

IDENTIFYING THE INDICATORS OF INDIVIDUAL READINESS FOR
POSITIVE LIFE CHANGE AMONGST DEFENDERS WITHIN A REMAND
SETTING

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STATEMENT OF SOURCES

This thesis contains no material published elsewhere in whole or in part from a thesis by which I have qualified for or been awarded another degree or diploma. No other person's work has been used without the acknowledgement in the main text of the thesis. The thesis has not been submitted for the award of any degree in any other tertiary institution. All research procedures reported in the thesis received the approval of the Australian Catholic University Ethics Committee and the Ethics Committee of the NSW Department of Corrective Services.

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ABSTRACT

Over 60 years ago Mr L. Nott, the Comptroller-General of New South Wales prisons, observed that prisoners do not change because the state wants them to change, but because they are not ready to change. He emphasised that what happens in the internal world of the prisoner affects their ability to change more than anything the correctional system can do.

This thesis looks to the internal world of a small group of remand prisoners (called ‘defenders’) and examines how they express their readiness for change. This study examines defenders’ strengths: what is right with them rather than what is wrong with them.

The paucity of literature on what is right with prisoners attests to the monolithic influence of a deficit model in contemporary correctional rehabilitation. This study provides, from a review of previous research, both a conceptual and a methodological framework to look for readiness for positive life change in defenders. This qualitative research employs a narrative methodology for data collection, and examines the stories of nine defenders. A grounded theory design guides data collection and analysis, and from this analysis, five indicators of readiness emerge. Triangulating the indicators against data collected from staff and the theoretical insights from the literature suggests the indicators have strong internal and conceptual validity.

Being able to identify readiness for positive life change in defenders has important implications for the theory and practice of correctional rehabilitation. This thesis argues that correctional rehabilitation may be more effective if correctional systems identify and support defenders who are ready for change. Such an approach would require significant changes to the way correctional

rehabilitation is conducted. These changes have implications for the culture of correctional organisations, how successful rehabilitation is defined, and how resources are allocated. The thesis also presents avenues for further research.

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Raw Data in Volume 2

CHAPTER 1

CHANGING PEOPLE - CHANGING SELF

Introduction

Crime is a serious problem that poses a heavy burden on the Australian community. According to Payne (2007), the total financial cost of crime in Australia was estimated to be \$32 billion in 2002 (approximately \$1600 per head of population). An Australian Institute of Criminology report (Mayhew, 2003) indicates that there were 589 homicides in Australia in 2001, costing the community an estimated \$930 million (p. 21). Furthermore, the report states there were 810,000 assaults and 994,000 burglaries (pp. 24, 35) in Australia in 2001, costing the community \$1.4 billion and \$2.43 billion respectively (Mayhew 2003). These financial costs are significant in their own right, but the intangible human costs of crime, such as fear, pain, and loss, are difficult to quantify (Mayhew, 2003, p. 12). The costs of crime extend beyond policing and damage to people and property and into the correctional system, where, according to Findlay (2005), it costs over \$160 a day to keep a prisoner in jail in NSW.

The Debate Surrounding Crime and Criminals

The idea that crime is costly to the community is generally not contested. However, the issues of why people commit crime and how the community should respond to those who do are scenes of vigorous debate (Feldman, 1993). Some theorists consider certain people have a natural (or even genetic)

inclination towards criminal behaviour (Pervin, 1994); an inclination that may have (had) some evolutionary advantage to human beings (Cohen, 1988; Vila, 1994, Harris, 1995). Other theorists consider the causes of crime to be largely social (Sutherland, 1960; Agnew, 1992; see also Feldman, 1993; Blackburn, 1993; Canter, 2000).

Similarly, there is vigorous debate on how to deal with offenders. On one side are people who believe the community needs to 'get tough' on criminals. 'Getting tough' generally means punishing them and having a correctional system that represents a strong deterrence to crime. A notable, although extreme, example of this approach is Sherriff Joe Arpaio of Maricopa County, Arizona, hailed by the media as "America's Toughest Sheriff" (Kofman, 2007). Sherriff Arpaio runs a correctional system larger than that of NSW, and his spendthrift policies have apparently won much support from the local community. The Sheriff's website reads:

Of equal success and notoriety are his chain gangs, which contribute thousands of dollars of free labor to the community. The male chain gang, and the world's first-ever female and juvenile chain gangs, clean streets, paint over graffiti, and bury the indigent in the county cemetery. Also impressive are the Sheriff's get tough policies. For example, he banned smoking, coffee, movies, pornographic magazines, and unrestricted TV in all jails. He has the cheapest meals in the U.S. too. The average meal costs about 15 cents, and inmates are fed only twice daily, to cut the labor costs of meal delivery. He even stopped serving

them salt and pepper to save tax payers \$20,000 a year. (Arpaio, n.d. web site).

The objective of Sheriff Arpaio, and apparently of the law-abiding citizens of Maricopa County, is to create a Spartan lifestyle for prisoners and make them pay back their debt to society. There appears to be no recognition of the idea that prisoners are people who deserve to be treated with dignity, or that they have problems or aspirations that need consideration.

Opponents of the “get tough” approach usually advocate a more humane response (Findlay, 2004; Pratt, 2005; Warner, 2005). They often talk about engaging with the “whole person” (Warner, 2005. p. 2), which seems to mean seeing the prisoner as more than a one-dimensional being (i.e. as an offender), but as a person with problems, needs and goals that deserve recognition. Not only do they deserve recognition, but also it is argued that the way to make offenders desist from crime is to have society help them attain their most cherished needs and goals (Ward, 2002). Advocates of this approach may suggest spending even more money on prisoners, claiming they deserve quality rehabilitative programs and educational opportunities that reflect general community standards (Warner, 2005).

Although the two sides of this debate appear very different from each other, and the experience of them may be very different, there is actually an underlying philosophy shared between them. The nature of this philosophy is that society needs to respond to prisoners in ways that will change them, whether through harsh means or through means that are more humane. Either way, prisoners still need to be changed.

In reality, people are not always easy to change (Armenakis, 2009). The causes of crime are often resistant to change and are complex (Feldman, 1993; Canter, 2000). Likewise, people are often resistant to change, especially if they are expected to change in ways for which they are not ready (Eagle, 1999; Prochaska, 1999; Ford, 2008; Piderit, 2000; Rousseau, 1999).

Research Focus and Question

The focus of this thesis is on how prisoners indicate to others that they are ready for positive life change, and how they become ready to be their own “change agents” (Adams, 1997, cited in Maruna, 1997b, p. 8). In contrast to much of the research on offender rehabilitation that focuses on what is wrong with prisoners (Burton, 1998; Canter, 2000; Cohen, 1998) and what correctional systems should do to change them (Andrews, 2006; Birgden, 2002, 2004; Day, 2002), this thesis is interested in what is right with prisoners. The focus of this thesis is on how defenders indicate they are ready for personal change – not that they are ready for the correctional system to change them, but that they are ready to change themselves. The thesis examines the resources needed by defenders to act as agents of personal change, and how they reveal and create their readiness to do so by the stories they tell about their lives. As such, the following research question guides this study:

“What are the indicators of readiness for positive life change amongst a group of defenders in a NSW remand centre?”

Existing Literature on Readiness for Change

This thesis marks a first attempt to research readiness for positive life change in a remand correctional population. It is, however, not the first study to examine the issue of readiness in relationship to change. Many of the studies relating to readiness and change fall broadly into two categories: there are studies that relate primarily to personal change, and there are studies that relate primarily to organisational change.

In general, the studies relating to personal change have a therapeutic focus. They examine the effects of client readiness upon the therapeutic process or as a variable within the therapeutic process. Much of this literature into personal readiness deals with changing specific behaviours. For example, there is literature on readiness to change addictive behaviours (Annis, 1996; Carey, 1999; Miles Cox, 2000; Young, 2001; Geller, 1999), and anger management problems (Howells, 2003; Scott, 2003). Some of the literature explores the effect of context upon readiness for change (Ward, 2004; Wexler, 2006), and some examines the concept of readiness for therapeutic treatments within correctional settings (Serin, 1997; Ward, 2004; Birgden, 2004; Kennedy, 2000). For example, Ward (2004) defines readiness as:

...the presence of characteristics (states or dispositions) within either the client or the therapeutic situation, which are likely to promote engagement in therapy and that, thereby, are likely to enhance therapeutic change. (p. 647)

It is evident from the above quote that Ward's interest in readiness does not focus primarily upon the person, but on the relationship that exists between the context and the person. In fact, his use of the words "either" and "or" suggest that what is likely to enhance therapeutic change could potentially have everything to do with the context and little to do with the person. Furthermore, his concept of readiness is linked inextricably to the therapeutic context. Ward (2004) stresses the importance of context and therapy by saying, "low readiness is as much a feature of the therapy context and setting as it is of the internal characteristics of the client" (p. 649). This may be so, but this thesis is not primarily interested in the influence of setting and context upon readiness, or in therapy.

Literature dealing with readiness for organisational change has traditionally had a strong focus on the concept of resistance to change (Dent, 1999; Piderit, 2000), drawing upon Lewin's (1952) concepts of "unfreezing – change – refreezing" (Armenakis, 1993). More recently, the literature on readiness for organisational change has focused on how to promote readiness in individuals within organisations (e.g. Armenakis, 2009; Holt, 2007; Rousseau, 1999; Ford, 2008; Neves, 2009).

Other studies consider how readiness can be assessed within individuals (Gusella, 2003; Miller, 1996; Williamson, 2003), using instruments such as the University of Rhode Island Change Assessment (URICA) (Pantaloni, 2002), and the Motivational Stages of Change for Adolescents Recovering from an Eating Disorder (MSCARED) (Gusella, 2002).

The studies referred to above have a different focus to this present study. Unlike the other studies, this study is primarily concerned with *how to identify*

readiness for change within individuals. None of the other studies has a primary focus on identifying readiness, nor do these studies explore in any depth the components of readiness. The primary purpose of this present thesis is to explore how defenders indicate they are ready to be their own agents of change.

This present research does not have a therapeutic focus and, as such, is unlike most of the studies into personal change. This study is not primarily concerned with how readiness might affect therapy. This does not mean that prisoners who are ready for change would not benefit from therapy, but the relationship between readiness and therapeutic outcomes is not a concern of this study.

This study differs from many other studies into personal change in that it *does not specify behaviours* that are the focus of change. Positive life change in this study can represent any change of any degree, if it is good for the person and good for society.

Despite these differences in focus, the body of literature on readiness in relation to change highlights the issue of readiness as an important, and developing, focus of change-related research.

Limitations and Delimitations

This study cannot claim and does not attempt to be an exhaustive study of readiness for change. Its focus is limited to an examination of the indicators of readiness as evidenced within individuals at a particular place and a particular point of time. This study considers the strengths brought to the rehabilitative

process by a small number of people incarcerated within a NSW remand centre, and how these people indicate the presence of these strengths.

The positioning of readiness as an intrapersonal factor does not suggest that prisoners who do not show clear evidence of it should be 'blamed' for being as they are (Gorringe, 2002; Pratt, 2005). In some cases, prisoners already feel much shame about their past lifestyle (Jensen, 2002; Maruna, 2004). Furthermore, there is ample evidence in the literature that social factors, and certain physical or cognitive limitations (Waldie, 1993), are associated with the incidence of crime (Agnew, 1992; Blackburn, 1993; Gottfredson, 1990). Therefore, it would be unfair to single out prisoners for blame when they themselves may be victims of conditions over which they have little or no control. Moreover, prisoners who do not indicate readiness for positive life change at a particular point of time may have done so in the past, and may do so again in the future. Their situation may be the same as the one Maruna (2001) observes in ex-offenders who have 'gone straight' – they are not different types of people to those who remain active offenders: they are the same kind of people, only at a different stage of the process of change (p. 74).

This thesis is about readiness for change as it is indicated by and within individuals. It is not about group readiness for change, nor about the social, cultural, or socio-cultural indicators of readiness. This focus on the individual does not deny the impact of cultural and social factors upon readiness, such as those cogently described by Rappaport (2000) and others. However, this thesis is about individual readiness for change, the intrapersonal factors that contribute to readiness, and how people indicate their readiness for change within a NSW remand context. Although the issue of how readiness for change may develop

with the individual and how the socio-cultural environment may influence that development is an engaging and important one, it necessarily lies beyond the scope of this present study.

Language and Terminology

Warner (2005) implies that the language used to refer to incarcerated people reveals how they are conceived of and the level of respect they are afforded (p. 1). It is important for this thesis to provide dignity to those whose voices are heard in its pages. Therefore, this thesis introduces a new word to refer to those remand prisoners who participated in this research. They are called “defenders” in this study. Defenders are prisoners who have been charged with an offense, but have not yet been convicted, and who have been refused bail, or are unable to meet the demands of bail. They may or may not be guilty of a crime, and they may intend to plead either guilty or not guilty. They are defenders because they are defending themselves before the criminal justice system. Since they have not yet been found guilty before the law, it does them an injustice to call them “offenders”. Of course, they may be guilty, and in some instances, they openly acknowledge their guilt. Nonetheless, they remain unconvicted, and so are called ‘defenders’ in this study.

At times the word “offenders” is used, but only when referring to convicted criminals. The commonly used term “inmates” is also avoided in this thesis because the term is seen to have connotations of institutionalisation and disempowerment, neither of which is compatible with this study into the strengths of defenders.

The word 'jail' is generally used in this discussion in place of the term 'prison'. In the Australian context, there is no difference in meaning between the words 'jail' and 'prison'. Arguably, the most commonly used term in current speech is 'correctional centre', but for simplicity, 'jail' is used in this thesis. For the sake of further simplicity, the American spelling (jail) is used in place of the Australian and British spelling (gaol). However, in all other respects, this thesis preserves the Australian spelling system.

Stance of the Researcher

Following the advice of Creswell (1998), who states, "the researcher needs to decide how and in what way his own personal experiences will be introduced into the study" (p. 55), it is important to acknowledge that this present researcher's interest in the research question comes, in part, from his experience as a correctional educator. This experience is described briefly in the following paragraphs.

While delivering anger management training in a remand jail, the researcher became aware that many defenders participating in the classes appeared to have little or no interest in life change. It was common to hear defenders asserting they were not the cause of their life problems; their problems were caused by the actions of other people. Many attended under instruction from their lawyers, some making it clear their intention was to pursue their criminal careers when they returned to the community. Jail was seen by some as a good place to learn how to become a better 'career criminal'. Others attended

because they were bored in jail, or because they felt threatened or afraid in the prison yard (Batchelder, 2002; Bradley, 2002).

Some defenders, however, stressed they genuinely wanted to change. These people were often aware their lives were not 'working', that they, at least in part, had contributed to the problems they faced, and that they needed to change. Some of these people would ask probing, heart-felt questions in an attempt to find solutions to their problems. They would engage openly and actively in class discussions, prepared to be frank about their personal lives and the problems they faced. When this happened, the anger management course seemed to acquire a deep significance and value to those who had participated. What gradually became apparent to the researcher was that what had transformative power was not the anger management course itself, but the anger management course combined with what seemed to be a personal readiness for change on the part of some defenders.

The lessons derived from these experiences alerted the researcher to what appeared to be two fundamental realities. The first reality is that some defenders seemed to bring something to the change process that had a significant impact upon the effectiveness, or otherwise, of the anger management program. Defenders who brought readiness for change seemed to supply an essential resource, and appeared to be acting as key players within their own change process. The second reality is that regardless of whether the gains from a course like anger management led to any reductions in re-offending (and it was impossible to tell at the time), there appeared to be great value in the positive change process itself. It seemed worthwhile to support defenders who were ready to deal with their anger, even if they were to re-offend. It seemed that

supporting the positive life change of a defender would not only be beneficial to the defender himself, but also to everyone who is touched by his life, and to the community as a whole (Mainor, 2008).

Overview of Thesis

This thesis investigates how defenders indicate they are ready to be their own agents of personal change. It should be noted that to be ready for change does not imply that a person will change. It simply means the person shows a readiness for change.

Chapters 2, 3 and 4 form the literature review in this thesis. Chapter 2 takes an historical perspective on the NSW correctional system and highlights the different approaches the state has taken over time in its attempts to change prisoners. In doing so, Chapter 2 explores the origin of the research problem that lies at the heart of this study. Chapter 3 develops from the literature a theoretical understanding of the resources people need to become agents of personal change. Chapter 4 discusses what the literature shows about how people reveal whether they have the resources needed to be agents of personal change through how they recount their personal life story.

Chapter 5 discusses methodology and study design and Chapter 6 focuses on data collection and analysis, and presents the findings of the study. Chapter 7 discusses the indicators of readiness. Chapter 8 examines the validity of the indicators, and presents some further discussion of them.

Chapter 9 discusses the implications of the indicators, and Chapter 10 highlights the strengths and limitations of this study and presents recommendations and concluding remarks.

The discussion moves on in the second chapter to present an historical overview of how the state has approached prisoners in the past, and the context of the research problem.

CHAPTER 2

APPROACHES TO CHANGE

Introduction

This second chapter presents an historical overview of the various approaches adopted by the NSW correctional system in its attempt to change prisoners and protect society. The purpose of this historical overview is to contextualise the research problem that lies at the heart of this study. In seeing the prisoner as a ‘problem’ who needs to be changed, the ‘state’ has traditionally assumed responsibility as the primary agent of change in prisoners’ lives and has thereby ignored the fact that some prisoners are ready to be their own agents of change. The following overview reveals the historical context of the research problem.

Historical Approaches to NSW Corrections

To understand the context of the research problem identified in this study it is important to consider the historical events that gave rise to the NSW prison system. The dawn of the industrial era in the late 18th century brought immense change and political uncertainty to Europe (Ashton, 1997). In 1776, the American Revolution cost Britain most of its North American colonies and the French Revolution of 1789 changed the political shape of Europe. It was the age of Enlightenment and governments and communities were changing how they looked at a wide variety of social issues including religion, science, education, the arts, and imprisonment (Blake, 1988; Hackett, 1992).

Rapid industrialisation caused massive demographic shifts towards the cities, and mechanisation of the workplace left many working class people unable to find adequate employment (O'Toole, 2006). Poverty engendered crime, especially in the cities, and changing social attitudes against the use of capital punishment saw a burgeoning number of prisoners in crowded jails and floating prison hulks. Exacerbated by the loss of the American colonies in 1776, transportation of prisoners to NSW seemed the best option (Hughes, 1988). Hence, in 1788, white Australia had its beginnings.

Commencing with the 732 convicts who arrived at Sydney Cove on the First Fleet, many others continued to arrive in NSW for the next 50 years and for much longer in Tasmania and Western Australia (Hughes, 1988). These people became the raw material of white Australia's first major industry: the prison system. The state, through the instrumentality of the Home Office in London, became the major force of social control and change - the elimination of unwanted criminals from the British homeland and the establishment of European civilisation in the antipodes (Reynolds, 1996).

Since those early days of white settlement over 200 years ago, the state has continued to act as an agent of social and personal change through the instrumentality of the prison. There have been three main approaches in how the state has done this. The three approaches reflect different philosophies and methods as to how prisoners should be treated and changed. These approaches are discussed under the headings 'The Removal Approach', 'The Reformation Approach', and 'The Rehabilitation Approach'.

The Removal Approach

The policy of transportation represented an effort by the state to create social change by removing criminals from mainstream British society, and as a means of changing the individual through deterrence and punishment (Blake, 1988). According to the reasoning of the times, the best way to deal with criminals was to remove and punish them. The British government regarded criminals as dangerous enemies of the state, and as such, they deserved punishment and removal from mainstream British society (Friedman, 1995).

Transportation did not just mean removal from home and family for at least seven years; it meant hard, punitive labour (Hughes, 1988). Work itself was a punishment. For the compliant criminal, hard labour may have been in the form of indentured service to a landowner, in some ways reminiscent of slavery. Alternatively, it was in the form of work for the state, often in chain gangs building roads or other forms of government infrastructure (Hughes, 1988). For the intractable, it meant soul-destroying useless labour. One form of useless labour was that of the treadmill, where the convict had to walk the mill for hours at a time, serving no useful purpose other than to break his spirit (Grant, 1992). Such punishment was meant to change him.

Transportation to NSW had ceased by 1840, and in that same year, NSW formed its own government. The colony had earned a degree of autonomy. By this stage in history, many people in NSW had been born in Australia, and an Australian identity was beginning to emerge (Teo, 2003). Social attitudes towards criminals and imprisonment were changing. The NSW colony, established for the removal of prisoners, could not employ the same strategy and remove its prisoners elsewhere (although Norfolk Island and Van Diemen's Land

served this purpose for some time). Inevitably, prisoners would have to return to the same community from which they had come. Consequently, a new idea began to emerge. This idea was reformation. If the state could not permanently remove criminals or change them through punishment, then the state would have to reform them.

The Reformation Approach

By the middle of the 19th century, the industrial age had made a huge impact on people's consciousness, and a new metaphor began to emerge to describe criminals. Instead of seeing all prisoners as 'bad' people and enemies of the state, criminals began to be viewed as broken people, like faulty machines in an industrial world (Grant, 1992; O'Toole, 2006). Engineers could repair a faulty machine, but how could society reform a defective human?

The answer to this question came not from NSW, but from America and Britain. In 1842, a jail was built at Pentonville, just north of London. This jail was to set the scene for much of what happened in NSW prisons for the remainder of the 19th century (Finnane, 1991). Pentonville was a penitentiary. It emphasised suffering, but not necessarily the physical suffering of the lash and the treadmill. The suffering of the reformation approach was more of a psychological nature (O'Toole, 2006). Pentonville was founded on the notions of silence and separation, ideas that had previously been trialled in the Quaker prisons of Pennsylvania (O'Connor, 2002) and the Auburn prison in the state of New York (O'Toole, 2006). The intention behind the penitentiary was to reform criminals by imposing upon them strict rules of segregation, silence, and work. The theory behind this strict regimen was that it would cause prisoners to reflect

on their wayward lives and abandon their criminal lifestyle (Ignatieff, 1978). The method to achieve this self-reflection was to break the offender's spirit through quiet contemplation, isolation, work and religion (Pratt, 2002).

Ideally, segregation would mean prisoners would live in effective isolation from each other, minimising any distraction from self-reflection and the opportunity for criminal contagion to spread amongst the prisoner population (Priestley, 1985). In reality, however, the capital costs of the ideal of total segregation were prohibitive, and it was never fully implemented (Grant, 1992). Instead, a compromise position was instituted: classification (O'Toole, 2006). Classification meant that prisoners were grouped together based on the seriousness of their crimes, so that petty criminals would not mix with hardened criminals. There was an on-going concern that unless criminals were segregated based on their classification, crime would spread like a plague, and jails would become a breeding ground of anti-social ideals. Segregation and classification would inhibit the spread of crime. So would silence.

During the latter half of the 19th century, prisoners in NSW jails had to observe strict silence during much of the day and night. The belief was that silence would aid self-examination, and limit the spread of criminal values. The regime of silence and segregation sometimes attempted to de-personalise prisoners, as evidenced by the practice of forcing them to wear hoods at mealtimes, so they would not recognise one another (O'Toole, 2006).

Work and religion were important tools in the reformation of criminals. An 'honest day's work' was seen to be reformatory, especially if conducted in silence. Religion would awaken the criminal's heart and change him from within. Consequently, the chapel was an obligatory part of the 19th century

prison, often placed symbolically in the centre of the jail. Bible reading was encouraged to promote 'spiritual enlightenment' (Gerber, 1995). In order to support the literacy skills needed to read the Bible, in 1893 the NSW Department of Justice issued a regulation that prisoners under the age of 25 years should spend one hour per day performing tasks set by a chaplain or schoolmaster (Grant, 1992). Education, therefore, assumed some value in jails at that time, not for its intrinsic value in the reformation approach, but for its instrumental value.

The reformation approach continued into the first half of the 20th century. Two world wars and a depression took the focus from prison reform, and major change initiatives in NSW jails were few until after the Second World War. However, under the leadership of Neitenstein in the early 1900's, a slightly softer approach was introduced in NSW jails (O'Toole, 2006). Although Neitenstein's approach maintained the general flavour of the previous half-century, new ways of thinking within the scientific community began to influence what was happening in jails. Scientific thinking was at the heart of modernism, and psychological theorists like Freud were challenging Christian ideas about human nature. Reflecting some of these broad social movements, the establishment of a psychological clinic at Long Bay jail in 1929 was one of the most important initiatives at that time. This event was to signpost future directions in the development of the NSW prison system.

Despite its discourse of reforming criminals, the policy of reformation was essentially destructive (O'Toole, 2006). The reformation process attempted to produce broken spirits through a harsh regime of separation, silence and labour. By the time society was again able to reflect on how it approached prisoners following the Second World War, it was seen that the policy of

reformation had largely failed (Blake, 1988). It was becoming clear that the state would need to find a new way to act as an agent of change within society and within the lives of offenders. A new, more scientific approach gradually began to emerge on the world scene: the rehabilitation approach.

The Rehabilitation Approach

Following two world wars and a global depression, the second half of the 20th century saw much optimism about a better world and a brighter future. The policy of reformation had been abandoned, yet the same needs for social and personal control prevailed. How could criminals return to society better than they were when they went to jail? If experience showed that criminality could not be deconstructed through reformation, perhaps the state could construct law-abiding citizens through rehabilitation (Grant, 1992).

Unlike the reformation approach, which saw education as only of instrumental value, the rehabilitation approach was based on education rather than moral reform (Cole, 2002). Rehabilitative programs target the social, educational, vocational and psychological deficits that lead people into jail in the first place (Services. n.d. Offender Services and Programs, p.1). The state no longer sees criminals as 'defective', but rather as having "deficits in motivation, living skills and personal and social development" (Services. n.d. Offender Services and Programs, p.1). If prisoners are not defective as people, they are people with deficits. Rehabilitative programs seek to address these deficits.

The rehabilitation approach uses different language to the approaches that preceded it, and the prisoner achieves a new status (Brown, 2002). No longer is he regarded as an enemy of the state or a morally corrupt sinner - under the

rehabilitation approach the offender regains his status as a citizen (O'Toole, 2005a; Brown, 2002). As a citizen, the prisoner ultimately belongs in the community, to which he will eventually return. Therefore, he must learn to live as a responsible member of the community. In many ways, he has the same rights as any other citizen, excepting that of liberty (and, unfortunately, the still-lingering savour of “civil death” (Brown, 2002, p. 312)).

The rehabilitative approach began to influence practice in NSW from the 1950s onwards through the establishment of prison libraries and short, intensive Life Skills courses. During the 1960s, the NSW Prisons Department began employing professional staff in significant numbers in NSW jails. By 1963, there were 40 part-time teachers and one full-time teacher employed in NSW jails, along with social workers, psychologists and full-time chaplains. Initially, there was a great optimism about rehabilitation in correctional contexts.

Initial optimism about rehabilitation.

The advent of extensive scientific research into correctional programs and systems coincides with the implementation of the rehabilitation approach. Much of the research conducted between the late 1940s and the late 1960s came from the USA and so it is to that literature that the discussion now turns.

The early research into correctional rehabilitation often made bold claims about its effectiveness (Martinson, 1976). Ramsey Clark, in his best selling *Crime in America*, confidently claimed “recidivism can be cut in half” (cited in Martinson, 1976, p 182). He attributed this confidence to reported outcomes from the California Community Treatment Project (CTP), which led him to conclude that the CTP had reduced recidivism by 20% to 30%. Palmer, the

researcher who reported on the CTP also reported on other rehabilitative interventions, saying that “positive or partly positive results” can be attributed to 48% of all studies investigating the effectiveness of rehabilitative interventions in jails (Martinson, 1976. p. 185).

Despite assurances from the research community that rehabilitation was effective, the social realities of 1960s America told a different story. The decade from 1963 to 1973 saw reported murders in the US double, from 4.5 to 9.07 per 100 000 (Miller, 1989). Assaults rose from 91.4 to 193.6, and robberies from 61.5 to 177.9 (Miller, 1989). There seemed little statistical evidence in these rising rates of crime that the rehabilitation approach was effective. Public opinion began to suggest that the rehabilitation approach took too soft a stance on crime. Renewed questions about the positive outcomes of rehabilitation led the US government to commission Robert Martinson to provide a meta-analysis of the rehabilitation studies that were conducted between 1945 and 1967. Martinson released his findings in 1974.

Rehabilitation at the crossroads.

In the late 1960s, Martinson and his two research colleagues reviewed 231 research reports written from 1945 to 1967 into the effectiveness of rehabilitative interventions with offenders. Martinson’s conclusion about these reports was bleak. He concluded, “...with few and isolated exceptions, the rehabilitative efforts that have been reported so far have had no appreciable effect on recidivism” (Martinson, 1974, p 25). He further expressed his pessimism by claiming, “our present strategies.....cannot overcome, or even appreciably reduce, the powerful tendencies of offenders to continue in criminal

recidivism” (Martinson, 1974, p. 49). This disturbing claim that ‘nothing works’ seemed to point to the conclusion that the state was not effective as an agent of change in the lives of prisoners.

According to Sarre (1999), the dictum “nothing works” became a slogan for a nation emerging from the Vietnam War and faced with an unruly youth and growing drug culture. Within this context, the idea that ‘nothing works’ gave the political Right justification for advocating a more punitive stance towards corrections, and ironically also appealed to the Left, who were concerned the policy of rehabilitation was forcing people into treatment and increasing the length of custodial sentences.

Eventually, the hysteria surrounding Martinson’s report settled down (Martinson, 1976), and researchers focused their attention on the report itself. It gradually became apparent that some of Martinson’s conclusions, and some of the conclusions drawn by others who agreed with Martinson, were questionable. In fact, a panel set up by the National Academy of Sciences in 1976 to re-evaluate Martinson’s findings commented, “When it is asserted that ‘nothing works’, the Panel is uncertain as to just what has been given a fair trial” (cited in Miller, 1989, p. 1). It appeared Martinson’s research lacked rigorous analysis and interpretation of the data, which highlights the on-going need for good research in the field of correctional rehabilitation.

An often-cited example by those who claimed that ‘nothing works’ is the 30-year “Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study” that began at Harvard in the late 1930s. Three hundred and twenty boys who had been engaged in criminal behaviour were assigned to ten counsellors. An experimental group received interventions from their counsellors for a number of years and a control group

received no interventions. Participants were followed up at intervals of 10, 20 and 30 years throughout the course of the study, and differences in crime were measured between the experimental and control groups. Wilson, a researcher reporting on the study's findings concluded, "The differences in crime between those youth who were given special services (counselling, special educational programs, guidance, health assistance, camping trips) and a matched control group were insignificant: 'the treatment had little effect'". (Wilson, 1975, cited in Miller, 1989, p. 1).

What Wilson failed to point out, however, was that the ten counsellors had no training in mental health or psychotherapy, and they were told to do 'whatever they thought best' (Miller, 1989, p. 1). Furthermore, each youth was seen an average of five times a year during the early years of the project. Miller (1989) points out that with such a meagre and non-specific intervention it is little wonder there were no differences between the two groups. This was hardly convincing evidence that rehabilitation was ineffective. With other discoveries such as this, some of the pessimism regarding rehabilitation began to wane, and a quiet confidence gradually began to re-emerge. If Martinson was wrong, the state could have grounds for renewed confidence in its ability to act as an agent of change in the lives of prisoners.

Rehabilitation back on the agenda.

Despite the limitations of Martinson's report in 1974, the shock wave it sent through the correctional community pointed to the need for more rigorous research. There were undoubtedly flaws in some of the early research into correctional rehabilitation. According to Cecil (2000), much of this early work

had three common failings – a failure to control variables, sampling biases, and short follow-up periods. However, over the past three decades, many rigorous studies have demonstrated that certain forms of correctional intervention are associated with positive rehabilitative outcomes (e.g. Burke, 2001; Steurer, 2003).

Meta-analyses of offender treatment literature conducted by McGuire and others in the 1990s have shown how certain rehabilitative programs are effective with psychological and dependency issues (McGuire, 1995; Hollin, 2000; Gorman, 2001). Gerber and Fritsch (1995) report since the mid-1970s they, “find few studies that show no correlation between prison education and recidivism” (p. 126) (for an Australian perspective, see also Findlay [2005]). Much of the research into correctional rehabilitation has investigated the type of correctional programming that is most effective in reducing recidivism (e.g. Adams, 1994; Day, 2002; Aos, 2006; Cecil, 2000). In other words, it seeks to understand how the state can more effectively act as an agent of change in the lives of prisoners.

Although the focus of this thesis is on defenders who are ready to change themselves, it is important to acknowledge the role that correctional systems can play in the change process and the importance of their ability to support and nurture defenders who are ready for change. Research into the nature of effective correctional programs remains an important component of correctional rehabilitation. According to Hollin (2002), the most effective treatments are those that use a cognitive-behavioural approach, have high treatment integrity, use a highly structured approach to treatment, and link the treatment to the causes of offending behaviour (p. 160). Hollin estimates that, at their best, such

methodologies do reduce recidivism by around 20%. Overall, he estimates correctional rehabilitation reduces recidivism by around 10% (Hollin, 2002. p. 160). In contrast to the above estimates of the effect of treatment, Hollin reports that punitive and harsh approaches to correctional management or no rehabilitative intervention at all may actually increase the likelihood of recidivism (Hollin, 2002). This is a view that seems compatible with literature warning of the potentially damaging effects of incarceration (Warner, 2005; Findlay, 2004, 2005).

Since the 1970s, a growing body of literature, collectively known as the “What Works” literature, attests to the efficacy of certain rehabilitative approaches (McGuire, 1995; Miller, 1989). From this literature has emerged a conceptual model of correctional rehabilitation. This model, referred to in this thesis, and elsewhere, as the Risk/Needs Model (Andrews, 2006; Ogloff, 2004), identifies variables that, it is argued, need to be addressed in specific ways to maximise rehabilitative outcomes. The following discussion examines the Risk Needs Model, which embodies the most current understandings of the process of correctional rehabilitation.

The Risk/Needs Model.

The Risk/Needs Model (Andrews, 2006) is based on the view that criminal behaviour results from deficits - not so much deficits in society as deficits in offenders. These deficits include errant socialisation, faulty thinking, lack of appropriate knowledge, and skills deficits (Fabiano, 1991; Geraci-Johnson, 1998; Schippers, 2001). Such deficits are referred to in the literature as ‘criminogenic needs’ (Andrews, 2006).

Some offenders have more deficits than others do, therefore they have more criminogenic needs than others (Ward, 2003). For some, their deficits in a particular area are more severe than is the case for others. According to the Risk Needs Model, the risk of offending behaviour increases as the number and severity of criminogenic needs increase (Andrews, 2006). Therefore, criminogenic needs, or deficits, are associated with increased levels of risk to the community.

The Risk Needs Model advocates targeting interventions to prisoners according to the level of risk they would likely pose to the community upon release (Andrews, 2006). Offenders who have the most serious deficits and who would therefore likely pose the greatest risk to society should have priority access to programs, and they should have access to the most intensive programs (McGuire, 1995). This practice is adopted by the NSW Department of Corrective Services, as is reflected in the Department's website: "programs ... are primarily targeted at medium to high-risk offenders, since the literature on 'what works in reducing reoffending' concludes that working more intensively with high-risk offenders reduces reoffending". (Services, n.d. Web site). The NSW Auditor-General supports this position. The 2006 Auditor-General's Report on Rehabilitation in NSW jails states, "Evidence shows that it is possible to reduce re-offending by delivering the right programs in the right way to the right people". (Auditor-General, 2006, p. 4). These statements from the NSW Department of Corrective Services and the Auditor-General suggest that the 'right people' for the rehabilitation approach are those offenders who have the most severe criminogenic needs and who therefore likely pose the greatest risk to society.

It is important to observe two things about the policy taken by the NSW Department of Corrective Services, a policy based on understandings from current research. First, is that the policy directs the bulk of rehabilitation resources to those prisoners who have the greatest (or most serious) deficits. Prisoners who are low in deficits are not well catered for in the current approach. Second, the policy accounts for the deficits of prisoners but does not account for their strengths. Readiness for change is not assessed, nor is it important in the current approach. In acting as the primary agent of change, the state responds to those prisoners who have the most deficits and are more likely to re-offend, but it is blind towards those who possess the readiness resources that may make them more likely to change. In other words, the state identifies those prisoners whom it is ready to change but it ignores those prisoners who are ready to become their own agents of change.

If the policy of directing rehabilitation to those with the greatest number of deficits were effective, it may be logical to expect recidivism would be declining. Yet the 2006 Auditor-General's Report on Rehabilitation in NSW jails reveals a very different reality.

The current reality of rehabilitation in NSW.

The 2006 Auditor-General's Report states that, despite the efforts of the NSW correctional system to rehabilitate prisoners, "almost one in two prisoners return to prison or community supervision within two years of release, which is similar to other states. Most of these return to prison. While the return to prison rate has increased by 25 percent during the last ten years, it has fallen slightly since 1999-2000" (p. 2). Despite a recent slight drop, the recidivism rate has

risen 25% over ten years and nearly 50% of offenders become recidivists within two years. There was no improvement in the indicators of prison effectiveness over the five years to 2005, despite significant increases in prison investment (Findlay, 2005).

When the Auditor General poses the rhetorical question “Are prisoners rehabilitated?”, his response is inconclusive: “This is a difficult question to answer. While the department monitors prisoners’ individual achievements, it has limited information on overall rehabilitation outcomes other than re-offending. We were unable to find out the extent to which prisoners as a group improved their health, employability, and education skills”. (p. 4). The lack of information about any other outcomes other than recidivism is in itself of great concern, but with recidivism placed at almost 50% within two years, the effectiveness of the current approach to rehabilitation must be questioned.

Similar statistics apply to other countries that approach rehabilitation along the lines of the Risk Needs Model. According to Councell & Olangundoye (2003, cited in Findlay, 2004), a review by the British Home Office into punishment outcomes revealed 59% of prisoners released from prison in Britain in 1998 were re-convicted within two years of release.

To be fair, one must acknowledge that criminal lifestyles are difficult to change, and there are many reasons why offenders become recidivists (Payne, 2007). Offenders with low levels of education, poor employment records, poor health, unstable family relationships, and drug and alcohol addictions have serious and difficult problems to overcome. Prison rehabilitation programs cannot easily ‘fix’ these problems. They are deep-seated and the social environments that give rise to crime are also resistant to change. In addition,

there is evidence that the prison experience itself increases the likelihood that a person may commit further crimes (Johnson, 2005; Haney, 2005). Warner (2005) and Teichman (1998) claim the damaging effects of the prison experience can include: becoming dependent on the system, suffering abuse by other prisoners, being humiliated by staff, living in inhumane conditions, experiencing increased alienation from society, and developing barriers to work, housing and other forms of social reintegration. Whatever positives may be achieved from rehabilitation programs within a jail may be undone by the experience of imprisonment itself. Therefore, while it must be acknowledged the goal of rehabilitation is a noble one, it is also very difficult to achieve. Nonetheless, it is valid to question whether the state's efforts to change prisoners represent the most effective approach to correctional rehabilitation.

Nott's truism.

Over 60 years ago, after a lifetime of working in the NSW correctional system, the Comptroller-General of NSW Prisons, Mr L. Nott, reflected on the state's 100-year history with the reformation approach. He concluded that the state could not successfully change prisoners, and he identified an important element that was missing from correctional policy and practice. In 1943 he concluded,

It is a truism that no person can be reformed if he does not want to be reformed and is not prepared to co-operate to that end....reformation can only be achieved by the offender himself:

externals will often aid and occasionally inspire, but the essential stimulus must spring from within” (cited in Blake, 1988, pp 13-14).

Nott claims that people do not change because the state wants them to change; they change because they want to change. When it comes to change, what lies within prisoners is more potent than what is directed to them from the outside. It has little to do with what they *need* to change and everything to do with what they are *ready* to change. In other words, people change when they become ready to change themselves, not simply because the state has decided they must change. Could it be that the people for whom rehabilitation programs “work” are the same ones who are ready to be their own agents of change?

The current approach to rehabilitation in NSW, based on the Risk Needs Model, identifies the prisoners the state wants to change. However, based on Nott’s observation, it could be more productive to identify the prisoners who are ready to change themselves, because, according to Nott, what lies within is more potent to effect change than what comes to them from the outside.

Growing focus on internal realities.

There is some recent evidence in the literature that the internal realities of the prisoner may be gaining importance in correctional rehabilitation. For example, Hollin (2002) begins by reflecting on the current approach, and then moves to question whether this approach is the optimum strategy:

The current fashion in work with offenders is very much on the delivery of treatment to groups of offenders, typically selected on

the basis of their offence.... Is selection for programs primarily on the basis of offence the optimum strategy or should individual characteristics be preferred? (p. 161)

Hollin is reflecting on a similar issue as that considered by Nott nearly 60 years earlier, namely, what comes from within prisoners may be more important (or at least equally important) as that which the correctional system can provide them from outside.

Ward (2002, 2007) argued a more specific case for the importance of internal characteristics. Ward (2002) observed there needs to be accounting for both the external value of rehabilitation to the community and the internal value of rehabilitation to the offender himself. Ward highlighted the fact that the present approach to rehabilitation aims to minimise the risk of criminal activity to the community. This is a legitimate goal, but he argued that the community cannot get what it wants unless the offender gets something personally valuable from the rehabilitative experience. Ward (2002), therefore, argues that rehabilitation must account for the internal world of the defender (human needs and goals (Ward, 2003)) as well as the external interests of the community.

Ward's emphasis maintains the focus on the idea that the state is the primary agent of change, but acknowledges that the state cannot completely ignore the internal realities of the offender.

Although this thesis is primarily interested in the correctional context, there is evidence of recent interest in literature outside of correctional rehabilitation that lends support to the importance of the internal world of the person when it comes to organisational change (Neves, 2009, Rousseau, 1999;

Ford, 2008). For example, Armenakis (1993, 2009) says that within an organisational setting people are more likely to change if they see some personal benefit arising from the change (this benefit is referred to as ‘personal valance’ (Armenakis, 2009, p. 129; Holt, 2007, p. 232)). There is a growing awareness in some areas within the literature that the internal realities of the person are important when it comes to change. This thesis focuses on identifying those ‘individual characteristics’ that cause people to be ready for change.

This second chapter has outlined from a brief historical perspective the three approaches that have been employed in NSW jails over time – removal, reformation and rehabilitation. These approaches are summarised below.

A Summary: The Three Approaches

Table 1 summarises the differences between the removal, reformation, and rehabilitation approaches. An example of these differences can be seen in the meaning of work for the prisoner. For the convicts, hard labour was a punishment. For prisoners in the second half of the 19th century, work was part of a reforming process that allowed prisoners to reflect on and contemplate their wayward lives. For prisoners today, work is an opportunity to develop workplace skills and training that may help them return to the community as responsible, contributing citizens.

Table 1: The Three Approaches to NSW Corrections

	<i>Removal</i>	<i>Reform</i>	<i>Rehabilitation</i>
<i>Goals</i>	Removal deterrence	Reformation	Reduced recidivism
<i>Focus</i>	Criminality	Faults	Risks & needs
<i>Method</i>	Punishment	Contemplation in silence and separation	Training
<i>Use of programs</i>	No programs	No formal programs – work & some literacy	Programs delivered according to “need” and “risk”
<i>Status of Offender</i>	Enemy of the state	Broken person	Citizen

Table 1 shows there are some significant differences between the three approaches towards offender management taken in NSW over time. In terms of goals, the Removal Approach attempted to deter criminal activity, cope with increasing demand on British jails, and decrease criminal activity within the community by removing criminals from the British homeland and transporting them to NSW. The goal of the Reformation Approach was to morally and spiritually reform criminals: to make honest and law-abiding citizens from morally and spiritually defective criminals. The Rehabilitation Approach aims to reduce recidivism by remediating the social, psychological, and educational deficits associated with offending behaviour.

The focus of the Removal Approach was on the criminality of the offender, who, in choosing to live outside the law, had to suffer the consequences and punishments demanded by the law, including total removal from the community to which they formerly belonged. The Reformation Approach focused on the moral and spiritual faults of the offender. The hope of reform

relied upon the offender realising, rejecting his corrupted moral condition, and embracing a socially acceptable ethic. The Rehabilitation Approach focuses on the intrapersonal and social deficits, which, in the research literature, are associated with criminal behaviour. These deficits are ones that have the potential to be changed (i.e. they are 'criminogenic needs'). The focus of correctional interventions is towards offenders whose criminogenic needs pose the greatest risk to the community.

The Removal Approach relied on punitive methods (such as transportation and chain gangs) to deal with criminals. The Reformation Approach attempted to change prisoners by providing periods of silence and separation whereby prisoners could reflect on the error of their lives and choose a moral path. Encouraging a strong work ethic and providing spiritual guidance (particularly for the younger criminal) was seen to aid reformation. Training and education directed at specific criminogenic needs is the primary method by which the Rehabilitation Approach attempts to create change in offenders.

The use of programs designed to change prisoners was not a feature of the Removal Approach, nor was it a major focus of the Reformation Approach, although religious programs and some literacy instruction were provided. Educational and psychological programs are central to the Rehabilitation Approach.

The status of the offender has changed across the three historical approaches. In the Removal Approach, the offender was seen to be an enemy of the state. In the Reformation Approach, he was seen to be a broken person, somewhat similar to a faulty machine, and in the Rehabilitation Approach he is

recognised as a citizen who must learn to take his place and contribute positively to society.

Despite the many differences that do exist between the three approaches, they all have one thing in common. The commonality is that they represent the effort by the state to change society and to change people. This may be a worthy goal, but history and experience suggest that programs work better for people who are ready for them: “reformation can only be achieved by the offender himself....the essential stimulus must spring from within” (Nott, 1943, cited in Blake, 1988, p. 13-14). In other words, for the rehabilitation approach to be most effective, not only does the state need to be an agent of change, but prisoners also need to be their own agents of personal change. The combination of the self and the state working together to bring about personal change is likely to produce the best results in correctional rehabilitation.

An underlying philosophical assumption of this study is that people can and do continually create their reality and construct their identity, and therefore they really do have the potential to change. They can change, if they are ready to. Recognising that the self can be a potent agent of change recognises the potential that lies within people and gives them a sense of dignity – they are ‘human becomings’ as well as ‘human beings’.

Conclusion

The brief historical overview provided in this chapter reveals how the state has attempted to be an agent of change in the lives of prisoners. The Risk Needs Model of correctional rehabilitation ignores the important reality that

people change because they are ready to change, not because other people tell them they need to change. Directing rehabilitation programs to those with the greatest or most serious deficits, whilst ignoring the critical strength of readiness for change, is to base rehabilitation on an incomplete picture of the person.

Before readiness for positive life change could have any possibility of becoming part of the correctional rehabilitation landscape, there first needs to be a means of understanding how prisoners indicate their readiness for change, and what personal resources defenders need to become agents of personal change. The academic literature provides some insight into the resources people need for personal change, and into how they show their readiness to change themselves. Chapter 3 examines the resources defenders need for personal change, and chapter 4 examines how they show their ability to change themselves through their responses to experience and through their language.

CHAPTER 3

THE RESOURCING SELF

Introduction

The second chapter of this thesis examines how the state has historically assumed responsibility as the primary agent of change in the lives of prisoners, and has generally disregarded the possibility that some prisoners are ready to be their own agents of change. Nott, whose comments have set a trajectory for this present study, clearly suggested that change does not occur in people's lives unless the 'essential stimulus' comes from within (cited in Blake, 1988, p. 14). There is, therefore, a disjuncture between the ideas expressed by Nott and the current practices in NSW and in many correctional systems throughout the English-speaking world (Warner, 2005).

The third chapter of this thesis takes up the focus of Nott and examines the nature of the internal resources defenders need to change themselves. In the fourth chapter, the perspective changes slightly to examine how people who are ready to change themselves respond to life experience and how they indicate their readiness for change through the personal narratives they tell. In other words, the purpose of Chapters 3 and 4 is to identify characteristics of the strengths of defenders who are ready for personal change.

This thesis focuses on how to identify defenders who are ready for positive life change. This goal calls for an understanding of the change process. For this, one must turn to the literature.

Understanding the Change Process

Prochaska (1986) described the change process through the Transtheoretical Model of Change (see also Carbonari, 2000; Fahrenwald, 2003; Hasler, 2004; Sohn, 2002). This model conceives of change as a process occurring through a series of identifiable stages, rather than as a single event. According to Prochaska (1986), in the Precontemplation stage, there is an unawareness of the need for change, and change is not under consideration. During the Contemplation stage, people have a growing awareness of the need for change, but they have not yet made the decision to change. The Preparation stage begins once a person makes the decision for change and prepares to take action. People engage in change behaviours during the Action stage, and persist with them during the Maintenance stage. The six stages from Precontemplation to Maintenance were part of Prochaska's original (1986) conceptualisation; however, other more recent theoretical work sometimes adds the additional stage of Termination, as is the case with Sohn (2002).

Some theorists have questioned the validity of the stages (e.g., Sutton 2001); however, the issue of whether the stages are discrete or sequential is of little concern to the focus of this present study. Figure 1 (copied from Sohn, 2002, p. 12) presents a visual interpretation of the Transtheoretical Model of Change (Prochaska, 1986).

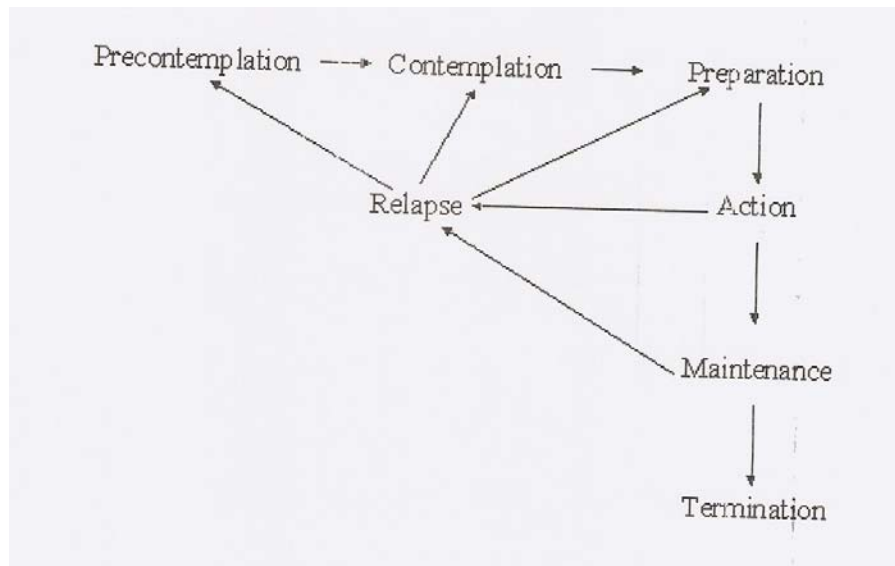


Figure 1: The Transtheoretical Model of Change (from Sohn, 2002, p. 12)

Figure 1 shows the six stages of the Transtheoretical Model of Change from Pre-contemplation through to Termination. The horizontal and vertical arrows show people pass through the various stages, as long as they continue with change. Each stage of the change process reflects certain types of attitudes and behaviours people exhibit as they engage in change. Note that relapse is an integral part of the change process; one that often affects people in the Action and Maintenance stages (Smith, 1995; Fahrenwald, 2003; Hasler, 2004). As indicated in Figure 1, relapse can affect people in different ways, causing them to regress to earlier stages of the change process (Pre-contemplation, Contemplation or Preparation stages). If they are resilient (Born, 1997), they regain lost ground and continue to make progress (Satterfield, 1995). This cycle may continue, perhaps many times, until the changes become habitual (Prochaska, 1986).

Preparing for and Responding to Change

The Transtheoretical Model of Change provides the understanding that change is a process with stages of development. However, to understand how people become ready for personal change, it is necessary to understand how people become prepared to take action, and how they become ready to maintain change in the long-term (Prochaska, 1999). Koltko-Rivera (2004) provides two models that help build this understanding. These two models, ‘The Acting Self’ and ‘The Experiencing Self’, are shown in Figure 2.

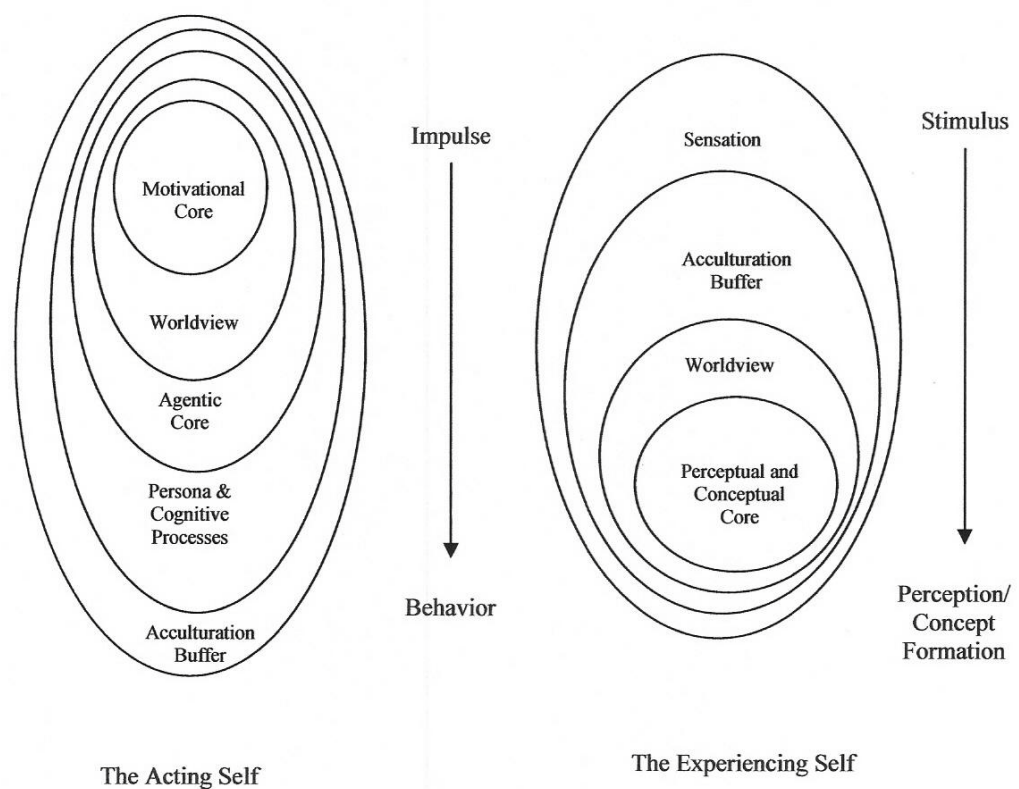


Figure 2: ‘The Acting Self’ and ‘The Experiencing Self’ (from Koltko-Rivera, 2004, p. 37)

In addition to providing a comprehensive list of the dimensions of worldview beliefs, Koltko-Rivera (2004) explores the processes by which people translate thought into action, and action into thought. He does this through the models of the ‘The Acting Self’ and ‘The Experiencing Self’. In the model of the ‘The Acting Self’ Koltko-Rivera shows how people translate impulse into behaviour through a series of steps, explained in more detail in the discussion below. The process by which people translate thought into action may be what people engage in when they move from the Contemplation into the Preparation and Action stages of the Transtheoretical Model (Prochaska, 1986).

According to the model of ‘The Acting Self’, the impulse begins as a motivation. The motivated impulse is then filtered and shaped by the person’s worldview belief systems (i.e. their personal ‘truth’, or how they see themselves and their reality); by their sense of agency, by their sense of self and their cognitive functioning (how their mind processes reality and experience), and finally by their cultural influences. This series of intra-personal ‘*filters*’ shape the action that the person subsequently takes. These filters in some ways limit the nature of the action, but at the same time, they are resources that determine the kind of action that can take place. This thesis argues that the nature of these resources (filters) determines, to a significant extent, the nature of the experience (Weiner, 1986), and that people who are ready for positive life change must have the intra-personal resources necessary to produce positive change.

In the model of ‘The Experiencing Self’, Koltko-Rivera (2004) explores how people create meaning (Perception/Concept Formation) from experience. According to ‘The Experiencing Self’, the process by which experience is attributed a meaning involves a series of intra-personal ‘filters’, similar to those

encountered in 'The Acting Self'. Experience first encounters a person's physical senses, then their cultural perceptions, and finally their worldview beliefs. Experience, moderated by these various 'filters' becomes meaningful (i.e. becomes part of a person's truth or reality).

It is logical to conclude from this that if the meaning attributed to experience is positive, the maintenance of change behaviours becomes more likely (e.g. "Change is difficult, but I am learning a great deal and I know I am getting better at this"). On the other hand, if the meaning attributed to experience is negative, then the maintenance of change behaviours becomes less likely (e.g. "This change is too difficult for me. I know I am going to fail"). The meaning people make from their experience determines, largely, whether they persist with change.

To express what Koltko-Rivera (2004) is saying in another way, one could suggest 'The Acting Self' refers to the personal *resources* people use to carry out their motivations for change. The resources needed to act as an agent of personal change become the focus of this third chapter. On the other hand, 'The Experiencing Self' relates to the meaning people make of their life experiences. The meaning people attribute to experience affects the quality of their lives (McGregor, 1998; Moomal, 1999; Savolaine, 2002; Zubair, 1999; de Avila, 1995; Frankl, 1978) and, importantly, influences how they *respond* to their experience (Weiner, 1986, 2000). The fourth chapter of this thesis examines how people reveal both their personal resources and their responses to experience, and how they shape their reality through the stories they tell of their lives.

The Cycle and Stages of Change

Adams (1997, cited in Maruna, 1997b) states that a person desists from criminal activity when he “acts as his or her own change agent” (p. 8). Such desistance is clearly a result of and an example of positive life change. Figure 3 presents this writer’s conceptualisation of how a person may be instrumental in his or her own process of personal change. Figure 3 incorporates insights from the Transtheoretical Model of Change (Prochaska, 1986) the models of ‘The Acting Self’ and ‘The Experiencing Self’ (Koltko-Rivera, 2004), and from other theorists.

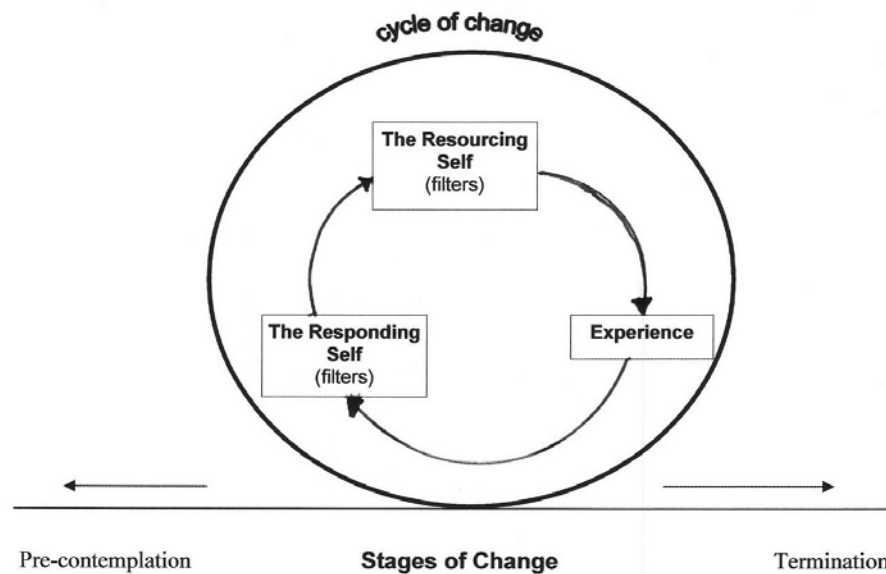


Figure 3: The Cycle and Stages of Change

Figure 3 shows this present author’s view of how the self may act as an agent of personal change, and as such, it presents the theoretical framework supporting this study. Figure 3 incorporates Prochaska’s (1986) original concept

that change is a process moving through stages from Pre-contemplation, Contemplation, Preparation, Action, Maintenance, and ending with the additional stage of Termination (Sohn, 2002). Figure 3 shows the staged nature of the change process as a two-dimensional continuum stretching from Precontemplation to Termination. The horizontal arrows in Figure 3 indicate Prochaska's (1986) observation that people not only make progress through the stages of change, but they may also regress. Although Figure 3 shows the staged nature of change as a linear process, the fact that people regress suggests that it is not incremental.

Figure 3 adds another layer to the concept that change is a staged process: there is a cyclic element to change. This insight comes principally from Koltko-Rivera (2004), who shows in his models of 'The Acting Self' and 'The Experiencing Self' how people translate thought into action and action into thought (see Figure 2). In other words, there is a cyclic process in how people change. In 'The Acting Self' (Koltko-Rivera, 2004) people filter their impulses and summon their resources to take action. By implementing behaviours, they gain experience. Having had the experience, they filter the information gained from the experience according to the steps outlined in 'The Experiencing Self' (Koltko-Rivera, 2004). By the internal processing of the information from the experience, they attribute to it a meaning (Perception/Concept Formation). The meaning they attribute to their experience shapes how they engage in future experience (Weiner, 1986, 2000).

For example, when a person acts as his own agent of change, he brings to the change process the necessary resources for change. Koltko-Rivera (2004) provides some indication of what some of these resources may be: he refers to a

variety of factors that filter or process the impulse and create behaviour from it. These factors include motivation, worldview beliefs, agency, personal and cognitive processes, and cultural influences. With his behaviour shaped by these resources, a person experiences the change process. He filters his experience through his senses, his cultural perceptions and his worldview beliefs (Koltko-Rivera, 2004) and attributes to them a meaning. The meaning he attributes to experience influences the resources (including the motivation) he has to engage in future action.

Figure 3 shows a person engages in the stage process by bringing his personal resources and engaging in behaviours that are indicative of a particular stage of change. He gains experience and responds to that experience in ways that cause him to move forward through the stages of change, or cause him to regress. In turn, how he responds to his experiences with the change process influences the personal resources he brings to future engagements with change.

The theoretical framework outlined in Figure 3 overlays the theoretical layers sourced from Prochaska (1986) and Koltko-Rivera (2004). Although Koltko-Rivera (2004) provides some understanding of the kind of resources needed to effect personal change (in his models of ‘The Acting Self’ and ‘The Experiencing Self’), a more detailed understanding of these resources can be obtained by incorporating conceptualisations from other theorists. The following section broadens the understanding of what is involved in ‘The Resourcing Self’ by reference to other literature.

The Resourcing Self

Although there is no literature on ‘The Resourcing Self’ as such, there is literature that helps build an understanding of the resources needed for positive life change. This literature suggests that in order to change a person needs to have at least the following: the motivation to change, a sense of agency, insight, beliefs that support change, a personal vision for the future, the capacity to trust the ‘right’ people and learn from them, and the ability to achieve a workable and sustainable balance in life. These elements of ‘The Resourcing Self’ are shown in Figure 4.

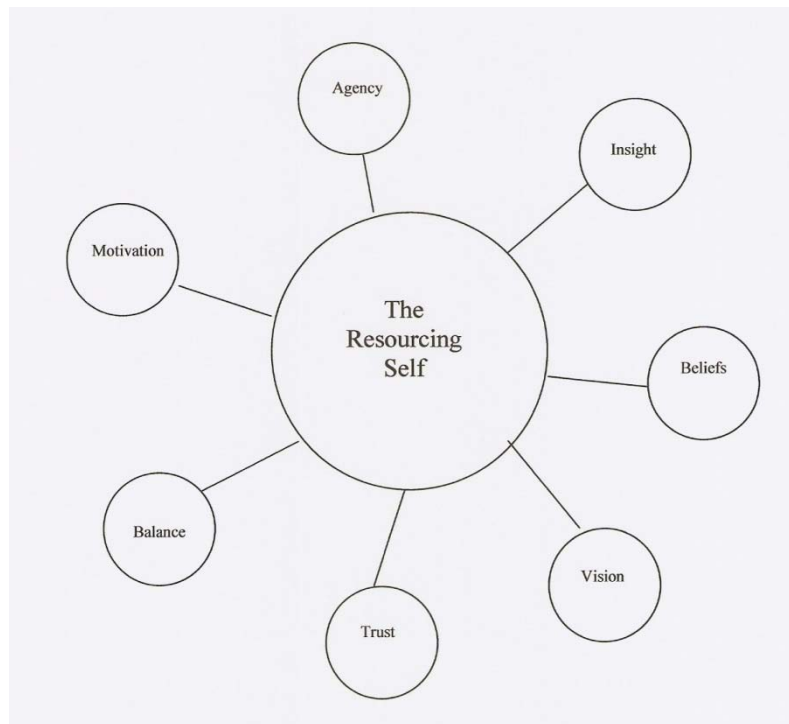


Figure 4: Elements of ‘The Resourcing Self’

Figure 4 shows the elements of 'The Resourcing Self'. Each of these elements is important to the change process, and the following discussion examines each element in some detail.

Motivation

Nott's reference to the 'essential stimulus' (cited in Blake, 1988, p. 14) coming from within may be a concept akin to motivation. The literature makes it clear that having a clear motivation for change is a necessary condition of the change process (Ajzen, 1985). Koltko-Rivera (2004) places motivation as the first pre-requisite in any attempt to create considered action (see 'The Acting Self').

