders in the different frames of the storyboards. Susan and Jean were two of only five practitioners where the sender was located after the first frame. As

⁷⁴ See Cheliotis (2012) for a more critical understanding of the Koestler Trust's class bound role in offender rehabilitation.

suggested, the frames outlining childhood experience (fr. 1 and 2) did not contain a clear sender actant, and in both of these storyboards the introduction of political awareness appeared to act as a motivation for later events. In the case of Susan, this began with involvement in 'punk and politics' (fr. 2), which may even be described as a catalyst, instigating Susan's desire to reject the status quo more generally. Meanwhile, the combination of political protest slogans and titles of social realist plays and films, which featured on banners in the third frame of Jean's storyboard, suggested a clear motivation for Jean's desire to engage with the creative arts. In addition to banners calling for peace, nuclear disarmament and intervention in Biafra, the presence of the titles of two Ken Loach directed dramas, ('Cathy Come Home' and 'Kes') made a clear link between issues of social injustice (specifically homelessness and social immobility) and creative expression, which could be seen as the instigator (or sender) for Jean's desire to engage with the creative arts. In the storyboards of Susan and Jean previously identified political interests are elaborated upon in the axis of transmission and offer greater insights into the role of politics in the construction of these two narratives and by association the motivations which they take beyond the prison gates. These motivations appear to be as much concerned with consciousness raising as with creative development and link back to the radical political aims set out by earlier practitioners (e.g. Insight Arts discussed by Johnston, 2004 and Motionhouse discussed by Fegan in Peaker and Vincent, 1990, p. 105) (see section 1.7 for a fuller discussion).

5.4.2.1 Social Justice and Subtler Forms of Protest:

The deepening of insight was also the case with regard to the narratives of Dave and Jessica. As discussed in section 4.3.1.3, both of these practitioners had careers in criminal justice (as a youth worker and probation officer respectively) before they became WiR. In the fabula content analysis (chapter three) the theme of rejection of the status quo, which connects these two narratives, offered little insight into why such a rejection occurred,

and to some degree their actions were attributed to a rejection of the 'principles or practices of the CJS' (Simpson, Morgan and Caulfield, 2019, p. 393). However, the actantial analysis enables a greater appreciation of the foundational motivations, as opposed to more immediate reactions to circumstances.

For Jessica being '(b)orn sympathetic to the underdog' (fr. 1) appeared to be the sender or key motivation in her narrative. The fabula content analysis makes a direct connection between Jessica's sympathetic attitude to those at a disadvantage and 'a fascination for a life other than the one I grew up in' (fr. 1), suggesting that the former (as sender) instigated the latter (as object). In other words, Jessica's sympathy for the underdog was what motivated her desire to explore a life other than the one she grew up in⁷⁵. This motivation served to give a firm foundation to Jessica's desire to explore other lives, which may explain her career choice in probation, her exploration of other worlds through fiction and her decision to facilitate creative writing in prisons; all scenarios giving access to vicarious worlds. However, Jessica's key motivation of sympathy for the underdog also suggested a clearer rationale for her reluctance to 'go back to being at the beck and call of the Courts and Home Office' (fr. 4), as both agencies demonstrated an increasing shift towards the principles of managerialism during the latter stages of the 20th century (Easton and Piper, 2008, p. 375).

Dave's fabula content analysis illustrated this move away from the traditional, humanistic probation approach of 'advise, assist and befriend' (Nellis, 2007, p. 26) to a correctional service based on the notion of 'punishment in the community' (Raynor and Vanstone, 2007, p. 67) and 'quantifiable outcomes' (Easton and Piper, 2008, p. 375), resulting in Dave 'spend(ing) all day on a computer with little time for young offenders. [It's] What managers value' (fr. 4). Similar to Jessica's sympathy for the underdog, it is perhaps Dave's

⁷⁵ This interpretation suggests that Jessica's background is middle class, which is borne out by a later conversation with the participant.

idealism⁷⁶ that drives his ambition for ‘the job of his life in youth justice’ (fr. 3) and it is experience of this same job that leads to the ‘end of idealism’ (fr. 6).

While the two narratives of Jessica and Dave did not express political affiliation to the left or radicalism in the same way of those of Susan and Jean, there appeared to be a quiet championing of social justice which was equally political in its commitment to winning equality and opportunity for the poor and marginalised and perhaps more effective in a carceral environment due to its understatement.

5.4.2.2 The Influence of Macro Politics:

The last two storyboards that demonstrated political motivation (Rebecca, Samantha) were the most understated of the six, yet the politics alluded to had the greatest macro effects. Neither of these two storyboards was included in the categories of anti-authoritarianism/protest or challenge to the status quo captured by the fabula content analysis (see sections 3.3.2.3 and 3.3.2.4). Only the actantial analysis revealed a political dimension to the content of these two narratives. For Samantha this finding came to light in the final frame of the storyboard with the observation that ‘some children are more equal than others’ juxtaposed with an image of the Queen (fr. 8). It was this axiom combined with several frames representing collective (fr. 2, 4 and 6) and personal experience (fr. 6) of inequality due to nationality that suggested that the sender lay outside of personal experience alone and rested in the collective experiences of the Irish at the hands of British colonialism. In the fabula content analysis Samantha’s sense of alterity was ascribed to the early institutional experiences of being bullied at school, however this bullying (‘because I don’t speak right’, fr. 6) was actually tied up with wider geo-political forces that led to material inequalities.

⁷⁶ The research diary pointed out that Dave’s storyboard does not specify the roots of his idealism: ‘it doesn’t tell us what drives his idealism’ (Research diary).

This kind of historical, intergenerational political injustice was also present in the storyboard of Rebecca. While in the fabula content analysis Rebecca's feelings of otherness were ascribed to mental health issues, the actantial analysis enabled a deeper appreciation of the reasons behind Rebecca's traumatic responses. When the sender was identified as Rebecca's upbringing in a family of holocaust survivors ('I was conceived in terror into a family scarred by scapegoating and annihilation', fr. 1) it became apparent that this was the motivation that drove the desire, more precisely need, for Rebecca to escape from mental terror. In this case the collective identity was based on religion rather than nationalism, the oppressive force of Nazism rather than Imperialism; however the basic contours of the motivating factors were similar. The actantial analysis was particularly important in the investigation of these two storyboards for two reasons. Firstly the coding of the sender revealed additional and significant factors at work. Secondly, the senders identified in both narratives enabled an understanding of these stories which moved beyond individual troubles, or in Rebecca's case, pathologies, in order to expose the broader political dynamics at work in the narratives.

5.4.3 Strong Emotions:

As discussed in section 2.9.5, the actantial analysis also enables a consideration of emotions in a way that is neglected by the fabula content analysis and this was particularly pertinent in two of the storyboards (Joanne and Henry), where strong emotions were identified as the sender.

In the case of Henry, the emotions of love and hate were presented in frame 1: hate related to Henry's feelings about a professional career in law, which he was studying for, while love referred more generally to his experience of being at university. While these emotions are identified as the sender, their role does not become apparent until frames 3, 4 and 5, where further emotions of happiness (fr. 3) and excitement (fr. 4) delineated Henry's

preference for arts related work, and in frame 5 his ambition to become a full time writer is indicated ('I am successful, I am a full time writer', fr. 5). In this process of analysis the sender needed to be deduced from a range of textual elements rather than existing in a clear statement or specific circumstance, however the actantial analysis allowed this process of interpretation to be accurately recorded. The findings on strong emotion as a motivating factor were important because it enabled recognition of the ways in which some practitioners constructed their ambitions as internally driven rather than instigated by an external event, thus suggesting a quality of intrinsic drive rather than extrinsic stimulus to their goals. This was also the case in Bob's narrative, where he described music as his 'passion', however, for Bob the music was clearly identified as the sender in the first frame, and passion as an indicator. In Henry's narrative, the emotions themselves appear to act as a guide to what, initially, is an unknown creative ambition.

This kind of reactive emotional process was also at work in Joanne's narrative, where boredom (fr. 1) combined with anger and shyness (fr. 2) was the motivation that led Joanne to want to 'escape through English'. It could be argued that school was the sender in this process analysis, as school was the environment that precipitates these strong emotions, however this would ignore the underlying influence of strong emotion which continued to feature in the narrative in the form of anger and frustration (fr. 3) and unhappiness (fr. 4), along with the reiteration of the importance of boredom as a motivating factor in frame 7 ('I need challenges, I'm bored'). It could also be argued that Joanne's diagnosis of body dysmorphic disorder (fr. 5) was the motivation or sender; however this was a post hoc rationalisation which served to explain Joanne's negative emotions rather than capturing their articulation as visceral driving forces.

Even in some narratives where emotion was less prominent, there could be a sense in which the goal is internally constituted rather than externally fostered. Steve for example, 'always wanted to write' (fr. 2), there was no further detail given on motivation, but the construction was one of something 'inside' Steve, something driving him. This inner drive is framed by Rory as

an inexplicable ability; writing is a talent not a task ('There's only one thing I know I can do, it's something to do with writing', fr. 2). In the context of the prison regime, and in particular offending behaviour programmes, such a reliance on strong emotions as a compass to action is strongly discouraged (McGuire, 2006). Emotion is to be analysed and managed rather than given free rein. However, creative practitioners who construct their own experiences in terms of producing creative outcomes from extreme and sometimes negative emotions may have a greater point of connection with those in prison who may share the energy but not necessarily the direction in which their emotions take them.

5.4.4 Work Related:

The two storyboards (Tracey and Kate) categorised under the theme of work related motivation did not yield additional insights from the identification of the sender. However, the coding did support the previous findings in Tracey and Kate's narratives, and their objects or goals (Kate wants a new job as a WiR, Tracey wants to have a teaching job in prison) were consistent with their motivations. For Kate this was the work colleague (fr. 1) who drew Kate's attention to a job advertisement in the Guardian (fr. 2), for Tracey a Guardian job alert (fr. 1). This proved to be another advantage of the actantial analysis, which enabled verification of previous coding even where no new information was ascertained.

5.4.5 Other Motivations (Difficult Childhood/Life Itself):

The final two storyboards (Janet and Joe) each had an individual theme which was not shared by any other practitioner. In the case of Janet's narrative, a difficult early family life was identified as the motivation for her desire to inhabit a different 'lived reality'. While other storyboards (Rebecca, Joanne, Susan, Jean, Samantha, Dave, Steve, Rory, Barbara, Jessica) also

reference childhood, in these cases it was not specific to the family home (Joanne, Dave, Steve, Rory, Barbara, Jessica), had no clear motivational relevance (Susan, Jean) or had a broader, political motivation ascribed to it that included but extended beyond the personal troubles of childhood (Rebecca, Samantha). Joe's storyboard was also concerned with early life experience, however in this case the motivation was ascribed to the purely biological event of birth and in some senses stood in lieu of an individualised motivation or sender; it is the story of life (which in this narrative leads to a search for the authentic self) rather than the story of a particular life.

5.5 Beneficiaries of Practitioners' Motivations

The partner actantial class in the axis of transmission or knowledge is the receiver. These are the actants that benefit from the achievement of the junction between subject and object (Hebert, 2011, p. 71). As already set out, for the purposes of this analysis only the relevant textual elements named by the narrator were coded as receivers. The purpose was to narrow down from the broad claims made in the evaluation literature regarding the benefits accrued, in the main, by prisoners and to focus instead on the benefits constructed by the creative practitioners as a result of their tacit knowledge of the field.

5.5.1 Practitioners' as Beneficiaries:

As table 5.2 shows, there was one striking discovery that emerged from the coding of the receiver actantial class. This concerned the frequency with which the practitioner themselves was identified as the main receiver. All 18 practitioners were coded as a receiver (although the case of Samantha was somewhat tenuous) and in 12 of these instances they were the only receiver. Consideration of the rewards accruing to individual practitioners/protagonists from the achievement of the subject-object junction have already been

discussed in section 4.3.1.1 and 4.3.1.2. What these sections did not reveal, however, was that six of the narratives also included one or two additional beneficiaries. This finding suggests that the majority of these practitioners were mainly concerned with personal benefits emerging from the achievement of their goals. Two practitioners had goals that were specifically focused on working in a prison environment (Kate and Tracey), however, neither of which pertained to benefit for the prisoners they worked with. In the case of Tracey it was the employment conditions ('Less overtime hours, No more running around 4 jobs, 1 place 1 salary', fr. 5) that appeared to offer the main benefits from a job which was a 'new adventure'; the adventure was also, presumably, for Tracey rather than the prisoners. The benefits suggested in Kate's process analysis were less clear, as the achievement of the conjunction was doubtful and it was not clear that Kate would benefit from the new job which she aspired to. No other actantial model coded work in prison as the goal of the practitioner, which in itself is significant. Delivering writing workshops in prison appeared to be less of a vocation and more of an adjunct to other ambitions for the majority of practitioners, although the transformation narratives of Joanne and Janet were the expectations to this (see sections 4.3.1.1 and 4.3.1.2).

5.5.2 Minor Benefits:

While working as a prison writer may not have been a deliberate career plan, in several cases a prison residency offered positive experiences as an unintended consequence. As already suggested, for Bob, whose motivation was to make music, his residency in prison was the '(m)ost rewarding job ever' (fr. 8) while Rory found his Wednesday afternoon writing groups in the prison chapel 'enjoyable' (fr. 8) (see section 4.3.1.1). Meanwhile Barbara 'was scared but elated' (fr. 8) on her first day in prison. Both Jessica and Henry applied for a WiR position for a second time after failing on their first attempts, and Jessica felt she was 'one of the chosen ones' (fr. 7) when she was finally recruited, suggesting that for both of these practitioners there is

an expectation of benefit which outweighed the possibility of a second rejection. In the case of Jessica there was a clear connection to the motivation of being sympathetic to the underdog. This more magnanimous motivation was also echoed in Joanne's narrative, where she anticipated that working in prison would enable her to fulfil her love of 'helping others through words' (fr. 7).

Rebecca's first experience of prison writing, as previously discussed (section 4.3.1) was in the form of a letter from Mark, a serving prisoner, who taught her that 'no one can imprison your mind' (fr. 6), which directly related to her goal of escaping from mental terror. While Steve did not directly reference benefits from being a prison writer, his storyboard noted that working in writing residences more generally 'was brilliant' (fr. 5). The knowledge that he has since worked in prisons for twenty years (fr. 8) indicated there were a good deal of benefits to this work for Steve. Joe suggested that his 'break into' prison served to reveal or develop his authentic self (fr. 7 and 8) and Eric finds that the support of the national prison writers network allowed him to 'feel respected, taken seriously, and valued' (fr. 8) after a period of homelessness and vulnerability (fr. 6).

Employment in a prison residency also appeared to be part of the recovery process for Susan after a downward spiral left her 'skint, skint, skint [and surrounded by] anxiety, loss, stress, deaths [and] madness', fr. 7), and while not stated explicitly it appeared that going into prison as a writer (fr. 8) allowed Dave to repair and adjust his original ambitions to work in youth justice at psychological and material levels. Meanwhile, beginning prison writing allowed Janet to 'recognise a part of me that is very important' (fr. 8). Even Ben whose succinct storyboard acknowledged no emotional or psychological benefits from the work, did recognise pecuniary gains ('NEED MONEY, FIND A JOB (AND) GO TO JAIL, fr. 7 and 8). Jean's actantial model was the only one that did not suggest a personal gain from the work she did in prisons. Of all of the storyboards, Jean's seemed the least motivated by personal self-interest. To some degree this finding sets these practitioners apart from the benevolent or compassionate ethos assumed to

be foundational to much third sector agency work that occurs in prisons (Tomczak and Alberston, 2016).

5.5.3 Main Beneficiaries:

A discussion of the benefits derived from practitioners' work in these environments also offered important insights into the relationship between practitioners' ambitions and the role of prison work in their ambitions. However, the incidental benefits accruing to practitioners through their work in prison should not be confused with the primary receivers identified through the actantial analysis. As previously explained, the actantial analysis was based on a closed system of six narrative functions, each of which relied on all the others to verify the coding of each textual element to its relevant actantial class. This meant that in the case of the 16 actantial models where the object was not coded as a job in prison, a different assessment of what constitutes the receiver is required. To illustrate, both the sender (motivation) and object (goal) in Steve's' actantial analysis was to write. The goal was clearly achieved and in order to ascertain the receiver/s (beneficiary/ies) it was necessary to discern who, according to the process analysis, benefited from Steve's achieving his goal to write. Steve himself benefited because he fulfilled his desire and did so completely and with certainty. The storyboard offered a statement of Steve's benefit in frame 5 when Steve's experience as a writer in residence was described as 'brilliant'. In addition, frame 7 suggested that the people Steve worked with in nursing homes may have benefited from their participation, and it was implied this may also be the case for prisoners. As such, these two groups were also coded as beneficiaries or receivers.

Steve is one of six practitioners (Joanne, Jessica, Susan, Jean, Janet) whose storyboard identified a receiver other than the subject themselves. Receivers identified were mainly concerned with individuals or groups who might or were assumed to benefit from engagement with creative activities;

'people who might be trapped' (Joanne, fr. 7), those 'imprisoned by age and disability' as well as those who are physically incarcerated (Steve, fr. 7), the 'underdog' (Jessica, fr. 1) and 'marginalised groups/individuals (Janet, fr. 6). These receivers were more consistent with the discourse of beneficial impacts of the creative arts in the CJS and the 'narrative of transformation' (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008). In the actantial model of two practitioners (Susan and Jean) there was a suggestion that their commitment to transformation was aimed at a societal level; looking to overthrow political systems (Susan) or improve social justice (Jean) as ways to benefit the lives of large numbers of people. For Susan anarchism (fr. 2), radical politics (fr. 3) and counter cultural lifestyles (fr. 4) all appeared to be challenges aimed at improving current political systems, while Jean's actantial model identified those who would benefit from improvements in social justice, including prisoners, as additional beneficiaries of her involvement with creative arts. Meanwhile, Joanne presented a single example of a practitioner whose commercial creative activities (a bespoke poetry website, fr. 4) result in beneficiaries who are framed as customers, although Joanne also framed those who felt 'trapped' (JB, fr. 7) as another beneficiary group.

5.6 Summary

In conclusion, this chapter has outlined the motivations for and beneficiaries of the practitioners' ambitions contained in the 18 narratives through a close coding of senders and receivers. This generated knowledge at two levels, one structural, one content specific.

At the level of content, the coding of the sender actantial class elucidated six broad motivational themes: pursuit of creative arts, politics/social good, strong emotions, work related, difficult childhood and life itself. These themes echoed earlier findings from both the fabula content analyses (chapter three) and the actantial analysis (chapter four). Three of the six types of alterity explored in chapter three are revisited here. In particular, the theme concerning pursuit of the creative arts connected with practitioner's creative

identities as a form of outsider status, while the categories of anti-authoritarianism/protest and rejection of the status quo resonated with the politics/social justice motivational theme that emerged from the actantial analysis. The influence of political factors was more common than indicated by their radical manifestations and this understated resistance may serve as a point of commonality between prisoners and practitioners. It was speculated that a more muted commitment to social justice on the part of practitioners may prove effective as a tool for change in the carceral environment.

A third of practitioners were found to be motivated by one of these two themes, although it was not always the same practitioners who were identified with the related type of alterity in the fabula content analysis (chapter three). Interestingly, other types of alterity which were foregrounded in chapter three, particularly mental health appeared to have less significance in the actantial analysis presented in this current chapter. Mental health issues, rather than being constructed as pathologising forces were revealed to be underpinned by broader collective political oppression in the case of Rebecca, and in the narrative of Joanne are articulated in the language of powerful emotional responses to formative educational experiences (although Joanne later suggests a mental health disorder as a post hoc rationalisation). In both of these cases there was a sense in which the actantial analysis enabled the researcher to, as C. Wright Mills enjoined, 'grasp history and biography and the relations between the two within society' (Mills, 1959/2000, p. 6).

Overall, the actantial analysis coding of senders made practitioner motivations apparent which were not revealed by the fabula content analysis. This was particularly the case in terms of political motivation (Jessica, Dave, Rebecca, Samantha). The identification of senders in the actantial model can also elaborate upon and offer deeper insights into previous findings (Jean, Susan, Dave, Jessica, Janet). Finally, identifying the sender as part of the actantial analysis enables a recognition of the ways that practitioners construct emotions as an internal driver of their narratives, suggesting that in

some cases motivation is understood to stem from intrinsic drivers rather than external stimulus. It was speculated that practitioners and prisoners may share a similar velocity of emotional force, but that the directions that force takes them in is different. If this is the case, such a finding suggests a further point of commonality between the two groups.

In terms of the structural dimensions of the analysis most relevant to the coding of motivations, in the majority of the narratives senders occurred early in the process analysis where they were an element in the plot, rather than explicitly identified as motivation. This suggested that motivation functioned in a similar manner to traditional narratives where the story (or action) is initially set in motion by the sender and is alluded to rather than categorised. In this narrative mode of cognition (Bruner, 1986) the narrative sequence is driven by action and awareness, rather than a logico-scientific approach, which deconstructs, rather than constructs the narrative. This finding illustrated rather than innovated on Bruner's (1986) description of narrative and served to highlight the ways in which creative writing programmes in prisons could contribute to prisoners' abilities to shape rather than simply be shaped by the stories they tell, as they construct alternative logics of narrative necessity (Maruna, 2001) that support the process of desistance.

The identification of receivers revealed that the majority of practitioners in this study are not motivated by the ambition to facilitate creative writing in prisons. This work served as an adjunct or support to their creative, political or personal aspirations. This suggested that to some degree these practitioners were not motivated by the benevolent or compassionate ethos assumed to be foundational to much third sector agency work that occurs in prisons (Tomczak and Alberston, 2016). For a large number of the practitioners, however, once involved in the work, they identified benefits beyond financial gain. In terms of additional receivers, only six practitioners identified other beneficiaries in their narratives, in some cases this focused on individuals who were marginalised or trapped in some way, while others involved wider social benefits affected through changes in political systems or tackling social injustice. In contrast to this radical political approach one

practitioner framed a group of beneficiaries as paying customers. In summary, the findings presented in this chapter suggest some level of challenge to previous research in this area although the motivations were diverse.

Table 5.3: Key Findings for the Axis of Transmission

Key Findings	Section
Application of the axis of transmission to the narratives of practitioners enabled identification of the specific benefits for practitioners rather than a broader interpretation of benefits derived in the evaluation literature.	5.2
Practitioners were less concerned with offering a logical summary of their experience and foregrounded what happened to them and how it felt.	5.3.3 5.3.4
Six motivational themes were identified. Quantitatively creative and political motivations were foregrounded. Political influences underpinned more narratives than was suggested by the content analysis. Strong emotions also featured and have implications for practitioners' identification with prisoners.	5.4 5.4.1 5.4.2 5.4.2.1 5.4.2.2 5.4.3
Overall, practitioners are motivated less by an ambition to work in prison, although they derive some unexpected	5.5 5.5.1 5.5.2

benefits from their experiences. This poses a challenge to the notion of benevolent practitioners delivering class-based patronage to the less fortunate.	5.5.3
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Chapter Six – The Axis of Power

6.1 Introduction:

The final stage of the actantial analysis concerns the axis of power. Analysis of this axis enabled the creation of a detailed inventory of all the textual elements in a narrative which served to support or obstruct the achievement of the subject/object junction. This was achieved through the coding of the helper and opponent actantial classes (Herbert, 2001, p. 71) in order to identify what helped the practitioner to achieve their goal and what hindered them.

Table 2.2: Stages of Analysis

Stage	Method	Source	Purpose	Process	Key literature
(I) Findings in chapter three	Content analysis of fabula: Objects	Raw Storyboard	Identify all objects contained in the fabula	* Objects = nouns and pronouns * Single adjectives which modify nouns may be included * Identify patterns and common objects across raw storyboards	Bal, 1997, 2009

<p>(II) Findings in chapter three</p>	<p>Content analysis of fabula: Processes</p>	<p>Raw Storyboard</p>	<p>Identify processes contained in the fabula</p>	<p>* Processes = the changes that occur in, with, through and among objects. (Bal, 1997, p. 182) * Transfer all narrative elements from the raw storyboard to the process analysis with as little interpretation as possible * Identify the narrative function of each sentence * Create an 'event summary' consisting of all sentences which have a narrative, conversational or instructional function</p>	<p>Bal, 1997, 2009 Fludernik, 2000</p>
<p>(III) Findings in chapter 4-6)</p>	<p>Actantial analysis</p>	<p>Results from Process Analysis (see II)</p>	<p>Identify how each textual element in the process analysis contributes to the construction of the overall storyboard.</p>	<p>* Actants = 'the great functions or roles occupied by the various characters in a narrative, be they humans, animals or simple objects' (Vandendorpe, 1993: 505) * Code each textual element into one or more actantial classes of subject-object, sender-receiver, helper-opponent * Code each actant in terms of intentional/unintentional, active/passive and</p>	<p>Greimas, 1966/1983 Greimas and Corte, 1984 Herbert, 2011</p>

				<p>possible/real * Analyse for patterns</p>	
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Section 6.2 and 6.3 focus on the axis of power, which - as noted above - enables an understanding of what helps and what hinders the practitioner in the achievement of their goals. These findings are further broken down in sections 6.4 and 6.5.

In addition to the main actantial classes of helpers and opponents, Hebert (2011, pp. 74-75) also suggests a number of actantial sub-classes based on the work of Greimas and Courts (1982)⁷⁷. Three are particularly pertinent to the current analysis: real/possible actants (considered in terms of ontological status), active/passive actants (referring to the degree to which the actant is actualised) and intentional/unintentional actants (which relate only to anthropomorphic actants, and in the case of this study, only to the subject). Culler (2002, p. 272) has criticised the six main actantial classes proposed by Greimas⁷⁸ as overly reductive, and the addition of the subclasses may serve to add nuance in order to counter this critique.

6.2 Coding Helpers and Opponents:

Once the process analysis of each practitioner had been coded for axis of desire and axis of transmission actants (i.e. object/subject and sender/receiver), the next step was to read through the process analysis line by line in order to code for helpers and opponents. The ability to code each textual element to more than one actantial class meant that every line from the process analysis (including those already coded as subjects, objects or

⁷⁷ In Greimas' work these subclasses emerge from a revision of the actantial model, which removed the helper/opponent actantial class altogether. Each of the four actants (sender/receiver, subject/object) becomes a category that can be projected onto the semiotic square which presents four types of actants (Vandendorpe, 2003, p. 505); the actant, anti-actant, negactant and negantactant (Hebert, 2011, p. 74). See also Prince (2003, p. 2).

⁷⁸ Indeed Greimas himself revised this framework at a later date and replaced it with the canonical narrative schema (Herbert, 2011, p. 71).

receivers) had to be considered. A textual element may also qualify as both a helper and an opponent simultaneously⁷⁹. The only exclusion to multiple coding is the sender; a sender cannot simultaneously be coded as a helper (Hebert, 2011, p. 74)⁸⁰. In some instances a textual element did not have any actantial function within the model, in these cases the textual element was coded as a 'non-actant'. For a detailed description of the procedures involved and some of the strengths of this method see appendix 14.

6.3 Findings:

The most prominent finding from the coding of helper and opponent actants concerned the overwhelming percentage of helpers to opponents in all but one of the actantial models (see table 6.1 below). Only Samantha's narrative contained more opponents than helpers with only 22% of actants on the axis of power coded as helpers. For every other practitioner the percentage of helpers was above 50%. Susan had the lowest percentage of helpers at 56%, while Rory and Steve had the highest percentage, standing at 92% each. On average, in the 17 storyboards with higher levels of helpers than opponents, 74% of the actants were coded as helpers (see appendix 15 for detailed totals).

⁷⁹ Many scholars describe the relationship between actants in the same axis as a binary opposition (Moto, 2001, p. 75; Soderberg, 2003, p. 12; Hawkes, 2004, p. 69), which would appear to preclude a single textual element being coded as both helper and opponent. A more useful conceptualisation is that of Culler (2002) who describes the relationships between the six categories as 'set in syntactic and thematic relation to one another' (Culler, 2002, p. 272). Culler's more nuanced, though critical reading of Greimas' approach also points out the primary difference in the sender/receiver relationship compared to the subject/object and helper/opponent dyads.

⁸⁰ The importance of the mutual exclusivity of the classes of sender and helper emerged as the analysis progressed, which resulted in amendments to the actantial models following the second iteration of analysis.

Table 6.1: Helper/Opponent Percentages:

Name	Helpers	Opponents	Total actants	Percentage of helpers
Kate	15	6	21	71%
Harry	21	13	34	62%
Dave	8	4	12	67%
Rebecca	11	5	16	69%
Steve	11	1	12	92%
Rory	23	2	25	92%
Barbara	15	3	18	83%
Jessica	16	4	20	80%
Joe	7	5	12	58%
Janet	31	6	37	84%
Joanne	19	2	21	90%
Ben	9	4	13	69%
Susan	5	4	9	56%
Jean	6	1	7	86%
Eric	18	13	31	58%
Tracey	28	13	41	68%
Samantha	4	14	18	22%
Bob	8	3	11	73%
Total	255	103	358	74%

Percentages serve to mask the actual numbers of helpers and opponents in the narrative, and these are set out in columns two and three. There is

considerable disparity in these numbers. Steve and Jean had only one opponent each in their whole actantial models, while Janet had the greatest number of helpers (33) and Susan the least (5), although numbers of helpers in a narrative is in part influenced by the amount written by the practitioner.

Such a volume of agreement in the axis of power suggests there may be something significant to be discovered in this patterning of helpers and opponents. Two immediate possibilities present themselves to explain such a preponderance of favourable factors in the practitioners' narratives. Firstly, it may be the case that the majority of practitioners encounter mainly favourable circumstances, that their lives are generally without obstacle due, perhaps, to social and economic advantage and that it is this that contributes to a successful outcome to their goals. Secondly, it is possible that the practitioners construct their narratives in such a way as to emphasise positive features, even when those features appear to be obstacles rather than helpers. Both phenomena are found in the actantial models, sometimes both in the same narrative. There are objects and processes that indicate material or social privilege, offering practitioners an easier route to their ambitions. However, there are also significant examples of what are referred to as 'negative positives' (see section 6.4), whereby an ostensibly negative event is framed as a helper. This serves to build a much more complex picture of how practitioners construct what constitutes a helper and what constitutes an opponent and how these in turn shape their construction of reality.

6.3.1 Categories of Helpers and Opponents:

Table 6.2 offers a breakdown of the separate types of helper/opponent actants identified in the axis of power.

Table 6.2: Types of Helper/Opponents⁸¹

	Type of actant	Helper	Opponent
E x t e r n a l F a c t o r s	Teaching in prison (see discussion in appendix 16)	(+) Tracey	(-) Tracey
	Creative employment	(+) Kate, Henry, Rebecca, Steve, Rory, Barbara, Jessica, Joe, Janet, Joanne, Ben, Susan, Jean, Eric, Bob,	(-) Kate, Henry, Rebecca, Jessica, Ben, Susan
	Job adverts	(+) Kate, Henry, Steve, Jessica	
	Childhood Factors	(-) Dave, Joe, Janet, Joanne, Samantha (+) Rebecca, Barbara, Samantha	(-) Rebecca, Joe, Janet, Samantha
	Post 16 Education	(+) Dave, Rory, Barbara, Janet, Joanne, (-)Rory	(-) Henry, Rory, Joanne, Susan

⁸¹ Key: + = positive actants
- = negative actants
+~- = neutral actants

	Personal circumstances	(+) Barbara, Joe, Joanne, Susan, Tracey, Jessica, Eric (-) Jessica, Eric,	(-) Kate, Henry, Barbara, Jessica, Janet, Eric, (+~-) Jean
	General Employment	(-) Henry, Jessica, Joanne, (+)Rory, Janet, Dave	(-)Henry, Dave, Rory, Joe, Janet, Eric,
	Finances	(+) Henry, Ben (-) Ben	(-) Eric, Steve, Ben, Joe, Janet, Susan
	Political Activities	(+) Janet, Susan, Jean	
	Leisure Activities	(+)Rory, Jean	
	External circumstances		(-) Samantha
I n t e r n a l	Emotions	(-) Rebecca, Jessica, Joe, Joanne, Henry, Rory (+) Steve, Barbara, Eric, Henry, Rory (+~-) Kate	(-) Henry, Barbara, Jessica, Joanne, Bob (+~-) Kate
	Personal competences	(+) Kate, Henry, , Rebecca, Steve, Rory,	(-) Tracey

F a c t o r s		Jessica, Janet, Joanne, Tracey, (-) Kate, Henry, Dave	
	Personal behaviours	(+~-) Kate, Eric, Joanne, Ben, Tracey	(-) Dave, Ben, Eric (+~-) Tracey
	Social networks	(+) Kate, Henry, Rebecca, Joanne, Eric, Tracey, Bob, Barbara (-) Janet	(-) Eric
	Creative practice	(+) Barbara, Janet, Joanne, Susan, Jean, Eric, Bob, Rory (-)Rory,	(-) Eric
	Realisations	(+) Rebecca, Barbara, Joe, Janet, Eric, Rory (-)Rory	(-) Samantha
	Mental health episodes	(-) Rebecca, Jessica, Joanne	(-) Henry, Rebecca, Susan, Eric,
	Misc	Rebecca, Jessica	
	Conceptual Links (not	Henry, Steve,	

	temporal links in fabula)	Rebecca	
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These categories were arrived at by identifying the main factor at work in each helper, opponent and non-actant before grouping these factors together in a taxonomy, which produced 19 separate categories. Over half of these categories (n11) are concerned with the description of external events related to various aspects of practitioners' lives: creative employment, childhood factors, post-16 education, personal circumstances, general employment, job advertisements, finances, political activities, leisure activities and external events. Meanwhile, seven categories (n7) were concerned with personal dimensions of the practitioners' lives: emotions, personal competences, personal behaviours, social networks, creative practice, realisations, and mental health. A final, miscellaneous category contained two helpers which did not appear to fit into any other group or contain a substantive topic in and of themselves. Detailed methodological notes are contained in appendix 16 which pertain to particular categories and overlaps between categories.

6.3.2 External Actants:

First, a consideration of the external factors which the narrators constructed as helpers or opponents to the achievement of their goal.

6.3.2.1 Creative Employment:

The category that garnered the largest number of helper actants was that of creative employment. A total of 15 practitioners included at least one actant in their narratives that was an unequivocal helper. Only Tracey (who, as discussed in appendix 16), foregrounded teaching over creative facilitation) and Samantha (whose storyboard lacked a conventional narrative structure

and, in places, coherence) failed to include helpers concerned with employment in a creative capacity. This large number of helpers in this category is not surprising as 10 of the narratives contained a creative ambition and a further four had goals, the fulfilment of which involved creative pursuits. In addition, the fabula content analysis (chapter three) showed that eight of the participants had a strong connection to their identities as artists, albeit in an antithetical relationship to inclusionary norms.

A wide range of types of creative employment were included as helpers, from pursuits focused on practitioners individual writing, editing and publishing of fiction and poetry (Rebecca, Jessica, Ben) to performing poetry (Rory), running writing groups and evening classes (Rory) and in one case, forming a writing collective (Janet). Other practitioners engaged in more commercial activity in magazine (Barbara) and children's publishing (Steve) as well as starting an entrepreneurial bespoke poetry writing service (Joanne). Reflecting the multidisciplinary interests already discerned in the data (sections 3.3.2.2, 3.3.2.3 and 4.2.1.1), practitioners also taught drama (Kate, Dave), worked in theatre (Steve) and the community arts (Steve), where Eric was involved in a number of large scale community art projects, including Bloom 98, and Rory and Janet ran various other arts events. Henry meanwhile was engaged in arts management in the visual arts, while Bob worked as a musical entertainer at a holiday camp and Susan worked in circus. Two practitioners were involved in film making (Henry) and production (Barbara). In addition to prison writing residencies, two practitioners (Steve, Rory) were also employed in writing residencies in other locations, one in Scotland (Rory) with an unspecified client group, the other in two nursing homes (Steve). Creative work in prisons was referenced or alluded to in all 15 of the storyboards in the final frame.

This information proves instructive in allowing insight into the disparate and often multidisciplinary nature of practitioners' creative employment backgrounds. It is notable that some of these practitioners worked in more than one creative field. For example, Barbara presented a career history in film production, magazine publishing and as a prison writer in residence,

while Henry worked in arts funding (fr. 3), as a gallery manager (fr. 4), in his chosen art as a screen writer as well as a prison writer in residence. Most diverse of all is the creative curriculum vitae of Steve who in the years before he began to work as a prison writer in residence held positions in children's publishing, theatre, the community arts and as a writer in residence in nursing homes. This diversity suggests either that these practitioners have made a deliberate choice to be generalists in the creative sector, or that they have been forced to diversify in order to support their creative specialisms. Meanwhile, other practitioners' construct narratives that show exclusive concentration on one arts discipline (Rebecca, Joanne, Ben, Rory, Barbara, Janet) though not necessarily in the field of writing (Bob, Eric).

Related to creative employment were the four narratives in which job advertisements for prison WiR were coded as unequivocal helpers, as these advertisements opened the way to a residency in prison. Interestingly, three of the four practitioners saw the relevant advertisement in the Guardian, which supports perceptions of creative practitioners as politically liberal/left wing with 82% of the newspaper's readership made up of Labour and Liberal Democrat party voters (IPSOS/Mori, 2005).

There are also a small number of opponents listed in the creative employment category: 11 opponents compared to 67 helpers. Two of these opponents (Ben's literary prize and Susan's WiR job) were coded as both helpers and opponents, and this category of 'equivocal helpers' will be discussed in section 6.5. The remainder of the opponents are either trivial (e.g. Kate's negative response to the artificial light in prisons), concerned with obstacles to creative employment (e.g. Jessica and Henry's initial failure to secure a WiR role) or involve scruples about the funding structure of the arts (Henry). Creative employment is an obvious corollary to the work that these practitioners are engaged in, or wish to be engaged in. It is therefore unsurprising that positive helpers outweigh negative influences in this category. Furthermore, securing employment in the creative arts is suggestive of a journey already underway. As such the question is what were the supportive foundations on which this creative employment was built?

6.3.2.2 *Childhood Factors:*

Childhood factors may appear an obvious place to begin as early experience is often considered to be highly influential on later life outcomes. However, only seven of the actantial narratives contained helpers concerned with external childhood factors, and of these, only three practitioners' storyboards included positive helpers (Rebecca, Barbara, Samantha). Rebecca finds a book (*The Diary of Anne Frank*, fr. 3) that enables her to connect with the intergenerational trauma surrounding her family's experience of the holocaust, although this quickly escalates into an unhealthy compulsion for holocaust literature (fr. 3), Samantha recounts a childhood trip to Ireland where she experiences freedom out of the sight of adults (fr. 3) and a nine year old Barbara enjoys her writing debut with a play written for her Brownie troop (fr. 1). There is a suggestion of early interest in, and possibly encouragement of, literary pursuits in Rebecca and Barbara's helpers. In particular Barbara's early playwrighting debut links to a cultural narrative of precocity and parental encourage ('I wore my granny's hat', fr. 1), which may have given support to Barbara's literary ambitions. Certainly Barbara's progression from child playwright to teen magazine staff writer is presented as seamless (fr 1 and 2), almost taken for granted or expected. However, neither Rebecca or Samantha had an objective concerned with the creative arts, Rebecca wants to escape from mental terror and Samantha simply wants to escape. With this in mind, Rebecca's encounter with popular holocaust literature represents a helper of a somewhat different complexion, constructing literature in terms of benefits accrued from reading rather than writing.

The benefits of reading are also contained in other narratives (Jean, Susan, Janet, Ben, Dave, Rory, Barbara) although these are less concerned with childhood reading experiences and more with the active development of their writing ambitions. Janet is the exception to this and she had '(r)ead my way through a mobile library aged 10' (fr. 3). However, Janet's reading was less concerned with external factors and more with a personal creative process

involving reading, writing and escapism (fr. 2 and 3). For this reason Janet's consumption of literature was included in the 'creative process category'.

The third and final set of unequivocal childhood helpers found in Samantha's narrative had no direct connection to creativity, and instead offered a more visceral recollection of a childhood trip to Ireland (fr. 3), which served to heighten Samantha's objective of escape by illustrating how such freedom was experienced during a formative period in Samantha's life. Although it should be borne in mind that Samantha's positive helpers were counterbalanced by a negative-positive helper (see section 6.4).