Motivation is more than a vague intention; it involves decision-making and commitment towards change (Prochaska, 1986). By the time people reach the Preparation stage of the Transtheoretical Model of Change (Prochaska, 1986 - see Figure 1), they have gone beyond contemplating change to the stage where they are motivated to change and they have actually made the decision to change. In fact, the transition from contemplation to preparation depends on making the decision to change (Prochaska, 1986) – there is little point preparing to change if someone has not yet decided to change. The conscious and voluntary decision to change becomes a firm decision only if backed up by commitment. Therefore, people enter the preparation stage of change when they are motivated to change, they have made a firm decision to change, and they are committed to that decision (Prochaska, 1986).

The decision to change made at the beginning of the preparation stage is not the only decision for change a person needs to make. A person needs to make the decision to change repeatedly, and motivation and commitment must be

on going. Becker (1964) observed that commitment provides “a consistent line of activity in a sequence of varied situations” (p. 49). In the change process, there may be many ‘sequences of varied situations’, and some of them may be very difficult to negotiate. Therefore, commitment and resilience are essential if the motivation for change is to endure (Born, 1997).

The motivation to change may develop for a variety of reasons, but these reasons may often include a desire to get away from something or some current situation and/or a desire to acquire something new. Change may enable a person to develop a more meaningful or more ‘coherent’ life – he may be able to add things to his life that enhance its meaning and purpose, thus making life more fulfilling (Savolaine, 2002). In other words, the motivation to change may represent an attempt to add value to one’s life.

On the other hand, the motivation to change may derive from a commitment to avoid aspects of life that are unpleasant, painful, or unrewarding. Lee (2004) states the motivation to change may result from a desire to move “away from or out of subjugating discourses” (p. 226). Such subjugating discourses may come from personal experience of condemnation and learned helplessness (Seligman, 1991), of past failure, or a sense of entrapment. However, they may also come from unhelpful and limiting cultural values and beliefs. In his article on community narratives, Rappaport (2000) shows how the cultural narratives of communities have the power to shape the thinking of members of those communities and bring to the individuals “tales of terror and joy”. Often, the motivation to change may reflect both the desire to move away from some unpleasant reality and the desire for something better.

Maruna (2001) makes the critical observation that any change must represent to the person himself the next logical step in the story of his life (p. 86). In other words, life change is only positive if it makes sense to the person. It has to maintain his psychological integrity, allowing him to tell a single, logical story about his life (Maruna, 2001, p. 87). Korotkov (1998) and Gergen (1998) make a similar point when they state change should enhance the coherence of a person's life story. Positive life change, then, has to be owned by the person: they have to be motivated to change in ways that are meaningful to them, and for which they have an enduring commitment.

Agency

Having a sense of agency, or the closely related concept of self-efficacy (Bandura, 1989), means a person has belief in his or her ability to accomplish an act. It is a belief in self-empowerment - that change is a real possibility, and the belief the person has capacity to bring it about.

Agency involves a variety of concepts. It includes the perception that one is able to make decisions. The person believes he has the freedom and permission (or sense of worthiness) to act. Maruna (2001) says people with high agency see themselves as "masters of their own fates" (p. 76). They believe they have a large measure of control over their destiny – that what they choose matters, and they are responsible for what happens to them. This sense of responsibility often leads high agency people to persist in the face of difficulty, because they genuinely believe the choices they make do influence what happens to them.

Existential thinkers have clearly associated the concepts of choice and responsibility, but sometimes see them as of philosophical rather than psychological importance. For example, Frankl (1977) claims that “man only exists authentically when he is not driven but, rather, responsible” (p. 28). Here, personal responsibility is a function of ‘authentic existence’, rather than psychological empowerment. Such a philosophical position may, or may not, accompany the person who has a strong sense of agency, but it does illustrate the influence that attitudes and belief systems can have on behaviour (Ajzen, 2005). More is said of this issue under the heading ‘Beliefs’.

Agency also includes the perception the person can manage their life effectively (Wilson, 1998). Korotkov (1998) refers to the concept of “manageability”, which he defines as, “the extent to which individuals perceive that they have the personal and social resources to confront and cope with demand” (p. 55). Manageability involves not only personal resources, but social ones as well. It is the ability to cope with the demands of life not only in a personal context, but also in a social context. A person needs a degree of social acuity to manage well in a social context. The confidence that one can confront and cope with the demands of change, make decisions, and manage one’s life is integral to being an agent of change.

The sense of agency embeds itself not only in what people do, but also in how people think about their lives and their future. Snyder (2005) refers to this embedding as “agency thinking”, because it permeates the way high agency people see themselves and the way they are able to act to bring about change. Along with “agency thinking”, he uses the term ‘pathways thinking’ to represent the idea that high agency people actively seek out pathways around problems to

reach their desired destinations. Obstacles along their paths do not disempower them. “Pathways thinking” leads people to look for opportunities, and to create opportunities for change. People with “pathways thinking” see possibilities to achieve their goals, and see pathways around their problems.

People with high agency are more likely to take the initiative in the process of change. They are more likely to be self-starting and to have a strong internal motivation to act (Fay, 2001). Fay (2001) states that personal initiative “results in an individual taking an active and self-starting approach to work goals and tasks and persisting in overcoming barriers and setbacks” (p. 97). Taking the initiative means people are not only self-starters, they are also more likely to be persistent in the face of obstacles and difficulties. They are more likely to persist in looking for other pathways to their goals.

Agency thinking manifests itself in the language people use when they speak about their lives. Maruna, (2001) reports on a study where he found the language of active offenders was five times more likely to lack “a language of agency” than that of desisting ex-offenders (p. 77). Desisters reflect their agency through their narratives, but, importantly, the language they use to reflect their agency also strengthens their agency. The language people use in the stories they tell of their lives reinforces the coherence of those stories and both reflects and creates their sense of agency. This is consistent with constructivist theories that underpin this study (Charmaz, 2006), and more is said of this in Chapters 3 and 4.

Insight

As a resource for change, insight refers to the realistic assessment of problems that need to be solved, personal needs and goals, personal limitations, and people who can be trusted and relied upon.

It is important to have insight into personal problems that need solving. Prochaska (1986) spoke of the importance of raising consciousness to identify personal problems. However, insight is not simply a matter of knowing what needs to change, but also of being able to read the signs that something needs to change. Maruna (2001) observes that repeat offenders lack the insight to read such signs. He says, “Repeat offending is only understandable if one understands the impossibility of this quest for happiness” (p. 82). In other words, offenders show a real lack of insight if they continue in criminal activity in an attempt to find something that they can never find in crime.

The ‘signs’ that need to be read with insight may be experienced in a variety of forms, one of which is dissonance (Festinger, 1957; Aronson, 1969). Cognitive dissonance is the uncomfortable situation where one’s worldviews are in conflict with one’s experience. Although uncomfortable, dissonance may be beneficial to the person if they recognise it as a sign they need to change. Loevinger (1976, cited in King, 2001) noted that potential for personal growth exists only when the environment fails to conform to expectations.

Insight is important not only in relation to personal problems, but also in relation to needs and wants. Maslow (1943) brought some understanding of the complexity and hierarchical nature of human needs. In a similar manner, Ward (2002) presents a model of correctional management called the “Good Lives Model”, in which he refers to ‘primary human goods’. These goods are a set of

common needs all people have, the satisfaction of which makes life fulfilling. As is evident from Ward's list, the needs are critical to people. These needs are: life (including healthy living and functioning); knowledge; excellence in play and work (including mastery experiences); excellence in agency (i.e., autonomy and self-directedness); inner peace (i.e., freedom from emotional turmoil and stress); friendship and community (including intimate, romantic and family relationships); spirituality (in the broad sense of finding meaning and purpose in life); happiness; and creativity. The issue is not whether a person needs these 'goods', but rather which ones are of the greatest importance to the person. According to Ward (2002), everyone has their own particular mixes of which needs are most important to them. It is, therefore, essential for people to have insight into which needs are most crucial, and into how to satisfy these needs in pro-social ways. It is also important to have insight into what problems are preventing people attaining their needs and wants. Ward (2002) proposes that a major focus of correctional rehabilitation should be upon helping offenders develop the insight they need to recognise what they need to live a 'good life', and knowing how to achieve it in pro-social ways. Thereby, Ward hopes, prisoners would derive something personally valuable from the rehabilitation process, which would help them desist with crime.

People also need insight into limitations they face. Many offenders suffer from drug and/or alcohol addictions (Heggie, 2005). Whilst a person may desire to change these behaviours, years of substance abuse may produce cognitive impairment, psychological pathologies, or physical ailments that may impede progress with change. In addition to such limitations, people need insight into the reality that being in jail and/or having a criminal record may

create its own set of social limitations, such as loss of family support (Dembo, 2000; Rokach, 2001), unemployment issues (Korn, 2004), and homelessness (Willis, 2004). Such insights, although disturbing, do not need to lead people into despair if they have ‘pathways thinking’ (Snyder, 2005).

Insight is needed for discerning which people can be trusted and who has the capacity to offer help and support. The ability to trust is an important resource for change, but only if it is combined with the insight to know who is worthy of trust and who is able to offer support.

Beliefs

A belief system that empowers a person to make change is an important resource in the change process. A philosophical belief about well-being and the purpose of life goes beyond a psychological sense of agency, highlighting the power of belief systems to influence change outcomes (Powell Lawton, 2002; Savolaine, 2002). Frankl (1977) understood personal responsibility to be essential for ‘authentic existence’. Someone who believes that self-responsibility is important for authentic living is likely to be self-responsible, not because they believe they can be self-responsible, but because they believe they should be self-responsible (Ryan, 2000). Worldviews are beliefs about how things are, and how they should be (Koltko-Rivera, 2004).

Koltko-Rivera (2004) presents his Model of Collated Worldviews, which attempts to provide a comprehensive, psychologically focused overview of human worldview belief systems. Worldview belief systems are:

...a way of describing the universe and life within it, both in terms of what is and what ought to be. A given worldview is a set of beliefs that includes limiting statements and assumptions regarding what exists and what does not (either in actuality, or in principle), what objects or experiences are good or bad, and what objectives, behaviors, and relationships are desirable or undesirable (Koltko-Rivera, 2004. p. 4) .

In other words, worldviews beliefs express what a person believes to be true and real about the world. Worldviews not only express a person's truth, they also become boundaries in terms of what is possible and what is expected. Koltko-Rivera (2004) says:

A worldview defines what can be known or done in the world, and how it can be known or done. In addition to defining what goals can be sought in life, a worldview defines what goals should be pursued (p. 4).

Koltko-Rivera's definition claims a person's behaviour is limited by what he believes it is possible to do, what is permissible to do, and how it can be achieved. Koltko-Rivera (2004) makes the claim that worldviews operate at such a foundational level that they influence every aspect of the self, and therefore affect every stage of the change process. A belief about what is possible or what

is 'right' will influence whether certain behaviours are considered potent or permissible.

Beliefs can become so habitual and so expressive of how a person sees the world and how they act that they become patterned behaviours. These patterned behaviours are sometimes referred to as 'scripts' (e.g. McAdams, 1993; Maruna, 2001) or 'styles' (e.g. Seligman, 1991; Tomkins, 1987). 'Redemption scripts' and 'condemnation scripts' (Maruna, 2001; McAdams, Reynolds, Lewis, Patten & Bowman, 2001) reveal patterned behaviours directed by worldviews, and provide a good example of how worldviews influence behaviour. For example, redemption scripts often begin by establishing the initial goodness or conventionality of the narrator who, because of the bleakness of his circumstances, takes the wrong path. However, with the help of some outside force, the person discovers what 'he was always meant to do', and then he desires to give something back to society (Maruna, 2001. p. 87).

Redemption scripts highlight how some defenders see themselves – they were never "real" criminals: they may have been easily led, life may have been too hard for them to bear at one point of time, but in reality, they were never "bad" inside. The worldview beliefs of such a person make positive life change a logical 'next step' in the story of their lives – they will get back to what they once were, and where they should always have been. According to Maruna (2001), the redemption script is characteristic of people who are successful in the process of desisting from crime (i.e. they act as agents of personal change).

Worldviews have a significant and pervasive influence on a person's ability to make positive life change. Someone may have the motivation to change, he may have made a decision to change and have commitment for that

decision, but unless he also has worldviews that empower him to make the changes he desires, there will be limits to how much he can change. Condemnation scripts provide a good example of how worldviews can limit the possibility of change. The defender operating from a condemnation script typically sees himself as being victimised by the authorities and as being unfairly caught in a cycle of recidivism and crime. He complains that the 'system' does not rehabilitate people, and he takes little or no responsibility for his actions. His sense of powerlessness to do anything to help himself can lead him to believe his only power lies in becoming a "total loss" (Singer, 1997, cited in Maruna, 2001). Hence, he takes no responsibility for becoming anything else. According to Maruna (2001), such people experience a profound sense of an "empty self" (p. 81). They lack what they need to be happy and fulfilled, so they attempt to fill their emptiness with the excitement and financial rewards of crime. Maruna makes the insightful claim that it is only in the context of the "empty self" that repeat offending makes any sense, considering the costs of crime are so high.

People operating from a condemnation script see themselves as victims of circumstance (Maruna, 2001; Seligman, 1991). They see themselves as pawns and victims of society, and that their only real power is in relation to their power to fail. These people operate from what White (1990) calls "problem-saturated stories" (cited in Lee, 2004, p. 222). Their beliefs about themselves and their world do not make significant positive life change a coherent and logical next step to the story of their lives thus far.

Vision

To act as an agent of change, a person needs the capacity to envision a meaningful and satisfying future. People need a set of realistic and achievable goals that will help them attain what they need to be satisfied and fulfilled (Ward, 2007).

It was mentioned earlier in this discussion that Ward (2002) sees the correctional system as having an important role in helping offenders develop insight into what they need to live a 'good life'. He expands on this and sees an important role for correctional rehabilitation in helping offenders create life plans that will enable them to meet their goals and satisfy their needs in pro-social ways. This is an important view, because to effect positive life change, offenders need to see a different future for themselves, and they need to develop the skills, knowledge and abilities required to turn that vision into a reality. In other words, a vision of the future cannot simply be something they need; it must also make sense to them given the overall story of their lives.

Having a vision for the future and a belief in one's power to make it a reality is fertile ground for hope to arise (Snyder, 1991, cited in Lee, 2004). Hope can be fragile and, in some situations, cannot withstand the discouragements that experience issues. However, there is an art to hope. Seligman (1991) states, "finding temporary and specific causes of misfortune is the art of hope" (p. 48). In other words, the art of hope is in accepting setbacks, but seeing them as temporary. Hope thrives on "pathways thinking" (Snyder, 2005), that sees setbacks as mere obstacles that only mean a temporary diversion. People who are ready for change have things to look forward to; they have hope

for the future, and they are confident they can act to bring new realities into existence and they can 'move on' with their lives (McAdams, 2006, p. 22).

Tomkins (1987, cited in McAdams, 1994b) observes that some people hold a strong and enduring commitment to the vision of an ideal life or society. McAdams (1994b) writes, "A commitment script involves a long-term investment in 'improving things'. The person may have a vision of an ideal life or the ideal society and dedicate his or her life to realizing or accomplishing this vision" (p. 743). Commitment scripts are orientated towards highly valued goals that the person is committed to attain. The person not only values the goal, but also considers himself deserving of the goal, he has a strong sense of agency regarding the goal, and is optimistic about future prospects with respect to the goal. The vision for the future may represent an 'ideal' to which one dedicates one's life, or it may represent something less grand, but having the sense of a personal future is necessary if one is to bring about personal change.

Trust

The capacity to trust people who are equipped and able to support positive life change is another important element of the ability to effect personal change. Prochaska (1986) identifies "being open and trusting" as one of the processes that drive change. However, like hope, trust can be a very fragile and difficult thing (Seligman, 1997). It can be as hard for the prisoner to trust the community as it is for the community to trust the prisoner. Establishing openness and trust with someone who can offer the right kind of help is one of the things that actually drive the change process (Prochaska, 1986). The ability

to establish this kind of trusting relationship is a key capacity for creating and sustaining positive life change.

As difficult as it may sometimes be for people to entrust themselves to others, it is an important resource for change. Frankl (1977) provides an example of the transformations that can occur when people are able to trust the 'right' person. He reports on a group of prisoners who found the help they needed in Frankl's books and tapes. He conveys the content of a letter written to him by a prisoner in a US jail:

During the past several months a group of inmates have been sharing together your books, and your tape. Yes, one of the greatest meanings we can be privileged to experience is suffering. I have just began to live and what a glorious feeling it is. I am constantly humbled by the tears of my brothers in our group when they can see that their lives have just begun and that they are even now achieving meanings that they never thought possible. The changes are truly miraculous. (p. 132)

The man who wrote the letter referred to above received much help from Dr Frankl's books and tapes. He received this help because he was willing to trust that Frankl was someone who could help him. He also received the help because he was open to learn. There is little point trusting someone who can help if there is an unwillingness to receive help from them. There must be

openness and willingness to accept help from trusted people, as was evident in the man to whom Frankl referred.

The literature makes it clear that for some people, trust in God is most crucial to their change process (Benda, 2002; Green, 1998; Jensen, 2002; O'Connor, 2002; Young, 1998). Maruna relates the words of an ex-offender, who is a recovering drug-addict:

I believe that all recovering addicts are the Chosen Ones. That's my point of view. I feel we are all chosen by God, because we're loved...So I feel we're special because we're learning how to deal with the world. (cited in McAdams (2006), p. 237)

For the man referred to above, his belief in God gave him purpose and meaning. He felt special; he felt loved by God, and his suffering had a purpose. He believed these things were true because he trusted in God, and that trust and those beliefs helped him persist with change ("learning how to deal with the world"). His worldview belief in a loving and caring God caused him to believe he 'should' change, and he should persist with change.

The literature suggests that a trust in God is sometimes associated with a belief in the possibility of one's own forgiveness, and with finding permission to move on. The permission to move on relates more to the sense that one is worthy to move on than to the sense that one has the ability to move on. To illustrate this point, Erickson (2002) reports on a prisoner from Sing Sing prison in the United States:

I have good memories of the 1987-1988 class and realise it was a great turning point in my rehabilitation....The year at NYTS was very important to me to not lose faith and that I could and would be redeemed from that sin of the past. The faculty were important in this development. Here I was a student – a person – and not just a convict. This is very important. (p. 245)

This man felt permission to move on: he realised his past could and would be forgiven. His trust in God and in the people at NYTS gave him permission to move on and change.

Part of the reason this man was able to trust the people at NYTS was that they treated him with dignity as a person, not as a convict. Sometimes the reason offenders find it so difficult to trust people who could help them is because they are not treated with dignity and respect. Coleman (1990) observes that, in trusting jail staff an offender takes the risk that the worker may not be trustworthy, and the offender may be worse off for having disclosed certain information. There may be anxiety that information disclosed will be discussed inappropriately with others, or it may find its way to the offender's case notes (and there may be some obligation on the part of the correctional employee to do so). Unfortunately, such indiscretions, betrayals, or misunderstandings probably take place in jails around the world, so it is not surprising if many offenders have difficulties with trust.

Balance

The ability to achieve a balance in life is an important resource for change. Various authors (e.g. McAdams, 1993; Bauer, McAdams & Pals, 2008) have noted that the need for agency (personal power, personal achievement, independence, status) and communion (intimacy, love, nurturance, dialogue) can be the cause of much struggle in people's lives, because these needs can often present conflicts of interests. Sternberg (1998) associates the ability to live a balanced life with living wisely, or, to frame it in the terms of this present study, with the ability to become an agent of personal change.

Sternberg (1998) points out that it is important to know how to achieve a balance between three things: the interests of self and others, how one responds (in attitude and action) towards those interests, and timing. This discussion has already observed the importance of having personal motivations, goals, and agency, and of having insight into personal needs and priorities. Whilst these are all important elements of readiness, it is also true that people do not live in isolation from other people or from society. There is a need to find a workable balance between agency (one's own interests) and communion (the need to accommodate the interests of others).

According to Sternberg (1998), it is not enough simply to have a balanced awareness of the interests of the self and others, it is also important to be able to respond to those interests in balanced ways. One's responses in attitudes and behaviours need to reflect a considered balance. At times, it may not be possible to achieve one's personal interests without accommodating the needs and interests of other people, or of society in general (Curry, 1970). For example, it may not be possible for a person to get the support they need for change if they

do not respect the boundaries of the people who are trying to help them. At other times, the interests of others may conflict with personal interests to the extent that positive life change becomes a virtual impossibility. For instance, a person wanting to break free from drug dependency may not be able to accommodate the interests of other drug addicts without radically compromising his own interests. Therefore, there are cultural as well as personal issues involved with these kinds of decisions (Koltko-Rivera, 2004; Matsueda, 1988; Reiss, 1986; Teichman, 1998). Acting as an agent of personal change involves making choices that balance these competing interests: on the one hand being open to the needs of others and the need to belong, and on the other setting clear boundaries and being true to one's own interests.

Sternberg (1998) observes that there is a need to balance the temporal dimensions of priorities and responses. He refers to the need to balance life across time. Some interests may be important, but they may not be so important in the short-term. For example, it may be important in the medium- to long-term for a man to live at home with his family and exercise parental guidance, but in the short-term, it may be much more important for him to enter a drug clinic to deal with his addiction issues. Therefore, to engage effectively in personal change people need to be able to balance their own interests with those of others, balance how they respond to those interests, and balance when they respond to them.

Creating and maintaining balance is often not easy and requires self-control (Gottfredson, 1990; Vazsonyi, 2001). Self-control is necessary to set boundaries and to avoid submitting to the temptation to compromise them. Research by Burton suggests self-control may be the major factor that

distinguishes people who commit crimes and those who do not, when both groups have equal opportunity (Burton, 1998).

There is evidence in the literature to suggest that taking account of the interests of others is also important in achieving a sense of well-being (Ryff, 1995). Bauer, McAdams & Pals (2008) suggest that well-being incorporates both feeling good about oneself (happiness) and being able to think in an integrative way about the self and others (maturity). Therefore, to live a balanced life that accounts for and responds in a timely and appropriate manner to the interests of self and others is to live maturely (Sheldon, 2001). Living a balanced life that is self-responsible and socially responsible is an act requiring emotional and psychological maturity.

Conclusion

The focus of this chapter has been on identifying the resources people need to engage effectively in positive life change. Koltko-Rivera (2004) provides some clues as to what people need to be an agent of personal change, but his ideas have been developed and expanded on in this chapter by adding to them insights from other theorists. Table 2 summarises the resources needed to act as an agent of personal change.

Table 2: Resources Needed to Act as an Agent of Change

To act as an agent of change people need:

- The motivation, decision and commitment for change
- A sense of agency and the ability to manage their lives
- Insight into personal problems, needs, limitations, and people who can be trusted
- Empowering beliefs
- A personal vision for the future
- The capacity to trust the ‘right’ people, and a willingness to accept their help
- The capacity to live a balanced, self-responsible and socially-responsible life
- The capacity to persist with change behaviour

It is reasonable to expect that in the real world people might not have all the resources identified in Table 2. They may have some but not others. Some might be better developed than others are. This would not mean they could not engage in personal change. The ‘cycle of change’ shown in Figure 3 implies that even the resources people have are subject to change.

However, to engage effectively in personal change people need more than resources. The literature shows they need to respond to their experience in ways that allow them to persist with change and maintain change. People demonstrate their readiness to do this not only through their behaviour, but also through how they think about and talk about their lives. The next chapter looks at how people respond to experience when they engage in personal change, and how their personal narratives reveal their readiness for change.

CHAPTER 4

THE RESPONDING SELF

Introduction

This chapter looks to the literature to examine a second aspect of the self that may be involved in being an agent of personal change (see Figure 3), namely ‘The Responding Self’. The purpose of this examination is to gain an understanding of how people’s responses to experience indicate whether they are acting as agents of change, and how their personal narratives have the potential to reveal their readiness for change. The chapter examines insights provided by McAdams (1993; 1994a; 1994b) and Wortham (2001) on the narrative methodology and discusses why a narrative methodology has much to offer this investigation into the indicators of readiness for positive life change.

Reality: Without or Within?

Positivist epistemologies are based on the idea that reality ‘out there’ can be discovered and known directly (Burns, 2000; Crotty, 1998). In other words, according to positivist epistemologies, people can have a direct experience with reality outside them. In such a case, if a person responds to an experience that involves the world outside of him, he would be responding to the ‘raw data’ of external reality.

An opposing view states that external reality can never be experienced as ‘raw data’ coming from outside (Bachelard, 1993). In this view, all information

coming from the outside world is processed internally, and reality is a personal and social construction rather than an objective absolute (Berger, 1976; Gergen, 1996; Glassman; 1996). Bachelard (1993) argues that even the 'reality' of the 'hard sciences', like physics, is not disconnected from the internal world of the scientists who observe it. To illustrate, he writes: "Above all, we must know how to present problems... if there is no question, there can be no scientific knowledge about it. Nothing emanates by itself. Nothing is given. Everything is constructed". (p. 16, researcher's translation). Bachelard is saying that the scientific knowledge of the external world is not disconnected from the internal world of the scientists who pose the questions in the first place.

Similarly, in the model of 'The Experiencing Self' (see Figure 2), Koltko-Rivera (2004) shows that people do not experience external reality directly, but process it through internal 'filters'. According to Koltko-Rivera (2004), external reality is filtered first by the person's sensory perceptions, followed by their 'acculturation buffer' (the socially constructed realities that affect how people think and see the world (Berger, 1979; Nisbett, 2001)), and finally by their worldview belief systems. The perception or concept (meaning) the person has of their experience is constructed from the processing that has occurred within them.

Bruner (1990) claims the meaning people attribute to experience depends to some extent on how the experience was gained and how they can best understand it. According to Bruner (1990), some reality is best understood through the process of empirical observation and logical deduction. He calls this the 'paradigmatic mode': the scientific method relies on this mode. The 'paradigmatic mode' (which appears to neither require nor imply a positivist

philosophy) enables people to tell logical, evidence-based stories about the reality of the world ‘out there’.

It is not possible to understand or ‘prove’ scientifically and logically all dimensions of human experience (Baumeister, 1994). For example, the common experience of falling in love has no resonance with the human imagination if described in physiological terms. Experiences such as these, according to Bruner (1990), are best described through the ‘narrative mode’. The narrative mode is able to reveal the internal realities of people’s lives that may not be empirically observable, or understandable in scientific terms. Narratives can reveal internal realities such as intention, desire, and meanings in a way that the paradigmatic mode cannot achieve.

Green (1998) provides an illustration of the narrative mode. He cites a story from a recovering addict:

Well, you know, like my Higher Power is definitely in my life cause see I went through an incident last week, I was hit, my will wanted to snatch him up, teach him a lesson like you don’t put your hands on me. But the other side of me was like see that’s not what God would want for. And see that stopped me, you know, instantly. (Green, 1998, p. 330)

The reality of this man’s story does not rest on scientific facts but on the belief that his Higher Power has helped him to respond to a familiar situation in an unfamiliar way. This incident of where he could have hit the other person, but did not, is evidence that his Higher Power “is definitely in my life”. The example reveals that the narrative mode captures personal meanings and frames

them within the context of a story that highlights their significance. The man's sense of being newly empowered is understood within the context of the story he tells and how he would have acted in the past. The belief that his Higher Power is with him makes sense of his changed behaviour. The above example reveals that the person's truth also affects the way he behaves. The man behaved differently because he believed in a different reality – that hitting the man is “not what God would want for”. The example also illustrates that when people tell aspects of their lives to a listener through narratives they seek out evidence to ‘prove’ that the story they tell is true. The ‘truth’ of the story that the man's Higher Power is definitely with him is ‘proven’ by the fact he did not hit his assailant.

Whether people make sense of their reality through personal stories, through socially embedded tales (Rappaport, 2000), or through the paradigmatic mode of the ‘scientific story’ (as distinct from science fiction), people utilise narratives to give meaning to experience and make sense of their world (McAdams, 1993). Figure 5 shows how people may make a narrative response to experience.

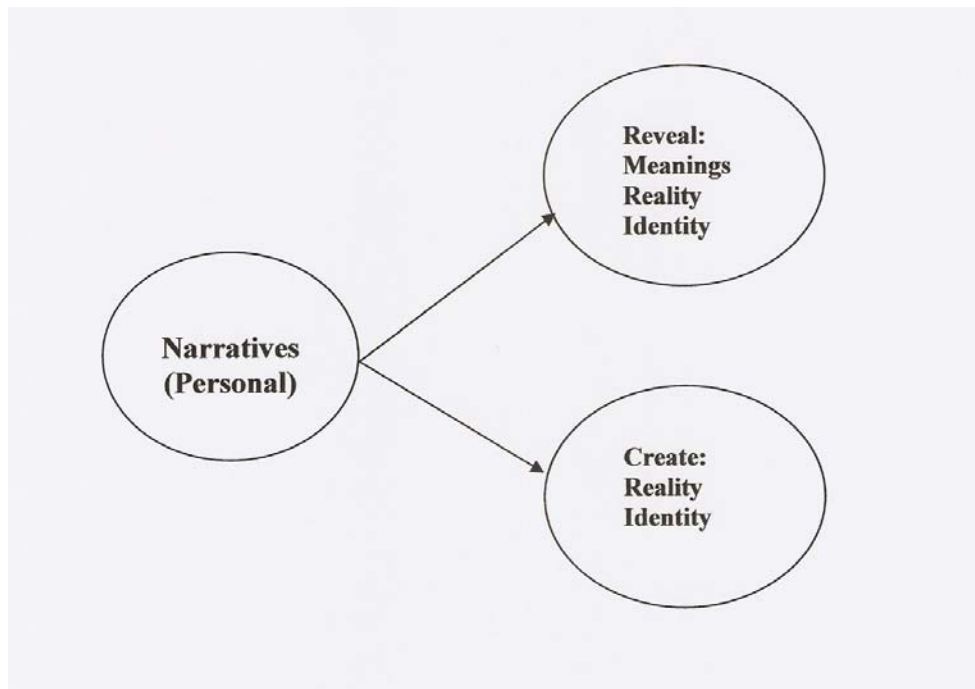


Figure 5: The Narrative Processes of ‘The Responding Self’

Figure 5 shows the narrative processes of ‘The Responding Self’ (an element of ‘The Cycle and Stages of Change’, see Figure 3). The literature examined in Chapter 3 showed that to effect personal change it is necessary to provide the right resources for change (namely, motivation, agency, insight, empowering beliefs, vision, the capacity for trust, and the ability to live a balanced life). Figure 5 indicates that narratives, particularly personal narratives (though it is important to note that Rappaport (2000) writes of the power that shared, community narratives can have on people), play a central role in how people respond to experience. The literature indicates people both reveal and create their reality and identity through the narratives (personal life stories) they tell about their lives and their world (McAdams, 1993, 1994c; Sford, 2005; Wortham, 2001). Therefore, since the literature shows people reveal and create their reality and their identity through their personal life stories, these narratives

may have the potential to reveal whether defenders have the resources to act as agents of personal change, and whether they respond to experience in ways that make positive change a likely outcome.

Koltko-Rivera (2004), in his model of ‘The Experiencing Self’ (Figure 2), shows how people create meaning out of experience. The next two sub-sections of this chapter consider how people reveal and create both reality and identity through the narrative process.

Revealing and Creating Reality

The literature makes it clear that as people reveal their experience and their reality they are at the same time creating their reality (Sfard, 2005; Yuval-Davis, 2006, cited in Riessman, 2008; McAdams, 1994c). It is impossible to separate these two processes.

Revealing one’s reality does not necessarily mean a person’s truth needs to be revealed to anyone other than himself or herself. Self-talk is potent to create reality, as Maruna (2001) suggests when he says it is critical that any change makes sense to the person himself. In the person’s self-talk, even if not revealed to anyone else, change needs to make sense.

Narratives Reveal and Create Identity

Not only do narratives reveal and create meaning, they also reveal and create identity, the self. According to narrative psychologists such as McAdams

(1993), Sfard, and Prusak (2005), and Bauer (2008), as people tell the story of their lives they are at the same time creating and shaping their identity.

Pals (2006) provides some insight into how narratives do this. She shows that narratives allow people to openly acknowledge the negative emotional impact of difficult life experiences and explore their meanings. In other words, it is through language (narrative) that people explore and make sense of their experience. Further, Pals (2006) claims the person can be transformed if they can construct a positive narrative resolution to difficult experiences. This may be easy to do in narrative and difficult to do in experience, but as people express a narrative that makes sense to them, they are at the same time creating that reality. If the person is ready for personal change, the challenges that experience can pose to a person's identity can become the catalyst for personal growth (Bauer, 2008). Thus, the person becomes empowered, not only through the act of revealing his story, but the story itself has the power to change him. The findings of studies into the mid-life narratives of women further support the efficacy of narratives to create transformative identity change and 'eudaimonic well-being' (Ryff, 1995). Ryff's use of the term "eudaimonic" goes beyond the meaning of 'happiness' to include "the striving for perfection that represents the realization of one's true potential" (p. 100).

Narratives reflect the meanings people make of their lives, and they create these meanings in specific cultural contexts. Cramer (1996) observes, "the construction of the individual's story will be influenced by the dominant stories of the culture" (p. 4). Sfard (2005) states, "the most significant stories are often those that imply one's memberships in, or exclusions from, various communities" (p. 17).

Cultural or shared narratives can affect the personal story at the most profound emotional level (sadness or joy [Rappaport, 2000]). Rappaport highlights that a person's identity is never an individual phenomenon but is shaped within a social and cultural context and is moulded, to some extent, by the cultural "currents we are riding" (p. 6). These currents are the narratives (reflecting the attitudes, values, morals, and ethics) of the community with which people identify and belong, or to which people would like to belong.

People construct their identities under the influence of their cultures, and they always reveal their identities within a cultural and social context. Social interactionists refer to the concept of 'multiple selves'. Bowers (1989) writes, "Who I am depends on which Me is experienced as most salient at the time...Who I am, therefore, depends on the Me that is called forth by the social context" (Bowers, 1989, p. 37). This suggests that any meaning or truth a person may reveal about their life will be a response to the social context at the time of the interaction. If this is the case, how can anyone encounter anything other than relative truths about another person? Is there a stable person to encounter, or must he always remain a stranger? (McAdams, 1994; Maruna, 2000). Is there any stability to the concept of the self as an agent of change?

The Problem of Truth

The literature provides some hope that a person can emerge from the narrative with some stability. Cramer (1996) implies that listening to personal narratives is not the same as listening to scientific truth, but that truth can be found by "listening for the core theme that marks the stories as variants on an

underlying narrative” (p. 5). In these words, Cramer juxtaposes ‘stories’ and ‘underlying narrative’. Stories are plural, but the underlying narrative is singular. Stories are variants on a single underlying narrative. The core theme of the stories points to the truth of the underlying narrative. In other words, the stories themselves may vary, but there is something stable in them (the underlying narrative), and what is stable in them may be seen through the core theme of the stories.

What a person reveals about himself and his world through the details of a particular story does not necessarily point to the truth of history, but points to the truth of the underlying narrative. The underlying narrative may be more-or-less stable, but that does not mean that it is ‘true’ in any objective sense. The underlying narrative is based on what the person believes is true. People’s narrative stories make sense to them when they accord with their underlying narrative.

The Proof of the Underlying Narrative

Earlier in this chapter, a quote was provided from Green about a man who believed that his Higher Power was a cause of his new behaviour (Green, 1998, p. 330). It would appear he not only had changed behaviour, but that the man also had a changed underlying narrative. He linked his new behaviour to his belief in his Higher Power, but, importantly, he showed (perhaps unconsciously) that he was acting as his own agent of change when he said he did not hit his provocateur because “the other side of me” told him not to. He referred to

himself as the agent of change; however, his belief in his Higher Power empowered him to make a positive choice in this instance.

There are two important things to note about the story referred to above. The positive life change the man had experienced appeared to have come about because of a change in his underlying narrative, and his underlying narrative reflected changes in the man's resources (especially beliefs) that enabled him to effect change. He had developed belief systems that supported behavioural change and he was prepared to trust in his Higher Power. He had developed insight into the nature of his problems, and how to solve them, and he had a sense of agency. The example of this man suggests that changes in the underlying narrative may reflect changes in the resources available to the person as they engage in the process of change. Furthermore, the man's experience in walking away from a fight was seen by him as evidence of the 'truth' of his change. His experience was 'proof' that his new underlying narrative was true.

It appears people need 'proof' when it comes to changes in the underlying narrative. Maruna (2001) demonstrates this:

...ex-offenders need to have a believable story of why they are going straight to convince *themselves* that this is a real change.... The individual needs a logical, believable and respectable story about who they are that "makes it impossible to engage in criminal conduct without arousing guilt reactions and feelings of shame" (p. 86, italics original author's).

‘Going straight’ represents a significant change to the underlying narrative – profound changes in identity, beliefs, relationships, and values. A “believable story” not only needs to ‘make sense’ to the person, but his experience needs to ratify it. Stories of significant change need to be believable to the person himself, because people who are making positive life change need to be able to convince themselves why certain changes are occurring.

People find evidence that their experience justifies the meanings they attach to it by means of three strategies (Sfard, 2005). The first strategy is to make the stories ‘reifying’. Reifying stories stress the repetitiveness of actions – things must be ‘true’ because they ‘always’ happen, or ‘never’ happen. The fact that the action is repetitive attests to its truth. Not only must things be true because they are constantly repeated, but also the fact they are constantly repeated and seen to be true will likely affect how the person responds to similar circumstances in the future, thus making them seem more ‘true’. The second strategy is to make stories ‘endorsable’. Endorsable stories are ones that have other forms of ‘compelling evidence’ to support them. Often, the ‘compelling evidence’ endorses the person’s existing or emerging underlying narrative. The third strategy is to make the stories ‘significant’. Stories are significant if they reflect significant elements in a person’s underlying narrative or a significant change in the narrator’s emotional or cognitive responses to people or situations. In other words, experiences are seen as strong evidence in support of a particular meaning if they appear to be important to the person.

The need to ensure stories are believable, especially to the person himself, indicates the imperative that change be both a logical consequence of one’s past and an achievable and logical next step in the life story (Maruna,

2001). Massive and sudden changes can have a schizophrenic effect on them because such changes come at odds with the 'normal' flow of a person's narrative (Maruna, 2001). In other words, sudden changes happen too fast for those changes to find a logical place in the underlying narrative. Maruna (2001) reports that the desisting narrators in the Liverpool Desistance Study maintain an equilibrium "by connecting negative past experiences to the present in such a way that the present good seems an almost inevitable outcome" (p. 87). Through this equilibrium the integrity of the underlying narrative is maintained because present realities become logical extensions of one's past.

How people respond to experience reveals and determines whether they are acting as agents of personal change. To act as an agent of change, a person needs to respond in ways that create a positive meaning to experience. For example, a person may say, "That was a difficult experience but it taught me how to...." They need to respond in ways that reveal and create an empowering underlying narrative.

As people respond to experience, they create a narrative (perhaps only to themselves) that reveals and constructs not only the meaning of the experience, but also their sense of identity (their underlying narrative). Narratives enable people to make sense of many aspects of their world that would make sense in no other terms. As they construct their narratives, people are also constructing their reality and their identity (McAdams, 1994b).

The personal narrative is able to reveal whether change accords with the truth of the underlying narrative; whether it makes sense to the person, given the overall story of their life, and the meanings they attach to their experience. It is also able to reveal whether they have the personal resources needed to act as

agents of personal change. McAdams (1993, 1994b) and Wortham (2001) have described how narratives are able to reveal these truths about the person. By understanding how they are able to do this, it is possible to gain a clearer understanding of the power of the narrative methodology to reveal the indicators of readiness for positive life change in defenders.

How Narratives Reveal and Construct the Self

The Structure and Content of Narratives

A concept similar in nature to the concept of the underlying narrative is the ‘personal myth’ (McAdams, 1993; Paulson, 2001). Paulson (2001) claims personal myths “are not mere stories, but constellations of beliefs, feelings, and behaviours organized around a central, core theme” (p. 389). As “not mere stories”, personal myths refer to realities that operate at a deeper intra-psychic level than the surface narratives. They refer to ‘constellations’ of beliefs (belief systems), emotions, and behaviours that are organised into a structured pattern around a central theme. This present discussion does not attempt to equate the concepts of the underlying narrative (Cramer, 1996) and the personal myth (McAdams, 1993; Paulson, 2001); however, it observes they are similar concepts. Both refer to an organised, structured internal reality that gives rise and gives a distinct flavour to personal narratives.

McAdams (1988, 1993, 2001) has written much about the content and structure of the personal myth and provides a clear analysis of how it is revealed through the stories people tell of their lives. It is important to note that for

McAdams, the personal myth is the person's identity (McAdams, 1988, 1994b; Gergen, 1998; Kirkman, 2002). He equates these two concepts. A person's narrative reveals their personal myth, but because people make sense of their experience through narrative, the narrative also constructs and shapes the personal myth (McAdams, 1994b). Wortham (2001), Kirkman (2002), and Bruner (1987) comment on the power of a story retold so many times that it becomes the person's truth (see also Riessman, 2008). Stories told 'on the surface' have the power to shape conscious and unconscious beliefs and identity.

There are five components of the personal myth identified by McAdams (1993). These components are of interest to this discussion because, in revealing personal mythology, they may be useful in revealing whether a person has the resources and responses needed to effect change. The components of the personal myth, in common with narratives generally, are narrative tone, themes, setting, characters, and plot (McAdams, 1993). Although the components of the personal myth have familiar terminology, they differ from a literary definition in some respects. The following discussion examines each of these components.

Narrative Tone

According to McAdams (1994b), one of the elements of the personal myth that begins to develop early in life is the narrative tone. The basis of what will become the tone of the narrative in adolescence is laid down in childhood. The child develops a sense of optimism or pessimism about himself, his life, his interactions with others, and the world. This pessimism or optimism is not a function of genetics, but of learning and socialisation (McAdams, 1994b; Seligman, 1991). The orientation towards the self and the world is revealed

through the narrative tone. McAdams defines this narrative tone as “the sense in which the story speaks optimistically or pessimistically about human life” (McAdams, 1994b, p. 750).

McAdams (1994b) states a story can be optimistic because good things happen, or because the person is hopeful of better things, even though bad things have happened. For defenders, one of the ‘bad things’ that has happened to them is they have come to jail, however the optimistic defender may find good things have come out of that, or he may have the anticipation of better things laying before him in the future. Such optimism speaks of agency, self-worth, worth of life, and hope. These attitudes, beliefs, and values are worldview issues, part of a redemption script, and may provide evidence the person is acting as an agent of personal change.

Themes

The narrative’s themes are the main ideas, concepts, or messages that run through the story. It is obvious they are the main ideas because they are repeated, often in different ways by different characters. McAdams says that a theme is a “recurrent goal-oriented sequence” (McAdams, 1994b, p. 753). As goal-oriented sequences, themes relate to intentions, personal agency, and the vision of the future. They reveal what the characters want or need, what they are trying to get, or what they are trying to avoid. According to McAdams (1994b), common narrative themes can focus on the struggle between agency and communion. This is the struggle between the person’s need for achievement and personal power and the need for belonging, acceptance, and relationship.

Sternberg (1998) refers to the tension that exists between these needs, and the importance of achieving a stable balance between them.

Setting

McAdams (1994b) claims that by the time people reach adolescence they have already developed a particular tone to their lives. Based on their family and childhood experiences, their psychosocial environment, and their genetic inheritance, they have already developed a sense of optimism or pessimism about themselves, about others, and about the world. They have already come to conclusions about their own agency, and the extent to which it is possible to find satisfying communion with others. They have already started forming their belief systems, establishing emotional responses to their lives, e.g., anger, sadness, fear, happiness, etc, and have established certain types of behaviour.

As they reach adolescence, they eventually have the realisation that the period of childhood is finished. They now have a past. With this past, with their present and with their perceived future, they now have the temporal setting of a life story. They can situate their story in place and time. According to McAdams (1993), it is in adolescence that the life story begins to take shape.

Whilst the setting of the developing narrative is about time and place, it is more importantly about ideology. McAdams (1994b) writes,

An ideological setting is the backdrop of belief and value that situates the story within a particular ethical and religious location. A person's beliefs and values about truth, right versus wrong, God, and other

ultimate concerns situate the action of the story in a particular ideological time and place (p. 755).

The ideological setting refers to beliefs, values, truth, ethics, and ‘ultimate concerns’: in other words, it refers to the person’s worldviews (Koltko-Rivera, 2004). It also refers to a person’s culture (their “ethical and religious location”). The setting situates the person within his temporal, ideological, and cultural landscape.

McAdams writes, “Like the geographical and historical settings of most stories, the ideological setting remains in the background, rarely questioned or examined by the person after adolescence and young adulthood and thus fairly resistant to change” (McAdams, 1994b, p. 755). If the ideological setting of the personal myth is rarely questioned or examined after adolescence and is resistant to change, then one may expect that few adults would act as agents of personal change. Even if they do act as agents of change, Maruna (2001) refers to studies indicating that it can often take between seven to ten years to establish lasting change (p. 24). It is important to maintain a realistic perspective on how difficult the process of significant life change can be.

Characters (Imagoes)

Imagoes are characters within the personal myth, reflected through the narrative. McAdams says imagoes are idealised personifications of the self, and as such are one-dimensional. He states (1994b):

Imagoes may personify aspects of who you believe you are now, who you were, who you might be in the future, who you wish you were, or who you fear you might become. Any or all of the aspects of the self – the actual perceived self, the past self, the future self, the desired self, the undesired self – can be incorporated into the main characters of personal myths. (p. 757)

In other words, it is not only perceptions of the actual self that the personal myth incorporates, but also concepts such as the desired or undesired self, and the future self. These may allude to visions of one's future, or the reasons behind any intention to change.

Imagoes are one-dimensional concepts of the self or of other people. In other words, they do not capture the complete self, only an aspect of the self or others that is particularly important to the person at the time. For example, if a defender were to begin a narrative with the words, "Hi, I'm Lenny and I'm a bank robber", he is revealing significant things about how he perceives himself. The designation of a 'bank robber' is an imago, because it is a one-dimensional notion of the self. What does being a bank robber mean to the person other than what the action denotes? He is not saying, "I'm Lenny and I rob banks". He is saying, "I *am* a bank robber". Being a bank robber is an indispensable part of his identity. It is how he sees the landscape of his life. If he does not examine or question this imago, he is unlikely to see the need to change it. It will continue to influence how he sees himself and others, how he sees his future, and how he behaves.

Important information about the values and attitudes of the narrator may become evident from how he refers to other characters in his story. For example, suppose a young offender makes the comment, “I have this mate and he is the best bloke ever. When he gets on the goey we have the wildest time. He nicks mad sports cars and we go hooning around the streets”. The importance of this comment is not what it says about the ‘mate’, but what it says about the narrator. The narrator has idealised this imago of the ‘juvenile delinquent’, who steals cars and speeds around the community affected by drugs. The behaviour he values and validates is clearly anti-social, at least to the extent that it does not harmonise with mainstream social norms. Demonstrating such attitudes and values, he provides little evidence of readiness for positive life change.

Plot

The tone, theme, setting and characters of the narrative all originate from the defender’s personal myth, or the ‘underlying narrative’. When they are brought together, they are woven into a plot to form a story. This plot has more to do with personal meanings than it does with fact or history. Out of all the various events of a person’s life, only some are selected for the telling. Usually, the events that have the greatest significance for the person are the ones told – events that chart the main episodes, or pivotal points, of the person’s life as he sees it. Much is omitted, but the information that is given contains the most significant meaning for the narrator, and reflects, to a substantial extent, how he sees the world and his place within it. The narrator has control over what he reveals about himself and what information he includes in the plot of his story.

The value of McAdams' insights into the personal myth is that it allows the listener to encounter the personal myth as story, and it allows the components of that story to reveal whether the person is acting as an agent of change. From the story, much can be learned about the person, importantly, not so much the 'facts' of the story, but rather the truth of the underlying narrative, or personal myth. The narrative gives the person control over what is said, how it is said, and what is left out. Thus, the narrative allows the person to reveal, though not necessarily in a self-conscious way, his underlying narrative on his own terms.

The use of the personal narrative as a lens through which truths about the personal myth may be seen is a valuable contribution from McAdams. The structure and the content of the narrative may have the potential to reveal whether a person has the personal resources necessary to effect personal change, and whether their responses to experience reveal the construction of positive meanings and an empowered underlying narrative (identity).

Yet, a personal narrative is more than simply the information given in the story (Wortham, 2001). The narrative is more than its content: it exists within a particular context of time, place, audience, and purpose. Wortham (2001) calls this context 'the story-telling event' and claims that it shapes how a story is constructed, and should be accounted for when the story is interpreted. Therefore, the story-telling event may have important implications when narratives become a methodology for identifying readiness for positive life change.

The Story-telling Event

The story-telling event is an interaction between the narrator and the listener, and it takes place within the context of a particular time and place. Riessman (2008) makes the important point that narrators create their stories for a particular listener, at a particular time and in a particular place. What is said, therefore, is shaped not only by what the narrator wants to say, but also by what the narrator wants the listener to hear, and the interaction that exists between the two or more people. What the narrator wants the listener to hear is influenced by who the listener is, and the context of the narration. Therefore, only listening to the content of the story and ignoring the story-telling event misses an important aspect of the process of the narrative – the interaction between the narrator, the listener, and the context.

The story-telling event creates, in fact, two worlds (Wortham, 2001). One world is the ‘represented world’. This is the world of the story itself – the world of the plot, the characters, the themes, etc. This world is encountered in the content and structure of a particular story. The other world is the ‘enacted world’. This is the world of the story-telling event. In this enacted world, relationships come into existence when a particular narrator meets with a particular listener in a particular context for a particular purpose. This can be understood in terms of the reality Bowers (1989) wrote about, “Who I am depends on which Me is experienced as most salient at the time...Who I am, therefore, depends on the Me that is called forth by the social context” (Bowers, 1989, p. 37).

According to Wortham (2001), the power of the narrative comes from the “complex relations *across* the represented and enacted worlds” (p. 13, italics

original author's). The inter-relationships existing between the world of the story and the world of the story-telling event give the narrative its power to reveal and to create realities. To express this in another way, the content of a narrative told in a social context cannot be understood without considering the context (Wortham, 2003, 2005). Therefore, if the meaning of a narrative cannot be understood apart from its context, does this mean that the idea of the stable 'truth' of the underlying narrative must give way to the 'multiple selves' of symbolic interactionism? This is not what Wortham is saying. He is not saying there is no stable truth to discover, but that truth exists as a relationship *across* the two worlds. The truth of the narrative is born out of the interaction and inter-relationships that exist between the content and structure of the story told, and the context within which it is told.

If the truth of a narrative is revealed through the interaction of the two worlds, does this suggest the two worlds are always equal in terms of their capacity to reveal stable truths? Wortham does not discuss this directly. However, a clue to this question is found in the writings of the existential psychotherapist Irvin Yalom. Yalom (1995), speaking of people in group psychotherapy, remarks:

...they will interact with the group members as they interact with others in their social sphere, will create in the group the same interpersonal universe they have always inhabited....There is no need for them to describe or give a detailed history of their pathology: they will sooner or later enact it before the group members' eyes. (p. 28)

In the above quote, Yalom speaks of the power of the enacted world to reveal a stable truth. In the enacted world of the group, people will demonstrate “the same interpersonal universe they have always inhabited”. In other words, the stable truth of their identity outside the group is evident by how they act within the group. Group psychotherapy is, of course, different to the world of the personal narrative, but there are some strong parallels. Both involve people revealing and creating their identity. Both rely heavily on language, and in both instances there is an internal personal reality and an external social reality. This example provides a clue that, in some instances, the reality of the enacted world may reveal a clearer picture of a stable truth than what may be evident from the content of a narrative.

In fact, a person’s truth may not find its greatest expression through their words at all: they may principally express their truth in how they tell their story. Charmaz (2006), commenting on how some participants responded in one of her research projects, says, “Often the meaning of such incidents showed in the emotions they expressed when retelling the events, more than in the words they chose” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 34). The emotions shown in the story-telling event may speak louder than the words people use. A person may transfer onto the enacted world of the interview the same emotions he experienced within the represented world of his direct experience.

The story-telling event has two main components: ‘interactional positioning’, and language (Wortham, 2001). These are examined in the following discussion.

Interactional positioning.

Interactional positioning refers to how narrators position themselves within the story-telling event. Wortham claims the narrator positions himself with respect to himself, to the characters in his story, and to the listener (Wortham, 1999; 2001). He may wish to identify with the listener; he may wish the listener to identify with him; or he may wish to distance himself from the listener. This may also be true of his relationships with the other characters in his story, and with himself. In order to achieve this positioning, he will foreground some elements of the story and background others.

The narrator in the story-telling event may wish to portray a version of the self in a favourable light, or an unfavourable light. For example, in redemption scripts the narrator usually begins by presenting a good and conventional image of himself, which the listener is meant to understand as the ‘true self’ (Maruna, 2001, p. 88). Maruna (2001) demonstrates this in some of the narratives to which he refers:

I wasn’t happy selling [drugs], you know. You’re making money and whatever, it was just something that, what it was, it was the people that I’d come into contact with, selling it. I just didn’t like – it took me into a world, a seedy world that I didn’t like”. (p. 91)

Here the narrator in the story-telling event is speaking about the self in the past. The man himself did not want to sell drugs; the people with whom he had come into contact had led him into it. This may or may not be true in an objective sense, but it is something he wants the listener to believe. Nor does it

necessarily mean the man fails to take responsibility for his actions. The ‘truth’ of the man’s statement involves more than the content of his narration. It also involves the way he positions himself relative to the listener, which may reveal another truth. Of the four occasions he uses the word “I”, three are used in context of emotions – ‘I wasn’t happy....I just didn’t like....I didn’t like’. When he refers to making money selling drugs, he uses the second person pronoun – “You’re making money...” He seeks to distance himself from those who were making money selling drugs, and stresses that was not what he liked to do. The narrator is positioning the narrated self in such a way that he would appear acceptable to ‘good’ people – he didn’t like selling drugs, he didn’t feel comfortable with the people he met, or the ‘seedy’ world it took him into. This may be true, but the important thing is that by positioning the narrated self in this way, he reinforces to himself, and to the listener, that he really is a good person *now*, and he always was.

This idea may be seen more fully from another interview segment presented by Maruna (2001):

I really tried to stay out of trouble, but it’s very difficult, you know. Like once you’re into a routine and the people you’re hanging out with and everything, and plus you’re always getting hassled by the Police. And, the thing I always explained to people was, you know, it was about the time that I left home, I was about 16, about then, that I left home. Me mum and dad had had enough of me basically so I was kicked out because – well they kicked me out anyway – and I was on the streets for a very long time, about 10, 12 months. The thing I always explain to

people is our “brilliant” government brought this new rule in that between the ages of 16 and 18 you’re not entitled to any [welfare] benefit, you’ve got to work. So because I was homeless, I couldn’t get a YTS job (Youth Training Scheme, a government-sponsored program), and like I couldn’t get benefit, but I still had like over £1000 in fines.....So, I was committing more crimes, going back to court and getting more fines, and it was just a vicious circle. So the next thing I ended up back in prison again. (p. 71, male, aged 25)

In the above narrative, the narrator in the story-telling event tries to explain how difficult life was for him as a youth, and why he turned to crime. He wants to gain a sympathetic ear from the listener. He establishes himself as one who actually tried to ‘stay out of trouble’, but was unable to do so because he had been thrown out of home by his parents and had to live on the streets. He could not get government support because of his age, and the Police pursued him. He had mounting fines, which he could not pay, so he virtually had to turn to crime to pay them. In the end, he returned to jail.

There is little doubt that the narrator saw himself at the time as a victim. This is evident from the story about his past. However, merely attending to the content of the story about his past could shadow the fact that he still sees himself a victim. In the here and now of the story-telling event, he twice mentioned the expression, “The thing I always explain(ed) to people”. The first thing he always explained to people (and he is still doing it in this interview) is that he had been thrown out of home by his parents. He takes no responsibility for this situation – in fact, he cuts himself short when recounting the reason why he was thrown out.

He wants all the blame to go to his parents. The second thing he always explains is that the government was to blame for the situation he found himself in on the streets. They would not give him money, so he implies he had no other option than to turn to crime. It would seem that finding work was not an option for him, but he does not explain why.

On the surface, the above narrative sounds like an unfortunate story about what happened nine or so years ago. However, when the story-telling event is taken into account, it becomes apparent little has changed since the earlier events happened. The man is still a victim and he still takes no responsibility for his actions or circumstances.

Narrators also position themselves relative to other characters in their stories. Sometimes the narrator wishes to distance himself from a character, showing he disapproves of him, or does not identify with what he does or represents. At other times, he draws near to a character, showing acceptance, approval, and, perhaps, gratitude. An example of the narrator distancing herself from particular characters in her story comes from Wortham (2001).

When I was six and a half my parents were divorced and my mother went in the marketing field, and for some reason was talked into, by a man I've never forgotten his name, by the name of Mr McGee....that she should consider uh putting me in school, a boarding school.....the teachers at the Academy, nine out of the ten of them came from Europe. Extraordinarily oppressed women....I mean it almost goes without saying...quite mean and vindictive. I was beaten.... (p. 82)

This narrator mentions herself as a six and a half year old child, and she refers to eleven other key characters. She remembers Mr McGee, who talked her mother into sending her to a boarding school. Not much is said in words about this man, but the fact she has ‘never forgotten his name’ means he is a significant character in her story and in her life. He is significant because he was callously persuasive – he talked her mother into sending her to a boarding school just after her parents had divorced. The fact she still remembers him decades later and remembers what he did suggests she still disapproves of him and resents him today. She continues to distance herself from the other nine teachers at the Academy, who were ‘mean and vindictive’.

The fact the narrator still disapproves of people who were mean and vindictive shows something about her value system. It is not just that she disapproved of what they did to her when she was young; she still disapproves of people who do that sort of thing at the time of the story-telling event. It also reveals she is still hurt by what they did to her at the time.

The characters in the above example have no voice (apart from the narrator). At other times, characters may be given a voice, and this voice may strengthen the impact they make on the narrator. McAdams (2006) provides an example of this:

And we started talking, and I told him how frustrated I was about the fact that no Black had ever been promoted. Maybe it’s time to move on [I told him] because I didn’t see there was anything that was gonna change at all. And he just said a couple of things, just very briefly he said, you know, he said, “Never give up”. And that was basically the

end of the conversation, and I thought about that before, but when he said it to me, and the way he said, “Keep the faith”, you know, and “never give up,” you know, and “never stop dreaming the dream”, you know. And I held on to that, and I went on, and things changed....He turned me around from walkin’ out that door. (p 183)

The character in this story was given few words, but they had a profound impact on the narrator. It is obvious from the way the narrator speaks about this man that he greatly appreciates the few words he spoke to him on that occasion. He highlights this man and this event because it was a pivotal point in this narrator’s life story. Whereas the woman in the previous example distances herself from people like Mr McGee, this narrator stands alongside the character in his story. The fact he does so displays that he not only valued the man’s advice at the time, but he still values it now. The advice to “never give up” is a principle he still holds dear.

Whilst it may be true that the narrative approach may render the defender no longer a ‘stranger’ since he becomes known through his story (McAdams, 1994; Maruna, 2000), Wortham (2001) makes the interesting observation that the listener remains a stranger to the narrator. Although defenders may feel endorsed and empowered by the act of telling their stories, the listener of the defenders’ stories in this present research is the researcher himself. It is within the research context that the narratives take place; therefore, the defender’s personal life story becomes, in the end, data. This puts the listener in a position of power (Riessman, 2008), and this very fact may influence what the defender decides to say. He may attempt, for example, to position himself in a way he

thinks will gain approval from the listener, or, alternatively, he may attempt to distance the listener by showing how different and difficult his life has been. These possibilities could shape the content of the narrative, and need consideration when the data is analysed.

In addition to the power of interactional positioning to disclose the meaning of the narrative, language also plays a pivotal role.

Language .

Clearly, at the most fundamental level, narratives are words. The narrator positions himself within the story through language. It was observed that language reveals a narrator's worldview beliefs. The stories by Wortham and McAdams mentioned earlier illustrate the narrator's beliefs about how people should be treated and the value of persistence. Language also reveals the narrator's sense of agency, both at the time of the events narrated, and during the story-telling event. Wortham (2001) remarks that agency is often conveyed by the use of the active or passive voice in the narrative. The passive voice is used to position the narrated self as vulnerable and with little agency. To illustrate, the following quote comes from the same woman who told her story about Mr McGee.

I, who came from a so-called, you know, good family, uh, proper family, upper-middle-class family, was thrown into this institution that was predominantly a dumping ground for the courts, for a lot of young women who fought, who couldn't be put into foster homes or they were considered incorrigible and even street people. You had this horrendous

combination so I was subjected to a side of the human race at a very early age without any foundation to fend for myself. I was abused. I took all my records- you know, when you're a youngster you don't know anybody, I took all my record collection. It was destroyed, stolen, everything was stolen from me there. I didn't know how to fend for myself. (Wortham, 2001. p. 95: some idiosyncratic speech markers removed)

This woman clearly felt abandoned and powerless at the time when these events happened, and she mirrors this through her language in the story-telling event. She 'was thrown' into an "institution", she "was subjected" to the dark side of humanity, she "was abused" and everything "was stolen" from her. This abuse was made all the worse because she did not feel it accorded with her good, upper-middle-class family background.

This vulnerability is understandable when a young child feels abandoned by her mother and is forced to live in an unsafe place. At the time, she was not ready for positive life change because she did not know how to fend for herself and she was powerless. Yet, is there anything in her narrative to suggest that she no longer feels powerless? Fortunately, it becomes evident in her story that her level of agency grows with time.

Wortham (2001), continues to reveal this woman's story :

We lived with my grandparents for a few years, and that was very difficult. And once again, for some reason, I don't know why, but my mother thought that it would be best that I be placed in a private school

again. This time she picked...a place called Carter's School for Girls, another god-awful institution. And I was there for a year and a half, evidently my character was being developed either by age or by anger, because I ran away in November of '49. I went there in May of '48, and in November of '49, I ran away. I went to the drug store that used to be at the corner of First and Main and I called my mother at my grandparents' house and I refused to tell her where I was until I negotiated with her. I look back now, how I did that at the age of fifteen amazes me. (p. 94)

In this episode, the language conveys her agency. She ran away from school, refused to tell her mother where she was, and negotiated with her. Despite her earlier vulnerability, this woman demonstrated she could take action, make decisions about her life, and stand firm. The woman who narrated the above story decided what she would tell and what she would leave out of her narrative. Wortham (2001) makes the point that the advantage to her of telling this episode about running away is that it reminds her once again of the fact that she can be strong, that she is an agent for change in her own life. Repeating the narrative over again reinforces in the here and now that she is not vulnerable. In other words, the fact she ran away when she was young endorses the fact she is an agent of personal change. It provides proof of agency for the developing narrative of her life, thus enabling her to tell an internally consistent and logical story.

However, Maruna (2001) points out that many, if not most, practising offenders continue to show a lack of agency in their narratives. He quotes a 33-year-old addict whose language captures his enduring sense of helplessness:

[My ex-wife] said, like, “If you got off heroin now, I’d come back,” you know, but I’m happy the way I am. I’m just happy to plod along, and I know I’ve got a habit. I’m at the stage now where I’m resigned to the fact that I’m an addict and I’m going to be an addict to the day I die, and nothing’s going to change that. (Maruna, 2001, p. 76)

This man’s language clearly reveals the identity of an addict and suggests no readiness for change. Identifying who may be ready for change involves listening to the language defenders use and listening for evidence of the resources needed for change (see Chapter 3). Agency often presents as the active voice, with language that is strong and definite.

Language also indicates culture and provides clues to a person’s thinking. Language reflects the values and identity of groups (Sutherland, 1960). If a defender wants to show his identification with his criminal associates or his “gang”, he may use the language of the gang. If, on the other hand, he wants to show he has been raised in an affluent area and had a good education, and that he has a positive self-concept, he will use language altogether differently. Through his language, he will reveal his own values and those of the cultural group with whom he identifies. A person’s linguistic ability is evident in their language, as cognitive impairment may be evident in their speech and their ability to weave together a coherent narrative.

The value of Wortham's insight is evident; the power of the narrative to reveal a stable truth about the narrator is to be found in the relationships that exist across the represented and enacted world.

Conclusion

This fourth chapter has discussed two important issues. It has discussed how people who are agents of change respond to experience, and how people reveal whether they are acting as agents of personal change through the narratives they tell of their lives. Table 3 summarises what has been shown in this literature review (Chapters 3 and 4) about how people act as agents of change.

Table 3: How People Act as Agents of Change

Agents of change:
<p>Have the motivation, decision and commitment for change</p> <p>Have a sense of agency and the ability to manage their lives</p> <p>Have insight into personal problems, needs, limitations, and people who can be trusted</p> <p>Have empowering beliefs</p> <p>Have a personal vision for the future</p> <p>Have the capacity to trust the 'right' people, and a willingness to accept their help</p> <p>Have the capacity to live a balanced, self-responsible and socially-responsible life</p> <p>The capacity to persist with change</p>

Agents of change:
<p>Attribute meanings to experience that empower them to act as agents of change</p> <p>Reveal and create an empowered and positive underlying narrative</p> <p>Find evidence in their experience to support their underlying narrative</p> <p>Create a life story that makes positive life change a logical outcome</p>

Table 3 shows what has been shown from the literature about how people act as agents of personal change. The first eight items are as they were presented in Table 2 and relate to the resources needed to effect personal change. The last four items reflect insights discussed in this fourth chapter. Table 4 combines the insights of McAdams (1988; 1993; 1994b; 2001; 2006) with those of Wortham (2001) to show how people reveal through the elements of their personal narrative they are acting (or ready to act) as agents of personal change.