The three instances of positive childhood helpers are outweighed by negative events. Four practitioners (Rebecca, Joe, Janet, Samantha) detail a total of eight obstacles from childhood. For Rebecca this serves to describe the impacts of the holocaust on her Jewish family ('At the heart is silence, silence, silence'; 'a mother who cries non-stop and blames', fr. 2), while Samantha details three separate childhood memories involving experiences of captivity, from the trivial ('Mo and Evelyn Brady holding onto my arms and legs so I'll stay for the photo', fr. 1) to the traumatic ('Dad pulled out of the car and marched away', fr. 5). Janet and Joe both focus on different aspects of education, for Janet it is the 'lack of schooling' (fr. 4) and her family's dismissal of the importance of education (fr. 3) that act as opponents to Janet's desire to inhabit a world different to her lived reality, while for Joe the opposite appears to be the case when he '(b)roke into playgroup pushed from behind by my dad' (fr. 2). This sentence constructs Joe's entry into the institution of education as a coerced one, which suggested a potential obstacle to Joe's desire to be his authentic self. Interestingly, childhood is not presented as a straightforward negative or positive experience by the three practitioners (Janet, Samantha, Rebecca) who present unequivocally positive helpers, while also including childhood experiences that serve as opponents to their goals. In addition four practitioners (Joe, Dave, Joanne, Jean) framed negative events as helpers (which will be discussed in section 6.4).

Six practitioners chose not to deal with the period of childhood at all. It is posited that this disconnect from childhood events may occur because practitioners do not identify their present selves with their childhood pasts and therefore do not include incidents, and even more rarely, positive incidents from their formative lives in the construction of their narratives. Pushed to speculate and in line with the findings of outsider status in the fabula content analysis, it could be ventured that at least some of these practitioners construct themselves as outsiders to their own early experiences.

6.3.2.3 Post 16 Education:

A larger number of practitioners wrote about their engagement with post-16 education, and while the fabula content analysis found that their experience was too varied to arrive at any clear conclusions (see section 3.3.2.5), the actantial analysis highlights a wider point about the support afforded to practitioners' ambitions as a result of a university education. In total eight practitioners had helpers concerned with post-16 education, in seven cases this entailed university, while Eric attended art college. The function of university education was coded as a helper in six narratives (Henry, Dave, Rory, Barbara, Janet, Joanne), although for Rory university was something of a mixed bag with both an active helper (studying art and performances) and a negative positive (studying English). Eric's time at art college is attributed to the actantial class of sender, framing art college as the key motivation rather than just a point of support. Only Susan's actantial model coded university as an opponent, although only a passive opponent. The other three practitioners with opponents took issue with specific courses of study (Rory, Henry) or obstacles to gaining admission ('I had no A-Levels', Joanne, fr. 6). In addition, Jessica's Master's degree in Creative Writing, also suggested that further education provided a helper⁸². For some of the practitioners the benefit of university is explicitly stated. Dave didn't simply go

⁸² The specific function of this act is included in the personal competences category of the axis of power (see section 6.8.2) rather than in the Post 16 Education category.

to university, he 'escapes' (fr. 2) to it from the estate where he grew up and was in trouble with the police (fr. 1). Meanwhile, Janet constructed her experience as a mature student as particularly positive. She finds a purpose to her writing that contributes to her growing political and creative participation (fr. 6, 7 and 8) and enables a transition from imaginative inhabitation of different worlds to the actual realisation of different material environments as an '(a)ctivist/socialist, Facilitating/teaching' (fr. 7), giving others as well as herself 'a voice' (fr. 6). Even more powerfully, Eric's introduction to art college appeared to offer such transformational opportunities ('[i]t's discovery [and] enlightenment', fr. 1), and as noted above, the actantial analysis coded it not as a helper, but as the sender itself; the instigator of the whole narrative - 'this is the start' (fr. 1). Two of these narratives (Dave, Janet) suggested that those practitioners who entered higher education through non-conventional routes most clearly articulated the benefits of their studies. Joanne also attended university as a mature student, however she framed university as the outcome of her decision to finally 'stick at something' (fr. 6) and the focus is more on her struggle to be admitted to a degree course without A Levels (fr. 6), rather than describing the benefits that accrued from her studies.

Not all practitioners narrated struggles in their journey to university and in addition to the benefits that accrue to practitioners from attending university, three of the narratives (Barbara, Rory, Henry) signal university as an indicator of pre-existing advantage. In these three narratives admission to university did not, in and of itself, merit comment. Barbara, for instance, offered little context for studying for her first degree in drama (fr.4), which followed seamlessly from her work as a fiction editor in the magazine industry (although her later experience as a mature student did identify benefits). Nor did Barbara make any comment on her subsequent period of employment in the film industry in the U.S.A. or how her graduate status may have contributed to this in terms of both formal qualifications and personal expectations. This sequence of events is constructed as an effortless progression rather than a struggle to achieve. Rory's understanding that there is 'only one thing I know I can do - it's something to do with writing' (fr.

2) led not to a vocational apprenticeship, but to a degree course in English. When this proves unfulfilling he seemingly had the support to enable him to begin anew with a second course of study. Henry, meanwhile begins his narrative already at university, with no suggestion that admission to university was anything other than the expected course of events. Interestingly, the actual physical attendance of Henry at university was coded as a non-actant, neither a helper nor opponent to his ambition to be a professional writer, and his choice of degree in law, was coded as an opponent because it actively hindered his literary ambitions. Even Susan's narrative, which has the only opponent that specifically identified her university career as inimical to her ambition to challenge the status quo did not detail any struggle in getting to university, only struggle once enrolled; with a depiction of a university with prison bars at the windows (fr. 3).

The 'taken for grantedness' of a university education for these four practitioners is further highlighted in Jessica's narrative where a higher degree in Creative Writing is only mentioned in order to illustrate Jessica's attitude to applying for a job as a prison WiR ('I...rather arrogantly assume my MA in creative writing and probation experience make me the ideal candidate', fr. 5). This sentence alludes to the personal competences that may be nurtured as a result of engagement with higher education. In Jessica's case, the confidence not only to apply for, but assume success in being recruited for a job for which she has no direct experience. While this type of personal capacity building is relevant to any of the practitioners who engaged with higher education (and it is perfectly possible that not all practitioners include their university experience in their narratives), for four of the practitioners it appears that university education also signals pre-existing advantage, which represents an overarching type of helper of the sort captured in Bourdieu's concept of 'habitus': 'a durable set of dispositions that are formed, stored, recorded and exert influence to mould forms of human behaviour' (Navarro, 2006, p. 16) (see also appendix 16) . While all of the practitioners who engaged with higher education, at least eight, may therefore, have benefited from the cultural, social and symbolic capital enjoyed by a university graduate, for four of these practitioners the capital

drawn from their educational experience fitted within a broader configuration of capital stemming from previous advantage of the type indicated by Bourdieu's concept of habitus.

6.3.2.4 Personal Circumstances:

The category of personal circumstances deals with general life events emerging in the adult lives of the practitioners. These events fell into two main categories: environmental/spatial and life course events. The majority of the spatial or environmental actants were coded as helpers, while a (lesser) majority of life course actants were coded as obstacles.

Travel or journeys were highlighted as a helper in six storyboards (Barbara, Jessica, Joe, Susan, Eric, Tracey). Three of these concerned international travel (Barbara, Jessica, Eric). Following a midlife crisis (fr. 2), Jessica travelled to Tanzania as part of a volunteer overseas scheme, Barbara travelled widely at an earlier stage in her life and wrote of moving from the North East of Scotland to Los Angeles and New York (fr. 5), where she worked in the film industry, before later relocating to London. Even Eric, who encountered exceptionally difficult circumstances during time spent in Madrid, appeared to see the possibility of such a trip even as he struggled to control the creative chaos invading his life in the North of England. These changes to their environments signal that these three practitioners have the material resources and cultural expectations necessary to undertake such geographical mobility. Susan, while not shifting geographies, travelled an equally large conceptual distance when she literally, 'ran away to the circus' (fr. 4). Meanwhile, Joe travelled existential distance in order to 'break away at last to be who I was' (fr. 7).

Unlike the environmental/spatial category, life course events were more likely to be coded as opponents than helpers, although Jessica's Tanzania trip coming to an end, coded as an opponent, was an exception to this pattern. More generally opponents included: the failure of Henry's marriage (fr. 5),

Barbara and Janet having children (Barbara, fr 6 and 7; Janet, fr. 4), Janet and Eric leaving school (fr. 4) and art school (fr. 2) respectively. Meanwhile, Eric whose narrative did not follow a normative life course trajectory, recognised he was not in control (fr. 5). While other practitioners appeared to fulfil normative life course stages, it is interesting to note that children and getting married are both coded as opponents, which is antithetical to the normative view of these events. Although in the research diary it is observed that this view of child rearing may be a result of researcher bias. Conversely, Janet's divorce, which is framed as a helper in the social network category, allows her to commit more fully to her literary pursuits (fr. 5).

6.3.2.5 General Employment:

The remaining categories of helpers identified by the axis of power: general employment, finances, political and leisure activities, contain fewer active helpers than the creative employment, job adverts, further education or personal circumstance categories. Notably, while creative employment had 15 practitioners with active helpers, general employment had only three practitioners (Rory, Janet, Dave) with five actants coded as unequivocal helpers, though only one of these helpers referred to regular employment. Dave's achievement of 'the job of his life in youth justice' (fr. 3) constructed a normative career path from university education to youth justice worker and represented the achievement of his goal. Though this was quickly followed by disillusionment (fr. 6). The other two practitioners described employment that was less clearly conventional. For Rory, running a night class in an unspecified subject was coded as a helper to his ambition to do something to do with writing, however it is very possible that the unspecified subject was itself concerned with literature or creative writing. Had this been established the actant would be coded as creative employment. Janet's work with marginalised groups was a clear example of an unequivocal helper to her goal to inhabit worlds different to her own 'lived reality'. However this employment was a consequence of considerable amounts of Janet's investment in her own self-development (fr. 4 and 5) and so again referred

less to regular employment and more to a vocation borne of learning from her own negative experiences. This relates to the discussion in section 3.3.2.4 on the construction of creative work as nonalienated labour.

In contrast there were a total of eight practitioners who experienced un/employment outside of the arts as either an opponent (Henry, Dave, Rory, Joe, Janet, Eric) or a negative positive helper (Henry, Jessica, Joanne) to their ambitions. Many of these findings triangulate with earlier analysis on employment and its relationship to alienation in the fabula content analysis (chapter three). For Henry, his endeavours to 'be sensible and have a professional career to fall back on' (fr.1), which resulted in his study of (fr.1) and subsequent apprenticeship in a legal firm (fr. 2), served as a key obstacle to his ambition to be a full time writer. Dave also aspired to work in criminal justice and had early success when he was employed as a youth justice worker (fr. 3) after graduating from university. However the job itself became an obstacle to his desire to remain in the role, when he realised that he was required to manage rather than engage with young offenders (fr. 4 and 5). Meanwhile for Rory and Joe, it was the toil of insecure, manual labour that took their time and thoughts away from their bigger aspirations, although later Joe also finds he is obstructed from being his authentic self by a 'career in respectability' (fr. 6). Janet also has her literary aspirations blocked when she left school at 16 and began work (fr. 4), meanwhile for Eric it is the opposite problem of unemployment that sees him 'going down' (fr. 2) after leaving art school.

6.3.2.6 Finances:

Related to employment more generally is the category of finances, there is only one unambiguous helper identified in this category: Henry found he can support his family at the pinnacle of his screenwriting success (fr. 5), however even this was not sustainable and later in the narrative, Henry 'has no money' and finds it 'harder and harder to find work' (fr. 6). In the main, practitioners wrote about a lack of money in ways that acted as obstacles to

their intentions (Steve, Ben, Joe, Janet, Susan). Susan was 'skint, skint, skint' (fr.7), Joe writes of being '(b)roke - flat, stony and regularly' (fr. 5), which pushed him into unsatisfying work and, therefore, away from attempts to be who he really is. Meanwhile, both Steve and Janet raised a similar dilemma to the one voiced by Henry (fr. 1)⁸³, in which there appeared to be a choice between pursuing a creative career and making 'sensible choices to earn a living' (Janet , fr. 7). All three of these practitioners framed money and creativity as mutually exclusive and opposing categories. Finally, Ben constructs his experience in terms of losing money, although this is coded as an equivocal helper (see section 6.5).

6.3.2.7 Politics and Leisure:

There were two further categories discerned in the axis of power, those of political and leisure activities. There were no opponents coded in either of these categories. The findings on political activity partially triangulate with discoveries made from the fabula content analysis (chapter three), where the narratives of Susan, Jean and Janet were found to contain indications of active, organised political action and consciousness. Janet and Susan's narratives both contain active helpers: Susan goes on protests for left wing causes (fr. 3) while Janet is 'freed up to be more politicised' (fr. 7). In Jean's narrative the early influence of politics is strong enough to be coded as the sender (or motivation) for the whole story, rather than a helper; 'I go on protests for left wing causes' (fr. 3). This suggests differences in the ways that politics takes on importance for these two practitioners. For Susan, the initial motivation of 'punk and politics' (fr. 2) led to the goal of rejecting the status quo, which in turn led to a further active helper based on external political engagement: 'left wing protest movements of the 1980s' (fr. 3). However, for Jean, early political consciousness was channelled into a

⁸³ In addition, Henry recognises the financial insecurity of a career in the arts in his storyboard (fr. 1), however this is included in the category of employment.

desire to be involved in the creative arts, with a connection made between politics and a number of examples of conscious-raising drama and literature (fr. 3 and 4)⁸⁴.

The leisure activity category contained helpers from the narratives of two practitioners (Jean, Rory). Discerning the actantial function of leisure activities, however, proved difficult. For example in Rory's narrative, a list of leisure activities (reading, walking up hills, listening to music, hanging around, going to clubs and smoking, fr. 4) may have supported Rory's goal to 'do something to do with writing' (fr. 2) or distracted from it. Writers often claim that walking (Minshull, 2019), or music (Murakami and Ozawa, 2016) provide a source of inspiration for their literary endeavours, while neuroscientific research (Ritter and Dijksterhuis, 2014) has suggested that a period of 'incubation' or relaxation (hanging around) is an essential element of the process of creativity. However, a number of these unsupervised activities are also associated with delinquency (Agnew and Petersen, 1989; Felson and Gottfredson, 1984). The uncertain contribution of these leisure activities resulted in the majority of them being coded as non-actants and therefore neither contributing negatively or positively to Rory's goal. Reading was coded as a real helper due to its close relationship with writing, and listening to music was coded as a possible helper, as it was seen to have an indirect influence on Rory's ambition. Such a high volume of non-actants suggests a sense of aimlessness in this narrative, which is further supported by the wording of the object; 'something to do with writing' (fr. 3)⁸⁵.

The coding of leisure activities offered the potential for a less instrumental

understanding of the achievement of creative goals. The aimlessness of

⁸⁴ It is important to consider actants in the axis of power as they relate to the other axes rather than as operating in a vacuum. This is particularly the case in terms of senders, which cannot be double coded as other actantial classes. The absence of political helpers in Jean's model is instructive. While the fabula content analysis was only able to identify the commonalities in the storyboards of Jean and Susan, the actantial analysis enabled a more granular reading that was able to show divergence. Such nuance demonstrates how the actantial analysis can allow a more detailed breakdown of basic story content.

⁸⁵ The ambiguity of interpretation in Rory's particular leisure activities also highlights the role of value judgement in coding decisions. As noted elsewhere, there is an intractable subjectivity attendant on narrative analysis, which can make the difference between presenting Rory's leisure activities as signs of delinquency or of creativity. The actantial analysis cannot remove the issue, but it can enable it to be carefully documented.

Rory's activities intimates a nonlinear route to success and this is perhaps even more the case in Jean's storyboard. It was unclear how Jean's leisure activity of cycling, which 'feels like freedom' (fr. 6) directly contributed to the objective of being involved in the creative arts, which is reflected in its passive helper coding. In the coding notes it was suggested that the satisfaction gained from cycling possibly served as an opponent or substitute to Jean's creative ambitions, as it took time away from and possibly replaced these. It could be argued that Jean's narrative offered a more balanced construction of the creative journey, less underpinned by notions of the suffering artist (see section 4.3.1.1) and more the holistic pleasures to be derived from writing poetry (which 'form in quiet clouds', fr. 5) and engaging with the outside world through physical exercise (which 'feels like freedom', fr. 6). Certainly Jean was not one of the six participants who detailed experience of mental health issues in her narrative. Another possibility is that the image of cycling as a visceral sense of freedom is included as a cognitive link (section 6.3.3.4) which connects the freedom of the outside world to the restrictions imposed by imprisonment. However, this degree of speculation highlights one of the limitations of passive helpers; that they are open to a large degree of interpretation.

So far focus has been on helper actants, and as previously shown, there were more helper actants (n.152) than opponents (n.71). However this is slightly misleading as 30 of the helpers were categorised as 'negative positives', in which the practitioners framed a negative opponent as a positive helper (see section 6.4). This suggests that in a number of cases it was the way in which practitioners constructed events rather than the events themselves that proved positive.

6.3.2.8 Other Opponents:

The external opponents corresponded to the same categories as helpers in all but one case, where an additional category was required to accommodate textual elements of Samantha and Rebecca's narratives. It was noted in

section 5.4.2.2 that the narratives of these two practitioners engaged with collective as well as individual experiences of oppression. This concern with wider collective experiences of political injustice, indeed, genocide, becomes more visible in the case of Samantha's narrative when the axis of power is studied, and a new category of 'external circumstances' was required to encapsulate the following events in Samantha's narrative:

'On the News: Internment
Green army huts as far as the eye can see
Ordinary men rounded up' (fr. 2)

'Soldiers manning checkpoints
Paras manning checkpoints' (fr. 4)

'The Queen' (fr. 8)

Unlike the other helper and opponent actants, these events concerned, first and foremost, the outside facing world and events therein, rather than focusing on the practitioner's, narrower, personal worlds. Rebecca's narrative also dealt with these kinds of macro events through description of being the daughter of a holocaust survivor. Rebecca's narrative, however, presented a causal relationship between the impact of the holocaust on her mother ('who cries non-stop and blames', fr. 2) and herself, thereby reducing the global consequences of this genocide to the sphere of the individual. Rebecca's experience is captured in the external events category, but as a non-actant rather than an opponent:

'Holocaust = Burnt Sacrifice' (fr. 1)

While this is the most significant global event named in any one of the practitioners' narratives, it is coded as a non-actant because it is 'an evaluation or description of the holocaust and doesn't fit into any of the actant classes' (Research diary). The event itself is not an opponent to Rebecca's aspiration to escape from mental terror, although its impact on her

family serves as the sender for the whole of Rebecca's narrative. Both of these narratives, then, reference wider geopolitical events in a way that the majority of the narratives do not.

An examination of external factors in the practitioners' narratives offers some insight into how practitioners frame various external events in relation to their goals. However, many of these external factors operate within a normative framework based on the canonicity of conventional life course events (e.g. childhood, post 16 education etc). The second group of actants are concerned with more individualistic constructions of the practitioners' experiences, the internal factors, and to some extent may be less normative in their focus. The next section will consider these internal factors.

6.3.3 Internal Factors:

There are a total of seven personal categories: emotions, personal competences, personal behaviours, creative practice, social networks, realisation and mental health episodes. As previously discussed (appendix 16), these categories are not entirely separate from the external factors already considered and in some instances there is a clear overlap between external and personal factors.

6.3.3.1 Emotions:

Practitioners foregrounded the role of emotion more than any other internal helper. In total the role of emotions were named by 11 practitioners (Kate, Henry, Rebecca, Steve, Rory, Barbara, Jessica, Joe, Joanne, Eric, Bob). This factor remained inaccessible in the fabula content analysis (see section 2.9.5), but in the actantial analysis emotions take on a fuller significance (see also section 5.4.3). Of the 11 practitioners who wrote about emotions as helpers, three detailed exclusively positive emotions; Barbara was happy in fiction (fr. 7) and elated during her first day in prison (fr. 8), Eric felt

'respected, taken seriously and valued moving forward' (fr. 8) as a result of his job interview with WIPN and Steve wrote about finding his experience of working as a writer in residence at a care home as brilliant (fr. 5). A further two practitioners experienced both positive and negative emotions: Henry felt a mixture of extreme emotions in response to the various careers he embarked upon in law (hate) and the arts (happiness and excitement), while Rory wrote about struggling with love affairs (fr. 5) and finding the work he did in prison enjoyable (fr. 8). Meanwhile, Joe wrote about only negative emotion in terms of a relationship breakup (fr. 4). The negative positive helpers described by Henry, Rory and Joe will be discussed further in section 6.4. Although not contained in the emotion category specifically, two other practitioners also wrote about their romantic struggles: Barbara asked the residents in the old people's home where she worked while studying for her first degree for advice on her love life (fr. 4) and Susan recounts her traumatic and dramatic breakup with a circus clown, '[I'm] falling out of love [I'm] falling out of the sky' (fr. 5). While these two events didn't act as opponents or helpers they did offer insight into the background concerns of the two practitioners. Meanwhile Kate constructed the neutral emotion of being 'not upset' (fr. 5) as a helper in deliberations on whether or not to take a WiR post in prison.

Kate's non-committal emotional state concerning a prison writing residency was also evident among the opponents in this category, where she was one of six practitioners to frame emotions as an obstacle. For Kate these emotions were neither negative nor positive ('I'm not happy', fr. 5; 'I'm still not sure', fr. 6), and were as close as they could be to neutrality without being coded as non-actants. The other emotional opponents were split between mild emotions: Joanne was 'still unhappy' (fr. 4), doubt (Kate, fr 6; Henry, fr. 3; Bob, fr. 3 and 7), loneliness (Barbara, fr. 2) and extreme manifestations of fear (Barbara, fr. 8; Jessica, fr. 7) both of which related to entering prison for the first time (see further discussion in section 6.3.3.2). While more practitioners registered emotions as helpers, roughly half of these emotions had a negative-positive function and a further six practitioners had emotions coded as opponents.

6.3.3.2 *Personal Competences and Social Networks:*

In the categories of personal competences and social networks there was a greater ratio of practitioners who presented positive helpers compared to opponents, although the number of practitioners involved in each category was less than in the emotions category. There were three practitioners with negative-positives in the personal competences category (Kate, Dave, Henry) and only one in social networks (Janet) where there was also only one opponent; this when Tracey found herself '(o)ut of my comfort zone' (fr. 2). Tracey's question of her competence, however was outweighed by her ability to rationally evaluate her competences in relation to prison employment (fr. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6 and 7). Practitioners questioning their personal competences was also the case for two other practitioners (Jessica, Barbara), who also expressed unease about their initial encounters with the carceral estate. Despite a twenty year career working with offenders in the probation service, 'terror washes over' (fr. 7) Jessica when she finds out she has been appointed to a much coveted prison writing residency. Barbara too 'was scared' (fr. 8) on her first day in prison. Less extreme, but also indicative of a reluctance to submit to the prison regime was Kate's vacillation as to whether she should accept a WiR post, which manifested in a series of uncertain emotions, some of which served as helpers ('I'm not upset' fr. 5) and some as opponents ('I'm not happy', fr. 5; 'I'm still not sure', fr. 6). Bob also expressed a lack of certainty about going into prison (fr. 7), although self-doubt is presented as a wider motif in his narrative (fr. 3 and 6) and appeared to relate to all new undertakings. Meanwhile, Rebecca 'lose(s) it on the bus' (fr. 8) on her way to her first prison writing workshop, although it is not clear if this is in anticipation of the prison environment or simply a result of being late for the appointment.

However, while these five, potentially six practitioners expressed reservations about their abilities to work in a prison environment, there was also a considerable amount of personal competence displayed by ten practitioners that suggested many of the practitioners were more that equal to the task (Kate, Henry, Dave, Rebecca, Steve, Rory, Jessica, Janet,

Joanne, Tracey). In some cases there was a balance of practitioners' strengths and weaknesses. For instance while Kate was reluctant to subject herself to the artificial lighting and sombre colours and faces (fr. 4) she encountered during her interview in prison, she was helped by skills in de-escalating violence, gained while teaching drama to young men in a community setting (fr. 1). Jessica may have felt terror at the thought of working in prison, however she also had over twenty years of experience working with offenders (fr. 2) and the confidence (she described it as 'arrogance') to see herself as an 'ideal candidate' (fr. 5) for the WiR post.

These qualities of confidence, independence and self-reliance are found more widely across the sample of practitioners. Henry took bold decisions in order to develop his professional writing career; 'I have to choose, I jump' (fr. 4), despite having a large family reliant on his support (fr. 5), and he was not afraid to 'begin a new life' (fr. 6) when he found his success as a writer was not supported by his family commitments. Janet identified self-sufficiency and independence as helpers to her efforts to move away from the difficult 'lived reality' (fr. 2) of her childhood, and in turn developed the ability to articulate and enable others to articulate their experiences of marginalisation (fr. 6). Arguably, Janet demonstrated a considerable degree of persistence in her journey from unwanted and stigmatised child (fr. 1) to political activist and founder of a writing collective, working with prisoners. This kind of persistence was evident in a number of the narratives and it extended to support practitioners in their efforts to secure creative employment. Despite Jessica's assumption that she was the ideal candidate for a prison writing residency she failed to be recruited on her first attempt (fr. 6). However, such was her level of confidence and/or persistence that she took the opportunity to 'pick up tips for the next interview' (fr. 6), which resulted in her appointment to a different prison residency (fr. 7). This was also the case for Henry, who experienced a failed application for a WiR post before going on to secure a residency at a later date (fr. 7 and 8). Both of these examples suggest a degree of confidence (some would argue resilience) that meant the practitioners were not unduly swayed by initial failure.

Related to this, in the context of creative employment, practitioners also demonstrated self-motivation. Despite an initial foray into the types of excess modelled by his literary example (Bukowski), Ben motivated himself to write a second novel despite struggling with his own inner demons. Away from creative endeavours, Dave also showed a considerable degree of motivation around his job in youth justice. Despite quickly realising a career as a youth justice worker was not all he had hoped it would be (fr. 4), Dave attempted to mitigate some of the actuarial bureaucracy of the work by engaging with young offenders from his case load in his own time (fr. 5). Kate too, despite remaining unsure of her decision to take a job as a WiR, had the necessary motivation to wake up at 5am and drive in the dark and rain to begin her first day. Initially Joanne showed little commitment to a string of jobs in which she felt only 'anger and frustration' (fr. 3), but it appeared to be her desire to escape into English that over a period of time led her to 'want to stick at something' (fr. 6). In this case, rather than motivation and persistence helping to secure creative employment, creative employment (in the form of writing bespoke poetry for paying clients) helped to increase Joanne's motivation.

In addition to competences based on personal qualities such as confidence and persistence, practitioners also demonstrated a number of more functional skills which supported their efforts to achieve their goals. Kate in particular included fundamental job searching skills in her narrative in terms of researching the specific post applied for (fr. 3) and keen awareness of the importance of personal presentation. This included a good sense of suitable interview attire (fr. 4), although this practitioner appears to have a more general acute fashion sense (fr. 1), along with an appreciation of the art of pretence or compliance to expectations in work situations ('I paint a positive look on my face', fr. 8) Meanwhile, Tracey, as previously discussed, was supported by her ability to conduct a thorough audit of the job applied for and her suitability for the role. While these abilities may appear rudimentary, they are by no means equally distributed across the workforce (CBI/Pearson, 2019; Impetus, 2014) and as suggested earlier, may reflect the social capital that indicates or results from post-16 education. Some practitioners (not

necessarily those who present themselves as graduates) also described more advanced skills that made them suitable for a job as a WiR. Steve, in particular wrote about discovering his 'aptitude for enabling others to be creative' (fr. 4).

Social networks also functioned as helpers in the actantial models of nine practitioners. Three of these helpers were directly connected to employment opportunities (Henry, Kate, Bob). For Henry and Kate a friend or colleague brought their attention to an advertisement for a prison writing residency, while in the case of Bob he is approached by 'a woman' (fr. 6) and invited to work in a prison. Although not contained in the social network category, Rebecca also began to work in prison at the invitation of the Anne Frank Trust who she met as a result of her poetry collection, *I Place my Stones*. For other practitioners their introduction into prisons was less clearly articulated (Jean, Samantha, Dave, Steve, Joe) although Joanne's final frame describes what essentially amounted to a cold call to a local prison where she successfully 'pitched' her idea for a creative writing programme. It is interesting to note that she raised the funding from a different, competitive source. Eric framed WIPN itself as his entry point into prison work when he was invited to an interview by the charity (fr. 8).

Nine practitioners present their entry into prisons as an unimpeded process, often connecting it with a need for money (Bob, Susan, Rory, Barbara). Even in the narratives of Tracey and Kate, where the entire storyboard was taken up with a description of their getting and subsequently taking a prison job, the main struggle appeared to lie in the decision to accept the job rather than being offered it. In the case of Steve and Jessica there appeared to be no assistance from social networks as they saw job adverts themselves and applied. Janet meanwhile appeared to build her prison work on the back of unspecified social networks ('(e)stablished myself as a writer, community... developed a presence', fr. 8). These kinds of community networks also appeared to be important for Eric whose helpers to making art included 'a large gathering of friends' (fr. 4), although at different stages these influences appeared to be for the bad as well as the good (fr. 5). For this particular

practitioner, community appeared to be highly valued. Eric also described opponents connected with social networks including the bereavement of a friend (fr. 2) and a lack of sharing (fr. 5), while his recovery through a 'slow process of awakening' (fr. 6, 7, 8) was helped by linking into a different community (WIPN), who allowed him to 'feel respected, taken seriously [and] valued' (fr. 8). In contrast to practitioners such as Henry and Jessica, who, as noted above, demonstrated persistence and confidence in the pursuit of their creative and personal goals, Eric's narrative seemed to suggest a lack of self-reliance.

Other personal networks that helped practitioners to achieve their goals concerned one to one relationships. In some cases these relationships were far from intimate; Barbara for instance, stimulated her imagination by listening to the stories of strangers in a London park each day (fr. 6), while closer friendships made in youth seemed to have less of an influence on her goal to be a writer (fr. 3 and 4) and elsewhere she commented on being lonely (fr. 2). Meanwhile, Rebecca developed a relationship via written communication with Mark, a prisoner, whose lesson that 'no one can imprison your mind' (fr. 6) appeared decisive in Rebecca's attempts to escape from mental terror. Tracey included the advice of friends in her evaluation of whether she should take a prison job (fr. 3), while more intimate partners were a factor in supporting other practitioners' ambitions. In particular Joanne's fiancé 'helped a lot' (fr. 6) as Joanne made the commitment to return to formal education (fr. 6) despite negative formative experiences of school (fr. 1 and 2). Janet also referenced her husband as a type of helper, however this is through the ending of the relationship in divorce (fr. 5). This was a particularly good example of a negative-positive, whereby an event that by normative standards may be judged as an opponent, when seen through the prism of the subject-object junction becomes a clear helper. In Janet's case it is only after this separation that her creative writing practice was fully enabled and she was able to convert imaginative escape into material form.

6.3.3.3 *Creative Practice:*

As already discussed, there was an amount of overlap between the external factor of creative employment and the personal factor of creative practice. At times the two categories were relatively indistinguishable. However, the separation enabled important insights into what may be described as practitioners' processes of creativity as opposed to their products. In total there were 20 helpers associated with creative practice, 19 of which were positive helpers, one a negative positive helper and one a single opponent, although there was some dispute as to whether this opponent should be double coded as a helper/opponent (see section 6.5). Unsurprisingly, writing predominated as the key helper in supporting the development of six of these practitioners (Barbara, Janet, Susan, Jean, Joanne, Rory), however reading seemed also to play a key role (Barbara, Janet, Susan, Jean, Rory).

From within the various practices of writing there also emerged five different ways in which writing served as a helper to different practitioners: therapeutic, escape, rewrite history, reward/esteem, imitation. Three of these writers (Janet, Joanne, Susan) frame their writing in terms of its therapeutic value. Susan surrounded herself with 'books, films writing, art, filming (fr. 6) as she worked to recover from her relationship breakup. Meanwhile for Janet too, a divorce led to writing becoming a 'private communication - healing, therapeutic' (fr. 5) although along with Joanne she had previously framed writing as an escape (fr. 2) as well as a way to rewrite/make sense of her history (fr. 4). Janet expressed the widest range of benefits from writing and also included the description of a school prize giving, in which she was rewarded with three books for a winning piece of writing; a commodity that was non-existent in her family home (fr. 3). Joanne wrote explicitly about the value of helping others through writing (fr. 7) in addition to the therapeutic benefits she herself experiences (fr. 5). Finally, Rory touches on how he used imitation of other authors' writing as a way to gain mastery of his craft; 'I write like a bad Dylan Thomas or William Burroughs' (fr. 4).

As may be expected from the multidisciplinary interests of a number of the

practitioners, arts practice also involved creative fields other than writing. Jean included a range of creative disciplines; film, art, music and literature (fr. 7) in line with her ambition to be involved with the creative arts, and Bob, took singing lessons (fr. 2) in order to advance his goal of making music. Eric, whose ambition was to make art, appeared less focused on the actual practice of his discipline and more on his working environment, describing a hideout in a mill on the River Hull, securing an art studio (fr. 4) and more generally a continuation of 'the wild times' (fr. 3).

6.3.3.4 Revelations, Realisations and Epiphanies:

While the consideration of personal factors has, so far, focused on processes concerned primarily with behaviour, some practitioners' narratives also constructed cognitive dimensions of their experience. Eight practitioners (Steve, Rebecca, Henry, Rory, Barbara, Joe, Janet, Eric) presented helpers based on new understandings or realisations about themselves or the events they narrated. Three of these practitioners created 'cognitive links' that operated outside of the temporal framework of the fabula and contrived to connect the wider trajectory of the plot with the practitioners' decision to work in prison, although this understanding may not have been apparent to the subject at the time the event occurred in the fabula. Steve for instance made a connection between the imprisoning effects of old age and disability, conditions that he worked with in his care home residencies, and the imprisonment of offenders, when explaining why a prison writing residency 'seemed like a logical progression' (fr. 7). Steve was particularly proficient in the use of these kinds of cognitive links and a process analysis of just 10 lines contains two separate examples; the second one linking his school experience where 'more than one teacher thought I would end up in prison' (fr. 1) to two decades working as a writer in jail (fr. 8). Henry and Rebecca also made links between events in their earlier lives and their decisions to work in prison. Henry made the clearest link when he prefaced his decision to apply for a prison writing residency with the memory of 'having to tell a wife her husband is going to prison' (fr. 7) while working as an articulated legal clerk. Rebecca made a more oblique connection between her epistolary

relationship with 'Mark, Mark, Mark' (fr. 6), a prisoner, and her decision to run writing workshops in prison. Although not included in the 'cognitive link' category, Dave's exposition about the imprisonment of a friend from the estate where he grew up and his own run in with the police (fr. 1) could also be considered an attempt to make a post hoc connection between his own early contact with the criminal justice system and his later ambitions to work in it.

Six of the practitioners shared realisations which, rather than connecting temporally disparate events, were more concerned with a deeper understanding of particular elements or objects contained within the linear trajectory of the narrative (Rebecca, Janet, Eric Rory, Joe, Barbara). Rebecca's narrative contained both types of realisation. Three of the practitioners (Rebecca, Janet, Eric) wrote about realisations which have the quality of epiphany; the idea that a mundane object and the subject's ability to see that object gain a new clarity (Kim, 2012, p. 2)⁸⁶. This is perhaps most saliently illustrated in Rebecca's narrative, where her recognition, via a letter from a prisoner, that 'no one can imprison your mind' (fr. 6) was framed as a significant moment of realisation; 'A letter changes everything, I skid down a path' (fr. 6).

Eric also wrote about finding himself through a process of 'discovery and enlightenment' (fr. 1), although in this narrative the specific objects from which his epiphanies arise were not named, though appear to be concerned with the freedom of leaving home and being introduced to the ideas that accompany the study and practice of art in an art college. Eric goes on to experience a slower process of understanding in the last three frames of his

⁸⁶ The concept of epiphany has its roots in Greek myth and cult worship (Henrichs, 2015) and in Greco-Roman cultural representations of divine manifestations (Platt, 2011). Developed in modernist fiction through literary critic, Levin's (1960) extrapolation of the work of James Joyce and the 'theory of epiphany', articulated first by Joyce's character, Stephen Daedalus in the early novel, *Stephen Hero* (1905/63) (Scholes, 1964), the concept is now widely recognised as a 'central trait of modern fiction' (Kim, 2012, p. 2).

storyboard, which may also count as an epiphany⁸⁷. These final three frames detailed how, from a place of destitution and isolation in a foreign country, Eric began a 'slow process of awakening' (fr. 6, 7, 8) that he framed as ending with his job interview with WIPN. Janet's two epiphanies were both clearly connected to her own writing, firstly when she begins to make sense of her own history through a process of rewriting (fr. 4), and also in the eighth frame of her storyboard, when she had the realisation that through facilitating prison creative writing she was able to 'recognise a part of me that is very important' (fr. 8). Again, these epiphanies were somewhat vague and there was no attempt to name specific parts of Janet's history nor which part of Janet she recognised as being very important. However, these two helpers give a general sense of the importance of personal insights in Janet's journey to achieving her goal, and this is the case more widely with all three of these practitioners⁸⁸.

The importance of understanding the self or life events as a supportive factor was also apparent in the narrative of Rory, who, contemplating his chequered experience in higher education (fr. 2 and 3) concluded, '(i)n later years, I realised it was always to do with language' (fr. 3). This recognition did not, perhaps, contain the same revelatory quality of the other realisations already discussed; it is more reflection than epiphany. However Rory's appreciation of the underlying reasons for his earlier creative preferences can be seen as a helper to his ability to achieve his writing ambitions. Although not included in the realisations category, Joanne's narrative contains evidence of developing understanding about her own behaviour and its causes. In addition to a diagnosis for body dysmorphic disorder, which '[explained] my feelings' (fr. 5), Joanne discovered for herself that her escape through English extended to offering others a similar escape route through

⁸⁷ The concept of epiphany is more usually considered to entail the suddenness of a realisation, although Kim (2012) argues for an approach that considers epiphanies as 'a form of being... (rather)...than as a form of time' (Kim, 2012, p. 2).

⁸⁸ It is notable in these three narratives that practitioners derived support not only from the things that they did or that they encountered, but also from the sense they made of these events. With this in mind, the fabula alone is not enough to explain the trajectory of the life stories told.

writing (fr. 7). She also came to appreciate that her high intolerance for boredom could be capitalised upon by setting herself challenges. Rory also expressed a more pragmatic realisation when, on beginning a two year writing residency in Scotland, he commented '(t)here's no going back, there's nothing else left' (fr. 7). This realisation offered evidence of Rory's realistic evaluation of his own circumstances. A similar reflection was offered by Joe who, as a result of his work in prison '(I)earned something about how we all make our own breaks, Or don't' (fr. 8). These ideas do not represent great philosophical depth; they do however demonstrate the reflective capacities of a number of these practitioners.

Samantha also wrote reflectively about the memories contained in her narrative, however this is coded as an opponent because the reverie she produced appeared to construct even her own thoughts as beyond her control;

'Where do memories come from
Whose memory
Who owns my head
Where does it start
How does it end
It's always personal' (fr. 7)

As such, this series of reflections represented an opponent to her objective of wanting to escape. This was also the case with a more wide ranging statement; '(s)ome children are more equal than others' (fr. 8), which in its recognition of general inequality appears inimical to Samantha's desire for escape.

These various examples of realisation suggest that half of the practitioners were not content with merely relaying a story about how they came to work in prisons, but rather offered reflections, realisations and in some cases epiphanies that served, in the main, as helpers to the achievement of their ambitions.

6.3.3.5 *Mental Health:*

Negative-positives are the only type of helper found in the mental health category and these will be discussed in the next section. In addition, four practitioners experienced mental health issues as opponents (Henry, Rebecca, Susan, Eric). Henry began ‘to feel like I am two people’ (fr. 5) as he struggled to develop a successful career as a screenwriter while simultaneously maintaining his family life; following a romantic breakup Susan was ‘[surrounded by] anxiety, loss, stress, deaths [and] madness’, (fr. 7); Eric felt ‘isolated and casaless, vulnerable, regretful and abandoned’ as he struggled to get his life back under control in a foreign city, and Rebecca became a ‘holocaust junkie’, compulsively seeking and reading literature about the holocaust in a bid to understand the deep familial trauma that remained unexpressed in her childhood home. All of these opponents triangulated with findings from the fabula content analysis, which suggested that mental health issues were experienced by these practitioners as a kind of alterity (see section 3.3.2.7). However, further to this, the actantial analysis was able to shed light on how this can facilitate positive outcomes for the individual practitioner, as will be explored in more detail in the next section.