Table 4: What Narrative Elements Reveal

<i>Narrative Element</i>	<i>Reveals</i>
Tone	Optimism or pessimism; Redemption/condemnation scripts
Themes	Motivations; Agency; Commitment; Goals/vision
Setting	Ideologies/Worldview beliefs
Characters (Imagoes)	Self-perceptions; Aspirations; Personal goals
Plot	What is seen by narrator to be most important life events/elements; Current realities about the narrator that may or may not feature in the content of the story
Story-telling event	How the narrator wants to be perceived by the listener, or how he wants his characters to be perceived
Interactional positioning	Use of active or passive voice reveals agency; Cultural identifications

<i>Narrative Element</i>	<i>Reveals</i>
Language	Linguistic and cognitive capacity

Table 4 shows what the narrative elements reveal about the person, according to McAdams (1993) and Wortham (2001). Based on the understandings provided by the literature and outlined in Chapters 3 and 4 of this thesis, Figure 6 shows the process by which the researcher seeks to identify readiness for positive life change in defenders using a narrative approach.

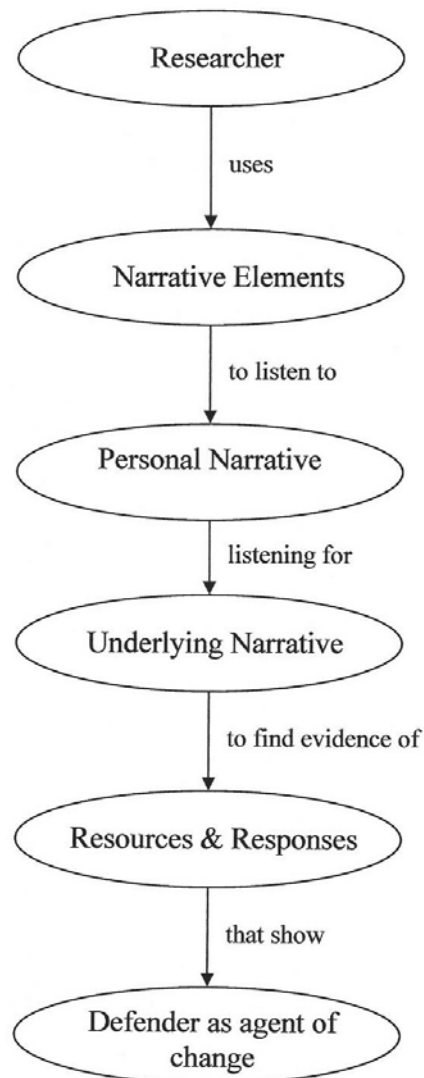


Figure 6: A Narrative Approach to Identifying Readiness

Figure 6 shows a narrative approach to identifying readiness for positive life change in defenders. The researcher uses the narrative elements identified by McAdams (1993) and Wortham (2001) to listen to the personal narrative. These narrative elements help interpret the narrative and identify elements of the underlying narrative. The underlying narrative may show evidence of the resources available to the defender and his responses to experience, providing an indication of whether he acts (or is ready to act) as an agent of personal change.

Chapters 3 and 4 of this thesis have taken the literature, at times using narratives provided by the original authors, to show what is theoretically involved for a person who is ready for positive life change. The purpose of this study is, however, to investigate how defenders in a jail context indicate their readiness for change through their narratives. To achieve this purpose, case studies were conducted with defenders in a remand jail using a narrative approach. Chapter 5 describes the design of this study.

CHAPTER 5

STUDY DESIGN

Introduction

The research problem at the heart of this study is that the current approach to correctional rehabilitation in NSW advocates the delivery of programs based on prisoner deficits, but ignores their readiness for change. The purpose of this study is to identify how defenders indicate their readiness for positive life change.

Chapters 3 and 4 show from the literature the personal *resources* needed to effect positive life change and that when people who are ready for change *respond* to experience they create a positive meaning to that experience, allowing them to persist with change and develop an identity that is consistent with change.

This study investigates how a group of defenders living inside a remand jail indicate that they are ready for positive life change. To achieve this purpose, this research conducted nine case studies. The fifth chapter describes the study design and how the research was conducted.

Qualitative Research

This study follows a qualitative research approach. According to Burns (2000), qualitative research recognises “the importance of the subjective, experiential ‘lifeworld’ of human beings” (p. 11). Burns (2000) writes:

Qualitative researchers believe that since humans are conscious of their own behaviour, the thoughts, feelings and perceptions of their informants are vital. How people attach meaning and what meanings they attach are the bases of their behaviour. Only qualitative methods, such as participant observation and unstructured interviewing, permit access to individual meaning in the context of ongoing daily life. The qualitative researcher is not concerned with objective truth, but rather with the truth as the informant perceives it. (p. 388)

Burns reflects on the need to understand the subjective, experiential world of people; their conscious thoughts, feelings, and perceptions; the meanings they attach to experience; and the truth, as they perceive it. It is essential to understand these concerns of a defender's internal world, and how they see reality, if an understanding is to be gained of how defenders indicate their readiness for positive life change.

Qualitative research is usually not reliant on large or representative samples, since it seeks to identify or understand the various dimensions of a process or context, and therefore values diversity. Qualitative research can describe how a process works, such as how people indicate readiness for change, but because it does not rely on large representative samples, it is usually not equipped to answer such questions as "How many?", or "What are the causes of?", or "What is the strength of the relationship between variables?" (Barbour, 2008).

Notwithstanding the non-statistical tendencies of qualitative research, rigour is as important in qualitative approaches as it is in quantitative approaches. Barbour (2008) stresses the importance of transparency about the process of analysis, particularly in relation to how coding was developed and used. She further stresses the importance of interrogating the data thoroughly, and using the whole dataset rather than only the bits that accord with pre-existing theories, and of addressing issues of transferability to other situations.

An advantage of qualitative research is that it offers a degree of flexibility in terms of approaches to the study (Barbour, 2008). Some of these approaches are action research, ethnography, phenomenology, discourse analysis, and grounded theory. This study takes a grounded theory approach, since grounded theory is compatible with the constructivist philosophy implicit in the narrative methodology and therefore serves the interests of this research. As constructivist philosophies underpin many aspects of this research, they are described briefly in the following discussion.

Constructivism: The Philosophical Basis of This Research

This study resonates with a number of constructivist philosophies. Social constructionism views a person's identity as a construction arising out of the dialectic between the individual and society (Berger, 1979). Chapter 3 showed that the personal narrative provides a mechanism through which people construct meanings for many of their life experiences (Bruner, 1990). As people construct

their narratives, they are, at the same time, constructing their identity (McAdams, 1993).

Some social constructionists place more emphasis on the social elements than on the intra-personal elements of the dialectic between the person and the environment (Wong, 2006). Whilst acknowledging that people construct reality out of the interaction they have with their environment, this thesis maintains a strong focus on the internal realities of defenders. This must be the case, because within the context of a remand jail, readiness for change may not be detectable from the defenders' behaviour, since defenders may not have the freedom to practise the changes they intend to make. Instead, their readiness for change must be identified from their internal psychological realities. This study adopts what Wong (2006) calls a "moderate social constructionist" (p. 136) position, emphasising the positive psychological resources that people bring to the change process (i.e., readiness) as well as the influences of the social and natural environments.

Symbolic interactionism is a constructivist philosophy that "assumes society, reality, and self are constructed through interaction and thus rely on language and communication" (Charmaz, 2006, p. 7). This research relies heavily on defender's use of language and the interactions created within the story-telling event. Defenders reveal and create their reality through the language and content of their narratives and their interactions with their audience in the story-telling event (Wortham, 2001; McAdams, 1993). Symbolic interactionism, therefore, underpins this research.

Symbolic interactionism is further reflected in the idea of 'multiple selves'. When talking about his life, a defender may reflect a self during the

research interview that is different to the one he might reflect in the prison yard. Bowers (1989) writes, “Who I am depends on which Me is experienced as most salient at the time...Who I am, therefore, depends on the Me that is called forth by the social context” (Bowers, 1989, p. 330). Therefore, a defender may appear ready for change during a narrative interview, but may not appear so ready at another time, with another audience, or in another context. The opposite is also possible. The narrative interview is, therefore, a snapshot of the person at one point of time and in one particular context (Barbour, 2008).

Does this idea of multiple selves mean that a defender’s state of readiness for change can never really be assessed? It is true that defenders can say whatever they consider most expedient in a narrative interview, and what they say may not always be (objectively) true. This thesis has already identified a means of testing the ‘truth’ of a person’s narrative. Stories are more likely to reflect a stable reality if they accord with a person’s underlying narrative. They are more likely to reflect a stable reality if the expressed desire for change seems to be the ‘next logical step’ in the person’s life. The listener can gain some idea of the narrator’s underlying narrative through the scripts and styles the person uses, the elements of his narrative (tone, imagoes, etc), the language he uses, and the interactional positioning he employs during the story-telling event.

Constructivist philosophies hold that indicators of readiness are also constructions made by the researcher using the content of the interviews and the dynamic interaction of the interview process (Wong, 2006). While the indicators attest to some kind of ‘independent reality’, researchers are not passive recipients of stories; they process the narratives they hear according to their constructions of reality, and, in turn, their constructions of reality are subject to change by what

they hear. Furthermore, there is a sense in which the defenders themselves become a construction of the researcher, because their stories are processed through the mind of the researcher, and as the researcher becomes a writer, he chooses how to present them to the reader. Constructivist ideas permeate this research on multiple levels.

The study adopts a grounded theory approach. This approach is described in more detail below, but it is important to note that grounded theory relies heavily on constructivist philosophies. The findings that emerge from grounded theory research are constructions made by the researcher based on his interpretation of the data alone. In this particular study, the researcher found evidence of the indicators of readiness within the data, and from this evidence alone the indicators were constructed. Although it is true that some reading of the literature occurred before the data were collected (as per university requirements), the insights from the literature did not show the researcher what to look for, but rather the kinds of questions to bring to the data, and how to look for readiness. As the defenders constructed their reality through the stories they told of their lives, the researcher used those stories as data, and from them constructed theory.

Grounded Theory

Grounded theory is a qualitative, scientific approach to research (Haig, 1995). Glaser and Strauss first expounded its principles in 1967 (Charmaz, 2006). Strauss and Corbin (1990) describe the grounded theory approach as:

A grounded theory is one that is inductively derived from the study of the phenomenon it represents. That is, it is discovered, developed, and provisionally verified through a systematic data collection and analysis of data pertaining to that phenomenon. Therefore, data collection, analysis, and theory stand in reciprocal relationship with each other. One does not begin with a theory, then prove it. Rather, one begins with an area of study and what is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge. (p. 23)

The above quote indicates that grounded theory is useful for developing new theoretical understandings as distinct from deducing testable hypotheses from existing theories. The grounded theory approach owes much to Glaser and Strauss, its original formulators. Glaser brought to the method a rich heritage of quantitative research, which influenced the epistemological assumptions, logic, and the systematic approach, particularly in relation to coding (Charmaz, 2006). Strauss viewed humans as active agents in their lives and, according to Charmaz (2006), he, “brought notions of human agency, emergent processes, social and subjective meanings, problem-solving practices, and the open-ended study of action to Grounded Theory” (p. 7). The interest in agency, emerging processes, and subjective meaning makes grounded theory particularly appropriate for examining subjective realities in relation to readiness for positive life change.

Strauss and Corbin’s (1990) view of grounded theory was that theory is ‘discovered’ and ‘allowed to emerge’ from the data. This language can mask the constructivist philosophy underlying grounded theory. Charmaz (2006) makes the constructivist nature of grounded theory much more explicit:

I assume that neither data nor theories are discovered. Rather, we are part of the world we study and the data we collect. We *construct* our grounded theories through our past and present involvements and interactions with people, perspectives, and research practices. (italics original author's, p. 10)

Reality is not 'discovered' as such: it is constructed. As Charmaz (2006) claims, grounded theory does not portray an exact picture of the studied world, but an interpretive portrayal of the studied world (p. 10). The fact that theory is developed from the interpretation of data, as distinct from the data itself, provides the three basic elements of grounded theory: codes (or concepts), categories, and propositions (Pandit, 1996). Codes are the most basic units of analysis, coming from an initial analysis of the data. Categories are developed from the grouping of codes according to similar themes. On-going revision and abstraction of the categories leads eventually to saturated categories that appear to account for all the concepts interpreted from the data. At this point, propositions can be made that indicate generalised relationships between a category and its codes, and between discrete categories (Pandit, 1996).

A model of the processes involved with grounded theory, originally from Charmaz (2006, p 11), is presented in Figure 7. Grounded theory begins with the research problem and the research question(s). The nature of the research problem shapes the methods chosen for data collection (Charmaz, 2006). It is common in grounded theory for data collection and analysis to be concurrent, rather than separate, activities, and for analysis to guide data collection. Analysis

involves initial coding (concept formation) and memoing (informal analytic notes), followed by focused coding (leading to more abstract and encompassing categories) and memoing, as categories are constructed that interpretatively reflect what the data is saying. Categories are refined through the process of theoretical sampling, which is sampling to develop the properties of the categories until no new properties emerge. Through these processes, theoretical concepts are constructed directly from analysis of the data. They are theories grounded in the data.

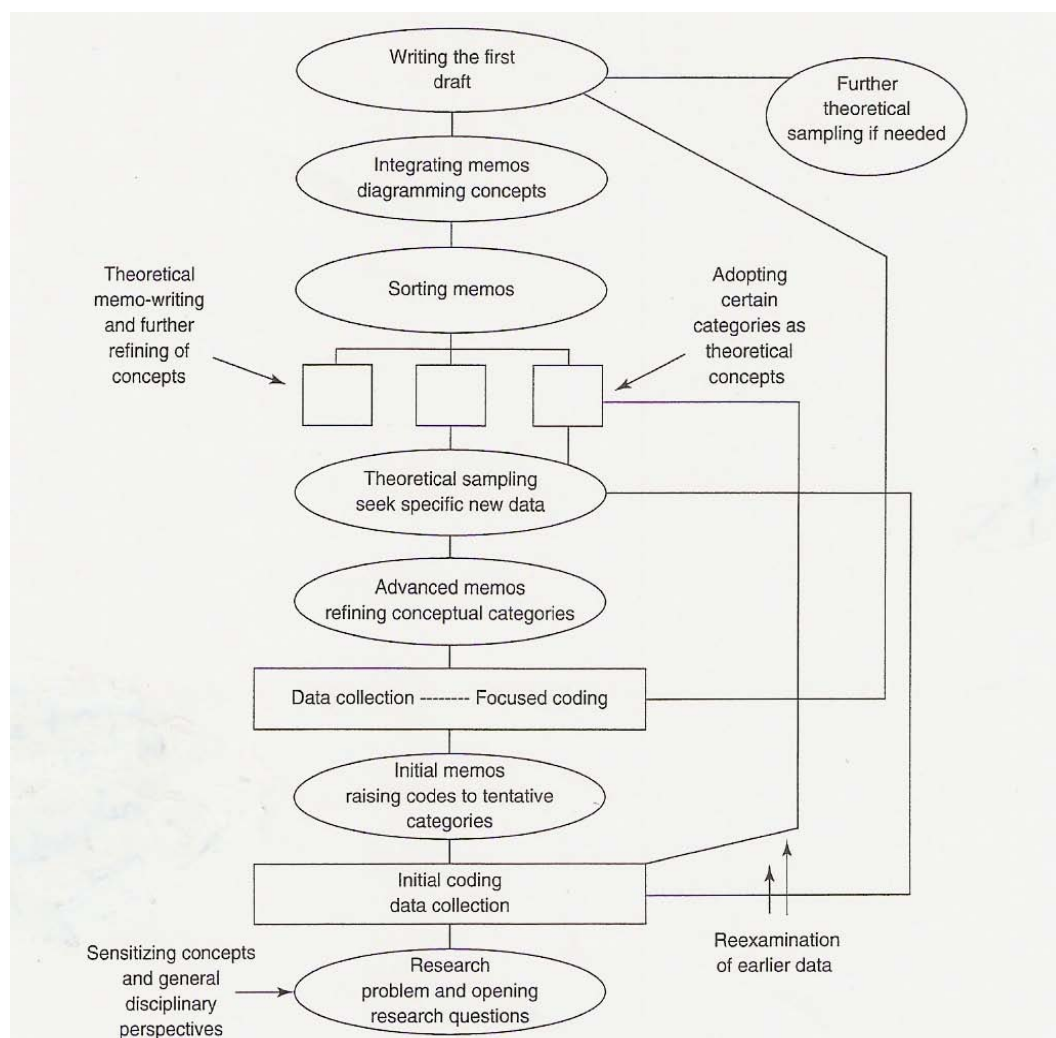


Figure 7: Model of Grounded Theory (from Charmaz, 2006, p 11)

Figure 7 presents a schematic outlining the processes of the grounded theory approach to research. The processes commence at the bottom of the diagram with the identification of the research problem and the initial research questions that guide the study. The processes involve the construction and on-going refinement of codes, memoing, category formation, theoretical sampling, and diagramming. These processes lead eventually to the saturation of the categories and the writing of the first draft.

An issue arises as to the meaning of the term ‘theory’ in grounded theory. Unlike positivist approaches to research that seek to identify, explain or predict ‘objective reality’, interpretive, constructivist approaches such as grounded theory “allow for indeterminacy rather than seek causality and give priority to showing patterns and connections rather than to linear reasoning” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 126). According to Charmaz, the theory aspect of grounded theory may involve some indeterminacy in terms of causation, and will be likely to show patterns and connections between components of the theory. This means that there will be strengths and limitations of this research that are functions of the grounded theory approach.

In some ways, this study deviates slightly from a ‘classic’ grounded theory approach. These deviations reflect the nature of this project as a doctoral study, and the need to accommodate the requirements of the Australian Catholic University and the NSW Department of Corrective Services. They also reflect the constraints of the context in which the research was conducted. Such deviations must be allowable if research is to be contextualised. However, as Charmaz (2006) states, “I view Grounded Theory methods as a set of principles and practices, not as prescriptions or packages” (p. 9). This current research

adheres to the principles of grounded theory, even if it deviates slightly in terms of practice.

The method for collecting data in this study was the use of unstructured, personal narratives.

Narratives as Data Collection

There is something powerful about inviting a defender to tell the story of his life. Crises often cause people to reflect on their lives (Crossley, 2003; Michel, 2009), and, arguably, many defenders are in crisis. In some respects, their lives may be ordinary, they are often marginalised, and they are usually muted. Langellier (2001) reflects on the power of narratives:

Embedded in the lives of the ordinary, the marginalised, and the muted, personal narrative responds to the disintegration of master narratives as people make sense of experience, claim identities, and “get a life” by telling and writing their stories. (cited in Riessman, 2008, p. 17)

In some ways, defenders, and particularly defenders who are ready for positive life change, witness the ‘disintegration of master narratives’ when they enter custody. The story of their life as it has been lived ends (at least temporarily), and through the construction of new narratives they are in the process of ‘getting a life’. To ask a defender to tell the story of his life not only provides a way of collecting data about him, but it acknowledges that he has something worthwhile to say, something that can be useful and helpful. It allows

him to be heard on his own terms, with his own voice, and within the context of his present lived experience. Furthermore, it provides him a means, probably the only means, through which he can address the academic and correctional community and show them some reality about who he is (O'Malley, 1986).

Not only are narratives useful as a data-collection device, they are interesting as stories. As DeFina (2003) says,

Stories can be described not only as narratives that have a sequential and temporal ordering, but also as texts that include some kind of rupture or disturbance in the normal course of events, some kind of unexpected action that provokes a reaction and/or adjustment". (cited in Riessman, 2008, p. 6)

It is, arguably, interesting to listen to the stories of people's lives and to see how they deal with 'ruptures' and 'disturbances', with 'unexpected action', and to see how they react and adjust. In the view of this current writer, this is not only interesting, but it is also a privilege to be invited into their world for a time and to become a respectful listener to other stories.

The Philosophical Stance of the Researcher

The research process is an interactive one between the defender, the researcher, the context, and the data. The narratives provide a window on who the defenders are, where they have come from, and how they see their reality.

This reality shapes what they say. However, it is equally true that the researcher constructs reality based on what he has become and how he sees the world. In constructivist approaches to research, the researcher cannot stand outside the research process; therefore, it is not helpful for this current researcher and writer to remain hidden behind his research.

The current writer would describe himself as an existentialist Christian. He believes that human life is implicitly valuable, that it is a gift from God, and that it is redeemable and worth redeeming. The researcher believes that change is an actual possibility for all people, if they genuinely choose it. He believes that life has an infinite potential for meaning, yet each person must take responsibility for creating, or finding, a particular meaning for his or her own life. The writer also believes that, whilst people have failings and deficits, they also have strengths; strengths that are gifts from God, and provide opportunities for the person to actualise more of their positive human potential. It is this view that attracts him to the field of 'positive psychology' (Seligman, 1991; Wong, 2006).

As a correctional teacher, the researcher has witnessed defenders making some measure of change as they gain new understandings, develop new skills, and learn new things. Being part of a process that leads to positive change in another person brings much reward. The excitement of being part of this process, and the desire to help defenders who really want to change, has given the researcher an interest in this research subject.

Tierney (1998) suggests that how people translate themselves from researchers to writers defines what they create. The writing of this thesis has had many challenges, and the writing process reveals a person's weaknesses as well

as their strengths. However, it remains the sincere hope of this writer that his limitations do not overshadow the voices of the often silenced people who speak through these pages. Their voices must be heard from within the jail walls, where they tell the truth of their stories, their courage, and their readiness for change.

Challenges of the Jail Context

Jails are difficult places within which to conduct research, as others have noted (Towl, 2006; Korn, 2004; Reuss, 2000). To a significant measure, this difficulty derives from structural elements of the jail context, particularly the ubiquitous agenda of security (Crighton, 2006). Many remand jails in NSW are maximum-security institutions, and defenders usually spend 19 hours a day in their cells. When they are not in their cells, there are numerous interruptions to their daily lives caused by family visits, legal demands, clinic appointments, court commitments, visits to professional staff, access to the oval, case management interviews, chapel, and so forth.

Furthermore, remand jails have transient populations. Some people stay only a few days, weeks, or months before moving to another jail or receiving bail. During this brief time on remand, the focus of many defenders may be on their court cases, many finding it stressful and difficult to concentrate on other things. Other defenders may remain in a remand prison for years, awaiting a trial or a hearing, facing an uncertain future. This uncertainty and transience renders remand jails difficult places within which to conduct research. However, at the same time, the 'crisis effect' (Crossley, 2003) of remand jails may render

them very appropriate places in which to look for readiness in defenders (Frazier, 2001; Park, 2004).

Conducting research in the jail environment presents challenges for defenders as well as researchers. Arguably, among the greatest of these challenges is the issue of trust (Seligman, 1997). Defenders potentially make themselves vulnerable when they participate in a study where they are asked to talk about their lives. This is particularly so when the researcher is a stranger and an employee of the correctional system, and the interview is recorded. Understandably, defenders may be suspicious and anxious about the impact participation may have upon their legal case, or what might happen should other prisoners find out they had helped 'the system'. As it happened, finding willing defender participants did not prove a particularly difficult task in this study, a fact that may add weight to the theory that defenders who are ready for change have the ability to trust other people.

Working full time in the jail where the research was conducted helped the researcher negotiate some of the structural limitations of the jail environment, particularly in relation to facilitating access to defenders. Apart from this fact, the data collection process would have been protracted and more difficult. Working within the jail that is also the subject of a research project raises its own ethical issues, and the following section of this chapter addresses some of these.

Ethics

Since any research with defenders involves mutual trust, it is important for the researcher to make clear that he accounts for the ethics of trust. The researcher must help the defender develop the trust he needs to participate in the study, and to believe that he can speak freely and honestly about his life. Defenders are disadvantaged and vulnerable people, and, often with low levels of literacy (Heggie, 2005), they may be dependent upon the researcher to inform them of the purpose and nature of the research, and the possible risks. There is a need to protect them from harm. It is crucial for the researcher to honour his promise to protect the anonymity of all participants, and be honest at all times about the nature and purpose of the research.

To conduct this study, it was necessary to obtain permission from the Human Research Ethics Committee of the Australian Catholic University (the research was deemed more than minimal risk), and from the Ethics Committee of the NSW Department of Corrective Services. In both instances, ethics approval was given (refer to Appendixes A and B).

Approval to conduct research from the NSW Department of Corrective Services was subject to three conditions. The conditions were that no participants in the study should be current or former students of the researcher; that the data collection process should not interfere with normal jail routines; and that all data collection should take place in the researcher's own time. These three demands were met in full.

A common concern raised by both ethics committees related to the potential stress the interview process may have upon defenders. In response to

this potential outcome, jail psychologists established pathways for interviewees to gain easy access to psychological services after the interviews, if necessary. To the researcher's knowledge, these services were never required.

Each participant (defenders and staff) received a letter explaining the research purpose and process (refer to Appendixes C and D). If required, this letter was read to them aloud. Similarly, all participants received informed consent forms, which were signed by them and returned to the researcher (refer to Appendixes E, F, and G).

All participants (defenders and staff) were de-identified during the interviews and in the transcriptions to preserve their anonymity. At no point in this thesis are any of the participants referred to by their real names.

The researcher told each defender that whatever they said in the interview would not have any effect upon their legal case, and that involvement in the interview process would not advantage or disadvantage them legally in any way. The researcher further assured defenders that the interview process would be conducted discretely and in a way that would not be noticeable to other defenders in the jail. To ensure this, defender participants were called for the interviews in the same manner and times as other defenders were called for regular education classes.

Written approval to conduct this research was obtained from the Commissioner of the NSW Department of Corrective Services and from the General Manager of the jail. Permission was gained to record the interviews on an electronic voice-recording device (for the granting of permission, refer to Appendix A).

The remainder of this chapter outlines the design of this research project.

The Research Design

Overview

The primary data were collected from nine defenders, who were selected and interviewed during the months of September, October, and November of 2006. Five defenders provided two narrative interviews, but four were only able to provide one interview, due to their removal from the jail before the second interview could be conducted. In each case the first narrative interview was transcribed and initially analysed (through coding and memoing) prior to the second interview being conducted. The purpose of the second interview was to check the analysis of the first interview with the defender, and to allow him to correct any misinterpretations, clarify any points, or to add extra information. The second interview was followed by on-going data analysis.

Following the collection of all the primary (defender) data, the ten staff participants were interviewed. In these interviews, staff were asked to recall defenders they had known whom they considered were ready for change. Additionally, they were asked to discuss how they identified defenders who were ready for change, and how they perceived defenders indicate their readiness. They were also invited to reflect on defenders whom they thought were not ready for change, and why they believed they were not ready. The purpose of these interviews was to provide an independent set of 'indicators' of readiness that could be used to validate the defender indicators. This validation process would involve the triangulation of the defender indicators with the insights from the literature and with the concepts provided by staff.

The indicators of readiness identified in this study were developed from the defender data only; staff data and the theoretical insights from the literature were not used to construct the empirical indicators, however they were used to establish the conceptual validity of the indicators. Although the requirements of ethics committees and research proposals demanded an initial literature review, a more exhaustive one was conducted after all the data were collected and analysed, the indicators of readiness had been constructed, and drafts of the findings had been written.

Validity and Reliability

The conceptual validity of the indicators was established by comparing the indicators of readiness developed from defender data with the insights provided by staff and the literature. Internal validity was established through the coding process and the saturation of the categories.

Pandit (1996) makes the point that external validity in grounded theory requires reference to analytic generalisation rather than statistical generalisation, requiring generalisation of the findings to some broader theory, rather than a broader population. Due to the small participant sample, the findings of this study cannot be generalised to broader populations, however, the findings can be seen to offer conceptual support for the concepts underpinning the idea of the self as an agent of change.

There is a large and growing body of evidence to suggest that the narrative method of data collection, if used skilfully, is able to provide reliable data (Riessman, 2008). However, although the narrative methodology may be the source of 'reliable' data, the grounded theory approach does not conceive of

the indicators of readiness being ‘discovered’ within the data, but rather that they are ‘developed’ from the data (Charmaz, 2006). As such, they are influenced by the in-the-moment qualities of the story-telling event and by the unique personal factors brought to the interpretation process by the researcher. The reliability of the data-collection method and the process of interpreting the data are subject to many situational and personal variables, and this needs to be accounted for when discussing the ability of narratives to be the source of reliable data. Figure 8 shows an overview of the research process in this study.

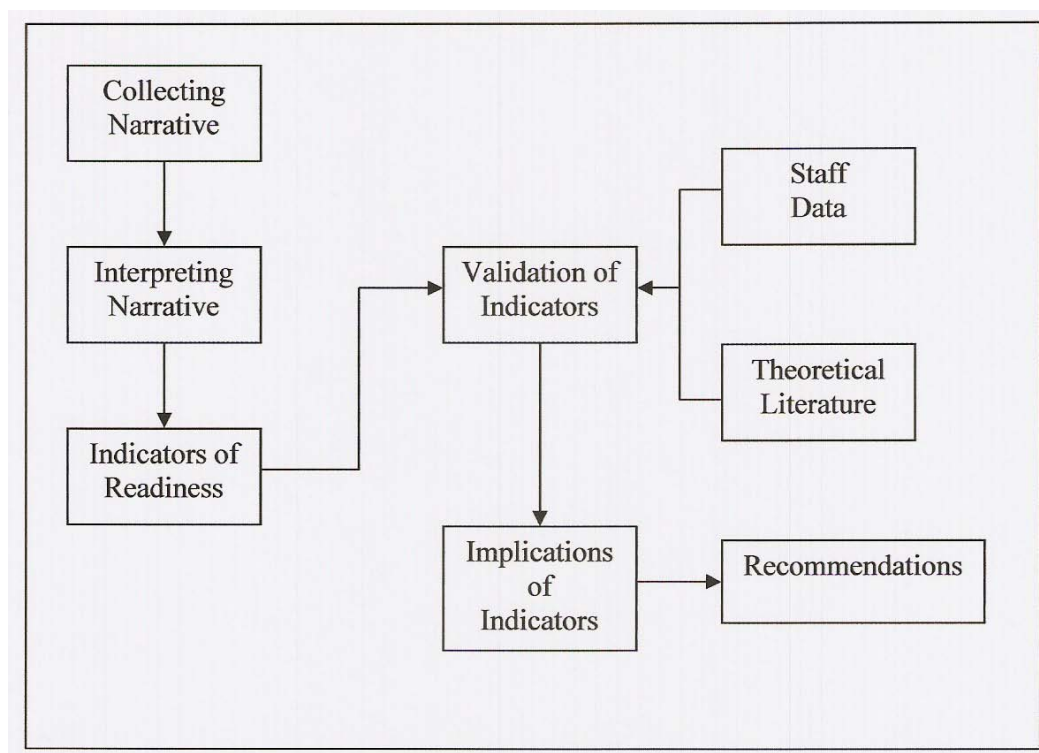


Figure 8: Overview of the Research Process

Figure 8 shows the research process in this study. The narrative data are collected from defender participants, and the data transcribed and interpreted using the principles of the grounded theory approach. The indicators of readiness are constructed from the data, and their internal validity established as

categories were fully saturated. The conceptual validity of the indicators is established by comparing the indicators with the concepts underlying the staff data and with insights provided by the literature. The implications of the indicators emerge throughout and following the validation process, and recommendations are made based on the indicators and their implications.

The discussion now moves from this general overview of the research process to a more specific description of the processes.

Selecting the Participants

There was no attempt or no need to select a representative sample of the defender population, or to select a large group of defender participants. Grounded theory does not attempt to generalise findings across populations, but to develop theoretical understandings of phenomena. However, although the participants were not *representative* of the population they were chosen to be in some ways *reflective* of the population in terms of age and prior jail experience.

Table 5 shows the distribution of defender participants.

Table 5: Distribution of Defender Participants

AGES	FIRST INCARCERATION	RECIDIVISTS
18-25	John (23 years old) Peter (19 years old) Tony (19 years old)	William (23 years old)
25+	Frank (58 years old) Pete (34 years old)	Lee (27 years old) Carl (37 years old) Martin (26 years old)

Table 5 shows that the defender participants reflect the prison population to some degree. The main reason for selecting the distribution as described in Table 5 was so that the data were not biased on the basis of age or previous jail experience. Initially, it was planned to interview only seven defenders, because it was thought that this would produce 14 interviews, which would provide sufficient data to allow categories to be developed. However, the number was eventually increased to nine because four of the participants were moved from the jail before a second interview was possible.

The researcher was initially aware that finding defenders who would be willing to participate in a study such as this one may not be an easy undertaking. Issues of trust and suspicion could arise, preventing willing participation, and participation may go against some of the elements of jail culture, principally, defenders do not help “the system”. Furthermore, the researcher was unsure whether defenders who might agree to participate in this study would have the capacity to provide a narrative interview capable of delivering rich data. A memo outlining these concerns was recorded prior to the first defender being approached and interviewed. This memo is presented below:

A fair degree of trust is required on the part of inmates who choose to participate in this study. Without expecting anything in return, a willingness to share the private details of their life stories to an employee of the Department of Corrective Services goes against the code of conduct of inmates. Further, they risk the possibility that what they divulge in private may be spread around to others in the jail. Although this would never happen in this study, such practices have

recently occurred in the jail between inmates and the officers. Therefore, there is a strong disincentive for people to participate in this research. In addition to this, many people would find it daunting to disclose personal information to a stranger, and have that information taped.

In view of these facts, I think it likely that inmates who are not ready for personal life change would find it easy to decline the offer to participate. I suspect that those who would be willing to participate would be people who do value change, and who would want to make a contribution which may make it easier for people to change. Furthermore, it is likely that the best quality information and data will come from inmates who are more articulate and more self reflective. Such inmates may not be representative of the general inmate population. (Memo, 5 September, 2006)

The nine defenders were not all selected at once at the beginning of the interview period, but were selected progressively over the three-month data-collection period. There were two reasons for this. One reason was to enable theoretical sampling: participants were selected based on the developing theory throughout the interview process, and choices were made about which defenders were more likely to be able to provide useful data to develop the categories. The second reason was more pragmatic, but no less important. Because of continuing movements within the jail, it seemed futile to select someone for interview purposes in two or three month's time. There was a strong possibility that they

would no longer be there. Participant selection needed to be an on-going process.

There were four criteria for inclusion in this study. First, narrative data would only be collected from defenders (i.e. remand prisoners). The indicators of readiness may apply to sentenced prisoners, but this study was only interested in examining how defenders indicate their readiness for change. Second, defenders had to be functionally competent in the English language. Narratives are highly language-dependent, so it was considered inappropriate to look for evidence of readiness amongst defenders who struggle with functional English. Third, defender participants should not be suffering from any serious mental health issues that could affect their ability to provide coherent data, and fourth, it was important that they were not expecting to be moved from the jail within the next month. Illustrating the difficulties of working within a remand setting, although all nine defenders felt confident they would be able to provide two interviews each, four of the defenders were moved from the jail before a second interview was possible.

Of the nine defenders who participated, four were recidivists and five were in jail for the first time (refer to Table 5). Those in the first incarceration category may have had a prior criminal record, or they may have been in jail in another jurisdiction, but they had never before been in jail in NSW. The defender selection process was based on theoretical sampling, since it was envisaged that defenders whom staff considered ready for change could provide suitable data from which the indicators could be developed. In other words, defenders were selected because they may be able to provide data that would

allow for the development of theory rather than because they represented what 'typical' defenders are like.

Before any data collection took place, and continued throughout the data-collection period, the researcher conducted a preliminary interview (not recorded) with experienced staff members, asking them whether they were currently working with any defenders whom they thought were serious about making positive life change, and who satisfied the criteria for inclusion. From this initial interview process, a list of potential defender participants was generated.

Only eleven defenders were ever approached for this study, and nine of these people agreed to participate. Despite the concerns expressed in the memo (shown above), it did not prove difficult to find willing defender participants for this study, not to find those who could supply rich data. The two defenders that did not agree to participate declined because they had major court cases looming, and they said they were too preoccupied with their cases to participate in the interviews. However, both defenders stressed that they would otherwise have been glad to participate.

Over the course of the three months of the data-collection stage, the researcher approached the nine participating defenders, explaining the purpose and nature of the study and asking them if they would be available to participate. Defenders who agreed to participate were supplied with the forms (Letter to Participants and Informed Consent – Appendixes C, D, E, F and G), which were signed and returned (where necessary). Participants were advised at the outset that they were free to talk about any aspects of their lives in the interview, but they should not disclose any information about crimes they or others had

committed, particularly if that information had not already been told to the police and/or their legal representation. Following this process, an appointment was made for the first interview.

Staff participants were selected in a different manner. The aim with staff participants was to obtain representation from different sections within the jail. Table 6 shows the distribution of staff participants.

Table 6: Distribution and Number of Staff Participants

Areas	Psychology	AOD	Welfare	Chaplain	Education	Parole	Custodial
Number	1	1	1	1	3	1	2

Table 6 shows that ten staff members were interviewed, all coming from the same jail as the defender participants. One was a psychologist, one was an Alcohol and Other Drugs (AOD) counsellor, one was a welfare officer, one was a prison chaplain, three were from education, one was a parole officer, and two were custodial officers, one of whom was a commissioned officer. The aim of selecting staff from different disciplines was to obtain a variety of perspectives and experience.

The only criterion for inclusion for staff participants was that they should have worked with offenders or defenders for a period of at least three years. It was considered this was sufficient experience for them to have developed a sense of the ‘aroma’ of readiness, and to have accumulated some examples of defenders (or even offenders) whom they had known.

Conclusion

Chapter 5 has noted this qualitative study into the indicators of readiness for positive life change in defenders follows grounded theory principles, using a narrative methodology for data collection. The overall study design has been described in this chapter, and the next chapter describes in more detail the process of data collection and analysis, and presents the findings of this research.

CHAPTER 6

DATA COLLECTION, ANALYSIS, AND FINDINGS

Introduction

Chapter 6 describes the process of data collection and analysis and shows how the categories reached saturation to reveal the five indicators of readiness. Data collection was conducted between September and November 2006, taking approximately a further 18 months to analyse the data and construct the indicators.

*Collecting the Data**Defender interviews*

The personal narratives provided, and became, the defender data. The researcher's initial plan was to structure the interview process according to the pattern suggested by McAdams (1993) (for details, refer to Appendix H). McAdams' interview pattern is structured around six sections dealing with different aspects of a person's life. These sections deal with key events, significant people, future script, stresses and problems, personal ideology, and life themes. Prior to conducting any interviews within the jail environment, McAdams' interview pattern was trialled on an associate of the researcher. This associate was a university-trained teacher. Although the associate found the interview process challenging, initial analysis of the data suggested the interview technique was able to provide useful data.

The first narrative interview conducted with a defender followed the basic pattern of McAdams' interview technique. Although the interview produced some useful data, the researcher thought the structure of the interview was not helpful, being overly directive. As Wortham (2001) remarked, the researcher remains a stranger to the narrator, and it appeared inconsistent with the development of a trusting environment for a narrative interview to resemble a police or courtroom interview with overly directive questioning. Consistent with the process of grounded theory, the study design was responsive to experience and context, so a much less structured approach was taken with the remaining defender interviews.

In the case of the first interview with the remaining eight defenders, the researcher began by welcoming the participant to the interview along the following lines:

Welcome to this interview and I want to thank you for your willingness to participate. I would like you to tell me something about your life. You can start wherever you wish and go wherever you wish. You can tell me what you want, and you are free to leave out whatever you like. I may ask you a question during the story if I need to clarify something. Thank you.

Defenders were free to take the narrative wherever they wanted it to go. The defenders were aware that the interviews were recorded, and a small, digital recording device (Olympus WS-200S) was placed unobtrusively on the desk. Most defenders appeared to be unaware of its presence once they had begun their

narrative. The researcher sat listening to the story, interacting with the narrator by nodding, keeping eye contact, by verbal acknowledgement, or by asking the occasional question if clarification was needed.

The second interview with each defender occurred in the same room as the first interview, although various rooms were used with different defenders throughout the data-collection period (subject to room availability, and the location of defenders within the jail). Some were interviewed in the researcher's office, some were interviewed in classrooms, and some were interviewed in other rooms in various sections of the jail.

The researcher transcribed and began analysis of the first narrative before the second interview with the defender was conducted. The transcription process proved to be a time-consuming but productive undertaking. It allowed the researcher to revisit the interview soon after it was conducted, and the process of transcription forced initial analysis of the data. Decisions had to be made about the language of the interview: decisions about how to punctuate the narrative, and about what to leave out and what to include. It was decided to include all spoken utterances, rather than omit utterances that seemed to go nowhere. It was considered that failure to include all spoken material could de-contextualise the utterances and mask the thought processes of the speaker. Transcription involved interpretation and analysis, and, although the transcription process was a large undertaking, the researcher saw much benefit in being involved in this process. Transcripts of all interviews are presented in Volume 2 of this thesis.

The second interview was different from the first. The researcher wanted to validate his interpretations of the first interview and to seek more data to populate developing concepts and categories. Interpretations of the data were

presented to the defender and he was asked to comment on them, with the purpose of clarifying whether certain statements made were indicative of a developing category. This process is in keeping with theoretical sampling: “When you engage in theoretical sampling, you seek statements, events, or cases that will illuminate your categories”. (Charmaz, 2006 p. 103)

The researcher’s questioning followed the pattern:

In your first talk you were discussing (some topic).....and I understood you to mean that....(some interpretation, or some emerging concept or category). Is that what you were meaning? Could you say more about that?

In order to maximise the opportunity to conduct the second interview, the researcher transcribed and initially analysed the first interview within a week of conducting it, and the second interview was held within two weeks of the first. This process produced a total of fourteen defender interviews. Table 7 shows how the fourteen interviews were distributed, and the duration of each one.

Table 7: Distribution and Duration by Minutes of Defender Interviews

Defender	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Interview 1	25:40	28:26	32:04	34:27	23:42	23:41	39:51	32:16	17:12
Interview 2	21:17		14:33			14:17		10:02	10:52

Table 7 shows the narrative interviews lasted between 10 and 40 minutes, with a mean duration of 24 minutes. There were nine of the first interviews, which provided most of the narrative data. The mean duration of these interviews was 29 minutes. There were only five of the second interviews (due to movements), and the average duration of these was 14 minutes.

Staff interviews

All the staff interviews were conducted after the 14 defender interviews had been completed. The staff interviews were scheduled to follow defender narratives so staff perspectives on readiness for change would not influence the initial analysis or the initial formation of categories. It was important to construct the categories of readiness directly from the narrative data.

Staff members were asked to reflect on defenders they had known whom they considered were ready for change, and to comment on what they saw as indicators of their readiness. They were also asked to think of contrary cases – people whom they considered were not ready for change, and how these people indicated their lack of readiness. The researcher recorded and transcribed each staff interview. The 10 staff members were interviewed once only. Table 8 shows the duration of each staff interview.

Table 8: Duration by Minutes of Staff Interviews

Staff	Duration by Minutes	Staff	Duration by Minutes
Alcohol & Other Drugs	21:45	Education 1	24:14
Chaplain	22:42	Education 2	21:01
Custodial (commissioned)	14:53	Education 3	17:05
Custodial (non-commissioned)	13:35	Parole	30:50
Welfare	31:03	Psychology	39:11

Table 8 shows the duration of the 10 staff interviews. Staff interviews lasted between 13 minutes and 40 minutes, with a mean duration of 24 minutes, the same mean as for defender interviews.

Analysing the Data

Since the interview process is an interactive and interpretive process, the analysis of the data actually began during the interviews. The analysis continued into the transcription process, demanding interpretations regarding the meaning of utterances, the meaning of silence, and how the oral narrative should be transferred to the written word as faithfully as possible. The researcher decided to transcribe the interviews himself, using voice recognition software. The purpose of this decision was to gain familiarity with the interview data, and to gain control of the transcription process.

Coding the Data

Formal analysis of the narrative data began with the coding and memoing process. Charmaz (2006) says, “Through coding, you *define* what is happening in the data and begin to grapple with what it means” (italics original author’s p. 46). Coding is interpretive – the narrator has provided the data, but now the researcher defines what is happening in the data. In the process of defining what is happening in the data, the researcher must remain open to the data. He must not let preconceived notions shape how he defines what is happening: his definitions must reflect what the data say. A brief description of the coding and memoing process is outlined in the next section.

In the coding process, the researcher asks analytic questions about the data. Coding involves “categorizing segments of data with a short name that simultaneously summarizes and accounts for each piece of data” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 43). According to Charmaz, in the initial phase fragments of data are analysed – words, phrases, sentences, reported events. The researcher is looking for significant concepts that are found within the data. NVivo was used in this study to code the data and develop the categories.

Memoing allows for exploration of early concepts and categories. Memos may take the form of questions about the data: What do these events show about readiness for change? They may provide early explanations about what the data is saying, or suggest ideas to explore further. They may take the form of written field notes, diagrams, longer written heuristic pieces, or voice recordings. Memos were used in all these forms throughout different stages of the analysis of this research, but particularly useful were longer written heuristic pieces.

Once the narrative data had been transcribed and the process of analysis had begun, themes were identified through different stages of data analysis. Using NVivo, these themes were coded, resulting initially in a set of early codes, shown in Table 9.

Table 9: Early Codes from Defender Data

Early Codes	
belief in self	sense of shame or wrongdoing or something is wrong with their life
committed to positive choices	tired of old life
seeks help	wasted life opportunities
sense of hope	building a new life
values family support	goals
addictions	new identity emerging
associates	God & opportunity
childhood or youth problems	new choices
ignored good advice	self-reflective
loss of dream	realistic about the struggle

Table 9 shows an early analysis of the complete dataset as themes began to emerge from the data. There are 20 different codes or concepts in Table 9. These categories reflect how the data appeared to the researcher in the early months after the data collection period had ended. At this stage of the analysis, the broad themes were apparent, but they lacked any clear definition. This definition was to become apparent through the process of theoretical sampling and sorting.

The discussion that follows in this chapter refers to the generally acknowledged processes of analysis in grounded theory (Charmaz, 2006), such

as coding and theoretical sampling. However, the discussion also follows the process of analysis with one indicator in particular, showing how it was developed to the point of saturation. The indicator that is used as a specific example of the analysis process relates to problems in defenders' lives. It was evident from an early analysis of the data that defenders were saying they had experienced problems of various sorts throughout much of their lives. Table 10 presents some of this data, with how it was coded in the initial stage of data analysis.

Table 10: Data Showing Defenders Had Problems and Initial Codes

Defender	Quote	Initial Codes	Initial Category
Peter	Well, since my childhood it's never been easy...my childhood, it was a rough road. I had many sicknesses when I was young, I couldn't walk when I was young. I had, it was similar to Forest Gump. I had a disease in my hips, I can't remember what it was, but, I couldn't walk for nearly a year or two...I had to wear these braces on my legs. All through primary school I never got along with any of the kids, it took me a while to get some friends, because I was different from any of the other kids. I always managed to get bullied, on picked on.	Childhood and youth problems	Articulates the problem
Martin	My mate tried shooting up and he told me, like this was after work, we would all go around to this person's house and we would use drugs and run amok I guess. He told me he had shot it up, so I tried it and so I started injecting drugs from then. It wasn't very long before I got pretty bad.	Addictions	
William	Then I started hanging around old school gangsters, old school gangsters but they were very heavy. I started hanging around them and then I committed my	Associates	

Defender	Quote	Initial Codes	Initial Category
	first offence for which I did time in 2003 and 2004 at Windsor. I committed that crime, I stabbed someone four times, punctured his lung and I was on bail and while I was hanging around these heavy old school gangsters I met some younger ones and I got involved with them very close and I started getting involved in heavier drugs.		
John	well...in my adolescent years I was probably doing the wrong thing cause I wasted a lot of my childhood doing things I wasn't supposed to, getting into trouble.	Wasted life opportunities	
Peter	It's an offence but now I understand like...my mum told me every day, "I hope you're not doing stuff, this kind of stuff". I always said no, but then when I came here and I first got arrested I called her. The pain in her voice, just like, "I told you".	Ignored good advice	
John	Since then, since being in jail...I've been looking back on my past. My life needed to change a lot, my lifestyle wasn't getting me anywhere.	Self-reflective	
Peter	...as I got in here I just realised that I, I've always been sick of it to be honest with you. Well not always, but last year I've been dying to let it go.	Tired of old life	
William	..the thing is that I am very ashamed about my past. I look down on myself, you know, and I have a lot of shame about it. I don't like talking about it so when I talk about the past I am ashamed of it and that is why I put my head down.	Sense of shame or wrongdoing or something is wrong with their life	
Frank	I am 58 years old, I have been in remand for 14 months. Prior to coming into prison I ran my own business for 35 years, employed several men at all times.... very little problem with the law before I came in here...I have been married for 35 years...I have been around	Loss of dream	

Defender	Quote	Initial Codes	Initial Category
	the world 15 times...I've had a great life		

Table 10 presents some examples of data showing that defenders had problems in their lives, and how this data was coded in the early period of analysis. Initially, the nine codes in Table 10 were seen to relate to different concepts existing within the data; therefore, they were coded differently. These initial codes allowed an early category to be developed, “Articulates their Problems”, as concepts that were similar were brought together and given a name. This initial category and the nine codes were developed and refined by the processes of theoretical sampling and sorting.

Theoretical Sampling and Sorting

According to Charmaz (2006), many researchers have a poor understanding of the concept of theoretical sampling. Theoretical sampling pertains only to conceptual and theoretical development, not to how researchers select participants for their study. Charmaz (2006) claims the purpose of theoretical sampling is “to obtain data to help you explicate your categories. When your categories are full, they reflect qualities of your respondents’ experiences and provide a useful analytic handle for understanding them” (p. 100). Theoretical sampling occurs when researchers sample data to develop their categories. Sorting serves the emerging theory by creating and refining theoretical links between codes and categories, and allows for the logical integration of categories.

Theoretical sampling enabled a greater definition of the categories. As analysis progressed from that shown in Table 9, categories were refined and received greater definition as data were sampled, and codes defined and sorted within and between categories. This produced a set of 11 categories and 42 codes. The 11 categories reflected a growing abstraction in the analysis of the data, but the existence of 42 codes reflected that, in some cases, the codes represented specific “bits” of data. Table 11 presents the categories and codes as they stood at this point of the analysis (approximately 4 or 5 months into the analysis process). For examples of specific data classified into these codes and categories, refer to Appendix I.

Table 11: Developing Codes/Categories

Categories	Codes
Problem Awareness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Accepts problems with addictions without minimisation Recognises that associations with former ‘friends’ may have been harmful and may not support change Realistic about the extent, impact and influence of personal problems Tired of old lifestyle Getting too old for it Sense of wasting life Sidetracked away from former dreams/plans Sense of brokenness – reaching the bottom In depth look at where and who they are Asking existential questions Seeking self-understanding Seeking answers and solutions
Accepts Responsibility & Punishment	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Takes responsibility for current circumstances Not blaming others

Categories	Codes
	Admits wrongdoing Accepting punishment and justice
Manifests Appropriate Emotions	Demonstrates genuine remorse, regret, sense of shame Sensitive to how one's actions have hurt others Desire to recompense Able to control stress and negotiate change
Realistic about the Struggle	Understands that change will not be easy Does not minimise extent of problems
Identifies Defined Goals	Articulates meaningful and desirable life goals Expresses intention to achieve them
Committed to Action	Awareness of what needs to be done to change Decision to follow-through Acting from the heart
Sense of Hope	Belief in self Sense of future Sense of forgiveness and permission to move on Sense of life purpose
Actively Seeks Help	Makes every effort to seek help for problems in jail Demonstrates intention to continue seeking appropriate help upon release
Recognises, Values, Seeks Family, Community Support	Emphasises importance of family/community in providing support and guidance (where relevant) Family support and approval is a strong motivator for positive life change
Sees Prison as Opportunity to Change	Prison provides opportunity to reflect on life Prison provides a stabilising environment Prison provides support
Desire to Help	Desire to mentor other defenders Desire to offer protection and support Supportive relationships with staff Willingness to participate as a team player

Table 11 shows the codes/categories as they existed in the months following the conceptualisations presented in Table 9. As theoretical sampling and sorting progressed, it became apparent to the researcher that the initial category “Articulates their Problems” (see Table 10) failed to adequately capture all that the data were reflecting. The data revealed defenders were often not only self-reflective and aware of their problems, but they also accepted some responsibility for their problems. Some examples of data showing that defenders accept responsibility for their problems are shown in Table 12.

Table 12: Defenders Accept Responsibility for Problems

Martin	“But I didn't take off, I just sat and waited for them. And the police were even being nice, because I admitted to everything straightaway. I was that upset with myself it just wasn't me. I know I done it and I have to take responsibility, I deserve to be here”.
Tony	“I feel kind of like stupid in a way, that's how I felt since the day I was arrested. I put myself in here you know and I don't blame nobody for it. I just feel very not smart in what I did”.
Peter	“It was all my choice. I don't know, I just wanted to do it. I just wanted to experiment. And I enjoyed it. It became quite an addiction. Then I was doing at morning, breakfast, lunch, tea”.

Table 12 shows data revealing some defenders had more than mere self-awareness of their problems: they also accepted responsibility for their problems, and sometimes felt bad about how they had behaved. The data showed this to be a common theme and, therefore, needed to be reflected by the codes and categories. Table 11 includes a category called “Accepts responsibility and punishment” to reflect what the data are showing.

Charmaz (2006) claims that tentative ideas about the data are examined through further empirical enquiry. In the early analysis of this data, the developing categories and codes were examined through rudimentary quantitative analysis. An example of this quantitative analysis is provided in Table 13.

Indicator	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8	P9	Total
<i>Problem Awareness</i>	*	*	*	*	*		*	*	*	8
<i>Accepts Responsibility & Punishment</i>	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	*	9
<i>Manifests Appropriate Emotions</i>	*		*	*	*	*	*	*	*	8
<i>Realistic about the Struggle</i>	*		*			*	*			4
<i>Identifies Defined Goals</i>	*	*	?		*	?	*	*	*	7
<i>Committed to Action</i>	*	*	?		*	*	*	*	*	7.5
<i>Sense of Hope</i>	*	*	?		*	*	*	*	*	7.5
<i>Actively Seeks Help</i>	*	*	?	*	*	*	*		*	7.5
<i>Recognises/Values/Seeks Family/Community Support</i>	*	*	?	*	*	*	*	*	*	8.5
<i>Sees Prison as Opportunity to Change</i>	*	*			*		*	*	*	6
<i>Desire to Help</i>	*				*	*				3
<i>Total</i>	11	8	6.5	5	10	8.5	10	8	9	

Key
 * = Clearly evidenced
 ? = Partial/unclear/conflicting evidence
 Blank = Not Indicated

Table 13: Quantitative Analysis of Early Categories and Codes

Table 13 presents an example of some early quantitative analysis to help examine the developing categories and codes. The 'Total' column in Table 13 shows some codes/categories (named 'Indicators' in Table 13) are well supported in the data, whilst others are less so. The fact there is no evidence for some codes/categories with some defenders, or the evidence is unclear, may point to differences in readiness between the defender group. At times, this quantitative data were represented graphically, as Figure 9 demonstrates.

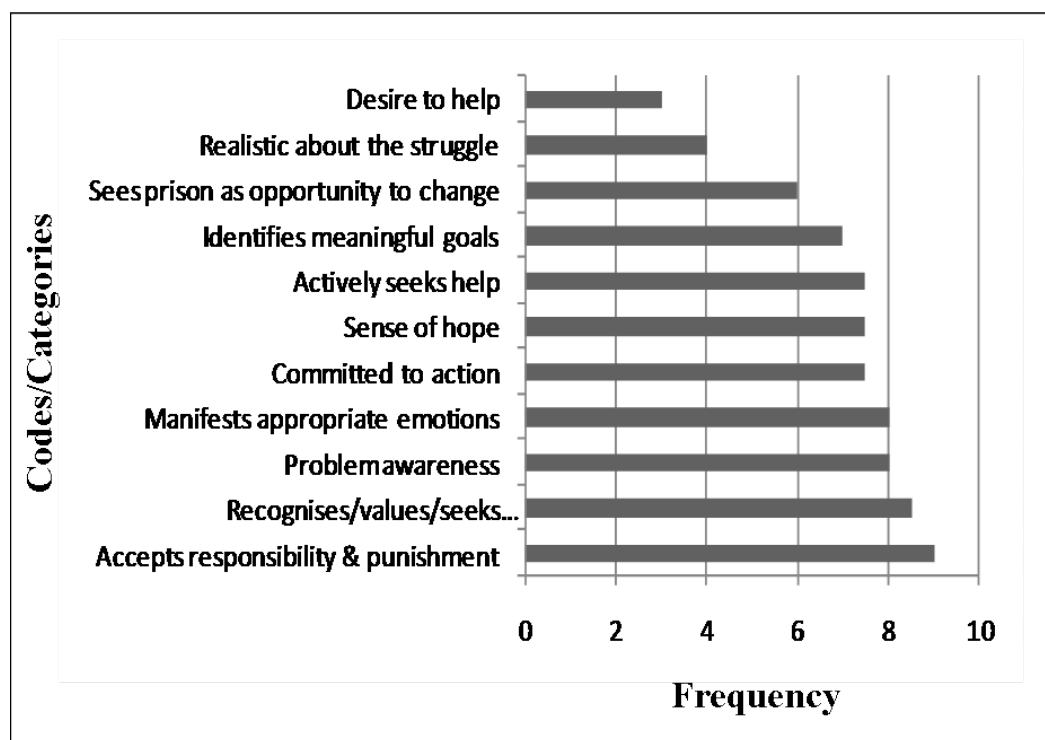


Figure 9: Example of Graphic Representation of Early Categories

Figure 9 presents an example of a graphic representation of the categories (indicators) presented in Table 11. The numeric and graphic analyses of the data presented in Table 13 and Figure 9 were aspects of theoretical sampling and sorting, and these enabled the explanation and gradual refinement of the categories and codes.

Charmaz (2006) says theoretical sampling involves starting with data, constructing tentative ideas about the data, and examining these ideas through further empirical enquiry. On-going memoing, often in the form of detailed draft descriptions of the categories, led to an increasingly refined understanding of the concepts and categories. NVivo was most useful during this stage of the analysis

to sort the data into codes, and into the categories as they became emerged more clearly.

Diagramming

Diagrams allow abstract ideas to be represented in visual forms. Throughout the analysis process, categories and codes were represented diagrammatically at various stages to facilitate the logical and visual sorting of ideas. Figure 10 presents one such diagram, showing a visualisation of the analysis subsequent to that shown in Table 11.

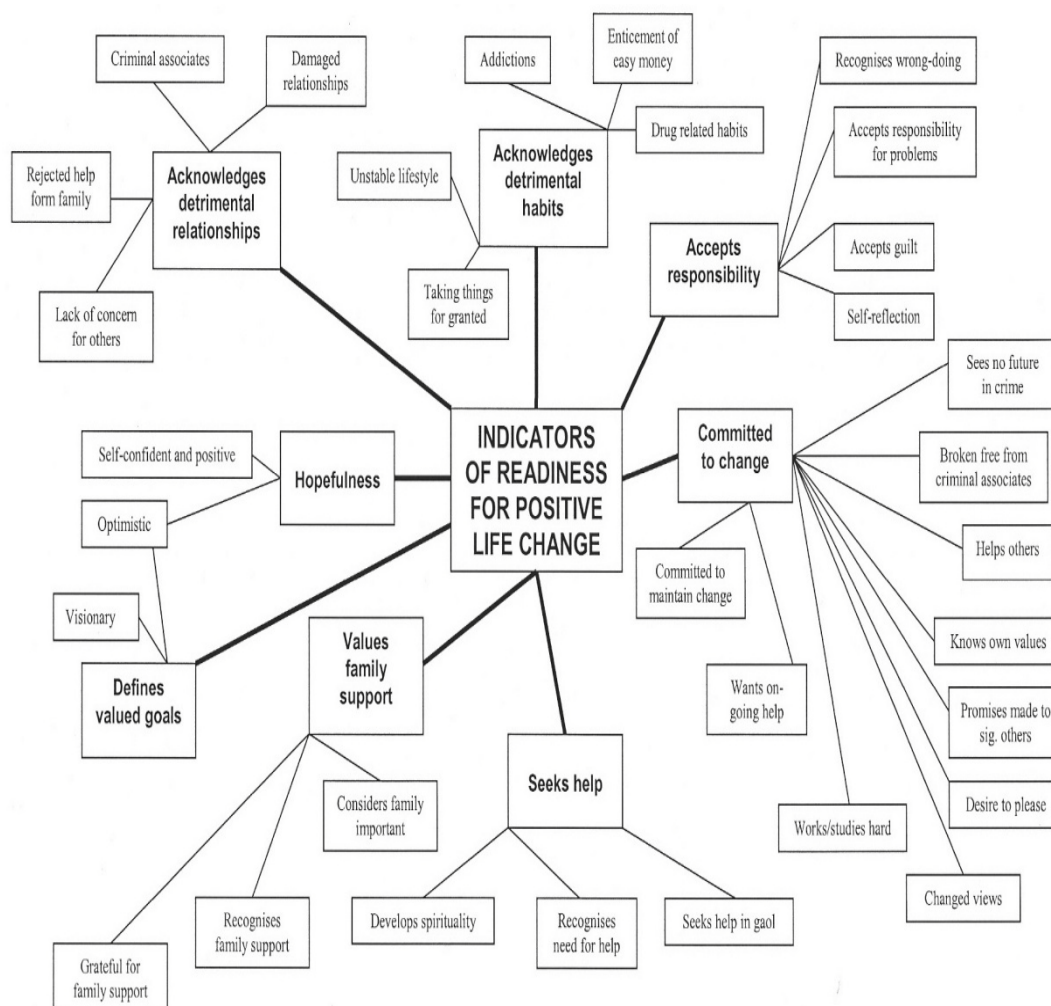


Figure 10: Diagram Showing Developing Categories

Figure 10 shows a diagram used during the analysis phase of this research to represent the developing categories and codes. The thick black lines linking the developing indicators to the central core of the diagram reflect core concepts in the data about how defenders show they are ready for change. These core concepts gain further definition through subordinate concepts, to which they are linked in the diagram by thin lines. The categories present emerging key concepts about how defenders show they are ready for change: they accept they have made detrimental choices, they accept responsibility for poor choices, they are committed to change, they value support and help from others, they have goals and plans, and they are hopeful about their lives.

The diagram assisted in the clarification of the key categories and their relationship to the supporting codes. Note that theoretical sampling and sorting have reduced the number of categories from 11 in Table 11 to 8 in Figure 10. Note the number of categories/codes relating to problem behaviours has increased from two in Table 11 ('problem awareness' and 'accepts responsibility and punishment') to three in Figure 10 ('acknowledges detrimental relationships', 'acknowledges detrimental habits', and 'accepts responsibility'). This occurred because the concept of problem awareness did not discriminate between different types of problems defenders said they faced, and, at this particular time in the analysis, it was considered important to highlight the kinds of problems faced by defenders.

Although there has been a small reduction in the categories/codes between Table 11 and Figure 10, both conceptualisations have in common four underlying concepts (developing categories). These are shown in Table 14.

Table 14: Four Developing Categories

<i>Developing categories</i>	<i>Table 11</i>	<i>Figure 10</i>
Problems and responsibility	Problem awareness Accepts responsibility and punishment	Acknowledges detrimental relationships Acknowledges detrimental habits Accepts responsibility
Commitment and opportunity	Committed to action Sees prison as an opportunity to change	Committed to change
Future goals and hopes	Identifies defined goals Sense of hope	Defines valued goals Hopefulness
Help and support	Actively seeks help Recognises/values/seeks family/community support Desire to help	Seeks help Values family support

Table 14 shows the emergence of four broad categories underlying the two conceptualisations presented in Table 11 and Figure 10.

Theoretical sampling, sorting, and memoing continued to refine the codes and developing categories so they more fully reflected what the data were showing. After approximately 12 months of data analysis, the categories and codes reached the level of conceptualisation shown in Table 15. At this point, the categories were approaching saturation.

Table 15: Categories and Codes Approaching Saturation

Categories	Codes
Readiness to Actuate Change	
Wants to Change	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Expresses desire to change and may use key terms ▪ Honest self-reflection ▪ Accepts the struggle ▪ Sees jail as a space for change
Owens the Problem	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Acknowledges lifestyle problems ▪ Accepts responsibility for problems
Sees a Future	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Has goals and plans ▪ Is hopeful about the future
Values Support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Actively seeks professional help ▪ Wants help on the outside ▪ Values family/community support
Readiness to Advance Change	
Persists with Transformation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ▪ Is encouraged by evident change ▪ Has agency and positive attitude ▪ Feels liberated

Data referring to problems is presented in Table 15 under the category ‘Owns the Problem’. Defenders who acknowledge lifestyle problems and accept responsibility for those problems were seen to ‘own’ the problems they faced, i.e. the problems were *their* problems, not someone else’s, and they accepted the responsibility to work on them. The need to discriminate between various types of problems (as had occurred in Figure 10) was considered unnecessary, since both types of problems identified in Figure 10 reflect various kinds of lifestyle problems.

The data appeared to reflect people who were in various stages of the change process. Some reported having already made significant life change, others appeared to be moving towards significant life change. Table 16 presents some of the data showing defenders who claim to have already made positive life change.

Table 16: Defenders Claiming to Have Made Changes

William	Other people have seen the change in me, I have seen the change in me and now I have got goals, positive, you know. I say to myself, "I am a master of my fate. I am the driver of my soul".
John	The way I see it is that I already have broken free. I don't have any contact with them any more and I don't plan to. I just plan to start a new life...But if you want to make a change you just got a start. You've got to start now, that's what I'm doing.

There is evidence in Table 16 that William and John have already changed - they are encouraged by evidence of their change and are positive in outlook, and they have a new sense of freedom. This is important since people need not only to make change; they also need to maintain change. At this point of the analysis, the developing indicators (categories) and dimensions (codes) were conceptualised as occurring within two broad readiness phases: readiness to actuate change, and readiness to advance change, i.e. readiness to engage in the change process, and readiness to persist once change had occurred. These phases are shown graphically in Figure 11.

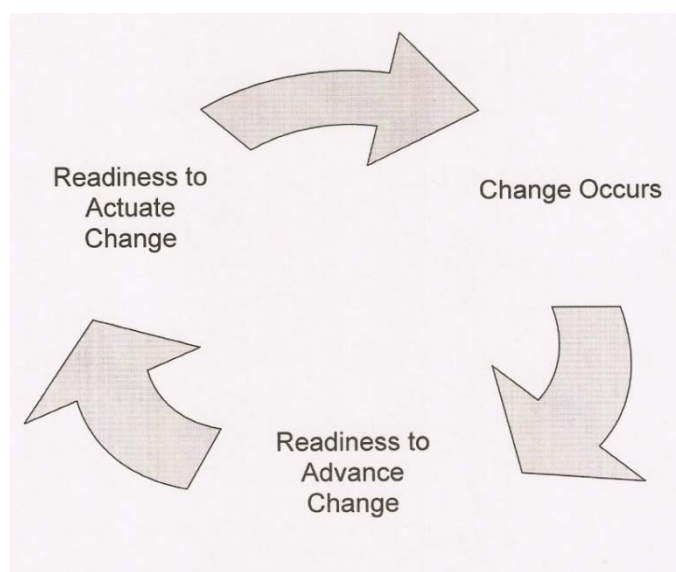


Figure 11: Phases of Readiness

Figure 11 shows the concept that readiness occurs in two phases: readiness to actuate change, and readiness to advance change. As analysis of the data continued, this idea of phases of readiness was abandoned, because there was contrary evidence coming from the data. Eventually, the categories were saturated, giving rise to the final set of indicators of readiness.

Saturation

According to Chavez (2006), “Categories are ‘saturated’ when gathering fresh data no longer sparks new theoretical insights, nor reveals new properties of these core theoretical categories” (p. 113). The concept of saturation does not mean that the researcher keeps finding recurrent themes or concepts in the data: it means that when comparing these recurrent themes to each other no new properties of the patterns emerge (Glaser, 2001). Saturation is the point where ‘propositions’ can be made, indicating generalised relationships between a category and its concepts and between discrete categories (Pandit, 1996).

In this present study, it took between 18 and 24 months of analysis to reach saturation of the categories. By that time, five categories were evident. Chavez (2006, p. 113) observes it is important to raise the categories to an abstract and general level while still preserving their specific connections to the data. It was the researcher’s intention to represent the indicators of readiness for positive life change (i.e. the categories) with simple and transparent terms so they could be readily understood. These five, simple categories capture the richness and complexity of the defender data.

The Indicators and their Dimensions

The five indicators of readiness reflect many of the insights evident in the earlier analysis of the data. The four areas that were evident earlier in the analysis process (i.e. problems and responsibility; commitment and opportunity; future goals and hopes; help and support - see Table 14) are also evident in the final set of indicators, along with the fifth indicator shown in Table 15 (Persists with Transformation). Further analysis has maintained the five indicators shown in Table 15. However there has been a reduction in the number of codes (called 'dimensions' in Figure 12), and the dimensions in Figure 12 reveal some further conceptual development over the codes presented in Table 15. The saturated categories (indicators) and codes (dimensions) are presented in Figure 12.

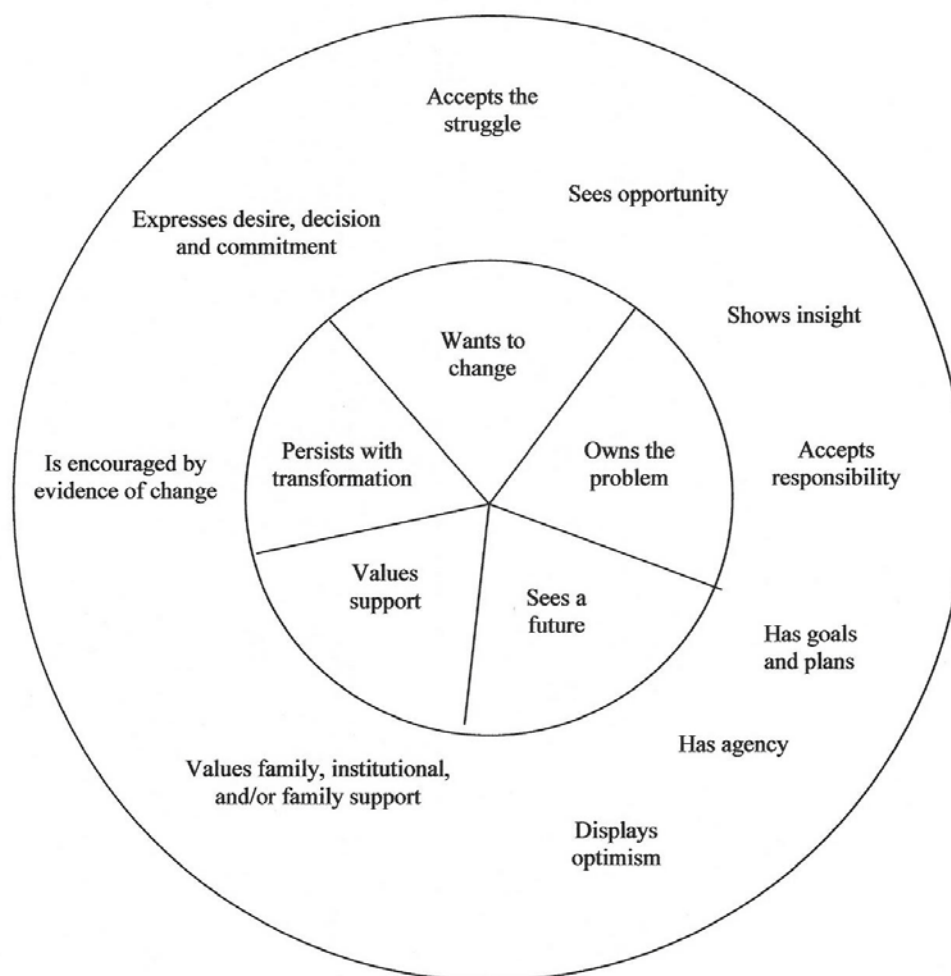


Figure 12: The Indicators and Dimensions of Readiness

Figure 12 shows the 5 indicators and their 10 dimensions. The five indicators are the same as those shown in Table 15; however, there are only 10 dimensions in Figure 12, compared with 14 in Table 15. Moreover, only two of the dimensions shown in Table 15 are repeated in Figure 12 – some have changed in wording and some have changed conceptually.

An example of a dimension that has changed conceptually is associated with the indicator ‘Owns the Problem’. Table 15 included the code ‘acknowledges lifestyle problems’ as a part of the category ‘Owns the Problem’.

However, in Figure 12 the code 'acknowledges lifestyle problems' has been replaced by a more abstract code (dimension) 'shows insight'. This change occurred because 'shows insight' was seen to reflect more of the complexity of the dataset than did the earlier code. The data shows while defenders may have insight into their problems, some also have insight into aspects of their lives that are not problem areas. For example, Frank (a defender participant) makes the claim, "Me personally, I think I've got enough drive to forge ahead". Frank recognises that he has a resource that can help him negotiate change: he has "drive". This is an important insight into the self: an insight that could be ground for optimism about the future and that could have important implications for change. Therefore, the dimension 'shows insight' refers to a higher-order of functioning than the code 'acknowledges lifestyle problems', because it can embrace both negative (problems) and positive (strengths) aspects of the self, or the environment. Furthermore, the reference to insight frees the dimension from reference to only problem behaviours – showing insight may be an equally important element of other indicators, such as knowing who can be trusted to provide support, or where to go to for help.

Similarly, 'accepts responsibility for problems' in Table 15 becomes 'accepts responsibility' in Figure 12. 'Accepts responsibility' is a more general concept than 'accepts responsibility for problems' since, although it includes problems, it may also include accepting responsibility for positive choices in one's life. For example, the defender Lee says, "You have psychology and all that ...but people don't use them. I never used them before, like, I used to talk with them but now I'm trying to use them, use what I can in jail to actually change". Lee states he now accepts responsibility for making the choice to get

help for his problems, i.e. he is accepting responsibility for making the right choices in his life, not only for making the wrong choices.

The dimensions in Figure 12 are clustered in a ring around the central indicators rather than being placed alongside the indicator, as they are in Table 15. This represents the further conceptual development that dimensions are often not 'owned' by a particular indicator, but may apply to more than one. This has already been demonstrated with the dimension 'shows insight', but it also applies to other dimensions, such as 'expresses desire, decision and commitment'. Desire, decision, and commitment may be important elements of all the indicators.

Figure 12 does not preserve the earlier concept of 'phases of readiness' embedded in the conceptualisation of Table 15 and Figure 11 (i.e. 'readiness to actuate change', 'readiness to advance change'). Whilst persisting with transformation may apply in a unique way to defenders who have made significant and observable life change, there is evidence in the data to suggest it may also apply to people who are in earlier stages of the process of change. For example, Lee does not appear to have made some of the more substantial changes claimed by other defenders, yet he says, "You have psychology and all that ...but people don't use them. I never used them before, like I used to talk with them but now I'm trying to use them, use what I can in jail to actually change". Lee claims to have made changes, changes that may eventually lead to a transformation in his life. At the time of the interview, Lee appeared committed to persist with his behaviour of seeking help and gaining insight. Defenders like Lee appear to have a sense of being in a process of change, and what may appear small changes from the outside, may provide *to them* a strong

encouragement to persist with the change process. Persistence and commitment are arguably important at all stages of the change process. The concept of ‘phases’ did not appear to reflect the data accurately, therefore, it was discarded.

Although it is not the purpose of this thesis to justify the conceptual validity of the indicators on quantifiable terms, it may be helpful to see which defenders showed evidence of the indicators and dimensions in their narratives. This information is provided in Table 17.

Table 17: Evidence of Indicator by Defender

<i>Indicator</i>	<i>Dimension</i>	<i>John</i>	<i>Peter</i>	<i>Pete</i>	<i>Lee</i>	<i>Carl</i>	<i>Martin</i>	<i>Frank</i>	<i>William</i>	<i>Tony</i>
Wants to Change	Expresses desire, decision and commitment	Yes	Yes	Partial	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Has agency	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Sees opportunity	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Accepts the struggle	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Owns the Problem	Shows insight	Yes	Yes	Partial	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
	Accepts responsibility	Yes	Yes	Partial	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Sees a Future	Has goals and plans	Yes	Yes	Partial	Not stated	Yes	Yes	Partial	Yes	Yes
	Displays optimism	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Values Support	Values family, institutional and/or spiritual support	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
Persists with Transformation	Is encouraged by evidence of change	Yes	Yes	No	Partial	Partial	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table 17 shows each defender participant and whether they show evidence of the indicators and dimensions in their narratives. The ‘yes’ means

they show clear evidence, the 'no' means no evidence shown, 'partial' means some evidence shown (although with some ambiguity), and the 'not stated' means no reference was made to the dimension.

Table 17 indicates some defenders show clear evidence of all the indicators (William, John, Martin, Peter, and Tony), some show clear evidence of most (Lee, Carl, Frank), and one shows no clear evidence of any (Pete).

Triangulation

Once the defender data had been analysed to the point where stable, well-saturated categories had emerged, the staff data was analysed. Similar processes were undertaken with this data: concepts were coded, memos were made, and concepts were sorted and grouped together in categories.

The purpose of the staff data was to validate the indicators, not to align the defender data with the staff data so they both reflected the same categories. The staff data had no impact on the formation of the categories or codes developed from defender narratives.

The positive and negative case studies provided by staff were useful in highlighting differences between the two groups. This study has not focused on negative cases, but it was clear from listening to stories of both negative and positive cases that staff data support the categories developed from defender data. There were, of course, some differences in the categories between defenders and staff, representing differences in perspective.

The discussion so far in this chapter has outlined the general process of data analysis and has provided a sense of how the indicator 'Owns the Problem'

was developed. Figure 13 provides a brief (if incomplete) overview of this complex process.

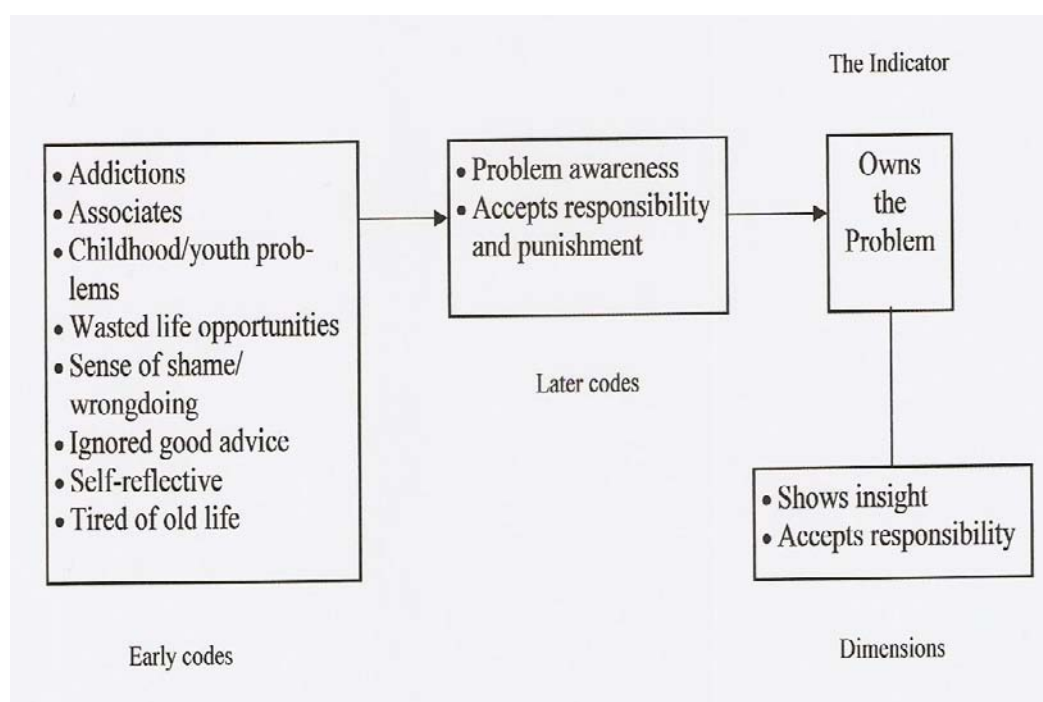


Figure 13: Development of the Indicator 'Owns the Problem'

Figure 13 provides an overview of how the indicator 'Owns the Problem' was developed from the defender data. The next section of this chapter provides a general overview of how the other four indicators were developed, using a process similar to the one used to develop the indicator "Owns the Problem".

Development of the Other Four Indicators

The following discussion provides a general overview of how the other four indicators were developed, i.e. 'Wants to Change', 'Sees a Future', 'Values Support', and 'Persists with Transformation'.

Table 18 shows the development of the indicator 'Wants to Change', including some of the early codes and supporting data.

Table 18: Early Codes with Data – Wants to Change

Committed to positive choices	<p>Martin: will I don't know...there is a drug program you can do here. If I get 18 months I am going to do that but even if I get whatever and I can't do this drug program when I get out my choice, I am going back to rehab. Even if I will be off the methadone by the time I get out.</p> <p>Frank: Nothing illegal, I will not get involved in any drugs or anything like that even though I was quite a heavy user of marijuana before I came in. Ever since the 60s I have smoked that. But I have had clean urine since I came in, I have decided that's in my past and it's something that I've already made myself a promise that I will not get involved in again.</p>
Realistic about the struggle	<p>Martin: yeah. Every day it is going to be. That's what they say in NA, you've got to go one day at a time, even after 10 years they say you can still struggle. Some days are great but you're still going to have bad days. I suppose after a couple of years the thought to go and use when something goes bad goes, you know. I guess you can still think of it sometimes but you just can't do that at all. You cannot use no matter what happens, don't pick up the drugs. Deal with it in other ways.</p> <p>Frank: My problem when I leave here will be I won't have a driver's licence, my drivers license will be expired, I won't have many options about visiting people to organise a driver's licence again and I will have to resit a test more than likely...I was a stone mason and after a while in here my body...plus I need a new aortic valve in my heart...so the chances of me carrying on that trade when I leave here at my age is quite slim. When I leave here unless I've got myself ready for a new life and lifestyle I will be totally lost. There is no way that I will reoffend in anything, it won't be that, but it will be very, very difficult for me to lead a normal life.</p>
Tired of old life	<p>Peter: as I got in here I just realised that I, I've always been sick of it to be honest with you. Well not always, but last year I've been dying to let it go. It was just force of habit that I couldn't let go and mainly influences, like I said, my friends.</p> <p>Martin: I know I am not going to use again, I have said it heaps of times before and people say it, but this time something is different inside. I am sick of it. Last time I wasn't.</p>
Self-reflective	<p>John: Since then, since being in jail...I've been looking back on my past. My life needed to change a lot, my lifestyle wasn't getting me anywhere. Here I've tried a lot to become a better person, to get to where I want to be.</p> <p>William: I started becoming religious. I was raised up in a Catholic community, I went to Catholic high school and everything and I said to myself, you know, I asked myself the big</p>

	questions: What is the purpose of life? I said to myself that if I knew what the purpose of life was I would really go hard at it. I would go strong and it and I would put my best at it.
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Table 18 shows some examples of data and the early categories/codes that showed evidence of them (committed to positive choices, realistic about the struggle, tired of old life, self-reflective). The process of analysis refined these codes so they captured more of what the data were saying. This process is outlined in Figure 14.

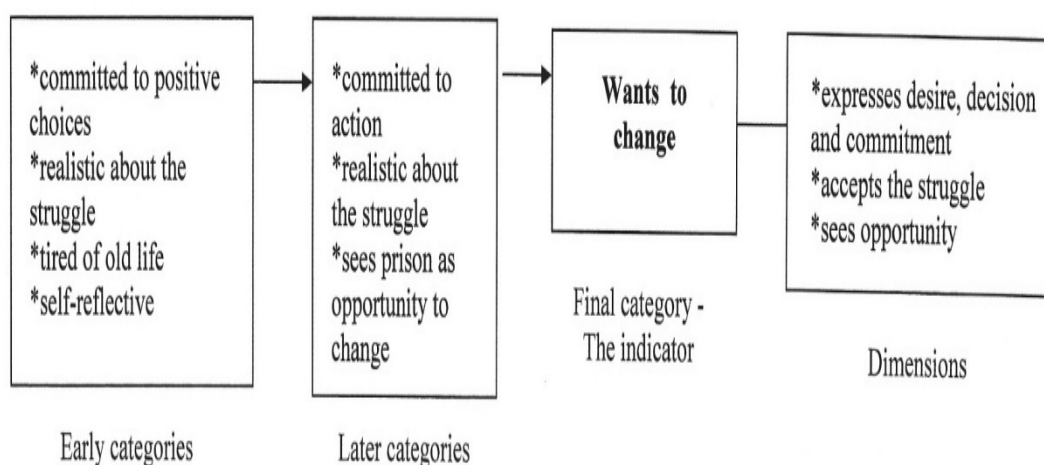


Figure 14: Development of the indicator 'Wants to Change'

Figure 14 presents a general overview of the stages of analysis that led to developing the indicator 'Wants to Change'. The dimensions of the indicator provide definition and structure to the indicator, and preserve much of the richness of the former categories.

Theoretical sampling and sorting of the data led to the development of the indicator 'Sees a Future'. Examples of data are presented in Table 19, along with the early categories/codes that were seen to reflect what the data were saying.

Table 19: Early Categories with Data – Sees a Future

Belief in self	<p>Tony: yeah. At least for a couple of hours every day in my cell when I am not listening to music or watching TV I am always thinking, "I will do this when I get out, or I will do that". It is a long time before I get there but it is still good to think about it and not to leave it. It is better to have it all planned out and I have a book where I write down what I want to do for clothes, what I want to do for music. When I get out I will get right into it. I will hit the studio the first day out. That's it.</p> <p>John: yeah I have, I've been away from school, since I was expelled from school I have been away from school maybe seven or 10 years and no, like no education since then and I find myself still able to keep up with the rest of the class when I go to TAFE, so if I'd been able to commit myself before I'd have been up there with the best, I guess.</p>
Sense of hope	<p>John: probably seeing all the help I've got. The chaplain's been lot of help, I've been seeing them, talking to them, to drug and alcohol workers, and they just gave me encouragement and hope. And that's just completely changed me. I don't look at things the same way, I don't act the same as I used to.</p> <p>Martin: yes I do picture myself, I do. Nice car and go to work and come home to the family. That is years down the track probably but I want to own a home. Yep I can definitely always picture myself doing that. Drugs have just gotten in the way there for a while and I've gone off track but I'm getting back on it for sure.</p>
Has goals	<p>William: I think my future will be involved in working, family... These are my goals, my goal is to first get out of prison, work and develop my own income. Then do a business course, I want to get into business, I want to open up my own business and I also want to study Islam more. I want to become like an Imam, like a religious leader, and then preach. Open up my business and then with the money that I make I want to open a mosque. Then teach younger kids the Koran and also I want to have a family</p> <p>John: well, with work I haven't really thought too much about that, because I want to be a full-time student, I want to study and get a degree and do something worthwhile, not just go straight on the streets and get anything.</p>

Table 19 shows data reflecting early categories (belief in self, sense of hope, has goals). An overview of the stages of development of the indicator ‘Sees a Future’ is provided in Figure 15.

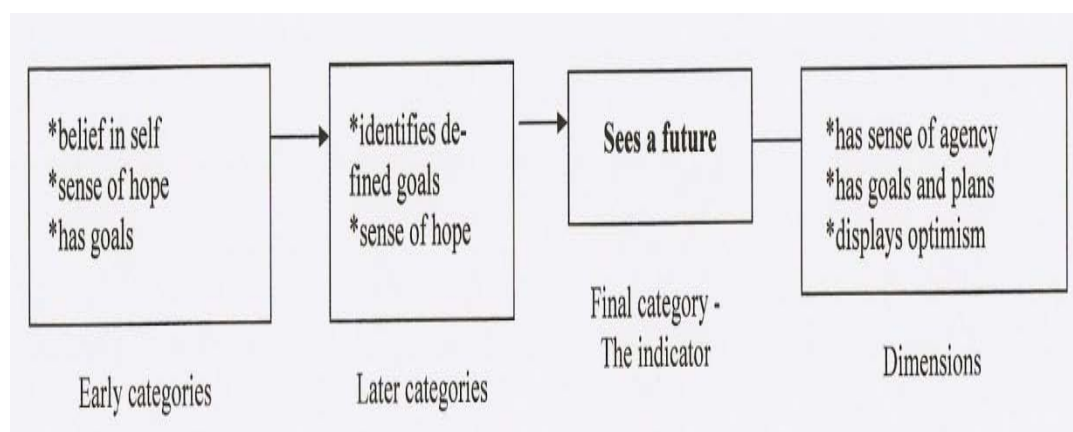


Figure 15: Development of the indicator ‘Sees a Future’

The indicator ‘Sees a Future’ captures what the data are saying, with further definition provided by the dimensions. Note that the dimensions reflect much of what was in the early categories, although some of the language has changed to reflect behaviours that are more specific.

Table 20 provides some examples of data that were coded into early categories/codes leading to development of the indicator ‘Values Support’.

Table 20: Early Categories with Data – Values Support

Seeks help	<p>Lee: you have psychology and all that ...but people don't use them. I never used them before, like I used to talk with them but now I'm trying to use them, use what I can in jail to actually change.</p>
Values family support	<p>John: just being supportive, in what I do. I know if I want to do something, they'll be there to back me up. They'll do what ever they can in their power to help get me there. That'll be a big help to me.</p> <p>Peter: always stick by your family. Always think about your family first. Friends are friends, friends are associates, friends are not necessarily always the ones who will be behind you. You have some friends that will be behind you, support you and good things, but, nothing will beat your family, nothing beats blood. Blood is thicker than water. I just managed to realise how much I love my mother and father. I have always loved them, they always helped me out in the toughest, toughest roads and I never realised until I came here, when I couldn't be able to hug my mum every day when I wanted to, seeing my mum.</p>
God and opportunity	<p>Peter: I thank God that he has given me a chance, he has made me realise that he wants to give me a chance to open up, open up my eyes. This is my punishment, just to give me a chance if I want to go back outside, start doing wrong from right.</p> <p>John: and also in my faith... I've been strengthened in my faith and that helps me get through. I can deal with daily life here, and also I think it will help make me a stronger person outside.</p>

Table 20 shows some of the data and early categories (seeks help, values family support, God and opportunity) reflecting that defenders who are ready for change value support. Figure 16 presents an overview of the stages of development of the indicator 'Values Support'.

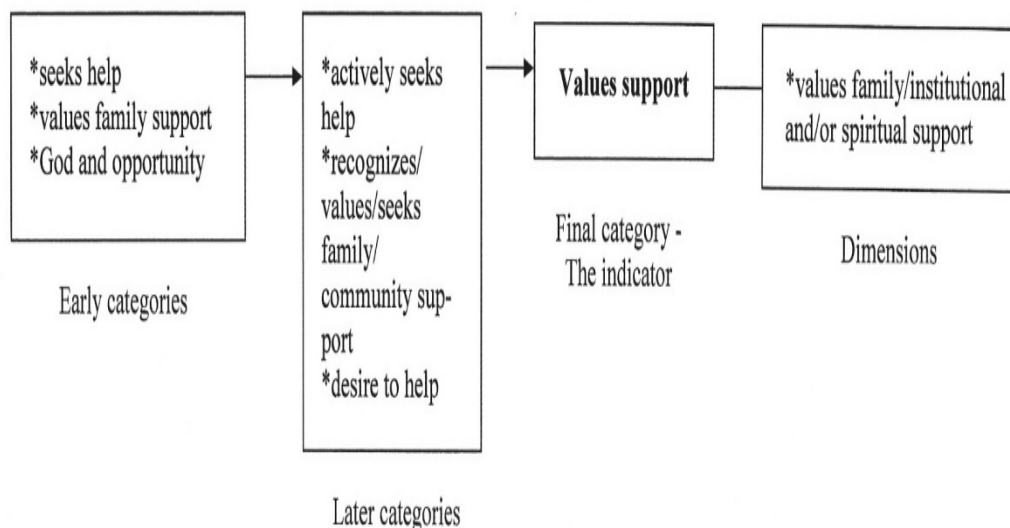


Figure 16: Development of the indicator 'Values Support'

The indicator 'Values Support' reflects that appropriate and helpful support is valued from whatever source it may come, and it may include the support given to others, not only support that is received. Implicit in the concept of valuing support is the sense of activity evident in the early and later categories – evidence of valuing support is shown by active engagement in supportive activities.

Table 21 shows data and some early categories that lead to the development of the indicator 'Persists with Transformation'.

Table 21: Early Categories with Data – Persists with Transformation

Building a new life	<p>John: well, changing my attitude. If I thought the way I did before, I'd probably be getting myself into more trouble here. But just putting everything, all the bad points behind me and just starting again, it's like, you know, learning to walk for the first time. You've got to work on the beginning again. That's what I'm doing.</p> <p>William: I say to myself, "I am a master of my fate. I am the driver of my soul". I just find that the more I am in here...like I thank God that I am in jail otherwise if I wasn't in jail I would probably have ended up dying. I would probably end up killing someone so I</p>
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	find...I thank God that being in jail has been beneficial for me. I've cleared my mind, you know, I have developed my spirituality, I have developed my body, I feel strong, I feel confident, I feel positive and I don't let negative mental attitudes defeat me. I don't have fear any more, I don't have anxiety anymore. I have overcome depression. I believe that whatever a human being decides, he can do. It's up to us, you know. And I'm off drugs, I feel good, I have been off drugs for 16 months. Clean and I don't even smoke cigarettes. It's because I don't need that.
New identity emerging	John: well, probably at this stage this is the most important part of my life because it's...um...it's like being reborn again...I'm not the same person I was before I came here, and I don't think I'll ever be. So this is the most important part of my life, it's a big change for me.

Table 21 shows data and some early categories (building a new life, new identity emerging). Figure 17 shows the stages of development of the indicator 'Persists with Transformation'.

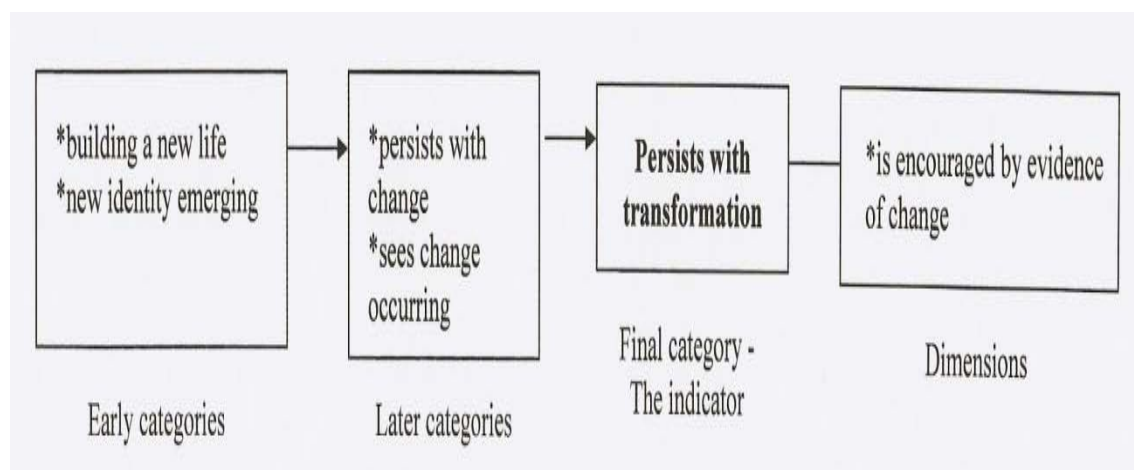


Figure 17: Development of the indicator 'Persists with Transformation'

Figure 17 shows the development of "Persists with Transformation". This fifth indicator reflects that some defender participants claim to have already experienced significant positive life change. These defenders may be in the

maintenance stage of the change process (Prochaska, 1986). However, persisting with change and being encouraged by evidence of change may be important at other parts of the change process.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how the data were collected and analysed, presented the indicators and shown how they were developed from the earlier categories. The five indicators and ten dimensions shown in Figure 12 were derived from direct analysis of the narrative data and reflect what is shown in the data about how defenders indicate readiness for change. The next chapter provides a close examination of the data to show how the indicators and dimensions capture what defenders are saying about their readiness for change, and discusses the indicators in more detail.

CHAPTER 7

THE INDICATORS OF READINESS

Introduction

This chapter examines what the data show about readiness for change. It provides a discussion of the five indicators of readiness, showing how the indicators emerged from the defender data and that they have captured how defenders show readiness for change. While the discussion highlights patterns and connections in the data (Charmaz, 2006), it is sensitive to the voices of the defenders.

It is not possible to capture completely the richness of over 75 000 words of narrative data in this discussion. Therefore, whilst this chapter provides extracts from the data, the full transcripts are included in a separate volume (Volume 2) appended to this thesis.

Figure 18 (presented earlier as Figure 12 in Chapter 6) shows the final five indicators of readiness and the ten dimensions. These indicators and dimensions are discussed in detail in this present chapter. Many of the dimensions may be significant to more than one indicator: for example, seeing opportunity may apply to wanting to change, and it may also apply to seeing a future and/or valuing support. Nevertheless, for the sake of brevity, each dimension is discussed in relationship to only one indicator. The indicator 'sees opportunity' is discussed in this chapter in association with the indicator 'Wants to change' – it could as easily been discussed in relation to the indicator 'Sees a future', or the indicator 'Values support'. The dimensions in Figure 18 are

placed in the outer, undivided, ring, showing they may apply to multiple indicators. However, the dimensions are located adjacent to the indicator with which they are discussed in this chapter.

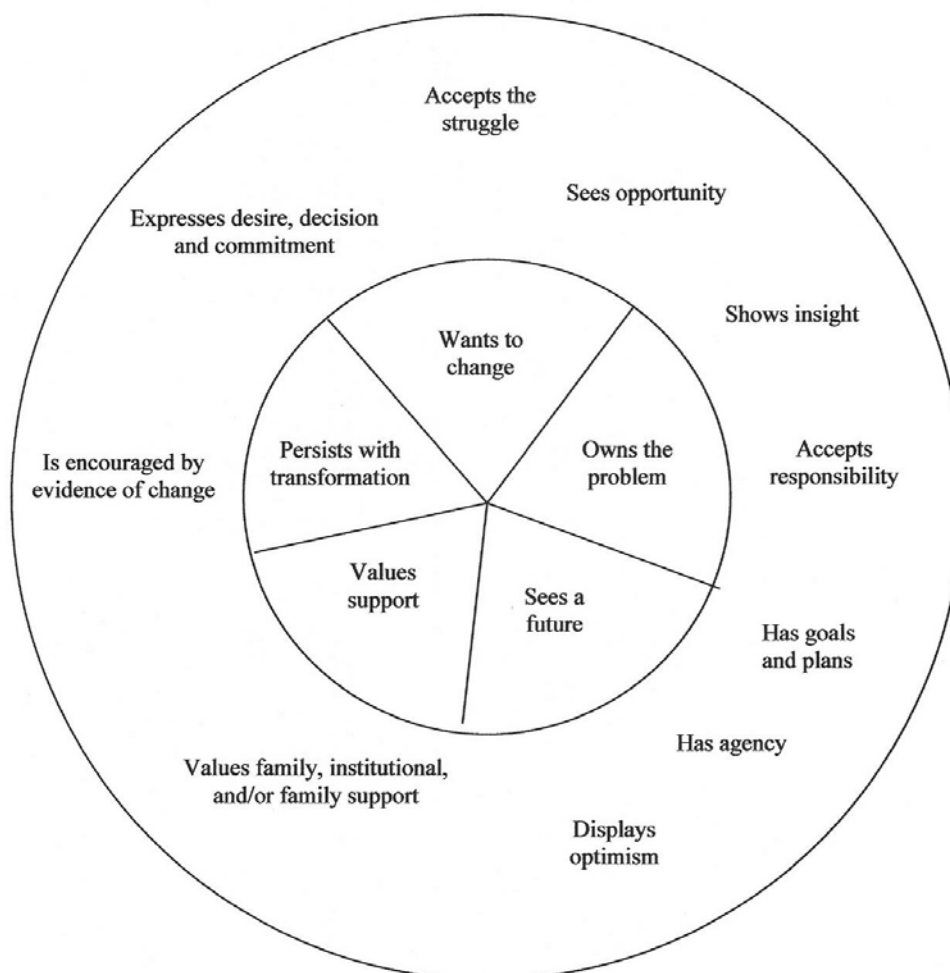


Figure 18: The Five Indicators and Ten Dimensions of Readiness

Figure 18 shows the indicators and dimensions of readiness. This chapter demonstrates how these indicators and dimensions are reflected in the narrative data from which they emerged.

The first indicator addressed is ‘Wants to Change’. Table 22 shows the three dimensions of the indicator ‘Wants to Change, along with a summary of the detail reflected in each dimension.

Table 22: Dimensions and Details of the Indicator “Wants to Change”

<i>Dimensions of the Indicator</i>	<i>Details of the Dimensions</i>
<i>“Wants to Change”</i>	
Expresses Desire, Decision, and Commitment	Commitments and Promises Self-talk Rejecting the Old Lifestyle Wasting Life Sense of Loss Sick of It Made up my Mind Sense of Shame Positioning the Positive
Accepts the Struggle	Starting Again New Ways of Coping No Safe Environments
Sees Opportunity	“A Kick up the Arse” A Place to Reflect Benefits of Jail

Table 22 presents the dimensions of the indicator ‘Wants to Change’ and the detail of these dimensions, as discussed in the next section of this chapter.

The Indicator "Wants to Change"

Defenders who want to change reveal through their narratives that they have the desire for change, they have made a decision to change, and they have commitment for their decision to change. They reveal this desire, decision and commitment through their use of decisive language, through their lack of desire for their former lifestyle, and by how they position themselves in their narrative. These issues are examined in more detail below.

Expresses Desire, Decision, and Commitment

Some defenders express their desire and commitment for change by the fact they made promises to themselves or others.

Commitments and Promises

Table 23 presents some examples of commitments and promises made the to the self and to significant others.

Table 23: Commitments and Promises

Frank (first incarceration, aged 58)	But I have had clean urine since I came in, I have decided that's in my past and it's something that I've already made myself a promise that I will not get involved in again.
Peter (first incarceration, aged 19)	I told my family, I promised my family and I can't break my promise to them. Every promise I make my mother, I have to look her in the eye, I mean it, and I keep it. I've never broken it. I will keep my promise because I have told everyone that when I get out I'm not going back to the smoking routine.
Carl (recidivist, aged 37)	When I get out of here, I want to stay away from drugs. I just want to get back with my wife and my children and be there for my mum. I promised my dad that I would look after mum.

Table 23 shows defenders sometimes express their commitment for change by making promises. For example, Frank is a 58-year-old defender who clearly expresses his decision and commitment for change, saying he has made a promise to himself to change, and he has shared that promise with the researcher.

Frank uses decisive language, “I have decided...I've already made myself a promise”. Frank has clearly decided he will change; he is no longer merely contemplating change. Not only has he made himself a promise, but he externalises that promise to his audience. By revealing his promise, Frank has become more accountable for his promise. He has, to use a colloquialism, ‘laid his cards on the table’.

Peter has revealed his promise to give up smoking to his family, to his friends, and to the researcher. He has become accountable, particularly to his mother, for his decision to change. Declaring his promise makes him more accountable for his decisions, and it delineates the boundaries he is establishing in his life.

Promises made to family can help build lasting commitment for change. Carl made a promise to his deceased father that he would look after his mother, and he has a great sense of obligation regarding this promise.

There is evidence in the data that self-talk can be an important element in making the decision to change.

Self-talk

William provides an example of positive self-talk in Table 24.

Table 24: Self-talk

William, aged 23, recidivist	One day I was reading some little verses in the Bible, I got up, and I said to myself, "look, from now on you are going to change. You are going to change your behaviour; you're going to change yourself".
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Table 24 shows William's comments on his use of self-talk. Like Frank, he chooses to share this 'private' self-talk with the researcher.

William's instructions to himself not only underscore his decision for change, they also mark the emergence of a new identity. He makes it clear that he is going to act as his own agent of change; "You are going to change your behaviour, you're going to change yourself". William is not heeding any external voices telling him to change; he takes the initiative himself. William addresses himself using the imperative mood: "You are going to change your behaviour; you're going to change yourself". William has made the decision to change, he tells himself that he has made that decision, and there is finality about the transaction. Like Frank, choosing to reveal his 'private' self-talk to the

researcher makes William more accountable for his decision, and declares its importance as a milestone on his pathway to renewal.

Defenders often declare their desire, decision, and commitment for change by stating categorically that they reject the old lifestyle they formerly lead.

Rejecting the Old Lifestyle

Table 25 provides some examples of defenders who state their rejection of their former lifestyle.

Table 25: Rejecting the Old Lifestyle

Peter, aged 19, first incarceration	I don't want to get back into that lifestyle at all. What I was doing before, smoking, I'm really over that...last year I've been dying to let it go. It was just force of habit that I couldn't let go and mainly influences, like I said, my friends...They are just going to get us into more trouble. I don't want more trouble.
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Table 25 shows that Peter, a 19-year-old defender, speaks with conviction about his desire to change, declaring unambiguously he rejects the lifestyle he used to live. Not only does he make the definite statement “I don't want to get back into that lifestyle at all”, he underscores it by saying, “I'm really over that...I've been dying to let it go”. Note that when Peter refers to his friends, they have developed the one-dimensional quality of an imago: “They are just going to get us into more trouble”. His friends have been reduced to ‘trouble-makers’; no longer do they have the multi-dimensionality of ‘friends’. For Peter, lifestyle change means more than not smoking marijuana; it also means a change

of friends. Peter recognises that, in order to be true to his own interests in the future, he needs to set some clear boundaries in relation to his ‘friends’.

The sense of wasting life in jail can signal a growing commitment for change.

Wasting Life

Table 26 provides data from two defenders showing their sense that they had been wasting their lives.

Table 26: Wasting Life

John, aged 23, first incarceration	My life needed to change a lot, my lifestyle wasn't getting me anywhere...I wasted a lot of my childhood doing things I wasn't supposed to...I'm definitely through with all that. I've had enough of it. I've got, you know, bigger and better things to do, than to waste my life.
Lee, aged 27, recidivist	I don't like this lifestyle, I might be accustomed to it, used to it, but it's such a waste. A waste of life.

John claims he was wasting his life. His high modality language is clear and decisive about change. John, the narrator, stands in judgement over the pointlessness of his former lifestyle. In the present moment, he distances himself from his former narrated self: not only was his lifestyle not getting him anywhere, he was wasting his life. John the narrator uses strong language to report his commitment to a different lifestyle. He says he is definitely finished with his old lifestyle; “I've had enough of it”. In the presence of the researcher, he has condemned his former self and stated categorically his decision to change.

Lee, who has spent most of his adult life in jail, expresses the harsh reality of the repeat offender: crime not only becomes a lifestyle, returning to jail becomes a lifestyle. His lamentation is not that he comes to jail – something he does not like, but that he has grown accustomed to it. His lamentation is that he is wasting his life. When defenders talk about how their former lifestyle was wasting their lives, they may be indicating a growing commitment for change.

In addition to having a sense of wasting their lives in jail, some defenders have an acute sense of loss: the sense that coming to jail causes them to *miss* things they really want to do.

Sense of Loss

Table 27 provides an example of this sense of loss.

Table 27: Sense of Loss

<p>Tony, aged 19, first incarceration</p>	<p>Everyone else on the outside, who I did my music with, who I designed clothing with, I did whatever I was doing with, have moved on and I'm stuck in 2005 since the day I was arrested, in here...I did about three songs and a recorded them and everything and then I come here and now I am just stuck...I had all this other stuff going on and even my parents said that. "Look at what you left behind. You didn't use any of this stuff that people gave you". After I graduated I was supposed to go to the Art Institute of Vancouver to do this audio engineering and I didn't do that. Came here instead...I missed out on meeting them, I've missed out on a lot of things and I don't want to keep missing out. I want to be out there doing it with them, you know what I mean?</p>
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Tony expresses an acute sense of loss caused by his former lifestyle. He recognises that he 'didn't use any of this stuff that people gave' him. He feels he

is ‘stuck’ in jail, and has ‘missed out on’ things he could have been doing to progress his life. He recognises that he already had wonderful opportunities to pursue his dreams before coming to jail, and being incarcerated has caused him to miss out on things he really wants to do. This sense of missing out on life can point to a desire and commitment for change.

Some defenders express that they are sick of their former lifestyle.

Sick of It

Table 28 provides an example of a defender who says he is sick of the way he had been living.

Table 28: Sick of It

Martin, aged 26, recidivist	I know I am ready to get off because I just want to get my life, I said about my grandad I just want to make him happy and everyone else but I have to do it for me because I want my life on track. I want to get married and have a house one day and have a good career...I want to do rehab now. I have got to do it for myself but that will please him as well but I have got to want to do it and I do more than anything else...I know I am not going to use again, I have said it heaps of times before and people say it, but this time something is different inside. I am sick of it. Last time I wasn't...before this happened I wanted to get clean for ages but never done anything about it.
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Martin wants to change because he has dreams and goals, and he wants to please his grandfather. He states he has desired change for a long time, but hitherto has lacked commitment – he has “never done anything about it”. This time, he says, “something is different inside”. He wants to change “more than anything else”. He uses a marker expression to underscore his commitment to

change: “I am sick of it”. He wants to change for the sake of his grandfather, but he recognises it is more important he change for himself. The repeated use of the ‘I’ suggests he is now taking responsibility for his life, and he demonstrates a clear sense of agency regarding change. Twice he says he ‘knows’ – “I know I am ready” and “I know I am not going to use again”. Martin is sure he is ready to change. He endorses his claims that he is ready for change by stating he feels different about change than he did before: he wants to do it for himself more than anything else; he knows he can do it, he takes responsibility for his life, and he is committed to it.

The decision to change may be expressed as having “made up my mind”.

Made Up my Mind

Table 29 presents an example of a defender who expresses his commitment for change by stating he has made up his mind to change.

Table 29: Made up my Mind

Carl, aged 37, recidivist	I have made up my mind what I want to do with my life, get out of here, go back to my family, open up the shop again and do the usual thing.
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Carl has ‘made up his mind’ about change. He is no longer contemplating it; he has decided. To have “Made up my mind” signifies a definite commitment and leaves no doubt about his commitment to change. In this quote, Carl also reveals his desire for change in less obvious ways. His use of short sharp clauses; “get out of here, go back to my family, open up the shop

again and do the usual thing” indicate a definiteness and clarity about what he wants to do.

A sense of shame may be a motivator for change, and expressing shame for past behaviour can indicate a growing readiness to live a different kind of life.

Sense of Shame

Table 30 an example of a defender whose shame about his past inspires him to change.

Table 30: Sense of Shame

William, aged 23, recidivist	The thing is that I am very ashamed about my past. I look down on myself, you know, and I have a lot of shame about it. I don't like talking about it so when I talk about the past I am ashamed of it and that is why I put my head down...I want to be one of those people that end up becoming successful. I want to be one of them, I don't want to be one of them others. I am sick of it. I want to start looking after myself now, I want to start caring about myself, you know.
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William declares the sense of shame he feels about the way he has lived in the past and how he is sick of it. He is definite about what he wants and does not want in his life. It is clear from William's words that the decision to change is not only about significant lifestyle change; it is primarily about significant identity change. William provides a clear example of someone for whom the desire to change is closely linked to the emergence of a new identity.

William not only has a clear and definite intention to change, he also makes it very evident that William the narrator is ashamed of the William in the

narrative. Three times, he refers to feeling ashamed about his past. He says, “I look down on myself...I don't like talking about it”. He enacts this shame in the story-telling event by hanging his head down and not making any eye contact with the researcher. William the narrator condemns his former self, and, at the same time, describes who he wants to become. He employs imagoes to describe this desired identity – he wants to be “one of those people that end up becoming successful. I want to be one of them”. In his mind, William has an image of what “those people” are like, and what being “successful” means to him. William, like Martin, is sick of his former lifestyle. He wants to look after himself and care for himself; he wants a different lifestyle and a different identity.

Defenders can indicate their desire for change by how they position themselves in their narrative, either relative to themselves, or the listener. This is shown in Table 31.

Positioning the Positive

Table 31: Positioning the Positive

Martin, aged 26, recidivist	I had been to boy's homes a few times, started getting into trouble with the police, getting a criminal record. I thought that was cool, you know what I mean? For some reason it makes people like that accept you more, but they're not really people I want to know if that's the reason they want to...and I know I am here in jail but I don't really think that is me at all.
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Martin displays some indications of a redemption script (Maruna, 2001) in the above quote. The ‘me’ he refers to at the end of the quote is different from

the ‘I’ who kept getting into trouble. He highlights this difference by declaring it to the researcher, and by doing so, he positions himself closer to the researcher and further away from Martin ‘the criminal’. Martin’s declarations that he wants to change become more powerful when seen in the light of his underlying narrative – the ‘real’ Martin does not belong in jail.

In the narrative data, there is evidence of certain expressions that are associated with expressing the desire, decision, and commitment for change. These ‘marker expressions’, which can indicate a frustration with former or current realities and a commitment for change, are presented in Table 32.

Marker Expressions

Table 32: Marker Expressions Reflecting Desire, Decision, and Commitment for Change

Sick of it	I’ve missed out on...
Sick and tired	Haven’t got the energy
Dying to let it go	Had enough of it
I’m over that	Not doing anything for me
I’m getting too old for it	I’ve had this
Waste of time/life	I never got to....

Table 32 shows some of the ‘marker’ expressions found in the narratives associated with the desire, decision, and commitment for change. Some have already been noted in the discussion to date. Others are not highlighted, but all are evident in the data.

The second dimension of the indicator 'Wants to Change' is 'accepts the struggle'.

Accepts the Struggle

Accepting the struggle adds definition to the indicator 'Wants to Change', since the desire to change is only authentic if the person has a realistic understanding of how difficult change may be. If people understand that change may be very challenging, but still want to change, then, and only then, do they show evidence of this indicator. The desire for change is unlikely to lead to long and enduring commitment for change if it rests on some unrealistic notion that change will come easily and quickly. In this sense, to accept the struggle also means to have an important insight into the nature of change. To change may involve the struggle of starting again in life.

The Struggle of Starting Again

Table 33 shows two examples of the struggle of starting again.

Table 33: Starting Again

Frank, aged 58, first incarceration	I know that if I went back and try to do my work I wouldn't be physically able. I have always done it so it wasn't hard work for me but even now, 14 months in here, I know just carrying my TV from the reception to here I felt a bit physically strained. I used to move lumps of stone as big as my TV. ...My problem when I leave here will be I won't have a driver's licence, my drivers license will be expired, I won't have many options about visiting people to organise a driver's licence again and I will have to resit a test more than likely...I have always been quite a gregarious person and if I am stuck in a flat somewhere with no vehicle that will be devastating... I have got a basic group of friends, we don't see each other on a regular basis but we do see each other 3, 4 or five times a year and that's what I am torn between, staying here with my friends that I've had for 25 years,
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	the small group of them, but that has got its downfalls because we always used to drink a lot of alcohol and smoke a lot of dope. So depending on how strong I feel when I leave here I may not be able to look those friends up because the first thing they'll do is open a bottle of whisky, Irish lads and Scottish lads and English.
John, aged 23, first incarceration	But just putting everything, all the bad points behind me and just starting again, it's like, you know, learning to walk for the first time. You've got to work on the beginning again. That's what I'm doing...I'm thinking more clearly now, I've got my head on straight. It's going to be a long journey...

After living a stable life for many years, Frank must now embark on a new future and start right at the beginning. Starting again has implications for his work. He has spent most of his working life as a self-employed stonemason, however, given his lack of exercise in jail and some health issues, going back to his trade may no longer be a viable option for him. Furthermore, because his driver's licence has expired whilst in jail, he will return to the community without the opportunity to drive. He recognises the need to become computer literate, because it is not possible to obtain a driver's licence without sitting for a driving test on the computer.

Starting again means developing a new social group and meeting new people. Most of Frank's friends have the kind of lifestyles with which he no longer wants to associate, and describing himself as a gregarious person; it will be important, but perhaps difficult, for him to make new friends. Frank will be starting out again on his own, with no work, no money, no licence, no car, no wife, and potentially, no friends. In spite of all this, Frank knows he must change, and he is committed to that change.

Like Frank, John recognises that living a different kind of life means starting at the beginning. John uses the analogy of learning to walk for the first

time to describe the change process. He has to work on the beginning again, like learning to walk for the first time. John recognises change is demanding and he has to do things right from the outset. He is under no illusions as to how difficult the change process may be and how long it may take him. However, he accepts the struggle of change. His claim that he is thinking more clearly and he has 'his head on straight' supports his claim that he understands the challenges lying before him. However, despite this realistic awareness, John still wants to change. His commitment for change abides in the face of the perceived challenges he will face.

The struggle of change may mean having to find new ways of coping with the pressures of daily life.

The Struggle of Finding New Ways of Coping

Table 34 an example of the struggle of finding new ways of coping with old problems.

Table 34: New Ways of Coping

Martin, aged 26, recidivist	It's not easy at all because when you're on drugs when you having a rough day you go and use, but normal people have rough days, everyone has rough days, and you have got to push through it...No matter how hard it is doing it I just have to say "I have got too much to lose. If I use once I will go straight down there. It is going to upset all these people, it is going to ruin my life, it is just not worth it, it is not worth it. It is not an option, I can't. It is not worth it"...Every day it is going to be. That's what they say in NA, you've got to go one day at a time, even after 10 years they say you can still struggle. Some days are great but you're still going to have bad days. I suppose after a couple of years the thought to go and use when something goes bad goes, you know. I guess you can still think of it sometimes but you just can't do that at
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	all. You cannot use no matter what happens, don't pick up the drugs. Deal with it in other ways. You have got to find new ways... You have got to find something else to fill that gap.
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Martin takes responsibility for the way he copes with life and knows he must develop new strategies to deal with the pressures of change. One such strategy involves positive self-talk. Drug abuse has been Martin's means of dealing with the pain in his life. He knows he must find positive alternatives, but he voices the anguish of the addict: change is painfully difficult. He has a very clear understanding of what he must do, and that he must continue with it for the rest of his life. He uses the word 'you' and the imperative mood in his instructions to himself: You cannot use no matter what happens, don't pick up the drugs. Deal with it in other ways. You have got to find new ways; you have got to find something else to fill that gap. Failure cannot be an option. Martin's self-talk is a strategy he uses to strengthen his resolve and to cope with the struggles of the change process, and something he does as a form of interactional positioning in the story-telling event.

Accepting the struggle of change can also mean realising there are no safe environments. There are no 'magical' environments completely free from temptations and risks.

The Struggle of No Safe Environments

Table 35 shows an example of a defender who recognises the difficulty of maintaining change when there are no environments.

Table 35: No Safe Environments

Martin, aged 26, recidivist	Although if I am going to get clean I have got to be able to do it around people that are using around that same area because everywhere you go there are going to be people on drugs. I have got to learn to say no and I have got to hang around people that are clean, that aren't on drugs.
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Martin recognises there are no safe environments, no matter where you go. He expresses the important realisation that his problem is inside of him and the solution to his problem must also come from inside of him; “I have got to learn to say no”. He must learn to reject the drug lifestyle wherever he is, because he can never escape into a drug-free environment. To accept the ever-present need for vigilance and the need to find a new and ‘safer’ social group is to accept that change is demanding and difficult, not just in the present, but also in the long-term.

The dataset provided an example of a defender who, in many respects, does not appear ready for change. It was not the intention of this study to interview people who are not ready for change, or even to explore what not being ready appears like. Nonetheless, a contra case may be useful. Table 36 shows data from the defender ‘Pete’.

Table 36: A Contra Case

Pete, aged 34, first incarceration	Some days in here I ring Amanda, which is my new girlfriend, and she just says things that I just feel like ending life. I can't stand it, you know, and I think that when I get out I am just going to get that pissed. No, I just don't want to help myself, and then the next day things are fine and I go back up again. I will try, and the next day I might be down. It's just keeping that level, you know it is going to be hard.
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In terms of accepting the struggle with change, Pete provides a contrast to the other defenders referred to in this section of the chapter. Pete lacks resilience and commitment, and does not appear at all ready to accept the demands of change. How Pete feels about his life depends on what is happening in his life at the time.

Pete recognises changing his life would be hard, but he provides little evidence in his narrative that he is prepared to accept that struggle and show any commitment for change. Instead of accepting the struggle of change, he seems to accept the struggle of not changing: the struggle of living on a roller coaster, dependant on how other people treat him. Pete shows no acceptance of starting a new life, he shows no readiness to find new ways of coping with life's problems, and he does not appear ready to deal with any of the challenges imposed by his emotional environment. Instead, the solutions he considers (suicide and getting drunk) show little hope for the future, no sense of agency, and no commitment for change.

The third dimension of 'Wants to Change' is 'sees opportunity'.

Sees Opportunity

A number of defenders see jail as providing valuable opportunities for change: even a positive experience in their lives. To quote the term used by one defender, coming to jail is "a kick up the arse".

"A Kick Up the Arse"

Table 37 shows an example of how the 'shock value' of coming to jail has helped engender a commitment to change.

Table 37: "A Kick up the Arse"

Martin, aged 26, recidivist	Well, it's probably a good thing because it has snapped me out of it. If I hadn't come to jail I would still be in that same hole I was in and I needed this to happen to jolt my brain or something, to make me think what have I done. I am in jail, I have got to get my life on track...But this gave me a kick up the arse, which is what I needed.
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Coming to jail had the positive effect of getting Martin out of the 'hole' he was in, and it motivated him to actually do something for himself. He recognises he needed something to 'jolt' his brain, and coming to jail served that purpose.

Other defenders recognise that, had they not come to jail, they would have been stuck in the lifestyle they were living. Coming to jail has become a place to reflect on their lives, and start again.

A Place to Reflect

Table 38 provides some examples of defenders who found value in the jail experience, because it gave them a place and a time to reflect on their lives.

Table 38: A Place to Reflect

Tony, aged 19, first incarceration	I would not have ever gone straight. It would have been a full turn and just done this. Like my dad was telling me, I am lucky to have this now. What if I had got arrested for so much more and done 25 years? My life would be over so I am happy that it happened now and made me think.
John, aged 23, first incarceration	I think it would have been harder to leave that lifestyle if I didn't come here, because being here has taught me a lot, I have learnt a lot and it has given me time to get things in perspective, what I really want to do. Like you don't really notice it until you see yourself through someone else's actions, it's like you can't see yourself.

Tony admits he would have kept going with crime had he not come to jail. He realises now how much worse life could have become for him had he continued with his crime, and he considers himself 'lucky'. Coming to jail gave him the opportunity to think about his life, and to see how wrong he had been in the way he was living. Although he does not like being in jail and sees it as a waste of his time, he also recognises he has been given a second chance at life, and he is grateful for that.

John, too, recognises that without coming to jail, it would have been much harder for him to change. Coming to jail has provided him with the opportunity to learn things he would not otherwise have learnt. He has gained a greater perspective on his life, and become more aware of his goals and plans. He comments that people can be blind to what they are really like, but coming to jail has given him the opportunity to see himself 'through someone else's actions'.

Some defenders recognise there are other distinct benefits in coming to jail.

Other Benefits of Jail

Table 39 shows defenders see something of personal value in coming to jail.

Table 39: Benefits of Jail

William, aged 23, recidivist	I thank God that I am in jail otherwise if I wasn't in jail I would probably have ended up dying. I would probably end up killing someone so I find...I thank God that being in jail has been beneficial for me. I've cleared my mind, you know, I have developed my spirituality, I have developed my body, I feel strong, I feel confident, I feel positive and I don't let negative mental attitudes defeat me. I don't have fear any more, I don't have anxiety anymore.
Carl, aged 37, recidivist	In a way it was good for me to come to jail because it really cleaned my whole system out and my mind is more clearer than what it used to be on the streets.
John, aged 23, first incarceration	I've been strengthened in my faith and that helps me get through. I can deal with daily life here, and also I think it will help make me a stronger person outside.
Tony, aged 19, first incarceration	You hear about what other people are in for, you get people who are in for similar things that I am in for, you kind of hear their story and the people that I talked to have been maybe four or five times offenders. They say that it is nothing, but you look at them and think, "What do you have on the outside"? They say, "When I get out I will restart it again". And I'm thinking that you've got to keep starting over. It is a risk that you are taking with your life. After you reach the 40s or 50s, what's the point? You might as well live in here. If you want to get money, get it legitimately.

For William, a benefit of coming to jail is that it stopped him from getting involved in worse things: possibly, dying or killing someone. In addition, the time in jail has given him the opportunity to develop different areas of his life that he otherwise would probably not have done. Coming to jail has given him a second chance at life.

Carl sees benefit in jail because it has enabled him to clean out his system and clear out his mind. He had become trapped in a lifestyle from which he could not escape, but jail provided a means of escape and the opportunity to get clean.

John sees a benefit of jail in that it has enabled him to develop his faith and develop strengths in his life that will help him in the community.

Jail is sometimes thought of as a “university of crime”. However, far from teaching the advantages of crime, jail has taught Tony that crime does not pay. He expresses the utter senselessness of the criminal lifestyle.

Again, Pete provides a contra view to the defenders referred to in the discussion above. Pete sees no opportunities for change in jail. This is expressed in Table 40.

Table 40: No opportunities

Pete, aged 34, first incarceration	You can't do anything in here, your life is just sort of suspended. So, until I get out of here I can't do a thing.
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Pete sees no benefit from being in jail. His alcohol-addicted life is suspended for a time, but he sees no opportunities for change in jail. In contrast, defenders who are ready for change attribute a different meaning to their jail

experience: one that allows them to see the good that can come out of their incarceration. Such meaning strengthens their desire and commitment for change.

Defenders who show evidence of the indicator ‘Wants to Change’ express their desire, decision, and commitment for change. They recognise and accept change may be a difficult and challenging process, but this awareness does not deflect their commitment for change. They see around them opportunities for change, even within the jail environment. As such, they see they can engage in change in the present moment while still in jail.

The second indicator discussed in this chapter is “Owns the Problem”. Table 41 presents the two dimensions of the indicator “Owns the Problem”, along with the details of the dimensions discussed in the next section of this chapter.

Table 41: Dimensions and Details of the Indicator “Owns the Problem”

<i>Dimensions of the Indicator</i>	<i>Details of the Dimensions</i>
<i>“Owns the Problem”</i>	
Shows Insight	Facing unpleasant truths Conducting a self-audit Seeing strengths Finding explanations
Accepts Responsibility	Accepting responsibility for choices Accepting responsibility for changing Accepting responsibility to help others

Table 41 presents the dimensions of the indicator 'Owns the Problem' and the detail of these dimensions, as discussed in the next section of this chapter.

The Indicator "Owns the Problem"

The indicator 'Owns the Problem' has two dimensions: 'shows insight' and 'accepts responsibility'. Owning the problem involves having insight into one's weaknesses and being realistic about one's problems. It involves accepting appropriate responsibility for one's problems, and for solving them.

Shows Insight

Insight into the self can cause a person to face unpleasant truths about themselves.

Facing unpleasant truths

Table 42 shows evidence of defenders for whom change meant facing up to the truth of what they had become.

Table 42: Facing the Unpleasant Truth

William, aged 23, recidivist	I was lost, no guidance, no goals, just a slave of my evil desires and bad habits. I used to just cover all my problems with drugs. I was in debt in jail, I had to pay it off...when I got out of prison I was worse. I was worse, I was arrogant, I was worse, I was like an animal. I lost my humanity. I got out and just because of having that lagging under my belt I thought I was the man because I was a crim, I got some jail tats, I use heroin, a shoot it up, I am corrupt, I have been to prison and I know all the bad crims...I started using heroin and my habit started getting bigger and next thing you know, I was and every-day user. I lost my girlfriend, I lost my friends, I nearly lost my family. I nearly lost my family, I was kicked out. At one time I was sleeping in the streets. I used to hock in my own family's
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	<p>stuff, that's how low I got. Stealing from my own mother's purse. I was hocking in my things, desperate. I would go out and get drunk off my face and after that, this was the routine, I would be sick in the morning, I would be hanging out plus I would have a hangover so I would have to get the heroin somehow, just to feel normal. That was the routine. I was just losing my humanity, I was blind and didn't even see it. I thought I was all right, digging myself into a deeper hole, physically and spiritually and mentally. I was just eating off everyone.</p>
Carl, aged 37, recidivist	<p>With my dad, it's like part of me has gone. I didn't know what to do, the good side of me was just out of control. It just went, I don't know where it, I couldn't find it. It was like my twin disappeared. I was just lost. People used to talk to me and I couldn't register in my head what I was doing, sleeping on the streets; and like I come from a rich family. But I just couldn't deal with it. That was the stage and I just wanted to kill myself as well. I just wanted to be with my dad. I ended up sleeping at the cemetery for a good month every day.</p>

Facing the truth about oneself can require great courage and honesty. William comes to face the dark side of who he had become. Note the repetition of the word 'I' in both of the above quotes – these people are taking responsibility for how they had lived. They both refer poignantly to what they had lost - humanity, the good side of me, my twin, friends, and self-respect. Amazingly, at the time, William thought he was all right. He now realises he was far from all right – he was blind, he was digging himself into a deeper hole in every aspect of his being, and he was “eating off everyone”. Carl powerfully describes how lost he felt at that time; it was as though his twin had disappeared.

It is evident from the narratives of William and Carl that they feel pain and distress when they reflect back on how they had lived. However, owning the problem requires being open and honest to the truth about the self, regardless of how unpleasant a truth it may be.