6.4 Negative-Positives:

Negative-Positives was the name given to actants which were ostensibly opponents but which served as helpers in the achievement of the practitioners’ goals. In total there were 48 negative-positive helpers across 255 helpers identified in the whole actantial analysis, including both external and internal factors. 12 practitioners had at least one negative-positive helper in their narrative. Seven negative-positives were found in the category of emotion and were, perhaps, some of the strongest helpers in this category. As already discussed (section 6.3.3.1), Henry hated studying law and working as an articled clerk in a solicitor’s office, however the strength of this antipathy appeared to be a helper which impelled him to change careers despite his attempts ‘to be sensible and have a professional career to “fall

back on” (fr. 1). Joanne experienced feelings of anger, boredom and shyness throughout her schooling, and while on the level of wellbeing this was clearly destructive, the strength of those emotions again may be what pushed Joanne to ‘escape through English’ (fr. 2). In the narratives of Henry and Joanne, strong emotions were both the sender and when the emotions are invoked again in later frames of the storyboard also become helpers. This suggests the important supportive role played by negative emotions in both of these narratives. It was also possible that Rory’s struggles with love affairs formed part of the emotional fuel for his poetry (fr. 5) while for Joe, breaking his heart may have supported his quest to be who he really is (fr. 7). On arrival in Tanzania to participate in a volunteer programme, Jessica wrote of how the strange surroundings, lack of TV and English reading materials, left her feeling like she’d been ‘scoured with a brillo pad’ (fr. 3). This would not, by normative standards, be considered a pleasurable sensation, however in the light of Jessica’s objective, which was to explore a life other than the one she grew up in, this sensation suggested that Jessica was on the right path to realise her aspirations. Finally, Rebecca, whose object was to escape from mental terror, found a helper in an inability to hide the terror any longer at 15 years of age (fr. 4). Terror was clearly a negative emotion, indeed, it was the emotion that Rebecca wanted to escape, however being forced to face the terror served as a helper to beginning to deal with it.

Leading on from and related to this discussion of Rebecca’s mental terror is a consideration of the three negative-positives found in the category of mental health. There were only three practitioners (Rebecca, Joanne, Jessica) with negative-positive helpers in this category, but each one demonstrated a serious mental health issue which had been turned into a benefit rather than an obstacle when considered through the prism of the practitioner’s personal goal. As discussed at the end of the last paragraph, Rebecca presented her terror as something that ‘can no longer be hidden’ (fr. 4) and this manifestation took the form of either a prescription for psychiatric drugs or a suicide attempt, it was not clear from the specific sentence: ‘valium at 15’ (fr. 4). Either interpretation, however, would not

generally be considered positive. Certainly a suicide attempt would almost universally be seen as an opponent because a successful attempt would end Rebecca's life. However, this was not the case when actantial analysis was applied to the narrative. Rebecca's objective was to escape mental terror, and as such, suicide may have proved just as much a helper as successful therapy⁸⁹. Alternatively, if the sentence referred to the prescribing of a psychoactive drug with a reputation for over prescription and deleterious side effects (Pietikainen, 2015, p. 304), this too would not represent what may be considered a positive helper, although the case is less clear cut. The point, however, is that in the context of Rebecca's narrative, the overwhelming terror and the response to it can be seen to support Rebecca's goal to escape from that terror because in one way or another there is an attempt to deal with it. The achievement of Rebecca's junction, which is a disjunction, is somewhat uncertain, as discussed in section 4.3.1.2, however whether or not Rebecca succeeded in fully alleviating her mental ill health, taking valium in either safe or potentially lethal doses can be seen as a helper on her journey.

The positive value of a negative event was also illustrated in Jessica's narrative, where a midlife crisis was framed as presenting the impetus for Jessica to further her ambition to explore a life other than the one she grew up in. Again, while generally considered a negative event in the life course, one associated with the loss of youth (Levinson, 1986), for Jessica it precipitated a significant stage in her attempts to move away from the expectations of her family background⁹⁰. Finally, Joanne's diagnosis of body dysmorphic disorder; '(a)ll this time I'd had BDD' (fr. 5) cannot be considered in and of itself as positive. However, for Joanne the diagnosis '[explained my] feelings' (fr. 5) and is juxtaposed with her decision to 'finally stick at

⁸⁹ The discussion of Rebecca's encounter with benzodiazepines shows how the actantial analysis is able to represent the narrative of the practitioner rather than the researcher's interpretation of it. It also shows how the method is not hijacked by undue emotion or sentimentality on the part of the researcher. The simple question: does this act help the subject to achieve the subject-object junction is all that is required to code each element in the text.

⁹⁰ It is a moot point as to whether Jessica's work as a probation officer had already placed distance between herself and her upbringing as she gave no detail about her childhood against which to measure. However, certainly time spent working in Africa and her later appointment as a prison WiR both suggest the exploration of alternative lifestyles.

something' (fr. 6), suggesting that the pathologisation of her strong emotions, which the actantial analysis identified as her key motivation (or sender), enabled her to begin to capitalise on these emotions rather than be merely driven by them. This suggestion is further supported in frame 7 when Joanne transformed her boredom into a need for challenges, the final one of which is to work with prisoners, who like Joanne herself have felt trapped.

The remaining 38 positive-negatives are spread across nine further categories: childhood, post-16 education, personal circumstances, employment, creative practice, social networks, finances, personal competences and realisations. Significantly, 15 of these negative positives, pertaining to five practitioners, were grouped together in the category of childhood. As set out in section 6.3.2.2, childhood events were constructed as positive helpers in only three instances and negative events predominate across the whole category. In terms of negative-positive helpers, Dave's negative experiences with the CJS (as noted in section 3.3.2.5) seemed to offer the basic recipe of labelling theory, in which a delinquent identity is developed as a result of societal response, and in particular the responses of the criminal justice system (Becker, 1963)

'Social groups create deviance by making the rules whose infraction constitutes deviance, and by applying those rules to particular people and labelling them as outsiders' (Becker, 1963, p. 4)

However, for Dave the effect appeared to be the opposite, and his early encounters with the criminal justice system seemed to support, even help to inform his ambition to become a youth justice worker. It is arguable that, when combined with his idealistic motivation, Dave's aim was generative in that he wanted to help the younger generation to avoid the pitfalls that he himself was in danger of falling into. Joe too, engages in what may be considered delinquent behaviour, playing truant from school 'as often as opportunity passed me the crowbar' (fr. 3). Again, this may conventionally be labelled as delinquent behaviour, but for Joe his decision to engage with, what were for him, more meaningful forms of study, 'revised album covers in

record stores diligently' (fr. 3), appeared to play a role in his more existential search to be who he was. Interestingly, although Steve's experience of being labelled an offender ('When I was at school I can imagine more than one of my teachers thought I'd end up in prison', fr. 1) does not contribute to his goal of wanting to write, it suggests he is another practitioner who appears to have been the subject of early labelling, but goes on to challenge, even subvert societal assumptions. Janet was also subjected to a kind of stigma, but in her case it was the 'dirty gypo jibes' (fr. 1) encountered at school, along with the stigma of having an 'unknown dad' (fr. 1). In the case of Janet, these insults and parental instabilities appeared to lead to a sense of self-sufficiency and independence (fr. 1), which served to support Janet as she attempted to 'inhabit a world different to her own "lived reality"' (fr. 2). Samantha also alluded to being bullied at school because of her accent (fr. 6), although in the light of Samantha's goal of escaping, this served as an opponent not a negative-positive helper to her aim. As already discussed in relation to emotions (section 4.3.1.1), the experience of school was also a negative one for Joanne who was angry, bored and shy (fr. 1 and 2) when forced to attend classes. However, as already suggested, these emotions served to support Joanne's endeavours to escape through English (fr. 2). Finally, Samantha details an event in which her father was 'pulled out of the car and marched away' (fr. 5) by the British Army while the family were on a trip in Ireland. Samantha's mother asserted herself, telling the soldiers to 'Get your guns OUT!' (fr. 5) and this interjection, while provoked by a traumatic situation, may have served to demonstrate to Samantha the possibility that oppression may be escaped, or at least challenged, thereby offering another example of a negative situation that offers positive assistance in terms of the practitioner's ambition.

The remaining 23 negative-positive helpers were dispersed across the eight remaining categories. There were no more than three practitioners with a negative-positive actant in any one category. What connected at least seven of these negative-positive helpers, however, was their diametric opposition to normative notions of success. Janet's marriage, as previously discussed (section 6.3.3.2), ended in divorce. While this may be considered a failed

outcome to the relationship and a painful experience for Janet, the breakup was juxtaposed with Janet engaging further with her creative practice and becoming a mature student. Equally, Henry failed all his law exams and quit his job as an articled clerk (fr. 2), which subsequently enabled him to reject the 'sensible choice' and embark on a series of jobs in the arts (fr. 3 and 4). Jessica handed in her notice and later balked at the idea of returning to a secure job in probation where she would have to 'go back to being at the beck and call of the Courts and Home Office' (fr.4). Although coded as positive helpers, Dave's work in the criminal justice sector is also relevant here. Dave went from full time to part time employment as a youth justice worker after he became disillusioned with the system (fr. 5). In both Jessica and Dave's cases this kind of downsizing is not considered conventional career success.

In Dave's case, his continued employment, albeit on a part time basis, is coded as a helper because it at least partly fulfils his ambition of a job in youth justice. However, it is arguable that in the case of Dave a different object is required after his initial ambition is exposed as increasingly doubtful. However, the remaining three frames of Dave's storyboard do not offer a clear alternative goal:

'apart from frame 8 these frames are really just a list of jobs that Dave does. They are mainly creative roles involving writing which suggests that they may be a way to revive his idealism, but that is interpretation from the content, the 'how' of such as statement comes from the researcher making a story out of a list of jobs, not placing actions into actantial categories. If I tried to create a second action, and therefore a second actantial model, there is a subject (Dave), but there is no object, no sender, no receiver and therefore there can't be any helpers or opponents.' (Research diary)

The resulting vagueness in Dave's career trajectory in the final three frames of the storyboard, while failing to achieve the systematic analysis intended, appeared to reflect the lack of direction experienced by Dave after his initial

career disappointment. The coding of, what are ostensibly achievements (writing a novel, fr. 6; working in youth theatre, fr. 7; working as a writer in prison, fr. 8) as non-actants was due to their inability to help Dave to fulfil his original ambition, and perhaps communicate more articulately but less precisely, the lack of focus in Dave's career progression and his drift into youth theatre and prison work. This again pointed to a narrative that does not contain a conventional notion of success. Conversely, when Joe 'broke lucky (?) with a career in respectability' (fr. 6), the deliberate use of the question mark in the sentence, suggested that it was anything but a 'lucky break'. As such the event was coded as an opponent to Joe's desire to be who he really is.

Meanwhile, Joanne presented her experiences with regular employment as a continuation of the disaffection of school;

'[I] left school [at sixteen]
'[I] worked in different jobs
[I] was gobby
[I felt] anger and frustration' (fr. 3)

However, while the fabula content analysis highlighted the ways in which practitioners' relationships to regular work were often based on a sense of alienation, this kind of work was coded as a helper in Joanne's actantial analysis because the frustration and anger that were generated further supported her desire to escape into English, which she did by setting up a bespoke poetry service.

Three wider observations can be drawn from the notion of negative-positive helpers. Firstly is the idea that a number of the practitioners narrate their experience in such a way as to turn weaknesses into strengths. This is illustrated clearly in the narrative of Joanne, where she is initially able to turn difficult and intense emotions (anger, boredom, frustration, essentially, alienation) into the constructive channel of creativity, via 'escape through English'. She goes on to construct a mental health diagnosis as a way to

explain her emotions, again creating a helper rather than an opponent from the event. Noticeably in Joanne's narrative, she capitalises on her 'weakness' by recognising how some of the symptoms of BDD, such as boredom can be utilised as fuel to motivate her to engage with further challenges, including working in prisons with others who have experienced similar feelings of being trapped.

Related to the idea of turning weaknesses into strengths, there are ways in which practitioners appear to construct success from failure. This concerns practitioners who fail by conventional standards to pass exams (Henry), retain stable or 'sensible' careers (Dave, Jessica, Joe) or who more generally fail to attain conventional milestones of success, but who go on to achieve their own definition of what success looks like, in some cases also equating with a wider societal view of celebrity. This is illustrated in the narrative of Henry whose attempts to secure a career in law appear by conventional measures to be obstructed by his own antipathy and possible ineptitude in the discipline. However, his strength of feeling serves to assist rather than oppose his ambitions to be a full time writer and he experiences success as a screenwriter only after giving up on his legal career.

Finally, there is an overarching negative-positive helper running through the 18 storyboards, which proves so pervasive that a detailed actantial analysis failed to reveal. This is the negative-positive helper of 'going to prison'. Two practitioners (Ben, Joe) frame their work in prisons as if it is they themselves who 'go to jail' (Ben, fr. 8), which resonates with Walsh's (2017) claim that some practitioners might feel a frisson of caged energy or danger from their work behind bars. Even those practitioners who resist such posturing are dealing with a cultural phenomenon which is heavy with connotations of failure and shame. However, for all of these practitioners, with the exception of Kate (where the subject-object junction is less certain), prison served in some way as a helper to their ambitions. If negative-positive helpers serve to subvert conventional expectations, turn weaknesses into strengths and failures into success, then, it may be suggested that the very act of entering a prison as a writer in residence is the apotheosis of this subversion.

6.5 Equivocal Helpers:

In addition to positive-negative helpers a second type of helper emerged that did not conform to the coding set out by Herbert (2011) based on Greimas (1966) and Greimas and Courtes (1982). A small number of textual elements proved ambiguous, fitting equally well into the opponent and helper actantial classes. Initially these elements were treated as coding errors. However, when examined in further detail it became apparent that the ambiguity which led to the same actant being coded as simultaneously a helper and an opponent might reveal crucial dimensions of a practitioner's narrativised experience and potentially, draw out ambiguities in the wider experiences of the practitioners. Rather than a problem to be fixed, these 'equivocal helpers' pointed to problems or ambiguities that existed in the practitioner's construction of their narrative experience.

The first and perhaps, most revealing of these equivocal helpers emerged in the process analysis of Susan. In the final frame of this narrative, following mental ill health and poverty, Susan became a 'writer in residence in prison, [I have a] job!' (fr.8). This was a clear statement, however, discerning whether this served as a helper or opponent to Susan's aspiration to reject the status quo proved almost impossible. In the first analysis, after a concerted attempt to 'wrangle' (Research diary) the two textual elements into the helper actant class, this appeared untenable:

'Actually taking a job in prison is as much an opponent to rejecting the status quo (as a helper). Perhaps I need to code it in that way, as a passive, possible opponent. I think I do. And also 'I have a job'. I really wasn't expecting that (to be an opponent), but it is where it best fits. I think this is showing one of the strengths of the model, that it forces us to change our minds about even strongly held ideas' (Research diary).

However, in the second iteration of analysis, a rationale is expounded that leads to both of these textual elements being coded as an active helper:

'I become a writer in residence in a prison' - This could be a helper or an opponent. How can working in prison reject the status quo? By working subversively from the inside. That is an interpretation, but it is one I think I can defend. Firstly because Susan has been committed to rejecting the status quo up until this point, it seems unlikely she has had a complete volte face. She certainly doesn't write about one. Also the arts in prison are often seen as subversive. Ah, something else, perhaps she doesn't see the job in and of itself as subversive, but rather it gives her financial security so that she can continue to reject or at least challenge the status quo in her own time. I wrote in the earlier piece, I think, about how Susan may have softened but not changed. I code it as an intentional helper because Susan deliberately applies for the job. It is active because she is giving herself a helping hand to restore herself. It is possible because the impact is indirect in terms of challenging the status quo by working as a WiR.' (Research diary)

However, in the next sentence it is noted that between the first and second iterations of the actantial analysis:

'Coding utterly disagrees! I coded it as an opponent in the first iteration, and the 'I have a job'... I think in this we are seeing the subversive nature of Susan's decision to work in prison. This is not so much a weakness of the coding as allowing the coding to show the Janus faces of the WiR role. I decide to code both of these acts as both helpers and opponents.' (Research diary)

As is clear from the last two sentences taken from this coding note, this is the point where what was presumed to be a coding error takes on new significance as an indicator of underlying complexity in the narrative. In the instance of Susan's story, this highlights an implicit subversive dimension to Susan's action of taking a WiR job in prison. It is not clear whether her decision is motivated by her acquiescence to the standards of the status quo, if it represents an instrumental recognition of the need to collude with the

system, even as she continues to fight it, or if taking the job is a deliberately subversive act aimed at overturning the system from within. In a sense it doesn't matter which of these options it is, and to guess brings the researcher uncomfortably close to the kind of authorial intention that structuralists and post structuralists decry for placing limitations on the text's meaning (Barthes, 1977b). Once it is allowed that the 'text is a tissue of quotations drawn from the innumerable centres of culture' (Barthes, 1977b, p.146) and that not the author, nor their 'passions, humours, feelings, impressions' (Barthes, 1977b , p. 147) precede the text but, in fact, are 'born simultaneously' (Barthes, 1977b, p. 145) with it, then it becomes possible to consider that the author does not construct the text but rather the text constructs the author, or at the very least the author's experience is constructed simultaneously with the narrative, as argued by Polkinghorne (1988).

Approached from this post structuralist perspective there is as much, perhaps more, understanding to be derived from an examination of the complexity of conflicting coding as there is from a simple binary choice. It is possible that all three of the suggested rationales set out above have some influence on Susan's decision to take the job, and this exposes an interesting tension, which may also be present for other writers who identify themselves with a sense of alterity, whether of an overtly political complexion or based on more individualistic sympathies. There is perhaps an uneasy tension at work in the role of the writer in prison between the writer's co-option into and collusion with a system which is a fundamental signifier and enforcer of normativity, and the potential for their inclusion in the system to facilitate more disruptive and subversive dimensions. This type of tension is no longer clearly visible in the research literature that has emerged out of the UK on arts in prisons in the last twenty years, with its focus on evaluation, however there is recognition of such collusion in the US literature. Jacobi (2011) has written about the 'tactical complicity' (Schwann, 2011, p. 4) engaged in by creative practitioners working in prisons, while simultaneously pointing out the potential of this work for 'more radical growth by individuals and writing groups that will contribute to a larger social movement' (Jacobi, 2011, p. 48).

The awareness of this kind of equivocal helper initiated a further review of the earlier coding decisions in the axis of power in order to identify other, similar equivocal actants. A total of three additional 'coding errors' were discovered that potentially qualify for consideration as equivocal helpers. Kate's 5am alarm on her first day in prison (fr. 6), Ben's narrative sequence from riches to rags after his successful debut novel (fr. 3 and 4) and Eric's move to Madrid (fr. 6).

In the case of Kate's narrative, the necessary early start time was indicated by an alarm clock going off at 5am. On the one hand, this can be coded as a helper because it enabled Kate to be on time for her first day in prison, which in turn contributed directly to her ability to have the new job as a WiR. However, simultaneously, the early start time indicated by the alarm acted as an obstacle to Kate deciding to take the job, and even at this late stage of the narrative (fr. 6), Kate was still unsure. Based on this rationale, this appeared to qualify as an equivocal helper and though its consequences may be less pronounced than those exposed by Susan's job as a WiR, certainly the double coding as both a helper and opponent constructs a subject experiencing ambivalence. The 5am start combined with a lack of certainty and, in the next two frames, the employment of pathetic fallacy, whereby a character's emotions are expressed through an inanimate object, such as the weather (Thomas, 1961, p. 342)⁹¹; 'it's dark, [It's] raining' (fr. 7), 'It's still raining' (fr. 8) suggest an antipathy to the early morning start. However, the fact that Kate has set the alarm clock, obeys its summons and embarks on a journey in the darkness of pre-dawn, simultaneously constructs a subject who is determined and disciplined despite her aversion to waking early. In this case, the equivocal helper offers a detailed exposition of, what appears to be the construction of a tension in the responses of Kate to a specific situation. This may even communicate something more generally about the

⁹¹ The literary device of the pathetic fallacy was first proposed by Ruskin (1856 cited in Thomas, 1961) to describe 'the attribution of human feelings and characteristics to inanimate objects' (Thomas, 1961, p. 342).

'character' of Kate. More tentatively it may also suggest that the contours of this tension echo those of Susan's dilemma; the regime of the status quo conflicting with the need for alternative ways of being, whether political or personal. It also hints at the apparent paradoxical claims made in the research literature, which suggests the simultaneous self-discipline and freedom at work in the arts in prisons (Clements, 2004; Peaker and Vincent, 1990).

In Ben's narrative, the sequence of:

'Win a prize

Make money

Piss it all away' (fr. 3 and 4)

revealed coding discrepancies between the first and second iterations of the actantial analysis. In the initial analysis 'win a prize' and 'make money' were coded as opponents because these rewards served as an opponent to Ben continuing to write. Ben's object, 'to write a book', had already been fulfilled in frame 2, when he does, in fact, 'write a book' (fr. 2). However, as previously highlighted, a key facet of creative success appears to be the sustaining rather than simply the achievement of a goal (see section 4.3.1.1). This is further supported by the fact that Ben goes on to write another book (fr. 6). Based on this rationale, the third event, 'Piss it all away' (fr. 3), was coded as a helper because it appears to be lack of finances that leads to Ben writing a second book (fr. 6), though this one fails to secure the same material rewards (fr. 7). However, coding disagreed in the second iteration of the analysis at 'win a prize', which in this second iteration was coded as a helper. This led to an extensive re-evaluation of frames 3 and 4, and concluded with a double coding of all three of the sentences in this sequence as both helpers and opponents. It quite simply was not possible to separate them into one of the binary functions. Winning the prize, making money and squandering it all appeared to equally help and oppose Ben's ambition to write a(nother) book. While the confirmation of talent and material support gained from the prize winning served as helpers to his ambition, they also

proved to be distractions, and given the ability to live in a more profligate manner Ben does indeed 'piss it all away'. The loss of the material support is again both a helper and an opponent. Lack of finance, as demonstrated in a number of the other narratives (Rory, Joe) can act as an obstacle to the production of creative work, however, simultaneously at least for Ben, this failing of fortunes appeared to push him to embark on writing a second novel.

The presence of these equivocal helpers in Ben's narrative offered a deeper insight into the construction of this practitioner's experience, suggesting an ambivalence and fragility surrounding his encounter with creative success; an idea that taps into wider notions of celebrity as transient and unstable (Ferris, 2007, p. 372) and pathological (Ferris, 2007, p. 373). The idea of the pathologisation of celebrity experience is extended further by Ben in frame 6, where he '(g)rows some horns', thereby constructing himself as somehow corrupted or demonic, in the light of his encounter with success. The instability of creative success can also be extended to Henry's narrative, where his successful film debut is quickly replaced by impoverished circumstances, and there are echoes of this in other practitioners' constructions of poverty (Susan, Joe) or fear of poverty (Steve, Janet). More generally, a commonality among some practitioners is their varied employment histories (Joanne, Barbara, Rory, Joe, Steve, Henry, Janet). Although it may be that this has a greater affinity to notions of the starving artist (Stohs, 1991; Mishler, 2000) than the precarity of celebrity. Juxtaposed with these representations, the prison appears to offer a more stable, reliable means of existence than that afforded by a purely creative way of life.

In addition to the tropes of the starving artist and pathological celebrity, a third trope that links to the tensions between stability and instability in creative practice is that of the destructive versus creative dimensions of arts disciplines; the idea that creativity can both produce and consume, generate and destroy the practitioner. This relates to the final equivocal helper, found in Eric's narrative and his journey to Madrid. At its most extreme, this notion of the destructive and constructive dimensions of creativity becomes, perhaps, the stereotype of the creative genius, which as early as Ancient

Greece, brought together 'an individual's abilities and appetites, some of which were destructive' (Albert and Runco, 1999, p. 18) with associations of 'madness and frenzied inspiration' (Albert and Runco, 1999, p. 18). These notions persist in contemporary clinical studies of creativity research (Fink et al., 2012; Simonton, 2014; Nettle, 2001; Schlesinger, 2009), and there is an echo of this representation of the artist in Eric's construction of his own creative journey. The initial indication of this emerged in the coding of Eric's trip to Madrid (fr. 6). In the first iteration of analysis the trip was coded as a helper on the grounds that, despite the difficulties Eric encountered while there, it was the beginning of a 'a slow process of awakening' (fr. 6, 7, 8). However, the second iteration of the analysis treated the trip as an opponent due to the immediate negative events Eric describes following his arrival in the country. As a result of this equivocal helper, closer scrutiny was given to other elements in the process analysis that had presented difficulties in coding. These elements had not caused particular concern during the second iteration of coding, as while uncertainty was expressed in the research diary, the coding between the two iterations of analysis had agreed in terms of the basic actantial category of helper/opponent. However, in light of the identification of an equivocal helper, a pattern of creativity as a destructive force was discovered:

'In a sense, in this narrative there is a battle going on between creativity and destruction - this is an old binary, and one often associated with creative artists.' (Research diary)

This was particularly evident in Eric's references to a continuation of 'the wild times' (fr. 3), 'experiencing creative chaos' (fr. 5) and various instances of substance use (fr. 2, 5 and 7). In particular, the notion of 'creative chaos' appeared significant:

'This sentence, I think, is at the crux of the constructive v destructive binary I wrote about earlier. Chaos can lead to creative breakthrough, but it can also lead to breakdown.' (Research diary)

Again, the identification of an equivocal helper enabled a better understanding of the tensions contained in the construction of Eric's specific narrative, and also exposed a wider tension at work in the collection of storyboards. The occurrence of mental health issues identified in both the fabula content analysis and actantial analysis shows, perhaps, the individually framed manifestations of this tension between creativity and destruction. However when identified at the structural level of the narrative through the occurrence of an equivocal helper, it becomes clear that these representations are influenced by a wider discourse which places artists as outsiders and creativity as a threat to order.

6.6 Summary:

This chapter has described findings from an actantial analysis that applied the axis of power to the 18 relevant storyboards. In total 19 categories of actants were identified as playing a role in the practitioners' narratives. 11 of these pertained to external factors and seven to internal or personal dimensions. A detailed study of the textual elements constructed as helpers and opponents in the practitioners' narratives was offered. Three key findings emerged from this analysis. Firstly, there was a preponderance of helpers as compared to opponent actants. Out of a total of 358 actants, 255 were helpers and only 103 opponents. This may suggest that practitioners constructed stories demonstrating high levels of favourable circumstances and resources, however, this was not always the case. In particular, 12 of the storyboards contained negative events which were nonetheless framed as leading to positive outcomes. These actants were labelled 'negative-positives' and they accounted for a total of 19% of helper actants. This second finding suggested that a majority of practitioners proactively shaped negative events in ways that supported the achievement of their goals. A third key finding concerned the presence of equivocal helpers in the practitioners' narratives. A total of four equivocal helpers were identified as revealing these ambiguities. These actants were ambiguous, fitting equally well into the opponent and helper actantial classes and proved to be

indicators of wider tensions in the individual practitioners narratives and in the wider dynamics of creativity and creative arts in prisons.

Table 6.3: Key Findings from Axis of Power

Key Findings	Section
The axis of power found far more helpers to practitioners' ambitions than opponents.	6.3
Normative life course events (childhood, marriage, children) are often omitted or constructed as obstacles to practitioners goals.	6.3.2.4
Practitioners come from a variety of social and cultural backgrounds and practised multiple art forms. They were helped by creative employment and practice, but rarely supported by their experiences of general employment.	6.3
The vast majority of helpers and opponents concerned practitioner's personal or micro levels of activity. The macro political events in two events were the exceptions.	6.3.2.8
The largest number of internal helpers were in the category of emotion.	6.3.3.1
The overwhelming tendency in these narratives is for practitioners to select and frame their experience positively, even when the actual experience is negative. The presence of such 'negative-positive' helpers forms an important feature of 12 of the narratives, suggesting that these practitioners turn weaknesses into strengths, failure into success and the prison experience into a support to their ambitions.	6.4
A small number of textual elements proved ambiguous, fitting equally well into the opponent and helper actantial classes. Named as 'equivocal helpers', these elements served to identify some of the hidden tensions in individual narratives, which further indicated wider ambiguities in the role of the writer in prison environment.	6.5

Chapter Seven – Conclusion

7.1 Introduction:

Chapter one argued that stories matter both at an existential level and within the prison system: for prisoners, practitioners, and academic researchers. Stories have existed in prisons for as long as prisons have existed (Spargo and Priest, 2014), though much of this was in the form of contraband. Where the arts did gain official ingress, they were admitted through their associations with the prison's educational or psychological functions. During the late 20th century, professional creative arts practitioners were officially invited into prisons for the first time. While stories have been foundational, their benefits have not been easy to quantify, which may have contributed to a continued resistance to their presence. More recently researchers and practitioners have taken up concepts from desistance research in a bid to demonstrate the worth of creative arts in prisons; however this work has failed to fully engage with the narrative dimensions of the desistance process and has remained tethered to the rehabilitative goals invoked in Foucault's (1977) disciplinary instruments of the hospital, school, and factory. Furthermore the drive towards evaluative techniques has often silenced the authentic voices of creative practitioners.

There is some recognition that the relational dimensions of arts activities may prove significant to an increased understanding of the benefits of creative arts activities and that the relationships between creative practitioners and prisoners may be an important element of this. However, the effacement of practitioner narratives in the current literature makes it difficult to glean a fuller understanding of these relationships. Narrative criminology may provide a useful theoretical framework to support a move away from more established research and evaluation, in order to think differently about how narrative can be best employed in understanding the dynamics at work for both practitioners and prisoners engaged in creative writing activities. Most

relevant to the current study are the ways in which the narrative construction of practitioners' life stories can offer greater insight into their perceived intentions, motivations and journeys into jail, and how this may contribute to their 'helping actions' once on the inside.

The thesis has addressed the gaps identified above and contributed to knowledge by shining a light on the stories of creative writing practitioners working in prisons. It has used a narratological framework to provide insight into how these practitioners construct their intentions, motivations and journeys into jail and the significance of their work with prisoners, once inside.

What follows is a synthesis of the data chapters and a summary discussion of the key overall findings from this thesis. The discussion covers three key areas: patterns and similarities in the content of the practitioners' narratives, including identification of three distinct types of practitioner narrative, along with more broad ranging similarities between the practitioners' narratives and the research literature on prisoners' experience; identification of structural dimensions of the practitioner narratives, which expose two important narrative mechanisms that play a role in the sensemaking processes at work in these narratives; reflection on the strengths and limitations of the analysis applied in this study and its potential to increase robustness in narrative research. The chapter ends with suggestions for further research and makes a case for the relevance of these findings for developing understanding of the narrative and relational dynamics at work in processes of desistance, particularly in the case of creative writing interventions with prisoners. Each of the elements in this summary discussion feed into the wider research question concerning the practitioners' narrative construction of their intentions, motivations and journeys into work in prison and how this might be significant to the work they do with prisoners.

7.2 The Narrative Content:

In this section patterns in the content of the practitioners' narratives will be discussed, firstly with a consideration of the similarities between practitioners' narratives and prisoners' experience as represented in the wider research literature and secondly in terms of three types of practitioner narrative that emerge from the study. Finally, the discussion will focus on the narrative features of negative positives and equivocal helpers, which suggest that the way that practitioners frame elements of their narrative may be at least as important as the content they select.

7.2.1: Practitioners Share an Outsider Status with Prisoners:

The main finding from the fabula content analysis detailed in chapter three was that 16 out of 19 practitioners identified with some kind of 'outsider status'. Outsider status and experience are conceptualised in the analysis as alterity, 'the state of being other or different' (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin, 2013, p.11), and a total of six different categories of alterity were discovered. Practitioners share this sense of 'outsider-ness' or 'otherness' with prisoners (Pratt, 1999, p. 282), who experience 'othering' at the hands of the mass media and society (Greer and Jewkes, 2005) and in the criminal justice system (Eriksson, 2016; Whitehead, 2018). In his seminal study, Becker (1963) makes the link between creative practitioners (musicians) who contravene social rules and those who break the criminal law (drug users), observing 'they share the label and experience of being labelled as outsiders' (Becker, 1963, p. 10). Maruna (2001, p. 59) has further noted the overlap in the personal traits between offenders and artists, which set both groups apart as non-conforming, anti-authority and with a dislike for taking orders. These insights are highly pertinent to the current study which, as will be discussed below, has uncovered a number of commonalities between the practitioners' narratives and the literature on prisoners' experience.

In some instances practitioner alterity took the form of active rebellion. In the content analysis four types of overt resistance were identified: the outsider status of the artist (n.8), for example Ben and Eric's decadence and 'wild times'; the anti-authoritarian stance of the political protestor or individual defiant (n.5), as illustrated in Jean and Susan's radical political activities; the rejection of the status quo by those previously thought to be insiders (n.4), demonstrated in Jessica's abrupt resignation from her job in the Probation Service; the oppositional actions and reactions to formative encounters with educational and criminal justice institutions (n.3) seen in Dave's 'run in with the police'. However, the detailed analysis of narrative structure in the actantial analysis (chapters four to six) offered more nuance; this can be articulated in the distinction between the artist as a rebel and the artist as alienated (Rader, 1958). While rebellion suggests overt resistance, alienation suggests 'the type of man [sic] that feels estranged from the world and his own deeper self' (Rader, 1958, p. 306).

Rader (1958) locates the alienation of the artist from wider society in the emergence of capitalism, thereby aligning with Marx's (1992) wider theories on the alienating consequences of capitalist forms of labour. Certainly practitioners in the current study struggled with regular work - both acquiring it and/or engaging with it - and there were a total of eight practitioners who experienced non-creative occupations, in some cases manual labour, as obstacles or negative-positive helpers (section 6.3.2.5) to their ambition. This finding accords with research on offenders' attitudes to employment. For example, Maruna writes about his sample of desisting offenders who balk at low-status, repetitive jobs, requiring instead work that was meaningful (Maruna, 2001, p. 121), while Shover (1996) identifies a more hedonistic perspective in which 'thieves' and 'hustlers' live 'life as a party' in a direct rejection of 'the routinisation and monotony of modern labour' (Shover, 1996, p. 110). More widely, there is a view expressed by offenders in Hall, Winlow and Ancrum's (2005) research that the 'traditional, hardworking, dependable... workingman' is a mug (p. 104). For practitioners the creative work they do is viewed very differently. They rarely refer to their creative activities as work and never as a career (section 3.3.2.4) and practitioners'

creative employment may be closely aligned with Mishler's (1999) concept of 'nonalienated labour'.

7.2.2: Practitioners Share an Interest in Escape with Prisoners:

The concept of alienation is not restricted to matters of employment and is also found in narratives constructed around practitioners' personal or existential aspirations (n.6), although in the majority of cases (n.4) these goals were still effected through creative means. These six narratives were concerned with escaping from or rejecting previous states of being, personal circumstances or wider social normativity (section 4.2.1.2), which resonates with what Marx (1992) describes as alienation from their human essence, or from the world itself (Rader, 1958). The concept of escape is also encountered more widely in other practitioner narratives (n.5). At one level this can be treated as an allusion to creativity itself as a form of escape, illustrated, for example, in Joanne's desire to escape into English. This notion of creative escape or escapism is reflected in the wider literature, both prison specific (WIPN, 2020; Myrick, 2004; Broadhead, 2006, p. 108; Garner, 2020) and more broadly (Csikszentmihalyi, 1990; Begum, 2011; Heilman, 1975), and may also explain some of the appeal of creative arts activities to prisoners who have much time and little to fill it (Broadhead, 2006, p. 113).

A second, less recognised aspect of these six practitioners' desire to escape concerns the relationship between this desire and their motives for entering the prison: why would this subgroup of practitioners, whose main goal is concerned with escape come to work in a carceral environment, which is ostensibly the very antithesis of escape? Certainly the desire to escape implies these practitioners feel trapped inside or outside of selves, of circumstances or societies in which they do not belong; an idea which is evoked in the title of Jean's storyboard, 'In On the Outside' (see section 4.2.1.2). They are, perhaps, outsiders looking for an inside, but why the inside of the prison? This seems not the overt form of rebellion discussed in section 7.2.1. Not even Susan, whose goal was the rejection of the status

quo goes to jail demanding its abolition. The rebellion discerned here is more nuanced and better understood as transgression or, at its strongest, subversion. The subversive threat of practitioners behind the prison walls is alluded to in some of the earlier research on arts in prisons, in particular Peaker and Vincent's (1990, p. 126) perception of the creative practitioner as a 'security risk', and its presence is intimated in the resistance of uniform staff to creative arts programmes (e.g. Cox and Gelsthorpe, 2012, p. 263), who are presumably reacting to a perceived threat. More recent evaluation literature, however, has generally eschewed interest in the transgressive dimensions of arts delivery in prisons and to date there has been no concerted attempt to articulate this shadow presence of subversion in the UK penal system⁹². This may be due to the origin of this type of transgressive discourse, which is found less in empirical evidence and more in practitioner narratives, informed by carceral literary tropes. Fludernik (1999) has written on the 'carceral container metaphor', which adds to the inside/outside binary of the prison a liminal space of 'transcendence (and/or transgression)' (Fludernik, 1999, p. 47) which exists at the threshold of both the ingress and egress of the prison. The consequence of such a metaphor may lead some, though not all, practitioners to construct their presence in the jail as just such an act of transgression. They are outsiders who succeed in transgressing the ultimate bastion of social order and in the process subvert the fundamental purpose of the prison, which is to prevent escape from the inside to the outside. Instead they succeed in escaping from the outside, inside. This is illustrated most forcefully in Joe's narrative when he writes of how he 'broke into the prison'. However transgression of the insider/outsider binary resonates through these six storyboards in, for example, Rebecca's learning

⁹² This is less the case in American literature on creative writing in prisons where resistance is more commonly expressed and there is a 'rich and ever-increasing body of literature' (Miller, 2003, p. 2) from and about creative writing in prisons. An amount of this is written by creative writing facilitators, many of who are academics (e.g. Jacobi, 2003, 2011; Jacobi and Stanford, 2014, Hinshaw and Jacobi, 2015; Rogers et al., 2017; Larson, 2006, 2010, 2019; Berry, 2018; Lockard and Rankins-Robertson, 2018; Cotto, 2009; Lawston and Lucas, 2011). This writing is predominantly critical of the 'prison industrial literary complex' (Larson, 2006), often identifying itself with abolitionist ambitions (e.g. Jacobi, 2011) though simultaneously acknowledging the 'complicated equation' between emancipatory writing and the institutional contexts in which it is delivered (Jacobi, 2011).

the rudiments of freedom from a serving prisoner and Jessica and Janet's coming to inhabit new worlds or 'realities' through their entry into the prison regime and subsequent subversion of the 'dominant social mobility narrative' (Folkes, 2019).

Prisoners have different journeys into the jail and almost never as a result of their personal volition. It may be that this inequality of agency between the two groups (practitioners chose to come to prison, prisoners do not) is felt as keenly as the class division that Chelitios (2012) argues is a defining feature of prisoners' engagement with the arts. However, no matter the degree of class tensions, if and how they exist, the shared desire for escape for both practitioners and prisoners offers another point of commonality between the two groups, which may have a bearing on their relationship and the creative programmes they both engage in.

7.2.3 Prisoners and Practitioners Resist:

Prisoner resistance to the carceral system is a much studied phenomenon (e.g. Ugelvik, 2014; Carrabine, 2004; Bosworth, 1999/2016; Cohen and Taylor, 1972), and has included studies on prisoners' writing as an act of resistance (e.g. Larson, 2019; Rodriguez, 2002; Ginsberg, 2019; Johnson, 2016). The current study found just under half (n.9) of creative practitioners also constructed narratives that contained important elements of resistance, and noted that this shared sense of resistance may offer an increased sense of mutual understanding between prisoners and practitioners (Brown, 2002, p. 110). The two main factors identified as motivations for practitioners' ambitions (see section 5.4) were pursuit of creative art and political resistance/social justice. The most overt examples of political resistance were revealed in the anti-authority/protest category of the fabula content analysis (section 3.3.2.3), where three practitioners frame their resistance in terms of organised political action (Susan, Jean, Janet). These narratives suggest that the radical political sentiment found in a small amount of early literature on the arts in British prisons (Peaker and Vincent, 1990) continues

to exist, at least amongst some creative practitioners. However the situation is perhaps more nuanced than these three narratives suggest. Writing on the resistance of prisoners, Bosworth and Carrabine (2001, p. 506) warn against reducing all resistance to the most elementary manifestations of political action, and this proves equally pertinent to a consideration of forms of practitioner resistance in the current study.

The fabula content analysis (chapter three) was able to distinguish different types of resistance within its broad categories. In addition to overt political protest there were instances of practitioners engaging with the community arts (Eric, Steve), the foundations of which rest in the political radicalism of the 1960s (see section 3.3.2.3). At an individual level there was evidence of personal defiance against systems and restrictions (found in Joanne's emotional resistance to school and Tracey's to the imposition of rules), along with the broader influence of macro political events on individual motivations (Samantha, Rebecca) and, finally, some practitioners displayed antipathy at the institutional level (Joe), particularly within the CJS itself (Jessica, Dave, Henry). In these latter three narratives the practitioners are incontestable insiders, yet due to the value systems of the institutions they work for, or their own internal systems of value, each one of them resists the system they are a part of, ultimately by moving from the inside to the outside of the criminal justice bureaucracy, while simultaneously remaining, as creative practitioners, inside the prison system itself (section 3.3.2.4). This may well represent the ultimate form of subversion constructed in the practitioners' narratives. Based on the more nuanced analysis afforded in the actantial analysis (section 5.4.2) it became clear that this resistance was not a revolutionary bid for total system overthrow, but rather a more hidden commitment to the processes of social justice. The motivations of idealism (Dave) and sympathy with the underdog (Jessica) bear this out for at least two of the practitioners. This route into the prison for creative practitioners is perhaps a surprising one, and is little explored in the extant literature on arts in prisons in the UK. Although a close examination of practitioner journals, such as the Prison Service Journal, provides a small amount of evidence of uniform staff with literary ambitions, such as the prison officer at HMP

Leicester who performed spoken word at the prison's arts festival (Herrity et al., 2018, p. 5). This suggests the three practitioners in the current study may not be entirely unique, and warrants further research. Certainly the presence of these practitioners in criminal justice suggests another route through which the contraband of art may enter into the prison system.