Some defenders showed intensity about their self-reflection to the point that they were conducting a self-audit of who they were, and/or who they are becoming.

Conducting a self-audit

Table 43 presents some examples of defenders who conduct a self-audit and thereby build commitment to change.

Table 43: Auditing the Self

William, aged 23, recidivist	I was devastated, crushed, spewing, even wanted to kill myself, looking for some answers. I started asking myself the big questions, reflecting, pondering, contemplating on life. I said to myself one day, "look if you die now, what have you left behind? What have you achieved"?
William, aged 23, recidivist	I do a lot of reflecting, contemplating, reassessing. I always try to pick my faults and better myself. Sometimes I relax on my bed and contemplate what do I have to improve in, in my character and then I pin them out. I am always rectifying myself so that I can blossom even stronger and more and more and more.
Tony, aged 19, first incarceration	I always knew I had love from a family like my cousins, my aunts, but then again I veered off into this land of money, this money hungry mentality of mine. It was hard for me but now I understand, not understand because I've always understood, but now when I get out I know what is there for me. Not to take it for granted, not to take the love my family gives me for granted.

In the first quote in Table 43, William is 'auditing the loss' within his life. He asks himself what is the value of his life. What would he leave behind, and what would he have achieved if he were to die now? He predicates this audit by

providing an insight into his emotional state at the time: he was devastated, crushed, and even suicidal. Yet, despite the desperation he faced, he did not run away from the questions he posed. He did not consider them too unpleasant to face, or escape into drugs. He faced the self-audit with great courage and determination.

Although William stresses he has changed dramatically since those dark days, his personal audits continue. He continues to pick his faults, and to reassess his life. It is clear William is acting as his own agent of change, and he has his own agenda in terms of what he wants to become.

Tony has also been auditing himself. He has seen his “money hungry mentality”, how he took for granted the love of his family, and the opportunities placed before him. Now he knows what he should have been doing all along.

As seen earlier, Pete often provides a contra view into the indicators of readiness. This is again the case with Pete, as shown in Table 44.

Table 44: Fleeing the Unpleasant Truth

Pete, aged 34, first incarceration	Digging into those things like...discharge from the army. If I think about that too much I'd be a mess on the floor. So I don't think about it I turn to alcohol.
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In contrast to the courage and openness of William in facing the painful reality of his life, Pete seeks refuge in the bottle. The truth is too hard for Pete at this point of time – he shows no evidence of being ready to face it. He makes the conscious decision to turn away from his problems, pains and disappointments and to escape into alcohol. In many ways, he provides a contrast to the other defenders in this study, as someone who is not yet ready for change.

Having insight is about not only facing unpleasant truths and conducting audits of one's problems or limitations. It also involves seeing one's strengths.

Seeing strengths

Strengths may be positive personality traits, skills, or experiences from which the person has learnt valuable lessons. Table 45 shows insights into positive personality traits recognised by defenders.

Positive personality traits.

Table 45: Positive Personality Traits

Frank, aged 58, first incarceration	Me personally, I think I've got enough drive to forge ahead.
John, aged 23, first incarceration	If there's something I want to do, then I put myself...give it 100%...I know I can get there.

Frank recognises limitations in his life, yet despite these limitations, he acknowledges he has a personality strength that will serve him well in his quest for change. He has drive. Frank is realistic about his problems, but he is also realistic about his strengths and because of his drive, there are grounds for optimism. John too has insight into his strengths. He recognises his ability to commit fully to goals that are important to him.

Defenders sometimes see strength in their knowledge and skills in particular areas. These resources can be used to rebuild lives, provide some security, and develop self-esteem.

Knowledge and skills.

Table 46 presents some examples of defenders who recognise their knowledge and skills as strengths.

Table 46: Knowledge and Skills

Frank, aged 58, first incarceration	Even at 70, I could still do my trade; it would be very hard, you can't work as long and is hard but your skills are still there and that's what people need. I can always get young strong lads to do the lumping work and just use my knowledge.
Carl, aged 37, recidivist	I have got the magic hands for artwork, I create jewellery.

Frank recognises he has drive, but he also recognises he has skills and knowledge. He sees pathways around his physical limitations and recognises that with his skills and knowledge, he still has hope.

Carl recognises he has ‘magic hands’ for artwork. His skills mean he is not a failure. He may have experienced some profound lows in his life, but his “magic hands” preserve a sense of personal dignity and a continuing theme of strength throughout his life story.

Insight into the meaning of experience can be a strength.

Insight into the meaning of experience.

Table 47 provides an example of a defender whose interpretation of his past experience provides him with a strengths-based story.

Table 47: The Meaning of Experience

John, aged 23, first incarceration	I find myself still able to keep up with the rest of the class when I go to TAFE, so if I'd been able to commit myself before I'd have been up there with the best, I guess.
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John's experience at TAFE gives him insight into his potential as a successful student. By interpreting his experience at TAFE in positive ways, he has reason to be confident in his ability to study, and it renders his desire to become a university student both a logical next-step and a coherent element in his life story.

Insight can enable defenders to find explanations to aspects of their past or their present.

Finding explanations.

Insight can come as a realisation of why a person did negative things. The data show this realisation is often associated with the recognition that the person lacked certain critical resources or understandings at the time. This lack may provide some sort of an explanation for why the person acted as he did. Some examples are shown in Table 48.

Table 48: Explaining the Negative

Martin, aged 26, recidivist	But the kids from the other primary schools, some of them were in the cool sort of group or they were the bad ones. So I don't know why really but straight away I wanted to hang out with them. I think I have a low self-esteem, I know that now when I look back, but I didn't know that back then. I just didn't feel the same as everyone else. I started hanging around them from the start pretty much, and a lot of them smoked pot and drank.
Lee, aged 27, recidivist	I think I sabotaged myself. I wanted to come back to jail, I sort of felt safe in jail. Can you understand? There's the boredom of outside, I know it's more boring in jail, but the responsibility...like I was trying to get a job when I was outside and I was sabotaging my own interviews. Subconsciously. I realise that when I look back now what I was doing...like I never really wanted those jobs. I would try to get my way out of it.
William, aged 23, recidivist	I broke up with that girl but I would say that I was insecure, I was depressed. Even when I was with her, I was insecure because I would ruin myself by getting drunk and making a fool out of myself in front of her, in front of her friends, in public. Off the track, wild and when I came into jail I got depressed because she broke up with me and everything caught up.
Lee, aged 27, recidivist	I knew I had a drug problem but I never actually looked at it till recently. And when I look back I realise I've got a lot of addictions to things. I found out that I get addicted to one thing and then, when I get hooked on something else, I stop the other thing so that it doesn't look like I've got addicted to it. But now I realise that I've been jumping addictions.
Peter, aged 19, first incarceration	I managed to learn how to play checkers and a bit of chess and the main strategy is that you must think before you move. I was just moving everywhere I went outside, I never thought about my actions.
Martin, aged 26, recidivist	I had been to boy's homes a few times, started getting into trouble with the police, getting a criminal record. I thought that was cool, you know what I mean? For some reason it makes people like that accept you more, but they're not really people I want to know if that's the reason they want to...and I know I am here in jail but I don't really think that is me at all.

Martin has come to understand why he gravitated to the 'cool group' and the 'bad group' in school: he had low self-esteem. It may or may not be true, but he can accept this explanation, and it helps him tell a logical story about the choices he made.

Lee has come to understand why he was unsuccessful at securing employment. His insight is that he was sabotaging himself. Lee's insight is profound. He not only realises, but also admits to himself and to the researcher that he felt insecure in the community and wanted to be in jail. Lee recognises he was afraid of the responsibility of managing his own life, so he never really wanted the jobs he went for.

William also makes the realisation he was sabotaging himself, though in a different context. Feelings of insecurity and depression sabotaged the relationship William had with his girlfriend. William shows significant insight in realising he actually pushed the girl away, but then became depressed when she finally left him. Depression, insecurity and a life out of control drove William to become a 'total loss' (Maruna, 2001).

It is clear from Lee's narrative he has been doing a great deal of self-reflection in recent times, and he has gained a number of profound insights. Lee had not realised the full extent of his addiction problems until he reflected honestly on himself. He had been jumping addictions and trying to fool himself. The insight he achieved makes it possible for him to understand why he acted as he did in the past, and the extent of the problems he must now address.

Peter gained an unexpected insight from playing chess and checkers: people need to think before they move. He had not been doing this. In his mind,

this is what had been missing in his life. Equipped with this insight, Peter feels more empowered to live a different kind of life.

The fact Peter gained an important insight from the simple, and apparently unrelated, act of playing a game suggests that any experience could be a catalyst for developing readiness for change. For Peter it was a game, for William it was meeting a prisoner who helped him, and for Tony it was the support he has received from his family. If these experiences can promote readiness for change, there are grounds for hope that educational and other programs in jails may also cause people to reflect on their lives and develop a readiness for change.

In Martin's second quote in Table 48 he raises the concept of the 'real me'. Despite having been a criminal and in jail before, Martin says, "I don't really think that is me at all". He does not see himself as someone who should be in jail. He sees himself as someone who has always wanted to do the right thing. This does not mean he fails to accept responsibility for wrongdoing, or he resents being in jail. In the case of Martin, he does neither. What it does mean is that he does not see himself as a criminal. He operates from a redemption script (Maruna, 2001): the good boy who temporarily went bad, but is really still good inside. In that sense, positive life change and desistance from crime is the logical, consistent story he should be telling about his life.

In addition to finding explanations for the wrong choices, insight can also provide explanations for more recent, positive life change. An example is shown in Table 49.

Table 49: Explaining the Positive

<p>William, aged 23, recidivist</p>	<p>I'm off drugs, I feel good, I have been off drugs for 16 months. Clean and I don't even smoke cigarettes. It's because I don't need that. I am interested in something more beautiful and filling and it has enriched my heart.</p> <p>I said to myself that if I knew what the purpose of life was I would really go hard at it. I would go strong and it and I would put my best at it.</p>
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According to William, he has changed dramatically. He has changed from being a drug addict who had ‘lost his humanity’ to someone who is ‘clean’ and who has a ‘rich heart’. Such a dramatic change could appear schizophrenic if it had no logical explanation. However, William makes a logical connection between his old self and his new self. They are not two different selves, but the same self. The key insight connecting the old William with the new William is that a certain quality has always been with him. According to William, he has always been interested in spirituality, and he was always someone who would be committed to the purpose of life if he knew what it was. He saw he had corrupted himself, mainly because he did not have a compelling purpose for living. William claims to have found a sense of purpose in life in the teachings of Islam. He has committed himself to those teachings, and a new William has emerged. The old William and the new William are not two different people in essence – there is one continuous, essential self uniting them.

Narratives like those of William and Martin reveal a clear redemption script. In a redemption script, the ‘true’ self, which is essentially good, either lacks some important ingredient to live out this goodness, and/or it has been lead astray by corrupting influences or the problems of life. Eventually, the ‘true’ self

breaks free from its limitations and lives the good life it was always meant to live (Maruna, 2001).

Insight not only allows people to explain the actions of the old self, it allows them to create a vital connection between their present and their past, enabling them to tell a single story of their lives. Insight is important in all the stages of change; therefore, insight is a critical dimension of all the indicators of readiness.

Insight is a vital component of the second indicator 'Owns the Problem'. In order to accept responsibility for the problems one faces in life, it is essential the person have the insight into what the main problems are.

The second dimension of the indicator 'Owns the Problem' is 'accepts responsibility'.

Accepts Responsibility

The data show that defenders who are ready for change accept responsibility for their past choices, they accept responsibility for their change process, and they accept responsibility to help others.

Accepting Responsibility for Choices

Table 50 presents data showing defenders who accept responsibility for the poor choices made in the past.

Table 50: Accepts Responsibility for Choices

Peter, aged 19, first incarceration	It was all my choice. I don't know, I just wanted to do it. I just wanted to experiment...I told my family, "it's not them, it's me".
Martin, aged 26, recidivist	But I didn't take off; I just sat and waited for them. And the police were even being nice, because I admitted to everything straightaway. I was that upset with myself it just wasn't me. I know I done it and I have to take responsibility, I deserve to be here.
Tony, aged 19, first incarceration	I put myself in here you know and I don't blame nobody for it. I just feel very not smart in what I did...But nobody pulled me into this, I just stepped into it.

Peter identifies the cause of his problems as his 'choice'. He accepts he chose to do the wrong thing. Other people were probably involved, but Peter does not blame them or try to say that he did not know what he was doing. He accepts full responsibility for the choices he made in life.

Martin did not even try to blame anyone else when speaking to the police. He accepted full responsibility for his actions, even though his narrative reveals many factors that probably contributed to how he was living. As observed earlier, Martin states he does not see himself as a criminal. Apparently, because of that, he felt upset with himself for his behaviour. He accepted responsibility for his wrongdoing, and considered it fair he should be punished for it.

It is apparent from Tony's narrative that other people were involved in his alleged criminal activities; however, he does not attempt to put the blame on any of them. As he says, he "just stepped into it".

Accepting Responsibility for Changing

Accepting responsibility goes even further than not blaming other people for one's problems. It involves accepting responsibility to be one's own agent of change. Examples of this are shown in Table 51.

Table 51: Accepts Responsibility for Changing

Lee, aged 27, recidivist	You have psychology and all that ...but people don't use them. I never used them before, like, I used to talk with them but now I'm trying to use them, use what I can in jail to actually change.
John, aged 23, first incarceration	You've got to admit where you went wrong, you know, if you want to change, improve, you've got to do what you can to improve...If you don't recognize what you did is wrong then there's no hope in changing...If you blame someone else, it's got to come from you. No one forced you to do it, you've got your own two hands, your own mouth. At the end of the day, it's all up to you.

Lee accepts it is his responsibility to seek help for his problems whilst in jail. In the past, he either did not seek help, or was not serious about getting help. Now he is actually using whatever help he can get in order to change.

John recognises people have to take responsibility for their behaviour. He says if people blame others, or do not recognise what they did was wrong they cannot change. He recognises change has to originate from within the person – “it's got to come from you”. He declares his ultimate reality about change: “At the end of the day, it's all up to you”. John is not expecting the system to ‘rehabilitate him’. He is acting as his own agent of change.

Accepting Responsibility to Help Others

There is evidence in the data that defenders who accept responsibility for overcoming their own problems are willing to help others overcome theirs.

Table 52 shows some examples of this.

Table 52: Accepting Responsibility to Help Others

John, aged 23, first incarceration	I want to help people who have been in my position, either as a counsellor, a drug and alcohol street counsellor, so other people won't have to go through what I had to go through...I try and talk to the younger people... that isn't the life. I've been through, since I was young, through a lot and this is where I've ended up and it could have been even worse. If I can, I'll try and stop them from getting any further.
Carl, aged 37, recidivist	Once I get out of here, I will get involved with activities for people who are taking drugs and make a donation to them, to clinics, that's what I will be doing. All the money that I spent on myself on drugs, I could have given that to the clinic to help children off the streets. That's what I would like to do. That's my next step.
William, aged 23, recidivist	Open up my business and then with the money that I make I want to open a mosque. Then teach younger kids the Koran.

John wants to have a direct personal impact upon young people who are living as he had lived. He wants to use his experience to direct them, so they will not have to waste their lives as he has done. He wants to transform his mistakes and his pain into something of value to others.

Carl wants to get involved in activities to help drug addicts, and he wants to donate money to clinics that are involved in helping them. He recognises he has indulged money on himself, money that could have been used to help others. He feels a responsibility to use his resources more wisely in the service of others.

Both John and Carl have found a new meaning and purpose for their lives. They no longer want to run away from their problems or show no care for

others. John and Carl have gained new meaning in helping and caring for others who are still living the lifestyle they themselves had once lived. William is another defender who wants to guide the young. His focus is not on those who are heading for a life of crime: he wants to teach young people about how to live meaningful and purposeful lives within a spiritual tradition. He wants them to receive the gift he believes God, and others, have given him.

Defenders whose lives have been transformed are eager to share that transformation with others. Owning the problem involves having insight and accepting responsibility for one's life.

The third indicator is 'Sees a Future'. Table 53 presents the three dimensions of the indicator 'Sees a Future', along with their details.

Table 53: Dimensions and Details of the Indicator "Sees a Future"

<i>Dimensions of the Indicator</i>	<i>Details of the Dimensions</i>
<i>"Sees a Future"</i>	
Has Goals and Plans	Goals connected with a pro-social past Goals connected with an anti-social past Goals connected to the 'real me'
Has Agency	Confidence in the ability to change The potency of personal choice
Displays Optimism	The logic of optimism The optimism of faith

Table 53 presents the dimensions of the indicator 'Sees a Future' and the detail of these dimensions, are discussed in the next section of this chapter.

The Indicator "Sees a Future"

The indicator 'Sees a Future' has three dimensions: has goals and plans, has a sense of agency, and displays optimism.

Has Goals and Plans

There is evidence in the data defenders who see a future for themselves often have clearly defined educational and employment goals. Sometimes these goals are linked to their pro-social past.

Goals Connected with a Pro-Social Past

A number of defenders have goals related to activities they were doing before any involvement in criminal activity. One such person was Tony. Table 54 presents three quotes from him.

Table 54: Connections between Tony's Past, Present and Future

Tony, aged 19, first incarceration	I was on the outside, I had so many chances to do recording, make an album, do all this stuff. I have producers back home that are still waiting for me from when I get out...I had everything going in my way on the outside and I just took it for granted and I came here.
	I have this plan and I have a book in my cell with everything I want to do, you know. My music, my first album what is going to be called when I get out, stuff like that. I always look to the future because this is not the end. Don't dwell on the past, you know, just think to the future.
	I am hoping to do a course right now with audio engineering. If I could get it, which I am hoping I could, to help me to what I want to do with my life, like music.

In the first quote in Table 54, Tony reflects on his past – he was involved in the music industry and had opportunities to record and make an album. He had connections with producers who were apparently pleased with his work. The second quote reveals Tony’s present. As he sits in his cell, he writes down concrete plans about the title of his first album, and other thoughts related to his music. In fact, Tony is continuing with his music career, even while in jail. In the third quote, Tony discusses his plans when he leaves jail. He hopes to do an audio engineering course when he leaves jail to help him achieve what he has long wanted to achieve with his music.

Figure 19 presents a visual representation of Tony’s involvement in his music career.

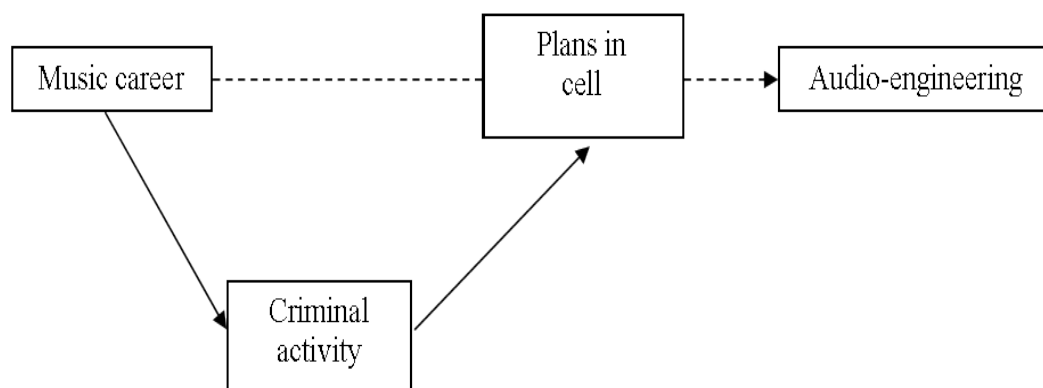


Figure 19: Tony’s Music Career

The left hand box shows Tony’s music career in the past (contacts with music producers, opportunities to record). Unfortunately, Tony became involved in alleged criminal activity, which diverted him from his music. As he sits in his cell he plans his future, and proposes his audio-engineering course. The dotted line in Figure 19 shows a clear line of connection between Tony’s past, present and future. Tony is continuing to tell the same story about his life. Involvement

in criminal behaviour was the aberrant, illogical part. For Tony to “go straight” and continue with his music career is perfectly logical.

A continuity between future plans and past work is evident in other defenders. Table 55 presents further examples.

Table 55: Continuity of Past and Future

Carl, aged 37, recidivist	I want to start lessons for English, reading and writing, because my English is not the best. That way I can read the paperwork, because that's the only problem, I can't read the paperwork, I don't know what the letters mean. So by me taking lessons or taking a course to upgrade my English, I hope that will improve me so that I can do what my dad used to do.
Peter, aged 19, first incarceration	I was an apprentice chef before I came in here. I was doing quite well, nearly 4 years working. I was a third year apprentice but I did one year tradesmen...and I love cooking, I have always loved cooking. Half my family are cooks or chefs; we all cook in the family. My job is still waiting for me when I get out...I'll get back on my feet and I want to go back to my industry and I want to finish my trade.
Frank, aged 58, first incarceration	At one period of my life I taught at the TAFE, I taught long-term unemployed kids landscaping skills, stonework and I wouldn't mind getting back into some form of education, something in my trade.

Carl considers he has “magic hands for artwork”; however, he is aware he is no good at paperwork. He recognises his deficits in literacy; deficits that were less important in the past when his father did all the paperwork for him. He sees his future connected to his past; he wants to go back to his jewellery business and ‘do what his dad used to do’.

A future as a chef not only allows Peter to make connections with his own past; it enables him to make connections to the larger story of his family. Being a chef is not only what Peter does; it is what he loves, it is who he is, and it

connects him to his family (“we all cook in the family”). Being a chef connects Peter to a larger family narrative about who he is and where he belongs. The return to being a chef would allow Peter to go back to where he was before his life took a wrong turn, and from there to move forward, to finish his apprenticeship, and to become a tradesman. The return to his former work is not only positive life change for Peter, it represents stability and logic in his life story, and accords with his underlying personal and shared narrative.

Frank contemplates his future after jail, and recognises he must work. Work is not only a financial imperative; it is an expression of who Frank is. Maintaining his trade, perhaps in a different form, allows him to tell a single coherent story of his life.

However, not all the defenders in this study had pro-social pasts. Some had never had employment, and so had nothing to which they could return. Some defenders planned a future that had connections with their anti-social past.

Goals Connected with an Anti-Social Past

Table 56 presents two quotes from John showing his goals have associations with the lifestyle he formerly lived.

Table 56: John's Plans

John, aged 23, first incarceration	I'll just dedicate myself to study and getting qualifications so when I do get out I can...I can start doing counselling and get into some group that can make a positive change in people, especially the youth today. There's more and more young people coming to jail here, the 18 year olds, people just turned 18 here, 19, 20. Jail is not the answer, I don't think it makes a person change, I think. It changes them, but jail either makes you or breaks you, I guess.
	Like a lot of the young guys I've brought them to education and I've taken them to a lot of classes I've been doing and it's helping them, so I'm happy with that. But some people are not interested. I guess they haven't been through enough yet...I want to help other people before they get, before it's too late and they end up in jail. I just want to make a change and I think after all the bad things I've done, I think I owe it to people...to help them.

John's first quote in Table 56 shows his plans for the future – he wants to do counselling so he can help young people living on the streets, as he had lived. This goal relates directly to his experiences with an anti-social lifestyle. The second quote makes it clear that he is already helping young people. He takes them to classes to try to help them. He feels a sense of obligation to help them. There is a direct connection between John's own anti-social past and his plans to help others. Figure 20 presents a visual representation of John's life.

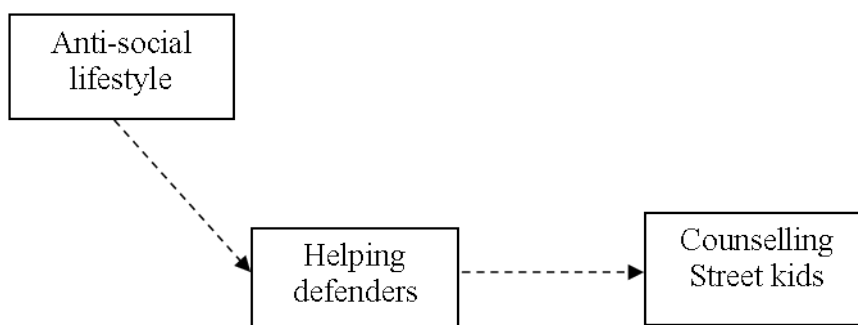


Figure 20: Connections in John's Past, Present and Future

John's perceived future is intimately connected to his past. He has been a drug addict and has come to jail, and he wants to work in other people's lives so they do not come to jail. In fact, he is already doing that. John wants to do more than simply give something back to society; John wants to transform his past 'failure' into a useful tool that can allow him to do something worthwhile with his life and in the lives of others. The continuity throughout John's life allows him to tell a single, coherent story about who he is.

For other defenders, the connection between who they have been in the past and what they want in their lives in the future is not connected to past work or to their anti-social past. Instead, it is connected to their sense of the 'real me'.

Goals Connected to the 'Real Me'

Martin provides a good example of goals connected to the 'real me', shown in Table 57.

Table 57: Goals Connected to the Real Me

Martin, aged 26, recidivist	I do picture myself, I do. Nice car and go to work and come home to the family. That is years down the track probably but I want to own a home. Yep I can definitely always picture myself doing that. Drugs have just gotten in the way there for a while and I've gone off track but I'm getting back on it for sure.
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It was observed earlier in this discussion that Martin does not see himself as a criminal. In the above quote, he refers to his life of drugs (and crime) as 'getting off the track for a while'. In his mind, drugs and crime do not express

who he really is. Therefore, he can picture himself living a ‘good’ life with a family, a job, and a car. Figure 21 visually represents Martin’s story.

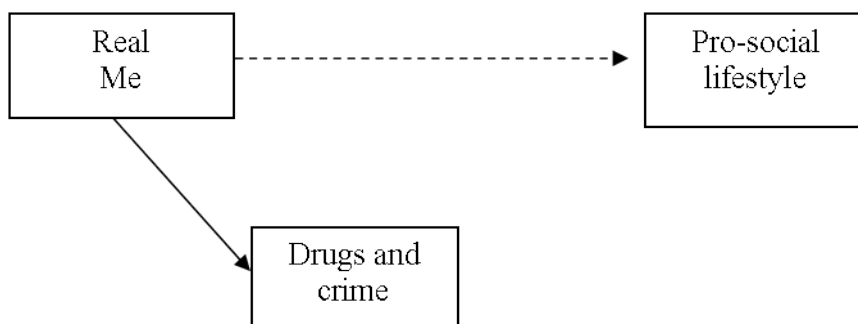


Figure 21: Goals Connected to the ‘Real Me’

Figure 21 shows Martin’s story. His pro-social lifestyle goals do not emerge from a previous pro-social lifestyle or from his criminal lifestyle. They cohere in Martin’s story because they reflect the ‘true self’, as Martin perceives it. The broken arrow shows this logical connection.

Martin does not identify with his criminal past. His claim, made elsewhere, that he does not think he should be in jail does not reflect a lack of responsibility for his actions, but rather a perception that the ‘real Martin’ is not a criminal.

In addition to work and employment goals, there is evidence of the importance of relationship goals.

Relationship Goals

Some examples of relationship goals are shown in Table 58.

Table 58: Examples of Relationship Goals

William, aged 23, recidivist	I want to be a good human being, I want to be a good dad, I want to be a good husband, I want to be a good son.
Martin, aged 26, recidivist	I just want my grandad to be proud of me when he dies. I want him to die happy knowing that...you know, like all his other kids, he is proud of them. I want him to be not worrying and know that I am going to be doing the right thing and I am going to. My parents would want me to be doing that as well.

Unlike Martin, who sees himself as fundamentally ‘good’, William saw his old self as ‘corrupted’ and ‘putrid’. In the future he wants to be ‘good’ in how he relates to people – a good human being, a good dad, a good husband, and a good son. This does not express what William wants to do, but what he wants to *be*.

Many defenders in this study express how important their family is to them. Martin is appreciative of all his grandfather has done for him over the years, and he feels he has let him down. The relationship he has with his grandfather is very important to him, and he wants to make his grandfather proud of him.

A second dimension of ‘Sees a Future’ is ‘Has agency’.

Has Agency

Agency is associated with seeing a future, but it is also associated with the other four indicators of readiness. Agency may be evident in defenders through their level of confidence in their ability to change, through their sense of being able to choose, and through the high modality of their language.

Confidence in the Ability to Change

A number of defenders in this study showed confidence in their ability to change. Table 59 presents some of this data.

Table 59: Agency Expressed as Confidence

William, aged 23, recidivist	I am confident and I want to do it and I don't want to fail. I am not going to quit because quitting is for losers. That is part of the change, not quitting. Before I would just quit, but now I don't want to quit, now I am trying. I want to change, I want to be the best human being as I can possibly be, I want to live up to my potential and I can do it.
Martin, aged 26, recidivist	I know I am not going to use again, I have said it heaps of times before and people say it, but this time something is different inside. I am sick of it. Last time I wasn't.
John, aged 23, first incarceration	I'll just keep doing, doing what I can to improve myself and if I keep my mind focused I...keeping my focus and busy, you know I won't even think about things like that. I'll just leave everything behind me.
John, aged 23, first incarceration	If there's something I want to do, then I put myself...give it 100%...I know I can get there.

Agency may be expressed as confidence arising from commitment to new behaviours and ways of being. This confidence may be expressed through high modality language. William uses high modality language in confidently expressing his agency regarding change. He uses the word 'I' 12 times in the space of 80 words, indicating his strong sense of agency in relation to change. His confidence comes from a decision to persist with change – he has decided not to quit. He states not quitting is part of the change. He already has evidence he can change because he used to quit, and now he does not quit.

Martin shows commitment for change and uses high modality language to express it. He *knows* he is not going to use drugs again. His confidence comes

from the fact he has already changed from within; “something is different inside”.

John’s language may lack the dramatic quality of William’s, but he expresses a strong and quiet determination. He (probably unintentionally) repeats the words ‘doing’ and ‘focus’, but these two words reflect the theme of John’s narrative. John is focused, and he is decisive in his actions.

The second quote from John reveals a confidence arising from a character trait he realises he possesses. John is able to focus on things that matter to him and give them maximum effort. His experience has taught him he has the ability to focus. Experience has shown him that once he makes up his mind to do something, he sees it through.

Agency is evidenced by a sense of the potency of personal choice.

The Potency of Personal Choice

Many defenders in differing ways refer to the potency of their choices to affect their lives. They see they have a future partly because they feel they have some control over that future. Examples of this data are given in Table 60.

Table 60: The Potency of Choice

Martin, aged 26, recidivist	When I get out my choice, I am going back to rehab. Even if I will be off the methadone by the time I get out. I will be totally drug free, but just to get some living skills and that...I am going to go to NA to start with.
Tony, aged 19, first incarceration	I will be out in a couple of years, I'll go home and I will do the same thing that I was doing when I was 18, 17. Still writing music, still doing my music but with more knowledge

Martin expresses his agency through his commitment to making a choice; in this case, to go to Narcotics Anonymous (NA) when he gets out of jail. Martin believes in the power of his choice, and his ability to determine what happens to him in his life.

Tony speaks with a strong sense of assurance about the choices he makes about his future. He gives no sense of doubt about his ability to achieve these plans.

The third dimension of 'Sees a Future' is 'displays optimism'.

Displays Optimism

Most of the defenders in this study are optimistic they can have a meaningful future, despite what they have done in the past. The defenders quoted in the previous section are optimistic about their future because of their sense of agency about their lives. However, the data provides evidence that optimistic defenders have worldviews that make it *logical* for them to be optimistic.

The Logic of Optimism

Table 61 shows evidence of defenders who see it is logical for them to have grounds for optimism.

Table 61: The Grounds for Optimism

Martin, aged 26, recidivist	I do picture myself, I do. Nice car and go to work and come home to the family. That is years down the track probably but I want to own a home. Yep I can definitely always picture myself doing that. Drugs have just gotten in the way there for a while and I've gone off track but I'm getting back on it for sure.
William, aged 23, recidivist	I believe that whatever a human being decides, he can do. It's up to us, you know.
Peter, aged 19, first incarceration	I thank God that he has given me a chance, he has made me realise that he wants to give me a chance to open up, open up my eyes.
William, aged 23, recidivist	I converted and then he says to me that when you convert to Islam you have a clean slate. So I said to myself, "Jackpot. God has had mercy on me, he has given me a clean slate so I am going to take advantage of this clean slate and I am going to turn my life around.

Martin's sense of optimism is based on how he sees himself. This discussion has noted on a number of occasions that Martin does not see himself as a criminal. The 'real Martin' does not belong in jail – he deserves to have what other 'decent' people have. He has gone off the track, but he is getting back to his true course again. Therefore, it is logical to be optimistic about the future. Martin repeats the word "I" six times in this quote and seems confident of the legitimacy of his dream, and his ability to achieve it.

William's optimism is based on what he sees as true for humanity. According to William, there is a general truth applying to all people: whatever a human being decides to do, he can do. If this is true for humanity, it is true for William. This worldview supports optimism, because it edifies personal choice and agency. William's expression, "It's up to us, you know" reveals the basis of William's belief: people are responsible for what happens to them. If they want

to change, they can, because they have to take responsibility for their lives, and that is how he sees the world works.

Other defenders are optimistic about the future because of their beliefs about God. In other words, it is an optimism associated with faith.

The Optimism of Faith

Peter believes God is giving him the *chance* to “open up my eyes”. God, he believes, wants him to see something, and wants him to change. He can be optimistic about his future because God has intervened in his life and is showing him a new way.

William also sees the work of God in his life, calling him to live differently. God has given him a ‘clean slate’: the permission to move on and the opportunity to write a new story. God is very active in William’s worldview. William first had to take the initiative to convert to Islam, but then God had mercy on him and gave him a clean slate. The ‘clean’ suggests forgiveness – if God has forgiven him, he has the permission to forgive himself and to move on. The ‘slate’ suggests writing a new story: the old story has been erased, and he can make a fresh start.

Defenders who see a future for themselves have identified goals and plans that cohere with their past and how they see themselves. They have a sense of agency, and a sense of optimism about the future. They also have reasons why they believe in their agency and why they have optimism; there is logic to it.

In this thesis, Pete has often provided an example of someone who does not display much readiness for change. In terms of his future, Pete does have some work goals: he would like to go back to driving trucks, or working on the

crocodile farm in the Northern Territory. He has done both of these before, so either one would provide a logical connection between his past and his future. However, Pete remains unsure and uncommitted. Quotes from Pete’s story are presented in Table 62.

Table 62: How Pete Sees his Future

Pete, aged 34, first incarceration	Yeah I've got a few goals but it's just like which one...and how to go about it.
	I don't know what to do about that, about the alcohol. I love it, I won't deny that, I love the alcohol. It's just controlling it to a level where you can have a couple of beers and that's it. But to me there is no such thing as that, you've got have 20. You have got to get drunk. If I could just get that out of my head somehow and could just have a couple of beers a night, then that would be all right.

Pete sees a future, but he shows little evidence of the indicator ‘Sees a Future’. He has a few goals, but he struggles to commit to any of them. He cannot see a pathway to his goals. He shows no real evidence of agency.

In his second quote, Pete seems powerless to deal with his alcohol addiction. He has the desire to change and he has good reasons to change: his need to be a father to his six children, and his need for respect. The low modality of Pete’s language points to his low sense of agency. The expressions, “I need to get my life sorted out...I have got to change...I try to listen...I try to think good things...I will see what happens” indicate a desire for change and a realisation that change is important, but his language reveals a lack of commitment for change, and a low sense of agency. Pete’s language reveals a passive person who will “see what happens”. He gives no sense he is going to ‘make things happen’ or that he empowers himself through his use of language. His lack of a

language of agency suggests Pete still has the disempowered identity of an addict.

Pete may change. He is not necessarily any different to the other defenders in this study, but he does appear to be in a different stage of the change process.

The fourth indicator of readiness is ‘Values Support’. Table 63 presents the dimension of the indicator ‘Sees a Future’, along with its details.

Table 63: Dimensions and Details of the Indicator “Values Support”

<i>Dimension of the Indicator</i>	<i>Details of the Dimensions</i>
<i>“Values Support”</i>	
Values Family, Institutional, and/or Spiritual Support	Parents Grandparents Other family Jail staff Correctional programs Other defenders Faith in God Spiritual disciplines

Table 63 presents the dimension of the indicator ‘Values Support’ and the details of this dimension, as discussed in the next section of this chapter.

The Indicator "Values Support"

Defenders who have the insight into how difficult and protracted the change process can be realise they need help to negotiate change. They need encouragement, guidance, instruction, at times financial support, and, in some cases, spiritual support. Not only do they need these supports from the outside, they need to be able to offer trust to people who are trying to help them, and they need a willingness to receive help and accept guidance. A common theme running through most defender narratives is the reliance they have on family support. Although the aspects of family, institutional, and spiritual support are unified into the one dimension of the indicator, they are examined separately in the next section of this chapter, since there is significant evidence for each aspect in the narrative data.

Values Family Support

The importance of family support is a very common theme running through many of the narratives. Examples of this are presented in Table 64.

Table 64: Values Family Support

John, aged 23, first incarceration	My mother and father, they've always been supportive, they've always done everything they can for me to help me...My family knows which steps I want to take, what I want to do...they've been supportive, just that itself gives you the strength and helps you.
Tony, aged 19, first incarceration	All the money I made, I won't be able to pay my parents back, so much they have given me in here. My mum has come three times to visit me here, came from a trial, she will probably come for my sentencing. I think she's coming this March with my grandma and my grandpa, my aunts and my uncle, my real

	dad from Sri Lanka, they are all flying from different countries to see me here. I'm like, all this and all the love I have had from my family, you know what I mean?...But now they know everything and they say, "when you come out you stay with us". They wanted me to do this music, they back me 100% with the music. That is what I want to do and they will back me.
Peter, aged 19, first incarceration	I realised that my family, my mother and father, are my only best friends. They are the only ones that really have been by my side and they are the only ones that have looked after me and just showed me the way.

John relies heavily on support from his parents. Despite the knowledge that his past choices have hurt his parents, he wants to make it up to them, and he needs their continued support. He finds strength from the support that his parents have given him.

Tony, who previously had taken his family's support for granted, no longer does so. Tony is overwhelmed by the love and support he has received from all his family. This has shown him he can rely on their support in the future and this love and support is a major factor in his conviction that he will not return to a life of crime.

Peter had also taken his parents for granted before coming to jail, but now he realises how much he loves and needs them.

The support of family seems so important to many of the defenders in this study, and, by all reports, that support could be relied on. Change must be particularly difficult for defenders who have no family to support them.

Defenders who are ready for change value not only support from family, they also value all the support they can get from within the correctional institution.

Values Institutional Support

Much of the institutional support comes from jail staff and programs, but some comes from other defenders. Table 65 presents some examples from the defender narratives.

Table 65: Values Institutional Support

John, aged 23, first incarceration	The chaplains have been lot of help, I've been seeing them, talking to them, to drug and alcohol workers, and they just gave me encouragement and hope.
Martin, aged 26, recidivist	There is a drug program you can do here. If I get 18 months I am going to do that but even if I get whatever and I can't do this drug program when I get out my choice, I am going back to rehab. Even if I will be off the methadone by the time I get out. I will be totally drug free, but just to get some living skills and that.
William, aged 23, recidivist	I have been Muslim now for 15 months and I'm already doing a call for prayer, and they say to me, "you do it beautiful. How could you do it so beautiful in Arabic and you're not even an Arab?" And I say that's what keeps me going. Encouragement like that.
John, aged 23, first incarceration	I've met a lot of good people here, you get the good and the bad, but I guess I've been lucky, everyone's been good to me...a lot of people put their hand down and help me, give me advice. That, that helps a lot too.

Most of the defenders in this study seek the input of jail staff. They are eager to get help for their problems and so they seek out people who can support them. Interestingly, chaplains are often mentioned as people who have been helpful. John refers to both chaplains and drug and alcohol workers.

Martin refers to a particular drug program he hopes to access. There is reason to assume from his narrative that Martin may be ready to benefit from an intensive drug program.

It may be easy to overlook the fact that sometimes defenders can be agents of positive life change in the lives of other defenders. William has found much encouragement from the support of fellow Muslim defenders. The acceptance he has received from them has bolstered his self-esteem and ‘keeps him going’.

In John’s last quote, he is not specific about who has helped him, but he refers to “a lot of good people here”. Defenders who value support appear to find many avenues from which that support is available.

Yet again, Pete provides a contrast to the other eight defenders. Table 66 presents a quote from Pete.

Table 66: The Difficulty of Trust

Pete, aged 34, first incarceration	I've been to AA. They don't seem to help me, I have trouble talking to people. Yeah, I just can't do it. I feel too...I don't know what it is...Whether it be counselling, whether it be church, I don't know, whoever is out. Because there are people out there who deal with this stuff. It's just getting their trust otherwise it's just going to be hitting brick walls all time.
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Unlike John, who finds many people who can help him, Pete struggles to find any. He knows they are there, but he says, “It's just getting their trust”. What Pete seems to mean is that he is the one who has a problem with trust, which may be why he has trouble finding help. Pete’s narrative reveals he has low agency, he has not made a commitment to change, and he finds it difficult to trust people.

Values Spiritual Support

For some defenders, the greatest source of support is not the help of external people or programs, but it is internal spiritual support. Family, friends, and staff cannot always be there, but personal faith and the belief in a God who cares, can be an ever-present reality. Table 67 presents some examples from the data.

Table 67: Values Spiritual Support

John, aged 23, first incarceration	I've been strengthened in my faith and that helps me get through. I can deal with daily life here, and also I think it will help make me a stronger person outside...you get your ups and downs and when you're down you've got no one to turn to but your family and to God...cause in the end your life is in God's hands...I think it's made me see all the wrong I've been doing and to what I really should be doing...it's helped open up my eyes to...to more opportunities I didn't see before. Things I could have done that I didn't, and to where I want to get to...I believed in God, I come from a religious family but myself, I wasn't too religious, I wasn't getting into all that. I realise now that it is hard to live your life without God and you need it.
William, aged 23, recidivist	I started learning how to pray. Praying five times a day makes you punctual, makes you have real power, it purifies you and that's what I needed. I needed motivation and punctuality. I needed something to keep me busy throughout the day, something in my life and Islam just filled that hole in my life.

John comments that faith helps him cope with jail life: “I've been strengthened; that helps me get through; I can deal with daily life here”. In John’s worldview, he is never alone: God is always there to help him. This provides him with a great sense of security: ‘in the end your life is in God's hands’. His spiritual worldview has also given him awareness, understanding, and vision: ‘It's made me see all the wrong I've been doing; it's helped open up

my eyes; opportunities I didn't see before'. Faith has empowered him to see what he should be doing, what he should not be doing, and the opportunities that lay before him.

William has derived great benefit from spiritual discipline in his life. The spiritual discipline of Islam has helped William gain control of his life. He has become punctual, motivated, purified, and more powerful as a person. Spiritual discipline has kept him busy – it has imposed a routine on him. William clearly identifies some benefits of spiritual practice in his experience.

The fifth indicator of readiness is 'Persists with Transformation'. This indicator assumes defenders are already experiencing positive life change. This study does not compare defenders in terms of how much they have changed, yet it may be expected they have all changed in different ways and to different degrees. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume there may be less evidence of this fifth indicator than of the others. It is more difficult to find evidence of this indicator compared to the other four; however, it remains an important indicator of readiness to persist with and maintain change. Table 68 presents the three dimensions of the indicator 'Sees a Future', along with their details.

Table 68: Dimensions and Details of the Indicator "Persists with Transformation"

<i>Dimensions of the Indicator</i>	<i>Details of the Dimension</i>
<i>"Persists with Transformation"</i>	
Is Encouraged by Evidence of Change	Using the language of transformation Keeping him going Third party reports Breaking free

Table 68 presents the dimension of the indicator 'Persists with Transformation' and the details of this dimension, as discussed in the next section of this chapter.

The Indicator "Persists with Transformation"

William makes an insightful comment about change. He says, "When you have really put in effort to change yourself you start doing things that are from your heart, not from your tongue...if it comes from your heart you do it and you put it into action". People can talk about change, but William has experienced the reality that change comes from within; it comes from the heart. If it comes from the heart, change can be transformative. Such change does not come easily. As William states, people have to put in effort to change. They have to persist with change.

The discussion of this indicator focuses on two defenders: William and John. They are not the only two to show evidence of transformative change, and reference has been made in this chapter to other defenders whose lives have already changed in positive ways. Evidence of transformation is of great value to people who are persisting with change. It offers encouragement and hope. This section of the chapter examines the ways the two defenders have changed and the encouragement they derive from evidence of that change. The dimension of the indicator 'Persists with Transformation' is 'is encouraged by evidence of change'.

Is Encouraged by Evidence of Change

When defenders speak of how they have changed, they are speaking of what they believe to be true about them, and of what others have told them. They are relaying the fact that their effort and agency have brought fruit, and

they have grounds for optimism about the future. They feel encouraged about the evidence of change.

Table 69 shows a 'before and after' picture of William, spoken in his own words. The changes in him form a stark contrast.

Table 69: The Transformation of William

Before	Now
I started using heroin in jail the first time and I just dug myself into a deeper hole and I was just a person that was anxious all the time, scared, insecure. I was lost, no guidance, no goals, just a slave of my evil desires and bad habits. I used to just cover all my problems with drugs.	I'm off drugs, I feel good, I have been off drugs for 16 months. Clean and I don't even smoke cigarettes. It's because I don't need that. I am interested in something more beautiful and filling and it has enriched my heart... Don't worry about abstaining from drugs and alcohol, abstaining from drink and water for a whole month, that's discipline, that's what I built because of Islam.
I used to hock in my own family's stuff, that's how low I got. Stealing from my own mother's purse. I was hocking in my things, desperate. I would go out and get drunk off my face and after that, this was the routine, I would be sick in the morning, I would be hanging out plus I would have a hangover so I would have to get the heroin somehow, just to feel normal. That was the routine.	It has made me an upright human being and what keeps me going is that I know I have leapt that big bound and so I can become even better and better and better. I want to grow, I want to blossom like a flower and knowing that I have made that big bound it makes me feel, look how much you've changed.
I committed that crime, I stabbed someone four times, punctured his lung and I was on bail and while I was hanging around these heavy old school gangsters I met some younger ones and I got involved with them very close and I started getting involved in heavier drugs... My heart was just diseased spiritually and it had a lot of spiritual blemishes and my	I am not going to quit because quitting is for losers. That is part of the change, not quitting. Before I would just quit, but now I don't want to quit, now I am trying. I want to change, I want to be the best human being as I can possibly be, I want to live up to my potential and I can do it.
	I've cleared my mind, you know, I have developed my spirituality, I have developed my body, I feel strong, I feel confident, I feel positive and I don't let negative mental attitudes defeat me. I don't have fear any

Before	Now
heart was very deep in bad habits and diseases that were immoral and that were putrid and indecent.	more, I don't have anxiety anymore.
	Other people have seen the change in me, I have seen the change in me and now I have got goals, positive, you know. I say to myself, "I am a master of my fate. I am the driver of my soul"...They just say to me, "I can tell you were naughty before but now you have changed". They see that, you know, they see that. My mum sees that.

There is a marked contrast between how William speaks of his 'old' life and how he speaks of his present reality. He is passionate in his use of language as he contrasts the stark differences between his former life and his new reality. Whereas formerly he was "putrid", "desperate" and a slave of "evil desires", now he is "clean" and "master of my fate".

Using the Language of Transformation

John uses contrasting language to highlight how much he has already changed. Table 70 shows some examples of how he juxtaposes contrasting terms to describe the changes he has made.

Table 70: The Language of Transformation

<i>Language describing former life</i>	<i>Language describing new life</i>
putrid	clean
heavier drugs	off drugs
slave of my evil desires	master of my own fate
indecent and diseased	beautiful
anxious and scared	confident and positive

William makes it clear he no longer needs drugs because “something more beautiful and filling has enriched my heart”. His heart, that he says was formerly diseased, has been enriched and filled with beauty. His ‘empty self’ is gone, and in its place is a self filled with meaning and purpose. Because of the change that has occurred within him, he no longer needs to behave in the ways he formerly did.

Keeping Him Going

William is ‘kept going’ by the fact that he knows he has “leapt that big bound”. He twice refers to the ‘big bound’, signifying the magnitude of the changes he sees he has already made. The changes he can see in his life ‘keep him going’ – they are a source of encouragement and confidence. They help him persist: he feels strong, positive, and confident. Quitting is no longer an option. He is encouraged by his changes, but he is not satisfied to stop there. He says, “I can become even better and better and better. I want to grow, I want to blossom like a flower”.

Third Party Reports

Other people have noticed the changes in William, and he feels encouraged by this fact. It seems to be important to William that people such as his mother and some of his friends have remarked on how much he has changed. Once he had no goals in life, now he has goals, plans, and hopes. Once he was ‘naughty’, now he is good. Once he had no self-control, now he has learnt

discipline. Third party reports of his change appear to validate William's own experience of change, and give him encouragement to persist.

The changes in William's life have been dramatic, but it is important to note they have originated from within. He has not changed because other people wanted him to change. He has changed because he saw the need to change, and because he was ready to change.

Apparently, John has made significant life change. The language he uses may lack the dramatic flavour of William's, but he speaks of significant change.

Table 71 presents short extracts from John's narrative.

Table 71: The Transformation of John

Before	Now
<p>By the beginning of year nine I was expelled from school and that's when I went to work. I was working for a while, about a year and a half, I couldn't keep a job there, I was still hanging around with the wrong people, doing bad things. I ended up getting into trouble with juvenile...I tried to get myself together, go straight...did a couple of programs to try and better myself...ended up didn't really last long, in and out of rehabs. Then at the age of 15 I started working again...probably about another year, fell back into the wrong crowd again and started getting into trouble. Then from there I got myself...got myself clean and everything...started doing a TAFE course, I was doing well, finished the course...and after I finished the course I wasn't doing anything for a while and ended up falling back again with the wrong crowd...got into trouble and from there that's where things started going downhill, and I</p>	<p>If I thought the way I did before, I'd probably be getting myself into more trouble here.</p>

Before	Now
eventually ended up here in jail.	
All the other people I know or hang round, I used to look up to them ... drug dealers and gangsters	The way I see it is that I already have broken free. I don't have any contact with them any more and I don't plan to. I just plan to start a new life. I don't need that any more, I've already been here I don't want to come back again. It's not going to help me
	I really don't look at people like I used to, like I wouldn't care if...when I was out there before I came here I wouldn't care about what happens to people, this and that. But now, if I see someone in trouble... you know...I'll be there to help even though I don't know them I'd want to help.

John paints a picture of his earlier life: expulsion from school, inability to keep a job, drug addiction, 'wrong' friends, and crime. His life was out of his control, and he felt powerless to change his future. However, things have changed for John, and he identifies what some of those things are.

He observes changes in his thinking: "If I thought the way I did before". John has changed the way he thinks. Had he not changed in his thinking, he believes he would have been getting into more trouble in jail. This is a logical conclusion to make, since he kept getting into trouble before coming to jail.

Breaking Free

Although John is in jail, he feels he has already 'broken free'. He has broken free from the 'drug dealers and gangsters' he once called friends. John has made some difficult choices about the people with whom he associates. With

his newfound freedom, he wants to start a 'new life'. In his narrative, he says starting again is like "learning to walk for the first time".

John has noticed a change in his attitudes towards people. In the past, he says he did not really care what happened to people. Now he has compassion on people and a desire to help them when he is able.

The changes John refers to concern his worldview and his attitudes towards people. John shows he is taking responsibility for his change process, recognising he has to start again and create a new life for himself. He wants to transform his negative past into something of value that can benefit himself and other people.

William and John provide two examples of defenders who have experienced positive life change. They are encouraged by these changes, and it is evident that they have had to work hard to bring them about. It is clear these changes have come from within themselves. Change was not forced upon them from the outside, but they have used resources available to them on the outside to support the changes they were ready to make on the inside. They used readiness resources from within themselves to effect their change. Table 72 presents a brief summary of some of the changes evident in the narratives of William and John.

Table 72: Encouraged by Evidence of Change

<i>Old limitations</i>	<i>New liberties</i>
Bound by addictions	New freedoms
Criminal associates	New supporters
Patterns of quitting	New commitments
Lack of purpose	New passions
Lack of goals	New visions
Negative attitudes	New confidence
Anti-social behaviours	New lifestyles
Indifferent to people	New compassion

Table 72 shows some of the changes that William and John have made in their lives. Old behaviours that once characterised them have been replaced by new behaviours, beliefs, and attitudes. They are encouraged by these changes, and they approach the future with resolve and optimism, knowing they have already come a long way.

Conclusion

This chapter has shown how the five indicators of readiness and their dimensions are evident in the narratives of defenders. It is argued these indicators capture how defenders show they are ready for positive life change. The chapter has demonstrated there is much evidence in the defender narratives supporting the internal validity of these indicators and dimensions.

The following chapter continues a discussion of the indicators and dimensions, and does so by comparing them with the secondary data provided by

staff participants, and with the insights provided by the literature. In comparing the indicators with the staff data and the literature, the conceptual validity of the indicators is further established.

CHAPTER 8

VALIDATING THE INDICATORS

Introduction

The researcher's analysis of the raw narrative data led to the construction of the indicators of readiness discussed in the previous chapter. Although the indicators and their dimensions are grounded in the data, the indicators are still concepts that were constructed from the data, not discovered in the data. Therefore, their conceptual validity must be tested.

The study design chosen in this research allows for the conceptual validity of the indicators to be tested. The data collection process involved staff interviews. The purpose of these interviews was to obtain concepts from staff that would reflect their understanding of how defenders indicate readiness. Analysis of this data revealed a set of concepts, and in this chapter, these concepts are compared with the indicators. This process of triangulation is extended further to include the concepts derived from the literature. This process tests the conceptual validity of the indicators. Figure 22 represents this validation process.

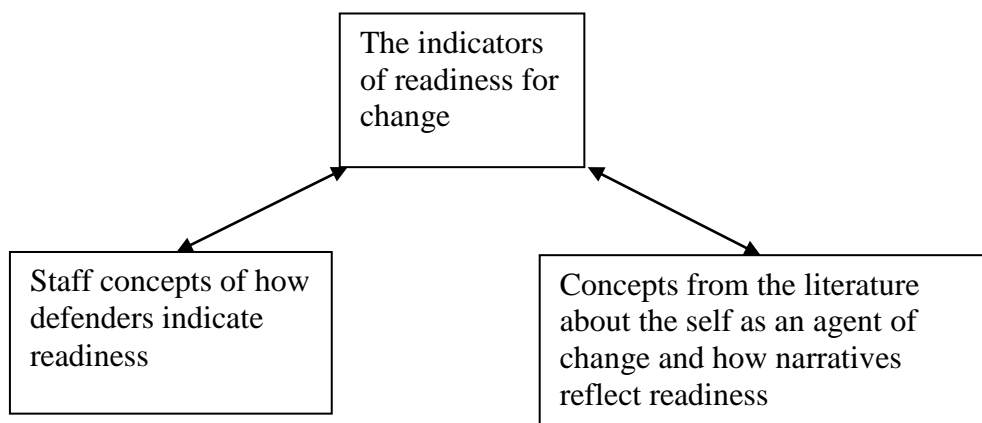


Figure 22: The Validation Process

Figure 22 outlines the validation process. The validation process begins by comparing the indicators with the staff concepts, and then compares the indicators with concepts from the literature.

Validation from Staff Data

The validation from staff data begins with the presentation of two case studies provided by staff. These stories are of specific defenders who showed themselves, in the staff member's view, to be people who were ready for change. A brief discussion follows each case study, highlighting how the case study validates the indicators. Following the case studies, the chapter presents the five indicators and their dimensions and compares them with comments found in the staff data. This comparison highlights similarities and differences between the two datasets, and shows that the indicators are conceptually valid.

Two Case Studies

The first case study is significantly longer than the second. For the sake of preserving the continuity of the narrative, the stories are not interrupted and all discussion is held until the end of each story. Both case studies are taken directly from the staff interviews. Some non-critical information has been omitted to avoid the case studies becoming unacceptably long.

Case Study 1

He came into custody at 18 for armed robbery, got a five-year sentence...I have seen what he was like initially; he was a little bugger. He was going along because it was something to do and fill in his days, and because it might look good on his court and all the rest of it... This young lad started coming up, very personable kid, really a lovely kid. He had grown up in a housing commission area and his mother had struggled. I think mum is probably a fairly decent person; dad was a drunk and abusive, and left. So mum went to work and he was left to his own devices from a young age. He fell in with a group of kids that were trouble waiting to happen; jail waiting to happen.

So he gradually started coming up to see me, initially about small things, but gradually it would turn into, I guess you could say it was counselling... He must have been about 18 months to the end of his sentence when I started to notice a real change in this kid. He always did seem to attend church, right from the beginning.... But this boy started to talk to me about his life. Generally, I think he just wanted to

download about stuff. He wanted to understand himself, he wanted to understand why he did the things he did. He really didn't want to disappoint his mother, he really didn't want to cause her any more anguish because I think he genuinely cares and loves his mother and his younger siblings. His behaviour had really affected her. He was quite a bright young man and he was doing every kind of education that there was. He was working as well. He still continued to do that even though his court matters were no longer an issue, he still continued to do that. He started to talk about, right from as far back in his childhood as he could remember, he started to talk about everything. I recall he had this sense of hopelessness: this was now going to be who he was. He had been to jail so there would be no second chance, people would look at him now a certain way. And through the course of talking to him, and also I believe strongly the support that he got from the chaplaincy here, between that influencing him at some point I noticed that there became this kind of sense of forgiveness to himself. There was this sense of forgiveness of himself and acceptance that he had made a really bad judgement, but that he was young and that you are not defined... I remember saying to him, "no one person is defined by one act in their life". I have said that to a number of inmates. If you choose to be defined by that one act and make that the entirety of who you are and what your life is about, then you are never ever going to get out of this cycle. No matter who holds your hand and pulls you up, you are always going to end up down there.

About 18 months out from his release I really think this kid believed that he could do something with his life, he could be something, that he would be accepted into the community and forgiven. I think that the forgiveness of himself and the belief that the community in general would forgive this young kid one mistake, even though it was quite a big mistake, the general public would probably be willing to forgive him and give him a chance to have a go. He then started to write, copious amounts of writing. He started to write virtually his life story and then he would dissect it as if you were writing an assignment. Then alongside that he would write, "Well why would I do something like this?" And "Where did this come from?" Then we would talk about that... Fortunately he did go to the chaplaincy and I think that they went through this with him too.

I am going to give him the credit for changing his life completely because he really did wade through the crap that was his life. What he couldn't understand, he came to us to try to put some perspective on it. Yes, he did education, yes, he worked, yes he would go to chaplaincy and all of those things probably did help him to achieve a sense of self-pride and certainly a sense of self-love. He stopped using drugs completely. He went to the drug and alcohol counsellor, but if he wanted to get drugs, he could have got them in here. He made a choice to love himself; he made a choice to forgive himself. At one point, I said to him, "what if people don't forgive you?" And he said, "well, then I have to forgive myself", and hope that, whether it was religion or whatever power, he would be forgiven and be given another chance to

make another life for himself. There was genuine hard work and a genuine self-examination. There was a responsibility to accept, "this is who I am. I am not perfect. I have certainly done lots of crappy things but I accept responsibility for myself and my actions. And along with that I accept the punishment and the consequences, whether those consequences just include jail", because consequences don't always just end at the front gate when they walk out. Consequences for actions that result in the jail sentence also follow you outside of jail as well. He worked really, really, really hard on himself. He would read every self-help book he could get his little mitts on. He would question, he would certainly question me, to as far deep as he knew how to. He would sit opposite me sometimes sobbing because 'This is the behaviour, how do I change it? I don't know how to.' Like a child is taught to tie their shoe laces, you have somebody there who teaches you the right way. He didn't know who was going to teach him how to make choices, how to know the right thing to do sometimes.

Ultimately, I think he just worked really hard on himself. He has been the one person that I thought, "This boy is going to walk out of this jail, and I am never going to see him in this environment again". I am horrified to say that he did walk out of this jail, I did see him again. I saw him on the outside working. He was engaged, his partner was pregnant, and everything was going wonderfully. Then he was arrested. I walked past and I saw him on the oval one day and I called him over, and this was about six years afterwards, six years had passed. I looked at him and I said, "You have got to be kidding me". He is now released;

he has also been absolved of it... He knew that he would have to spend some time; he missed his son's birth, which was tragic. But he never was angry. He said, "This is just something that I have to go through for whatever reason. I know that I haven't done this. I know that I will be proven innocent".

Certainly in due course, he was, but not before he spent five months in jail again. He is out; he is in a good job. He is about 28 now; he is in an excellent job. He and his wife have bought a home, he got married. He is involved with the youth in his area. He is heavily involved with his church.

Discussion of case study 1.

Case studies from staff participants are valuable, because they sometimes refer to people whom history has shown did actually change. This applies to the man in the first case study. Figure 23 presents a diagrammatic representation of this man's life story.

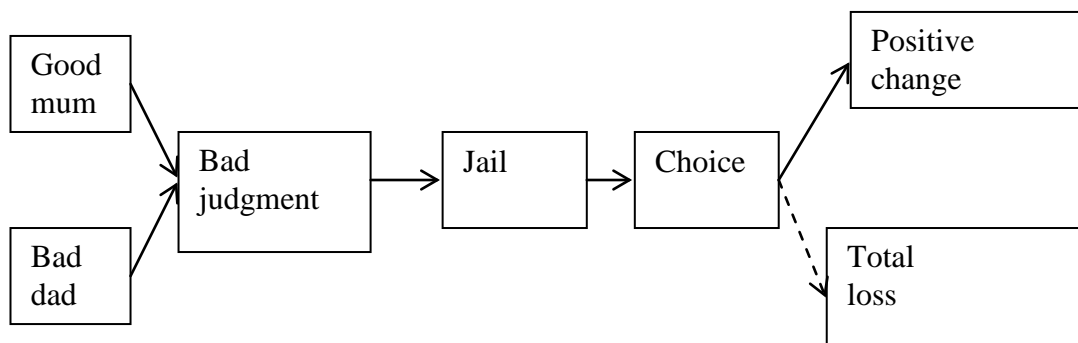


Figure 23: Life story of Case Study 1

Figure 23 shows a brief outline of this man's life story. According to the text, he was raised under difficult circumstances by a "fairly decent" mum. His father was "a drunk and abusive", and was not around. Therefore, his own life story began within the context of a 'good' mum and a 'bad' dad. The story would be coherent if he went either way (good or bad). He fell into 'bad' company, made a 'bad' judgment, and came to jail. Up to this point in the story, it appears the man is going to follow his father's example, which would make a coherent story, given his past.

His initial engagement in jail programs offered no hope that he was going to be anything other than 'bad': "he was a little bugger", according to the staff member. However, 18 months from the end of his sentence something began to change. It is unsure what inspired this change, but, in the terms of this study, it is apparent that he became ready for change. He recognised he had a choice to make. Was he going to decide to change, and become 'good', like his mother? Alternatively, was he going to remain 'bad', like his father? The story reveals he decided to become 'good', but the interesting thing in terms of this discussion is how he showed he was ready to go down the 'good' pathway.

It is interesting to observe what the story says he did, because that is how the staff member identifies (and, perhaps, identified at the time) he was ready for change. It is also interesting to note that the context in which the staff member explored this man's readiness at the time was in relation to him telling her the story of his life: it was a narrative context. The story reveals that the man "wanted to understand himself". He would dissect his life story "as if he were writing an assignment". "There was genuine hard work and a genuine self-examination". "He worked really, really, really hard on himself" and "he really

did wade through all the crap that was his life”. This man clearly wanted to change and he was prepared to face his negative side and to endure the struggles laying before him on his pathway to change.

The man was eager to find help with his problems. He went to welfare, Alcohol and Other Drugs, chaplaincy; “he was doing every kind of education that there was”. His search for help had nothing to do with his court matters, because “he still continued to do that even though his court matters were no longer an issue”. He was willing to trust jail staff, and disclose to them personal details about his life in his quest for insight. He sought spiritual help from chaplains and by going to church. He saw he had an opportunity to change whilst in jail, and that people and programs would help him.

We are clear the man accepted responsibility for his problems. He is reported to have said, “I have certainly done lots of crappy things but I accept responsibility for myself and my actions”. He took responsibility to the extent that the staff member says of him, “I am going to give him the credit for changing his life completely”. The man showed a willingness to challenge his belief system, and to make changes to it. Instead of seeing himself as trapped in the identity of a ‘bad’ person - “this is now going to be who he was” - he comes to see he “had made a really bad judgment”. He changed his belief system about himself.

The text makes it clear the man made the decision to change: “He made a choice to love himself; he made a choice to forgive himself”. The man transformed hopelessness into forgiveness and hope. He could now hope for a brighter future, and he had a sense that his life was not over. He “believed that he could do something with his life”. Ultimately, his choice was between the

hopelessness of becoming a 'total loss' (Singer, 1997, cited in Maruna, 2001), or becoming a changed person. Either choice would fit coherently into his overall life story. He chose to change, and he showed much evidence of that change. The decision to change was a logical choice for him because "he really didn't want to cause her any more anguish because I think he genuinely cares and loves his mother and his younger siblings".

The epilogue to the story of change is that he did return to jail, wrongly accused. However, he was never angry, he was secure in who he was, and he accepted his misfortune with maturity and balance. This example of change is not only the story of one man. It is also the story told by the staff member who knew him. It shows what the staff member thought was significant about the man's behaviour and attitudes, and how the staff member identified he was ready for change. The man in this story shows very clear evidence of all the indicators and all the dimensions of readiness. However, what is important to note is that these indicators and dimensions were seen to be significant by the staff member. This staff participant has added support to the conceptual validity of the indicators.

The second case study comes from an interview with a different staff member.

Case Study 2

Today a young man appeared before me and remembered me and I could remember his face and he had been with us three years ago and I saw him again today... He started speaking in such a way that I thought, "Hello, this isn't the cheeky nuisance that I used to know". He

sort of laughed when he met me and he said, "Do you remember me?", and I did. Fresh memories sprung to mind. But he was quite different, he was able to sit and sit comfortably and quietly...all the time he was deeply reflecting on where he was at.

At one point of time he spontaneously and not in any way to impress, it didn't have that flavour about it, he was almost ruminating to himself and he didn't even complain that he had been shuffled around the system and the game that sometimes gets played with the inmates and he had had a bad run and they need to move someone on because they need to make more room for someone else more pressing, he just tried again each time that he reached a new centre and he seemed quite pleased to be back here. He was explaining to me that he heard about the new compulsory drug court jail and he went away and thought about that and he thought, "That's really the thing for me". I said, "What makes you think so?" So he ran through his reasons and they sounded pretty good... But his whole manner and demeanour was almost the complete opposite from what it was when he was in before. He was almost a larrikin, looking for the fun of the moment, and now he is a man who is realising that if he were to be let out tomorrow he will probably eventually go straight back to what he used to do before, which is take drugs and alcohol and then punch somebody out, without even realising what he is doing half the time. Today he was very glad that he wasn't in that position and that if he could get more help he felt that he could really beat these demons... He was just so refreshingly different, not as much fun but with many more hopes and building blocks for the future.

And I believe that if he can get help at this point of time, the sort of help he needs, he has a very good chance of not offending again... I said, "You are a bit different to what you were", and he laughed. He agreed, and I said, "You were bit of a mischief then", and he laughed and said "yes". And then he said, "But I am tired of going around, in and out, and if I had to go out and do something wrong and, in again, I wouldn't try, I would have to give up. I need help, I need help in a number of areas".... He has done lots of thinking.

Discussion of case study 2.

The man in the second case study is clearly in a different stage of change to the man in the first case study. His changes may appear less 'impressive' as the man in the first case study, but he does show evidence of many of the indicators.

The staff member introduces the main character in her story by referring to him as a "cheeky nuisance" in her past encounters with him. However, as he stood before her now she could see that "he was quite different". She knew he was different because he was more composed, seemed more responsible, and he was "deeply reflecting on where he was at". He remarked to her that he was "tired of going around, in and out". She noticed he recognised his problems with addictions, and that "if he were let out tomorrow he will probably eventually go straight back to what he used to do before, which is to take drugs and alcohol and punch somebody out". He showed insight and an eagerness to find help, identifying a particular drug program, and saying, "That's really the thing for

me”. Despite being moved around from jail to jail, the man persisted in his efforts to find people who could help him.

The defender in this story showed he wants to change and that he has commitment for change. He has been reflecting on his life and gaining insight into himself. He sees an opportunity in the jail system to get the help he needs, and he is prepared to undertake programs and entrust himself to the system. He may not show such clear evidence of readiness as the man in the first case study, but he appears to be at a different stage of the change process – probably at the preparation stage of change. He is ready and willing to take action, but he needs the correctional system to support him in helpful ways.

This man provides an example of a defender who is ready for change, who indicates he is ready for change, and who needs the correctional system to recognise his readiness and help him make the changes he is ready to make. The man in this story is ready at the moment to be an agent of change in his life, but he cannot do it on his own. He highlights the importance of timing: “If I had to go out and do something wrong, and in again, I wouldn’t try, I would have to give up. I need help, I need help in a number of areas”. This man’s pleas for help are an indication of his readiness for change, but if he does not get the help he needs when he needs it most, his life may become a ‘total loss’. A schematic showing this man’s situation is presented in Figure 24.

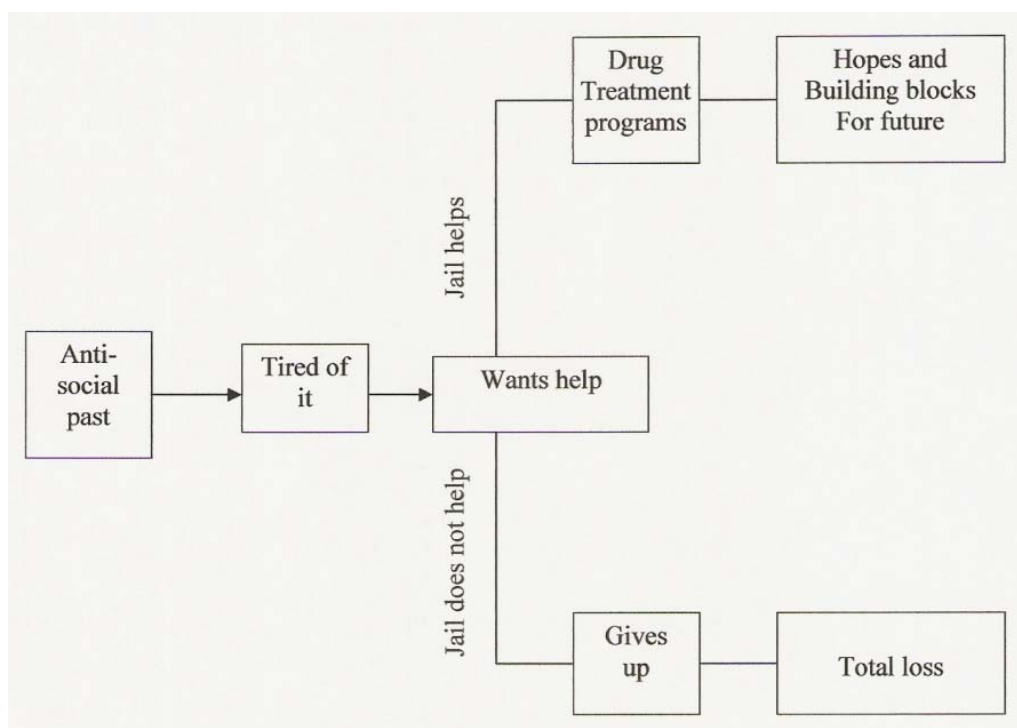


Figure 24: Life Story of Case Study 2

Figure 24 shows that while defenders can be agents of personal change, the correctional system must be responsive to them and play its part as an agent of change in a timely manner. The man in Case Study 2 stands at the crossroads, ready for change, but in some ways dependent on the correctional system to support his readiness. The fact he is ready does not mean he will change, but he believes he is more likely to change if he gets the support he needs and wants.

The two staff members who contributed these case studies showed they recognised readiness in defenders by referring to the same behaviours and attitudes that are captured by the indicators of readiness. This is shown in Table 73.

Table 73: Evidence of the Indicators in the Case Studies

Indicators	Dimensions	Case Study 1	Case Study 2
Wants to Change	Expresses desire, decision and commitment	Yes	Yes
	Has agency	Yes	Yes
	Sees opportunity	Yes	Yes
	Accepts the struggle	Yes	Yes
Owns the Problem	Shows insight	Yes	Yes
	Accepts responsibility	Yes	Yes
Sees a Future	Has goals and plans	Yes	Partial
	Displays optimism	Yes	Partial
Values Support	Values family, institutional and/or spiritual support	Yes	Yes
Persists with Transformation	Is encouraged by evidence of change	Yes	Partial

Table 73 shows that the staff participants who supplied these two case studies identified readiness in the defenders by referring to the same behaviours and attitudes that are reflected in the indicators of readiness. Note that the defender in the first case study showed clear evidence of all the indicators, and it is reported that he has made lasting positive life change. The defender in the second case study has shown evidence of three indicators, and partial evidence of the other two. He partly sees a future in his desire to go to a special drug treatment jail, and he is optimistic about his future if he can get the help he wants and for which he is currently ready. Although he has yet to experience real transformation in his life, he does seem to be moving in the right direction and he has shown evidence of persistence with seeking help, despite being moved from jail to jail.

In addition to the case study evidence presented above, the staff data provides propositional evidence showing the indicators and dimensions are valid reflections of how defenders indicate readiness for change. This evidence is examined in the following section of this discussion.

Propositional Staff Validation of the Indicators

Table 74 presents a selection of quotes from the staff data showing propositional evidence of the conceptual validity of the indicators. The table is large, and the staff references are clear and need little discussion.

Table 74: Staff Evidence Supporting the Indicators

Indicator	Dimension	Staff Validation
Wants to Change	Expresses desire, decision and commitment	They need a... strong enough desire and a decision then to want to change. (Education) They have made up their mind, this is what they want to do and they go out and do it. (Alcohol and Other Drugs - AOD)
	Accepts the struggle	I think they have got to realise that it is not going to be easy, this process of change isn't going to be easy. Lots of them that I see that aren't ready don't have that kind of insight, but they think, "I'm going to stop using drugs", or "I'm going to stop being involved in crime", and they think it is that desire. That is part of it, but it's not the whole thing and I think if they realise that it's not going to be easy, that is one of the things that I have identified. (Psychology)
	Sees opportunity	I have had quite a number of inmates of varying ages who have come here and have opened up quite independently where they have been and what they have done, and they will break down in tears and cry. Some of these guys are very hardened criminals who have been involved in crime for many years.

Indicator	Dimension	Staff Validation
		<p>And they have told perhaps their story for the very first time. I have had quite a number of inmates who have said, "I have never spoken about this to anyone before". And in talking about it, I guess they have actually connected with stuff that they have not really connected with before. (Chaplain)</p>
Owns the Problem	Accepts responsibility	<p>To me anybody who does not accept 100% responsibility, I just know they are going to go out and do the same thing again. Or there is going to be a progression in the severity of what they have done previously. (Welfare)</p> <p>One of the significant things I think is taking responsibility of what they have done to end up in here, their crime or whatever they've done. (Psychology)</p> <p>I think that if you do not believe that you have a problem, you are not going to change. (Education)</p>
	Shows insight	<p>I think having insight is important and from the guys that I have seen they have a good kind of grasp of what being able to reflect on themselves and their thoughts and what they have done and what they need to do to change things... (Psychology)</p> <p>There is usually insight, important insight, not just in terms of the crime that they have committed or they have been charged with, there is insight in terms of who they are as a person. (Chaplain)</p>
Values Support	Values family, institutional and/or spiritual support	<p>Often when they ask to see you again and there is no talk about a certificate or a court report or whatever, that is a fairly good indicator that something is happening, that they're interested in talking about themselves, with someone that seems to listen. (AOD)</p> <p>There's another inmate I have considered and one of the biggest things I think with him changing and his process of change is he takes a lot of initiative in talking to staff, in participating in programs, in doing things for himself and for him I have seen that to be very effective. (Psychology)</p> <p>I think that when they can actually talk to their</p>

Indicator	Dimension	Staff Validation
		<p>families and say, "look I need you to come and visit me, I need you to support me, it's not going to be easy, I'm probably go sit here and talk about nothing much but I still need you to come and see me". That is significant. (Psychology)</p> <p>From the inmates that I have met, I think that some of them who are ready for change, for real life change, the spiritual area seems to be a significant factor with them. (Education)</p>
Sees a Future	Has goals and plans	They need to see something in the future - that there is a future for them. They need to see that there is light at the end of the tunnel. (Education)
	Has sense of agency	It might be all well and good to say go get a job, go in to some education, but some of them don't feel in practice that they can actually achieve those things because of what their life is already like. (Psychology)
	Displays optimism	Maybe there is something divine happening here in my life, that out of this negative experience there could be something positive happening here . (Chaplain)
Persists with Transformation	Is encouraged by evidence of change	At Christmas time when his TAFE results came back I went to the shop and handed them out and I came to his shop and I looked at him and I said, "I am so proud of you, the changes you have made", and both of us were close to tears. (Education)

Table 74 shows there is clear evidence in the staff data to support the conceptual validity of the indicators of readiness. The focus of attention now turns to the second element of the triangulation process: the literature.

Validating the Findings from the Literature

When comparing the indicators with the literature (Chapters 3 and 4 of this thesis), it is apparent that the concepts embedded in the indicators are also embedded in the literature. Tables 75 to 84 in this next section of the chapter take each indicator and each dimension separately and examine how the literature supports the concepts underlying each one.

Each table has five headings. The indicator and dimension addressed by the table are shown in the two left hand columns. The third column is called 'Literature Reference'. This refers to the sub-heading in either Chapters 3 or 4 that discusses the literature identified in the two columns to its right. The fourth column is entitled 'Theorists', which identifies the theorists whose relevant works are discussed in the literature review. The right hand column lists the relevant concepts from the theorists that affirm the concepts embedded in the indicators.

Tables 75 to 77 examine the ways in which the literature supports the indicator 'Wants to Change'.

Table 75: Expresses desire, decision and commitment: Support from Literature

Indicator	Dimension	Literature Reference	Theorists	Concepts
Wants to Change	Expresses desire, decision and commitment	Preparing for and responding to change	Koltko-Rivera (2004)	Motivation
			Prochaska & DiClemente (1986)	Decision
		Motivation	Becker (1964)	Commitment
			Korotkov (1998); Gergen (1998)	Coherence
			Maruna (2001)	Logical next step
			Lee (2004)	Subjugating discourses
			Seligman (1991)	Learned helplessness
			Rappaport (2000)	Shared cultural narratives

Table 75 shows that the concepts inherent in the dimension ‘Expresses desire, decision and commitment’ are also present in the literature reviewed under the sub-headings ‘Preparing for and responding to change’ and ‘Motivation’ in Chapter 3 of this thesis. In his model of ‘The Acting Self’, Koltko-Rivera (2004) shows that the process of turning impulse into behaviour begins at the motivational core of the inner self. Any change behaviour must involve a motivational aspect: the person has to want to change.

The desire for change is central to the Transtheoretical Model of Change (Prochaska, 1986). The Transtheoretical Model of Change is a model of intentional change, and the intention to change must be sustained throughout all

stages of the change process. According to Prochaska & DiClemente (1986), the passage from the contemplation stage of change to the preparation stage is marked by the decision to change. Making the decision to change means that people stop merely considering change, and begin doing things to prepare for change. They commit themselves to action, and to preparing for action. Becker (1964) says that commitment provides “a consistent line of activity in a sequence of varied situations” (p. 49). The ability to be consistent with change is an essential element of readiness, because the change process is difficult and there are many opportunities for regression (Prochaska, 1986).

If the change is to be positive, the literature shows it must have the intention to promote coherence in the life story. Korotkov (1998) refers to the importance of making change cohere with the story of the person’s past, and of whom they are. The narrative data show clearly that defenders want to change in ways that allow them to tell a coherent, logical story of where they have come from, and where they are going. They look for connections between their past, their present, and their future. Maruna (2001) says that positive change must make change a logical next step in the story of the person’s life. Most importantly, it must make sense to the person himself (Maruna, 2001).

The intention to change can often arise out of a desire to break free from limiting beliefs, behaviours, experiences, or relationships. There are many examples in the narrative data attesting to the desire to break free from undesirable ties, such as addictive behaviours, or unhelpful relationships. Lee (2004) refers to the subjugating discourses that can keep people trapped in unsatisfying places, until they choose to break free. These subjugating discourses may be beliefs they have about themselves, other people, or their

circumstances. Seligman (1991) speaks of learned helplessness, the situation where a person has learned to attribute a particular meaning to a situation or event, such that they believe they have no power to change it.

The data provide examples of people who were in the past, or are still in the present, helpless in the face of the difficulties they face in life. Pete is an example of someone who is still helpless in the face of his addiction. In some cases, the limiting beliefs may come from shared cultural narratives (Rappaport, 2000), that become even more powerful because they are shared by other people within one's culture. John's intention to change is an intention to break free from culture of the 'drug dealers and gangsters' that had formerly characterised his life. All of these undesirable and potentially disempowering ties can motivate the intention to change, or can dispel it.

Table 76 refers to the dimension 'Accepts the struggle'.

Table 76: Accepts the Struggle: Support from Literature

<i>Indicator</i>	<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Literature Reference</i>	<i>Theorists</i>	<i>Concepts</i>
Wants to Change	Accepts the struggle	Insight	Dembo (2000); Willis (2004)	Social limitations
		Understanding the change process	Prochaska & DiClemente (1986)	Change is difficult
		Beliefs	Koltko-Rivera (2004)	Complexity of human nature

Table 76 shows the concepts embedded in the dimension 'Accepts the struggle' are embedded also in the literature. It takes insight to realise that change is not going to be easy for a person. Many personal and social variables

can present problems to people. Heggie (2005) points out many prisoners have substance abuse issues, poor health, low levels of education and poor employment histories. Dembo (2000) and Rokach (2001) state that many criminals suffer a loss of family support, and this study revealed the extent to which defenders who are ready to change depend on family support. In many cases, the unfortunate fact may be that it is no longer there for them. Willis (2004) highlights the fact that homelessness is a major problem for people who have been in jail. Often, they leave jail to find that they have nowhere to go. Defenders who are ready for change have to accept these realities, and consider how they will deal with them, if they arise.

Regression is an integral component of the Transtheoretical Model of Change (Prochaska, 1986). People do not usually pass through the stages of change in a steady progression. They normally make progress with change, feel good about their change, begin to have trouble, and go backwards. In fact, Prochaska & DiClemente (1986) report that in a study of 886 smokers, 84% of those trying to quit moved back into the contemplation stage following a relapse. They go backwards because change is difficult and challenging, and because new behaviours and attitudes have to be learnt and developed. Many defenders in this present study knew and accepted the fact that change is going to be difficult. Like Martin, they realise they may never be free from the temptation to return to drugs or alcohol, and that they will need to find new ways of coping with the pressures of life.

There is a worldview component in most of the dimensions. Defenders who show readiness for change usually understand that human nature is complex, and there are many reasons why people do things. They often have insight into

why they act as they do, and this insight into themselves is an important strength in their readiness for change. Koltko-Rivera (2004) shows that understanding the complexity of human nature is a worldview issue.

Table 77 shows the literature supporting the dimension ‘Sees opportunity’.

Table 77: Sees Opportunity: Support from Literature

<i>Indicator</i>	<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Literature Reference</i>	<i>Theorists</i>	<i>Concepts</i>
Wants to Change	Sees opportunity	Agency	Snyder (2005)	Pathways thinking
		Beliefs	Koltko-Rivera (2004)	Control disposition

Table 77 shows that the concept of seeing opportunities for change within the jail context is endorsed by the literature. Most of the defenders in this study saw they could begin the change process in jail. The jail environment provided them with many opportunities for change, because it took them away from the environment they were living in, took them away from the heavy influence of drugs and alcohol, and provided them with staff who could help them, and time to get help. They display all the hallmarks of ‘agency thinking’ and ‘pathways thinking’ (Snyder, 2005). The defender who appeared least ready for change (Pete) thought it was not possible to change whilst in jail: he saw the obstacles, but did not see a way around them.

Koltko-Rivera (2004) makes it apparent that ‘pathways thinking’ is supported by certain worldviews. Control disposition refers to beliefs about whether one’s environment supports, does not support, or is neutral towards one’s ability to change. Defenders who have a positive control disposition would

believe the jail environment provides opportunities for change, were they sought. Defenders with a negative control disposition would believe that the correctional system is not interested in rehabilitating people. People with a neutral control disposition would tend to regard the system as being fickle, sometimes willing to help, but not at other times. Most of the defenders in this study believed that the jail environment afforded them opportunities for change, but they had to make the choice to use them.

Table 78 shows support for the indicator ‘Owns the Problem’ and its dimension ‘shows insight’.

Table 78: Shows Insight: Support from Literature

Indicator	Dimension	Literature Reference	Theorists	Concepts
Owns the Problem	Shows insight	Insight	Festinger (1957); Aronson (1969)	Cognitive dissonance; Awareness of personal problems
			Dembo (2000); Willis (2004)	Limitations of jail experience
		Vision Balance	Ward (2002)	Priorities in needs and wants
			Sternberg (1998)	Balancing competing priorities

Table 78 shows support from the literature for the concept that showing insight is an element of readiness for positive life change. The narrative data show that defenders who are ready for change have a degree of insight into the problems they face in life, and into how they want to change. Festinger (1957)

highlighted the concept of cognitive dissonance: a distressing experience, caused by a mismatch between how a person believes the world to work, and how their experience shows them it works. Although disturbing, dissonance can signal the need to change aspects of a person's belief system, or aspects of their behaviour. Loevinger (1976) says the opportunity for personal growth exists only when a person comes to realise that the environment fails to conform to their expectations. Dissonance is evident in the narratives in a variety of ways, but most defenders in the study saw it as a sign that they need to reflect more deeply on their lives. It was often in response to the feeling of dissonance that defenders became aware of their problems (e.g. William, whose experience of dissonance led him to reflect on his life; "I was devastated, crushed, spewing, even wanted to kill myself, looking for some answers. I started asking myself the big questions, reflecting, pondering, contemplating on life. I said to myself one day, 'look if you die now, what have you left behind? What have you achieved'?"). However, he did not stop here; he searched for, and found the answers he needed.

Insight is necessary to understand the limitations of the jail experience. Jail can have positive outcomes in the lives of defenders, and many of the defenders in this study attest to this reality. However, there is evidence to show that jail can also damage people (Johnson, 2005; Warner, 2005), and that ex-prisoners often have limited opportunities and lack a stable environment when they leave jail (Dembo, 2000; Willis, 2004). Readiness demands that people have a realistic understanding of these dynamics. Frank understood this dynamic, knowing he would find it difficult to return to the community with no driver's license, no friends, no wife, and no money.

Ward (2002) highlights the need for insight into what the defender really needs and wants out of his life. Ward observes that often offenders do not desist from crime because they know of no other way to attain what they want out of life except through crime. Defenders who are ready for change have insight into what they need to live a satisfying, meaningful life, and they have a willingness to learn how to attain it in pro-social ways. Many defenders in this study demonstrate this kind of insight.

The pathway to a ‘good life’ is not only dependent upon having one’s own needs met. People live in communities, and pro-social living requires the successful balance of responses to competing priorities and demands. Sternberg (1998) says that to live ‘wisely’, one must learn to live a balanced life. Defenders who are ready for change understand the need to be true to one’s own needs for positive life change, and the need to accommodate other people’s interests. Many defenders are responsive to the interests of family in this regard, but they are also able to set boundaries to respect their own interests (Teichman, 1998).

Table 79 shows support from the literature for the dimension ‘accepts responsibility’.

Table 79: Accepts Responsibility: Support from Literature

<i>Indicator</i>	<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Literature Reference</i>	<i>Theorists</i>	<i>Concepts</i>
Owns the Problem	Accepts responsibility	Beliefs	Koltko-Rivera (2004)	Determining factors
		Agency	Snyder (2005)	Pathways thinking

Table 79 shows literature support for the dimension 'Accepts responsibility'. According to Koltko-Rivera (2004), people have beliefs about whether they have free will, or whether outside forces determine them. People can only accept responsibility for their problems and for solving their problems if they believe they have a measure of control over their lives. However, even if they do believe in free will, there are determining factors that influence their lives to some extent, over which they may have little or no control. Koltko-Rivera (2004) indicates that these determining factors may have a genetic origin, e.g. an inherited illness, or they may have a social origin, e.g. being born into a seriously dysfunctional family. A person accepts responsibility for his choices to the extent that he sees his life determined by these factors.

Most defenders in the study accepted that they have free will, and accept responsibility for making wrong choices in the past, and for their process of change. Some are aware of factors that have determined their choices in the past, and which may continue to do so, to some extent, but they employ 'pathways thinking' to look for solutions to their problems. For example, Martin's life appears severely affected by a serious family incident that occurred when he was four years old, an event over which he had no control. He also realises that he has made conscious choices that negatively affected his life: choices that may have been shaped by the earlier incident, but were nonetheless his choices. He accepts responsibility for these choices, and recognises that he must take responsibility for his own life if he wants to change.

Table 80 presents the literature support for the indicator ‘Sees a Future’ and its dimension, ‘Has goals and plans’.

Table 80: Has Goals and Plans: Support from Literature

<i>Indicator</i>	<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Literature Reference</i>	<i>Theorists</i>	<i>Concepts</i>
Sees a Future	Has goals and plans	Vision	Ward & Marshall (2007)	Realistic and achievable goals
			McAdams (1994b)	Commitment scripts

Table 80 presents the support from the literature for ‘Has goals and plans’. Ward and Marshall (2007) highlight the importance of meaningful life goals and plans in the rehabilitation of offenders. The Good Lives Model (Ward, 2002) implies that the current practice of correctional rehabilitation is limited because it addresses only the criminogenic needs of offenders, and ignores their personal needs. Ward and Marshall argue that, while the criminogenic needs of offenders may be addressed in jail, offenders too often return to the community with no better sense of how to live meaningful and satisfying lives in pro-social ways than when they first went to jail. With this lack of knowledge, offenders often return to crime, because that is the only way they know how to achieve the kind of life they want to live.

Ward (2002) argues that the correctional system needs to focus on more than criminogenic needs. Offenders need to be listened to in terms of understanding their primary human goods, and they need to be worked with to develop life plans that help them achieve what they want out of life, in pro-social ways. This appears to be a helpful suggestion to achieve a more balanced focus in correctional rehabilitation. However, it is not logical to assume that simply

because offenders know how to achieve what they want in pro-social ways, they will be ready to act in pro-social ways. Having goals and plans is an aspect of readiness for positive life change, but it is only one aspect.

Commitment scripts reflect a long-term investment in improving things and the attainment of prized goals, and are often found in the narratives of people who value change (McAdams, 1994b). Koltko-Rivera (2004) refers to the worldview element 'Activity Satisfaction', which concerns beliefs about purpose of action. Some people believe that action should be directed at the achievement of goals and plans, and others believe that activity is best directed at maintaining the status quo. Whilst there may be some value in defenders maintaining certain aspects of the status quo, most defenders in this study wish to direct their activity to change and development. William, for example, is encouraged by the changes he sees in himself, but he makes it clear he wants to see more: "I know I have leapt that big bound and so I can become even better and better and better. I want to grow, I want to blossom like a flower".

Table 81 examines the dimension 'Has a sense of agency'.

Table 81: Has a Sense of Agency: Support from Literature

<i>Indicator</i>	<i>Dimension</i>	<i>Literature Reference</i>	<i>Theorists</i>	<i>Concepts</i>
Sees a Future	Has a sense of agency	Agency	Maruna (2001)	Choice
			Korotkov (1998); Wilson (1998)	Manageability
			Snyder (2005)	Agency thinking Pathways thinking
			Larson (2000)	Language of agency
			Fay (2001)	Taking initiative
		Beliefs	Koltko-Rivera (2004)	Agency

Table 81 shows that the concept of agency is strongly supported in the literature. Agency can be manifested in the narratives through the exercise of choice, and the belief that people are in control of what happens to them in life. Maruna (2001) says that people who feel a strong sense of agency see themselves as “masters of their own fates” (p. 76). William is an example of someone like that. He confidently tells himself, “I am a master of my fate. I am the driver of my soul”.

Agency may be manifested in what Korotkov (1998) calls ‘manageability’. This reflects, “the extent to which individuals perceive that they have the personal and social resources to confront and cope with demand” (p. 55). Manageability refers to a person’s perception that they can effectively manage their life (Wilson, 1998), and, as such, is both an agentic confidence and an expression of the person’s belief system.

Agency is expressed through what Snyder (2005) calls ‘agency thinking’. This refers to the person’s ‘normal’ ways of thinking; ways that reflect a deep

confidence in their ability to achieve certain things in life. Snyder (2005) also refers to 'pathways thinking', which is an expression of agency, and refers to the thought processes that enable people to see opportunities to overcome problems and lead towards desired goals. People with agency thinking and pathways thinking are confident in their ability to make change, obstacles along the pathway do not deter them, and they look for new ways of achieving their goals. Many of the defenders in this study demonstrate agency thinking and pathways thinking.

Agency is evident not only in how people behave and in their attitudes to life, but also in what Larson (2000) calls, a 'language of agency'. Larson reports on a study showing that active offenders are five times more likely to lack a language of agency than desisting ex-offenders (Larson, 2000, cited in Maruna, 2001, p. 77). This is not surprising since, for a story to be believable to the narrator, some evidence attesting to its truth must support the story he tells (Sfard, 2005). Fay (2001) claims that people who have a sense of agency are more likely to take the initiative in their lives than is the case with people with low agency. The data provide many examples of defenders who are keen to take the initiative with their change process, and who display a clear language of agency.

Koltko-Rivera (2004) identifies agency as a worldview dimension. It is more than a feeling of confidence, it is a belief that reflects a person's belief about his degree of free will, and how bound he is by genetic or social forces. It is a belief that goes to the core of his reality, and to be ready for change, one must not only desire change, one must also believe that it is possible, and that it is achievable.

Table 82 shows the literature support for the dimension ‘Displays Optimism’.

Table 82: Displays Optimism: Support from Literature

Indicator	Dimension	Literature Reference	Theorists	Concepts
Sees a Future	Displays optimism	Vision	Snyder (1991)	Hope
			Seligman (1991)	Temporary and specific causes of misfortune

Table 82 shows the literature support for the dimension ‘Displays optimism’. Snyder (1991) observes that having goals and plans and seeing a brighter future are fertile ground for hope to arise. Seligman (1991) claims the art of hope lies in finding specific and temporary causes of misfortune. It lies in the belief that problems are not permanent and that there are pathways around them. Such beliefs about the mutability of life’s situations are worldview issues that make hope a logical outcome (Koltko-Rivera, 2004).

Table 83 presents literature support for the indicator ‘Values Support’, and its dimension ‘Values family, institutional, and/or spiritual support’.

Table 83: Values family, institutional, and/ or spiritual support: Support from Literature

Indicator	Dimension	Literature Reference	Theorists	Concepts
Values Support	Values family, institutional, and/ or spiritual support	Trust	Prochaska & DiClemente (1986)	Open and trusting
			Frankl (1977)	Willing to receive help
			Benda (2002); Green (2002)	Trust in God
		Beliefs	Koltko-Rivera (2004)	Interpersonal beliefs World and life
		Balance	Sternberg (1998)	Open to others Setting boundaries

Table 83 shows support from the literature for the dimension ‘Values family, institutional, and/or spiritual support’. Prochaska and DiClemente (1986) stress the important role that ‘helping relationships’ play in the change process, and identify ‘being open and trusting’ as being part of the process that moves people forward through the stages of change. Seligman (1997) points out that although trust may be fragile; it is a necessary component of the change process.

Dembo (2000) discusses the important role that an empowered family can play in minimising youth recidivism. Family can offer emotional and financial support and stability, providing a person with a sense of belonging and significance. Professional staff associated with the correctional environment can play an important role in supporting the change process in prisoners. Frankl (1977) provides a powerful illustration of prisoners who valued the support he had provided them: support that was significant in their change process (p. 132).

Most of the defenders in this study showed they valued, and to some extent depended on, the support they received from family and jail staff. For example, John, Tony, and Peter stressed the importance of family support, and Martin, Lee and Carl reflected on the value of support from jail staff and programs. William and Frank referred to the importance of spiritual support, and regarded that as an important part of their ability to change.

Much has been written about the positive role that spirituality or religious practice can play in the change process of prisoners (e.g. Dammer, 2002; Green, 1998; Young, 1998; Baier, 2001; Clear, 2002; Benda, 2002). This literature shows religion provides people with answers to life's questions, directions on how to live, something for which to live, and the security of belonging. William makes it clear that religion has been a critical element in his process of change. Islam provided him with purpose in life and answers to the 'big questions' he had been asking. In addition, the spiritual practice of Islam was very important in teaching him self-discipline, keeping him focused, and giving him a moral basis for living.

The ability to relate to other people or God, trust them, work with them, and accept their support requires worldview beliefs that support such behaviours. Koltko-Rivera (2004) identifies two broad areas of worldview that are necessary here. The 'Interpersonal' group of worldviews plays a critical role in a person's ability to receive support from and place trust in others. Interpersonal beliefs highlight such issues as the defender feeling acceptable to the helper, and not feeling judged or punished by him or her. It highlights the issue of the defender's beliefs around dependency issues, whether they believe someone can help them, yet remain independent from them. It highlights issues such as

whether the defender believes he can or should co-operate with jail staff, and beliefs he may have about gender roles in the rehabilitative process.

The other worldview group that is relevant here is ‘World and Life’. This group of worldviews relates to beliefs about such things as whether spirituality is important in life, or whether the person has a materialistic worldview. It also relates to issues such as the purpose of life, and the extent to which a person’s worldview allows religious beliefs to inform their views on purpose and meaning.

The value of support and relationships in change is influenced partly by a person’s awareness of the needs and interests of others, and how well they are able to balance their responses to them. Receiving support requires the ability to assess the keenness of the other person to offer support. It requires the person to be willing and open to receive help. Maintaining balance in helping relationships requires the ability to set clear boundaries that respect a person’s right to privacy, and the respectful use of their time and personal resources (Teichman, 1998).

Table 84 shows support from the literature for the indicator ‘Persists with Transformation’, and the dimension ‘Is encouraged by evidence of change’.

Table 84: Is encouraged by evidence of change: Support from Literature

Indicator	Dimension	Literature Reference	Theorists	Concepts
Persists with Transformation	Is encouraged by evidence of change	Proof of underlying narrative	Sfard & Prusak (2005)	Reifying, endorsable and significant evidence

Table 84 shows the support from the literature for the dimension ‘Is encouraged by evidence of change’. A few of the defenders in this study

reported to have already made significant life changes by the time they were interviewed. William, for example, had seen great changes in his life, as had John. Others had seen lesser changes, but there is evidence in the data that all changes are significant, and defenders find encouragement when they can see themselves changing.

Sfard and Prusak (2005) refer to the importance of seeing evidence of change, and its impact on the personal narrative. According to Sfard and Prusak, as people tell the stories of their lives they are at the same time creating their reality. Personal narratives reflect the truth of the underlying narrative, and in turn, shape the truth of the underlying narrative. However, there needs to be some proof of the truth of the underlying narrative, especially to the person himself. This proof comes in the form of evidence that is reifying, endorsable and significant.

Evidence is reifying if it happens repeatedly. It is easier for people to believe that something must be real or true if it keeps happening, or if it never happens. Reifying evidence is often associated in the life story with words like 'always' or 'never'. Evidence becomes endorsable when it is supported by many examples. It may or may not 'always' happen, but if there are many cases of it happening at a point of time, then it is more easily believed and seen to be true. Significant evidence is evidence of something that matters to the person. The evidence may not be reifying or endorsable, but it is significant because it is evidence of something that matters a great deal. Therefore, it assumes a high level of importance and is more easily believed to be true.

There are examples in the narratives of defenders for whom the evidence of their change is reifying, endorsable and significant. William provides a good

example of someone who shows reifying, endorsable, and significant evidence of change. He shows reifying evidence when he says, "I feel strong, I feel confident, I feel positive, and I don't let negative mental attitudes defeat me. I don't have fear any more, I don't have anxiety any more". His repetition of 'don't' and 'anymore' stresses that something never happens now, but it used to happen in the past. He shows evidence of endorsable evidence when he says, "They just say to me, "I can tell you were naughty before but now you have changed". They see that, you know, they see that. My mum sees that". He must have changed, because other defenders comment on it, and his mother comments on it. Others endorse the evidence of change. William shows evidence that is significant when he says, "Some Muslims say to me, 'I've been a Muslim my whole life, and you've only been Muslim for 15 months, and you're a better Muslim than me'". This evidence is significant because it is important to him to be a good Muslim, and other Muslims confirm the fact that he is a good Muslim. This is significant evidence of his change.

Conclusion

This chapter has examined the evidence for the validity of the indicators and dimensions as concepts. It has shown clearly that they do mirror the concepts staff have when they seek to identify readiness for positive life change in defenders. The prisoners to which they refer in their anecdotal evidence do show evidence of the indicators for change, and they saw these as significant in the stories they chose to tell.

The chapter has also examined the support found in the literature for the indicators and dimensions. Each indicator and dimension is referred to in the literature, and is seen to be important in how people act as agents of personal change. The triangulation process has compared the indicators with the staff data and the literature and has shown them to be conceptually valid indicators of readiness for positive life change. It is the purpose of this study to identify conceptually valid indicators of readiness for positive life change in defenders and this purpose has been achieved. It has not been the purpose of this study to show that the indicators are valid across different populations or in different contexts.

Having identified the indicators of readiness and having established their conceptual validity, the focus of the discussion now turns to the implications of the indicators.

CHAPTER 9

IMPLICATIONS OF READINESS

Introduction

In identifying a set of indicators and dimensions of readiness that are conceptually valid, this study establishes that some defenders are ready to act as agents of personal change, and they indicate that readiness. The concept of the self acting as an agent of personal change “represents an important and radical departure from traditional, positivist criminology which sees individual behaviour as largely determined by uncontrollable outer or inner forces” (Maruna, 1997. p. 8). The findings of this study clearly show that some defenders do have control over the inner and outer forces that influence their behaviour. These findings, therefore, represent an important step forward for correctional rehabilitation. The indicators point to new ways of approaching rehabilitation in jails, and new ways of dealing with some defenders.

The ability to identify readiness in defenders creates the opportunity for Nott’s truism to become central to how jails approach rehabilitation. Nott’s truism is that nobody can be changed unless he wants to be changed, and is prepared to co-operate to that end. This study implies the need for co-operation, not only on the part of the defender, but also on the part of the correctional system. The indicators imply that some defenders have strengths that are potent to effect change, which may call the correctional system to shift its focus away from a deficits-only approach, and become responsive to the strengths that some defenders bring to the rehabilitation process.

Such a shift of focus may call for new cultural developments within correctional institutions., and may have implications for how correctional systems allocate resources. The discussion begins with a consideration of the implications for a new approach to correctional rehabilitation.

Implications for a New Approach

The Risk Needs Model rests on the philosophy that the best way to promote the rehabilitation of prisoners is to focus on the deficits associated with criminal conduct (Andrews, 2006). These deficits are well understood and well-documented in the literature (Agnew, 1992; Canter, 2000; Brezina, 2000; Aleixo, 2000; Fabiano, 1991). Among others, they involve such issues as criminal associations, impulsivity, addictions, poor educational standards, and poor employment history. The Risk Needs Model advocates directing rehabilitative programs to those prisoners who pose the greatest risk to the community, because they have the most serious deficits (criminogenic needs) (Andrews, 2001, 2006). This model sees those who are the neediest receiving most of the rehabilitative programs, and the needier they are, the more intensive the programs become (Services, 2008).

There is logic to providing the most intensive programs to the neediest prisoners. It is the logic of a medical and risk management model. It stands on the idea that the state is responsible to protect society and deal with criminals, and it has a very long history in NSW jails. If Nott were alive today, he would

probably say that it does not work, and the NSW Auditor-General has reported he is not sure whether it works (Auditor-General, 2006).

This thesis suggests the notion that the best rehabilitative outcomes are likely to come from the group of prisoners who are most ready to change, rather than those who most need to change. Readiness for positive life change allows defenders to act as agents of change in their own lives. Following the logic of this thesis, the best rehabilitative outcomes are likely to come about when the correctional system recognises a prisoner who is ready to act as his own agent of personal change, and supports him to make the changes he is ready to make, when he is ready to make them. Nott said the prisoner needed to be willing to co-operate with the correctional system. This thesis offers nothing to contest that view, but the indicators of readiness imply that correctional systems also need to be willing to co-operate with the prisoner. Although it is argued in this thesis that readiness is an intrapersonal factor that defenders may bring to the rehabilitative process, the idea that correctional systems need to co-operate and be responsive to individual readiness brings into focus the importance of social, cultural, and socio-cultural factors in supporting, nurturing, and perhaps engendering readiness for change in the individual.

This study has shown some defenders are ready to act as agents of change in their own lives, and it has shown there are specific indicators of readiness for change. The implication of these findings is that, at least theoretically, the state could determine which defenders are ready for change, and it could respond to that readiness. The correctional system could choose to deliver programs based on a person's readiness for change, not simply upon their

need to change. This would represent a significantly different approach to what has been attempted in the past.

The findings of this study may have far-reaching implications for the development of such an approach. The second chapter of this thesis described the three main historical approaches to correctional management in NSW using the terms 'the removal approach', 'the reformation approach' and 'the rehabilitation approach'. The findings and thesis of this study suggest the need for a new approach. In taking account of a defender's readiness for change, this new approach would co-operate with the defender to help him renew those parts of his life he is ready to change. This approach is referred to as the 'Renewal Approach' in the remainder of this discussion.

Chapter 2 offered a table that listed the main differences between the three historical approaches to correctional management in this state (Table 1). Table 85 adds the Renewal Approach to this table.

Table 85: The Four Approaches

	Removal	Reform	Rehabilitation	Renewal
Goals	Removal deterrence	Reformation	Reduced recidivism	Positive life change
Focus	Criminality	Faults	Risks & needs	Readiness for change, risk, needs
Method	Punishment	Contemplation in silence and separation	Training	Support
Use of programs	No programs	No formal programs – work & some literacy	Programs delivered according to “need” and “risk”	Programs delivered according to readiness and need
Status of Offender	Enemy of the state	Broken person	Citizen	Citizen

Table 85 shows the three approaches to correctional management in NSW that have been employed in the past, and adds the Renewal Approach. The Renewal Approach represents a significant modification of the rehabilitation approach.

The philosophy behind the Renewal Approach is based on the understanding that readiness for positive life change can be identified, and that the state could respond to that readiness by providing the right programs at the right time. The state needs to be able to respond in a timely fashion to the readiness of defenders, providing them with the support they need to make the changes they are ready to make. Since the Renewal Approach would support defenders to make the positive life changes for which they are ready, the goals of the Renewal Approach would be any kind of positive life change. This is discussed further at a later point in this chapter.

Currently, the focus of correctional rehabilitation is directed towards specific deficits. Prisoners are meant to co-operate with the correctional system as it delivers programs designed to minimise risk to the community. If readiness is considered at all, it is treatment readiness that is considered (i.e. readiness for treatment as distinct from readiness for change) (Howells, 2008; Serin, 1997; Ward, 2004; Wexler, 2006). The Renewal Approach would have a different focus. Training may be involved, but training and correctional programs would be designed to capitalise on the changes the defender is ready to make. The correctional system would help the defender make life changes he is ready to make, when he is ready to make them. The focus of training would be on supporting the defender make change, rather than training him to change.

In the Renewal Approach, defenders' readiness would be monitored over time, so that programming would be a dynamic process that responds to the on-going readiness of defenders. There would be mutuality in co-operation: the correctional system co-operating with the defender, and the defender co-operating with the correctional system.

Table 86 compares the current approach based on the Risk Needs Model with the new approach discussed here.

Table 86: Comparison of Risk Needs Model Approach and the Renewal Approach

<i>The Risk Needs Model Approach</i>	<i>The Renewal Approach</i>
Program centred	Person centred
Deficit based	Strengths based
The state is the primary agent of change	The self and the state are co-operating agents of change
Aims for a reduction in recidivism	Aims for positive life change
A risk management model	A personal growth model

Table 86 presents some of the major differences between the current approach to correctional rehabilitation, and the Renewal Approach proposed in this thesis. The current approach is a risk management model that relies on evidenced-based programs to target specific deficits, according to the risk they pose to the community. The current model sees the correctional system as the primary agent of change, controlling access to programs and resources, and assessing outcomes according to program specifications.

The Renewal Approach would be a person-centred, strengths-based model that acknowledges risk and criminogenic need, but also acknowledges defender readiness to change. It would value mutual co-operation between the defender and the state in terms of programming. Its goal would be positive life change, i.e., any positive change that is good for the defender, and good for society. The Renewal Approach would not replace the current system: it would only be appropriate for defenders who indicate their readiness for positive life change. For those who show no readiness for change, the current risk-management approach may remain the best option.

There may be different ways to operationalise the Renewal Approach. The following discussion offers an example of one approach illustrating how the Renewal Approach may be operationalised.

Operationalising the Renewal Approach

Figure 25 shows a possible strategy for implementing the Renewal Approach.

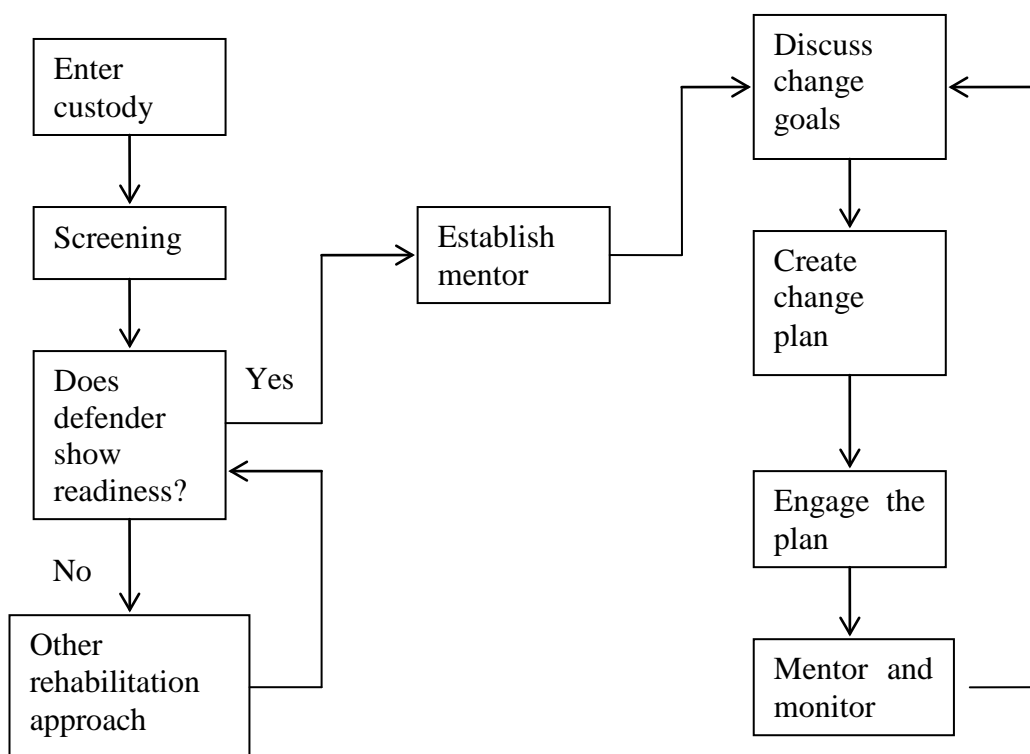


Figure 25: A Strategy for Implementing the Renewal Approach

Figure 25 presents a possible strategy for implementing the Renewal Approach. When people enter custody, they would undergo a screening process.

This screening process would be similar to the one that currently occurs in NSW jails (immediate threats and needs, analysis of criminogenic needs), but would also include an assessment of readiness for positive life change. This screening process would identify those defenders who show evidence of readiness for change.

For those defenders who are ready for change, the Renewal Approach would have most to offer them. However, those who showed no readiness for change would follow another pathway - their readiness for change would be monitored in formal or informal ways over time. A key element of the Renewal Approach would be the establishment of a mentor from among the staff, who would act as an intermediary between the correctional system and the defender. The mentor would need to be able to develop rapport with the defender, so that lines of open communication are established. This person would make every effort to establish a supportive, co-operative, and trusting relationship with the defender.

The defender and the mentor would meet in co-operative and respectful dialogue to discuss change goals. These goals would reflect the problems the defender currently 'owns' and desires to change, and the mentor would be aware of the defender's need to tell a single, logical story about his life. In dialogue, the defender and mentor would create a change plan. The mentor may suggest courses that may be of help or of staff (or possibly even other defenders) within the jail environment that may be able to offer assistance and support.

Having decided upon a change plan, the defender would need to engage in the plan. He would need to take responsibility for making appointments to see people, or to enrol in courses, etc. As the defender engages in the plan, his

mentor would support him as much as necessary. He may wish to discuss difficulties he is experiencing with the change process, or celebrate achievements. The mentor would monitor the progress the defender is making. The system of mentoring and monitoring could continue throughout the defender's jail experience and into his re-integration in the community. Having different mentors over time would provide a variety of styles and approaches, and this may be of benefit to defenders, provided the culture of the co-operative alliance is maintained.

The process of mentoring would have a cyclic nature. Achievement of goals would lead to the discussion of where to go next, with new change goals identified. As long as the defender maintains a readiness to change, the cycle would continue. Case management strategies could also mesh in with the mentoring process as necessary.

The above example shows how the correctional system could be responsive to defenders who are ready to act as agents of personal change. Such an approach could create a co-operative alliance wherein the best of what the person can bring and the best the correctional system can offer are utilised in a respectful and supportive environment to produce outcomes that are good for the person and good for society.

The Renewal Approach and the indicators of readiness have implications for how the correctional system measures the success of rehabilitative programs.

Implications for the Outcomes of Correctional Rehabilitation

Under the current approach to correctional rehabilitation, the success of correctional programs is often measured against rates of recidivism. Much of the 'What Works' literature compares the recidivism rates of prisoners who engage in specific programs with the recidivism rates of those that do not receive the intervention (e.g. Burke, 2001; Cecil, 2000; Duguid, 1996; Steurer, 2003; Gehring, 2000).

A growing body of evidence suggests that rehabilitative programs do have a positive effect of recidivism. For example, Gerber and Fritsch (1995), reported on a meta-analysis of seven rigorous scientific studies, revealing that three of the studies show no correlation between education and recidivism, whilst the other four show strong positive correlations. Despite these mixed results, they claim that since Martinson's publication in 1974 declaring that 'nothing works', "we find few studies that show no correlation between prison education and recidivism" (p 126). Notwithstanding these apparently encouraging results, some of the research into recidivism is vague. This vagueness is produced, in part, by the fact that recidivism has been measured according to different criteria in different studies (Nuttall, 2003; Burke, 2001).

This may appear good news for the current approach to rehabilitation in jails, but it is not known whether the people for whom the programs 'work' are the same ones that are ready for change. Future research may be able to confirm whether delivering programs based on readiness and need is more effective in reducing recidivism than the current system that takes little account of readiness.

However, regardless of what effects the Renewal Approach may have on recidivism, in the Renewal Approach, recidivism as an outcome would be of less significance than positive life change.

Positive life change is both good for the defender and good for society, since it helps the defender tell a meaningful and coherent story of pro-social change. Any pro-social change in prisoners is a good outcome for the community, since pro-social change makes reductions in recidivism a more likely outcome. Therefore, although the Renewal Approach may not assess its performance according to reductions in recidivism, it is likely that reduced recidivism will occur as the result of positive life change. In fact, it is arguable that delivering programs to those who are most likely to benefit from them because of their readiness for change, will see increased reductions in recidivism.

Implications for Correctional Culture

The success of the Renewal Approach would depend on the establishment of a correctional culture that valued the strengths of prisoners and was prepared to co-operate with them to achieve positive life change outcomes in their lives. This would represent a major cultural shift from a policy level, and at a human resources level. For those working day-to-day within the correctional environment the Renewal Approach would demand astuteness to the complexities of the issues surrounding readiness, how to identify it in defenders, and how to best co-operate with those who are ready for change.

The correctional culture under the Renewal Approach would need to be responsive to the readiness of defenders. This means that the correctional system would identify who is ready for change, but allow those people to identify what they are ready to change. The correctional culture under the Renewal Approach would need to be respectful in how it relates to defenders who are ready for change. Defenders who are ready for change need to be regarded as people who bring critical resources and strengths to the change process. The correctional culture under the Renewal Approach would need to reflect why the correctional system relates to the defender who is ready for change. The purpose of the relationship is to support and help the defender who is ready for positive life change, not to punish him. These complex issues require astuteness on the part of staff.

In order to develop this new culture, the training of staff would be critical. Staff would have to be willing to create a new culture, and know how to develop trusting relationships with defenders. Staff would need to be prepared to work co-operatively with defenders and be available to offer the support they need when they need it. The culture would need to spread throughout the entire correctional system, so staff at all levels of the correctional system would need to understand and be able to work with the principles of the new culture.

Jail staff alone cannot create this new culture. It needs support at the local level by policies and procedures that allow defenders to receive the help they need when they need it. This may be difficult to achieve in the jail environment where security is a major focus, however, without supportive organisational procedures at the local level, the correctional system would not be able to create a supportive and co-operative alliance with defenders who are

ready for change. Defenders would need to be able to see that the 'system' is making a serious effort to engage with them.

Jail programs would also need to be supportive of the new culture and the new approach. They would need to be written in a way that acknowledges the strengths that defenders who are ready to change bring to the rehabilitation process.

Implications for Resource Allocation

The concept that the correctional system should respond to defenders who are ready for change has implications for how finite resources within the jail are administered. For example, to what extent should rehabilitative programs and resources (which are finite) be available to defenders who show no evidence of readiness for change? Allocating such resources to defenders who are not ready for change means that fewer resources are available to those who are.

However, on the other hand, there is support in the literature that correctional programs help people adjust to the jail environment, decrease levels of anxiety, and provide an interesting diversion to prison life (Clear, 2002; Dammer, 2002; Park, 2004; Stino, 1998). Such equity and duty of care issues need due consideration, since the correctional system's ability to be responsive to defenders who are ready for change would be influenced by how it allocates its resources.

In addition to the possible human costs of the Renewal Approach referred to above, there would undoubtedly be a financial cost involved in implementing the Renewal Approach. However, as the first chapter of this thesis points out,

crime already poses a high cost to the community. If people who are ready to change are supported by the correctional system to make positive life change, the ultimate cost to society may be reduced, both in financial terms and in human terms.

The ability to identify the indicators implies that it may also be possible to map or profile readiness.

Implications for a New Profiling Tool

Profiling tools are commonly used with offender populations. In NSW jails, profiling tools are used routinely to assess criminogenic needs. The Level of Service Inventory-Revised (LSI-R) (Andrews, 2001) is a profiling tool that has been used to assess where defenders and offenders have deficits (their criminogenic needs), and measures the level of risk they pose to the community. The correctional system makes decisions about who should gain access to which programs, and for how long, based on these assessments.

The indicators of readiness may lend themselves as a rudimentary profiling tool. They do have the ability to reveal qualitatively different levels of readiness within narratives. This was clearly seen in the narrative data, and this discussion has mentioned on a number of occasions that of all the defenders in this study, Pete showed the least evidence of readiness on all the indicators. Appendix J presents side-by-side selections from the narratives of William and Pete showing evidential differences in their states of readiness. It is evident from Appendix J that the indicators have the capacity to discriminate between states of readiness. This could be useful in the Renewal Approach for selecting

appropriate candidates for the approach, and for assessing changes in a person's readiness over time.

Notwithstanding the ability of the indicators to have some discriminatory power, research into the use of profiling tools with offender populations reveals the complexity of such tools (e.g. Alison, 2002; Douglas, 1986; Davies, 1997; House, 1997). Alison (2002) claims that profiling tools need to account for two factors that affect human behaviour. On the one hand, they need to account for personological factors that affect human behaviour. These are seen to be relatively stable over time. The indicators of readiness reveal what appears to be a set of stable personological factors that are central to how the self acts as an agent of personal change. Any profiling tool would need to account for the indicators. However, according to Alison (2002), profiling tools also need to account for situational factors. People behave differently in different situations. Their personological factors may be stable and may not change greatly, but the way they are expressed, and which ones are expressed, is often dependent on the situation. For example, a defender may indicate a strong readiness to change at one point of time and within the context of one particular jail. If he is moved to another jail where his readiness is not recognised or responded to in a timely manner, he may decide that he cannot get the help he needs and may give up on change, at least in that situation.

Situational factors may involve a variety of issues. They may involve the classification of the jail (whether high, medium or low security); they may involve differences in prisoners (offenders/defenders, gender differences, age differences, etc). They may involve where a person is situated in terms of how much time he has served in jail. Based on what Alison (2002) is saying, the

indicators could become the basis of a profiling tool, but situational factors would also need consideration, and a variety of tools may be needed to account for various situations.

Conclusion

This study into how defenders indicate their readiness for positive life change has important implications for how correctional systems approach defenders who are ready for change, and how they assess the outcomes of the correctional programs they deliver to such people. It also has important implications for the development of an organisational culture that is able to support defenders who are ready for change. In this respect, the question is whether the correctional system itself is ready for the kind of changes required by the Renewal Approach. This study has further implications for the allocation of resources in the light of readiness, and for the design of profiling tools to map readiness.

The next and final chapter of this thesis makes some recommendations about these implications, and concludes this discussion.

CHAPTER 10

RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

This final chapter of this thesis makes recommendations for policy and research based on the findings, considers the strengths and limitations of this research, and concludes by presenting the main thesis of this discussion.

Over sixty years ago, Nott observed that prisoners do not change because the state is ready for them to change; they change because they are ready to change (cited in Blake, 1988). This observation has been a guiding light in this research. The study reveals how defenders act as agents of personal change, and how they indicate their readiness to do so through their narratives. The implications of this revelation, discussed in the last chapter, are profound. The fact that some defenders are ready to be their own agents of change, and that they indicate that fact, implies that, for these people, the state cannot be the primary agent of change in their lives. The best the state can do is to support them make the changes they are ready to make.

The previous chapter suggests that a new approach to correctional rehabilitation may be needed in the light of the findings of this research. New outcomes may be needed that reflect an emphasis on readiness rather than recidivism. A new correctional culture may be needed that will respect, support and co-operate with defenders who are ready for change. These are significant implications and, although they call for substantial policy changes, this discussion recommends that politicians and correctional policy makers consider

these implications seriously. However, in the shorter term, more achievable issues can be directed to the research community. These are the recommendations listed in this chapter.

Recommendations for Further Research

The recommendations arising from this study point to the need for further research in three areas: validation studies; methodological studies; and studies into the operational definition of the readiness construct.

Validation Studies

This study recommends that research be conducted to further test the validity of the indicators. This study strongly suggests that the indicators of readiness have internal and conceptual validity. Studies similar to this one may be able to confirm this validity. However, the design of this current research did not allow the validity of the indicators to be assessed with different populations or in different contexts.

There is a need to test the external validity of the indicators. Although the indicators reflect realities referred to in the literature, they also reflect the 'truth' of only one small group of people. Further research is needed into their generalisability to other correctional populations and contexts. Within the correctional environment, these populations could include other defenders,

offenders, young offenders, women offenders, offenders serving community orders, and ex-offenders.

The external validity of the indicators could be tested not only against different populations, but also within different contexts. They may have validity for offenders in the community context, or those on periodic detention. Profiling tools to test for readiness would need to account for the effects of these different situations. The indicators may also describe how people in non-custodial contexts show their readiness for change. If so, this could have important implications for people facing social problems like homelessness, long-term unemployment, or domestic violence. In this regard, the indicators of readiness may be of interest to social workers, psychologists, or government or community agencies that work with people facing these kinds of problems.

The predictive ability of the indicators could be tested. This thesis has argued that individual readiness for change is a critical factor that needs to be accounted for and responded to in the rehabilitative process. In highlighting the importance of individual readiness, this thesis argues that from a conceptual level there is logic in aligning readiness and positive rehabilitative outcomes. However, individual readiness is not presented in this thesis as a panacea or a guarantee that offenders will change, since the readiness of the individual is impacted by external factors, such as the ability of the correctional system to respond supportively. Research is now possible into the complex question of the predictive validity of these indicators of readiness in terms of a person's actual life change. Do people who evidence the indicators of readiness make the changes for which they indicate a readiness? How able are the indicators to predict positive life change outcomes? Clearly, the indicators would be of great

practical use if they were able to predict the likelihood of positive change outcomes. Longitudinal designs could be used to test the predictive ability of the indicators.

Correlation studies are recommended to clarify how readiness and the indicators are related to certain variables. For example, what relationships exist between the length of time a person spends in a correctional environment and their readiness for change? Some authors have commented that correctional environments damage people (Warner, 2005; Findlay, 2005), whereas others indicate that people can often feel better about their life within the jail context (Bradley, 2002; Erickson, 2002). Crossley (2003) found that crises often cause people to re-interpret or look for new meanings in their lives. It would be helpful to explore the effects of these different variables on people who are ready for change, and how they affect readiness.

Other correlation studies could test the possible relationships existing between people who are ready for change and such variables as age, gender, ethnicity, cultural background, and offense type. Follow-up studies could examine whether there are any hierarchies or sequences operating within the indicators. Understanding the relationships between the indicators (and the readiness concept) and these variables would provide a better understanding of the complexities of readiness for change.

In addition to validation studies, there is a need to examine other methodologies for identifying the indicators.

Methodology Studies

There is a need to research other methodologies for identifying readiness because the narrative methodology may not be suitable for all people. Research from Snow and Powell (2005) provides empirical evidence that some people lack the sense of a 'narrative grammar', making it difficult for them to express their reality through narratives. Snow's study suggests that young offenders who are still active in criminal activity often have a poor ability to construct and interpret personal narratives. The researchers found that:

....young offenders were less able than the comparison group to articulate the protagonist's *plan*, the *direct consequences* of a character's actions, and the way in which a *resolution* to events was achieved. Importantly, the young offenders in this study did not simply perform more poorly on this measure than their age peers – they performed significantly more poorly than a typically developing group of young people who were on average 2 years younger and had 1 year less formal education. (p. 246, italics original authors').

The above quote suggests further evidence that narratives may not be the best method for some people for collecting data about their readiness for change. The young offenders in Snow's study did not necessarily have problems with spoken language per se, but rather with the demands of 'narrative grammar'. The study does not show whether the same is true for older offenders, but it does raise the possibility that narratives may present some difficulties within

correctional populations. This poses some imperative on finding other methodologies for the collection of data about readiness.

There appears to be no evidence that the young defenders in this present study found any difficulties with a 'narrative grammar', however, this study did identify two groups of people for whom the narrative approach may be inappropriate. Defenders were excluded from participating in this study if they had low functional levels of English, and if they had significant mental health issues that could adversely affect their ability to conduct an interview. However, both groups of people are represented in significant numbers in the NSW correctional population (Heggie, 2005). Therefore, there could be people within remand jails who are ready for change, but the narrative approach to identifying their readiness may not be suitable for them.

Apart from people for whom the narrative approach may not be suitable, there are other reasons for exploring alternative methodologies. Readiness is a dynamic quality. The narratives have revealed that people who are not ready for change, were not always so. Maruna (2001) observed that people who desist from crime and those who are active offenders are not two different kinds of people. They are people who are in different stages of their criminal careers, since most offenders eventually desist. In very similar ways, people who are not ready for change are not essentially different from those who are ready; they are the same kind of people in different stages of the change process. This means that testing for readiness in defenders is not a one-off event. People would need to be tested more than once, so there could be a need for different methods of testing them. Repeatedly asking for a personal narrative may be inappropriate in some cases.

Furthermore, the defenders in this study exhibited a great deal of trust and good will when they participated in this study. Telling the story of their lives to someone whom they did not know, who worked for the system that had incarcerated them, and who was taping their words, was an act of courage and trust. Not all defenders may be so trusting, even though the ability to trust is a factor of being an agent of personal change. Therefore, having an alternate method of identifying readiness would be of great practical benefit within the jail system.

The third recommendation involves an operational definition of readiness.

Operational Definition of Readiness

This study has identified the indicators of readiness, and provided a conceptual understanding of what is involved in being an agent of personal change; however, the readiness for positive life change concept needs to be operationally defined for it to be most useful in practice. Before the indicators could be used in practice, or before they could be used to create a profiling tool, it would need to be established when a person can be deemed ready for change.

The problem with defining readiness becomes evident when examining the data. Appendix J shows that the indicators have the ability to discriminate between William who shows much evidence of readiness for change and Pete who shows little evidence of readiness. However, does this mean that Pete is not ready for change? Within the broader scope of Pete's narrative, he does seem to have some desire for change, some awareness of his problems, and some sense of personal goals. However, he is indecisive about his goals, he has clearly made

no decision to change, he has little sense of agency, he finds it difficult to trust people, and he makes no serious attempt to engage in change behaviour. Does the fact that he evidences some of the indicators mean that he is ready for change? Perhaps Pete is only partially ready for change. Alternatively, does the fact that he has made no decision to change and has little agency mean that he is not ready for change at all?

The reason it is difficult to define readiness is that readiness is a generalised internal state, while the indicators of readiness are specific behaviours and/or attitudes. Hampson (1995, cited in Alison, 2002) identified a problem with this particular combination. The problem is that, according to Hampson, it is always difficult to make valid assessments of generalised states based upon specific traits. Hampson called this the 'bandwidth-fidelity issue'. The bandwidth-fidelity issue holds that specific traits are good indicators of specific behaviours, but poor indicators of generalised traits. In other words, it may be possible to predict with some accuracy that a defender who 'Owns the Problem' would recognise that he should do something to overcome the problem, but that does not necessarily mean he is ready to do anything about his problems, or that he has any other dimensions of readiness. According to the bandwidth-fidelity issue, the indicator is better at predicting even more specific behaviours than it is at predicting the more generalised state of readiness.