The fabula content analysis (chapter three) was unable to account for subtler (though entirely devastating) forms of injustice where they had not been politically framed as such in the storyboards. This was particularly the case in the narratives of Samantha and Rebecca, both of who constructed experiences of collective political injustice as key motivating factors in their stories (section 5.4.2.2). For Rebecca this was the intergenerational trauma caused by the holocaust and for Samantha the period of internment in Northern Ireland at the hands of the British government, which she experienced as an Irish child growing up in England. In both of these cases the politics of their situations enabled a greater appreciation of the intersection between personal biography and historical context (Mills, 1959, p. 6). This contextual understanding, enabled by the actantial analysis' coding for motivation (chapter five), served to challenge conclusions from the earlier fabula content analysis which had identified mental health issues and individual victimisation as central to these two practitioners' sense of alterity. It became clear that rather than discrete experiences of individual difficulty serving to stigmatise these practitioners as outsiders, there was a complex matrix of political oppression at work. In the case of Samantha there was a clear suggestion of an underlying resistance to the British state, which gave her later decision to work in Her Majesty's Prisons an even keener edge of transgression. Meanwhile, the actantial analysis exposed in Rebecca's narrative the construction of the grossest political injustice in modern history (i.e. the holocaust) as an individual pathology; in this case, mental terror. The pathologising of strong emotional reaction is also found in the narrative of Joanne, whose individual defiance against school and conventional work is later diagnosed as a symptom of body dysmorphic disorder. Joanne frames this diagnosis as explaining all of her feelings (section 6.4), however it is arguable that this kind of pathologisation of strong emotion serves to obscure

genuine resistance to perceived injustice. The narratives of Samantha, Rebecca and Joanne suggest another commonality with prisoners, where the literature recognises a 'pathologising discourse' which reduces prisoners' emotional responses to imprisonment and structural disadvantage to a medical problem (Mills and Kendall, 2018, p. 8) rather than rooted in wider politics and social injustice.

The above is in contrast to the narratives of at least 11 of the creative practitioners, for whom emotions are framed constructively as motivation for (section 5.4.3) and/or support in (sections 6.3.3.2 and 6.4) the achievement of their ambitions. There is a quality of internal drive at work in some of these stories, Bob for instance has a 'passion' for music and Henry 'hates' studying law, while even milder emotions are often presented as a trusted guide to practitioners' decision making. In the narratives of practitioners, emotional intensity is constructed as a creative force, which is celebrated as literature, rather than diagnosed as a cognitive flaw in need of correction, as may be perceived to be the case with prisoners (Mills and Kendall, 2018, p. 8; Maguire, 2002). Creative programmes offer the opportunity for the constructive framing of emotion in an environment that appreciates rather than pathologises such narratives. It is possible that such an exercise offers support to the process of reconstructing narratives into redemption scripts, seen as a central component in the processes of desistance (Maruna, 2001).

The discussion in this section reveals subtler manifestations of political actions and reactions in the narratives of the creative practitioners than the initial fabula content analysis revealed. This suggests that more practitioners than was immediately apparent in chapter three were resistant to, or had reason to resist institutional or state powers, thereby suggesting resistance is by no means restricted to overt demonstrations of political radicalism and that a greater number of practitioners shared a critical attitude to the state and/or its institutions. In addition, the pathologisation of emotional reactions of both practitioners and prisoners revealed underlying political and/or social injustice at work, which may be experienced as alterity or alienation by both groups.

7.2.4 The Stories Practitioners Bring to Jail:

Unsurprisingly and, as already noted in section 7.2.2, prisoners hardly ever choose to go to prison. What is less expected is that very few practitioners in this study, albeit to a lesser degree, wanted to go to prison either. Work in a carceral environment is not framed as a key ambition in the majority of these practitioners' overarching life plans. Out of the 18 practitioner narratives suitable for actantial analysis, only two (Kate, Tracey) named a job in prison as their ambition and this appeared to be more concerned with the narrative structuring of their storyboards rather than a long term career plan (see section 4.4.1). Furthermore, only six practitioners identified a beneficiary to the work they did other than themselves. A writing residency in prison, therefore, appeared not to be a vocation in and of itself, but rather, it served as an adjunct to these practitioners' personal, political or creative goals. This section, therefore, examines the underpinning narratives, both individual and cultural, which contribute to the practitioners' unintended arrival through the prison gates.

The actantial analysis (chapter four) found four key categories in terms of practitioners' ambitions: professional creative ambitions involving commercial outputs; an abstract desire to engage with the process and practice of the creative arts; professional non-creative ambitions; and personal or existential aspirations. The focus in this section will be on the first two categories: those practitioners who identify a creative ambition, whether professional or process-led. The second two categories have been covered elsewhere in this discussion chapter: Section 7.2.2 previously discussed the six escape/rejection narratives of those practitioners who identified personal or existential aspirations, the narrative of Dave (one of the two narratives involving non-creative ambitions) was discussed in section 7.2.3 as an example of a practitioner motivated by a desire for social justice, while the other non-creative ambition narrative (Tracey) appeared to be an outlier, the interest of which was more structural than content-based (see appendix 16).

7.2.4.1 Three Wider Narratives:

In the 10 narratives based on creative ambitions, both professional or process focused, there appeared to be three wider cultural narratives underpinning these stories. As Harding et al. (2017) have noted, a person is partly constructed by wider cultural narratives, even as they innovate and recreate those narratives in the ways best suited to their needs. In the process, cultural narratives may be subverted (Preseser and Sandberg, 2015, p. 15) even as they reproduce hegemonic stories. In the case of the current study, three broad cultural narratives or, what Loseke (2007, p. 664) describes as 'formula stories' were discerned in the narratives of the ten practitioners who expressed a creative ambition. The narrative of crisis and beleaguerment in the arts was set alongside the narrative of the arts as a healing or therapeutic force, and finally the transformative narrative of the arts (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008). These three narratives informed and were informed by four functions of delivering creative arts in prisons which were contained in the individual practitioner narratives. These functions were: financial benefit, personal satisfaction gained from supporting others' creativity, ability to continue personal creative practice regardless of the benefit to others, ability to use personal experience of creative practice to help others. These four functions formed a scale. At one pole were practitioners who identified primarily as working practitioners (those who practice their art to support their own self actualisation), and the opposite pole were those who identified as facilitators (who are consciously aware of the benefits of creative activity for prisoners and others). These were not mutually exclusive categories, but rather functioned as a spectrum, with the two practitioners who identified a professional creative ambition (Ben, Henry) at the extreme practitioner pole, and those with more altruistic intent closer to the facilitator position (Steve, Joanne), in between were positioned the majority of practitioners who engaged with their art first and foremost for purposes of self-actualisation but who recognised the benefits of their creative practice though not explicitly articulated in terms of its benefits for others. Within the broad cultural narratives three individual narratives emerged: the suffering artist, the (inadvertent) healer and the (human)

revolutionary. Again these were not mutually exclusive categories, however individual narratives did, to a lesser or greater extent, appear to be shaped within the context of one of the broader cultural narratives, and one of the individual narratives predominated in the story of each practitioner.

7.2.4.1.1 – *The Suffering Artist*

The Suffering Artist: The ‘saga of the suffering artist’ (Rothenburg, 2001, p. 132; Schneider, 2015), as an individual wracked by poverty and/or psychological trauma, is in turn shaped by the ‘narrative of crisis and beleaguerment’ (Belfiore and Bennet, 2008, pp. 4-5) in which the arts are underfunded and in imminent danger of collapse. Four of the practitioners with a creative ambition suffered from financial precarity, while two practitioners contrasted a creative career with the ‘sensible’ choice or ‘having something to fall back on’ (Henry)⁹³. Four practitioners pursuing a creative goal described poor mental health⁹⁴, although this was a direct result of their ambitions in only three cases, while in the fourth case (Joanne) it is arguable that mental ill health catalysed creative ambition. In total just under half (n. 4) of the practitioners who had a creative ambition framed this as involving suffering; a goal to be pursued in spite of the difficulties it created. This was most pronounced in the case of the two practitioners who identified a professional creative ambition (Henry, Ben), however was also in evidence in narratives that were more focused on engaging with the processes of creative arts. In three of these narratives (Henry, Ben, Rory) financial gain was presented as the ultimate motivation for taking work in prison.

The suffering artist narrative raises two points. Firstly, it gives further support to the case set out in chapter three (section 3.3.2.6) for a re-assessment of

⁹³ More widely six practitioners identified finance as an obstacle to their ambitions (see section 6.3.2.6).

⁹⁴ More widely six practitioners included mental ill health in their narratives (see section 3.3.7.2) although as discussed in 7.2.3, in some cases this may have concerned the pathologisation of political issues.

these practitioners as bestowers of benevolent patronage on their poorer, social inferiors, based on an ethos of benevolence or compassion (Tomczak and Alberston, 2016). Instead, it appears that, at least in some cases, less may separate the two groups of practitioners and prisoners in terms of current income. Indeed, one long term WiR has written in the wider literature of how the prisoners he worked with 'felt sorry for me on my residency income' (Crowley, 2014, p. 12). This suggests similarity in the financial positions of prisoners and practitioners, where prisoners are restricted to a maximum canteen spend of £25.50 per week (HMIP, 2016a, pp. 3-4) and the salary offered to WiR's by WIPN was never greater than £14,132 per annum (WIPN, 2011). The potentially constrained circumstances of both groups may open the way to greater equality in their relationships. Egalitarianism of this kind is noted in a small amount of the evaluation literature (O'Keefe and Alberston, 2012, p. 69) and would benefit from further investigation. Secondly, there is a more uncomfortable question posed with regard to the ethics of introducing creative arts to prisoners, when prisoners often nurture ambitions of creative success and practitioners are fully cognizant of the personal privations they experience as a result of their career choice.

Narratives concerned with creative ambitions suggest instability (section 6.5), and in the course of the actantial analysis (chapter four and six) three separate manifestations of the 'suffering artist' saga become visible: the starving artist (as discussed here), the pathological celebrity and the (mad) creative genius (see section 6.5 for a discussion of Ben's experience of pathological celebrity and the destructive qualities of Eric's creative genius). It may even be that the regime of the prison provides a more stable environment for these specific practitioners than do their more chaotic outside lives. In view of this, and as was asked in chapter four (section 4.3.1.1), are practitioners' motives grounded in their own selfish need to subsidise their creative ambitions, or is their commitment to the creative arts based, at least partly, on their belief in its greater benefits? This question is addressed in section 7.2.4.1.2, below, which is concerned with the individual narrative of 'the (inadvertent) healer'.

7.2.4.1.2 – *The (Inadvertent) Healer*

The (Inadvertent) Healer: The phenomenon of the ‘wounded healer’ is well documented in the criminological literature (Lebel, Richie and Maruna, 2015, pp. 109-111) and refers to the generative role adopted by some former offenders, in which they seek to support fellow offenders to desist from crime and in the process benefit themselves. While it would be overstating the point to suggest that creative practitioners fulfilled a similar role in their relationships with prisoners, it is nonetheless the case that in seven narratives, practitioners with creative ambitions described benefits to their own wellbeing either from facilitating the creativity of others, or from their own engagement in their creative practice (see section 4.3.1.1)⁹⁵. As such, this particular narrative shaped and was shaped by the broader cultural narrative of the arts as a healing or therapeutic force (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008, pp. 92-102). However, in the majority of these cases (n.5) the wider potential benefits to the wellbeing of prisoners were not articulated and in the main the motivation of the practitioners concerned the personal satisfaction, fulfilment or comfort they themselves derived from the arts; making these practitioners inadvertent healers.

As with the discussion on financial benefits practitioners accrue, the emphasis again is more selfish than selfless, suggesting that, rather than an act of pure benevolence, practitioners gain at least as much as they give from the work they do in prisons. As the ‘helper therapy principle’ states, ‘those who help are helped most’ (Gartner and Reissman, 1984, p. 19 cited in Lebel, Richie and Maruna, 2015, p. 109). Additionally, the (inadvertent) healer narrative also gives testament to the idea that creative practice offers appreciable benefits in terms of wellbeing, evidenced in the practitioners’ descriptions of their own experience of the arts. This addresses the question that suffixed section 7.2.4.1.1, suggesting that at least for some practitioners there is personal belief in the therapeutic value of the arts they practice. However, while seven out of 10 practitioners who discuss creative ambitions

⁹⁵ Benefits from creative practice were also clearly articulated in the narratives of three practitioners who expressed a personal ambition (see section 4.3.1.2).

reference benefits they have experienced personally, none of them articulated a clear desire to share these benefits with the prisoners they work with. This is not the case in the final individual narrative identified in the storyboards, that of the (human) revolutionary.

7.2.4.1.3 – The (Human) Revolutionary:

The (Human) Revolutionary: The (human) revolutionary narrative both recognises significant benefits from engagement with the creative process that are, to some degree, life changing and articulates a clear commitment to sharing these benefits with others. 'Human revolution' is a process of transformation found in the terminology of Nichiren Buddhist philosophy, which advocates individual change as a catalyst for wider societal change (Ikeda, 1987 cited in Dockett, 2003, p. 184). It is used here to indicate the presence of resistance found in the human revolutionary narrative, while acknowledging that this resistance may not take a politicised form (see section 7.2.3). This individual narrative is related to the broader transformation narrative, which claims the power of the arts to transform the lives of self and others (Bennett and Belfiore, 2008, p. 3). As suggested in chapter four (section 4.3.1.1) this is a common cultural narrative within the arts in prisons sector (e.g. Robertson, 2013; NCJAA, undated Djurichkovic, 2011; ACE, 2018; Crane Williams, 2016, p. 236), and it is therefore surprising that only one practitioner with a creative ambition constructs a narrative shaped by this cultural trope (Joanne). Although, a second (human) revolutionary narrative is found in the story of a practitioner whose goal is framed as a personal aspiration (Janet).

The scarcity of these narratives in the research sample raises questions, as outlined in chapter four (section 4.3.1.1). Do such narratives exist only as a 'good story' (Cheliotis, 2012, p. 12 following Cohen) intended to secure funding for creative practitioners working in the sector? Or is it that the practitioners who shape their narratives around professional goals present themselves as deliverers rather than receivers of such personal transformation? The evaluation literature (Bilby, Caulfield and Ridley, 2013;

Caulfield, 2011) has suggested the importance of the practitioners' professional status for participants, and this may either be illustrated in the current study, or the evaluation findings themselves may influence how the practitioners in the current study construct narratives in which they become experts in, rather than recipients of, the creative arts. It is certainly the case that the two practitioners who constructed a (human) revolutionary narrative are among the most recent entrants into the field of creative writing in prisons. As such, they may have less recourse to a professional status, or alternatively, exposure to the discourse that suggests such a status is prized. Further research is needed to better understand the frequency of such (human) revolutionary narratives among creative writing practitioners in the field.

Lack of knowledge on the frequency of (human) revolutionary narratives notwithstanding, the discovery of this type of narrative in the storyboards of two practitioners highlights a connection with research on desistance narratives (Maruna, 2001), and in particular the role of imagination in the process of desistance. It has been suggested that an alternative future self is first imagined before being (potentially) realised by the desisting offender (Paternoster and Bushway, 2009; Soyer, 2014). This process of imagination leading to embodiment was also the case in the narratives of Joanne and Janet, where an imaginative escape into English and writing, respectively, later enabled these two practitioners to create substantively improved lives from the ones they initially described. Again, further research, comparing the desistance narratives of prisoners with the (human) revolutionary narratives of practitioners may develop understanding of the processes of narrative construction at work in the shift from imaginative escape to embodied change.

7.2.4.2 Negative Positive Narratives:

A close examination of the subject-object junctions (i.e. ambitions) found in the practitioners' narratives in chapter four, and the helpers and opponents contained in chapter six, reveals that despite the predominance of rebellion and resistance in the content analysis (chapter three) the narrative structuring of the majority of these practitioners' narratives suggested their capacity for openness in the construction of their personal ambitions; these were positive goals rather than negative reactions (see section 4.2.1). This was manifested in two key structural features of the narratives. Firstly in the framing of subject-object junctions as conjunctions (see section 4.2.1.3), so that in 15 out of 18 storyboards the practitioners' ambitions were framed as positive goals to be welcomed, rather than undesirable circumstances to be rejected. Secondly, in the axis of power (chapter 6), which contained either helpers or opponents to the achievement of the practitioners' ambitions, there was an overwhelming percentage of helpers compared to opponents (see section 6.3 for a detailed discussion of the 19 actantial categories of helpers and opponents).

Two possible reasons were suggested for such a preponderance of helpers. Firstly, that some practitioners' enjoyed social and economic advantage which led to mainly favourable circumstances in their lives. Secondly, that practitioners constructed their narratives in ways that emphasised positive features, even when those features appeared to be obstacles to their progress rather than helpers. It transpired that while some practitioners did appear to enjoy the material and symbolic capital of class advantage, taking for granted a university education, for example (see section 6.3.2.3) or foreign travel (see section 6.3.2.), this by no means applied to all of the practitioners, four of whom (Steve, Dave, Joe, Janet) were subjected to the kind of stigmatisation implicated in labelling theory (see section 6.4), whereby those from the lower classes are more likely to be labelled as deviant than their middle class counterparts (Becker, 1963: 13). The social backgrounds of the practitioners, therefore, appeared to be diverse and it was not the case that all the practitioners boasted the advantages of a

middle class upbringing. Janet for example came from a travelling family, a community which is over-represented in the prison population (HMIP, 2014b, p. 11), while Dave spent his childhood on a council estate. From this it was extrapolated that some of these practitioners came from communities not dissimilar to a good deal of prisoners, who are more likely than the general population to come from lower social classes (Murray, 2007, p. 57). While some of the practitioners' disadvantage appeared to be addressed through material opportunities, in particular a university education (see section 6.3.2.3), there was a second and potentially more significant factor at work not just in these four narratives, but in a total of 12 of the narratives, which appeared to turn practitioners' initially negative events into more fortunate outcomes. This concerned narrative structure rather than narrative content.

As described in chapter six (section 6.4), 'negative positive helpers' was the name given to 41 actants which were ostensibly opponents, but which were framed as helpers in the practitioners' narratives. In total, 12 practitioners used as least one negative positive helper, with negative positive helpers in the categories of emotion (n.7), mental health (n.3), and childhood (n.15) appearing to be among the most significant individual factors. Again, there were shared experiences between prisoners and practitioners in terms of extreme emotion (see section 7.2.3) and mental health, with prisoners suffering a higher prevalence of poor mental health than the general population (House of Commons Committee of Public Accounts, 2017) and negative childhood experience, which is frequently framed in the criminological literature as a key factor in the onset of criminality (Craig et al., 2017; Reavis et al., 2014; Farrington and Welsh 2007). However, practitioners framed these circumstances as leading to positive outcomes, in a manner similar to the narratives of Maruna's (2001, p. 97-98) desisting offenders who sought to reframe criminal pasts as a 'logical necessity' (Maruna, 2001, p. 89) to their subsequent reform. In both narratives this framing enables personal weaknesses to be turned into strengths, and in the process, failure is turned into success. However, there is a crucial difference between the two sets of narratives: while the narratives of desisters describe a move towards greater conformity through desistance from crime, the

practitioners tell stories in which they transgress against conformity as they reject conventional careers and life course trajectories. The ultimate transgression is, perhaps, as already discussed in section 7.2.2, their decision to go to prison.

The fact that desisters move towards conformity in their stories even as practitioners move away from it raises interesting questions in terms of the role that practitioners play in their relationship with prisoners. Van Maanen (2010, p. 24) finds that practitioners make 'excellent positive role models', however the comparison of Maruna's (2001) desisters with the current sample of creative practitioners suggests that desisters may have a greater commitment to conformity than the creative practitioners they work with, although they also place importance on the meaningfulness of the law-abiding activities they engage with in preference to crime (Maruna, 2001, p. 100). Becker (1963, p. 87) has noted that the outsider status ascribed to musicians and their reluctance to live by normal social conventions in turn means they do not try to force those same conventions on others. Such a permissive attitude, while perhaps anathema to prison management, aligns with key principles found in the desistance literature, which encourage non-judgemental support for offenders (McNeill et al., 2012, p. 4: HMI Probation, 2016), allowing them to explore their own future directions rather than have change imposed upon them (Porporino 2010, p. 78 cited in Albertson, 2015, p. 277).

7.2.4.3 Equivocal Helpers:

The concepts of deviance and conformity, so central to the relationships between practitioners and prisoners discussed in this section, have so far been considered in binary terms: both groups are considered deviant, both groups experience kinds of alienation they wish to escape from, and they both resist and are pathologised in mainstream discourse. It may even be the case that creative practitioners display greater deviance than their desisting counterparts. The final structural dimension to be explored in this section

however, suggests that the notion of a clear cut opposition between deviance and conformity is not tenable: as Maruna (2001) has written (following Solzhenitsyn), the division between good and evil is more convenient myth than practical criminal justice tool. Maruna was writing about offenders, however an equal tension between deviance and conformity was revealed in the creative practitioners narratives through the analytical tool of the 'equivocal helper'.

As outlined in section 6.5, an equivocal helper refers to a textual element that serves equally well as a helper or an obstacle to the practitioner's ambition. There were only three instances of this phenomenon found in the storyboards, however, in each case the significance of the equivocal helper extended beyond the narrative of the individual practitioner and indicated a wider tension at work in the entry of the creative practitioner into the prison. In the case of Susan and Kate a fundamental tension was exposed in terms of the role of the writer in prison, who on the one hand was a deviant presence inside the 'good order' of the prison regime, while simultaneously required to demonstrate conformity to the discipline of that regime. It may be that the practitioners' ability to negotiate such a tension is central to their role-modelling (Van Maanen, 2010) for prisoners, whereby transgression is tempered but not eliminated. This idea resonates strongly with Maruna's (2001, p. 87) claim that rather than a process of 'knifing off', desistance entails a reframing of past experience. Certainly Maruna (2001) has noted that even those participants in his study who had given up crime completely 'still thought of themselves as adventurous, rebellious and independent' (Maruna, 2001, p. 59). It may be that practitioners offer an example of how such tensions may be balanced, though not resolved. The liminality of the practitioner's outsider/insider status within the prison may also serve to strengthen the basis for meaningful relationships between practitioners and prisoners, in which practitioners are 'controlled by but not part of the prison system' (Brown, 2002, p. 110).

A second tension revealed by the equivocal helper coding was that between the destructive and creative dimensions of creative arts practice. This is less

concerned with the deviance of practitioners themselves and more with the transgressive discourses that surround the art form they deliver, and perhaps underpins a good deal of the equivocation in policy towards the creative arts in criminal justice. How to balance the therapeutic and potentially transformative value of the arts against the creative chaos that may be unleashed? To what degree can the arts be utilised as a tool for reform against the constant threat from the creative freedom they may provoke? In this dilemma is seeded, perhaps, a definitional discordance that exists at the very heart of the arts in prisons debate. According to Cox and Gelsthorpe (2012, p. 263) there is a fundamental difference in what creative practitioners understand as constituting 'change' compared to the notions of change enshrined in official rehabilitation discourse. The first is tied up with ideas of empowerment and the raising of political consciousness (as outlined in Janet's narrative - see section 4.3.1.2), while rehabilitation aims to shape the prisoner into a conforming, law-abiding citizen (Hollin and Palmer, 2006). However, the conclusion may be that it is both, simultaneously and in enduring tension. As the creative practitioner, Kevin Finnan describes it:

'The work is full of contradictions....anarchy and structure. In order to improve you need somewhere to start from and return to, you need structure. To develop new structures to prevent atrophy you need to go beyond what is known into the unknown, into anarchy from which new perceptions can help develop and enhance new structures. It is the relationship which is important. It's a question of balance.' (Finnan cited in Peaker and Vincent, 1990, p. 108)

This encapsulates the tensions concerning the constructive and destructive forces of creativity that are revealed by the equivocal helpers found in Ben and Eric's narratives. It also appears to resonate with the processes that underpin desistance from crime, where continuing deviance from the norm is balanced with conformity to expectations, producing the new label of 'desister'.

7.3 The Structure of Narratives:

In addition to enabling the rigorous categorisation of content, the close analysis of structure in the narratives of the creative practitioners also brought to light key textual features which play an important role in constructing practitioners' experiences and potentially enable practitioners to reflect on that experience in new ways. The current study contests that these features may also make an important contribution to a better understanding of the construction of desistance narratives, particularly as reflection is deemed to be an important component in that process (Albertson, 2015), a facet of creative arts in prisons, which is also foregrounded by Crossick and Kaszynska (2016). As Maruna and Ramsden (2004, p. 132) have noted, understanding of narrative reconstruction in the self-narratives of desisters is at an early stage and more research is needed. Further, research to date has tended to take an interpretive approach based on narrative inquiry (see section 1.9), rather than a narratological one that foregrounds narrative structure (Mildorf, 2010).

Self-narratives are often conceptualised as an internal construct (Maruna and Ramsden, 2004), particularly in narrative psychology (e.g. McAdams, 2011), however the current study argues that there may be value to be gained from the production of deliberated crafted, written narratives, both in terms of gaining insight into the mechanisms at work in desistance narratives and in offering a greater appreciation of the function of creative writing in supporting the processes of desistance. Central to the idea that written narratives have particular value in these processes is the concept of defamiliarisation (Shklovsky, 1917/1990), whereby through the act of writing, a familiar object, event or phenomenon is literally 'made strange', our habitual perception of the world is shaken and we are able to 'look again, to see, almost for the first time' (Gunn, 1984, p. 28). This concept is taken from the literary movement of Russian formalism and, rather than relying on the internalised, psychological and 'natural' (McAdams, 2011) process of narrative reconstruction, where there is little separation between the narrator's experience and their internal monologue, the opportunity to write

and rewrite that story in material form may enable the kind of defamiliarisation outlined by Shklovsky (1917/1990).

The current study found two key structural aspects of creative practitioners' narratives which served to defamiliarise the authors' experiences of the world. For the purposes of this study these have been given the names of, narrative breach (see section 4.4.1) and narrative distance (see sections 4.4.2 and 4.4.3). The concept of narrative breach is informed by Bruner's (1991) distinction between canonicity and breach in narratives. Bruner claims that the skilled storyteller is able to transgress the conventional boundaries of a narrative breach and in so doing enables readers to 'to see human happenings in a fresh way, indeed, in a way they had never before "noticed" or even dreamed' (Bruner, 1991, p. 12). Bruner's (1991) focus was on the content of the story and the readers' perception of it, however it appears equally applicable to narrative form and the author. In the current study 16 out of 18 creative practitioners broke with narrative tradition by having the story's protagonist achieve their subject-object junction (i.e. ambition) in advance of the story's ending. Decoupling the goal and the ending in this way throws into question the whole idea of a 'happy ending' (see section 4.3.1) and opens the way for a reconsideration of the experience of achieving 'success'. Working on the basis that the writer is also the first reader, these questions have the potential to enable the author themselves to reflect on their habitual understanding of their experience.

The second structural aspect that proved important to a process of defamiliarisation and reflection was the idea of narrative distance, which was found in all 18 of the storyboards that underwent actantial analysis. This mechanism served to deconstruct the unified 'I' of the narratives, separating author, narrator and protagonist into separate entities across autobiographical time. Narrative distance was achieved in two ways: through pronominal usage and temporal separation. In both cases the separation of the self from the story has the potential to offer practitioners a deeper understanding of the experiences they narrate: they become, perhaps, an outsider to themselves, able to see experience from an alternative

perspective or in new ways. This is in line with Copeland's (2019, p. 137) findings in terms of terrorist autobiography, whereby the authors of these narratives claim to discover meanings of which they had been previously unaware as a result of the process of narrating their memories in written form. This has relevance to creative writing with prisoner populations, which may enable the creation of the same narrative distance between prisoners' lives, their stories and their selves.

7.4 The Structure of Analysis:

In this final section attention is given to the methodological features of the current research. The underpinning commitments of the current research were: a determination to prioritise the voices of research participants over that of the researcher; a robust analytical approach firmly grounded in a systematic knowledge of narrative construction; respectful treatment of the texts produced by participants and a critical approach to the contexts of their production. These commitments will be discussed in turn as they pertained to the application of the research methods to the narratives of creative practitioners, which aimed to better understand the construction of these practitioners' intentions, motivations and journeys to prison.

7.4.1 Voices of Research Participants

In light of the lack of authentic stories told by creative arts practitioners who have experience of working in UK prisons (see section 1.9), the research prioritised eliciting the voices of these practitioners. The use of a creative data collection method succeeded in enabling practitioners to move away from 'formula narratives' (Loeseke, 2007) shaped by financial and funding needs (Cox and Gelsthorpe, 2012), in order to expose what Ugelvik (2016) calls the 'backstage stories' of practitioners. The combination of a structured creative writing exercise that encouraged the sharing of personal experience rather than professional opinion on creative arts programmes, along with a

researcher with several years of experience as a prison creative writing facilitator, appeared to be conducive to practitioners' willingness to share their own stories about going to jail. This claim is supported by the storyboards that were produced, which in the majority of cases included personal and sometimes difficult details about practitioners' lives.

The specific eight-frame storyboard technique developed for this study has particular strengths as a tool for data collection aimed at disrupting the conventional balance of power in the researcher/participant relationship (see section 2.3.2). The brevity of the format combined with the participants' ability to craft its content meant that the participant had greater autonomy over what was considered important in their narrative. In conventional interview methods, which generate many pages of transcript, these decisions are taken by the researcher at the stage of analysis. In the current study these decisions were taken in advance of analysis beginning. There was, of course, an amount of unavoidable shaping by the researcher that went into the design of the data collection method, however this was kept to a minimum. The fact that the majority of practitioners did not reproduce conventional narrative structure by aligning their ambitions with the end of the stories suggests that they were not overly restricted by the requirements of the writing exercise.

The storyboard method also offers greater inclusivity as participants are not compelled to write their narrative and may choose instead to draw their story. This was particularly pertinent to the research sample, which included several practitioners with creative skills that extended beyond writing. Inviting personal stories within a structured creative format may have wider application, being suitable for research with prisoners, where the nonverbal means of expression afforded by visual texts can remove some of the limitations that participants experience in trying to articulate their experiences (Keats, 2009, p. 187). Such a format may double as both an effective research tool and the basis for a method particularly suited for evaluating the relationship between the construction of desistance narratives and creative writing (see section 7.3).

There was some concern that the eight-frame storyboard technique would not elicit enough data when used alone, and the research design was augmented by group discussions with participants in the creative writing workshops and semi-structured interviews with 16 of the participants at a later date. The group discussions and interviews were recorded and transcribed accordingly. However, once analysis began, it quickly became clear that when examined through the fine grained lens of structural narratology, the content of the storyboards alone was extremely data rich and it was decided to focus analysis on the literary texts alone. A weakness of this approach was its prioritisation of text over context. This was countered as much as possible by employing researcher reflexivity in the articulation of findings. In the process it was discovered that the researcher's ability to be reflexive was significantly facilitated by the method of structural analysis used (see appendix 11).

7.4.2 Robust Analysis:

As suggested in section 7.4.1, the integrity of the research participants' voices is as much concerned with method of analysis as it is with the way in which the data is collected. The use of the textual layers taken from narratological analysis (see section 2.9) to elucidate the bare bones of the story or fabula (chapter three) gave the analysis a foundation based on the basic chronological story content. This concerned what the story denoted rather than what the researcher connoted, allowing the practitioners' narratives to be prioritised. Where interpretation was necessary, due to use of literary devices such as allusion, metaphor, ellipsis or just a lack of clarity in the text, the baseline of the denoted content had been captured and the interpretation could be traced back to this.

A great deal of narrative inquiry is underpinned by a hermeneutic approach taken from the liberal humanism literary tradition, which prioritises story content and what that content 'means'. These studies tend to pay little

attention to the mechanisms of conscious sense-making accomplished by research participants through deliberately crafted narratives, and the focus instead is on the 'expert' sense-making achieved by the researcher in their analysis of the research subjects' internal narratives (McAdams, 2011). As Willis explains it, the aim is 'to tell "my story" about "their story" ...' (Willis, 2000, p. xi-xii). The use of literary structuralism as the key methodology offered a more systematic, robust approach to the analysis, enabling the identification of specific narrative mechanisms within the text, which were then coded and classified 'like the objects of any other science' (Eagleton, 1996, p. 92).

In the content analysis of narrative fabula this rigour was based on the identification of the basic objects contained in each storyboard (see section 2.9.3 and 3.2.1). The actantial analysis (section 2.9.6 and chapters four through six) extended this rigour to the wider story grammar and by using a combination of precise narrative functions and their mutually supporting relational dynamics, every coding decision went through a robust processes of definition and explanation. For example, the requirement of the actantial analysis (Herbert, 2011, p. 72) that the subject-object junction be justified, forced the researcher to consciously explain their choice of the practitioner's ambition or goal with reference to its relationship to every other actant in the narrative. This enabled increased robustness in terms of researcher reflexivity as coding was grounded in the precise content of the practitioners' narrative and the relationship of each actant to all other actants, rather than inadvertent value judgements or the imposition of prior knowledge on the shaping of the findings. In turn, these processes led to two kinds of knowledge. Firstly, attention to the structural composition of the narrative was able to expose how the practitioners constructed their experience, not simply what that experience was. By isolating specific textual functions, particularly in the actantial analysis, the researcher was able to discern when and how the key intentions, motivations and plot points of the fabula were presented and built upon in order to create a particular experience. Second and somewhat unexpectedly, structural analysis enabled the definition of highly systematic and distinct categories of content, which offered far greater

clarity to the analysis than the more usual hermeneutically discernible themes that are claimed to 'emerge' from the data.

The precision enabled by structuralist methods, which are premised on the concept of binary opposition (de Saussure, 1913/2011) are not without significant critique (e.g. Derrida, 1976). However, Herbert's (2011) rendering of Greimas' actantial model (1966), and particularly his understanding of actantial subclasses, allowed a more nuanced coding of textual elements. This was clearly illustrated in the formulation of the categories of negative-positive (see section 6.4) and equivocal helpers (see section 6.5), which, unlike Greimas' semiotic square (Vandendorpe, 2003, p. 500), enabled a dialectical synthesis of elements rather than an increased number of binaries. The two categories of negative positives and equivocal helpers played a crucial role in a more nuanced understanding of the construction of individual narratives as well as the tensions contained more widely across narratives. The actantial model also enabled a more nuanced analysis of the six categories of alterity found in the content analysis. This was achieved by enabling focus on how alterity was constructed from the inside of the narratives, rather than being limited to an external view of the practitioners, captured through concentration on the objects presented in the fabula. Essentially, the actantial analysis exposed how alterity was constructed from the inside of being seen as an outsider.

The actantial model spoke directly to the requirements of constructionism, enabling a decisive shift away from a humanist-centred treatment of the subject as a bundle of unquantifiable subjectivities. In particular the ability to articulate the subject as a constitutive part of the narrative structure, which itself was made up of both animate and inanimate factors, allowed the analysis to be conducted at a granular level in order to understand more precisely the construction of the subject across a particular narrative trajectory.

7.5 Foregrounding the Text:

The ability of a literary structuralist approach to foreground the text in the creative practitioners' narratives is evidenced in section 7.4.2. This seems particularly pertinent to an analysis of narratives by practitioners who are committed to their own creative practice, and extends to studies of creative writing programmes that aim to support or better understand the desistance process and its narrative dimensions.

7.6 Limitations:

There are also limitations to this study and the methods employed. Set out here is a brief summary of the main weaknesses.

As already discussed (see section 2.2), structuralist narratology has been subject to numerous criticisms, not least in terms of its claims to a kind of scientific universalism (Eagleton, 1996). The current study attempted to address these issues by engaging with structuralist narratology as a tool (Herbert, 2011, p. 11) rather than an all-encompassing epistemology. A second criticism of structuralism has been its focus on the text and not the context of meaning production. In some senses this focus is appropriate for a study that is centred on written narratives. However, the rigorous analysis dictated by the requirements of actantial analysis, in turn, supported the researcher in a process of reflexivity that facilitated a highly critical understanding of the contextual issues out of which the practitioners' stories emerged.

It should be noted that at times in this research lines of inquiry were opened based on the narratives of two or three of the practitioners. While this is made clear throughout each of the data chapters, with the number of cases being explicitly stated, this reemphasises the purpose of the current study as an exploratory study, nonetheless one that has identified a number of potential areas for future investigations. It is also tentatively suggested that

the eight-frame storyboard method may enable larger sample sizes to be employed in future research.

It was noted in section 2.6.1 that WiRs who had been employed by WIPN were overrepresented in the sample. This may have impacted on the narratives as a result of the shared understandings that may emerge from such a community of practice (Wenger, 1999). WIPN's prominent position in the sector during the first decade of the 21st century affords some justification for their members inclusion in such numbers, however future research should strive to include practitioners from a wider range of employment circumstances.

7.7 Conclusion

Based on the findings from the fabula content analysis of 19 creative practitioner's narratives and the 18 narratives suitable for actantial analysis, this chapter has engaged with three key areas of findings: the patterns and similarities in the content of the practitioners' narratives; identification of significant structural dimensions of the practitioners' narratives; reflection on the potential of the methods applied in this study to increase robustness in narrative research more generally. Three types of narrative were discerned in the practitioners' individual narratives: the suffering artist, the (unintentional) healer and the (human) revolutionary, each of which was shaped in turn by one of three wider cultural narratives (Loeske, 2007). These findings offer increased knowledge of the intentions, motivations and journeys of these practitioners into prison. In addition, this study has identified dimensions, both relational and narrative, that may prove significant in terms of the practitioners' presence in the custodial environment and has offered potential methodological innovations for the study of narrative.

In terms of the content of the narratives, this chapter has argued there are a number of commonalities between the narratives constructed by these

practitioners and the literature pertaining to prisoners more generally, which may foster a sense of shared identification and mutual understanding between the two groups. This shared identification may not necessarily be explicitly communicated, and a study by Harris (2017) describes the case of a young man who picks up on a youth work professional's similar experiences to his own troubled and traumatic sense of recognition, despite the youth worker's limited disclosure of his past (Harris, 2017, pp. 525–6, 529). In the current study, both practitioners and prisoners have been labelled as outsiders by mainstream society: they share a desire to escape from constrictions not of their own making and are resistant to rules that sometimes provoke strong emotions in them, or strong emotions provoke them to break the rules. The claim is not that prisoners and practitioners have identical or, in some cases, even similar experiences, and the differences are highlighted in the three individual narrative types which feature in the practitioners' journeys into prison: the suffering artist, the (inadvertent) healer and, the (human) revolutionary. However, while the practitioners' journeys to prison are not enforced in the way that they are for prisoners, there is still a sense in which the majority of practitioners come to prison not as a vocation, but in order to support their vocations.

This lends more of an equivalence to the practitioner and prisoner groups, neither of whom intended to be there, and indicates the existence of a different form of endeavour existing below the radar in and among the work of the penal voluntary sector in England and Wales. This presents a challenge to the notion of 'a distinctive "voluntary sector" ethos' (Tomczak and Albertson, 2016, p. 65) at work in the penal voluntary sector, with its foundations in class-based philanthropy and 'middle class patronage' (Kendall and Knapp 1996, p.51). Instead the stories of these practitioners, in combination with the shared sense of alterity between practitioners and prisoners, suggest the charitable ethic at work is one of mutual aid (Smith, Rochester and Hedley, 1995) rather than benevolent patronage. Commonalities between creative practitioners and Maruna's (2001) desisting offender sample were also explored. Both groups frame their stories in a positive light, turning weaknesses into strengths and failures into successes.

However, it appears that practitioners are less conformist than their reformed prisoner peers, and it may be this permissiveness in the attitudes of practitioners that contributes to the non-judgemental relationships, which are thought to be an important dimension in the processes of desistance.

In order to further understand these connections and their relational consequences for prisoners and practitioners, further research is required. Both in terms of extending the sample size of the practitioners to include more and more diverse practitioners, and also to invite prisoners to participate in the same research process, in order to compare narratives across the groups. This will allow for the verification, augmentation or correction of suggestions made in this study in terms of the overlaps that may exist between prisoners and practitioners, particularly in terms of a shared sense of alterity or outsider status.

This chapter has also considered the narrative structures at work in the practitioners' narratives. Two specific mechanisms were found, innovative breach and narrative distance, that, it was argued, play a role in the process of defamiliarisation (Shklovsky, 1917/1990), whereby the act of writing enables a familiar object, event or phenomenon to be 'made strange'. This separation of the self from the story has the potential to offer practitioners an alternative perspective and deeper understanding of the experiences they narrate as they become an outsider to themselves. Arguably, these narrative dimensions also have considerable relevance in creative writing work with prisoners, where the ability to see previous criminal events differently is key to the construction of a convincing story of redemption (Maruna, 2001, p. 98). It may be that the act of writing a story and particularly an autobiographical story can enable prisoners to frame old, even entrenched narratives in new or alternative ways. In addition, the opportunities for meaning-making and meaningful occupation offered by creative writing make it highly plausible that a proportion of prisoners may find a similar sense of vocation in creative arts practice as that enjoyed by a number of the practitioners. This is certainly suggested in Maruna's (2001, p. 100) desistance study, where desisters expressed a new sense of satisfaction from their creative pursuits

even after release from prison. This finding throws into question current rehabilitation policies, which align education with vocational skills training (MoJ/BIS, 2011; MoJ, 2018), aimed at equipping prisoners for the kind of 'dirty work' (Shover, 1996, p. 31) most often offered to offenders and experienced as punishment (Maruna, 2001, pp. 127-129).

The connections made in the latter part of this conclusion between the narratives of creative writing practitioners and their relevance to the construction of desistance narratives are by no means assured. However, along with further research into crossovers between the narratives of practitioners and prisoners, it seems like this may be a fruitful area for future exploration, and that the innovative methods developed for this current study may offer a robust approach in this endeavour.

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8 Appendices

8.1: Review of Key Narrative Criminology Collections

Name	Method	Topic	Question/Findings	Model
Ugelvik (2015)	Ethnographic study on power relations and identity work in prison. Observation and interviews	Stories main location prisoners tell in a Norwegian prison of violence towards and ostracisation of rapists, enabling construction of a righteous self	No specific reference to narratological analysis. Based in discourse and interviews relevant to immediate situations.	Holistic-Content
Fleetwood (2015)	Ethnography, post hoc, everyday narrative practice. Interviews. Feminist.	Female prisoners in Ecuador who see themselves as non-criminal story protagonists caught up in smuggling	Narrative practice raises questions about role of gender in WWH women produce narratives. Silence is important. Narratives emphasise connectedness in form of relationships; Gender is accomplished situationally in/through talk/narrative. Understanding how women construct themselves and their offending through discourses and gender may breach divide between women of discourse and real women - neither experience or interpretation are prior to the other.	Holistic-Content
Miller et al (2015)	Qual in depth interviews. Compare elements of women's stories, and tracing multiple stories of	Women imprisoned for methamphetamine use draw on gendered narratives to make sense of	Discussion of plots and chronological stages of meth addiction. Plots all	Holistic-Content

	single women.	their shifting involvement in use of the drug	coalesced around a amorally good gendered self. Normative gender identities drawn upon as resource for 'going meth' - getting thin, being a super mum etc. Narrative analysis shouldn't be the only tool in the box.	
Victor & Waldram (2015)	Person centred ethnographic exploration. Narrative interviews. narrative and discourse analysis techniques. Brief mention of 're reading a chapter in life' (p.307).	Storied stigma efforts of men released from prison after participation in sex offender treatment programmes.	Transition from old to new normal involves rejecting idea of an authentic self in favour of restorying lives in a more dynamic fashion.	Holistic-Content
Keeton (2015)	None stated - textual analysis of policy	Impact of religious narratives on inspiring India removal policies and related atrocities in 19th century America.	Identifies biblical narratives in policy for removal of native Americans. Need for narrative criminology to study narratives and narrative influence on policy making. Also relevant in contemporary politics.	Holistic -Form
Sandberg & Tutenges (2015)	Semi structured interviews. Thematic analysis. Identification of addiction and bad trip narratives. Main focus is on content, where relevant comment on form. Uses parts of narrative when considering theme,	Compare contemporary narratives of addiction and bad trips with ancient folktales and myths - even tragic drugs stories can motivate use.	Drug stories should be taken more seriously, they deal with existential issues akin to Levi Strauss's myths. Drug stories are best told in past tense.	Holistic-- Content

	also looks at one complete narrative therefore covers all four analytical strategies identified by Lieblich.			
O'Connor (2015)	Linguistic discourse analysis. Recorded 'own stories' and interviews. Sociolinguistic analysis	Discursive devices used by drug users and maximum security prisoners to change their storylines and lives.	By unpacking the management of discourse it is possible to better understand the articulation of life story narratives (which show the speaker in an individual act of self contemplation, necessary for change). The meanings people given to their violations are found in 'hot spots' were a number of devices of discourse management converge. A hot spot signals a speaker is considering their past and shaping a current life.	Categorical-Form
Brookman (2015)	Interviews - case studies. Labov for analysis, plus dialogical narrative analysis. But brings it back to themes - gangster narrative etc.	Narratives as ever changing and ambiguous - looks at theoretical implications	Narratives are complicated and one narrative contains different discourses (Action narrative and reflective narrative) Asks how we can use narratives when they keep changing - fine tune to dialogical nature of narrative production. Pay more attention to	Holistic Content

			narrative debris.	
Aspden & Hayward (2015)	Theoretical exposition plus auto ethnography	Relationship between cultural and narrative criminologies		Holistic-Content
Tognato (2015)	The Strong programme (cultural pragmatics). Empirical data from mass media. Charts three discursive moves in shift in narratives on tax evasion. Textual analysis - content?	Tax evaders in Italy, the cultural shift in shared stories of tax evaders, argues a convincing performance of that story is crucial to public acceptance.	Looks at symbolic function and structural performance. Stories fulfil an important symbolic function and need an acceptable cultural performance to be accepted.	Categorical-Form but deals w discourse not text
Sandberg (2016)	Semi structured interviews with drug dealers in Norwegian prisons. Analysis - coding for three types of story forms.	The role of tropes and other implicit devices in narrative that may be important to be analysed Discusses narrative repertoires. Identifies three forms of narrative; life stories (supports notions of individual essence, self and identity), stories about particular events; tropes. Argues that tropes are most salient form of narrative.	27 out of 60 life stories were self-absolutory. 17 life stories were compensatory. Dominance of tragic genre. Most narratives (35) didn't have coherence Finds absence of coda or evaluation in many stories	Holistic-Form
Fleetwood (2016)	Really detailed but entirely sociological - calls for a sociological turn in narrative analysis. Bourdieu's concept of 'regulated improvisation' Narratives understood as a form of social action.	Develops the concept of narrative habitus. Argues for a conceptualisation of narrative as embodied, learned and generative.	Proposes narrative habitus as a way to understand how individual's narratives are both shaped by social structure as well as being creative and agentic. Offers a consideration of narrative interventions - at individual level they do symbolic harm, at	Doesn't deal with literary cono

			discursive level may lead to objective change.	
Copes (2016)	<p>qualitative meta-synthesis of studies on boundary work plus insights from own research. Uses narrative identity theory to locate places from which participants draw their stories. Analysis - thematic content and dialogic function for shaping personal narratives and behaviours. Uses Loseke's work on macro-meso-micro narratives to develop themes.</p>	<p>Importance of boundary work in narrative. Narratives allow us to draw boundaries between different groups.</p>	<p>How do drug users narratively create symbolic boundaries to differential types of users.</p>	<p>Holistic-Content</p> <p>there is 'form' but it's categorical boundary markers, not linguistic devices.</p>
Ugelvik (2016)	<p>Ethnographic study of 'backstage stories' Data coded using HyperRESEARCH qual analysis software - thematic analysis, three themes of order/security, legitimacy, welfare. Looked at stories that responded to these themes</p>	<p>Studies detention officers. Calls for CJS workers to be included in studies. Not limit NC to harmful actions Also calls for backstage self legitimacy work to be studied. Paper is an addition to the 'sociology of mobility'.</p>	<p>How do staff agents engage in the telling and sharing of stories in order to create and strengthen a staff culture of self-validation. Two questions asked of story; how is the storyteller positioning themselves through telling of this story? To what sort of implicit legitimacy challenge would this story work as a response?</p>	<p>Holistic-Content</p> <p>-It's essentially Reissman's performative analysis.</p>
Katz (2016)	<p>Uses 'narrative' in Hyvarinen's fourth sense, as a cultural turn in narrative Looks at micro, meso and macro levels of narrative in terms of Rodney King Riots. Links meso to Oedipus.</p>	<p>Studies culture in and culture about crime. Combines cultural and narrative criminology Final part - looks to narrative criminology, suggests its systematisation could come through paying</p>		<p>cultural narrative</p>

		attention to 'granularity, temporalities and interactions'.		
Carrabine (2016)	Sociologically grounded visual analysis. Looks at relationship between text and image Structuralism and progression into postmodern debates, and iconographic art theory (Padonfsky, Warburg).		Can the narrative turn help to inform how images should be read and interpreted? Images of extreme violence in medieval penal images did not reflect realities but help to dramatise them.	Vis
Copes & Ragland (2016)	One page article - photo, caption, commentary.	Relationship between image and narrative.	No rigorous analysis here. No reference to literary theory	Vis
Tutenges (2019)	Narrative ethnography - analysis through all senses not just words. How are narratives performed.	'narrative ethnography under pressure' at a street drug scene. Muslim drug dealers	What is the relationship between street youths and Jihadist groups? What characterises the narratives and counter narratives that circulate among these youths? But he doesn't answer the question - he writes a story about his research story.	Invents own model
Offit (2019)	Narrative ethnography. Participant observation. Analysis of prosecutors' opening and closing statements - considers composition without reference to rhetoric or literary terminology. Lots of 'what' very little 'how'	Study of American Federal Prosecutors.	To what extent do narratives of crime offer a resource for lawyers to make sense out of their obligation to seek justice? Lawyers edit and review statements in consultation with colleagues and this both informs juries of who	Holistic-Content

			they are and informs their own understanding and enactments of justice as they prepare cases. Justice is animated by the stories we tell about it	
Earle (2019)	Narrative autoethnography and ethnography - semi structured interviews. p.79 one para references linguistic devices (sentences, syntax)	Explore relationship of personal stories to collective narratives in terms of trend towards use of imprisonment in Western democracies	Convict criminologists as important to understanding prison conditions and recent carceral expansions. (Some good quotes on p.79 about sense making and narrative.	Holistic-Content
Petintseva (2019)	Analysis of case file documents but done on a purely content gathering basis, no rigorous thematic analysis undertaken. Open interviews with 'light Socratic dialogue'.	Interviews with YJ professionals in Belgium and the impact of using a 'light' form of Socratic dialogue on the data.	How do professionals interpretations shape practice in CJS. Reflection on power of interviewer with use of 'discursive interventions'	Holistic- Content
Wickrama gamage & Miller (2019)	Interviews. Some mention of plotlines but no close comparison with literary genres.	What to do with narratives that are clearly not true - use them. Focus is on 'tall tales' of a young transman in a Sri Lanka jail.	Exploration of importance of verisimilitude - it doesn't have to be true but it does have to sound true.	Holistic- Content some ref to Genette
Canter et al (2019)	Quantitative interviewing. Overview of tools used by these researchers in NRQ and LAAF. Refs Frye (in relation to McAdams)	Overview of their work.	NRQ - Distinguish profession, revenger, victim and hero as ways to analyse narrative roles and themes. LAAF - questionnaire designed to illicit life story through	Holistic-Form.

			film. Draws together basic plots and narrative roles.	
Sandberg & Andersen (2019)	Narrative interview done collectively as part of a research group Study of counter narratives - 'narrative resistance' (as opposed to master narratives) Narrative habitus important. Doesn't say so but it's a thematic analysis	Narrative resistance to jihadist terrorist among young Norwegian Muslims. Makes a defence of interview method - participants have a limited number of narratives	Identify and challenge narrative consensus. The nature of resistance can be in the form of factual, emotional and humorous counternarratives. Also explore silencing as a narrative strategy.	Holistic-Content
Cook & Walklate (2019)	One case study is focus. Narrative interview. Broadly ethnographic approach. Approach attempts to elicit 'whole which is more than sum of parts and seeks connections between experiences.	Narratives of victims	Makes sense of a victims suffering through lens of redemptive suffering.	Holistic-Content
Levinson (2019)	Narrative (according to Fleetwood) interviews	Narratives of sex offenders and how they construct their victims.	More poetry than analysis. Begins with description of less relevant research then proceeds to speculate on how victims co-construct offenders in the prison where she did research. . Final section which is essentially a thematic analysis quoting big chunks of interviews. narratives. 3 categories of victims	Holistic-Content

<p>Dollinger & Heppchen (2019)</p>	<p>Narrative interview. Classic ethnography. 'Membership Categorisation Analysis'</p>	<p>In Depth analysis of interviews from 'Dave' a young sex offender</p>	<p>Argues for importance of understanding categorisations in interactive construction of identity. Show how work of categorising Dave is shared between Dave and institutions (legal, social work, psychology). Dave balances between these categories. Competing narratives constitute the reality of crime. Discussion of the 'reworking of stories' p.317</p>	<p>Sociological version of Holistic-Content</p>
<p>Boonzaier (2019)</p>	<p>Narrative interview analysis is a four stage process, includes content analysis, reading against the grain and crafting a plurivocal narrative Good example of use of different methods of analysis to contribute to understanding the data through an intersectional lens</p>	<p>Women sex workers experiences of gendered violence.</p>	<p>Makes the case for a decolonial, intersectionalist approach to narrative criminology. Focus on convergences of power abuse at material, representational and structural levels. Women blur boundaries between 'types of crime' in contrast of other criminologies, including narrative criminology. Blurring reflects lived experience of intersecting forms of oppression.</p>	<p>Holistic-Content</p>
<p>Copeland (2019)</p>	<p>Autobiography. Case study. Literary analysis. paratextual features. Specific literary</p>	<p>Case study of terrorist autobiography Other research by author includes corpus of terrorist</p>		<p>Categorical-Form</p>

	<p>devices used for analysis: constituent (can't remove or it changes story) and supplementary (can be removed) events. However arises questions of why put them there in the first place if they are superfluous. Genre and subgenre Collected stories (one story contains within it many small stories collected from other sources)</p>	autobiographical texts		
Brisman (2019)	<p>Cultural narratives: . Corporate offender's website, attorney's stories of environment wrongdoing - first two focus on previous research studies. Focus is on original research on children's literature. Raw interpretation not literary analysis 'active and creative interpretation (p.167)</p>		How do fictional stories effect listeners consciousness about environmental issues.	<p>First analysis HC Second analysis HF</p>
Jerome & Barrera (2019)	<p>Dialogical Narrative Analysis following Frank (2012). Applied to particular media case study - news coverage Focus is on both the 'what's' and 'how's' Media texts</p>	<p>Uses Labov to identify stories Uses Smith's structural model of genre on which to build a seven stories: Apocalypse; Romance; Tragedy; Low Mimesis; Inverted tragedy, inverted romance, inverted apocalypse.</p>	<p>Media narratives have a close relationship to the Philippines drugs war. Although its complex and not always direct and easy. Analysis is never final and filled with contradictions.</p>	Holistic- Form
Xiaoye & Xianliang (2019)	<p>Exploration of written prisoner autobiography as mandated by</p>	<p>Does a metanarrative of criminal autobiography underlie different</p>	<p>Challenges view that prisoner narratives are counter</p>	<p>Includes Holistic-Form but also contextual analysis</p>

	<p>Chinese prison authority - 'a narrative correction'</p> <p>Prisoner autobiographies as part of official penal policy. Used in 'testament to reform'.</p> <p>4 sources - autobiogs, field notes, historical govt reports and policy.</p> <p>Interviews to triangulate.</p> <p>Structural analysis of texts</p>	<p>prisoner writings and if so what are its mechanisms.</p> <p>Analysis integrates historical and literary studies.</p> <p>Not just narrative analysis also looks at formation and variations of discursive reality in contemporary Chinese history so as to understand production mechanisms.</p> <p>Considers use of 'self criticism' in Chinese thought correction.</p>	<p>narratives (also asks big questions about use of narrative interventions in British CJS).</p>	
Presser (2019)	<p>Criminological text - Gottfredson & Hirschi's GTC - what is left out does ideological work around normative parenting.</p> <p>This is interpretation, but it is rigorous interpretation.</p>	<p>What is left out of the story is more important than what is included.</p>	<p>Sets out a method for discovering textual exclusions that legitimise power positions by 1) evaluating figurative language and other means of ambiguation 2) assessing patterns of elaboration and explanations 3) asking whose knowledge is missing.</p>	HF
Copes et al. (2019)	<p>Visual and textual materials - they can also initiate oral storytelling.</p> <p>Includes body art.</p>	<p>Photo ethnography (also appointment ethnography, because they arranged times to meet participant) includes interviews and informal observations. Photo elicitation (visual materials used to stimulate comment - see Collier). Case study of Chico and how he uses images (on home, property and body) to construct identity as a rebel and as a kind</p>	<p>'Ultimately, we illustrate the value of incorporating images and symbols into both narrative analysis and interview settings for narrative criminology.</p>	Holistic-Content

		<p>an empathic friend. Role of narratives in creating personal and social identities, uses Loseke (2007) macro, meso and micro levels of narrative identity. Personal identity stories are built on macro and meso stories (formula stories) but tailor them to the individual. The creation of symbolic boundaries is key to this work.</p>		
Carrabine (2019)	<p>Visual narrative analysis - focus on sociologist telling a story about images that themselves tell a story.</p>	<p>Study of fantasy prisons by Piranesi. Relationship between image and story. Looks at juxtaposition between text and image.</p>	<p>Argues that 'the history of punishment and the history of art are linked in ways that have yet to be fully recognised' (p.198)</p>	Vis
Ugelvik (2019)	<p>Object analysis and personal biography. Basically interview and ethnography.</p>	<p>Finds six types of relationship between an object and narratives</p>		Holistic-Content
Hourigan (2019)	<p>Narrative ethnography. Interviews. Participant observation. Analysis looks at elements of storytelling process - speaker, audience, timing (all contextual). Based on symbolic interactionism but with discussion of language. Content analysis of written stories contributed by research participants - but no detail or clear discussion of this.</p> <p>Two methodological strategies are</p>	<p>Narratives of victims whose loved ones have been murdered. Discusses rapport building with victims via support groups. Uses a wide range of different types of narrative (text, spoken etc) in different venues.</p>	<p>What are the meaning making processes underneath and behind the story, construction and delivery, effects and connection to one's identity and social world. 3 different narratives constructed by victims as their 'new normal' - victim (inward focus), survivor (crime as a catalyst for helping self and/or other), transcender (large scale doing good, no</p>	Holistic-Content

	recommended; persistent observation and prolonged engagement.		focus on their own story) narratives.	
Kurtz & Colburn (2019)	Plots and metaphors are analysed to understand culture behind police authority and engagements. Concept of the parable is explored and how it is used to shape police culture. Identify 'core stories' Highlights importance of studying language, but doesn't do it, just says there isn't a lot of it.	Police narratives as constitutive of police action. Looks at police harm rather than offender harm. Reviews previous research	Show how police narratives reflect broad, conventional themes - many links between police narratives and popular culture.	Aspires to Holistic-Content in discussion of war stories. Aspires towards Holistic Form in future directions
Verde & Knechtlin (2019)	Single case study Free association interview	Similarities between narrative criminology and psychoanalysis - interview of an Italian football hooligan. Uses psychological terms. Some attention to literary devices (oxymoron e.g.) however it isn't systematic	Justifications in narrative criminology analysis are like defense mechanisms in psychoanalysis for example.	Holistic-Content


ETHICS ASSESSMENT

All researchers have moral and legal responsibilities to ensure their research is ethical and does not represent a potential source of physical, emotional, or psychological harm to participants, intended or otherwise. **Research that fails to properly undertake an ethical assessment is in breach of Professional Standards and/or University practice and policy and the researcher may be subject to appropriate disciplinary action.** Click to consult [BSU research policies](#) and the [British Psychological Society \(BPS\) Ethical Guidelines](#).


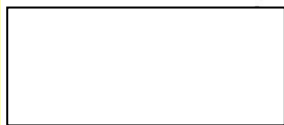
This Ethical Assessment should be maintained throughout the life of your project and stored safely so that you can record your ethical considerations as the project evolves. Subsequent changes to research plans should remain subject to the considerations listed here and should be noted accordingly.

For all research involving human participants you MUST NOT begin data collection until you have had signed ethical clearance from your tutor/supervisor and the Ethics Committee/SEE approver.

Research in other academic institutions is subject to that institution's research ethics process.

SUMMARY	
Name Are you a student or member of BSU staff? Student number and module code (if applicable)	Ella Simpson PhD Research Candidate Student No: XXXXX
Title of Project Data collection: anticipated start date and duration of activity	The role of the creative writing practitioner in arts interventions with prisoners 22nd June 2016 - 31 March 2017
Researcher signature and date <i>By signing this document I confirm that I have read the relevant policies/guidelines and understand that is my responsibility to complete a Risk Assessment if appropriate</i>	 Ella Simpson

DECISION	Comments	Signature and Date
Reviewer 1	This Ethics Assessment clearly sets out the aims of the research and how any ethical concerns arising from the research will be dealt with, namely: ensuring that consent is informed, protecting the anonymity of participants and prisoners, and protecting participants from harm. I thereby confirm that it conforms with BSU's and professional standards regarding social science research.	Ranji Devadason 9-May-16

<p>Reviewer 2</p>	<p>As in the previous application, this is a carefully considered application given the potentially sensitive nature of the research focus and the context of the research. The participants of this revised study appear to be professional rather than inmates and are therefore potentially less vulnerable. I am happy to pass this application but would just like to see a small addition to the information sheet regarding processes participants might follow should they find participation distressing, particularly given that the process involves reflecting on potential distressing aspects of their personal life e.g. 'nadir' moments/childhood etc.</p>	<p>5-May-16</p> 
<p>SEE Ethics Approver signature and date</p>	<p>Pass</p> <p>I am happy to pass this application. Please consider making the minor addition to the Information Sheet suggested by Reviewer 2. Could you also talk to your supervisors about the destruction of data 'at the end of the project' to ensure you have a shared understanding of what this will mean in practice (you may need to think about retaining it for a time while you publish findings ... which can take some time).</p> <p>Please delete as appropriate</p>	<p>11-May-16</p> 

1 Please provide a brief academic rationale for your proposed project

The last fifteen years have seen a marked increase in the academic study of creative arts interventions in criminal justice settings (Cheliotis, 2012), though prisoners' engagement in a variety of art and crafts has a much longer history in penal regimes (Gardener et al., 2014; Cox and Gelsthorpe, 2012; Hughes, 2005). A configuration of political, ideological and cultural factors in both the criminal justice (Garland, 2002) and creative (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008) sectors has culminated in the increasing orthodoxy of evidence-based policy and practice (Parkes and Bilby, 2010), which has placed those providing arts-in-prisons at an intersection of demands in which they must prove 'economy, efficiency and effectiveness' (Miles and Clarke, 2006) to a number of public and private funders. This has meant attempting to demonstrate a link between participation in arts activity and a reduction in reoffending (Miles, 2004; Wrench and Clarke, 2004). In the UK, the result has been 'the emergence of a "new" art in prison agenda' (O'Keefe and Albertson, 2012: 12) shaped by policy preference for impact evaluation evidence (NOMS, 2013: 4) 'which adopts a largely positivist standpoint and prioritises quantitative measures' (O'Keefe and Albertson, 2012: 12).

Early studies attempting to make direct links between participation in a prison arts project and subsequent reoffending rates (e.g. Brewster, 1983) have by and large been superseded by evaluations that focus on soft or intermediate outcomes (Burrowes et al., 2013), as appreciation has grown in the pertinent scholarship that creative projects are unlikely to lead to a cessation in offending, of and by themselves (Cheliotis, 2014: 1). However, this shift of focus from hard to soft outcomes has, so far, failed to secure greater robustness in terms of research findings, where a 'paucity' (Caulfield et al., 2010) of good quality evidence is still noted (Burrowes et al., 2013) and may be less a case of changing the playing field and more one of simply moving the goalposts closer to the penalty spot.

Arguably the most comprehensive review of recent literature (Cheliotis, 2014), which uses desistance from crime as its organising principle, summarises the key impacts of arts-in-prison activity as; psychological and attitudinal changes; learning capacity and motivation, and; building social skills. What is striking about this typology is that it adds nothing new to previous research (Hughes, 2005; AMA, 2011) and, in fact, effaces a number of aspects of arts-in-prison programmes highlighted in older research (Peaker and Vincent, 1990). This is a perfect example of what Belfiore and Bennett (2006: 6) describe as an 'advocacy agenda' in which research intended to make a case for the arts is disguised as dispassionate enquiry, less a case of "evidence-based policy-making", but rather a phenomenon of "policy-based evidence-making" (Belfiore and Bennett, 2010: 136). Such an approach does a disservice to the rigour of academic research, the subject of its inquiry and the potential of desistance research to contribute to a fuller understanding of the power of the arts as a tool for change.

A key development in desistance research has been a growing recognition of the relational aspects necessary for a person to move towards non-offending (Weaver, 2006; McNeill and Weaver, 2010). This aligns neatly with arts-in-prisons research that claims improved relationships between prisoners (e.g. Caulfield, 2015; Goddard, 2005, 2011: 25; Silber, 2005; O'Keefe and Wilkinson, 2012: 66; Lemos, 2011; Anderson et al., 2011), between prisoners and staff (Menning, 2010; Caulfield, 2015; McKean, 2006; Nugent and Loucks, 2011), with family (O'Keefe and Albertson, 2012: 28, 66; Boswell et al., 2004; Palidofsky, 2010; Wedge and Price, 2004; Kinsella and Woodall, 2016; Cox and Gelsthorpe, 2008) and the wider community (Dawes 1999; Wilson, Caulfield and Atherton 2008; Baille, 2014; Nwosu, 2014). All of this research is focused on the the prospective outcomes of improved relationships and their implications for social capital (Cox and Gelsthorpe, 2008), however applied desistance practice also recognises the role of professional practitioners in supporting the desistance 'journey' (McNeill and Weaver, 2010). This aspect, which has been far less prevalent in research into prisons in recent years (e.g. Blacker et al., 2007; Harkins et al., 2011) was certainly considered of importance during formative research into the area (Peaker and Vincent, 1990) and is recognised anecdotally by both prisoners and practitioners (Hopwood, 2001; Boyle, 1977; Brown, 2002) as vital to supporting change in offenders. Its attenuation may be shaped less by a lack of relevance and more by the imperatives of the 'new' arts-in-prison agenda.

More recently a small number of researchers have suggested that attention needs to be given to the practitioner in terms of understanding their creative workshop methods (Anderson, 2015) along with their values and motivations, as the deliverer and the delivered are inseparable in effective facilitation (Johnson and Hewish, 2008). Cursley and Maruna (2015) offer one of the first pieces of research that specifically links the success of a long term music project to the relationships that participants formed with creative facilitators, concluding that the strong interpersonal relationships and creative activity influence and strengthen each other. And a small amount of preceding studies have begun to recognise elements in the practitioner/prisoner relationship that contribute to the success of arts programmes (e.g. Caulfield, 2015; Wilson and Logan, 2006; Michelucci, 2012; Bilby et al., 2013; Hill, 2015; Anderson et al., 2011; Goodrich, 2004; Di Vaggiani et al., 2010; Cox and Gelsthorpe, 2008; Blagden and Perrin, 2015), although these observations tend to form the backdrop

or 'sub-theme' (Caulfield, 2015) rather than a main focus in the research. Of particular relevance to the current study are claims that creative practitioners may act as role models to prisoners (Van Maneen, 2010; Goodrich, 2004) and former prisoners (Cheliotis, 2014), though not always in a conventional manner (Cheliotis, 2014). O'Keefe and Albertson (2015) suggest that the practitioner/prisoner relationship may be of greater importance than the art activity itself and that prison writers in residence are 'effective "change agents", providing a catalyst for change through meaningful and empowering relationships' (O'Keefe and Albertson, 2012: 69). It is interesting that some of the most forceful claims for the pivotal role of practitioners (O'Keefe and Albertson, 2012; Albertson, 2015) emerge from an art form with an almost complete absence of previous research in the UK. There are only six dedicated UK studies collated to date in the main arts-in-prisons research repository (NAACJ, 2016), yet creative writing is seen as 'a steadfast component of arts based projects' (Anderson et al., 2011: 20). This is particularly the case in terms of writing that contains autobiographical elements (e.g Palidofsky, 2010; Palidofsky and Stolback, 2012; Williams, 2004; Ryan, 1967), which may have the ability to provoke prisoners' reflection and reappraisal of their lives (Anderson, 2011: 6 see also Crowley, 2012), and in turn contribute to a re-narrativisation of their experience, argued in the desistance literature (Maruna, 2001; Vaughan, 2007) to be paramount to a sustainable move away from the offending behaviour.

It is at this confluence of the theoretical potential offered by the study of desistance, methodological limitation imposed by a policy-motivated research agenda and the resulting empirical lacuna that the current research is located.

2 Please give a brief description of the research aims and objectives

The central purpose of this research is to increase knowledge about the role of the creative writing practitioner in arts-in-prisons projects and programmes. In particular it will seek to understand the affective dimensions of the relationships formed between prisoners and practitioners, and the ways in which the writer's own life story may inform the motivations and attitudes they bring to these interactions. The study is concerned less with assessing how writers contribute to the predefined measures of 'success' outlined in the evaluation literature on arts-in-prisons research, and more with what writers consider to be 'success' in their work with prisoners. If, as Reissman suggests 'all narratives are, in a fundamental sense, co-constructed' (2008: 31) then the life stories that underpin practitioners' narrative identities may be integral to prisoners' re-narrativisation of their experience, which is deemed by some researchers (Maruna, 2001) as essential to the process of desistance from crime. The research, therefore, aims to explore the life histories of creative writers and their experiences and approaches to the delivery of writing activities in prisons.

3 Please provide a brief description of methods and measurements you wish to use

For example, laboratory experiment, web-based data collection, questionnaire survey, individual interviews, a group interview or focus group, an observational study, action or participant research, field based activity, use of photography/video/audio capture, etc.

The core of this study will rely on ethnographic field research involving a specially designed creative arts workshop, delivered to experienced prison writers in residence. The researcher, who is also an experienced creative arts facilitator in custodial environments will act as a participant-observer in the role of workshop facilitator. This method offers a rare perspective into the personal stories of writers in residence, allowing them a forum to use their narrative talents to recount the circumstances, motivations and life events that led them through the prison gates.

The data collection process for the primary research will be via the delivery of a creative writing/ storytelling workshop, which aims to capture life-histories and autobiographical detail, and serves as an alternative to a guided interview process. The design is based on McAdams' Life History Interview (2008). The primary workshop resource will consist of a 'filmatic' storyboard template (see appendix 1), which will allow participants to map their narratives in eight, individual plot segments (see appendix 2). The single-authored, linear narratives produced will then be opened up to spoken and interactional narrative modalities in order to foster a relational space that allows room for collective understandings and dialogical renegotiation of meanings in group discussion (Esin 2015). These discussions will be video recorded for later analysis. Outside of the workshop the completed storyboards will be analysed using an experience-centred narrative research approach (Squire, 2008) with focus on emerging themes and their textual representations. These will be compared and contrasted with the themes and their dialogical re-presentations as they emerge from discussion in the workshop group, or 'community of practice' (Ekert, 2006) in order to establish wider context to the narratives.

Following on from the workshops, each writer will participate in a one-to-one 'conversation with a purpose' (Bilby et al., 2013) intended to elicit greater depth concerning each practitioner's individual life story, its role in their decision to work as a prison writer in residence, and detailed descriptions of their interactions with prisoners in the prison setting (see appendix 2). This approach will enable structure to be given to the discussion, while allowing the necessary flexibility for participants to respond to the individual dimensions of the storyboards. These conversations will draw directly on the material contained in the practitioner's completed storyboard (see appendix 3 for schedule of topics for discussion) and will be audio recorded for later analysis.

4 Does this project include human participants? Yes

If Yes complete this form in full and give a brief description of participants below including recruitment methods, number, age, gender, exclusion/inclusion criteria

If No then only complete this form if your project has other ethical considerations, for example possible consequences for wildlife and habitats.

However Psychology students must in all cases complete the form in full.

A total of 20 current and/or former UK prison writers in residence will be recruited to take part in a two and a half hour workshop and follow-up conversation. Writers in Prison Foundation, the organisation formerly responsible for administering residences with funding from the Arts Council and the Home Office, have made their database of former writers available and are acting as an intermediary. The researcher will also use her own network of professional contacts to recruit participants. The sample will be recruited on a first-come first-serve basis in response to invitations, and there will be no selection beyond the basic criteria that they must have worked as a writer in a prison environment for a minimum of one year. Participants will receive financial reimbursement for travel to the workshop venue.

5 Does your research include any of the following?

Deceptive research*	No
Covert research*	No
Working with vulnerable groups*	No

*See Guidance Notes below for definitions. If you answer Yes to any of the above you **MUST** consult your Supervisor before proceeding any further.

6 All research that involves human participants MUST consider the issues and principles listed below from the inception of the research project.

You should consult your supervisor, [BSU policies](#) and the [BPS Guidelines](#) and then briefly describe how each of the following issues affects your project (if at all). Also include any action necessary for your project to remain ethically justifiable, should it be required.

Is your research with an external partner? If Yes state the body	No
How will you ascertain the age(s) of participants?	DOB request on informed consent form
How will you ensure consent is informed?	A written information sheet (see appendix 3) based on a document used in previous arts-in-prisons research (Caulfield, 2012) and a consent form (appendix 4), will be sent to each participant in advance of the workshop, this will be followed up with a telephone conversation to ensure participants have understood all aspects of the research process, in particular the autobiographical nature of the creative workshop. Participants will return signed consent forms on the morning of the workshop and will not be allowed to participate in the research until they have done so. Participants will be informed that consent is on-going and that they can withdraw at any point without giving a reason. The participant information sheet guarantees confidentiality, secure storage of data and the participation time will be stated. A full debriefing after data collection will be given, where participants can ask the researcher questions based on the research.

<p>If applicable provide details of how you will protect the confidentiality and anonymity of participants and data (click here for brief guidance on the Data Protection Act)</p>	<p>Anonymity of participants and the prisons they have worked in will be guaranteed and their names will not appear in the thesis. All data collected will remain confidential, be stored securely by the researcher in line with the Data Protection Act 1998 and will be destroyed at the end of the research period.</p>
<p>If your research involves secondary data analysis, outline the ways in which you have sought to establish the ethicality of the original data set and stipulate any permission required to use the data in the way you intend.</p>	<p>N/A</p>
<p>How will you make it clear to the participant that they have the right to withdraw in part or completely without penalty?</p>	<p>Participants will be provided with information on the right to withdraw on the information sheet before agreeing to participation, this will be reinforced at a phone conversation prior to the start of the research.</p>
<p>Describe how participants will be protected from physical, emotional, or psychological harm, intended or otherwise</p>	<p>As accomplished professionals with extensive experience of working in custodial environments it is envisaged that the participants will have the necessary resilience and emotional self regulation to find involvement in the research unproblematic. However, the autobiographical content of the workshops will be made clear to participants in advance of the workshops and will be clearly stated on participant information sheets. Participants will be appraised of their right to withdraw at any time.</p>
<p>Explain how you are working within the limit of your competence</p>	<p>The researcher is an experienced creative arts facilitator with over ten years of practice delivering creative projects in custodial environments. This background provides a solid grounding in the requirements of delivering creative workshops safely and ethically. Additionally, a project commissioned as part of BSU's Creative Sparks programme enabled the researcher to gain clearer understanding of how a creative arts project can be adapted to meet the requirements of an academic ethics committee. The researcher has also worked as a Research Assistant during her studies at BSU and has developed relevant interviewing skills, in particular in the use of semi-structured interviewing methods. The researcher is supported by an excellent supervisory team who have expertise spanning a broad range of criminological research, teaching and criminal justice practice. Dr Laura Caulfield is an expert in forensic psychology with particular specialisms in arts-in-prison research. Dr Catherine Morgan is a sociologist with particular expertise in the field of figurational</p>

	criminology, she is also a fully qualified probation officer with several years of practitioner experience in the management of offenders in the community. Clive Hopgood, co-director of Writers in Prison Foundation has also agreed to act as a creative consultant for the workshop element of this research.
Please provide any other useful information about your project	

7 Please include the following forms, if applicable, with official letterheads where necessary, as appendices to this form.

Information sheet	Appendix 4
Informed consent approval form	Appendix 5
Scales/questionnaires/interview schedules etc	Appendix 1 for filmatic storyboard Appendix 2 for workshop plans Appendix 3 Interview schedule
Permissions from outside agencies	N/A
Other (please describe)	Appendix 6 - McAdams, 2008, Life History Interview

SUBMIT THIS ETHICS ASSESSMENT FORM TO YOUR TUTOR AS ONE DOCUMENT (WHICH INCLUDES ANY APPENDICES)

For all research involving human participants you MUST NOT begin data collection until you have had signed ethical clearance from your tutor/supervisor and the Ethics Committee/SEE approver.

Guidance Notes and Definitions

Human participants	the phrase 'human participants' refers to persons used in all types of research. Qualitative based research projects may include personal interviews, questionnaires, interviews, focus groups, observation of groups etc. Quantitative and experimental research may include questionnaires, surveys, trials etc.
Deceptive research	Research in which the investigator deliberately misrepresents his/her self, the true nature of the research and/or any other significant characteristic. Deceptive research may be a necessity, though as part of the procedures established above the investigator(s) must justify why deception is required.
Covert research	Research gathering information about participants (in whatever form) without the participant's knowledge or consent. Note that this is not always problematic, the gaining of 'naturalistic' data of 'normal' behaviour may not be unethical, unless it infringes on some of the principles outlined above. Covertly observing people at public meetings or events is also normally not considered unethical. Key issues of anonymity and/or recording of sensitive data must still be considered.
Vulnerable groups	include any person(s) who may be precluded from giving informed consent. Note that this does not necessarily include all groups whose consent is given by parents or by those in loco parentis. It should additionally be noted that even in those circumstances the 'real' consent of those individuals under study should also be sought wherever possible.
Legal Responsibilities:	research ethics are not covered by any single piece of legislation, but responsibilities are implied in many others. Of particular relevance to School activities are: Data Protection Act, Human Rights Act; Report of the Nolan Committee on Standards in Public Life; Public Interest and Disclosure Act; Children's Act; and common laws defining Duty of Care, negligence (especially professional negligence), and libel.
BSU Research Policies	There are several policies which can help inform researchers at BSU including: Research Degree Handbook 2013-14 (.pdf) Data Protection for Research (.doc) Research and Ethics at Bath Spa University (.doc) Research Principles at Bath Spa University (.doc) They can be found on line: https://thehub.bathspa.ac.uk/services/research-and-graduate-affairs/research-support/research-integrity-and-ethics
British Psychological Society	the British Psychological Society (BPS) Ethical Guidelines offer a lot of advice and helpful guidance, whatever subject you are studying. They can be found online at: http://www.bps.org.uk/publications/policy-and-guidelines/policy-and-guidelines

You can view an example of a completed Ethics Assessment Form by clicking [here](#)

8.3 Appendix 3: Participant Information Sheet

SCHOOL OF SOCIETY, ENTERPRISE AND ENVIRONMENT



PhD Research project: The role of creative writing practitioners in arts interventions with prisoners

Dear

Firstly, thank you so much for your interest in this research project, which aims to move arts-in-prisons studies away from the narrow remit of evaluation research and to put the real views and practices of writers in prisons into the academic domain. As some of you know, I have a number of years of experience delivering creative writing workshops in prisons, in particular in HMP Holloway, and as such I'm interested in your experience both from the perspective of a practitioner and as an academic. I hope between us we can produce a piece of work that allows for a far more sophisticated understanding of the role of the creative arts in custodial environments, and ultimately that this becomes a view shared by policymakers and funders. Your views and experience really are invaluable in this endeavour.

If you agree to take part in the research you will be required to contribute in two ways:

- Creative writing workshop - You will be invited to attend a creative writing workshop based on autobiographical writing (you've no doubt facilitated something similar in your own work with prisoners, but this time we want your story). This event will be held on Wednesday 22nd June at Bath Spa University's Corsham Court campus. It will form part of a day's symposium that brings together writers in prison, academics and other creative practitioners to explore how research agendas can become more inclusive of practitioners' tacit knowledge of arts-in-

prisons, and to explore links between practice and theory across disciplines.

- Follow up conversations - You will be invited to speak with me one-to-one about your experience of working as a writer in prison. This will be at your convenience, but no later than November 2016, and can be via telephone, Skype or in person. Our discussion should last for no more than two hours and will be an opportunity for you to expand on ideas raised in the workshop.