This raises some critical questions. If specific indicators are not necessarily reliable indications of the generalised state of readiness, how many indicators does a person need to evidence before they are ready for change? How much evidence of the indicators is required to determine readiness? Are there degrees of readiness? Do the different indicators suggest that people can be

ready for some things, but not others? Are there critical indicators without which behavioural change is not possible, and, if so, what are these critical indicators? Questions such as these underlie the difficulty in defining readiness. This study recommends that further research be conducted to answer these conceptual difficulties and to arrive at an operational definition of readiness for positive life change that could be used in practice.

The strengths and limitations of this study are considered in the discussion that follows.

Strengths and Limitations of this Research

The Strengths

This study has numerous strengths that should be acknowledged and that may be used to guide future research. The first three strengths presented in this section represent the main contributions this study makes to scholarship and practice.

The study offers a set of indicators of readiness for positive life change in defenders. These indicators fulfil the primary purpose of the study, and represent a significant contribution to correctional rehabilitation. A particular strength of the indicators is that they reflect complex realities in five simple and transparent propositions. These indicators are of a general nature, with definition added by the dimensions. The fact that they are general may be a further strength of the indicators, perhaps making them adaptable to other populations and other

contexts. Although the indicators need the support of further research, they represent a significant step forward in knowledge.

Another major contribution of this study is that it illuminates an issue that was raised by Nott over half a century ago, but has received little attention to date. It provides a theoretical understanding of the issue of defender readiness for positive life change. The concept of the self as an agent of change, bringing together insights from previously unrelated theories and models and applying them to the field of correctional rehabilitation represents a major contribution to knowledge.

Not only does this study make important contributions to rehabilitation theory, it proposes a new approach for practice. The Renewal Approach presented in this thesis sets a new direction for correctional practice. For the first time, under the Renewal Approach the state and the person would work together in a co-operative alliance, each recognising, and valuing the resources both sides bring to the change process. Although more work is needed on the Renewal Approach, this study offers a conceptual framework to underpin it, and some suggestions as to how it might be structured. This is a particular strength of this study.

This study demonstrates the ability of narratives to reveal the indicators of readiness. It reveals that conceptually and practically the narrative methodology has much to offer correctional rehabilitation in terms of readiness. A strength of the grounded theory design is that it affords defenders a great deal of control over the data that is collected, and permits theory to be constructed directly from data. The data collection process employed in this study respected and empowered defenders as agents of change, gave them control over their

disclosures, and did not 'lead' them into pre-determined directions. This allowed them to reveal the 'truth' of their underlying narrative and express their readiness on their own terms, and facilitated the construction of indicators that emerged, not from theory, but directly from data.

The research is integrated by a clear constructivist philosophy that permeates all aspects of the study. The theoretical indicators were constructed from the insights of other researchers; the narrative methodology is based on the idea that people reflect and construct their realities; grounded theory sees theory constructed directly from data.

The researcher's stance as an employee within the jail context facilitated access to defenders and staff participants, which, in practical terms, was a strength of the study. Jails can be difficult places in which to work and conduct research, as others have noted (Alison, 2004; Batchelder, 2002a; Reuss, 2000). Having limited access to the defenders and staff, particularly a remand jail with such transient populations, would make a study such as this present one much more difficult. Therefore, being both a researcher and an employee within the jail is of practical advantage.

The Limitations

Largely, the limitations of this study reflect choices made about the study design. This study seeks to create theory rather than test theory. As a qualitative study, it seeks to explore new areas of knowledge and reveal new understandings about defenders within a jail context. The study has achieved this purpose, but

has done so using a small sample size, limited to one type of prisoner (adult male defenders), and in one location. Furthermore, it excluded people who had significant mental health or language barriers, and these are reasonably common issues within the jail population. These choices in the study design mean that, although the indicators are shown to be conceptually valid, they cannot yet be generalised to other populations.

A final limitation, and strength, of this study is that it reflects, and is enriched by, the researcher's stance as both an academic observer of the world defenders inhabit, and a participant within it. Although this study centres on the stories of nine defenders, it is undeniably true that the researcher, as a teacher working with defenders for over seven years, has heard many life stories. This experience has given the researcher a 'sense' of how readiness is encountered in defenders. In this regard, the researcher shares much in common with the other staff participants. They too, had a 'sense' of how readiness is encountered, and, guided by this sense, they suggested the names of defenders who could be appropriate participants in the study. It appears that their 'sense' was largely accurate.

However, it is important to acknowledge that, although the staff participants collectively validated all the indicators of readiness, none of them did so as individuals. In other words, although they had a general 'sense' of how to identify readiness, they were not able to produce a list that was as comprehensive as the findings. The researcher shared much in common with them in this regard. The researcher did not begin this project with a list of indicators in mind. They emerged from the data following many hours spent analysing the narrative data. When the indicators finally did emerge, they 'made

sense' to the researcher, as a practitioner. In other words, they accorded with his experience.

The general 'sense' of how readiness is encountered also partly guided the selection of relevant literature. Chapter 6 of this thesis has shown that although the literature did not drive the construction of the indicators, academic requirements regarding the thesis proposal and the demands of ethics committees called for some theoretical framework before the data collection process could begin. Based on the researcher's experience working with defenders, some ideas in the literature 'felt' more relevant than others. This intuitive sense surrounding readiness partly guided the selection of the literature.

Bauer (1986) claims it is a crime to promote value-free education. It is equally inadmissible to claim that the researcher's 'sense' of how readiness is encountered in defenders could not have influenced the findings of this study (Norum, 2000). There may be some advantage in recommending that someone who is not 'biased' by the experience of working in a jail conduct a similar study; however, such a person may be 'biased' by the fact of having read (about) this study. The fact that there is much accord between the findings, the staff data and the literature, suggests that any 'bias' may be minimal, but it cannot be discounted.

Reflections on the Thesis

The main contribution of this thesis is that it identifies five indicators by which defenders show they are ready for positive life change. The thesis began

with an historical review of correctional practice, with a particular focus on NSW, showing how the current approach to correctional rehabilitation developed. The discussion considered limitations of this approach and others, some of which stretched back over 66 years to the time of Nott.

Nott recognised that prisoners do not change unless they are ready for change. He reflected that unless change comes from within prisoners, the state could do little to change them. Nott recognised that something positive occurs within some prisoners. For those who do have the inner resources to change, the appropriate role for the state is to “often aid and occasionally inspire” (Blake, 1988, pp 13-14). In other words, the state needs recognise the positive and support such prisoners.

The current approach to correctional rehabilitation appears to remember little of Nott’s wisdom. The state takes note of the inner realities of prisoners, but mostly it sees deficits. It delivers programs based on need and risk – those who pose the greatest risk to society receive programs. Little, if any, attention is given to the positive internal resources prisoners may bring to the change process. In fact, these resources are poorly understood.

In identifying the indicators of readiness, this thesis brings some understanding of the positive resources some defenders bring to correctional rehabilitation. This study has shown some defenders bring the resources they need to act as their own agents of change. Not only do they bring these resources, they reveal they have them in the way they tell their life story.

This study employed a narrative methodology and a grounded theory design to reveal 5 indicators and 10 dimensions of readiness. The narrative data show that the five indicators and their dimensions capture how defenders indicate

their readiness for change. By comparing the indicators with data from staff and with insights from the literature, their internal and conceptual validity is established.

The findings that some defenders are ready to be their own agents of change, and that readiness can be identified, suggests that readiness should also be taken into account when deciding who would benefit most from rehabilitative programs. Following Nott's logic, the people who are most likely to benefit from programs, and who are most likely to change from having received them, are the ones who are ready for change and ready for those programs. Therefore, the existence of the indicators of readiness suggests that a new approach to correctional rehabilitation is needed for some defenders.

A new approach based on the strengths of defenders and mutual co-operation would call for cultural change within correctional organisations. Paternalistic, patronising and punitive cultures are not appropriate for a system that values a defender's strengths and seeks to co-operate with him. The success of efforts to assist defenders should not legitimately be measured against whether they eventually return to custody, but rather according to whether they make the positive life change for which they indicate a readiness. Any life change is valuable to society if it moves the defender towards a pro-social lifestyle, even if it does not immediately solve all his problems. Positive life change is positive if it is good for the defender and good for society.

Avenues for future research involve establishing the external validity of the indicators and their predictive ability. There is a need to explore methodologies other than the personal narrative for those defenders who are

unable to work with the complexities of the narrative form, and to establish an operational definition of the readiness construct.

Final Conclusion

This thesis began with a focus on the past, with a view to understand how the state has tried to change its prisoners over the last two hundred years. It ends here with its focus firmly fixed on the future. It looks forward to a time when defenders are not defined by their deficits and limitations. It looks forward to a time when people who are ready for change are valued and empowered by the correctional system. It looks forward to the time when the defender and the state can work co-operatively and respectfully on achieving outcomes that are beneficial for everyone.

This study has shed light on how defenders indicate they are ready for positive life change. The indicators presented here are conceptually valid and are supported by solid research and insights from experienced jail staff. This study has provided an understanding of what is involved when people become ready to be agents of change in their own lives. The ideas presented in this thesis may be uncomfortable for some people because they represent a different way of looking at defenders. The future envisaged here is a possibility, but whether it becomes a reality depends upon the decisions made in the present. It depends upon decisions made by researchers as to whether the ideas presented in this thesis are considered worth following through with further studies. It depends on politicians and policy makers to decide whether the ideas presented in this thesis

are politically and financially responsible. It depends on people working in the jails as to whether they can see defenders as potentially empowered and responsible people.

Sixty-six years ago, Nott observed that although the state can try to be an agent of change, it could never be as potent an agent of change as the prisoner himself. Nott had the realisation, but he did not have a conceptual framework supporting his concept of readiness, nor did he have a means to identify it. In the years since Nott made his observations, thousands of prisoners have received little benefit from his insight. However here, in the pages of this thesis, born from the prison system that Nott once knew, he speaks again. This time he is supported by the insights and findings of this study.

An opportunity exists to move the rehabilitation of defenders into a new era. A different future is possible if the vision can be captured and believed, and the will to make it a reality can be summoned.

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APPENDIXES

APPENDIX A: Letter of Permission to Conduct Research from NSW Department of Corrective Services



NSW Department of Corrective Services

Stephen Barlow
DCS Teacher

[Redacted]
[Redacted]
[Redacted]

06/2122

Dear Mr Barlow

I refer to your research application entitled "Indicators of readiness for positive life change amongst defenders in a NSW remand centre" which seeks to investigate how readiness for positive life change can be identified in remand inmates. Having an idea of the indicators of this type of readiness may have important and practical benefits for program delivery, particularly in the area of education programs.

I am pleased to inform you that conditional approval has been given for your research project. The approval is given on the following grounds:

1. ensure that the inmates chosen to participate in the project are not or have not been the applicants' student; and
2. ensure that a referral system is in place for inmates to access psychological services, if needed or requested.

This approval is dependent upon your compliance with the attached "Terms and Conditions of Research Approval" (Attachment 1).


I wish you every success in your endeavours.

Yours sincerely


RON WOODHAM
Commissioner
19 May 2006

ALL CRATEKEEPER AND OTHER RELEVANT STAFF
IN ORDER TO CONDUCT THIS RESEARCH PROJECT MR BARLOW IS AUTHORIZED TO BRING INTO THE CENTRE AND USE A HAND HELD RECORDING DEVICE (DICTAPHONE) UNTIL FURTHER NOTICE.

cc: [Redacted]
Manager, Offender Services & Programs,
Director, Offender Services & Programs


LARRY BOLGER
GENERAL MANAGER

20/9/06



ATTACHMENT 1:

TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF RESEARCH APPROVALProject entitled:

"Indicators of readiness for positive life change amongst defenders in a NSW remand centre"

Chief Investigator:

Stephen Barlow
DCS Teacher

1. RESEARCH PROTOCOLS

- 1.1 Approval is granted for the above research project, in accordance with the research application and additional research documentation dated 7 April 2006, **except where the original protocols have been superseded by any specific conditions which have been documented in the Commissioner's attached correspondence.**
- 1.2 Specifically, it is understood that project seeks to investigate how readiness for positive life change can be identified in remand inmates. Having an idea of the indicators of this type of readiness may have important and practical benefits for program delivery, particularly in the area of education programs.
- 1.3 The Chief Investigator and co-investigators must ensure that the inmates' participation is entirely voluntary and must obtain the free and informed written consent of the inmates to participate in this study.
- 1.4 The Chief Investigators and co-investigators must ensure that the inmates' are free to decline to answer any questions or discontinue their participation at any time, without penalty or prejudice of any kind.
- 1.5 The Chief Investigators and co-investigators must ensure that identifying information, such as individual names, etc., does not appear on any research notes, electronic files, or any other recorded mediums, where an alternative unique identifier should be utilised.
- 1.6 The Chief Investigator and co-investigators must ensure that identifying information, such as individual names, does not appear in any reports or research findings. The information must not be presented in any manner which could allow the inadvertent identification of any individual person.
- 1.7 The Chief Investigators and co-investigators must ensure that confidentiality is strictly maintained at all times and that research materials (including research notes, electronic data, etc.) and consent forms are stored separately and securely (e.g. in locked filing cabinets, password protected file access).
- 1.8 The Chief Investigator and co-investigator must ensure that the only reports or publications to be produced from this research project are those detailed in the original research application.

2. AMENDMENTS —

2.1. Participation

- the researcher is to ensure that inmates chosen to participate in the project are not or have not been his student.

Referral System

- the researcher must ensure that a referral system is in place for inmates to access psychological services, if needed.

2.2 For relevant projects, criminal record checks must be undertaken by the NSW Department of Corrective Services on all external researchers involved in the research project who require entry into any NSW correctional centre. In fulfilling this requirement, the Chief Investigator must contact the Governor of the correctional centre, in the first instance, in order to initiate the criminal record check.

3. CONDITIONS —

- 3.1 This approval is dependent on the Chief Investigator and Co-investigators not unduly interfering with the normal operations or the good order of any departmental facilities in any way.
- 3.2 For relevant projects, this research is to be undertaken at a date and time suitable to the relevant General Manager(s) of each correctional centre. The Chief Investigator and Co-investigators must comply with all supervision, safety, search and security controls imposed at all times
- 3.3 For relevant projects, due to the possible sensitivity of the subject matter, debriefing and counselling must be provided to individuals by appropriate centre-based staff or appropriately delegated staff, when required.
- 3.4 Should any harm or risk to participants or breaches of any approved protocols be discovered during the course of conducting the research project, the Chief Investigator must report this immediately to the Assistant Commissioner, Offender Management (ph.: 02 – 8346 – 1344).
- 3.5 Individual information, data or unit records from this research project must not be linked in any way to any other individual person's information, data or unit records from other past, present or future information sources or research studies, unless expressly stated in the original research application.
- 3.6 If the research study is not completed within three months of the approval date, quarterly progress reports on the research study, with details on the status of the project, security of information, etc., must be presented to the Director, Corporate Research, Evaluation and Statistics.

- 3.7 Approval for this project is valid for twelve (12) months from the specified date of approval. A written request for the renewal of the project for a further period must be submitted by the Chief Investigator if the project is incomplete, for whatever reason(s), at the end of the original twelve (12) month approval period.
- 3.8 A copy of any reports and/or research findings must be submitted to the Director, Corporate Research, Evaluation and Statistics, for eventual inclusion in the department's library.
- 3.9 The Chief Investigator and Co-investigators consent to the release of the following personal information which will be published in the annual NSW Department of Corrective Services Research Program under 'Part V: Requests to conduct research in NSW correctional facilities: List of approved projects'.

Investigator: Stephen Barlow
DCS Teacher


Project Title: Indicators of readiness for positive life change amongst defenders in a NSW remand centre

- 3.10 The Commissioner reserves the right to amend or withdraw approval for any research project at any stage.
- 3.11 Under no circumstances will the Chief Investigators or Co-Investigators depart from the approved protocol without the prior written consent of the Commissioner of the NSW Department of Corrective Services.
- 3.12 **Prior to commencing the research study**, a signed copy of these terms and conditions, containing the "*Declaration by the Project Investigator(s)*", must be submitted to the Director, Corporate Research, Evaluation and Statistics.

DECLARATION BY THE PROJECT INVESTIGATOR(S)

ⓈPrior to commencing the research study, this declaration is to be completed and submitted to: Director, Corporate Research, Evaluation and Statistics, NSW Department of Corrective Services, GPO Box 31, Sydney NSW 2001 or facsimile to (02) 8346- 1590.

I, the undersigned, as applicants for the research study entitled "*Indicators of readiness for positive life change amongst defenders in a NSW remand centre*" and referred to in the application for approval to conduct research dated 7 April 2006 declare that:

- (1) I have read and agree to comply with the terms and conditions of approval specified in this Attachment 1.
- (2) I accept full responsibility for the conduct of all aspects of the research project.
- (3) Under no circumstances will I depart from the approved protocol, as stated in these terms and conditions, without the prior written consent of the Commissioner of the NSW Department of Corrective Services.



21/6/06

Human Research Ethics Committee

Committee Approval Form

<p>Principal Investigator/Supervisor: Dr Maureen Walsh Sydney Campus</p> <p>Co-Investigators:</p> <p>Student Researcher: Mr Stephen Barlow Sydney Campus</p>

<p>Ethics approval has been granted for the following project: Indicators of readiness for positive life change amongst defenders in a NSW remand centre.</p> <p>for the period: 3 August 2006 to 1 July 2007</p> <p>Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC) Register Number: N200506 49</p>
--

The following standard conditions as stipulated in the *National Statement on Ethical Conduct in Research Involving Humans* (1999) apply:

- (i) that Principal Investigators / Supervisors provide, on the form supplied by the Human Research Ethics Committee, annual reports on matters such as:
 - security of records
 - compliance with approved consent procedures and documentation
 - compliance with special conditions, and
- (ii) that researchers report to the HREC immediately any matter that might affect the ethical acceptability of the protocol, such as:
 - proposed changes to the protocol
 - unforeseen circumstances or events
 - adverse effects on participants

The HREC will conduct an audit each year of all projects deemed to be of more than minimum risk. There will also be random audits of a sample of projects considered to be of minimum risk on all campuses each year.

Within one month of the conclusion of the project, researchers are required to complete a *Final Report Form* and submit it to the local Research Services Officer.

If the project continues for more than one year, researchers are required to complete an *Annual Progress Report Form* and submit it to the local Research Services Officer within one month of the anniversary date of the ethics approval.

K. Pashley

Signed: _____ Date: 3 August 2006
(Research Services Officer, McAuley Campus)



Australian Catholic University
Brisbane Sydney Canberra Ballarat Melbourne

INFORMATION LETTER TO INMATE PARTICIPANTS

TITLE OF PROJECT: *IDENTIFYING READINESS FOR POSITIVE LIFE CHANGE
IN REMAND INMATES*

NAME OF PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: *DR MAUREEN WALSH*

NAME OF STUDENT RESEARCHER: *MR STEPHEN BARLOW*

PhD RESEARCH PROJECT. (Australian Catholic University)

Dear _____,

You are invited to participate in a research study on identifying readiness for positive life change amongst remand inmates at (name of jail). This study is part of a PhD project I am undertaking with Australian Catholic University. You will be asked to participate in two interviews, where you will be asked to discuss aspects of your life story up till now. These interviews will be audiotaped.

Some inmates may find it upsetting to talk about their past, and you need to consider this possibility before agreeing to participate. If you feel upset after the interview(s) you will have the opportunity to speak to the psychologist in your area.

The two interviews will last no more than an hour each, and will be conducted in the mornings, sometime between 9am and 11am. If you have work commitments with CSI, arrangement will be made with the Overseers to enable you to attend the interviews. During the interviews, you will not be asked to read or write anything.

This research could help make Education programs in correctional centres more helpful to inmates. You may also find the interviews interesting and you may enjoy talking about your life. Participating in the research will not help or hinder your legal case. It will not have any other effect on your time in gaol. Reports on the research may be published, but your name will never be mentioned and no one will ever know you participated in the study.

You do not have to participate in this study, and if you agree to, you will be free to leave the study at any time you choose without having to give any explanation of why you left. If you decided to leave the study before the two interviews were finished, it would have no effect on your ability to access Education or any other programs. No one other than me will know you were ever involved.

To make sure noone ever knows who is involved in this study, the names on the consent forms will be kept secure (outside of the gaol), and your real name will never be used in any reports. False names will be used to refer to participants, and noone will be able to work out who actually took part.

If you have any questions, I am happy to answer them. You can come to see me, Steve Barlow, Area 2 Education at xxxxx. I am at the centre Monday to Friday. If you would like to get feedback on the study, you can write to me at the following address:

Steve Barlow
Education, Area 2
(name of jail)

To ensure that the rights of all participants are observed, this study has been approved by the Ethics Committee of the Department of Corrective Services and the Human Research Ethics Committee at Australian Catholic University.

If you have a complaint or concern about the way you have been treated in this study, you are advised to consult the researcher, Steve Barlow, or the Welfare Officer in your area and we can arrange for you to write a letter to the Chair of the Ethics Committee at Australian Catholic University or DCS. Any complaint or concern will be treated in confidence and you will be informed of the outcome.

If you agree to participate in this project, you should sign both copies of the Consent Form, keep a copy for yourself and give the other one to me.

Yours sincerely,

Steve Barlow
Student Researcher

Dr Maureen Walsh
Principal Supervisor



Australian Catholic University
Brisbane Sydney Canberra Ballarat Melbourne

INFORMATION LETTER TO STAFF PARTICIPANTS

TITLE OF PROJECT: *IDENTIFYING READINESS FOR POSITIVE LIFE CHANGE
IN REMAND INMATES*

NAME OF PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: *DR MAUREEN WALSH*

NAME OF STUDENT RESEARCHER: *MR STEPHEN BARLOW*

PhD RESEARCH PROJECT. (Australian Catholic University)

Dear _____,

You are invited to participate in a research study on identifying readiness for positive life change amongst remand inmates at xxxxx. This study is part of a PhD project I am undertaking at Australian Catholic University. You will be asked to participate in an interview, where you will be asked to give examples inmates whom you consider showed signs of readiness for positive life change, and those that you consider did not. These interviews will be audiotaped.

You are unlikely to find the process overly demanding, and the interview should take a maximum of one hour. It will be scheduled for a mutually convenient time that will not affect your other duties.

This research could help make Education and other rehabilitative programs in correctional centres more helpful to inmates. The ability to identify an inmate's readiness for positive life change could lead to better rehabilitative outcomes. Reports on the research may be published, but your name will never be mentioned and no one will ever know you participated in the study.

You do not have to participate in this study, and if you agree to, you will be free to leave the study at any time you choose without having to give any explanation of why you left.

To make sure no one ever knows who is involved in this study, the names on the consent forms will be kept secure (outside of the gaol, and separate from the data), and your real name will never be used in any reports. Pseudonyms will be used to refer to all participants.

I will be happy to provide you with feedback on the results of the study, in due course. If you have any questions, I am happy to answer them. I can be contacted at;

Steve Barlow
Education, Area 2
xxxxx

To ensure that the rights of all participants are observed, this study has been approved by the Ethics Committee of the Department of Corrective Services and the Human Research Ethics Committee at Australian Catholic University.

If you have a complaint or concern about the way you have been treated in this study, you may write to;

Chair, HREC
C/o Research Services
Australian Catholic University
Strathfield Campus
Locked Bag 2002
STRATHFIELD NSW 2135
Tel: 02 9701 4093
Fax: 02 9701 4350

If you agree to participate in this project, you should sign both copies of the Consent Form, keep a copy for yourself and give the other one to me.

Yours sincerely,

Steve Barlow
Student Researcher

Dr Maureen Walsh
Principal Supervisor

*APPENDIX E: Informed Consent Form*INFORMED CONSENT FORM

You have been asked to participate in a study that is being conducted at xxxx. The name of this study is: 'Indicators of readiness for positive life change amongst remand inmates in a NSW remand centre'. The purpose of this study is to gain an idea of how to identify inmates who might be ready to change their lives in positive, socially acceptable ways. To do this, 8 inmates and 10 staff members from xxxx will be interviewed.

Inmates who participate in this study will be interviewed twice, and each interview will last about an hour. Staff participants, who will include staff from Psychology, Welfare, Alcohol and Other Drugs, Clergy, Education, Probation and Parole, and custodial officers, will be interviewed once, and this interview will last up to an hour. All interviews will be conducted in private and will be audio taped and, after the interview, these tapes will be transcribed. No names will be used in the transcriptions, so nobody will be able to identify any participants. All tapes and transcripts of the interviews will be kept in a locked cabinet outside the correctional centre and nobody apart from the researcher will be able to access it.

In the first interview with inmates, participants will be asked some questions about their lives, what has happened to them in the past, people who have been important to them, and how they see their life and their future. The second interview will take place no more than 3 months after the first, but possibly much sooner. In the time between the two interviews the researcher will listen to the interviews and transcribe them. In the second interview, inmate participants will be free to add to or remove or clarify any information given in the first interview, or to ask any questions about the information or the process. The researcher may also ask some questions about information already given, or check to see that he has correctly understood what was said. Interviews with staff will involve providing accounts of inmates whom they have known and would consider good examples of people who were ready for positive life change, or examples of people who were not. Staff will be asked to ensure no personal or place names are used, so no individuals or places can be identified.

All participants, both inmate and staff, will be free to say what they like. They do not have to answer any question they do not wish to, or give any information they do not wish to give. Inmate participants will not be asked and are not expected to discuss any offences they may have committed or any information about their legal cases. However, inmates should understand that whilst the information provided through the interviews is strictly confidential, if the inmate chooses to disclose any information about offences they may have committed and for which they have not been previously apprehended, prosecuted or convicted, the researcher may have to inform the appropriate authorities about such matters.

Inmate participants need to be aware that talking about their lives and their past may be an upsetting experience. If any inmate feels disturbed or upset before, during or after an interview it is important they talk it through with the psychologist in their area. The area psychologist will be aware that the interview has taken place and they will ensure that they, or another psychologist, will be available on and/or after the day to talk with the participant, if needed.

The study will not require access to any information about any inmates held on Department of Corrective Services' records.

All participants should be aware that participation in this study is optional and voluntary and that they are free to withdraw from the study at any time and for any reason, without explanation. Withdrawal from the study will not lead to any penalties or prejudice of any kind. All participants are free to ask the researcher any questions regarding the procedure, and participants should be aware that the researcher is also a permanent, full-time teacher at xxxx.

I, _____, understand the purpose of the study entitled "Indicators of readiness for positive life change amongst remand inmates in a NSW remand centre", as explained above. I consent to participate in the study and to permit the release of information in my records, to the researchers for the purpose of the study. My consent is entirely voluntary. I understand that all information will be handled in the strictest confidence except as required by law. I understand that my participation will not be individually identifiable in any reports. I further understand that there is no penalty or prejudice of any kind for not participating in the study and that I can withdraw at any time.

(Signature) -

Date

(Signature) - Witness (Name)

Date

APPENDIX F: Consent Form for Defenders

Australian Catholic University
Brisbane Sydney Canberra Ballarat Melbourne



**CONSENT FORM FOR INMATES
(COPY FOR PARTICIPANT)**

TITLE OF PROJECT: *IDENTIFYING READINESS FOR POSITIVE LIFE CHANGE
IN REMAND INMATES*

NAME OF PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: *DR MAUREEN WALSH*

NAME OF STUDENT RESEARCHER: *MR STEPHEN BARLOW*

I have read (or have had read to me) and understood the information provided in the Letter to Participants. Any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in these two interviews, realising that I can withdraw at any time. I understand that the interviews will be audiotaped. I agree that research data collected for the study may be published or may be provided to other researchers in a form that does not identify me in any way.

NAME OF PARTICIPANT:

SIGNATURE

DATE

SIGNATURE OF PRINCIPAL SUPERVISOR:

DATE:.....

SIGNATURE OF STUDENT RESEARCHER:

DATE:

Australian Catholic University
Brisbane Sydney Canberra Ballarat Melbourne



**CONSENT FORM FOR INMATES
(COPY FOR RESEARCHER)**

TITLE OF PROJECT: *IDENTIFYING READINESS FOR POSITIVE LIFE CHANGE
IN REMAND INMATES*

NAME OF PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: *DR MAUREEN WALSH*

NAME OF STUDENT RESEARCHER: *MR STEPHEN BARLOW*

I have read (or have had read to me) and understood the information provided in the Letter to Participants. Any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in these two interviews, realising that I can withdraw at any time. I understand that the interviews will be audiotaped. I agree that research data collected for the study may be published or may be provided to other researchers in a form that does not identify me in any way.

NAME OF PARTICIPANT:

SIGNATURE

DATE

SIGNATURE OF PRINCIPAL SUPERVISOR:

DATE:.....

SIGNATURE OF STUDENT RESEARCHER:

DATE:

Australian Catholic University
Brisbane Sydney Canberra Ballarat Melbourne



**CONSENT FORM FOR DCS STAFF
(COPY FOR PARTICIPANTS)**

TITLE OF PROJECT: *IDENTIFYING READINESS FOR POSITIVE LIFE CHANGE
IN REMAND INMATES*

NAME OF PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: *DR MAUREEN WALSH*

NAME OF STUDENT RESEARCHER: *MR STEPHEN BARLOW*

I have read and understood the information provided in the Letter to Participants. Any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this interview, realising that I can withdraw at any time. I understand that the interviews will be audiotaped. I agree that research data collected for the study may be published or may be provided to other researchers in a form that does not identify me in any way.

NAME OF PARTICIPANT:

SIGNATURE

DATE

SIGNATURE OF PRINCIPAL SUPERVISOR:

DATE:.....

SIGNATURE OF STUDENT RESEARCHER:

DATE:

Australian Catholic University
Brisbane Sydney Canberra Ballarat Melbourne



**CONSENT FORM FOR DCS STAFF
(COPY FOR RESEARCHER)**

TITLE OF PROJECT: *IDENTIFYING READINESS FOR POSITIVE LIFE CHANGE
IN REMAND INMATES*

NAME OF PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR: *DR MAUREEN WALSH*

NAME OF STUDENT RESEARCHER: *MR STEPHEN BARLOW*

I have read and understood the information provided in the Letter to Participants. Any questions I have asked have been answered to my satisfaction. I agree to participate in this interview, realising that I can withdraw at any time. I understand that the interviews will be audiotaped. I agree that research data collected for the study may be published or may be provided to other researchers in a form that does not identify me in any way.

NAME OF PARTICIPANT:

SIGNATURE

DATE

SIGNATURE OF PRINCIPAL SUPERVISOR:

DATE:.....

SIGNATURE OF STUDENT RESEARCHER:

DATE:

APPENDIX H: Interview Schedule

Interview Schedule For Use With Inmates

The Narrative Interview

The following is a modified version of McAdams' (1993) interview process. It is envisaged that this, or a modified format, will be used as a scaffold for inmate narrative interviews.

Section 1 – Key Events

The inmate should relate the event itself and what the event showed about himself as a person, and whether it brought about any long term change. These key events are;

1. A peak experience – a high point in the life story, the most wonderful moment in your life.
2. A low experience – a low point in the life story.
3. Turning point – An episode that, looking back, brought significant change in terms of how you felt about yourself.
4. An early memory – It does not have to seem important, but it must be complete with setting, scene, characters, feelings and thoughts.
5. An important childhood or adolescent memory – Any memory from your childhood/adolescence, positive or negative, that stands out today.
6. An important adult memory - Any memory since you have been an adult, positive or negative, that stands out today.

In this section the interviewer is looking for motivations, how the inmate sees himself and the ways that love and power express themselves in the story. More than one memory may be given.

Section 2 – Significant People

The interviewee is asked to describe some of the most important people in his life, of whom one should be outside the family. He should tell about the impact of these people on his life.

Section 3 – Future Script

The interviewee is asked to imagine what might happen next in their life, and what are their overall plans, goals and dreams for the future. This further highlights the individual's motivations and whether there is a logical connection in the story between the person's past and present circumstances, and their future aspirations. It could also give an indication of the extent to which other people's interests feature in their thoughts of the future, further highlighting the nature of their motivations and orientation.

Section 4 – Stresses and Problems

The interviewee is asked to relate areas of their life where they are currently experiencing significant stress, conflict or a major problem. They need to consider where it came from and how they might deal with it.

Section 5 – Personal Ideology

The interviewee is asked about their fundamental beliefs and values – religious beliefs, political beliefs and personal values.

Section 6 – Life Themes

The interviewee is asked to describe any general themes that might be running through their life, and whether they are seeking any changes to these themes.

APPENDIX I: Examples of Data Populating Early Categories and Codes

Defender: John

Indicator	Data
<i>Problem Recognition</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I got involved in drugs and started...got addicted, got a habit...that was probably the hardest time in my life. • All the other people I know or hang round, I used to look up to them but looking up to them, it's not the way I want to go. I can't look up to them...drug dealers and gangsters, it's not what I want to be. • when you're here everyone just forgets about you • probably self-control and...the drug addiction was a hard one. • People like that, if I kept hanging around them I wouldn't be improving I would be going downhill. So if you want to improve and make a change, lifestyle has got to change as well. • My life needed to change a lot, my lifestyle wasn't getting me anywhere. • I wasted a lot of my childhood doing things I wasn't supposed to • I'm definitely through with all that. I've had enough of it.
<i>Accepts Responsibility & Punishment</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • you've got to admit where you went wrong, you know, if you want to change, improve you've got to do what you can to improve. • If you don't recognize what you did is wrong then there's no hope in changing. • If you blame someone else, it's got to come from you. No one forced you to do it, you've got your own two hands, your own mouth. At the end of the day, it's all up to you.
<i>Manifests Appropriate Emotions</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I don't want to come back here again. I can see what it's done to my family, I've let them down. • I think all the bad things I've done, I think I owe it to people.....to help them.
<i>Realistic about the Struggle</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I tried to get myself together, go straight...did a couple of programs to try and better myself...ended up didn't really last long, in and out of rehabs. • just probably struggling to get on the right track, yeah most of my adult hood, young adulthood been trying to get myself together, just trying to change my ways. • But just putting everything, all the bad points behind me and just starting again, it's like, you know, learning to walk for the first time. You've got to work on the beginning again. That's what I'm doing. • I'm thinking more clearly now, I've got my head on straight. It's going to be a long journey but I think I'll eventually get there.
<i>Committed to Defined Goals</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I want to be a full-time student, I want to study and get a degree and do something worthwhile • I want to do a counselling course

Indicator	Data
<i>Committed to Action</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • the way I see it is that I already have broken free. I don't have any contact with them any more and I don't plan to. I just plan to start a new life. I don't need that any more, I've already been here I don't want to come back again. It's not going to help me, I don't think it helps anyone really. Well, it's hard. • But if you want to make a change you just got a start. You've got to start now, that's what I'm doing. • I've looked through the TAFE handbooks for counselling courses and that, but I don't think they do it in this jail so I will have to wait till I get to sentenced jail and I'll pursue it from there. But I'm definitely going to do that, look into it.
<i>Sense of Hope</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I find myself still able to keep up with the rest of the class when I go to TAFE, so if I'd been able to commit myself before I'd have been up there with the best, I guess. • if there's something I want to do, then I put myself...give it 100%.... I know I can get there. • I'll just keep doing, doing what I can to improve myself and if I keep my mind focused I.... keeping my focus and busy, you know I won't even think about things like that. I'll just leave everything behind me. • I've got, you know, bigger and better things to do, than to waste my life. • I've been strengthened in my faith and that helps me get through. I can deal with daily life here, and also I think it will help make me a stronger person outside. • for me it's like my life's like beginning, my journey's just started here, so I am still learning on the way as well.
<i>Actively Seeks Help</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The chaplains been lot of help, I've been seeing them, talking to them, to drug and alcohol workers, and they just gave me encouragement and hope. And that's just completely changed me. I don't look at things the same way, I don't act the same as I used to.
<i>Recognises, Values, Seeks Family, Community Support</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • my mother and father, they've always been supportive, they've always done everything they can for me to help me • Friends come and go but your family is always there for you. • my family knows which steps I want to take, what I want to do...they've been supportive, just that itself gives you the strength and helps you. • I know if I want to do something, they'll be there to back me up. They'll do what ever they can in their power to help get me there. That'll be a big help to me.
<i>Sees Prison as Opportunity to Change</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • since being in jail...I've been looking back on my past.

Indicator	Data
<i>Desire to Help</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I want to help people who have been in my position, either as a counsellor, a drug and alcohol street counsellor, so other people won't have to go through what I had to go through. • But now, if I see someone in trouble... you know...I'll be there to help even though I don't know them I'd want to help. • it just makes me think, that's not who I want to be, instead of just putting people down, you know, I'd rather just help people. • I try and talk to the younger people... that isn't the life. I've been through, since I was young, through a lot and this is where I've ended up and it could have been even worse. If I can I'll try and stop them from getting any further.

Defender: Tony

Indicator	Data
<i>Problem Recognition</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It was like I said, it was all there for me..... yeah, I guess so, I wasn't ready. • I didn't try hard enough, you know what I mean? I had everything laid out on the table but I didn't want it, to do anything, you know? I did a little bit but I was more interested in other things, doing other things. I'm not in here for a violent crime, I'm in here for drug related matters. • Money just messed with my mind. I had a job, I was a dishwasher at a pub and...I don't know, I just didn't...and then I moved out with my friend and I started getting into all this kind of stuff, you know, what I got arrested for. That kind of stuff. But in my mind back home I was, "it's easy money", that's what it my mind. "It's easy money, I'll go for it". Not robberies nothing but, still it's bad you know what I mean? • I veered off into this land of money, this money hungry mentality of mine. • Everyone else on the outside, who I did my music with, who I designed clothing with, I did whatever I was doing with, have moved on and I'm stuck in 2005 since the day I was arrested, in here. • I did about three songs and a recorded them and everything and then I come here and now I am just stuck. • I had all this other stuff going on and even my parents said that. "Look at what you left behind. You didn't use any of this stuff that people gave you". After I graduated I was supposed to go to the Art Institute of Vancouver to do this audio engineering and I didn't do that. Came here instead • I missed out on meeting them, I've missed out on a lot of things and I don't want to keep missing out. I want to be out there doing it with him, you know what I mean?

Indicator	Data
<i>Accepts Responsibility & Punishment</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I feel kind of like stupid in a way, that's how I felt since the day I was arrested. I put myself in here you know and I don't blame nobody for it. I just feel very not smart in what I did. • not really influenced by what other people were doing, but influenced in the way that, "it could work. Maybe it could work. We will do it". But nobody pulled me into this, I just stepped into it.
<i>Manifests Appropriate Emotions</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It's not the pain I feel it's the pain that I put people through on the outside from me being in here. I don't understand what they are feeling because they don't get to call me every day and when I call them they get happy. Sometimes and I don't call my mum in three or four days, she gets worried because she knows I am in jail and anything could have gone wrong. She knows I'm all right.
<i>Realistic about the Struggle</i>	
<i>Committed to Defined Goals</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I am hoping to do a course right now with audio engineering. If I could get it, which I am hoping I could, to help me to what I want to do with my life, like music and that area. • At least for a couple of hours every day in my cell when I am not listening to music or watching TV I am always thinking, "I will do this when I get out, or I will do that". It is a long time before I get there but it is still good to think about it and not to leave it. It is better to have it all planned out and I have a book where I write down what I want to do for clothes, what I want to do for music. When I get out I will get right into it. I will hit the studio the first day out. That's it.
<i>Committed to Action</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • And not to...if I see someone doing this all that, I'll stay away from, do you know what I mean? • I would rather do legitimate through my music.

Indicator	Data
<i>Sense of Hope</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I will be out in a couple of years, I'll go home and I will do the same thing that I was doing when I was 18, 17. Still writing music, still doing my music but with more knowledge, if I can do this course that I've been thinking about, this audio engineering course. It will help me more on the outside and I'll have more knowledge of what I'm doing. • I think this is what I will do when I get out. I have this plan and this plan and I have a book in my cell with everything I want to, you know. My music, my first album what is going to be called when I get out, stuff like that. I always look to the future because this is not the end. Don't dwell on the past, you know, just think to the future. • I think it is better for me though, that this happened. When I get out I will have everything set out. Even like I was saying with my music, I still have it. They are waiting for me because they know it is not for ever that I'm going to be here. • this situation that I got myself into will help me later in the long run to realise that you can't take things for granted too much, you know. I was on the outside, I had so many chances to do recording, make an album, do all this stuff. I have producers back home that are still waiting for me from when I get out from 604. That's 604 Entertainment, that's what the label is called in Vancouver. They are just real sorry that this happened to me. I had everything going in my way on the outside and I just took it for granted and I came here and now I realise what I have lost.
<i>Actively Seeks Help</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I am hoping that my uncle on the outside can somehow help me get this course, this audio engineering course and if I do that it will be a great help to me. So I hope for the best for that.
<i>Recognises, Values, Seeks Family, Community Support</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • It was hard for me but now I understand, not understand because I've always understood, but now when I get out I know what is there for me. Not to take it for granted, not to take the love my family gives me for granted. • All the money I made, I wont be able to pay my parents back, so much they have given me in here. My mum has come three times to visit me here, came from a trial, she will probably come for my sentencing. I think she's coming this March with my grandma and my grandpa, my aunts and my uncle, my real dad from Sri Lanka, they are all flying from different countries to see me here. I'm like, all this and all the love I have had from my family, you know what I mean? • But now they know everything and they say, "when you come out you stay with us". They wanted me to do this music, they back me 100% with the music. That is what I want to do and they will back me. I didn't think that I was taking them for granted.

Indicator	Data
<i>Sees Prison as Opportunity to Change</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • My dad came here and he said to me when he came to visit he said, "you are lucky you're young. You are lucky to get caught, lucky to get put in jail". I see that too because if I didn't get stopped now who knows what I would have gotten done for along the track? This is just a small thing, I will be out in a couple of years but if it was huge like 25 years or something I mean that's my life gone. I might as well live life in jail, you know what I mean? But now in here I look to the future. • Being in here gives me time to think about what I want to do in the future but also to be prepared for it. When you get out it is easy to catch up but it is better not to waste these four years, or however long I get, by doing nothing. It is better to always be prepared for when you get out, what you want to do. • I would not have even gone straight. It would have been a full turn and just done this. Like my dad was telling me, I am lucky to have this now. What if I had got arrested for so much more and done in 25 years? My life would be over so I am happy that it happened now and make me think. • if what I did was allowed it to go through and I didn't get arrested here I would have thought, "you can do this any time. It is easy to beat Customs or whatever". And then I would have thought that this is too little and it would have escalated and then I would have gotten more apart from my family. That would have been a real bad regret for me. • First of all jail is not something for me, it has just ruined my life. I have got to start over again and I don't like that. You learn a lot from what other people are in here for and you don't want to get involved in all this commotion. I just want to go along with my life and live my life. • you hear about what other people are in for, you get people who are in for similar things that I am in for, you kind of hear their story and the people that I talked to have been maybe four or five times offenders. They say that it is nothing but you look at them and think, "what do you have on the outside?". They say, "when I get out I will restart it again". And I'm thinking that you've got keep starting over. It is a risk that you are taking with your life. After you reach the 40s or 50s, what's the point? You might as well live in here. If you want to get money, get it legitimately. Do something creative or something like that in your life to make your goals work. That is mainly what is giving me the mentality that I don't want to get into this. My goals, my dreams, I want to just carry on with this.
<i>Desire to Help</i>	

Defender: William

Indicator	Data
<i>Problem Recognition</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I wasn't really into the gang scene but I was still in the scene of alcohol and slowly drugs, light drugs like marijuana. Then I started hanging around old school gangsters, old school gangsters but they were very heavy. I started hanging around them and then a committed my first offence for which I did time in 2003 and 2004 at Windsor. A committed that crime, I stabbed someone four times, punctured his lung and I was on bail and while I was hanging around these heavy old school gangsters I met some younger ones and I got involved with them very close and I started getting involved in heavier drugs. • So I started using heroin in jail the first time and I just dug myself into a deeper hole and I was just a person that was anxious all the time, scared, insecure. I was lost, no guidance, no goals, just a slave of my evil desires and bad habits. I used to just cover all my problems with drugs. • My heart was just diseased spiritually and it had a lot of spiritual blemishes and my heart was very deep in bad habits and diseases that were immoral and that were putrid and indecent. • So I started using heroin and my habit started getting bigger and next thing you know, I was and every day user. I lost my girlfriend, I lost my friends, I nearly lost my family. I nearly lost my family, I was kicked out. At one time I was sleeping in the streets. I used to hock in my own family's stuff, that's how low I got. Stealing from my own mother's purse. I was Hocking in my things, desperate. I would go out and get drunk off my face and after that, this was the routine, I would be sick in the morning, I would be hanging out plus I would have a hangover so I would have to get the heroin somehow, just to feel normal. That was the routine. I was just losing my humanity, I was blind and didn't even see it. I thought I was all right, digging myself into a deeper hole, physically and spiritually and mentally. I was just eating off everyone, • I want to be one of those people that end up becoming successful. I want to be one of them, I don't want to be one of them others. I am sick of it. I want to start looking after myself now, I want to start caring about myself, you know. I am not going to quit no more. • I was devastated, crushed, spewing, even wanted to kill myself, looking for some answers. I started asking myself the big questions, reflecting, pondering, contemplating on life. I said to myself one day, "look if you die now, what have you left behind? What have you achieved?" • I asked myself the big questions: What is the purpose of life? I said to myself that if I knew what the purpose of life was I would really go hard at it. I would go strong and it and I

Indicator	Data
	<p>would put my best at it.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • he was talking to me and explained to me a lot of things that made sense and that answered my questions. The big questions that I was asking got answered and what I wanted, I got. <p>I do a lot of reflecting, contemplating, reassessing. I always try to pick my faults and better myself. Sometimes I relax on my bed and contemplate what do I have to improve in, in my character and then a pin them out. I am always rectifying myself so that I can blossom even stronger and more and more and more. And purification of the heart.</p>
<i>Accepts Responsibility & Punishment</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What clicked to me was, "you are really not a good human being". That hit me hard. I said to myself, "whatever calamity strikes upon me, I deserve it".
<i>Manifests Appropriate Emotions</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I want to make it up to my family. <p>the thing is that I am very ashamed about my past. I look down on myself, you know, and I have a lot of shame about it. I don't like talking about it so when I talk about the past I am ashamed of it and that is why I put my head down.</p>
<i>Realistic about the Struggle</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • every time, for example, not really temptation but a thought of something that is alien to the way I live now, straight away I see aright. Straight away I see straight. I see how unbeneficial and how insignificant, how meaningless and how destructive my old lifestyle was. I feel felicity when I say to myself, "hey, you're growing... keep on growing, keep on blossoming".
<i>Committed to Defined Goals</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I think my future will be involved in working, family. I like preaching, you know, I want to get involved in preaching. I want to..... my goal anyway, these are my goals, my goal is to first get out of prison, work and develop my own income. Then do a business course, I want to get into business, I want to open up my own business and I also want to study Islam more. I want to become like an Imam, like a religious leader, and then preach. Open up my business and then with the money that I make I want to open a mosque. Then teach younger kids the Koran and also I want to have a family, which I would love, Islamic traditions, have a beautiful family and just spread and teach whatever knowledge I have because now I have got a clean slate I just want to go hard, you know. I want to become a religious leader one day, I want to open up my own business, I want to go to school, I want to study things. I want to be a good human being, I want to be a good dad, I want to be a good husband, I want to be a good son.
<i>Committed to Action</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • one day I was reading some little verses in the Bible, I got up and I said to myself, "look, from now on you are going to change. You are going to change your behaviour, you're going to change yourself". I started changing my behaviour, I started becoming more humble and more polite and more nice.

Indicator	Data
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I started learning how to pray. Praying five times a day makes you punctual, makes you have real power, it purifies you and that's what I needed. I needed motivation and punctuality. I needed something to keep me busy throughout the day, something in my life and Islam just filled that hole in my life. • And I'm off drugs, I feel good, I have been off drugs for 16 months. Clean and I don't even smoke cigarettes. It's because I don't need that. I am interested in something more beautiful and filling and it has enriched my heart. • I am confident and I want to do it and I don't want to fail. I am not going to quit because quitting is for losers. That is part of the change, not quitting. Before I would just quit, but now I don't want to quit, now I am trying. I want to change, I want to be the best human being as I can possibly be, I want to live up to my potential and I can do it. I'm positive. I have got a positive mind and I am confident and I don't want to be one of those people that say this and they don't do it. I don't want to be one of those people that say, "yeah, I had a lot of plans before I got out but I didn't do it". I want to be different from those people. I want to do it. • And the reason why I put my head up when I talk about now and the future is because I have got passion for it, I am excited, you know. It is sincere, it's genuine and it's from my heart. • you have to rectify yourself before you try to rectify anyone else or point the finger. You have to first self purification, see if you are doing any injustice within yourself before you can point the finger and try to rectify other affairs. Self purification is very important if you are not mucking around in changing your life towards a positive future. you have to put in effort if you want to change. You can't just say things that you don't do. When you have really put in effort to change yourself you start doing things that are from your heart, not from your tongue. You can say things with your tongue but it doesn't come from your heart, but if it comes from your heart you do it and you put it into action. That is effort, that is true, genuine change. You really want to make a turnaround in your life, to make a U-turn, to snap out of it. To have knowledge and to use the beautiful gift that you have, the brain, the heart and it is powerful when you use it the right way. You have a choice to be upright in your life or to be lower than in an animal.
<i>Sense of Hope</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I converted and then he says to me that when you convert to Islam you have a clean slate. So I said to myself, "Jackpot. God has had mercy on me, he has given me a clean slate so I am going to take advantage of this clean slate and I am going to turn my life around. I am going to grow in goodness, I am going to grow in the light.

Indicator	Data
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I have developed to go to work, to train myself to go to work, to be patient and to be steadfast, to persevere, to be tolerant, to have mercy on people, to have sympathy with people, to have pity on people. It has made me an upright human being and what keeps me going is that I know I have leapt that big bound and so I can become even better and better and better. I want to grow, I want to blossom like a flower and knowing that I have made that big bound it makes me feel, look how much you've changed. • Don't worry about abstaining from drugs and alcohol, abstaining from drink and water for a whole month, that's discipline, that's what I built because of Islam. It has purified me, it has cleansed me, it has enriched my heart, it has made me strong, it has made me confident • Other people have seen the change in me, I have seen the change in me and now I have got goals, positive, you know. I say to myself, "I am a master of my fate. I am the driver of my soul". <p>I believe that whatever a human being decides, he can do. It's up to us, you know.</p>
<i>Actively Seeks Help</i>	
<i>Recognises, Values, Seeks Family/Community Support</i>	<p>I have been Muslim now for 15 months and I'm already doing a call for prayer, and they say to me, "you do it beautiful. How could you do it so beautiful in Arabic and you're not even an Arab?" And I say that's what keeps me going. Encouragement like that. It's because it is from my heart and I was keen to learn and I was keen to... learn Arabic language in its rich form... because I was keen. Some Muslims say the me, "I've been was on my whole life and you've only been Muslim for 15 months and you're a better Muslim than me". That keeps me going, positive encouragement and even just people, you know. They just say to me, "I can tell you were naughty before but now you have changed". They see that, you know, they see that. My mum sees that.</p>
<i>Sees Prison as Opportunity to Change</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I thank God that I am in jail otherwise if I wasn't in jail I would probably have ended up dying. I would probably end up killing someone so I find... I thank God that being in jail has been beneficial for me. I've cleared my mind, you know, I have developed my spirituality, I have developed my body, I feel strong, I feel confident, I feel positive and I don't let negative mental attitudes defeat me. I don't have fear any more, I don't have anxiety anymore. • I thought I was all right, and I was living blind. I could not see it. When I saw it was when I came back into jail and I looked at myself. I had that time to look at myself and when I did I felt this guilt, shame and, like I said before, all the bad deeds and evil things I had done just caught up to my heart.

APPENDIX J: Ability of the Indicators to Discriminate Between States of Readiness

Dimension	William	Pete
Wants to Change		
Expresses desire, decision and commitment	One day I was reading some little verses in the Bible, I got up and I said to myself, "look, from now on you are going to change. You are going to change your behaviour, you're going to change yourself". I started changing my behaviour	I know it's easy to say that I won't drink when I get out of here because there is no drink in here, you know, but, I don't know, I love it.
Accepts the struggle	You have to put in effort if you want to change. You can't just say things that you don't do. When you have really put in effort to change yourself you start doing things that are from your heart, not from your tongue. You can say things with your tongue but it doesn't come from your heart, but if it comes from your heart you do it and you put it into action. That is effort, that is true, genuine change.	I have trouble talking to people. Yeah, I just can't do it. I feel too..... I don't know what it is.
Sees opportunity	I converted and then he says to me that when you convert to Islam you have a clean slate. So I said to myself, "Jackpot. God has had mercy on me, he has given me a clean slate so I am going to take advantage of this clean slate and I am going to turn my life around. I am going to grow in goodness, I am going to grow in the light.	You can't do anything in here, your life is just sort of suspended. So until I get out of here I can't do a thing.
Owns the Problem		
Shows insight	Every time, for example, not really temptation but a thought of something that is alien to the way I live now, straight away I see aright. Straight away I see straight. I see how unbeneficial and how insignificant, how meaningless and how destructive my old lifestyle was.	Some days in here a ring Amanda, which is my new girlfriend, and she just says things that I just feel like ending life. I can't stand it, you know, and I think that when I get out I am just going to get that pissed. No, I just don't want to help myself, and then the next day things are fine and I go back up again. I will try, and the next day I might be down. It's just keeping that level, you know it is going to be hard.
Accepts responsibility	What clicked to me was, "you are really not a good human being". That hit me hard. I said to myself, "whatever calamity strikes upon me, I deserve it"... I do a lot of	I know it's easy to say that I won't drink when I get out of here because there is no drink in here, you know, but, I don't know, I love it.

Dimension	William	Pete
	reflecting, contemplating, reassessing. I always try to pick my faults and better myself.	
Sees a Future		
Has goals and plans	I want to become a religious leader one day, I want to open up my own business, I want to go to school, I want to study things. I want to be a good human being, I want to be a good dad, I want to be a good husband, I want to be a good son.	Yeah I've got a few goals but it's just like which one...and how to go about it.
Has sense of agency	I say to myself, "I am a master of my fate. I am the driver of my soul".	I love the alcohol. It's just controlling it to a level where you can have a couple of beers and that's it. But to me there is no such thing as that, you've got have 20. You have got to get drunk. If I could just get that out of my head somehow and could just have a couple of beers a night, then that would be all right.
Displays optimism	I am confident and I want to do it and I don't want to fail. I am not going to quit because quitting is for losers. That is part of the change, not quitting. Before I would just quit, but now I don't want to quit, now I am trying. I want to change, I want to be the best human being as I can possibly be, I want to live up to my potential and I can do it. I'm positive. I have got a positive mind and I am confident	I try to think good things but..... I don't know. I will see what happens when I get out. But it is there, I can go down that good road, it's not too far away. It's just staying off that drink.
Values Support		
Values family, institutional and/or spiritual support	I started learning how to pray. Praying five times a day makes you punctual, makes you have real power, it purifies you and that's what I needed. I needed motivation and punctuality. I needed something to keep me busy throughout the day, something in my life and Islam just filled that hole in my life.	I want to see if I can get the help. But where I don't know. Because AA, I could never get up there and talk and finding a counsellor to talk to, I don't know.
Persists with Transformation		
Is encouraged by evidence of change	Don't worry about abstaining from drugs and alcohol, abstaining from drink and water for a whole month, that's discipline, that's what I built because of Islam. It	

Dimension	William	Pete
	has purified me, it has cleansed me, it has enriched my heart, it has made me strong, it has made me confident	

VOLUME 2
NARRATIVE AND STAFF INTERVIEWS
RAW DATA

**IDENTIFYING THE INDICATORS OF INDIVIDUAL READINESS FOR
POSITIVE LIFE CHANGE AMONGST DEFENDERS WITHIN A REMAND
SETTING**

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A thesis submitted in total fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of
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Narrative Interview 1

Conducted Sept 25, 2006.

Participant: "**John**" 23 year old male, first time in jail.

Researcher: okay well, first of all John, thank you for coming and I'd like to welcome you to this place.... and for your willingness to participate in this study.

John: no problem.

Researcher: uh...well perhaps you can just tell me something about your life story.

John: well, I came from a good family. A good supportive family. Went to school... Started getting into trouble with the wrong crowd... at the age of 13. I was always good at school, just got distracted and started hanging with the wrong crowd, got into trouble. By the beginning of year nine I was expelled from school and that's when I went to work. I was working for a while, about a year and a half, I couldn't keep a job there, I was still hanging around with the wrong people, doing bad things. I ended up getting into trouble with juvenile.... I tried to get myself together, go straight..... did a couple of programs to try and better myself.... ended up didn't really last long, in and out of rehabs. Then at the age of 15 I started working again.... probably about another year, fell back into the wrong crowd again and started getting into trouble. Then from there I got myself.... got myself clean and everything.... started doing a TAFE course, I was doing well, finished the course.... and after I finished the course I wasn't

doing anything for a while and ended up falling back again with the wrong crowd..... got into trouble and from there that's where things started going downhill, and I eventually ended up here in jail. Since then, since being in jail.... I've been looking back on my past. My life needed to change a lot, my lifestyle wasn't getting me anywhere. Here I've tried a lot to become a better person, to get to where I want to be.

Researcher: could you tell me anything about... like a memory from childhood... whether it be good or bad?

John: ...um.... early things, probably 10 or 11 years old I joined a group called the.... called the Little Athletics. I did well in that..... I got chosen to go to New Zealand to represent New South Wales, so we went over for the trans-Tasman tour in Auckland, that was for year one.... and that was probably the time of my life, the best time in my life too, before everything started to go downhill.

Researcher: what about as a youth, as a sort of an adolescent, do you have any particular memories that stand out from that time of your life?

John: well... in my adolescent years I was probably doing the wrong thing cause I wasted a lot of my childhood doing things I wasn't supposed to, getting into trouble.

Researcher: and what about as an adult, have you got any significant memories from adulthood.... so far?

John: just probably struggling to get on the right track, yeah most of my adulthood, young adulthood been trying to get myself together, just trying to change my ways.

Researcher: what about..... what would you say it has been the high point in your life? Like the best time in your life?

John: probably school years, from my primary years to my high school years to the year when I ended up getting expelled. Yeah those were the best times.

Researcher: what was good about those times?

John: everything was carefree, I didn't have anything to worry about..... if I could turn back time on I would have took it more serious and paid more attention.

Researcher: okay, what about..... what about when you think about your life in the worst of times. What's been the worst of times for you? Would you say?

John: probably when I got involved in drugs and started..... got addicted, got a habit.... that was probably the hardest time in my life. Trying to change, trying to get clean all these years.... In and out of rehabs.

Researcher: think about some of the people in your life that you've known who have actually been important to you, in some way. Can you tell me about some of these people?

John: that would have to be my family, my mother and father, they've always been supportive, they've always done everything they can for me to help me, they're hard-working people, good honest people. Yeah, they are a big inspiration to me.... hard for me to live up to that.... to follow in their footsteps, who I've treated the wrong way.

Researcher: so what sort of things did they teach you that you keep in your mind?

John: well, always respect and never forget who you are... don't let anything put you down, if you've got a goal, you do it....like nothing's a (text unclear) for you ... but if you want something you can get it.... it's up to you. So I've always, I've always got that in my mind..... I always think like that, if there's something I want to do, then I put myself..... give it 100%.... I know I can get there.

Researcher: and have you experienced that in your life?

John: yeah I have, I've been away from school, since I was expelled from school I have been away from school maybe seven or 10 years and no, like no education since then and I find myself still able to keep up with the rest of the class when I

go to TAFE, so if I'd been able to commit myself before I'd have been up there with the best, I guess.

Researcher: okay, um.... apart from your parents, who else has influenced you in your life? Either good or bad?

John: my girlfriend also, she is..... she is a good girl, she always.... like she is the one who sort of calmed me down a bit and took me away from that lifestyle I was leading. But even though I didn't always listen and agree, she's helped a lot, helped me get through hard times.

Researcher: okay..... um...

John:... she always stood by me, through the worst times.

Researcher: anybody else? What about people that you admire or look up to?

John: no one outside my family. All the other people I know or hang round, I used to look up to them but looking up to them, it's not the way I want to go. I can't look up to them.... drug dealers and gangsters, it's not what I want to be.

Researcher: okay.....um, when you think about your life in terms of problems that you think you face, um, obstacles, difficulties, problems, what do you see as your main one that you need to work on in your life?

John: probably self-control and.... the drug addiction was a hard one. That was probably the most hard times I had in my life, most difficult times. I've overcome that now but that would be the biggest problems I had. Once you get into that stage everything else just falls apart. It's like a.... like a trap.

Researcher: how did you overcome that?

John: well, been to.... been in and out of rehabs but that would only last a year or two at the most. Coming to jail here has helped me a lot. It has helped me get myself clean and I can see now where I want to go. I'll just keep doing, doing what I can to improve myself and if I keep my mind focused I.... keeping my focus and busy, you know I won't even think about things like that. I'll just leave everything behind me.

Researcher: so when you get out do you think you will be unable to be focused and not go back to that?

John: yeah definitely. I am completely over that now. I know, well this is where I ended up because of that.... I don't want to come back here again. I can see what it's done to my family, I've let them down.... And now it's just putting all the past behind me and looking to the future.

Researcher: so is that enough resolve for you, is that enough of an incentive for you not to go back to the other stuff, do you think?

John: yeah because I've been working hard, especially while I'm... here I've is a been studying as much as I can, trying to improve myself. I don't want all that to go to waste. I wanted to move forward not backwards.

Researcher: because you talked before about, you know, various times in your life when you got into the wrong crowd of people, do you think that that's likely to happen to you again?

John: no, because I don't want nothing to do with them and most of the people that I used to hang around are either dead or in jail. If I go that way that's where I'm going to end up, and that's not the life for me. I've got, you know, bigger and better things to do, than to waste my life.

Researcher: what about other areas in your life that you see might be problematic like, um, work, or education, family?

John: well, with work I haven't really thought too much about that, because I want to be a full-time student, I want to study and get a degree and do something worthwhile, not just go straight on the streets and get anything.

Researcher: what do you want to do in terms of jobs? What sort of degree do you want to do, do you know that?

John: well I was thinking about doing literacy, cause I want to help people who have been in my position, either as a counsellor, a drug and alcohol street counsellor, so other people won't have to go through what I had to go through.

Researcher: um interesting..... are there any other problems that you want to raise at this point of time, that you see you might face all might be facing now?

John: the biggest problem would probably be when it comes down to court, for sentencing. Even though I'm a young I'll probably get a long time. I'm looking, I'm probably looking at it least five years so, that's probably not going to stop me from doing what I want to do but, I can still work towards getting it.

Researcher: so if you do get five years, what would you do during that time? How would you see yourself moving on?

John: well, I'll try, as I said I want to help other people before they get, before it's too late and they end up in jail. I just want to make a change and I think all the bad things I've done, I think I owe it yo people.....to help them.

Researcher: but what would you do in terms of, what steps would you take to prepare yourself for doing that?

John: well if I can I want to do a counselling course and just learn...um.... learn skills just to..... um.... how to approach people to change their lives. Steps to becoming like a counsellor guidance, someone who will guide people.

Researcher: is that something you would do in jail, learn how to do that?

John: yeah, I definitely do that here.

Researcher: okay. Perhaps we can move on to things that are important to you, okay, in your life and, um, well I mean I've got some lists here of things which might be important things like family, or work, or money, or friends, or recreation, or fitness and health, or spirituality, or there might be other things that you just want to comment on ... some of these things, things which are most important to you in your life at this point in time.

John: at this point my family, my family is very important..... they are the only ones you find will stick by you 100% no matter what. Friends come and go but your family is always there for you. And also I think, whatever your religion, have faith. I am Catholic, I am trying to strengthen my faith. Like going to church, praying, I think that helps me a lot as well. Family and faith that would be right up there in the top two things.

Researcher: and how did they, how did those two things actually help you in your life?

John: well you get your ups and downs and when you're down you've got no one to turn to but your family and to God.... cause in the end your life is in God's hands. And your family will always be there to support you to the end. And that's what helps me, gets me through.

Researcher: so, what influence do you see God having in your life?

John: I think it's made me see all the wrong I've been doing and to what I really should be doing.... it's helped open up my eyes to... to more opportunities I didn't see before. Things I could have done that I didn't, and to where I want to get to.

Researcher: okay, all right, any other things, I mean, you mentioned a bit about work before, in the long term...

John: yeah, well that's my goal, just to make a change.

Researcher: what about friends? Where are you located at the moment with friends, because you mentioned that most of your friends that you had are either dead or in jail. So how important friends, how important to use the friends in life?

John: well, friends like that I.... you know... they're more associates, I guess. I wouldn't call them friends. You know, they're not there to go through your hard times..... a friend will be there for you. Since I've been here only a few, a handful of people have come seen me. But for the rest, they're still doing their own thing.... you know when you're here everyone just forgets about you.

Researcher: okay, any other areas of life that to you are really important things in your life?

John: well, probably at this stage this is the most important part of my life because it's...um... it's like being reborn again..... I'm not the same person I was before I came here, and I don't think I'll ever be. So this is the most important part of my life, it's a big change for me.