You will be asked to participate in both elements of the research. Travel expenses will be paid for your journey to BSU and refreshments will be provided on the day.

The material generated in the workshops and through the follow-up conversation will form the central part of my thesis. You will be guaranteed anonymity and neither yourself or the prisons you have worked in will be identified in the work. The thesis will be read by my supervisors and examiners at BSU, a copy will be stored in the University's library, e-research repository and at the British Library. I may also publish some of the findings in relevant journals and magazines or present them at academic or arts sector conferences. I will write a short report that summarises the key findings from the study, if you would like your own copy of the report tick the relevant box on the consent form.

This study has been reviewed by Bath Spa University Ethics Committee and is compliant with research best practice. As such you should be aware that:

- You can withdraw from the research at any time without penalty.
- Information which is collected about you during the course of the research will remain confidential and will be stored in line with the Data Protection Act 1998 and will be destroyed after the research is completed.
- You are guaranteed anonymity and your name or the name of the prisons you have worked in will not appear in the thesis.

Thank you for taking the time to look over this information, I hope it will help you decide if you'd like to take part in the project. Please keep hold of this copy of the information.

If you decide to take part in the project, please sign the consent form. You will be given a copy of the signed consent form to keep.

Thank you
Ella

Contact for further information.

If you have any further questions about the research please do not hesitate to contact me:

Ella Simpson,
College of Liberal Arts
Bath Spa University,
Newton Park,
Newton St Loe,
Bath,
BA2 9BN.



8.4 Appendix 4: Participant Consent Form

SCHOOL OF SOCIETY, ENTERPRISE AND ENVIRONMENT



Research Identification Number:

Name of Researcher: Ella Simpson

CONSENT FORM

Project Title: The role of creative writing practitioners in arts interventions with prisoners	(tick as appropriate)
I confirm that this study has been satisfactorily explained to me. I have had the opportunity to think about the information, ask questions, and these questions have been adequately answered.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I understand that I do not have to take part and that I am free to withdraw at any time without penalty.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree for the workshop and follow-up interview to be recorded, and understand that the records will be kept secure and destroyed at the end of the project. I know that all data will be kept under the terms of the Data Protection Act 1998.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree for the work I produce during the workshops to be photocopied. I understand that these documents will be kept securely and destroyed at the end of the project, in line with the terms of the Data Protection Act 1998.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree that portions of what I say, including small direct quotes, may be used in the final thesis and related reports and publications.	<input type="checkbox"/>
I agree to take part in the above study.	<input type="checkbox"/>
Tick this box if you would like a copy of the report.	<input type="checkbox"/>
Age	

Name:.....

Signature: Date:.....

Name of researcher:.....

Signature: Date:.....



Criminal Research: Writing wrongs in the creative arts in prisons 22nd June 2016

Creative and autobiographical writing have existed in the modern prison since as early as Oscar Wilde's penning of *De Profundis* and contemporary literature has more than a few shelves given over to the 'nick lit' of a more recent prison population.

The value of writing in prison is supported by a number of prisoners who have become professional writers and a number of professional writers who have facilitated prisoners' creativity. This anecdotal evidence, however, is often lost in academic research that aims to evaluate the impact of the arts through 'scientific' measurement.

This day of workshops and discussions aims to bring together an array of academics from the humanities, social sciences and the arts with some of the most experienced prison writing practitioners in the UK and criminal justice professionals in a bid to move beyond the binary of reconviction studies and unearth the foundations of an alternative, writer-led approach to prison arts research.

Sessions will include:

The Art of Psychopathy - an exploration of the fact and fiction of the mentally disordered offender.

The Art of Empathy - the relational dimensions of creative arts in prisons.

The Art of Release - how probation might inform art and art, probation.

Prisoners' Stories - Writers in Prison Foundation present a reading of writing by prisoners.

Confirmed speakers include:

Sharon Clarke (Literary Producer, Bristol Old Vic)
Michael Crowley (WIPF and Lecturer in Creative Writing, Sheffield Hallam University)
Clive Hopwood (Co-Director, Writers in Prisons Foundation)
Dr Alison Lee (Neuropsychologist, Coordinator of Graduate Studies in Psychology, BSU)
Dr Catherine Morgan (Course Leader, BSc Criminology, BSU)
Dr Agata Vitale (Senior Lecturer in Abnormal and Clinical Psychology, BSU)

This is a free, pre-conference event leading into this year's **Captivating Criminality** Conference at Bath Spa University's Corsham Court campus.

To book go to:

https://www.bathspalive.com/online/seatSelect.asp?BOset::WSmap::seatmap::performance_ids=3B0C6696-8EA0-42AE-803C-9092A16FD5E5%20&BOparam::WSmap::loadBestAvailable::promocode_access_code_url=criminal%20research

For further details contact Ella Simpson - 

Workshop Plan: The role of the creative writing practitioner in arts interventions with prisoners

Ground Rules: Ask participants what ground rules they want to have in place for this workshop (same as prison or are there different ones). Summarise and identify as rules for the workshop.

(5 mins)

Intro: The workshop exercise I'm going to take you through today was devised initially to be delivered to prisoners, and I hope at some future stage that I'll get to do that. If you have any feedback on it I'll be happy to hear it either after the workshop or during the follow-up interview. However, for the next two and a half hours I want you to enjoy the experience of being facilitated for a change. The workshop will consist of two exercises, we'll do a quick warm-up and a read round of the results, then we'll move onto the main writing exercise and finally we'll share the stories from the exercise which will include space to offer thoughts and observations about the stories produced.

Questions.

(5 mins)

Warm Up: We're going to start with a quick warm up exercise. It's been adapted from one in Mike Crowley's book and is intended to get you thinking about the environment of prison and your work in it. It's basically an acrostic poem formed from the word prison. So, what I want you to do is begin by writing the letters that make up the word PRISON down the left hand side of a piece of paper. Then write a sentence for each of the letters. Each sentence should capture something about what prison has meant for you.

(10 mins)

De-Brief: Ask - 'did that get you back into the prison head space?'
Ask - If anyone has a poem they'd particularly like to share? If someone has one that sums up particularly well some aspect of the prison experience?

(15 mins)

Storyboard Exercise: The main exercise is an autobiographical writing exercise. It has a very clear structure to it which is based on the idea of your life as a film. (Distribute the template). As this was initially conceived as an exercise to do with prisoners there is the option to tell your story in drawings and you are very welcome to do so. Or a combination of words and image. Or simply writing in the individual frames. The last frame of your storyboard will be you beginning work in prison as a writer. You may want to begin with that frame, chose a particular moment from the first few weeks of your starting work and drill into the detail, or perhaps it's the moment when you made the decision to take the job, or apply for the job. Whatever feels most significant for you. The other seven frames are for you to tell the story of how you ended up in jail. There are no hard and fast rules to this, you could chose to tell a linear narrative from childhood onwards, or structure it thematically, or find what feel like key moments and then figure out how they connect. The only restriction is the story must have eight frames and the last one must be about you going to jail. Any questions?

One final thing - Once you've created your storyboard and if you have time, you are very welcome to copy it out again neatly on another storyboard template. But please keep the initial draft as well.

(10+30 = 40 mins)

(as people finish) Ask them to give it a title.

Break: (photocopy storyboards)
(10 mins)

Read Round: Share individual storyboards.

Discussion prompts:

- What are the striking moments in the stories.
- Are there any common experiences? What are they?
- How instrumental was past experience in decisions to work in prison?
- What past experience in particular was relevant to the work?
- Do you see connections in each other's motivations? Approaches? What are the differences?

(50 mins)

Debrief:

Reminder that participation is voluntary and participants can withdraw from the research at any time. If people are happy to continue to participate the next stage will be a follow-up interview to be arranged at their convenience.

Questions and comments.

(10 mins)

(Total 2hrs 15 mins - plus 5 min contingency for overrun)

8.7 Appendix 7: Example of Raw Storyboard

	Caption- READ A BOOK / Me/ Book - Tales of Ordinary Madness
	Quill / Me/ Notebook / Caption- WRITE A BOOK
	Caption- WIN A PRIZE / Me/ Award / Caption- MAKE MONEY!!
	Penis / Urine // Caption- PISS IT / ALL / AWAY .
	Caption- GROW / Horns / Me/ Quill / Caption- SOME HORNS
	Caption- LOSE THOSE / HORNS / (SOME OF / THE / TIME / Quill / Me/ Caption- WR/ITE / ANO /THER/ BOOK
	Caption- NEED MONEY? / FIND A JOB / Rectangle / Rectangle / Rectangle / Caption- AND
	Caption- GO TO JAIL / Bars / Me

Notation Key:

Concrete nouns/objects - Black

Abstract nouns/non-objects - Blue

Abstract nouns/objects - Purple

Not nouns/objects - Pink

8.8 Appendix 8: Example of a Fabula Table

Frame No.	Objects	Processes
1	Book. Me. Book-Tales of Ordinary Madness	1. READ A BOOK (I)
2	Quill. Me. Notebook. Book.	2. WRITE A BOOK (I)
3	Me. Prize. Award. Money.	3. WIN A PRIZE! (I) 4. MAKE MONEY!! (I)
4	Penis. Urine. It.	5. PISS IT ALL AWAY (I)
5	Some Horns. Me. Quill. Horns.	6. GROW SOME HORNS (I)
6	Horns. Some of the Time. Quill. Me. Book.	7. LOSE THOSE HORNS. (SOME OF THE TIME) (I) 8. WRITE ANOTHER BOOK (I)
7	Money. Job. Rectangle. Rectangle. Rectangle.	9. NEED MONEY? (C) 10. FIND A JOB (I) 11(X) AND (fragment)
8	Jail. Bars. Me.	12.(AND) GO TO JAIL (I)

	Event Summary
	[The actor] read[s] a book. [The actor] write[s] a book. [The actor] win[s] a prize, [the actor] make[s] money. [The actor] piss[es] it all away. [The actor] grow[s] some horns. [The actor] loses those horns (some of the time, [the actor] write[s] another book. [The actor] need[s] money, find[s] a job and go[es] to jail.

8.9 Appendix 9: Methodological Issues – Table of General Actions/Event Summaries

Herbert (2011) recommends that before beginning a more detailed analysis, a general action is identified in the narrative. This should be ‘the action that best summarises the text or lacking that, some key action’ (Hebert, 2011, p. 72). However, the emphasis in the current study on privileging the author’s narrative, rather than paraphrasing it, ran contrary to this instruction. In addition, the brevity of the eight-frame storyboards already formed a clear and concise structural demarcation of what constituted the action. This was further refined by the event summary, which coded specifically for action (i.e. narrative, instruction, conversational sentences). It was decided that the general action would therefore be defined, simply, as the content of the event summaries.

Name	Event Summary
Rebecca	I was conceived in terror. [At 13]...find a copy of Anne Frank’s diary. I read it in two days and begin it again and again and again. [I take] Valium (at) 15. [I write] The Art of Disappearing (for) women in mental health. A letter [from Mark] changes everything. I skid down a path. Mark teaches me no one can imprison your mind. I place my stones
Joanne	[I’m at school]. I escape through English. [I] left school [at sixteen]. [I] worked in different jobs. People paid me to write for them. [I think] I know if people pay me let’s start a bespoke Poetry Service. All this time I’d had BDD. [At 29 I] finally wanted to stick at something. [I] got onto a degree [course]. [I asked myself] who else might be trapped? [I thought] Prisoners. Whilst having a brew on the stairs I had [an] idea. [I] pitch[ed my] idea to [redacted] [and] won 10k.
Ben	[The actor] read[s] a book. [The actor] write[s] a book. [The actor] win[s] a prize, [the actor] make[s] money. [The actor] piss[es] it all away. [The actor] grow[s] some horns. [The actor] loses those horns (some of the time, [the actor] write[s] another book. [The actor] need[s] money, find[s] a job and go[es] to jail.

Cindy	[I wrote] stories. [I go to] school [and to] prison. [I go to] hospital. [I go on holiday]. [I watch] fish in a tank. [I light a] candle. [I sit at a] computer. [I go to the] countryside
Susan	[I grow up in a family home]. [I got involved in] politics [and] punk. [I got involved in] academia [and left wing protest movements of the 1980s]. '[I] ran away [to the] circus [and] fell in love with a clown. [I'm] falling out of love [I'm] falling out of the sky. [I surround myself with] Books books films writing art filming. [I'm writing [a lot]. [I become a] writer in residence [in a prison].
Jean	[I get told off]. [I go on protests for left wing causes]. [I read] literature. [I write] poems. [I cycle]. [I film a] painting. [I walk towards a] tall fence. Four people [and a] dog [watch me go]
Eric	[I'm in] Hull [at] Art College. [I] find myself. [I] leave home. [I am] post art school. [I am] unemployed and going down. Steve [has] cancer [and dies]. [I go to the] pub. [The] wild times continue.[I get involved with] Hull Time Based Arts. [I get involved with] HMP [REDACTED]. [I get involved with the] art project, Bloom 98. [I get an] art studio. [I'm experiencing] creative chaos. [I'm] drinking. [I get involved with a] large community. [I get involved with a] bad partnership. [I go to] Madrid. [I'm at the] bus stop at HMP [REDACTED]. [I'm] smoking and drinking. [I'm asking myself] 'what next?'. WIPN [invite me for a] job interview.
Tracey	[The] Guardian [has a] Job Alert. [An] English Lecturer required in HMP Prison. Hmm interesting [I think] I've never been in prison. How good are my interview skills, really. [I] got the job! [I ask] Right move? Wrong move? Do I take it? Big difference. Big step. Out of my comfort zone. [I consider] Logistics; early morning; train times; travel costs. [I look at] Statistics; Funding for longevity of jobs; classification of prison(ers); Government reports on quality, quantity of prisoners etc. [I listen to] Commentaries; friends' advice - What do you think? Should I go? [I conduct a] reflective evaluation of self. Will it suit me? What are my short and long term goals? Will this suit my personality? Can I be locked up for 8hrs a day? [I] take the plunge. [I] Commit to commitment. Go for it. First day [I] arrive at work.
Samantha	Mo and Evelyn Brady holding onto my hair and legs so I'll stay for the photo. [On the] News: Internment. Ordinary men rounded up. Over to Donegal. Let out of the carrier bag to roam the veldt without an adult in sight. Soldiers manning checkpoints. Paras manning checkpoints. Dad pulled out of the car and marched away. Mum [says] Get your guns OUT! Sunshine, cut grass throws up black stones [b]ecause I don't speak right. Behind that Dad escaping.

Bob	<p>[I take singing lessons]. I arrive at Pontins. [I think I'm] Not sure about this.[I play guitar and keyboards]. [I perform on stage]. [A woman asks me] 'Hi wanna work in prison. [I say]: What! I arrive at HMP ██████ (N)</p> <p>[I think I'm] Not sure about this. I lead music workshops with prisoners.</p>
Kate	<p>I'm running a drama class with teenagers and I'm calming down a ruckus between two 2 lads. My colleague is standing in the doorway and exits. [In] My office. I find a circled ad in the Guardian tossed on the keyboard. I pick it up and my colleague nods at me. [In] My home. I'm in front of my computer applying for the job/doing research. [I'm] in the prison at the interview panel. [I'm] opening a letter. I'm not happy and I'm not upset but I need to think. Alarm going off at 5am. I sit on [the] edge of [the] bed and roll a fag thinking. [I'm] starting the car in the dark - headlamps on. Light just coming up as I join the Q of guards to enter the prison, stub out another rollie and grab my ID token to exchange for my keys. I paint a positive look on my face.</p>
Henry	<p>I am at university. But I am studying law. I am in a solicitors' office. I am articulated to a criminal lawyer. I must sit in court. I fail all my exams. I quit. I am working in the arts - the visual arts. I drive all over the West Country. I am running an art gallery. My first film is a success. I have to choose. I jump. I am a full time writer. I can raise my 4 children but my marriage is failing. It is harder and harder to find work. A friend sees an ad for writers to work in prison. I apply. I don't get it. I apply again. I get a residency in ██████, close to where I live. I enter the lifer unit. They think I'm an old hippy and shout "Peace, Man!"</p>
Dave	<p>Next door neighbour/friend [was] sent to Borstal. Run in with the police on the estate. Escape to university life.</p> <p>Idealist Idiot studies English. Gets job of his life in youth justice. Now spends all day on a computer with little time for young offenders. Same lads come through [the] revolving door. Spends time with case in his own time. Writes a novel about [the] end of idealism. Works Part Time as [a] youth justice worker. Works rest of time in youth theatre. Goes into the jail as [a] writer and meets the lad who went through [the] revolving door in scene 5.</p>
Steve	<p>I worked for a decade in theatre in various roles and then in children's publishing. Then, working in community arts I found I had an aptitude for enabling others to be creative. I worked for 18 months as a writer in residence in two nursing homes. Then I saw the job advertising work as a writer in residence in prison.</p>

Rory	<p>I write my composition. Teacher asks me to read it out in class. I do an English degree. No, what's that all about? I study art and performances. That's more like it. I read. I hang around. I listen to music. I walk up hills. I go to clubs. I smoke. I write like a bad Dylan Thomas or William Burroughs. I work digging ditches. I start to run art events. I read my poems. I run an evening class and struggle with love affairs. I run a writing group. I run another writing group. I move to Scotland to work 2 years in a residency. [Bob]...rings me. Would you like to come with me to visit HMP [redacted]? Of course. Then I go back to visit a cell</p>
Barbara	<p>.I wrote my first play for the Brownies. I wore my granny's hat. I worked in Dundee as a fiction editor for [redacted]. I wrote short romantic fiction for the Romeo. I lived in a bedsit. On Saturdays I went swimming.</p> <p>I bought Angel Delight and milk most evenings.I was given a stint on the problem pages and writing horoscopes.</p> <p>I made a friend called Candy. I went to Aberdeen University to study Drama. My new friend Shonagh got us jobs in an old people's care home on a Sunday. I'd often ask them about my love life. After university I worked in New York Los Angeles producing short films. I almost got a tattoo. I bought a green cardigan. I moved to London and had a son. I spent a lot of time in the local park. Most days I would meet a stranger and have such interesting stories. I wrote all the time and read lots of books. I had 2 more children went back to University studied and wrote. [I] Learnt a lot about story. My first day in prison they searched my bag and found a copy of Hemingway's Men without Women. You'll need that.I was told.</p>
Jessica	<p>I have a midlife crisis. Hand in my notice after 20 years a Probation Officer and go to Tanzania to do VSO. 2 short stories published. VSO finishes. I see the advert for WIP in the Guardian. I am not chosen for my first app.</p> <p>but pick up tips for the next interview. I am chosen. Terror washes over me. ...I wait for the escort to the Education Dept.</p>
Joe	<p>Broke out - blood red and bawling at 4.20am. Broke into playgroup pushed from behind by my dad. Broke out of school as often as opportunity passed me the crowbar. Revised album covers in record stores diligently. Passed with flying colours. Broke my own heart (briefly) and another's (hopefully) by breaking up. Between jobs. Broke lucky (?) with a career in respectability. Broke into the prison like a line from Leonard Cohen. Learned something about how we all make our own breaks.</p>

Janet	<p>[I was] First born. At school dirty gypo jibes. [I was] observing things and collecting stories. I won a prize for writing. I read my way through a mobile library aged 10. [I had a] Lack of schooling and left at 16.[I] Had a job/children. [I] Married young. [I wrote] Poems/stories/'telling stories'. [I was] Re-writing/making sense of my history. [In] My 'other' life [I was]- working with marginalised groups/individualised. [I was] Giving others a voice. [I was] Freed up to be more politicised. [I] Formed a writing collective. [We] Put on events. [I] Established myself as a writer. [I] Gained experience along the way. [I] Developed a presence. [I] Started prison writing.</p>
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8.10 Appendix 10: Methodological Issues - Limits to the Analysis

Appendix 9 - Limits to the Analysis:

As is illustrated by the final row of table 4.1 there were some immediate limits encountered in the application of the actantial model. Cindy's storyboard had been composed almost entirely in images, and a combination of poor drawing ability and lack of textual signposting made transposition to the process analysis extremely difficult. The final process analysis consisted of eight statements, one for each frame, which literally 'said what they saw':

'I wrote stories

I go to school and to prison

I go to hospital

I go on holiday

I watch a fish in a tank

I light a candle

I sit at a computer

I go to the countryside' (SL)

There was little possibility of identifying even the rudimentary actants from this inventory without recourse to excessive interpretation on the researcher's part and it was decided that the storyboard was not suitable for an actantial analysis. It was removed from the actantial analysis, though not from the earlier object and process analyses.

8.11 Appendix 11: Methodological Issues – Coding Objects

As already outlined, in Greimas' model (1966) a subject is constituted as a subject in relation to the object it is directed towards. Based on this relational perspective, the object also stands in a reciprocal relationship to the subject; '(t)he object is then defined as the locus wherein values...are invested and to which the subject is conjoined or from which it is disjoined' (Greimas & Courtes, 1982, p. 217). The relational underpinning of this approach enabled objects to be identified purely on the terms in which they appeared in the narrative. Rather than coming to the storyboards with preconceived ideas about what creative practitioners might aspire to, derived from knowledge of the literature or anecdotal experience, the researcher was forced to closely examine the process analysis in order to identify what might constitute the axis of desire specific to each narrative. Rather than an imposition of ambition, the subject must fit the object and the object the subject, each confirming and validating the other. Furthermore, to qualify as the practitioner's goal (object), the identified goal needed to maintain a consistent fit with all other textual elements in the relational matrix provided by the actantial model.

To illustrate, Jean's storyboard was originally coded as Jean (subject) and writing (object). Jean's storyboard had a predominance of image over text and there was no clear statement as to what her aspirations were. Frames 4 and 5 suggested literature and writing formed the basis of her ambitions, she read widely (fr. 4) and wrote poetry (fr. 5). However, revisiting frame 7 during coding for the axis of power raised questions about the significance of the wider creative arts, including music, art and film. This frame had not been considered in coding for the object, as the researcher had stopped at the first discernible object in the storyboard, failing to realise this was an element of, rather than the whole object. Despite having already begun to code opponents and helpers at this point, the questions of appropriate fit raised by the seventh frame led to a reassessment of every actant related to it, which included the object. Like dominoes, if one actant fell the whole set fell and

the analysis began again. Of course there is an element of interpretation in this. It is not possible to state conclusively that the subject (PW) was directed to creative arts (the object), rather than simply creative writing, however the former interpretation is more inclusive of the evidence offered in the detail of the content analysis, which suggests an early interest not exclusively in literature, but in film and theatre, suggested through references to social realist drama (fr. 3).

As this example demonstrates the relational framework of meaning that underlies the actantial model provides a rigorous system for verifying coding decisions where the function of a textual element was not immediately apparent. This was particularly important as not every storyboard contained an explicit statement that identified the object desired by the subject. In these cases the researcher was forced to engage with some amount of interpretation. The rationale for these decisions were informed by the structural dynamics of the narrative and recorded in the researcher's coding notes.

8.12 Appendix 12: Methodological Issues – Relationship of the subject (practitioner) to the object (goal or ambition)

The actantial model forces the researcher to produce a clear justification not only for the coding of the subject-object pairing but also for the type of the junction (i.e. relationship). It can be a positive relationship in which the subject desires to attain the object (a conjunction) or a negative relationship, where the subject seeks to reject the object (a disjunction) (Hebert, 2011, p. 71). This process was documented by the researcher in the coding notes and allowed for greater clarification of each junction beyond the initial impressions formed by the researcher. For example in the case of Joe's process analysis the junction was initially identified as 'JL wants to break away', thereby coding the junction as a disjunction. This was based on the following rationale:

'My initial attention as I begin to read is focused on the repetition of the word 'broke, broken, breaking' etc. Can I take the object from this motif? I read through the whole process analysis and see that 'broke away at last' seems to be a good potential candidate for the object. All the other breaks are attempts to arrive at breaking away' (Research diary)

However, when this object was placed into a junction it highlighted a distinction between the means to achieve the object and the object itself, which had been disguised by the powerful use of antanaclasis:

'I just read to the end of that sentence, Joe 'broke away at last to be who I was' - essentially he wants to be himself, but there's both a disjunction (broke away) and a conjunction (be myself) in the line. One solution is to treat the broke, break, breaking as a poetic device only and consider 'being who I was' to be the object. I think that's probably the case. Breaking out is the means, the adjectival verb, 'being who I was' is what he's trying to achieve. This makes the relationship a conjunction, even though the action suggests disjunction' (Research diary)

Using the concept of the junction to ascertain the relationship between the subject and object, therefore, can add rigour to the process of analysis. Furthermore, the way that the narrator frames their story, as a disjunction or conjunction can offer insight into how the the creative practitioner constructs their ambition. Is their goal a thing to be welcomed that will enrich their life, or is it part of an unwelcome world that they strive to be rid of?

8.13 Appendix 13: Methodological Issues – Implications of Breaking with Narrative Convention

The disruption of conventional narrative structure has potential methodological significance. Whether practitioners' breaches of narrative convention were the result of undisciplined catharsis caused by an attempt to include too many life events in a short narrative, or the deliberate crafting of narrative transgression, the emergence of this lack of conformity to narrative conventions suggested that the majority of practitioners were not overly restricted by the rules of the writing exercise. A concern had emerged after data collection was completed that practitioners may have been forced to fit their story into a particular narrative structure dictated by the design of the creative writing exercise. The basic concern revolved around the requirement that the eighth and final frame of the storyboards should contain the event of the practitioner going into prison for the first time. This instruction had the unintended consequence of directing the author towards a teleological explanation in the story they told. By beginning at the end, the danger was that they would work backwards in order to simply explain the practitioner's presence in the prison environment. Arguably this occurred in Tracey and Kate's storyboards. However, as the actantial analysis makes clear, in 16 of the 18 analysable storyboards the subject's main purpose (i.e. their object) was not to work in a prison environment. Participants did not, in the main, mould their stories to fit the imposed ending, and the achievement of their ambition or goal featured at a number of different points within the narrative sequence. This allowed for much more sophisticated narratives to emerge and strongly suggested that the dangers of significant co-production had been avoided. The incident also demonstrates how even the most careful researcher can unwittingly impose their influence on the creation of data^[1].

^[1] This realisation uncovered a previously unacknowledged assumption in the researchers' own understanding of narrative; that Brockmeier's (2001)

concept of retrospective teleology was an inevitable component of autobiography. By asking participants to work from the end (i.e. their first day working in prison) back to the beginning (their journey to prison), it was assumed an explanation of this trajectory would be forthcoming.

8.14 Appendix 14: Methodological Issue – Detailed Explanation of Axis of Desire Process

Once the process analysis of each practitioner had been coded for axis of desire and axis of transmission actants (i.e. object/subject and sender/receiver), the next step was to read through the process analysis line by line in order to code for helpers and opponents. The ability to code each textual element to more than one actantial class meant that every line from the process analysis (including those already coded as subjects, objects or receivers) had to be considered. Any single textual element may qualify for inclusion in more than one actantial class. Furthermore, a textual element may qualify as both a helper and an opponent simultaneously*. The only exception to the possibility of multiple coding is for sender actants, which, although also functioning as helpers to the junction of subject and object (the sender after all initiates this junction) are conventionally assigned to only the sender actantial class (Hebert, 2011, p. 74)**. In some instances a textual element did not have any actantial function within the model, in these cases the textual element was coded as a 'non-actant'. Finally, where the achievement of the junction was explicitly named in the process analysis, this was coded as a helper and distinguished from other helpers by colour coding. The rationale for this decision emerged from the discovery that achievement of the junction rarely occurred at the end of the practitioners' stories and therefore benefitted from explicit identification in the actantial model.

*1 Many scholars describe the relationship between actants in the same axis as a binary opposition (Moto, 2001, p. 75; Soderberg, 2003, p. 12; Hawkes, 2004, p. 69), which would appear to preclude a single textual element being coded as both helper and opponent. A more useful conceptualisation is that of Culler (2002) who describes the relationships between the six categories as 'set in syntactic and thematic relation to one another' (Culler, 2002, p. 272). Culler's more nuanced, though critical reading of Greimas' approach also points out the primary difference in the sender/receiver relationship compared to the subject/object and helper/opponent dyads.

** The importance of the mutual exclusivity of the classes of sender and helper emerged as the analysis progressed, which resulted in amendments to the actantial models following the second iteration of analysis.

It is important to note that the criteria for what constitutes a helper or opponent is specific to each narrative, premised as it is on the function of each textual element in supporting or frustrating the achievement of each participant's individual goal or object. This being the case, it is not possible to make precise comparisons between different storyboards. However, a survey of the various types of helpers and opponents can still prove useful in offering a general overview of the different types of factors that either assisted or frustrated each practitioners' ambitions. It follows from this rigorous approach to coding that coding decisions about helpers and opponents should be based on what is helpful or unhelpful to the subject rather than on moral judgments based on normative values. For instance, in Henry's analysis the subject fails all his exams (fr. 2). A normative account of this event would, perhaps, regard this failure as an opponent to Henry achieving his ambition. However, when the analysis is specifically focused on Henry achieving his individual goal (to be a full time writer) rather than a more abstract notion of 'success', it becomes clear that failing law exams is at best of no consequence to literary success (non-actant), while the failure may actually serve to support Henry's ambitions to be a writer. This in turn offers insight into how the pursuit of creative ambition is constructed as countervailing to a conventional education. This feature of the analysis is important because it forces the researcher to question their own value judgements not as a prelude or summation of analysis but as an active part of the analytical process itself.

Examples of this kind of actantial-assisted researcher reflexivity are found in the research diary; When coding Janet's actantial model, lack of education is coded as an opponent and noted in comparison to the coding of Joe's narrative: thus:

*** A good example of this can be found in Dave's storyboard where writing a novel about the end of idealism is coded as a non-actant. The more obvious coding for this literary endeavour would be as a helper, however because Dave's object is to work in youth justice, writing a novel simply is not relevant.

'In Joe's storyboard I wrestled with myself about seeing things like playgroup as an opponent, worried that it was my own opinions and formative experience leading me to have those thoughts, however, my ability to see lack of schooling as an opponent here (in Janet's narrative) suggests that I'm more flexible in my interpretation than I feared. For Janet who wants to inhabit a world different to her own lived reality, school and education would offer an escape route' (Research diary).

Even more starkly, in coding notes on Susan taking a WiR job:

'I have a job'. I really wasn't expecting that, but it (the opponent actantial class) is where it best fits. I think this is showing one of the strengths of the model, that it forces us to change our minds about even strongly held ideas' (Research diary).

8.15 Appendix 15: Detailed Tally of Helpers and Opponents

Type of helper	Helper	Opponent	Non-actant
Childhood factors	<p>1. Dave (mate sent to Borstal) -</p> <p>2. Dave (run in with police on estate)-</p> <p>3.Rebecca (finds a copy of Anne Frank's diary)+</p> <p>4. Barbara (9 when I wrote my first play for Brownies)+</p> <p>5. Joe (Broke out of school as often as opportunity passed me the crowbar) -</p> <p>6. Joe (Revised album covers) -</p> <p>7. Joe (Passed with flying colours)-</p> <p>8. Janet (Unknown dad) -</p> <p>9. Janet (At school dirty gypo jibes) -</p> <p>10. Janet (At age 7 I was writing/day dream reading) -</p> <p>11. Janet (I always had a notebook to hand) -</p> <p>12. Janet (Tiny writing I was observing things and collecting stories)-</p> <p>13. Janet (I won a prize for writing) -</p> <p>14. Janet (Read my way through a</p>	<p>1. Rebecca (At the heart is silence, silence, silence) -</p> <p>2. Rebecca (...and a mother who cries non stop and blames) -</p> <p>3. Joe (Broke into playgroup pushed from behind by my dad) -</p> <p>4. Janet (No books in the house/No interest) -</p> <p>5. Janet (Lack of schooling) -</p>	<p>1. Rebecca (I am 13)</p> <p>2. Joe (My first step the first step of a slides' ladder)</p> <p>3. Susan (I grow up in a family home)</p> <p>4. Jean (I get told off)</p>

	<p>mobile library aged 10) - 15. Janet (Prolific reader = escapism) - 16. Joanne (I'm at school) - 17. Samantha (Over to Donegal) + 18. Samantha (Let out of the carrier bag to roam the veldt without an adult in sight) + 19. Samantha (Mum says get your guns OUT) -</p> <p>(19)</p>	<p>6. Samantha (Mo and Evelyn Brady holding onto my arms and legs so I'll stay for the photo) - 7. Samantha (Dad pulled out of the car - and marched away) - 8. Samantha (Sunshine, cut grass throws up black stones because I don't speak right) -</p> <p>(8)</p>	<p>5. Jean (A house in the rain) 6. Jean (I wear a sign round my neck with USA written on it) 7. Jean (It's Sunday)</p>
<p>Education student (Post-16)</p>	<p>20. Dave (escapes to Uni) + 21. Dave (Idealistic Idiot studies English) + 22. Rory (I do an English Degree) - 23. Rory (I study art and performances Rory (That's more like it - art and performance degree) +</p>	<p>9. Henry (But I'm studying law) - 10. Rory (No what's that all about - re English degree) -</p>	<p>8. Henry (at university)</p>

	<p>24. Barbara (Went to Aberdeen Uni to study Drama) + 25. Barbara (Went back to Uni) +</p> <p>26. Janet (I became a mature student) +</p> <p>27. Joanne (I got onto a degree course) +</p> <p>(8)</p>	<p>11. Joanne (I had no A-Levels) -</p> <p>12. Susan (I got involved in academia...) -</p> <p>(4)</p>	
<p>Realisations</p>	<p>28. Rebecca (Mark teaches no one can imprison your mind) +</p> <p>29. Rory (In later years I realise it was always to do with language) +</p> <p>30. Rory (There's no going back) -</p> <p>31. Rory (There's nothing else left) -</p> <p>32. Barbara (Learnt a lot about story) +</p> <p>33. Joe (Learned something about how we all make our own breaks. Or don't. +</p> <p>34. Janet (I was rewriting/making sense of my history) +</p> <p>35. Janet (...and recognise a part of me that is very important) +</p> <p>36. Eric (I find myself) +</p> <p>37. Eric (It's</p>	<p>13. Samantha (Where do memories come from?) -</p> <p>14. Samantha (Whose memory?) -</p> <p>15. Samantha (Who owns my head) -</p> <p>16. Samantha (Where does it</p>	<p>9. Rebecca (I skid down a path)</p> <p>10. Rory (It's a different world - prison)</p> <p>11. Joanne (Finding out I had BDD explained my feelings)</p> <p>12. Samantha (It's always personal)</p>

	<p>discovery and enlightenment) + 38. Eric (A slow process of awakening) + 39. Eric (A slow process of awakening) + 40. Eric (A slow process of awakening) +</p> <p>(13)</p>	<p>start?) - 17. Samantha (How does it end?) - 18. Samantha (Some children are more equal than other children) -</p> <p>(6)</p>	
<p>Personal competences</p>	<p>41. Kate (...and I'm calming down a ruckus between 2 lads - de escalation) + 42. Kate (In front of my computer applying for the job/doing research) + 43. Kate (I'm soberly dressed in flat shoes, sober dress) + 44. Kate (I'm in the prison as the interview panel) + 45. Kate (I'm opening a letter) 46. Kate (motivation, 5am alarm, driving etc) + 47. Kate (I'm starting the car in the dark... headlamps on) - 48. Kate (I paint a positive look on face) -</p> <p>49. Henry (Having to chose) - 50. Henry (I jump) + 51. Henry (Give it a year) + 52. Henry (I must begin a new life and be just one person) -</p>		<p>13. Kate (I'm casually dressed - low cut t-short, tight jeans, smallish heels, earrings and makeup)</p>

	<p>53. Henry (I apply - for WiR job) + 54. Henry (I apply again) -</p> <p>55. Dave (Spends time with case in own time) -</p> <p>56. Rebecca (Reads Anne Frank's diary in two days) +</p> <p>57. Steve (Aptitude for enabling others to be creative) +</p> <p>58. Rory (Only one thing I know I can do, something to do with writing) +</p> <p>59. Jessica (and rather arrogantly assume that my MA in Creative Writing and probation experience make me an ideal candidate) + 60. Jessica (Pick up tips for next interview) +</p> <p>61. Janet (Self sufficient and independent) + 62. Janet (I could inhabit a world different to my own lived reality) + 63. Janet (Having a voice) +</p> <p>64. Joanne (At 29 I finally wanted to stick at something) + 65. Joanne (Poetry website helped) +</p> <p>66. Tracey (How good are my 67. interview skills</p>	<p>19. Tracey (Out of my comfort zone) -</p> <p>(1)</p>	
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	<p>really) + 67. Tracey (I conduct a reflective evaluation of self) + (27)</p>		
Personal behaviours	<p>68. Kate (sits on edge of bed and rolls a fag) +~- 69. Dave (Still dealistic idiot) +~- 70. Joanne (I love helping others through words) +~- 71. Joanne (I need challenges I'm bored) +~- 72. Ben (Lose those horns some of the time) +~- 73. Tracey (Will it suit me) +~- 74. Tracey (Will this suit my personality?) +~- (7)</p>	<p>20. Dave (Idealistic Idiot is disillusioned) - 21. Ben (Grow some horns) - 22. Eric (I go to the pub) - 23. Eric (I'm drinking) - 24. Eric (I'm smoking and drinking) - 25. Tracey (Can I be locked up for 8hrs a day?) +~- 26. Tracey (Rules, restrictions, conformity, three things that I dislike) +~-</p> <p>(7)</p>	<p>14. Kate (I stub out another rollie) 15. Barbara (I was the only pedestrian in LA) 16. Joe (Hardly ever rose so early on a Saturday again) 17. Joe (I never rose so fast in life again) 18. Joanne (I was gobby)</p>

<p>Personal Circumstances/ Environment</p>	<p>75. Barbara (Moved to London) +</p> <p>76. Jessica (Goes to Tanzania) +</p> <p>77. Jessica (No TV) -</p> <p>78. Jessica (Little English reading material) -</p> <p>79. Jessica (Lots of strange surroundings) -</p> <p>80. Joe (Broke away at last to be who I was) +</p> <p>81. Joanne (While having a brew on the stairs I had an idea) +</p> <p>82. Susan (I ran away to the circus and fell in love with a clown) +</p>	<p>27. Kate (It's raining) -</p> <p>28. Kate (It's still raining) -</p> <p>29. Henry (But my marriage is failing) -</p> <p>30. Barbara (...and had a son) - Barbara (I have two more children) -</p> <p>31. Jessica (VSO finishes) -</p> <p>32. Jessica (My feet get wet) -</p> <p>33. Janet (Left - school- aged 16) -</p> <p>34. Janet (Married young) -</p> <p>35. Jean (There is a disruptive cat) +~-</p>	<p>19. Kate (In my office)</p> <p>20. Kate (In my home)</p> <p>21. Barbara (I lived in a bedsit)</p> <p>22. Barbara (On Saturdays I went swimming)</p> <p>23. Barbara (I bought Angel Delight and milk most evenings)</p> <p>24. Barbara (I almost got a tattoo)</p> <p>25. Barbara (I bought a green cardigan)</p> <p>26. Barbara (I spent a lot of time in the local park)</p> <p>27. Barbara (The streets were dirty)</p> <p>28. Janet (The interloper)</p> <p>29. Joanne (I left school at 16)</p>
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	<p>83. Eric (I leave home) + 84. Eric (No more school) + 85. Eric (I go to Madrid) - 86. Eric (I'm asking myself what next?' -</p> <p>87. Tracey (My train journey) + 88. Tracey (Blue skies) + 89. Tracey (Lush green fields) + 90. Tracey (Passive lazy sheep) + 91. Tracey (Bobbing boats, lovely) +</p> <p>(17)</p>	<p>36. Eric (I am post art school) - 37. Eric (I'm not in control) - 38. Eric (I go to Madrid) -</p> <p>(13)</p>	<p>30. Eric (I'm at the bus stop at HMP [REDACTED])</p>
External circumstances		<p>39. Samantha (On the News: Internment) - 40. Samantha (Ordinary men rounded up) - 41. Samantha (Soldiers manning checkpoints) - 42. Samantha (Paras manning checkpoints) - 43. Samantha (The Queen) -</p> <p>(6)</p>	<p>31. Rebecca (Holocaust = Burnt Sacrifice)</p> <p>32. Samantha (Green army huts as far as the eye can see) -</p>
Job adverts	<p>92. Kate (I find a circled ad in the Guardian tossed on the keyboard) + 93. Kate I pick it up and my colleague</p>		

	<p>nods at me +</p> <p>94. Henry (WiR ad) +</p> <p>95. Steve (Then I saw a job advertising work as a writer in residence in a prison) +</p> <p>96. Jessica (I see the advert for WIP in the Guardian) + (5)</p>		
Employment	<p>97. Henry (I fail all my exams) -</p> <p>98. Henry (I quit) -</p> <p>99. Dave (job of life in youth justice) +</p> <p>100. Dave (PT work in YJ) +</p> <p>101. Rory (I run an evening class) +</p> <p>102. Jessica (Hand in notice to probation service) -</p> <p>103. Jessica (I don't want to go back to being at the beck and call of the Courts and Home Office) -</p>	<p>44. Henry (I am trying to be sensible and have a professional career ot fall back on) -</p> <p>45. Henry (I am in a solicitors' office) -</p> <p>46. Henry (I am article to a criminal lawyer) -</p> <p>47. Henry (I must sit in court) -</p> <p>48. Dave (Now spends all day on a computer with little time for young offenders) -</p> <p>49. Dave (What managers value) -</p> <p>50. Dave (Same lads come through revolving door) -</p> <p>51. Rory (I work digging ditches) -</p> <p>52.. Joe (Between jobs) -</p>	<p>33. Barbara (...got us jobs at an old people's home)</p>

	<p>104. Janet (My other life working with marginalised groups) + 105. Janet (Giving others a voice) + 106. Janet (Branching out into criminal justice) + 107. Joanne (I worked in different jobs) - (11)</p>	<p>53. Joe (That were one by bloody one breaking me to bits - bit by bit) - 54. Joe (Broke lucky (?) with a career in respectability) - 55. Janet (Had a job/children) - 56. Eric (I am unemployed and going down) - (13)</p>	
<p>Teaching in Prison</p>	<p>108. Tracey (Hmm interesting I think I've never been in prison) + 109. Tracey (I got the job) + 110. Tracey (I look at statistics; Funding for longevity of jobs; classification of prison(ers); Government reports on quality, quantity of prisoners etc) + 111. Tracey (I consider logistics; early morning; train times; travel costs) + 112. Tracey (What are my short and long term goals) + 113. Tracey (I take the plunge) + 114. Tracey (I commit to commit) + 115. Tracey (Go for it) + 116. Tracey (Less</p>	<p>57. Tracey (I ask right move? Wrong move?) - 58. Tracey (Do I take it?) - 59. Tracey (Big difference) - 60. Tracey (Big step) - 61. Tracey (Rules) - 62. Tracey (There are lots of nos) - 63. Tracey (No phones) - 64. Tracey (No memory pens) - 65. Tracey (No internet) - 66. Tracey (No keys, no phone) -</p>	

	<p>overtime hours) + 117. Tracey (No more running around 4 jobs) + 118. Tracey (1 place, 1 salary) + 119. Tracey (First day at work) + 120. Tracey (But new environment) + 121. Tracey (New clients) + 122. Tracey (New people) + 123. Tracey (New adventure) +</p> <p>(16)</p>	<p>(10)</p>	
<p>Creative Employment</p>	<p>124. Kate (I'm running a drama class with teenagers) + 125. Kate (gets WiR job) + 126. Kate (I join the Q of guards to enter the prison) + 127. Kate (...and grab my ID and keys) +</p> <p>128. Henry (Work in the visual arts) + 129. Henry (Running an art gallery) + 130. Henry (I am successful) + 131. Henry (I am a full time writer) + 132. Henry (I get a residency in [redacted] close to where I live) + 133. Henry (Enters the lifer unit) +</p>	<p>67. Kate (Artificial light hurts my eyes) - 68. Kate (Alarm going off at 5am) -</p> <p>69. Henry (But I cost more than I can give to artists and galleries) - 70. Henry (...but exhausting - running an art gallery) - 71. Henry (It is harder and harder to find work) - 72. Henry (I don't get it (WiR job) -</p> <p>73. Rebecca (I am late (to HMP [redacted]) and</p>	<p>34. Kate (In a theatre on stage) 35. Kate (Bright panto lights) 36. Kate (Very sombre colours and faces) 37. Kate (Light just coming up)</p> <p>38. Henry (I drive all over the West Country) 39. Henry (They think I'm a old hippy and shout Peace Man!')</p> <p>40. Dave (Works rest of the time in youth theatre) 41. Dave (Goes into jail as a writer and meets the lad who went through the revolving door in scene 5)</p> <p>42. Rebecca</p>

	<p>134. Rebecca (The art of disappearing) + 135. Rebecca (I place my stones/Anne Frank Trust) You probably won't want to but would you consider going to prison?) +</p> <p>136. Steve (Worked for a decade in theatre) + 137. Steve (Worked in children's publishing) + 138. Steve (Worked in community arts) + 139. Steve (Worked for 18 months as a WiR in two nursing homes) + 140. Steve (The first day I walked into prison) 141. Steve (I didn't think still be doing it 20 years later) +</p> <p>142. Rory (I start to run art events)+ 143. Rory (I read my poems) + 144. Rory (I run a writing group) + 145. Rory (I run another writing group) + 146. Rory (I move to Scotland to work in a residency) + 147. Rory (Now I'm a writer) + 148. Rory (Bob works for South East Wales Arts, he rings me, would you like to come to HMP [redacted]) +</p>	<p>lose it on the bus) -</p> <p>74. Jessica (I am not chosen for my first app) -</p>	<p>(Clapham North - on way to HMP [redacted])</p> <p>43. Rory (Then I go back to visit a cell)</p> <p>44. Barbara (...they searched my bag and found a copy of Hemingway's Men Without Women) 45. Barbara (You'll need that I was told)</p> <p>46. Jessica (Rain water cascades down the runnels between the outer and inner gates of</p>
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	<p>149. Rory (Of course, it's work) + 150. Rory (The writing group takes place in the chapel) + 151. Rory (Two years on a wednesday afternoon) +</p> <p>152. Barbara (Worked in Dundee as a fiction editor for [REDACTED]) + 153. Barbara (Wrote short romantic fiction for Romeo) + 154. Barbara (Given stint on horoscope and problem pages) + 155. Barbara (Went to New York and Los Angeles to produce short films) + 156. Barbara (First day in prison) +</p> <p>157. Jessica (Two short stories published)+ 158. Jessica (I'm a writer) + 159. Jessica (I am chosen) + 160. Jessica (I am one of the chosen ones) + 161. Jessica (As I wait for an escort to the education department) +</p> <p>162. Joe (Broke into jail like a line from Leonard Cohen) +</p> <p>163. Janet (Creativity v) + 164. Janet (Formed a writing collective)</p>	<p>75. Ben (Win a prize) -</p> <p>76. Susan (I become a writer in residence in prison) -</p> <p>77. Susan (I have a job) -</p>	<p>my prison)</p> <p>47. Janet (Prison writing)</p> <p>48. Jean (Four people and a dog watch me go)</p>
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	<p>+ 165. Janet (Put on events) + 166. Janet (Established myself as a writer) + 167. Janet (Gained experience along the way) + 168. Janet (I developed a presence) + 169. Janet (I started prison writing) +</p> <p>170. Joanne (People paid me to write for them) + (11) 171. Joanne (I know if people pay me let's start a bespoke Poetry Service) + 172. Joanne (I ask myself who else might be trapped) + 173. Joanne (I pitched my idea to [redacted] and won 10k) +</p> <p>174. Ben (Write a book) + 175. Ben (Win a prize) + 176. Ben (Write another book) + 177. Ben (Find a job) + 178. Ben (And go to jail) +</p> <p>179. Susan (I become a writer in residence in a prison) +</p> <p>180. Jean (I walk towards a tall fence (prison) +</p> <p>181. Eric (I get involved with Hull Time Based Arts) +</p>		
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	<p>182. Eric (I get involved with HMP [redacted]) +</p> <p>183. Eric (I get involved with the art project, Bloom 98) +</p> <p>184. Eric (WIPN invite me for a job interview) +</p> <p>185. Bob (I arrive at Pontins) +</p> <p>186. Bob (I play guitar and keyboards) +</p> <p>187. Bob (I perform on stage) +</p> <p>188. Bob (I arrive at [redacted]) +</p> <p>189. Bob (I lead workshops with prisoners) +</p> <p>190. Bob (It's the most rewarding job ever) +</p> <p>(67)</p>		
Creative practice	<p>191. Rory (I read) +</p> <p>192. Rory (I write like a bad Dylan Thomas) -</p> <p>193. Barbara (Wrote all the time) +</p> <p>194. Barbara (Read lots of books) +</p> <p>195. Janet (Secret scribbler I wrote poems/stories telling stories) +</p> <p>196. Janet (Writing was a private communication - healing therapeutic) +</p> <p>197. Janet (I was</p>		<p>49. Dave (Idealistic Idiot writes novel about the end of idealism)</p> <p>50. Rory (A man on death row)</p> <p>51. Rory (It's a cliff-hanger)</p> <p>52. Barbara (It was called Carrots)</p> <p>53. Barbara (It was about a girl who dyed her hair black)</p> <p>54. Barbara (One was called Hollyweird)</p>

	<p>writing with a purpose - when others stopped I carried on) +</p> <p>198. Joanne (I escape through English) +</p> <p>199. Joanne (Writing helped me personally) +</p> <p>200. Joanne (I thought prisoners) +</p> <p>201. Susan (I surround myself with books films writing art filming) +</p> <p>202. Susan (I'm writing a lot) +</p> <p>203. Jean (I read literature) +</p> <p>204. Jean (I write poems they form in quiet clouds) +</p> <p>205. Jean (I film a painting) +</p> <p>206. Jean (I am surrounded by literature and music and art) +</p> <p>207. Eric (The wild times continue) +</p> <p>208. Eric (On the River Hull there is a hideout in a mill) +</p> <p>209. Eric (I get an art studio) +</p> <p>210. Bob (I take singing lessons) +</p> <p>(20)</p>	<p>78. Eric (I experience creative chaos) -</p> <p>(1)</p>	<p>55. Jean (Shakespeare, Jon Silkin, Dylan Thomas, Anne Frank, Plath, Dickens, War Poets, Steinbeck Liverpool Poets)</p>
Finances	<p>211. Henry (I can support my 4 children) +</p>	<p>79. Henry (I have no money) -</p> <p>80. Steve (...but I also needed to earn a living) -</p>	

	<p>212. Ben (Make money) + 213. Ben (Piss it all away) - 214. Ben (Need money?) -</p> <p>(4)</p>	<p>81. Ben (Make money) - 82. Ben (Piss it all away) -</p> <p>83. Joe (Broke - flat, stony and regularly) -</p> <p>84. Janet (...sensible choice to earn a living) -</p> <p>85. Susan (I'm skint, skint, skint...) -</p> <p>(7)</p>	
<p>Social networks</p>	<p>215. Kate (colleague's job advert) + 216. Henry (A friend sees job ad) + 217. Rebecca (Mark, Mark, Mark, Mark, Mark, Mark) + 218. Joanne (My fiance helped me a lot) + 219. Barbara (Most days I would meet a stranger and have such interesting stories) + 220. Eric (There is a</p>	<p>86. Eric (Steve has cancer an dies) - 87. Eric (I get involved in a large community) 88. Eric (I get involved with a bad partnership) - 89. Eric (There's no sharing) -</p>	<p>56. Barbara (I made a friend called Candy) 57. Barbara (My new friend Shona got us jobs...) 58. Barbara (I often asked them about my love life, what I should do etc)</p>

	<p>large gathering of friends) +</p> <p>221. Tracey (I listen to commentaries; friends' advice) +</p> <p>222. Tracey (What do you think?) +</p> <p>223. Tracey (Should I go?) +</p> <p>224. Bob (A woman says to me Hi wanna work in prison) +</p> <p>225. Janet (I got divorced) -</p> <p>(11)</p>	(4)	
Emotions	<p>226. Kate (I'm not upset) -~+</p> <p>227. Henry (Hate) -</p> <p>228. Henry (Happy) +</p> <p>229. Henry (Exciting) +</p> <p>230. Rebecca (Terror can't be hidden) -</p> <p>231. Steve (It was brilliant) +</p> <p>232. Rory (I struggle with love affairs) -</p> <p>233. Rory (It's enjoyable) +</p> <p>234. Barbara (Felt so happy in fiction) +</p> <p>235. Barbara (Felt elated) +</p> <p>236. Jessica (Feels</p>	<p>90. Kate (I'm not happy) +~-</p> <p>91. Kate (I'm still not sure) +~-</p> <p>92. Henry (I have doubts) -</p> <p>93. Barbara (I was scared... (first day in prison)) -</p> <p>94. Barbara (I was lonely) -</p> <p>95. Jessica (Terror washes over me (first day in prison))</p>	<p>59. Kate (I need to think)</p> <p>60. Susan (I'm falling out of love I'm</p>

	<p>like been scoured with a brillo pad) -</p> <p>237. Joe (Broke my heart briefly and another's hopefully) -</p> <p>238. Joanne (All the way through school I feel anger, boredom, shy) -</p> <p>239. Joanne (I felt anger and frustration) -</p> <p>240. Eric (I feel respected, taken seriously, and valued moving forward) +</p> <p>(15)</p>	<p>96. Joanne (I was still unhappy) -</p> <p>97. Bob (I'm not sure about this) -</p> <p>98. Bob (I say what? - to working in prisons) -</p> <p>99. Bob (I think I'm not sure about this) -</p> <p>(10)</p>	<p>falling out of the sky)</p> <p>61. Eric (Brian, Paula, Gran)</p> <p>62. Eric (Community and fabric)</p>
Mental health	<p>241. Rebecca (Valium at 15) -</p> <p>242. Jessica (Midlife crisis) -</p> <p>243. Joanne (All this time I'd been suffering from BDD) -</p>	<p>100. Henry (I begin to feel like I am two people) -</p> <p>101. Rebecca (and begin it - Anne Frank's diary) again and again and again) -</p> <p>102. Rebecca (I am now a holocaust junkie craving ever increasing graphic fixes) -</p> <p>Susan</p>	

	(3)	(...and surrounded by anxiety, loss, stress, deaths and madness) - 103. Eric (I am isolated and casaless, vulnerable, regretful and abandoned - (5)	
Political activities	244. Susan (...and left wing protest movements of the 1980s) + 245. Janet (Activist/Socialist Facilitating/ Teaching) + 246. Janet (Freed up to be more politicised) + 247. Janet (Being myself) + (4)	(0)	63. Janet (A way to express social conscience/access
Leisure activities	248. Rory (I listen to music) + 249. Jean (I cycle - it feels like freedom) + (2)	(0)	64. Rory (I hang around) 65. Rory (I walk up hills) 66. Rory (I go to clubs) 67. Rory (I smoke)
Cognitive Links (not temporal links in fabula)	250. Henry (Remembers telling wife her husband was going to prison) 251. Steve (In the homes working with people imprisoned by age and disability 252. Steve (Prison was logical progression)		68. Steve (When I was at school I can imagine more than one teacher would have thought I would end up in prison)

	253. Rebecca (Mark, Mark, Mark) (4)		
Misc	254. Rebecca (A letter changes everything) 255. Samantha (Behind that dad escaping) (2)		<p>69. Rory (1996)</p> <p>70. Barbara (I wore my granny's hat)</p> <p>71. Janet (3 books - a token)</p> <p>72. Janet (Had no idea whether a classic)</p> <p>73. Joanne (Spoken word)</p> <p>74. Eric (It's 1989- 1990)</p> <p>75. Eric (This is the start)</p> <p>76. Eric (It's 1993- 1995)</p> <p>77. Eric (It's 1996- 1998+)</p> <p>78. Eric (It's 1998- 2000)</p> <p>79. Eric (It's 2000- 2001)</p> <p>80. Eric (It's 2002)</p> <p>81. Eric (It's 2002)</p> <p>82. Eric (I'm 30 years old)</p> <p>83. Eric (It's 2002)</p> <p>84. Tracey (Breaking news)</p> <p>85. Tracey (Haha)</p>

			86. Tracey (Grr) 87. Tracey (Within these walls) 88. Tracey (Take the road less travelled by)
Totals	255	103	88

8.16 Appendix 16: Methodological Issues – Axis of Power, Specific Categories and Overlaps Between Categories

Teaching in Prisons Category – An example of paradigmatic mode of thought:

The category of 'Teaching in prisons' was created specifically to accommodate Tracey's narrative as it became increasingly apparent through the process of actantial analysis that this narrative was atypical; an outlier among the other storyboards. This became particularly visible as a result of developing the axis of power categories outlined in chapter six. Tracey's helpers were overwhelmingly presented in the form of a series of evaluative steps and questions that were, essentially, based on a consideration of the advantages and disadvantages of taking a job in prison (e.g. 'I look at statistics; Funding for longevity of jobs; classification of prison(ers); Government reports on quality, quantity of prisoners etc', fr. 3; 'What are my short and long term goals', fr. 4). This was not the case with other narratives which in the main foregrounded the narrating of events with only occasional evaluative comments (in the process analysis only 41 sentences are coded as reflective or argumentative out of a total of 468 sentences). Even in the case of Kate whose narrative was most similar to that of Tracey's, there are key differences between the two narratives. Kate constructed a narrative based on a sequence of causal events, whereas Tracey appeared to adapt a business analysis tool (such as SWOT) as a framework into which she fitted a commentary describing the process of evaluation she embarked on in order to decide whether she would take the prison job. The approach was again reminiscent of Bruner's (1986) paradigmatic mode of thought with its 'formal, mathematical system of description and explanation.' (Bruner, 1986, p. 12 - see section 5.3). While Kate was also unsure about accepting the job in prison, her narrative presented a series of events that offered concrete illustrations of her doubt ('[I'm] in the prison at the interview panel/Very sombre colours and faces', fr. 4; 'I'm starting the car in the dark - headlamps on/It's raining', fr. 7). This approach was far more congruent with Bruner's (1986) narrative mode of

thought. The comparison between Kate and Tracey's narratives further highlighted a distinction between showing and telling (Lubbock, 1921/1957), which finds its basis in Platonic definitions of mimesis and diegesis (Klauk and Koppe, 2014⁹⁶). At the most basic level:

'in the showing mode, the narrative evokes in readers the impression that they are shown the events of the story or that they somehow witness them, while in the telling mode, the narrative evokes in readers the impression that they are told about the events.' (Klauk and Koppe, 2014, p. 1)⁹⁷

The claim, therefore, is that while Kate along with the other practitioners, to a lesser or greater extent, 'show' their stories to the reader, Tracey tells the narrative almost as if she were writing a report of a process.

The reason for this disparity in how the narratives are presented may lie in the divergent goal of Tracey, which is to have a teaching job in prison. While the storyboards of Kate and Tracey were both focused on the process of taking a job in a prison, for Kate the employment was in a creative role (as is the case with the other 16 practitioners), however for Tracey the position was as an English tutor in a prison education department. The literature review (chapter one) made clear that a good deal of creative practice has emerged from and is facilitated by prison education departments and there is significant imbrication between creative practitioners and teaching staff. However, in the case of Tracey, the noticeable gap between her 'telling' of a story and the other practitioners 'showing' would suggest the different roles of teacher and creative practitioner may make a qualitative difference to the construction of the stories and therefore the constitution of experience in this particular case. This offers a possible explanation for findings in evaluation research by Anderson et al (2015 et al, 2011, p. 89-94) which found difficult relationships in some carceral contexts between professional creative

⁹⁶ cf. Halliwell (2014) for a more nuanced elucidation of the concepts of mimesis and diegesis.

⁹⁷ cf. Booth (1961/1983) for an opposite and oppositional stance to that argued by Lubbock (1921/1957) with regard to the primacy of showing over telling (Herman, 2009, p. 28-29)

practitioners and regular education tutors^{*}. It is possible that different perceptions of the prison environment and approaches to the work may lead to such conflict.

Categories and Overlaps in Axis of Power:

In total there are 19 actantial categories. Over half of these categories (n11) are concerned with the description of external events related to various aspects of practitioners' lives; creative employment, childhood factors, post-16 education, personal circumstances, general employment, job advertisements, finances, political activities, leisure activities and external events. Meanwhile, seven categories (n7) were concerned with personal dimensions of the practitioners' lives; emotions, personal competences, personal behaviours, social networks, creative practice, realisations, and mental health. A final, miscellaneous category contained two helpers which did not appear to fit into any other group or contain a substantive topic in and of themselves. It is unsurprising that a number of these types of helpers/opponents resonate with the types of alterity found in the fabula content analysis, as the original data source, the 19 storyboards, is the same in each case. This was particularly striking in terms of creative employment/creative practice which links to 'art itself' as a form of outsider status (section 3.3.2.2), political activities which relate to anti-authority/protest (section 3.3.2.3), and mental health (section 3.3.2.7), which feature significantly in both analyses. However, the axis of power categories also allow a broader treatment than was possible in the earlier fabula content analysis because of the ability to consider story structure, rather than concentrating on the objects contained in the stories.

^{*} This finding is not generalisable within the study itself. Cindy's storyboard could not be analysed using the actantial model because it was, in a sense, too visual; using few words and many images. However, at the time of the research Cindy was employed on a teaching contract in a prison rather than as a writing facilitator. This said Cindy had previously been employed as a WiR.

The categories found in the axis of power capture greater complexity and as such there is some amount of overlap between some of the categories in this analysis. This was particularly the case with regard to the distinction between creative employment and creative practice, which is not entirely clear cut. In addition there are imbrications in the relationship between ostensibly external or environmental factors and those that arise as a result of personal capabilities, for example in the crossover between material advantage and personal resilience.

An example of the imbrication between the creative employment and creative practice categories is apparent in a comparison of the coding of creative output in Jean and Ben's storyboards. Jean's writing of poetry had been coded as creative practice while Ben's novel writing was considered to be creative employment. There is no intrinsic rationale for the disparity in coding here, which appears to be based more on assumptions about the commercial viability of long form fiction as compared to poetry. However, this appears not to be borne out in the case of Ben's second novel, which is proceeded by a need for money (fr. 7) therefore challenging the assumption of financial viability in this specific case. In addition to this researcher-generated assumption, the practitioners' own perceptions are not accurately represented by the separation between employment in the arts sector as opposed to creativity as a self-motivated practice. In the fabula content analysis practitioners only rarely describe their employment in the arts in terms of work and never as a career (see section 3.3.2.4). The distinction is made here in order to gain a more detailed understanding of the level of support that is generated from external employment influences as opposed to support that is constructed as part of the practitioner's personal capabilities. Furthermore, for some practitioners, particularly those who work as volunteers, there may be little difference between the two.

There are further imbrications in the relationship between ostensibly external or environmental factors and those that arise as a result of personal capabilities, not only at the level of individual perception, but also in terms of social and material dynamics. There is widespread consensus in the

research literature that socio-economic status is a key influence on children's psychosocial and cognitive skills (Georgiadis and Hermida, 2014, p. 41) and developmental outcomes for adults (Conger, Conger and Martin, 2010), therefore material and social advantage also support personal abilities that can serve as considerable helpers in the successful achievement of a goal. While this by no means implies that practitioners with less material advantage in childhood are devoid of personal qualities such as resilience, self-motivation or interpersonal skills it may be the case that these qualities are harder won for those practitioners who began life in material and/or social disadvantage. For instance, a practitioner who has navigated a conventional route through education and into university (e.g. Henry) may well possess a more influential set of social networks and networking skills early in their adult life than a practitioner who, despite aptitude, is only able to fully engage with educational opportunities as a mature student (e.g. Janet).

Additional Publications

The Routledge Companion to Rehabilitative Work in Criminal Justice Arts-based interventions in the justice system,

Laura Caulfield & Ella Simpson

Arts-based interventions have a long and complex history of work within the justice system. From fine art, to drama, creative writing and poetry, dance, to music – the Art forms are many and varied, as are the areas of the justice system that have incorporated the Arts into their work.

This chapter:

- outlines the range of Arts-based interventions in the UK justice system, including case studies
- provides an overview of the varied and challenging history of Arts-based interventions in the justice system
- discusses the role and impact of the Arts in the justice system, and highlights questions that exist concerning the evidence for the use of Arts-based interventions in the justice system

The range of Arts-based interventions in the justice system

There is a diversity of arts provision in the criminal justice system, and creative practitioners come to this work from an equally varied range of backgrounds and training. From creative writing, drama and theatre, art, music, dance, the list goes on. Arts provision in the justice system takes many forms, and indeed providers often work in a number of different ways. For example, it is not unusual to see an arts organisation that works in prisons, in the community, with young people, and adults. Likewise, the type of programme any one organisation might run can vary according to the population they are working with and their focus at the time. We provide some examples later in this section.

There is no single agenda or ethical agreement concerning the purpose of arts in prisons (Thompson, 2003: 45). This is clearly indicated by the multiple delivery points of arts in prisons, through education departments (Peaker and Vincent, 1990), through therapeutically based interventions grounded in the disciplines of forensic psychology, psychoanalysis and community psychiatry (Laing, 1984; Gussack, 2009; Cox & Gelsthorpe, 2012), and through the work of independent creative practitioners (Peaker & Vincent, 1990), some emerging from the radical activism of the 1970s (Johnston, 2004: 95), others embodying a conventional artistic training based around notions of fine arts and conservatoire education (Thompson, 2003: 46-47). Indeed, many creative practitioners have adapted their practices to the requirements of the professions of teaching or art therapy in order to combine their interests in art and work with prisoners. The introduction of an advocacy agenda in arts in criminal justice (Belfiore and Bennett, 2008), has seen practitioners shape their discourses, though not necessarily their practices, to policy requirements (e.g. Mer, 2012).

There are too many individuals and organisations working in this area to highlight in this chapter, so below we list a cross-section of organisations and the type of work they undertake:

Organisation	Art form	Settings/groups
The Irene Taylor Trust	Music	Prisons, young people in the community, ex-prisoners
Geese Theatre	Theatre and drama	Prison, probation, mental health settings, with young people, with professionals
Rideout	Primarily drama	Prisons, plus European work with a range of audiences
Artist in Residence	Art	HMP Grendon (male prison)
Fine Cell Work	Creative needlework	Prisons
Making for Change	Fashion design (& manufacturing)	HMP Downview (female prison)

Case Study: Good Vibrations

Good Vibrations is a charity that uses gamelan percussion music from Indonesia that has been identified as suitable for community or group settings; it has an informal and inclusive approach; and includes a variety of instruments that can be played without any prior musical training or knowledge of musical notation. Gamelan is the term for a collection of Indonesian bronze percussion instruments, consisting of a variety of metallophones, gongs, chimes and drums. It is a particularly communal form of music-making where participants are compelled to work together (Henley, 2009). Since its inception in 2003 Good Vibrations has worked with more than 3300 participants in 53 different secure institutions in the United Kingdom.

Good Vibrations projects typically run over one week for around fifteen-to-twenty individuals on average. They run in prisons, Young Offender Institutions, and in probation services, and are available to any offender in contact with these services (or, in some prisons, to targeted groups, e.g. the unemployed, the very low-skilled, people in touch with mental health teams or personality disorders, Vulnerable Prisoners). As well as learning how to play traditional pieces of gamelan music, participants create their own compositions as a group. Many also learn about Indonesian culture and associated art-forms (e.g. shadow puppetry, Javanese dance), and gain nationally-recognised qualifications, e.g. in Team-working Skills. At the end of the week, participants perform a concert to which staff, peers, family members and others are invited.

Case Study: 'The Studio' at the Youth Offending Service

(Can we include images?)

Birmingham Youth Offending Service (YOS) runs a music programme for young people in contact with their service. The music programme, known locally as 'the

studio', has existed for over ten years. The programme began for young people working with the Intensive Supervision & Surveillance team (ISS), but over time its remit has been broadened and it is now open to any young person in contact with the YOS. Referrals are made by a young person's YOS caseworker / programme manager, typically where a young person is seen to have a musical talent and/or interest in music. Overall, the young people taking part in this programme are representative of the wider population of the YOS in terms of age, ethnicity, gender, and offence/sentence type.

The aims of the programme are to: develop the creative, expressive and musical ability of children and young people; improve children and young people's self-efficacy and resilience; and improve the level of compliance and successful completion of court orders amongst project participants.

Sessions run on a one-to-one basis between the music leader and young person (with their caseworker present where appropriate). A typical level of engagement is one two-hour session per week over a twelve week period. The programme is run in a professional working studio space located near to the centre of Birmingham and young people can work on a variety of music-making activities, including: digital composition & production; creative lyric writing; vocal coaching & performance skills (rapping & singing); drum kit tuition; guitar tuition; music theory; deejaying skills; studio sound engineering & vocal recording techniques.

In the UK, many individual artists, groups, and arts organisations working in the justice system are represented by the National Criminal Justice Arts Alliance (NCJAA). The NCJAA is a network that exists 'to promote, develop and support high quality arts practice in criminal justice settings, influencing and informing government, commissioners and the public.' (NCJAA, 2017a). The NCJAA has over 800 members, demonstrating the scale of arts and creative activities in the justice system.

In 2012 the NCJAA launched the Evidence Library. The Evidence Library is 'an online library, housing the key research and evaluation documents on the impact of arts-based projects, programmes and interventions within the Criminal Justice System.' (NCJAA, 2017b). Other countries have followed the Evidence Library initiative, setting up their own resources. See for example the Prison Arts Resource Project (PARP), which 'is an online library of evidence-based research into U.S. correctional arts programs' (PARP, 2017).

A brief history of Arts-based interventions in the justice system

The relationship between the creative arts and the Criminal Justice System has a long and complex history (Cox and Gelsthorpe, 2012). Indeed, the inclusion of artistic and literary content in official prison regimes appear alongside the emergence of the modern penal system. As early as 1837 Foucault notes that at the House of young prisoners in Paris, amidst a routine of reveille, hard labour and austere rations, the rules included:

'Art. 22. School...The class lasts two hours and consists alternately of reading, writing, *drawing* and arithmetic....

Art. 27. At seven o'clock in the summer, at eight in winter, work stops...For a quarter of an hour one of the prisoners or supervisors *reads a passage from*

some instructive or uplifting work.' (Faucher, 1838 cited in Foucault, 1977: 6 - our emphasis).

The 'uplifting' nature of this literature, in the context of the period, was predominantly religious rather than aesthetic (Rogers, 2013: 10), though it was certainly intended to be morally improving (Fyfe, 1992: 18). However, the presence of literature and the arts in prisons was not entirely devoted to scriptural readings and by the 1830s secular literature was entering prisons through the work of the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge (Fyfe, 1992: 9). The Prison Discipline Society included 'leisure reading' as having a role in supporting the reform process (5th Annual Report, 1823: 63 cited in Fyfe, 1992: 37) and the governor of Coldbath Fields felt that novels were able to effect 'a salutary revolution in the soul *and imagination* of the prisoner' (Pears, 1872: 71-72 cited in Hartley, 2011: 93, our emphasis).

The combination of religion and erudition in the 1800s are embodied in the activities of Elizabeth Fry, 'the best-known and most influential prison reformer of her sex' (Fyfe, 1992: 23). Though she had set out with the intention of providing a school for the children of female prisoners in Newgate, 'the women persuaded her to provide them with needlework and teach them to read and write' (Rogers, 2013: 10 citing Foxwell Buxton, 1818; Cooper, 1981: 683). Nor was Fry alone in these endeavours. Sarah Martin at Yarmouth Jail in the 1800s is also documented as having procured sewing materials to allow both male and female prisoners to engage in craft activities (Carey and Walker, 2002: 53). While alone such examples may suggest isolated incidents of maverick practitioners operating below the radar of official approval, by the time Peaker and Vincent (1993) embarked on the first comprehensive survey of arts in British prisons, they found 'a vast diversity of arts available in the majority of prisons' (Brown, 2002: 106).

Parkes (2011) identifies the 1980s as a notable period for the delivery of artistic interventions in prisons in the UK, which followed on from similar developments in the US during the 1970s (Currie, 1989). In terms of how the arts' entered prisons, there is a history of this work through art therapy. Brown (2002: 107) identifies the early 1990s as the time when a small number of individuals attempted to make art therapy an established part of prison provision. Reassessing the literature on creative arts in the justice system some 15 years later, Hughes (2005: 24) finds 25 projects out of a total of 200 were delivered via art therapy, dramatherapy or psychodrama. Although, as Brown (2002: 107) notes, by the beginning of the 21st century there was a more widespread use in secure units. Guidelines specific to the use of art therapies in prisons were published in 1997 (Teasdale, 1997 cited in Brown, 2002: 107).

The presence of the arts in criminal justice settings has not always been a comfortable fit. Laing (1994: 119) writes about how group therapy sessions were often labelled as 'classes' by prison staff 'thus implying they will be seen as teaching sessions in the scholastic sense'. In the early 1970s there were approximately 100,000 classes organised in prisons with around half of all practical classes consisting of arts, handicrafts and related hobbies (Brandreth, 1972: 32). As late as the 1980s, in a curriculum offering a good deal of variation in subjects and study levels (Laing, 1984: 119), education appears to have included a wide range of creative subjects such as pottery, art and music (Bayliss & Hughes in Bennett et al.,

2013: 300). In response to changes in policy, creative practitioners have adopted educational discourses, as can be seen in responses to the introduction of the Core Curriculum⁹⁸ (Bayliss and Hughes, 2012: 300), which was followed by a concerted effort on the part of practitioners to demonstrate the relevance of the arts to basic skills education (Standing Committee on the Arts, 2001; Hughes et al., 2005: 39). Garland (2002) details the wider context in criminal justice in the 1980s, which saw the treatment or medical model of offender rehabilitation, prevalent from the 1950s, fall out of favour due to 'an astonishingly sudden draining away of support for the ideal of rehabilitation' (Garland, 2002 following Allen, 1981). The shift from reform and rehabilitation to a focus on the 'management of prisons' (Mott, 1985: 2 cited in Duguid, 2000: 75), emerged the 'opportunities approach' (Duguid, 2000: 76), which led to the entry of a large number of outside agencies into prisons as prison administrations sought to contract services out (Duguid, 2000: 93). Brown (2002) augments Duguid's (2000) 'opportunities' era exposition, claiming that at the end of the 1980s 'there seemed to be feeling that art in prison was about to become a vital new way of helping individuals to change' (Brown, 2002: 106). Peaker and Vincent (1990) offer a fuller consideration of how the period came to inform arts provision in prisons. They identify the emergence of participatory arts; a policy commitment from the Arts Council, set out in the *Glory of the Garden* report (ACE, 1984), which aimed to democratise the arts, along with a number of 'profound' changes in the prison system in terms of management, and a new understanding of prison service purpose. Indeed, Peaker and Vincent's (1990, 1992) research emerged out of this confluence of events which resulted in a grant, jointly funded by the Arts Council and the Home Office, being made to enable an investigation into the uses of creative arts in British prisons (Brown, 2002: 106). Out of this work, initially based at Loughborough University and later the University of Kent in Canterbury (Brown, 2002), the Unit for Arts and Offenders emerged in 1992. In 1996 the organisation became a charitable trust (Brown, 2002: 106-107), and changed its name to the Anne Peaker Centre in 2005. It remained a key advocacy organisation for arts in prisons until its closure in 2010 due to lack of funding.

More recently the Arts Alliance was established to serve as 'a representative body which will enable practitioners and service users to gain a representative voice to influence policy, a forum to exchange views, and a stand to promote and raise the profile of the arts in criminal justice sector' (Edwards, 2008: see also Arts Alliance, 2011). The Arts Alliance also took over the research function of the Anne Peaker Centre with its Evidence Library. In tandem with the creation of the Arts Alliance the Ministry of Justice, Department for Innovation, Universities, and Skills and Department for Digital, Culture, Media, and Sport established the Arts Forum which aimed to 'meet with Alliance representatives and work in partnership' (NOMS, 2007). The Arts Alliance is now called the National Criminal Justice Arts Alliance, as discussed above.

The impact of the Arts in the justice system

⁹⁸ In prison education in the UK 'learning became a competitive commodity' (Bayliss and Hughes, 2012: 300) and the focus shifted significantly away from arts and crafts activities to focus on Skills for Life and the introduction of a Core Curriculum in 1997.

As Parkes & Bilby (2010:106) note, the arts can map an 'alternative terrain to traditional concepts of rehabilitation and treatment'. As a general rule, arts programmes in criminal justice settings aim to have a positive impact on participants in a range of ways (Parkes & Bilby, 2010), rather than having a direct impact on offending behaviour (Bilby, Caulfield, & Ridley, 2013):

'there are strong reasons to consider arts in criminal justice an area of considerable significance and innovation. The value of engaging prisoners in purposeful activity has long been recognised, and is part of the criteria against which prisons are assessed by the inspectorate. Similarly the goals of HM Prison Service include the duty to look after prisoners with humanity, as well as rehabilitating offenders to lead crime-free lives. If we accept that an element of humanity is the need and desire to express ourselves creatively, whether verbally or in other ways, then we must also acknowledge that this demands the provision of creative activities within the prison estate and the wider Criminal Justice System (Parkes & Bilby, 2010).'

Bilby et al. (2013: 12)

There is significant evidence that participation in the arts increases confidence and social skills (Baker & Homan, 2007; Bilby et al, 2013; Bruce, 2015; Cox & Gelsthorpe, 2008;). For example, in Caulfield's (2011, 2014) longitudinal evaluation of an art residency at HMP Grendon, participants showed significant increases in creativity and technical abilities and subsequently an increase in confidence. Similarly in Cursley and Maruna's (2015) Changing Tunes evaluation, participant's improvements in musical ability appeared to improve their self-confidence in rehearsals and performances. Increases in the confidence of offenders lead to a better, more constructive use of their time.

Within the literature on arts-interventions, confidence is often linked to the re-integration of offenders into education (Viggiani et al, 2013). Indeed Cox and Gelsthorpe (2008) and Wilson et al. (2009) have found that prisoners taking part in music projects report increased motivation to engage in future education. Winner and Cooper (2000) suggest that participation in the arts uses cognitive structures such as problem-solving and close observation, and that these skills can be applied to other forms of learning in the future. The mechanisms behind the participation in the arts has shown to increase offenders capability to learn and so in turn can develop important life skills for use after release (Miles & Strauss, 2008). Attitudinal and behavioural changes often arise through self-evaluation and changes in self-concept (Bruce, 2015). Several studies have shown that through engagement with arts-based activities, participants learn to foster their emotions in a safe way (Winder et al, 2015) and may use the arts as an emotional outlet for any negative emotions (Cartwright, 2013). Arts-based projects are thought to offer a safe space (Cox & Gelsthorpe, 2008) away from everyday life challenges (Wilson et al, 2009). The positive regulation of emotions has been linked to increased well-being and decreases in anger and aggression, through participation in arts-based projects (Wilson et al., 2009; Miles and Strauss, 2008).

Building and maintaining positive emotions is crucial to counteracting stressful life experiences and building resilience (Rutten, 2013). Resilience refers to 'the capacity of a system, enterprise or person to [find] and maintain its core purpose and

integrity in the face of dramatically changed circumstances' (Zolli & Healy, 2012: 6) and is an important factor in lifelong health and well-being, thought to help explain how individuals deal with challenges throughout life. Existing research has noted that participation in arts-based projects increases offenders ability to deal with personal problems (Wilson et al, 2009; Henley, 2012; Viggiani et al, 2013) and improves coping (Miles & Strauss, 2008) – factors core to resilience. Furthermore, Newman (2002) suggests that participation in the arts reduces risk factors and increases protective factors, including social support (Cursley and Maruna, 2015) and new role models in their peers and art facilitators (Viggiani et al, 2013). Potentially the most powerful bonds that form may be between the arts facilitators and the offenders, although the literature has only just begun to explore this. Henley (2012) reports the high level of trust and respect observed between participants and the arts facilitator, with social barriers broken in the spaces created (Abrahams et al, 2012). Indeed, a review of 12 studies on music programmes in prison concluded that they 'are perceived by participating prisoners as a liberating process, which encourages participation and allows for noncoercive personal development' (Kougiali, Einat, & Leibling, 2017:1).

There evidence to suggest that arts based interventions within criminal justice settings foster a process of self-evaluation (Caulfield, Wilkinson, & Wilson 2016; Davey et al, 2015; Sibling, 2005), which has been found to positively improve self-concept (Baker & Homan, 2007; Berson, 2008; Henley, 2012). For example, in McKean's (2006) evaluation of a theatre-based project with women in prison, participants reported an enhanced sense of self and a new found autonomy through freedom to express their emotions. This can be viewed as contributing to secondary desistance (Maruna & Farrall, 2004), where "Desistance is the process by which people who have offended stop offending (primary desistance) and then taken on a personal narrative (Maruna, 2001) that supports a continuing non-offending lifestyle (secondary desistance)" (Bilby, Caulfield, & Ridley, 2013:13).

An evaluation of the Changing Tunes music project for ex-prisoners found that participants came to see themselves not primarily as ex-offenders, but as a musicians and individuals with responsibility for their own future (Cursley & Maruna, 2015). Similarly, Anderson et al (2011) report that involvement in arts-based offender interventions in Scotland enabled participants to redefine themselves. These examples, among others (cf. Caulfield *et al.*, 2016; Henley, 2012) suggest that arts-based interventions can influence the process of desistance, by creating a sense of personal agency.

While much useful and insightful research has been produced on the role of the Arts in criminal justice, the evidence base has been subject to criticism. For example, the focus of much research in this area has been on self-reported measures. While it is clear that the voice of participants is crucial to understanding how any project works, Burrowes et al (2013) - in their evidence assessment of intermediate outcomes of arts projects for National Offender Management Services - note that there is a lack of good quality research into the arts in criminal justice, citing a particular lack of robust quantitative data. Even when research has taken a mixed method approach, Burrowes at al note methodological issues with most research in the area lacking any control group to compare results to. In addition, it is rare to see evaluations that use pre-test and post-test scores (Cheliotis, Jordanoska, & Sekol, 2014; Miles &

Clarke, 2006), meaning it is hard to clearly establish outcomes in most of the current literature.

Some researchers have, however, argued for the importance of 'intermediate' measures, and measures that tell us something of the experience of those taking part. Indeed, reducing evaluation of the arts to a mere quantitative binary measure may risk losing any insight into the real impact of the arts in criminal justice (Caulfield, 2014). As Bilby et al (2013: 10) note: 'Just as arts practices in the criminal justice system can be seen as innovative projects in themselves, exploring the mechanisms for change in the journey to desistance needs to be innovative too. Methodologies that can measure changes in behaviour (important in primary desistance⁹⁹) as well as changes in personal narratives (important in secondary desistance) need to be adopted. This needs to be recognised and accepted by policy makers'. Indeed, as Caulfield *et al.* (2016: 412) note, 'it is clearly unreasonable to suggest that such projects can be directly responsible for reducing reoffending - and nor do they seek to be - but it remains important to consider how a variety of experiences can be relevant in shaping the path an offender takes towards desisting from crime.'

Summary

There is a diversity of arts provision in the criminal justice system, and creative practitioners come to this work from an equally varied range of backgrounds and training. In the UK, many individual artists, groups, and arts organisations working in the justice system are represented by the National Criminal Justice Arts Alliance (NCJAA). As a general rule, arts programmes in criminal justice settings aim to have a positive impact on participants in a range of ways (Parkes & Bilby, 2010), rather than having a direct impact on offending behaviour, and there is a growing amount of research that demonstrated a range of positive impacts arising from participation in the arts within the justice system.

Organisations/webpages mentioned in this chapter

Arts Alliance Evidence Library: <http://www.artsevidence.org.uk/>

Fine Cell work: <https://finecellwork.co.uk/>

Geese Theatre: <http://www.geese.co.uk/>

Good Vibrations: <http://www.good-vibrations.org.uk/>

Making for Change: <http://www.arts.ac.uk/fashion/about/better-lives/making-for-change/>

The Irene Taylor Trust: <https://irenetaylortrust.com/>

National Criminal Justice Arts Alliance: <https://www.artsincriminaljustice.org.uk/>

Prison Arts Resources Project: <https://scancorrectionalarts.org/>

Rideout: <http://www.rideout.org.uk/>

⁹⁹ Desistance is the process by which people who have committed crimes stop offending (primary desistance) and take on a personal narrative that supports a continuing non-offending lifestyle (secondary desistance). This essentially refers not only to an individual stopping committing crime, but an individual seeing her/himself as someone other than 'an offender'.

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From the Outside In: Narratives of Creative Arts Practitioners
Working in the Criminal Justice System

From the Outside In: Narratives of Creative Arts Practitioners
Working in the Criminal Justice System

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Abstract: The penal voluntary sector is highly variegated in its roles, practices and functions, though research to date has largely excluded the experiences of frontline practitioners. We argue that engaging with the narratives of practitioners can provide fuller appreciation of the potential of the sector's work. Though life story and narrative have been recognised as important in offender desistance (Maruna 2001), the narrative identities of creative arts practitioners, who are important 'change agents' (Albertson 2015), are typically absent. This is despite evidence to suggest that a practitioner's life history can be a significant and positive influence in the rehabilitation of offenders (Harris 2017). Using narratological analysis (Bal 2009), this study examined the narratives of 19 creative practitioners in prisons in England and Wales. Of particular interest were the formative experiences of arts practitioners in their journey to prison work. The findings suggest that arts practitioners identify with an 'outsider' status and may be motivated by an ethic of mutual aid. In the current climate of third sector involvement in the delivery of criminal justice interventions, such a capacity may be both a strength and weakness for arts organisations working in this field.

Keywords: alterity; arts interventions; narrative criminology; penal voluntary sector; prisons

Introduction

Marketisation and the Ethos of the Voluntary Sector

The penal landscape has changed considerably in recent decades with increasing numbers of voluntary sector organisations delivering interventions and services alongside public and private sector organisations (Gojkovic, Mills and Meek 2011; Wyld and Noble 2017). Dubbed the penal voluntary sector in the UK (Carey and

Walker 2002; Corcoran 2011; Tomczak 2014, 2017a, 2017b), volunteers and philanthropists have had an established presence in modern penal systems. The creation of a mixed economy of criminal justice in England and Wales over the course of the last three decades has significantly boosted the involvement of the penal voluntary sector (see Maguire 2012, pp.484–5).

Marketisation has raised concerns about conflicts of interest and departure from established ethics, values and practice in the voluntary sector (Benson and Hedge 2009; Maguire 2012; Mills, Meek and Gojkovic 2011). Research by Corcoran *et al.* (2018) suggests that the sector increasingly 'either outwardly complies with, or, in a minority of cases, actively embraces, competitive marketized models' in a manner that can cause conflict with their founding ethos and values (p.188). Tomczak's (2017a, pp.155,164) study of voluntary sector involvement in payment-by-results (PbR) schemes and post-custodial supervision concludes that these organisations had a role in expansion of regulatory and carceral State power. The sector's strategic importance in the neoliberal programme of penal reform in England and Wales has subjected it to 'penal drift' (Corcoran 2011) alongside more control and discipline by the State (Corcoran *et al.* 2018; Tomczak 2017a). However, despite being imbricated in increasingly complex configurations of resourcing in a largely unplanned and competitive mixed market of penal provision, voluntary sector organisations have not entirely abandoned established practice and values (Tomczak 2017a, p.166) nor become 'biddable agents' of neoliberal policy and marketisation (Tomczak 2014, p.482). This appears to reflect a long-standing duality in the voluntary sector, identified by Kendall and Knapp (1996), Salaman (2012, p.3), and Tomczak (2017a): it acts as a 'reactionary force' legitimising the status quo and as a 'channel for dissent' (Kendall and Knapp 1996, pp.59–60). Service provision coexists with: advocacy and campaigning (Hucklesby and Corcoran 2016, p.2); philanthropy and 'middle class patronage' (Kendall and Knapp 1996, p.51) with an ethos of mutual aid (Smith, Rochester and Hedley 1995);

individual empowerment with social control (Tomczak 2017a, p.153). Marketisation pushes this dualism further – more formal, detached and depersonalised ‘case-processing’ practice displaces the customary, informal and involved ways in which staff interacted with service users (Corcoran *et al.* 2018, p.193; Maguire 2012, p.491).

Much of the literature on this changing landscape focuses on structural organisation and strategic goals, with some exceptions (see Tomczak 2017b; Salole 2016). There is a scarcity of data which articulate the complexities of the grass-roots operations of a sector which comprises several thousand diverse organisations: varied in size, scope, roles, functions, ambitions, service users, and relationships to the commissioning processes and supply chains of the penal market (Tomczak 2014, pp.473–4, 479–80; Tomczak 2017b, pp.76–80, 172, 175; Wyld and Noble 2017). Research is needed to increase understanding of the motivations, practices of frontline workers, and ‘below the radar activities’ (Proctor and Alcock 2012) which are poorly understood (Tomczak and Albertson 2016).

Creative Arts Practice in the Penal Voluntary Sector

There are over 900 creative arts practitioners in England and Wales delivering creative arts interventions within a criminal justice context (NCJAA, undated), working in charitable and State-funded organisations, and as self-employed freelancers. They form a hybrid group in the penal voluntary sector. They may be precariously employed and meagrely remunerated due to marginalisation and poor funding of some creative arts interventions (O’Keefe and Albertson 2016, p.497). A developing body of research into creative arts interventions in penal contexts demonstrates the positive impacts these can have on participants’ skills, attitudes and learning, typically focused on evaluation of outcomes (see Ackerman 1992; Albertson 2015; Anderson 2015; Bilby, Caulfield and Ridley 2013; Burrowes *et al.* 2013; Caulfield 2011, 2015; Caulfield, Wilkinson and Wilson 2016; Cheliotis and

Jordanoska 2016; Cursley and Maruna 2015; Di Viggiani, Macintosh and Lang 2010; Gussak and Cohen-Liebman 2001; Henley 2015, Miller and Rowe 2009; Miner-Romanoff 2016; O’Keefe and Albertson 2016; Sams 2014; **Smitherman and Thompson 2002**; Tett *et al.* 2012). The focus on evaluation of outcomes, often focused on questions around evidence broadly set by funders and policymakers, has left little room for exploring what practitioners *do* in arts interventions and how they do it (Anderson 2015). Moreover, there is limited research into the personal and professional journeys of practitioners into this type of work and how far the competing trajectories of the voluntary sector (philanthropy/mutual aid; resistance/compliance) motivate practitioners in their frontline work.

The research presented in this article focuses on practitioners’ journeys. In light of the ways in which evidence-based policy has led practitioners to shape their narratives to particular requirements, this study sought to give practitioners autonomy in how they told their story by taking a narratological approach. A narrative-based approach to research has increased understanding of the identities, subjectivities, agency and lived experience of people in penal environments (Garcia-Hallett 2015; Radcliffe and Hunt 2016) and the role of narrative in desistance from offending (Albertson 2015; Maruna 2001; Presser 2009, 2010; Vaughan 2007). The current study emphasises the usefulness of this approach for understanding the experiences of practitioners. A creative data collection method and narratological analysis has been used to draw out the experiences of practitioners and their journey into this line of work, articulated in their own words and from their own perspective in the form of an elicitation of their individual life story.

Methods

This research involved the design of an innovative data collection tool (storyboard method), and an innovative narratological approach to the analysis of those storyboards. A summary overview of the methods is provided below. A detailed

discussion of the approach and methods will be found in the PhD thesis of the first author, expected to be available in 2021.

Data Collection

No matter how open-ended an interview schedule, the underlying assumptions of the researcher will be implicit in the design (Caufield and Hill 2018). A key motivation for employing a creative data collection tool was to move the current study away from this type of shaping. This research employed an eight-frame storyboarding technique, to elicit life history narratives from drawn and written responses. In workshops lasting approximately three hours, participants were asked to write or draw their own story of how they came to be in prison, in no more than eight frames. The final frame of the storyboard had to be the participant starting work in prison; the rest of the frames were for them to narrate as they chose. No further guidance was given about what was expected in terms of content or structure (see [Figure 1](#)).

>>>>>>>>>Insert Figure 1 about here – storyboard template<<<<<<<<

Participants

A fixed purposive sampling approach (Bryman 2012, p.418) was used to recruit participants, aided by the Writers in Prison Network (WIPN), National Association of Writers in Education (NAWE), and the National Criminal Justice Arts Alliance (NCJAA). The criteria for inclusion/exclusion were that participants must have facilitated creative writing workshops in prisons and have worked in prisons for a minimum of one year. Nineteen writers participated in the research. They had up to 20 years of individual experience working in prisons and ranged in age from 32 to

70 years. Of the 19 writers, eleven were currently working in prisons: one full-time, and ten working freelance for a few hours a week or month.

Data Analysis

>>>>>>>>Insert Table 1 about here<<<<<<<<

Having generated data that were as unimpeded as possible by the expectations of the researcher, it was particularly important that the analysis also foregrounded practitioners' stories. This involved a series of interrelated stages within the research process (see *Table 1*). Bal's (2009) narratological analysis artificially divides the narrative into three layers: the fabula; the story; and the text. The text is the material artifact, the book, the film, the piece of art, in this case the eight-frame storyboard; the story is the layer that is concerned with the particular way in which a series of events is told, focusing on aspects such as the sequencing of events, characters, and points of view. Finally, the fabula is 'a series of logically and chronologically related events that are caused or experienced by actors' (Bal 1997, p.5). The fabula was chosen as the focus for data analysis. In effect, it represents an attempt to elicit the bare lines of the practitioner's experience as it is related in narrative form via a description of the plot. This process rests on, in so far as it is possible, resisting an interpretation of the storyboards, sticking, instead, to straight description. The analysis produced an 'event summary', which was intended to pare down each narrative to the clear lines of the plot. These summaries were analysed using a form of content analysis as a means to ascertain the elements that each participant identified as important in their autobiographical story, and any patterns generated between narratives. The analysis followed Huckin's (2004, pp.16–19) procedure. Next, the storyboards were coded through a process analysis (inspired by Bal 1997; Fludernik 2000), and , the narrative, conversational and instructional sentences

compiled into a single 'event summary' (examples of which are presented in the findings section of this article). The intention being to reduce the storyboard down to only the bare lines of the fabula, that is, the sequence of events constituting the plot of each individual story. Together the content and process analysis aimed to identify which events were significant across the storyboards and articulate how they were sequenced.

Findings

The arts as a corrupting or distracting force have a long history in the development of Western cultural practices (Belfiore and Bennett 2008, pp.40–53) and along with it, the notion of the writer, or artist, more generally as an outlaw, outsider or rebel (Rader 1958). Of the 19 practitioners in the current study, 16 appeared to identify with some form of outsider status. The analysis identified other core elements from the data, including a detailed exploration of the use of personal pronouns to create distance between narrative and narrator/author, which is presented in the thesis of the first author. For the purposes of this article, however, we focus on the most significant theme from the data: outsider status. Outsider status and experience has been conceptualised in the analysis as alterity, 'the state of being other or different' (Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin 2013, p.11). Through the narratives articulated on the storyboards, participants encounter a sense of their 'otherness'. Working from the fabula, six categories of alterity were identified (see [Table 2](#)).

>>>>Insert Table 2 about here – 6 categories of alterity<<<<<<

Each category had been experienced by at least three practitioners. Seven storyboards contained one form of outsider experience, three contained two forms, and six practitioners had experienced three types of alterity. While some of the categories are concerned with 'active' forms of rebellion (anti-authority/protest;

reject status quo) others describe passive experiences of othering/otherness (negative experience of the criminal justice system (CJS); mental health). The category of 'art itself' may be either actively or passively experienced depending on the way in which the activity is pursued, while 'identification with/help the "other"', does not easily fit into the active/passive distinction. Each of the six categories is discussed in turn below.

Art Itself

The first category, 'Art itself', relates to the association of creative identities with rebellion (Belfiore and Bennett 2008) and/or alienation (Rader 1958) and is evident in eight storyboards. This category emerges in these storyboards in a number of ways. For Eric, it is a series of frames that toggle between the hedonistic rebellion of 'wild times', 'creative chaos' and 'drinking' to 'unemployment', isolation and homelessness (Eric, frames 3, 5, 6). Ben's storyboard also suggests the decadence of a creative lifestyle:

WIN A PRIZE! MAKE MONEY!

PISS IT ALL AWAY. (Ben, frames 3, 4)

Four storyboards explicitly contrast 'trying to be sensible and have a professional career' (Henry, frame 1) with 'creativity' (Janet, frame 7). This is sometimes framed in economic terms, 'I always wanted to write ... but I also needed to earn a living' (Steve, frame 2), while Joe's storyboard implies the status aspect of a 'career in respectability' (Joe, frame 6). Bob, by contrast, highlights the notion of 'passion' as a driving force, which implies he is at the behest of an external impetus. Rory also arrives at a point in his creative journey where 'There's no going back. There's nothing else left!' (Rory, frame 6). Nine of the eleven remaining storyboards contain objects and processes relating to the arts. However, in these storyboards the arts are presented as unproblematic, simply another part of the fabula rather than an

experience of othering/otherness. A final two storyboards do not contain reference to the arts at all. It is beyond the remit or rationale of this article to speculate on these absences, though there is a rich line of inquiry to be pursued. Eight of the storyboards do, however, demonstrate the experience of alterity connected to these practitioners' attempts to pursue their ambitions in the creative arts.

While the presence of art is less remarkable than its omission in the context of these storyboards, the range of arts practice is more diverse than expected. All participants were recruited on the understanding that they had extensive experience of delivering creative writing workshops in prisons. However, one practitioner focuses solely on music, another is a trained visual artist, and a third describes a background in drama facilitation. Even in storyboards that display a focus on writing, only seven of these engage exclusively with the written form. For Dave, Barbara, and Steve, drama features alongside their literary activities. Rory finds that studying art and performances is much more satisfying than his original attempts to study for a degree in English (Rory, frames 2, 3). Henry worked in fine art management before succeeding as a full-time screenwriter, and Susan makes allusions to films and art before becoming a 'WRITING WRITE WRITE WRITE WRITER IN RESIDENCE' (Susan, frame 8). Jean, too, shares an image that includes painting, film, literature and music. There are ten storyboards in total that evidence multidisciplinary arts practice.

Anti-authority/Protest

In total, there are five storyboards where fabula content is suggestive of anti-authoritarianism or protest. Two of these storyboards deal with individual acts of defiance: Joanne's extreme resistance to formative education and employment which left her feeling 'ANGER, BOREDOM ... ANGER! FRUSTRATION!' (Joanne, frames 2, 3); and Tracey's statement that she dislikes 'Rules, restrictions, conformity!!!' (Tracey, frame 6). Jean, Susan and Janet's storyboards, all contain

clear indications of organised political action and consciousness. Both Jean and Susan's storyboards contain images of protest banners on issues such as anti-war/peace (for example, Vietnam, End War), anti-Thatcher rhetoric of the 1980s (Coal not Dole), and a range of humanitarian causes (for example, End Apartheid, Save Biafra, Shelter) (see *Figure 2*). Meanwhile, Janet's storyboard details an inventory of activist-related terminology ('giving others a voice – a way to express social conscience/access – Freed up to be more politicized' (Janet, frames 6, 7)).

>>>>Insert Figure 2 about here – Protest banners<<<<<<

Analysis of the storyboards highlights that there are ten storyboards that reference multidisciplinary arts practice (see discussion above, in 'Art Itself' section), and that each of these display, to differing degrees, engagement with the anti-authoritarianism sentiments of the community arts. At its weakest, this may be a casual association derived from facilitating creative writing activities in the community setting of a prison, which has been seen as one avenue for community arts practice (Johnston 2004). At the other extreme, participation in organised political action exists independently of the practitioners' creative practice, and while this may exert an influence on their creative aspirations, this is not clear from the fabula of the storyboards. The clearest indication of a direct link between creative arts and activism is found in Janet's storyboard in a matrix of activism, socialism, facilitation and teaching that follows being 'freed up to be more politicized' (Janet, frame 6). Finally, the less organised, more individualistic kind of anti-authoritarianism found in the storyboards of Joanne and Tracey appears to be more of a reaction to outside forces than a revolutionary attempt to overthrow them. The five storyboards contained in the second category of alterity, however, all display another aspect of the practitioners' sense of being on the outside of society.

Reject Status Quo

Four storyboards appear to reject the status quo from within it rather than from a position of alteriority. Each of these practitioners (Joe, Dave, Jessica, Henry) display what might be considered an 'insider status'. Henry was 'articled to a criminal lawyer' (Henry, frame 2), Dave and Jessica both worked as probation officers, and Joe had 'a career in respectability' (Joe, frame 6) and yet they all wilfully reject the normative values of 'respectable' employment in order to pursue and place themselves on the outside of the system. Furthermore, in three cases this concerns a system dedicated to bringing outsiders who have offended against the legal code back 'inside' using disciplinary methods, suggesting some degree of rejection of the principles or practices of the CJS. Jessica no longer wants to be 'at the beck and call of the Courts and Home Office (Jessica, frame 4), Dave describes how his 'Job of Dreams' in youth justice involves spending 'all day on a computer with little time for young offenders' (Dave, frame 4) noting wryly that it's 'what managers value' (Dave, frame 4). Henry appears to spend the least time working in the CJS. However, much later in the storyboard a memory of 'having to tell a wife her husband is going to prison' (Henry, frame 7) is juxtapositioned with the decision to apply for a prison writing residency, implying that the former motivates the latter. Again, these storyboards display another dimension of practitioners' various experiences of being apart from the mainstream, of being outsiders.

All of these four storyboards use employment as a symbol of the status quo. However, practitioners' relationships to employment are instructive across the whole spread of storyboards and references to work and jobs occur 53 times across the 19 fabulas. Rader (1958) traces the artists' outsider status back to Hegel's (1977) notion of alienation and argues that the Italian Renaissance and the emergence of capitalism began a process whereby the artist became increasingly separated and detached from the rest of society (cf. Kaufman 2015). "Alienation" is an abstruse concept (Safraz 1997, p.45) with no single general definition (Schacht 2015) and while a Marxist perspective on the concept is by no means invulnerable to critique,

such a focus on material conditions seems highly pertinent to the experiences of these practitioners. Marx's (1992, pp.326–30) identification of four facets of alienation: of worker from product; of worker from the act of production; of worker from their human essence; and of worker from other workers, are present in various forms in the fabula. At its most obvious, this kind of economically generated alienation is seen in Joe's storyboard:

Broke – flat, stony and regularly – between jobs that were one by bloody one breaking me to bits – bit by bit. (Joe, frame 5)

Rory, too, spends an amount of time prior to achieving financial viability for his creative endeavours, engaged in the kinds of employment that are most clearly associated with Marx's description of enforced, dehumanising labour in which the worker has no control over either process or product:

I work digging ditches. (Rory, frame 5)

Alternatively, when the storyboards detail employment in the arts it is often not described in terms of work at all. Nor is it ever described as a career. There are two mentions of the word career, both pertaining to jobs in non-creative sectors; Joe's 'career in respectability' and Henry writes about an attempt at a 'professional career "to fall back on"' (Henry, frame 1). Seven storyboards make reference to the central protagonist's creative facilitation role in prison but do not describe these activities as work. An additional two storyboards relate this role to work, but only in the context of the application or interview process. Eric writes about the 'job interview' (Eric, frame 8) and Kate describes 'applying for the job' (Kate, frame 3). The suggestion here is that these practitioners may view their engagement with the arts as a kind of "nonalienated labour", similar to Mishler's (1999, p.xiv) rather romantic notion of the craft artists in his study of US arts practitioners. As Mishler's (1999) empirical

research goes on to discover, the lived experience of his practitioners is somewhat less utopian and they were:

keenly aware of the constraints of 'how the world is made', and tried to find ways to continue with their work within that reality. (p.161)

A key dimension of these constraints, Mishler found, was economic insecurity, where practitioners were "just getting by" (p.161). This is consistent with the financial precarity found in the storyboards. In total, seven storyboards contain references to a lack of money. In addition to Joe and Rory's manual labour, discussed above, Henry's storyboard describes having no money despite being a successful writer (Henry, frame 6), Susan is 'skint, skint, skint' (Susan, frame 7), the protagonist in Barbara's storyboard has no car despite living in Los Angeles (where travel without a car is extremely challenging: Barbara, frame 5). Before working in prison Tracey was 'running around four jobs' (Tracey, frame 5). At the other extreme, Eric spent a period of time without employment (Eric, frame 2). Ben's storyboard suggests an amount of wealth earned from his literary career, but juxtaposes this with a decline in fortunes, albeit self-imposed. An amount of pragmatism is also demonstrated by Ben and Rory in their decisions to work in prison. Ben's storyboard suggests that work in prison was precipitated by a need for money, while Rory agrees to go into a prison because 'It's work' (Rory, frame 7).

Overall, the storyboards contain an amount of nuance concerning the practitioners' relationships to employment. There are examples of all-out rejection of mainstream career paths (Joe, Jessica, Dave), as well as instances that appear to illustrate classic experiences of alienation through economic coercion. Economic considerations also seem to inform two practitioners' decisions to facilitate prison arts. However, a further seven do not make associations between their creative facilitation roles and work, which may indicate a view that is closer to Mishler's (1999) concept of 'nonalienated labour' (although this is not without its financial

precarity). A Marxist perspective is highly pertinent to a discussion of employment and adds an economic dimension to the political and creatively informed categories of alterity discussed previously.

Early Institutional Experiences: The Education System and the Criminal Justice System

The fourth category of alterity captures findings on early negative experiences of the CJS and experiences of the education system. There are three storyboards detailing encounters with the CJS. While this does not constitute a high frequency of incidents, in conjunction with other findings it begins to build a picture of oppositional actions and reactions to authority, both in terms of active protest and passive experience. Dave's storyboard notes a 'Run in with police on the estate' (Dave, frame 1), while Steve states 'more than one teacher thought I would end up in prison ...' (Steve, frame 1). Samantha, has a different experience of British law enforcement, when, while on a trip to Donegal during the period of internment, she witnesses her 'dad pulled out (of the car) and marched away' (Samantha, frame 5) by soldiers. Taking into consideration Becker's (1963[1997]) seminal work on labelling theory, it is arguable that such formative encounters may contribute to these practitioners' perceptions of themselves as outsiders.

A more usual reference point for formative experience concerns educational encounters. Perhaps unsurprisingly, the storyboards contain a total of 67 objects pertaining to education. However, beyond this headline figure there are some less-expected findings. Only five of the storyboards make any reference to school, which appears to be a low number for an experience which all the practitioners were, presumably, exposed to over the course of their early lives. Why so many practitioners chose to leave this part of their autobiography unnarrated can only be speculated upon, and is, therefore, incompatible with the rationale of the current analysis. It may, however, be a rich line of enquiry that would benefit from further

investigation. Of the five storyboards that address school experiences, only Rory's storyboard features an unequivocally positive event in which the young protagonist's literary ambitions are encouraged by a teacher. Meanwhile Joanne is left 'bored' and 'angry' by school, Janet is labelled a 'dirty gypo', Joe 'broke out of school as often as opportunity handed me the crowbar' and Steve – as previously mentioned – was labelled as a potential prisoner. Finally, while Eric does not include school in his narrative, he contrasts 'no more school days' with the 'discovery' and 'enlightenment' of the next phase of his life at art college, which is labelled 'The Start' (Eric, frame 1).

Of the remaining 14 storyboards, five are concerned with post-16 education. Three of the storyboards referencing school experience also contain discussion of adult education. There is a slightly higher rate of positive experiences in these references and fewer negative ones. Both Joanne and Janet, who report negative experiences of school, display greater commitment to, and enthusiasm for, their return to education as mature students. Conversely, Rory, whose storyboard contains positive sentiments about school, has a more mixed experience of undergraduate education. An attempt at an English degree leaves him baffled, 'no, what's that all about?' (Rory, frame 2) and it is not until he begins to study art and performances that he is able to engage. Practitioners who write exclusively about post-16 education have a higher rate of positive experience. Dave does not just go to study a degree he, 'escapes to university life' (Dave, frame 2) and Henry loves university, although he is less inspired by his degree subject which he hates (Henry, frame 1). Eric, as previously indicated, sees art school as a period of 'discovery' and 'enlightenment'. Only Jessica is neutral about her university experience. Susan's storyboard is the sole one to suggest a negative experience of academia, which she represents as a building with bars on the windows (Susan, frame 3).

The findings in terms of educational encounters appear too varied to draw any clear conclusions with regard to practitioners' experience of alterity. Certainly

for some of the practitioners (Eric, Dave, Janet) it appears that university may have offered something of a transformative experience, though this may be less concerned with a reconciliation of these students with establishment mores and more a reinforcement of their identities as creative practitioners. All of the practitioners who went on to further study, with the exception of Henry (Law) and Susan (whose subject is not stated), appear to have done so in arts subjects, and, in particular, creative writing. As Rory writes: 'it was always to do with language' (Rory, frame 3). It may be that the opportunity to engage for a protracted period of time in creative practice served to deepen these practitioners' perceptions of themselves as artists, and with this their attendant identifications with an outsider status.

Identification with/help the 'Other'

The fifth category of alterity proposed is that of identification with and/or help for the 'other'. This notion of 'helping the other' is complex and at a superficial level may appear to be aligned with more conventional notions of philanthropic endeavour, which have a long history in penal institutions (Martin *et al.* 2016, p.26). Indeed, Jessica's storyboard has a suggestion of this kind of benevolence where the more advantaged in society offer succour to the unfortunate:

Born sympathetic to the underdog and with a fascination for a life other than the one I grew up in. (Jessica, frame 1)

This ethos reflects the roots of British civil society organisations which 'are located in charity distributed by the elite and middle classes to the poor (Taylor 2004; Kendall and Knapp 1996)' (Helminen 2016, p.75). This kind of patronage assumes an affinity between the practitioner and mainstream society and a desire to reproduce its values; the charitable patron is an insider bestowing alms upon the socially marginalised and needy. However, as has been posited, the storyboards

detail a number of ways in which practitioners themselves align with the outsider experience. Wispe (1986) defines sympathy as a 'heightened awareness of the suffering of another person as something to be alleviated' (p.318). However, rather than such ameliorative intentions, it may be that the practitioners in these storyboards identify, rather than sympathise, with the prisoners' underdog or outsider status. This suggestion is displayed in the storyboards of Steve and Dave – discussed in category four, above – where they have their own experiences of being seen as at risk of offending. Similarly, in Janet's storyboard, which references a background in a travelling community, makes it more likely that she would be on the receiving end of charitable endeavour. All three of these storyboards contain evidence that these practitioners invested in helping the prisoners they work with. Dave 'Spends time with cases in his own time' (Dave, frame 5), while Steve applies his 'aptitude for enabling others to be creative' (Steve, frame 4) to prisoners. Janet 'branches out' in order to bring her increasing politicisation to her work in criminal justice. Joanne's motivations for working with prisoners are less politically motivated, and she appears to make an empathic connection between her own experience of feeling trapped and the situation of prisoners. There is a sense in which one outsider experience meets with another. Even in the case of Jessica's storyboard, which begins with the idea of the underdog as an entity that is separate from her, in the development of the storyboard she experiences a crisis that leads to a rejection of the expectations of mainstream society. It is suggested, therefore, that practitioners' other experiences of alterity enable them to identify with the different, yet similar, outsider status of the prisoners with whom they work.

Mental Health

This is also the case with regard to the sixth and final category of alterity, that of mental health issues. There is a high prevalence of mental ill health in prisoner populations (cf. Caulfield 2016) and mental health issues appear in six out of 19

storyboards. Specifically, Susan’s storyboard discloses experience of ‘madness, anxiety, loss’. Joanne is diagnosed with Body Dysmorphic Disorder to which she ascribes a history of dysfunction. Rebecca describes a terror that could no long be hidden and results in ‘valium at 15’ (see *Figure 3*).

>>>>>>>>Insert figure 3 about here – Valium at 15<<<<<<<<<<<

Jessica and Henry’s storyboards each name objects that indicate a lack of mental well-being, which Jessica describes as ‘midlife crisis’, and Henry writes of feeling like he is two people (with reference to his failing marriage). While Eric’s narrative does not include specific objects that explicitly indicate mental health issues, it does include the words isolated, casa-less (he uses the Spanish word for homeless), vulnerable, regretful, abandoned. This, in addition to references pertaining to drinking and smoking addictions, suggests a lack of mental well-being. These experiences demonstrate a sixth way in which practitioners may experience alterity, although this is qualitatively different from the active categories where practitioners demarcate themselves as outsiders.

Summary Discussion

Previously there has been limited research into the personal and professional journeys of practitioners working in the penal voluntary sector. A key finding from this current research is that the narratives of creative arts practitioners in penal contexts reveal voices of resistance – echoing earlier work by Jacobi and Stanford (2014), Johnston (2004), Peaker and Vincent (1990), and Williams (2003). A common element of these narratives of resistance is outsider-ness or other-ness, conceptualised here as alterity. This supports the notion of the writer or artist more generally as an outlaw, outsider, or rebel, and potentially the idea of the arts as a corrupting or distracting force (Belfiore and Bennett 2008, pp.40–53). Rader (1958)

discusses a more existential version of the artist-outsider as ‘the type f man [*sic*] that feels estranged from the world and his own deeper self’ (p.306). Shiner (2001), meanwhile, highlights the fractious nature of the artistic community itself and the resistances that have sprung up in order to challenge the restrictive and elitist conceptualisations and practices of ‘fine art’.

Outsider identities similarly proliferate in prisoner populations. For example, Maruna (2001, pp.57–69) identifies three key sets of characteristics, which he refers to as the ‘three strikes’: criminogenic traits; criminogenic backgrounds; and criminogenic environments. The second and third of these describe the experience of growing up in economically disadvantaged circumstances and associated issues, such as unemployment, abuse, early involvement in crime, and addiction (Maruna 2001, pp.59–65). Maruna’s first strike, ‘criminogenic traits’, suggests an overlap between his group with lived experience of the CJS and the practitioner groups discussed here. This set of characteristics is based on the Big Five Index (John and Srivastava 1999), intended to measure the five basic dispositional traits that constitute personality (Maruna 2001, pp.57–8). Maruna (2001, p.58) finds the spread of his sample differs ‘significantly from adult norms’, with the combined sample scoring higher on two of these measures, agreeableness and conscientiousness. These traits are most often articulated by participants in Maruna’s study in their descriptions of themselves as ‘antiauthority’ or nonconformist ...’They are the men and women who rebel against the grinding routine of life ... (Rubin 1967). Even participants who had completely given up crime still thought of themselves as adventurous, rebellious and independent’ (Maruna 2001, pp.58–9).

These characteristics or traits appear to resonate with the active categories of alterity outlined in the storyboards presented in this current study. However, the proposition is not straightforward. Certainly, the claim is not that prisoners and practitioners have identical or, in some cases, even similar experiences, but that

there are some underlying commonalities, which might lead to a sense of shared identification. The data presented here suggest, for some practitioners, an anti-authoritarian attitude and rejection of the status quo. The kinds of pursuits in which the practitioners engage also appear to manifest the traits of adventurousness, rebellion, and independence, highlighted in Maruna's study. Indeed, Maruna (2001) suggests that his sample may share these personality traits with artists (p.59). A similar case was made by Harris (2017), who uses a psychosocial approach to explore the meanings and subjectivities created in relationships between professionals and young service users, presenting a case study of a relationship where through verbal and non-verbal communication, a young man picks up on a youth work professional's similar experiences to his own troubled and traumatic sense of recognition, despite the youth worker's limited disclosure of his past (Harris 2017, pp.525–6, 529).

The potential resonances in outsider status or sense of alterity shared between prisoners and practitioners illustrates a different form of endeavour existing below the radar in, and among, the work of the penal voluntary sector in England and Wales. This presents a challenge to more widely accepted notions of 'a distinctive "voluntary sector" ethos of compassion and rehabilitative approach' (Tomczak and Albertson 2016, pp.65–6). Indeed, other-ness and outsider-ness may serve as the starting point of encounters between service user and practitioner acting as a common point of reference and source of shared identification. Mining narratives to access practitioner identities is likely to be important to understand what practitioners contribute to the complex chemistry of relationships with service users. We would like to see this as a focus for future research. Though it is beyond the scope of this discussion to examine these relationships, a repeated finding of research into penal programmes is their importance for outcomes of interventions and sentences (Barry 2000; Burnett 2004; Burnett and McNeill 2005; Harris 2017;

Leibrich 1994; McIvor 2004; Miller and Rowe 2009; Rex 1999; Rowe and Soppitt 2014; Tomczak and Albertson 2016; Walker 2010).

The insights from this current research offer the potential to further develop the peer mentoring literature and to challenge knowledge about the operation of power in the third sector (which will be more fully explored in the PhD thesis of the first author). Certainly, this study illustrates a different form of charity existing in, and between, the boundaries of the penal voluntary sector in England and Wales, and potentially internationally. The research also raises new questions about what such blurring of the boundaries between practitioners and prisoners might reveal about the potential for far-reaching social change, and simultaneously, the perceived risks for prisons and the order within them.

The autobiographical stories contained here move us away from the public facing statements of practitioners and the discourses of marketisation to a much more nuanced understanding of their stories and the similarities they may share with the lived experience of prisoner populations, which is not apparent in the existing literature. The findings emphasise the usefulness of narrative research – and, in particular, the innovative methods developed for this study – in eliciting the experiences of practitioners. Future research should seek to combine data voicing the experience of service users and practitioners to better understand what practitioners contribute to relationships with service users and their wider influence on the shape of the sector.

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FIGURE 1 Storyboard Template

Title:

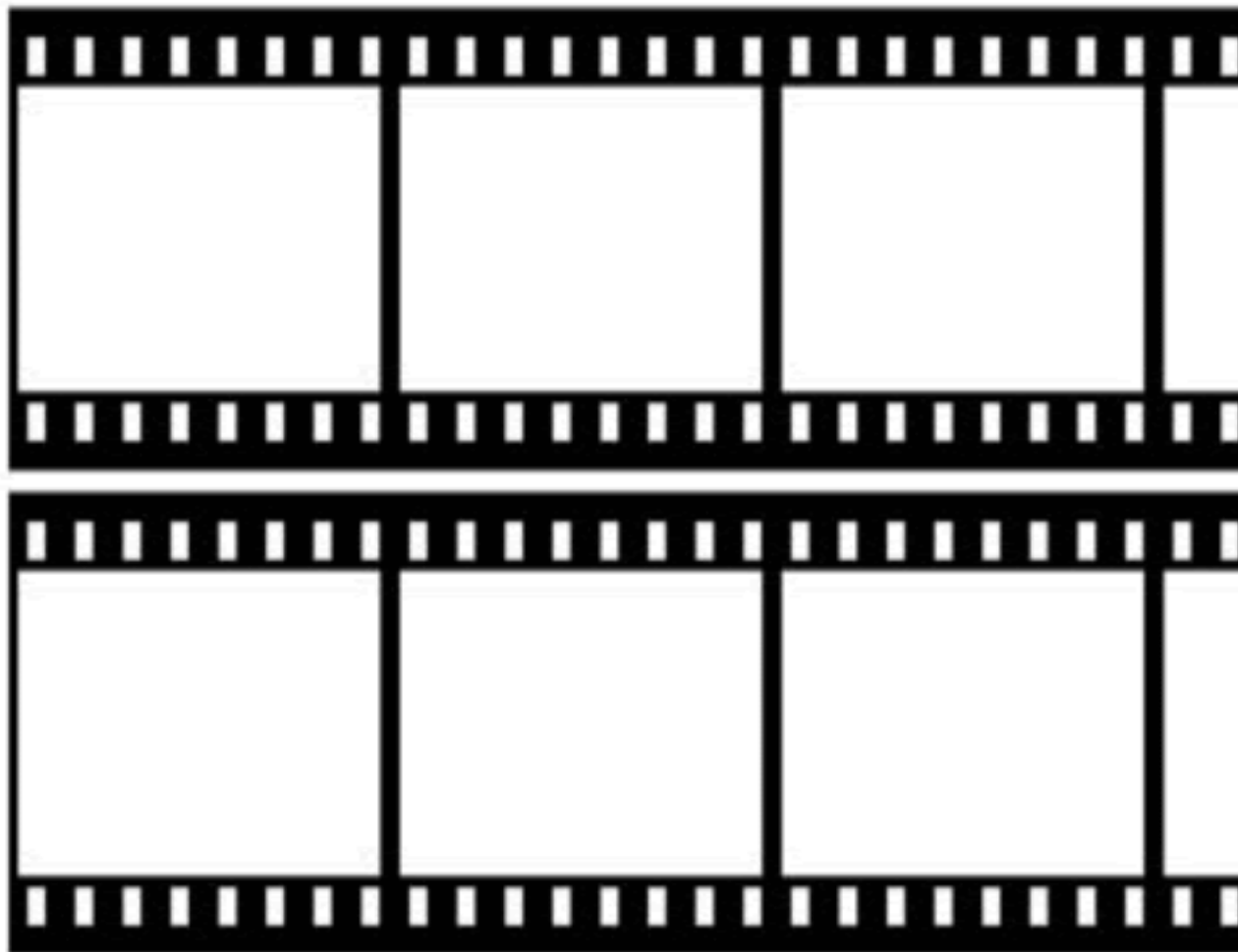


TABLE 1
Research Stages

Data collection	Storyboards
Data Analysis Stage One	Images and text distilled into 'raw storyboards'
	Object Analysis
	Content Analysis
Data Analysis Stage Two	Storyboards transposed into individual sentences
	Process Analysis

TABLE 2
Six Categories of Alterity

Art itself	Anti-authority/protest	Reject status quo	Early institutional experiences	Identification with/help the 'other'	Mental health
Eight participants: Bob, Eric, Steve, Henry, Ben, Rory, Joe, Janet	Five participants: Jean, Janet, Susan, Joanne, Tracey	Four participants: Jessica, Dave, Henry, Joe	Three participants: Samantha, Dave, Steve	Five participants: Joanne, Jessica, Janet, Steve, Dave	Six participants: Eric, Jessica, Rebecca, Joanne, Henry, Susan

FIGURE 2
Protest Banners



FIGURE 3

Valium at 15



(Lithium) α $\bar{1}$

The tower can
no longer be
wider