Researcher: what was it about this place that helped you to get reborn again?

John: probably seeing all the help I've got. The chaplains been lot of help, I've been seeing them, talking to them, to drug and alcohol workers, and they just gave me encouragement and hope. And that's just completely changed me. I don't look at things the same way, I don't act the same as I used to.

Researcher: okay,maybe we can think about the future and where you see yourself in the future, in the short term, medium term and long term future. What sort of a life do you envisage for yourself, what do you think is going to happen to you?

John: well, my future while I'm in here.... I'll just dedicate myself to study and getting qualifications so when I do get out I can.. I can start doing counselling and get into some group that can make a positive change in people, especially the youth today. There's more and more young people coming to jail here, the 18 year olds people, just turned 18 here, 19, 20. Jail is not the answer, I don't think it makes a.... makes a person change, I think. It changes them, but jail either makes you or breaks you, I guess. And some people can't handle it.

Researcher: what is it about jail that makes someone?

John: well they've got to adapt to this environment, they have to be around all different sorts of people and if they can't handle it, there's nothing really they can do about it. I guess it just breaks their spirit, some people.

Researcher: and why has it made you?

John: well, with all the help I've got here, with the chaplain and that..... I've learnt to see the good side of it, the good outcome. There's a lot of bad but there's always the positive side to everything. That's what I focus on and that's what makes me stronger.

Researcher: um..... what obstacles do you think you need to overcome in your life to get where you want to be?

John: well, changing my attitude. If I thought the way I did before, I'd probably be getting myself into more trouble here. But just putting everything, all the bad points behind me and just starting again, it's like, you know, learning to walk for the first time. You've got to work on the beginning again. That's what I'm doing.

Researcher: what strengths do you see that you have that's going to sustain you along this journey?

John: well, I've met a lot of good people here, you get the good and the bad, but I guess I've been lucky, everyone's been good to me.... a lot of people put their hand down and help me, give me advice. That, that helps a lot too.

Researcher: so people..... what about, what about inside of you though? What strengths do you see you've got, which you see you're going to be able to use to get where you want to get to?

John: well I really don't look at people like I used to, like I wouldn't care if.... when I was out there before I came here I wouldn't care about what happens to people, this and that. But now, if I see someone in trouble... you know.... I'll be there to help even though I don't know them I'd want to help. I think, yeah, that's important.

Researcher: yeah..... what else? Anything else you'd regard as a strength that you've got?

John: and also in my faith..... I've been strengthened in my faith and that helps me get through. I can deal with daily life here, and also I think it will help make me a stronger person outside.

Researcher: anything else?

John: also.... family, my family knows which steps I want to take, what I want to do.... they've been supportive, just that itself gives you the strength and helps you.

Researcher: are they going to be there to help you when you finally get out of here?

John: they'll be there to help, they always will be there, there's no doubt about that.

Researcher: how do you see them being able to help you though?

John: just being supportive, in what I do. I know if I want to do something, they'll be there to back me up. They'll do what ever they can in their power to help get me there. That'll be a big help to me.

Researcher: what about your girlfriend?

John: my girlfriend, yeah, she, she is also very supportive, she is close to my family and she's a good girl, a good heart. I think she'd probably, you know, like to do the same thing too. So I guess there's the possibility of me and her working together towards this. But it's something that I feel strongly about, that I want to do.With or without anyone's help, but I know I'll have support. I'll always have support from my girlfriend and my family. So that's just a plus for me.

Researcher: okay,....um..... are there any other things that you would like to add about your story?

John: well, like I said, um, for me it's like my life's like beginning, my journey's just started here, so I am still learning on the way as well.

Researcher: okay, well I'd just like to thank you very much for your time this morning and have your willingness to share these things. Thank you.

John: no problem.

Duration: 25:40

Narrative Interview 2

This interview with John was conducted on Wednesday, October 18, 2006.

Second interview with John.

Researcher: well, John thanks for coming back again.

John: no problem, no problem.

Researcher: when I read through the script of the interview we had, what was it a week or two weeks ago, it was really interesting. Really interesting what you said. And I just wanted to check with you that what I heard was what you were saying to me. It seems to me that you are saying, correct me if I'm wrong or you may want to add something, but you talked about having a change of goals in terms of your life direction and what you want to do in life. I got the idea that before you came in here you are not really going anywhere much in your life.

John: no that's right.

Researcher: you didn't really know..... you were hanging around with these guys that you thought were your friends and you talk a lot about changing friends. You used to regard them as being friends but now you think about them more as associates.

John: that's right.

Researcher: since you have come into jail you've had a chance to rethink your life...

John: that's right.

Researcher: in terms of where you want to go when do you want to mix with, who you want to have influencing your life and you realise that these guys you were with before really aren't going to take you anywhere that you want to go.

John: yeah, that's right. People like that, if I kept hanging around them I wouldn't be improving I would be going downhill. So if you want to improve and make a change, lifestyle has got to change as well.

Researcher: in terms of that, you were saying that you have come to realise how important your family is.

John: yeah, because they are the only ones that stay by you through these hard times. They are the only ones there to support you. Your friends aren't there to support you.

Researcher: yeah, I also heard you talking about how your attitude to people has changed. You made a point in your talk that before you didn't really care much about what happened to people but now you do and you said that if someone was there needing help you would be there to help them even if you didn't know them.

John: yeah, especially being in here..... you're all together, you get pretty close to everyone, get to know them pretty well.... there's a lot of drama is going on here, you see a lot more trouble here than you see outside, it makes you think, you just feel sorry for people and you want to help them out.

Researcher: so that people you meet in here, are they similar kinds of people to the ones that you had as associates before?

John: yeah, and some people I know. There are people I've met in here who have been really good, they've helped out a lot. They have been around for a while but then, you see, they have been doing the same kind of things that me and my friends were doing. I don't like seeing that happen any more, people getting stood over, but getting picked on and that..... it just makes me think, that's not who I want to be, instead of just putting people down, you know, I'd rather just help people.

Researcher: you seem to have a real clear sense of that. Of what you don't want to be as well as what you do want to be.

John: well now you can see for yourself through other people's actions. Myself out there, I couldn't see how far I took and how I was acting, but I can see through other people and it makes me want to change.

Researcher: and that came across really, really clearly in your interview. You really do see things differently and you do want to change. You sound really

determined that that's what you're going to do. From the people that you mix with in here do you think that you're a bit different from the others in this way, or do you see it a lot with people?

John: I think I'm more mentally mature than them, they are still doing the same sort of things and that. Not to me, but I see it happening to other people and I just try my best to help people and if something is going to happen I try and stop it, stop things from getting too far.

Researcher: because this kind of place, like if you wanted to learn how to be a better criminal this would be a good place to come I suppose, wouldn't it?

John: yeah, definitely (laughs). You'd learn a lot of things here but it depends what you want to do with your life. It can either make someone worse or change someone for the better. I see that in a lot of, especially the younger people here. They think sending them to jail is going to make them better but it doesn't always work out that way. Especially young people, they are easily influenced and when they are around a group, they start acting like them and it changes them. They are not better off than when they came in, they come out worse.

Researcher:..... come out worse. Yeah.

John: and I don't like seeing that happen. I try and talk to the younger people... that isn't the life. I've been through, since I was young, through a lot and this is

where I've ended up and it could have been even worse. If I can I'll try and stop them from getting any further.

Researcher: when did you..... did you have this kind of sense that things weren't right in your life before you came to jail, or was it mostly coming to jail that made you realise that?

John: I knew I wasn't living a good life but coming here has opened up my eyes even more. I can see it more clearly.

Researcher: if you hadn't come here, if you hadn't been caught, do you think you would have come to the same point eventually?

John: I think it would have been harder to leave that lifestyle if I didn't come here, because being here has taught me a lot, I have learnt a lot and it has given me time to get things in perspective, what I really want to do. Like you don't really notice it until you see yourself through someone else's actions, it's like you can't see yourself.

Researcher: okay, can you explain that little bit more?

John: okay, if I was outside and doing the same things I would probably have kept going, I wouldn't see how I was escalating from bad to worse but here I can see it for myself. I can relate to a lot of people here who haven't changed, and that's how I would be.

Researcher: that's how you would be, okay. And you can see in here the people who actually get worse through being here.

John: yeah, they just..... easily influenced.

Researcher: maybe this place actually speeds up their getting worse. Maybe they get worse faster in here than what they would do outside.

John: yeah, you're around the same people all the time, you get pretty close to them.... it eventually just becomes one big group.

Researcher: so when you do get out of jail is it going to be hard to break free from the people that you knew in the past?

John: no, the way I see it is that I already have broken free. I don't have any contact with them anymore and I don't plan to. I just plan to start a new life. I don't need that any more, I've already been here I don't want to come back again. It's not going to help me, I don't think it helps anyone really. Well, it's hard.

Researcher: one of the things you talked about, you only mentioned at one time but it seemed to be a critical thing, was the self control issue. It seemed to me that before you were influenced a lot by these other people and that maybe you didn't want to do what they were doing all the time but you kind of went along with it. Is that what happened?

John: no, it's just the group of people I was hanging around, we all grew up together and knew each other well so..... we were always together doing the same things. Sometimes you just get stuck in that lifestyle. It's the same like that here only worse, because you're always around them, you see everything and here it's harder for people to change. Or that's what I see.

Researcher: so it's harder for other people to change in here?

John: I think it is. Because there is always someone else holding back there, hanging around the wrong group. They think it's cool but really it is not doing them any good.

Researcher: and so I am just interested in exploring that thing about changing in jail. You'd have people that wouldn't want you to change, wouldn't you? Like you will here telling me this sort of stuff but you wouldn't be telling a lot of the guys out in the yard that sort of stuff, would you?

John: I tell them. I try to help them change as well but it's really up to them. I do my own thing, if they want to keep going the way they are then they're going to have to find out the hard way what's going to happen. But with me, yeah, I'm definitely through with all that. I've had enough of it.

Researcher: have you've got any other people around here who feel the same way? Are there are other guys in here who feel the same way?

John: I haven't got into that much detail with them but yeah, a lot of them want to change and that, they can see it's hard in here. There's a lot of pressures, especially with the stress going on, especially being in remand not knowing what's going to happen and some of them they think they are doing 10 or 15 years, a long time, 20 years. The way they see it, they've got plenty of time, just leave it to later. But if you want to make a change you just got a start. You've got to start now, that's what I'm doing. Everyone's got their own opinions and you can't really change what they think but you can try and influence them in a good way but it's up to them. Like a lot of the young guys I've brought them to education and I've taken them to a lot of classes I've been doing and it's helping them, so I'm happy with that. But some people are not interested. I guess they haven't been through enough yet. But I know sooner or later they'll see it.

Researcher: seeing it and doing something about it can be too different things, can't they?

John: yeah, you can go down two different ways, either get worse or try and do something to improve. But the way I see it not many improve in here.

Researcher: what's the feeling..... I mean, when you got in here and you decided that your life as it had been wasn't what you wanted and you needed to make the change, that feeling that comes with your life not being satisfying? Your life not having been very good?

John: well, all the things that I wanted to do I couldn't do because of the life I was living and being here you've got a lot of time to think about it, think about ways to achieve your goals.

Researcher: is there regret with that feeling? Is there sorrow?

John: yes there is regret and also I guess it's a blessing in disguise, being here for me. Because without being in jail I probably..... I probably needed jail to make that change in me, to give me that push. But it's a lesson learnt a bit too late, but still it's a lesson I needed.

Researcher: okay, you talked about faith in God as well. Was that an important part of your life before coming here?

John: it was but I wasn't.... I believed in God, I come from a religious family but myself, I wasn't too religious, I wasn't getting into all that. I realise now that it is hard to live your life without God and you need it.

Researcher: so God provides what for you?

John: gives me strength and hope.

Researcher: strength and hope, yeah. I heard you talk about your parents a lot and they're the ones that stand by you and support you. What about other members of your family, does it extend beyond them?

John: no, just my brother. I'm the oldest out of two children and my brother, I guess he's learnt a lot too. He would be walking in my footsteps as well, but I guess he's learnt through my actions and he's doing something with his life. I am proud of him. And he's been very supportive as well.

Researcher: when you were hanging around with the guys and doing stuff that you shouldn't have done at the time, what was your parents' attitude? What did they feel about you? How much do they know about you?

John: I guess they were disappointed, picking me up from the police station, baling me out, going to juvenile detention centres.

Researcher: how do they try to help you at that time?

John: they tried to get me whatever I needed, like maybe if I did some counselling or saw someone it would help so they would organise that for me. They would do whatever was in my best interest to change, but I guess at that time I didn't want to change. I was doing what I did, I was happy with what I did and I didn't realise the full extent.....

Researcher: when you were happy with what you are doing.....

John: while not really happy, it didn't bother me.

Researcher: it didn't bother you, okay. Did you have a sense that it was wrong?

John: yeah, I knew what I was doing was wrong but I guess growing up where I grew up everyone..... like I wasn't at home a lot, I was mostly on the streets with my friends and that..... I guess I was raised by, well my parents raised me in a good way, they taught me all they know, but on the other side.....

Researcher: you had other people raising you too.

John: that's right. The home life and the street life. When a lot of people come here for the first time, it's hard for them to deal with, and that but for me it was easy for me to deal with because is the same thing I deal with on the outside but I'm just caged up this time. So it was easier for me to get over it pretty quickly and get used to it.

Researcher: get used to the jail environment, you mean?

John: yeah. You can never get used to it but..... it didn't affect me as much as you see a lot of people coming in for the first time. They don't know what to do, how to act.....

Researcher: you talked about wanting to do university courses and so on. Maybe doing counselling or something like that.

John: like a youth worker.

Researcher: Yes. Have you made any investigations about doing anything like that yet? Have you asked any questions or found out any information?

John: I've looked through the TAFE handbooks for counselling courses and that, but I don't think they do it in this jail so I will have to wait till I get to sentenced jail and I'll pursue it from there. But I'm definitely going to do that, look into it.

Researcher: okay, that's great. I think I have checked with you everything that I needed to. Did I get it right? Did I understand you?

John: yeah, I think you understood me pretty well. And also I think about coming to jail, you see on the news about a lot of racism and that. Fights over races and they think that coming to jail will make them change, but I don't think that's the case. When they get locked up they get stuck into this jail politics and racism is a big problem in here. And I don't think that helps, I think that fuels the race problem.

Researcher: yeah, so what you're saying is that jail is a hothouse of all these racial tensions and so that makes it actually worse rather than better.

John: yeah in that way as well it wouldn't help anyone.

Researcher: but in order to help someone what I think I hear you saying is that at the end of the day it's a lot about recognizing that the way you were going wasn't right, it wasn't satisfying, it wasn't leading you to the life you wanted.....

John: you've got to admit where you went wrong, you know, if you want to change, improve you've got to do what you can to improve.

Researcher: so there's a lot of self responsibility, taking responsibility for yourself in what you're saying.

John: yeah, that's right. If you don't recognize what you did is wrong then there's no hope in changing.

Researcher: or maybe if you blame someone else for it...

John: yeah, that's right. If you blame someone else, it's got to come from you. No one forced you to do it, you've got your own two hands, your own mouth. At the end of the day, it's all up to you.

Researcher: do you think your life is in a lot better balance now than what it used to be?

John: yeah, I'm thinking more clearly now, I've got my head on straight. It's going to be a long journey but I think I'll eventually get there.

Researcher: is there anything else you wanted to say, John?

John: no, I think I've covered everything.

Researcher: okay, it's been wonderful. Thank you very much for the help you've given me and I wish you all the best.

John: thank you.

Duration: 21:17

Narrative Interview 3

This interview was conducted on the October 13, 2006. The participant is Peter, who is 19 years old and this is his first time in jail.

Researcher: okay Peter, how are you?

Peter: not bad mate.

Researcher: will I just like to thank you for agreeing to participate in this study.....

Peter: no problem.

Researcher:..... and I welcome you to this place, such as it is.....

Peter: excellent place.

Researcher: yeah, excellent place. What I'd like you to do Peter, is just talk to me about your life. You can start anywhere and from time to time I'll just from time to time maybe ask you some questions. Okay?

Peter: well, since my childhood it's never been easy..... my childhood, it was a rough road. I had many sicknesses when I was young, I couldn't walk when I was young. I had, it was similar to Forest Gump. I had a disease in my hips, I can't remember what it was, but, I couldn't walk for nearly a year or two. When I

went to primary school like that. I had to wear these braces on my legs. Or through primary school I never got along with any of the kids, it took me a while to get some friends, because I was different from any of the other kids. I always managed to get bullied, on picked on. It never fazed me but it did make me become a very angry man (laughs). I used to take it out on a lot of people for no reason..... and as I got older things changed. I hit high school, high school was the best thing in my life, I guess. That's where I got to meet a lot of friends - had quite a bit of a crew, I just went with everyone in the school. That was the life and times..... plenty of stupid times, plenty of women, plenty of drugs, plenty of alcohol. I wasn't really interested in my school studies, yet was really bad, it was bad. But then after that I slowly got kicked out of school, I just managed to do my year 10 certificate. I didn't do well with the teachers either. After that I went to TAFE, started doing my year 11 and 12 there. My father and mother always wanted me to finish school..... my intentions were not that. I just wanted to work, get money, start getting a lifestyle, getting a house, a car, things like that. All little things. So I started going to year 11 and 12 and I said to myself that I'm not going to get involved with any more friends, you know, try to do some study, try and keep to myself. As soon as I get there, my first day there, I see an old friend (laughs); I see an associate, I just knew him, not much, I wasn't really a friend of him, didn't really respect him that much. From what I was hearing on the streets he was bad, don't get involved with him. Where he was living, I used to live there too, it was a pretty rough neighbourhood. Housing commission at Toongabbie. And then I met him and just comes up to me straight away right before we hit class and he just asked me, "what are you doing?". "I'm doing the same course, what do you know, we're in the same class". I knew it

was going to be a good beginning, the first day we had a bit of marijuana before we hit class (laughs)..... he offered it to me and I said, "yeah why not, why not?". And then we went in a bit high and from then on every day was constantly just smoking, smoking..... missing class. I just didn't care. Skipped quite a few classes, walk out halfway through a class, didn't bother me. And then as I slowly progressed after a couple of months I knew I wasn't going to get anywhere, I knew I was going to fail. That they were going to kick me out. My father and mother were paying for the course; that's what started disturbing me, I started feeling real guilty, all the guilt was building up inside of me. I hit the third month one of my friends got slowly kicked out of the course.... And then I knew I was next, I knew it was just my time to come. I came one day to class and the teacher just looked at me and said, "what are you doing attending the class? No you're not." He just failed me yesterday (laughs), and he told me to go home. Fair enough. I saw it coming. As soon as I left, I got across the road going to see my friends and I was hanging out with, smoking with. As soon as I crossed the road, this bloke comes up to me asking me where one of my mates were. He asked me, and he thought he was my cousin, he says, "where is your cousin?". "I dunno where the hell he is, I'm looking for him right now, that's why came over here." Apparently they did a transaction and a lot of money went missing. Started to look upon me and say, "where is my money? Since you or his cousin, cough it up". (Laughs) Like I didn't have any money on me, all I had was a discman, just my bag full of books. I was devastated, cause me and this other guy were kicked out..... he was a Turkish boy, a big boy. We got cross, upset. We were both in the same boat, thinking 'fuck, I hope they isn't going to chop us. We did this for them and we stuffed it up. We fucked it up big-time".

And then we got across, you know, feeling sorry for ourselves, yeah, the bloke just kept on giving it to me, saying, "Where's the money?" He was a big boy. He was Arabic. He started laying into me, he started giving it to me, yeah, in the middle of the TAFE in front of cameras and everything. And I was just caught by surprise and I'm thinking to myself, fuck where are these blokes, they were nowhere to be seen that day. I knew they were hiding from this feller, cause it wasn't for him it was for his mate. He was asking the money for his mate. They had just gone in different stages and he just started laying into me and the next thing I knew I said, Fuck, I had to fight back. And I couldn't because I had my bag on me, had jacket hat everything. It was from left right and centre, caught by surprise. Next thing I know he just gave me a few hits and every hit he gave me went straight to my eyes. I gave him a few but it didn't do much. And then all of a sudden he just stopped, he was tired I was tired. As I slowly looked up I couldn't see anything, my eyes were just blacked up, they were just clogged (laughs). They were clogged. My Turkish mate that I got kicked out with he tried to jump him, couldn't do much. Took me to the toilet, started cleaning me up. I just looked at myself, andfuck, I started to freak.....what the fuck just happened then? All for this bunch of blokes I barely even knew. And then after that, we were going to call the ambulance, call the cops but I thought, no, stuff it. I just told the bloke to walk me to the station, just take me to the station. I said, "I can't see". I literally couldn't see, I could just see a millimetre. Everything was blurry and my eyes were just puffed instantly..... took me to the station and there were police around just looking at me with these funny looks. I just started laughing, yeah, where were yous, you're supposed to bring justice to this country. It didn't really bother me - I don't like being affiliated the police anyway. They

don't really do much these days. So I hopped on the train and I told him, "Bye, I'll catch to around some other time." I knew that was it, I wasn't going to see him again. If I found him it was going to be on the street somewhere. But then I went home, I managed to walk home pretty much blind and I got home and no one was home. My mum came home and she just freaked out. She wanted to know what happened. I never let her know what the truth was, it was all over drugs, money. Couldn't let know about that so I just told her I got jumped by a bunch of boys who just pulled up and gave it to me. That was it. I told her that since I didn't have any money they just gave it to me for no reason. Couldn't tell her the truth. I was still seeing my mates at the time. After that I went to hospital..... and got the swelling to go down. It took two weeks for my eyes to get back to normal (laughs). And then after that I just wanted to find out who this bloke was. I didn't really know him. I just knew a little bit about him, and I wanted revenge. So I started calling my mates up and asking them, because they found out, they called me up when I was at home resting. They found out the story from someone else. They called around to ask me what happened. "Thanks to you blokes because of your fuck ups, I don't know which one of you did it, he laid on to me asking where the money was and I didn't really know the story so I said, "what's the story?". "Oh, we were going to give him an ounce but Don took some of it out, it was a lot of money's worth, so on and so forth."..... "oh that's a good move, because they came to me asking for it and I copped a beating for you". And then they wanted a war, they wanted to find him, which they did. And they got into their car and they came over, started finding new information, this and that. But I was like, no forget it, forget it. They are never going to find him, he is hiding somewhere. They're never going to find him, he

is a ghost right now. And then I started hanging back out with them, which I don't know why..... it was a vicious cycle, and they just...um.... started smoking with them every night, every day just go over there smoking, drinking. They had a caravan in the back of the house, they were living at the family's house, and the family, it didn't really bother them that we were smoking. We were all good friends with them as well. The family was a nice family and we were just there smoking every day, mucking around, causing little troubles. I disappeared for a week or so and then I hear that they got into some mischief with some boys and there was going to be another battle (laughs), another war out between some other boys. It was just continuing for so long through high school, now TAFE and now just on the streets pretty much, like what's going on? I had to do something about my mates girlfriend, she started playing around with some other bloke and so he started mouthing off to them saying racist comments.... which is not in us to say things like that. He was like the odd one out in the group. He was Australian but we didn't get along all that well. They were all Islanders. He started straight away going mouthing off to them saying, "come here, come to this house, we'll settle you out." Eventually they came, but they came to the wrong house. They came to our friend Chopper, we call him Chopper, they went to his house. His family was home and, these Islanders, a bunch of them came out of the car and started knocking on the door asking for little Ben. That's what we called him, little Ben. He was a little boy, but he was the one mouthing off the saying racist comments. So they came over the settling him out but they came over to my mate Chopper's house. He really had nothing to do with it either. So straightaway they started mouthing off to his mother and father. Old people, you know, they don't deserve that, they don't deserve anything like that.

Then after that they..... they just..... He came out, as he heard the noise, cause his father told him 'get fucked' this and that and his mother came out and said, 'let him get fucked, I'm going to call the cops.' Apparently one of them threatened to punch his father's lights out. Straight away my mate Chopper, he heard it so he ran out with a baseball bat and started swinging it at the bloke. Just missed him by a couple of centimetres apparently. As he did that they just went off in the car, drove off, and after that it just continued; phone calls every minute, saying where do you want to meet? They were going to battle it out, big time. But since they crossed the line with Chopper, and his brothers, they're pretty hectic people. You could see they're junkies, they do a lot of heroin, a lot of this and that. That are not really people to be messed with, cause they get their hands on a lot of things, firearms, anything, anything serious. Anyway, it was going to get very serious because since they came and harassed the family there was instant reaction and the rest of the family got involved. They wanted to meet at Mount Druitt Park. It was going to be a big war. Luckily nothing happened, because the police managed to get there in time. They didn't grab me because at the time I was still healing. But apparently they were going to come and grab me. In one sense I wanted to go because that was just wrong, but luckily I didn't because the police found all the firearms. They ditched them before the police came. Luckily they didn't connect that with my friends. I don't know how they managed to get away from it. After that, they got scot-free, cause some of the Islanders they had a few firearms too. It was pretty insane. At the end the police stopped it all before they could even touch each other. They were this close, just a couple of metres away ready to do it. Planning from here

to there, ready to do some insane stuff. They just told me the story, what happened, Lucky you didn't come, nothing happened.

Researcher: so how long did you stay in involved with these friends?

Peter: to be honest, to this day.

Researcher: to this day?

Peter: to this day. I mean now it's a different story. My mother always told me, my mother always had much love for me, she's got good instincts. She knows, she can judge people a mile away. She knew that they were just trouble, she knew that they were my friends at the same time. I kept telling her they have got my back everywhere I go. After that things slowed down, we started going out, partying again, going to the city, meeting girls, doing this and that. And I just kept telling them this ain't good, something serious is going to happen one of these days (sighs).

Researcher: did you listen to your mum?

Peter: yes and no. I listened to my mum but I still continued seeing them, I still kept bringing them to the house trying to convince my mum that they are good boys. They always had respect for my family, they never brought anything serious to the house. They always spoke to my mum and dad, trying to have a conversation. At the same time my dad knew what they were about, because

they thought they were influencing me in smoking. I told my family, "it's not them, it's me".

Researcher: how much did it concern you that you knew that your parents wouldn't have approved if they'd have known, but you were still doing it?

Peter: it concerned me a lot. Every time I'm thinking that they're coming over I got butterflies in my stomach thinking, shit.

Researcher: did you ever think about, sort of, dumping those friends and changing your way?

Peter: always, always. I had a big group of friends, I had friends everywhere in this suburb and that suburb. I've been to every suburb here in Sydney and I kept in contact with everyone. Even when I was hanging out with them, I still kept contact with this group of people and they would just smoking, drinking buddies. We'd just sing around, get a guitar, have a good house party up the back, no troubles. But at the same time I started losing those friends, started hanging around with this group of people. Which I really regret, because I had a lot of friends and I managed to lose a lot of them.

Researcher: what sort of friends do you admire, what sort of people do you admire?

Peter: good people that just like to drink, have a good laugh and have a good time. Keen to do things, keen on making a living. These people that I was hanging out with now they didn't know what they wanted to do. At the time they were bums, none of them were working, getting Centrelink pay cheques.

Researcher: if you were out there now would you be involved with those people still?

Peter: I've seen them, they've come to visit me. Which was surprising, I didn't think they would come to visit me. But the only people I want is my family. I spoke to my mother and father since I was in here and I told her that I really don't want nothing to do with them anymore. I promised my mum that I'm not going to smoke anything anymore. That made her so happy and I told her that I was going to keep my promise.

Researcher: and do you think that you will keep your promise?

Peter: I will keep my promise because I have told everyone that when I get out I'm not going back to the smoking routine. I managed to find in my heart to.... still managed to be friends with them but I don't want to be hanging out their houses every day like I did, finish work, go ride on my bike all the way there.

Researcher: so why the change?

Peter: one, I'm in here. Two, I don't want to follow the same foot paths that I was doing. I didn't even want to speak to them any more, but they came in here with my little cousin and we both started realising that they weren't our mates. They are just going to get us into more trouble. I don't want more trouble.

Researcher: so how has coming to jail helped you to realise these things?

Peter: it's taken my freedom away. It's just made me think, when I was outside I wasn't thinking. I was just moving, moving like a car, everywhere. I never sat down to think. I managed to learn how to play checkers and a bit of chess and the main strategy is that you must think before you move. I was just moving everywhere I went outside, I never thought about my actions.

Researcher: so the chess and the checkers helped you to think about your life?

Peter: very much. Also the Chaplin as well. He has made me open up my mind. I may be in here for a couple of reasons but I still have a long line of history that I never got caught for. I should have been here a long time ago. I thank God that he has given me a chance, he has made me realise that he wants to give me a chance to open up, open up my eyes. This is my punishment, just to give me a chance if I want to go back outside, start doing wrongs from right. I still would like to be mates with them but I told them..... some of them I'm really good friends with. They say, "when you get out we're going to have a bottle waiting for you, we're going to have a mad drink up." I say, "that's nice, I don't mind that, but smoking, I don't want to touch it anymore." I've had enough

of that because one, it made me lazy, it made me slouchy, I used to get temperamental, I used to just react at my mother sometimes. If I didn't have anything I'd get stressed out. It's just a devil drug. Every drug is pretty bad, even alcohol but... I noticed every time I had a bit of alcohol, not alcoholic wise, when we had parties and that, we had the best time. We were all laughing, jumping. My family all drink, everyone I know we all have a good time and we drink. Even with my old friends I realise that we never smoked, we just drank and we always had the best time ever, with the music, we meet women. It was just good fun. Good harmless fun. But as I started smoking I just realise that I was just changing; my personality, the way I did things, everything. My anger just went off the charts. I used to get angry for no reason..... I just start punching holes through the wall, just do stupid things.

Researcher: so you went from being a child who had no friends really at school, because of your brace and everything like that, to being this person who had lots of friends all over the place.

Peter: that's correct. At that time we were mainly just drinking, all my friends got me into drinking. Well not my friends but, we all started drinking. We all loved it, and then, but then I never really smoked that much. When I went to TAFE and I started smoking, everything just changed. I just knew I had to do something with marijuana.

Researcher: why did you get into all that lifestyle? Was it connected to you feeling not belonging because you didn't have any friends, and your anger?

Peter: not really that, it was mainly just..... it was all my choice. I don't know, I just wanted to do it. I just wanted to experiment. And I enjoyed it. It became quite an addiction. Then I was doing at morning, breakfast, lunch, tea.

Researcher: so when you think about your future when you get out of jail, what do you want to? What do you see for yourself?

Peter: I want to be by my family for a long time, a good couple of months. I want to stay by their side, I don't even want to move just to see anybody. If they were come see me they can come over but I don't want to get back into that lifestyle at all. What I was doing before, smoking, I'm really over that. Like I said, I promised my mother and father and that made them so happy, they both just started crying. I knew that was the only thing my mum always wanted to hear me say. I was smoking in my house, in my little room, in my family home. At first it bothered my mum but then she slowly managed to live with that. And I wasn't being stupid, but I was, and I was just hiding from her.

Researcher: so what makes you sure or confident that you won't go back to that sort of lifestyle?

Peter: I realised that my family, my mother and father, are my only best friends. They are the only ones that really have been by my side and they are the only ones that have looked after me and just showed me the way. Showed me how to be a responsible man, and me following all these other mates it just never went that way but.... as I got in here I just realised that I, I've always been sick of it to

be honest with you. Well not always, but last year I've been dying to let it go. It was just force of habit that I couldn't let go and mainly influences, like I said, my friends. It's a big influence, and now that I'm here there is no influences.

Researcher: you mentioned the word "experiment", you were experimenting before, so you'd had the experiment, you discovered that ultimately it wasn't what you were after. Is that what you're saying?

Peter: yeah, exactly. But as I said I'm in here, and not being able to touch it, I don't crave it. That is what led me here, not just because of my temper. I just clicked it one day and all these things happened.

Researcher: what about, I mean to survive on the outside you need work and so on, don't you? You need money, so what are you going to do work wise? What are your plans?

Peter: well, I was an apprentice chef before I came in here. I was doing quite well, nearly 4 years working. I was a third year apprentice but I did one year tradesmen..... and I love cooking, I have always loved cooking. Half my family are cooks or chefs, we all cook in the family. My job is still waiting for me when I get out. They say that they want me back I don't know if I'll go back to that restaurant but I have also got offers from many places in the city. King Street wharf, Leichardt. I want to go back to the city, I started in the city, did that for one year and then I started working in new suburbs. Parramatta,

Pendle Hill..... no, I don't like the suburbs. I want to try and find something towards the city. I find that more peaceful, more exciting, just better atmosphere.

Researcher: so if I were to ask you what have you learnt from your experience in life so far, what are the important things that you have learned, what would you say?

Peter: always stick by your family. Always think about your family first. Friends are friends, friends are associates, friends are not necessarily always the ones who will be behind you. You have some friends that will be behind you, support you and good things, but, nothing will beat your family, nothing beats blood. Blood is thicker than water. I just managed to realise how much I love my mother and father. I have always loved them, they always helped me out in the toughest, toughest roads and I never realised until I came here, when I couldn't be able to hug my mum every day when I wanted to, seeing my mum. Me and my mum have a close relationship. We are very close. I always just hurt that I can't give her a kiss goodnight, or make dinner with her, or help her clean up the house, do garden work. That's the only thing I could really say. That's why when I get out of here I just want to stick by my family. Friends will come slowly but I'm not too fond of all that any more. I just want to try to make the most of the time that I have with my family. That's pretty much it.

Researcher: okay. So, you would say that you are ready for some positive life change in your life?

Peter: oh, I am ready, I'm waiting. But at the same time I know I'm here, I'm being punished which is good because that's what I needed. But at the same time I'm ready, I'm ready to go back into the world. I've already changed my life. I told my family, I promised my family and I can't break my promise to them. Every promise I make my mother, I have to look her in the eye, I mean it, and I keep it. I've never broken it. Especially this, and I told my friends when they came down, "I'm not going back to smoking". They thought I was joking but I told them I wasn't. They just kept their heads down and they respected that, they respected my wishes. Yeah, we can have drinks but I'm sticking by my family for a couple of months. I want to help them out. I'll get back on my feet and I want to go back to my industry and I want to finish my trade.

Researcher: sounds good. Thank you very much Peter for your time.

Peter: no, you're right.

Interview duration: 28:26

Narrative Interview 4

This interview was conducted on Wednesday, October 18, 2006. The participant is 34 years old and this is his first time in jail.

Researcher: okay Pete, I'd like to welcome you to this place and thank you for your willingness to participate in this study. What like to do if you can is talk to me about your life story and I will just listen and perhaps from time to time ask you some questions about what you're saying. Is that okay? You can start wherever you want and go wherever you want.

Pete: that's fine. Well I suppose I'll start at the end of high school. I hated school so I'll start from the end of high school. I never done well there so my father, he was a builder, so as soon as I finish my year 10 certificate to get I jumped straight into the building game. I got my trade, qualified carpenter and joiner, done me course at Gosford TAFE. I stepped into the building game, I thought that would be a lot better than going to year 12, because I can barely read and write sort of thing. A few years at that, living at home, working for your father, that sort of thing. It fell apart; alcohol, getting my licence, exploring all those avenues. After that I wandered around for a little while with a few mates, sort of got nowhere, drinking pretty heavy. After that time I met my wife. She was one of my sister's friends and one thing led to another and I was keen on her for a while. Then we ended up getting married and had our first son and I was sort of working on and off between kitchen factories and the building game. Just sort of bum jobs, nowhere jobs, factory jobs. I didn't really like it. So I had a couple of uncles who were in the army, went through Vietnam and that sort of thing, so I

had it in my blood. I wanted to be in the army. So I said to the Misses, "maybe I should try out for the army". She said, "oh yeah, no worries". It must have taken three years from the time I said it to the to actually getting into the interview and getting accepted into the army. Your weight is not right, you've got do more push-ups, more sit-ups. Yeah, it would have taken easy three years. I finally got there, I remember the day, yeah. That was good. Got accepted, had the date when I was going, that was down at Wagga Wagga for an eight-week basic training course. I was a bit nervous because it's another life. Went down there, that was pretty hard actually leaving the Misses behind and the kids, two kids actually by then.

Researcher: so what year was this?

Pete: that would have been '96. Done training down there and then I got posted to Liverpool, or Holsworthy. Combat Engineer Regiment. He learned engineering skills, building things, blowing things up, bombs, demolition, underwater diving, all the stuff that engineers do. Sniffer dogs. And that was pretty good. After an eight-week course there, which took me a little bit longer because of the tests and that, because I had to do a couple more because of the reading and writing, and found out that I got posted to 1CR, which is Darwin First Brigade. So I come home and tell the Misses that we're packing up now, we are going to go to Darwin. She had just had our third son, so it was a big move. The army gave us a wad of money and said, 'get to Darwin, you've got two weeks', sort of thing. So she had to leave all her family behind. It was terrible. Drove up the coast of Australia up to Brisbane, went inland through

Australia up to Darwin, and that was just tough going. Couldn't believe it, you don't know what the next day holds. A new place, a young family. You're in, what I call, the best job in Australia, defending this country, so proud you know. A lot of pressure when I think about it. But, you know, it's all your training. You're there, you've got the rising sun on your shoulder, you're proud, you're Australian. And we'd never been to Darwin before... and just the heat, my God. Training in the long clothes. Mrs, kids, they gave is a great house, six air-conditioners, brand new. It had been never lived in. Couldn't ask for anything better. I used to get home at 34 degrees, in the house it would be 16° with all the air-conditioners humming away. She was going okay, the Misses. Things were going all right. Army life, you know, you can't really have a family if you're in the army, I don't think. You've really got be there single, because they like you to be all theirs. Stuffed around with the army, went to places with them, did all that sort of stuff. My missus wasn't handling it in the end, not well at all. They call it the troppo season, when the build-up comes, things start to build up before the wet season. She wanted out. But I said you can't, you know. And then I was training one night ready to go to Timor again and I come out of the back of my tank and had a backpack on, weapon, and I come round the side of the tank and just rolled my ankle. Tore all the lateral ligaments on the outside of my leg and that was it basically, army gone, finished. Mrs wasn't handling it and they just said you can get out if you want to, you're not going to be able to do the job no more, basically. So that was it for the army.

Researcher: so was that very disappointing for you?

Pete: yeah,..... I don't think I've really sat down and thought about it. I started hitting the alcohol pretty heavy trying to cover it up, to not think about it. For me that was the biggest thing, it was all I wanted.

Researcher: like the loss of a dream really.

Pete: yeah..... after the accident the Misses was there for a while but she wanted to go back home to her parents. So I put her on a plane with the kids and said goodbye. Yeah, I just hit the alcohol pretty heavy then.

Researcher: was that goodbye just a short-term goodbye in your mind at the time?

Pete: yeah, she said she just wanted a break for six months just to kick back and think about things, you know. And I said, yeah fine. Put her on a plane. Yeah, I've tried to never really think about the army, to sit down and think about it. And then my leg sort of got better at enough to walk around, do normal things but it wasn't good enough for military service. So then I approached a crocodile farm up in Darwin, Crocodilus Park, we had taken the kids there once for a tour. I said have you got any work here and they said you could do voluntary work so I started doing some voluntary work there just cleaning out the pens, feeding the animals. Sort of had this thing for crocodiles, you know. Because we don't have them down here. So I started working there every day and the boss approached me and said, "you've been in the army and you're a builder, we could use a feller like you around here as one of the park's maintenance guys." I said, "oh yeah,

that would be great". I was living in a caravan in Darwin, drinking pretty heavy every night. So they put me on and I stayed there for six to eight months. Working at the crocodile farm, catching crocodiles out in the Kingolay River, which is near Arnhem land. All hands on animal work. I don't think there was a day when past when I wasn't attacked by different animal, whether it be a monkey, a cassowary, a brolga, a pig, a kangaroo. Used to get crocs as long as this room out of pens, move them down to other pens. We used to bring crocs back from out in the bush. These two black blokes, Rubin and Anthony, they taught me more in eight months than the army did in six years. Just the bush skills, the bush crafts, animals, how to look at animals, how to approach them. Really had a good time. And every month without fail I ring them up. Say, "how yous going?", and they just say, "come up". So I was sort of missing my kids after about eight months and I said to them I'll have to go back and see them. So I hopped on a plane, come back to New South Wales, and by that stage my missus was into nightclubs, drugs, hanging around her sister who was single and my wife was gone. She was a totally different person. I would go round to her sister's place where she was staying with the kids and there would be guys there. I'd lose it just for jealousy, I couldn't handle it. AVOs just got put on me, I broke AVOs. I hit the bottle so hard, I be a place for myself, the kids are come around I would be a mess. Total mess, and my mate was there one night and he said to the kids, "dad's drinking again to night?", they said, "yeah, dad drinks. He doesn't talk to us when he drinks". And I heard that and I thought, Geez, that's what the kids think. Dad's just off his head. Not good. I met this girl who was living next door, single mum. Broke up with her boyfriend, just couldn't afford the rent. I asked her to move in....

Researcher: this was back in Sydney or up there?

Pete: back in Sydney. I got a house, the kids used to come over every weekend. I used to tell my missus to piss off every time she would come over. The girl next door, she couldn't make her rent so I said, "well, do you want to move in? I've got a spare room." She moved in, she had a little girl, no father. So I sort of stepped up to the role of father for her. Same thing, plenty of alcohol, drugs, just marijuana, speed. She put an AVO on me as well, I was just off my face on alcohol. Said some things to her and..... I have two kids to her now, Amanda. We have been off and on for three years, she's got three kids all up. I always call Leah mine, even though she's not. Out of my five boys, she is the only girl. Amanda,she is damaged by drugs. I really try for her, I really love her. Really love her, but I don't know what to do about her. She is really hard work. Takes a lot of my time. I am sleeping with every one, you know, very unstable, very insecure girl. I have got to try for her. Then AVO led to AVO and they kept on adjourning them, adjourning them, and they all backed up till the sixth of last month and I got home detention on one of them. Couldn't beat that and I go for the other one this Friday. That's basically where I'm at.

Researcher: what are you planning on doing about your life? What's going to happen?

Pete: well being here has made me step back from the alcohol, cause I was pretty much drunk every day. When I wasn't driving trucks I was pretty much drunk every day. Just trying to escape the loss of..... I'm over my ex-wife now. She is

gone. I see the kids every now and then, that's good. I've got this new girlfriend now, she is the worry. But alcohol is the biggest problem. I've been to AA. They don't seem to help me, I have trouble talking to people. Yeah, I just can't do it. I feel too..... I don't know what it is.

Researcher: is it the group thing?

Pete: yeah. Definitely. Couldn't talk to more than two people at once. Too much, too closed in. I'd rather be out in the bush any day, any day. But alcohol has destroyed my life basically. I mightn't have been the best boyfriend in the world, husband, whatever, but alcohol just topped it off. I think if I get out of here and I continue the bottle I'm just going to come back in here again. I have to.... every night I think about Amanda, the kids and I try to push them aside and I think about Darwin. I think about that croc Park and I think about what pen I would go to first if I was doing the feeding trail in the morning. Just picture each animal and how to get into that pen and approach that animal without it attacking me. I would think about that every day. This is sort of like a little goal that I've got. This is as low in life as you could possibly go right now. So having that goal is something that..... well when I get out, yeah, I could go and do that. That is always out there. But if I continue drinking and trying to chase this girl Amanda, who maybe doesn't want me you know, probably doesn't, she says she doesn't and she says she does, well I am not going to have anything, you know.

Researcher: what about your children? What do you want to be for them?

Pete: I would come back and see them as often as I could. But that's the thing, I'm sort of stuck. The Army paid for my truck licences up to semi. I was sort of getting into that before I got in here. Trying to get into the interstate sort of stuff. So I thought that's a job, you know. Even though it's not around here it would still be a good job. It's a lonely highway but, you know. That's what I like. So I'm sort of tossing up between those two, truck driving or Darwin. What to actually do. The kids are always going to be there, I'll always ring them every week, but I don't want to stay around here if Amanda doesn't want me. I'll ring her every week. Melissa, she's my ex-wife, she rings me anyway every now and then about the kids, you know. At the moment I'm sort of stuck. I really don't know what to do out of those two jobs.

Researcher: and what about the drinking? That could undo both of those jobs too, couldn't it?

Pete: drinking could, and going to Darwin, it is bloody hot and you do drink a lot. But it is a new start again, you know. I'll probably have to go and see someone about the drinking. I know it's easy to say that I want drink when I get out of here because there is no drink in here, you know, but, I don't know, I love it.

Researcher: you love it? You love the drinking?

Pete: oh yeah. I said to my mate once before came in here, I said, "if they just invented a tablet that you could take and would make you instantly drunk, we

wouldn't have to spend half a day drinking, we could just be plastered." And he goes, "but that would take the fun out of it", and I said, "no, I just want to be plastered. I don't have to think." He said, "you've got some problems". I said, "yeah bloody oath, get my glass and will have another beer." And now I look back on it and I think, imagine saying that, I was obviously sinking down to have a big problem. I didn't like a drink I just wanted to be drunk.

Researcher: and how do you think about that now? When you think back on that?

Pete: we were just sitting around at the beach, you know, long neck after long neck. Just watching the day go by.

Researcher: but do you still think the same? Would you like to have one of those pills that....

Pete: no, well, I am 34. I have got to wake up to myself and get back on my feet. I've just fallen off since the army and the crocodile Park, I've just fallen off the rails. I've got to get back on my feet and get something or have something for these kids when they get older. They are going to get to teenagers and not have a dad. They are not going to have anything. I was lucky I had my dad for the apprenticeship but these kids aren't going to have anything. I've got to really wake up to myself and..... think of life, I suppose, what else is out there? I've got to try something you know. AA, I can't get up and talk in front of them. So to me, sitting there, I don't think that's going to help.

Researcher: so are you saying that you really have to wake up to yourself and that's one part of your mind saying that to the other part of your mind, and the other part wants to get out of here and go and have another drink? So at the end of the day which part do you think is going to win out?

Pete: well, I have to use all my army training to get this could decide to push this bad side out. I've got to do it. I know where that road goes and it's no good. I've got to try, you know?

Researcher: where would that road go for you?

Pete: it would go down to alcohol, drugs and I'd be back here, because I would just lose it. I would, I have got to be careful every time I ring up Amanda and ask her the stupid questions, "who are you with? Argue with anyone?", all this kind of stuff, I know. If she does say yes to me one day and I get out of here and hit the bottle, I'll be straight around that house and I would tear the doors off to get to that person. I would probably kill them in a rage, so I can't go down there. I've got to get away.

Researcher: what would be a really good life for you? Say I was talking to you in five years time, where would you really like to be in five years from now?

Pete: there's two jobs. I've sort of come to the fork in the tree, there's two jobs. Interstate truck driving, driving for a company, driving all over Australia, interstate sort of thing, I could handle that. I am by myself, driving long hours,

not a problem. Kids, they would look up to that. That's going well you know, he's..... crocodile farm in Darwin. There is never a dull moment there. It's always interesting work. Top end of Australia, great place..... working in a good spot. Kids would be proud once again..... dad wrestles crocodiles.

Researcher: so that your decision, that's one of your decisions, is it? Which of those two roads will you take?

Pete: yeah, which one.

Researcher: and the other decision you've got is whether to get off the booze or handle it in a way that doesn't create problems for you, which you said you will need all of your army training to do that. And then you've also got decisions are about your children, what sort of relationship you want with them.

Pete: yeah, I've got to fix myself up.

Researcher: so you mentioned about your children being proud of you if you were a crocodile wrestler or a truck driver, how do you think they feel about you now?

Pete: well, I don't really want them to know I'm in here, because this is the lowest life you could be I think, in jail. I've done the crime and I'm in here I've got a turn my life around, I don't want to let them know I'm in here, you know.

Researcher: so in terms of the, not so much be truck driving and the crocodile farm because I think you're well and truly on track there in your own right, in your own strength, but the overcoming the alcohol problem..... you mention using all the training you've had from the army, now the things that you already know, what you have already learnt and the strength that you got from the army is that going to be enough to get you across the line, or are you going to need help from elsewhere?

Pete: well, I probably need help from elsewhere, because we're only touching the surface here of my life. Digging into those things like..... discharge from the army. If I think about that too much I'd be a mess on the floor. So I don't think about it I turn to alcohol..... I don't think about it, you know, for a while. So I think I would need some undoing.

Researcher: so dealing with those issues, there's obviously a lot of disappointment, loss of a dream, a kind of sorrow involved with the army.

Pete: yeah there is.

Researcher: do you think moving ahead in your life involves dealing with all that?

Pete: yeah, it does.

Researcher: how are you going to deal with it?

Pete: my girl at the moment, she always says, "I don't know what they done to you in there, but they really fucked you up in the army." And I say, "yeah, yeah, probably." "You've got to go and get counselling", she says. I've never been one to do this talking is pretty..... I don't know. Maybe I need to go and talk to councillors or something just to get it out, get it off my chest, you know. Because the bottle isn't the counsellor. It doesn't do it you know, it does it for an hour or two or that day but it doesn't..... I have got to talk to someone to get it out, to get a fresh start. Speaking to the Chaplain in the other wing, you know, I mentioned the army, mentioned my wife, and that was it! It just kicked off the buttons, you know. So there's issues I need to deal with there. Got to deal with it.

Researcher: so it takes courage and strength to face those things?

Pete: yeah, talking to someone about it, I suppose.

Researcher: if you don't face those issues what do you think will happen?

Pete: if I don't face them..... the bottle will be the counsellor. And whatever else I can find. Whatever drug I can find to numb living in this false world, you know, fake drug and alcohol world. Getting nowhere, probably end up dying. Don't care.

Researcher: bye-bye life.

Pete: yeah. Don't care. That's why I don't want to go down that road, I want to see if I can get the help. But where I don't know. Because AA, I could never get up there and talk and finding a counsellor to talk to, I don't know. But, you know, I have to give it a go. I've got no other choices really.

Researcher: yeah, there are some big issues around that whole thing about the army for you, aren't there? A lot of sadness and regret, and sorrow and loss.

Pete: yeah, there is.

Researcher: would you say that's the biggest thing you have lost in your life?

Pete: yeah, yeah for sure. For sure. Everything about it... the smells, you know, the sounds, so proud.

Researcher: what I'm interested here in my study is readiness for positive life change. For you, it sounds like the idea of positive life change would be getting your life on track again with one of these jobs on the crocodile farm or getting your interstate truck job happening, and dealing with the past...

Pete: yeah, I think so, no good moving on if I'm not going to be able to deal with the past, you know. Always going to hit that wall. Wherever I go, just got to break through it.

Researcher: in terms of your preparation or resolve to deal with past, I know you don't know who to talk to or where to go for help, you seem to be conscious that you need to find someone to talk to, somebody who will help you..... how likely do you think that is? How prepared to do something about it do you reckon you really are? Would it be easy to let it go? Would it be easy not to do it?

Pete: oh it would be. That's the mugs way out, you know. It's the easy way not dealing with it. I've got to deal with it, you know. Have to, have to find the help from somewhere to talk about it, to get it out. It's probably the first step, you know, realising that you've got that problem and you need help. Whether it be counselling, whether it be church, I don't know, whoever is out. Because there are people out there who deal with this stuff. It's just getting their trust otherwise it's just going to be hitting brick walls all time. And I don't want the 40 still saying, get off the bottle, get off the bottle. I've got nothing now, nothing. A suitcase full of clothes. That's it.

Researcher: okay, I appreciate you sharing this stuff with me. I know it hasn't necessarily been easy for you to talk about these things and remember the past, but I guess that's part of your track of healing. That's the hard thing.

Pete: yeah, I've got plenty of nights to think about it in here so..... yeah.

Researcher: thanks very much for talking to me about these things and for participating in this thing that I'm doing and I wish you all the best.

Pete: yeah, that's all right.

Duration: 32:04

Narrative Interview 5

This interview was conducted on Wednesday, November 1, 2006. Second interview with Pete.

Researcher: okay Pete, thanks for coming back to this second interview. What I want to do is to check with you that I had heard properly what you said before and you might want to add something or change something or give a bit more information. Anything you want to do anyway, it's up to you. What I heard you say to me before, you were talking about.... it seemed to me like the issue to do with the army was an important one in your life, something you really wanted to do, to become part of the army, and you did it for a period of about six years and then it all fell apart and the loss of that impacted your life and your marriage, not only the loss of that but also I think living up in Darwin, and your wife found it pretty hard to cope with the heat and everything like that up there, and possibly the isolation.

Pete: yeah, that's right.

Researcher: so she came back to Sydney and you were separated from her for about eight months, but when you came back you basically found that she was living a different kind of lifestyle altogether. You had lost her, basically.

Pete: yeah, yeah.

Researcher: it was a major turning point in your life I think, from what I can gather.

Pete: yeah, it was.

Researcher: you lost the dream of the army, you lost your marriage and your kids, to some extent your kids, at that time. Then that lead into other issues. You got involved with the other lady and you've got two kids with her.

Pete: yeah, I have, yeah.

Researcher: and you have tried to get your life back on track in different ways, because you have been struggling with a drinking issue, and you've got the issue of being a father of four, and there is the little girl as well. So you've got issues of parenting and you have also got issues of what you can do with your life. You have got the crocodile farm up there and you are interested in doing the work back up there, and you have got the interstate truck driving that you're interested in doing as well, and I had the feeling that you're really not sure which way you're going to head and how you're going to bring it all together. I also got the sense that there is still a bit of a question about how you're going to handle the alcohol issue. You seem to be saying that you don't know how you're going to get help to do it. You have a sense that you need some help, but AA didn't work because of the group thing.

Pete: yeah I don't know what to do about that, about the alcohol. I love it, I won't deny that, I love the alcohol. It's just controlling it to a level where you can have a couple of beers and that's it. But to me there is no such thing as that, you've got have 20. You have got to get drunk. If I could just get that out of my head somehow and could just have a couple of beers a night, then that would be all right. I really don't know where I'm going. Being in here, you lose contact with the outside world and any inmate will tell you that. You can't do anything in here, your life is just sort of suspended. So until I get out of here I can't do a thing. I can only think about going down this road or that road or whatever but I can't actually do anything till I get back out there in the real world and do that. You can't do anything here but just think, and dream.

Researcher: well I guess at least you've got a sense of what you would like life to be like.

Pete: yeah I've got a few goals but it's just like which one..... and how to go about it.

Researcher: and what about with the alcohol.... I think I said before that alcohol could undo those goals. It could finish you off.

Pete: yeah. Some days in here a ring Amanda, which is my new girlfriend, and she just says things that I just feel like ending life. I can't stand it, you know, and I think that when I get out I am just going to get that pissed. No, I just don't want to help myself, and then the next day things are fine and I go back up again. I

will try, and the next day I might be down. It's just keeping that level, you know it is going to be hard.

Researcher: so to what extent do you feel that you are controlled, and your emotions are controlled, by external factors? By other people and events and circumstances?

Pete: like I say, when I ring her, I will have a good day if I get a good phone call from her, you know. If I don't get a good phone call then you know..... I just feel like, why should I even try, you know. Just because you're in here, you know, you're in the pits. Then you just try to slowly work your way out of it and be mentally strong. Because I don't know where I'm going. I would like to think that I'm going to be strong but, you know.

Researcher: so do you think you are mentally strong?

Pete: sort of... two of me. A good one says, "you have been trained by the army, they have showed you how to do it, just draw on all that and do it. You can do anything". And the other side of me says, "just have a beer, sit back. Fuck these women. They have fucked you over, don't worry about them. Let's just get drunk and don't worry about it ". It's just fighting it off. At the moment it's really hard to know what to do.

Researcher: is it hard to know which of those two to listen to?

Pete: it's definitely the drink one. For sure, yeah. I try so hard for this girl, I know I keep going back to her, but I try so hard. I don't know what to do. All my mates say, "just get away from her, she's a nutcase." But I have had two kids to her and she has got a young girl and I want to take care of her. I want to look after her but I know I can't really do that in the way I am either. I can't even look after myself because I love the alcohol. So I'm sort of trapped. I just don't know what to do. I really want to help the girl, you know. She is damaged from drugs, she is trying hard and I'm going to know her for the rest of my life.

Researcher: but are you going to be able to help her if you can't help yourself?

Pete: probably not, no. I need to help myself. You get back out there, you know, and you walk down the street and you see the bottle shops and that and you think, it has been a while and I would love a beer. But then can you stop after that one? It would be hard. And the other side says, don't worry about it.

Researcher: it sounds like you are really battling between these two sides of yourself as to which one you are going to pay attention to.

Pete: yeah. I try to look at the big picture and for me that might be the truck driving. Driving along in a truck, I love this. One day I hope my kids want to do this too. I would be happy with that, you know. Or work at the crocodile farm, not a problem.

Researcher: I get the impression that a big step towards positive life change for you would be listening to the good side and taking the power away from the bad side. Or just denying the other side. When I say "the bad side" I mean the side that would want you to go and have another beer.

Pete: yeah, when I think of that I think instantly back to where I was before I come in here. That was sleeping in a park up the beach and there was a goon bag next to me, and to me, that is as low as you can get. I had nothing, nothing at all except a blanket. Waking up with possums around. I need to get my life sorted out, 34 and I'm doing this. I have got six kids out there all under eight. I have got to change and if I get out of here and get on the bottle I will just slide straight back down there. So I try to listen to the good side.

Researcher: but that was the good side that was talking then, wasn't it? Because that is the rational side.

Pete: yeah, because I just don't want to be back there. Don't want to be back there.

Researcher: that is your good side talking.

Pete: yeah, I don't want to be back to the bottle.

Researcher: and what would the bad side say?

Pete: it's out of control. Just keep drinking, don't worry, wake up in the morning and go and get another bottle. Two bottles later you will forget it all and everything will be good. Not good.

Researcher: and which side speaks loudest to you?

Pete: I would like to think it is my good side but it just depends on the day, the phone calls, how things go.

Researcher: so it is under the control of external things?

Pete: yeah. I try to think good things but..... I don't know. I will see what happens when I get out. But it is there, I can go down that good road, it's not too far away. It's just staying off that drink.

Researcher: so when you think about the consequences of listening to the bad side and getting into the grog again, do those consequences scare you?

Pete: yeah.

Researcher: do they scare you enough to move away from them?

Pete: yeah. I don't want to be walking around the beach with nothing. My kids will just get older and older and their mates will say, "what does your dad do?". "He is a bum on the street, on the dole". I don't want that.

Researcher: but people do, don't they? People end up like that.

Pete: yeah, I don't want to be like that. I want to work. After having all that pride, I want to work. I don't want to go hand fortnightly forms in.

Researcher: so are you saying to me that your life is on hold here but you are thinking about these things?

Pete: yes, every day. That is what gets me to sleep every night, how I would go walking around the croc farm and what I would feed first. Or which companies I am going to go an approach when I get out of here, for driving jobs. Things like that.

Researcher: I guess the issue is that you can decide something in here, you might decide to listen to the good side for example, but the real test comes when you get out and you pass by the bottle shop.

Pete: yeah. Yeah, that's right. That is going to be different. But I have to focus on the big picture, you know, or I will come straight back here. The bottle has brought me here and I don't know how I'm going to feel until I walk past that shop.

Researcher: well you might feel like a drink, but it's not so much of an issue what you're going to feel but what you're going to do, isn't it?

Pete: yeah. I will have to cross that bridge when I get to it because I am in here. It is easy for me to say, “no I wont”, but it's when I walk past that shop. I used to go there three or four times a day, they know me, they know what I want. It is time to move on, you know. Or I hope it is. For the kids.

Researcher: okay, I think I have checked with you what I understood and by the sound of it I got it right, to some extent at least.

Pete: yeah, yeah. No problems.

Researcher: anything else you want to ask or add?

Pete: no that's fine.

Researcher: okay thanks very much Pete for this and I wish you all the best for the future.

Duration: 14:33

Narrative Interview 6

This narrative interview was conducted with inmate "Lee" on Thursday, October 19, 2006. The defender is 27 years old and has been to jail on numerous occasions.

Researcher: Lee, welcome to this place and thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. Basically I would just like you to tell me something about your life. You can tell me what ever you want to tell me, you can leave out whatever you don't want to tell me. You just decide where you want to begin and just tell me some stuff and I might ask you some questions as we go through.

Lee: maybe it's better if you ask the questions. I don't know where to begin so you just ask questions and I can answer.

Researcher: well okay. Do you want to tell me something about your childhood?

Lee: my childhood.....

Researcher: like you seem to have an accent, so.....

Lee: yeah, I was born in Canada and then when I was seven I moved to America. I lived in New York for about five years and then I moved to Australia. I kept moving around.

Researcher: why the moves?

Lee: my parents separated when I was about three. I went with my mother, we were living in Canada and then had a problem with my father so we moved to America. My mother passed away when I was 12 and my father was living in Australia so me and my sisters went to Australia when my mum passed away.

Researcher: so do you have good memories of living in America and Canada? Do you remember much about Canada? You were seven so you....

Lee: not much to remember. Normal childhood.

Researcher: was it a happy time for you?

Lee: yeah, I guess. Young, ignorant..... then moved to America, it was all right there. Then came to Australia.

Researcher: so how old were you when you came out here?

Lee: 12

Researcher: 12, that's right. And how did you feel about moving countries again?

Lee: not happy because you get settled down, you have friends and stuff and you leave all that again. So that happened a couple of times.

Researcher: so was it hard to re-establish?

Lee: yeah, everyone adapts, you just change, keep moving on.

Researcher: pretty critical time 12, I suppose, to start all over again.

Lee: yeah. So even the schools in Australia were completely different to the way American education was taught.

Researcher: so how much of a difficulty was it to adapt to that?

Lee: I can't remember..... just go with the flow I guess.

Researcher: okay. And what about friends? Was it easy to make new friends?

Lee: yeah, I had a lot of school friends. I don't remember how easy it was to make them I just remember having them. Sometimes you can't remember how you became friends with people.

Researcher: yeah. So you came to live with your dad?

Lee: yeah

Researcher: and was that a good experience?

Lee: no, not really. I didn't like my dad. He used to beat my mother. In Canada, I'm not sure but I think, my parents separated because he was abusing my mother. So basically it was not like separated, it was like running away.

Researcher: running away. And then your mum passed away?

Lee: yeah, my mum passed away.

Researcher: when you were 12?

Lee: yeah, from cancer.

Researcher: oh dear. Sorry about that. So that must have been a very traumatic time for you.

Lee: yeah, when I look back I think a lot of things happened after that point. Since moving to Australia.

Researcher: what sort of things?

Lee: like missing school and things like that.

Researcher: so that must have been..... did you get over that? Did you get over the fact that your mother passed away at that time in your life?

Lee: you never really get over a thing like that.

Researcher: no.

Lee: she was working for me and my sister, to feed us and to take care of us and where she was working, she got cancer from the chemicals. So it's like, she died for us.

Researcher: I see.

Lee: and we can't do nothing.... we can't change that.

Researcher: that's very hard. And then you had to come out here and live in a different country on a different continent with a man that you didn't really respect very much, I take it.

Lee: yeah.

Researcher: yeah. So how did all that impact your life? What happened next in your story?

Lee: going to school... truanting. My dad never really let me go out much. It was always study, study, study. So the only time I actually went out was during school time. When I was supposed to study (laughs).

Researcher: and did he know that that's what you were doing?

Lee: no, of course..... he found out later. From principal, teachers. Yeah, I kept going any way, you know, you get them truant forms to get signed by a teacher, I used to forge them. Take them home and get my dad to sign it, take it back in the morning to the deputy principal and get him to sign it. That was my first crime (laughs), forgery. I come from a Korean background and it is very strict. Very strict. Every morning my dad used to make me wake up at four o'clock and jog around the block.

Researcher: with him?

Lee: no, he would watch. Sometimes I used to cheat, I used to take a shortcut. There was a block and a laneway through the middle of it. He looked out the back window but he couldn't see me if I went through it (laughs). He busted me a couple of times in the alleyway. He was waiting for me. Training in the morning and studying in the morning before school, and come back study, study, study.

Researcher: was your mother strict like that too?

Lee: no, she was..... she was strict, but not like that.

Researcher: not like that. Regimental, isn't it?

Lee: was he was brought up in the war and he's been in the military. I guess that's what they do, so you probably wanted me to be like that. I can understand now that I'm older, but back then..... you understand that I hated him. Because when you're older you've got hindsight, you can look back on that.

Researcher: so you were living with this man who was very demanding, who was very controlling of you, who wanted you to do stuff that you weren't really interested in, had values that you didn't really want: so how did you respond to all that? Beside the truanting?

Lee: when I was younger I really wanted to be like, a doctor, or an architect, or something. I was studying hard for that before I came to Australia. After I got drilled by my father I didn't want to study no more. I think back now and like everything he wanted me to do I went opposite. I rebelled. I can realise that now that what he was trying to do was the best for me. Funny how things go. I left home when I was 14, after two years in Australia.

Researcher: so you put up with it for two years and then that was it.

Lee: yeah. Since 14, and I'm 27 now, the longest I've been home was maybe... the last time I got out of I stayed at home for.... two months basically. In that many years. Over 10 years now.

Researcher: been in jail, you mean?

Lee: I've been in and out of jail basically, yeah, with juvenile.... 10 years all up, nearly. Eight or nine years.

Researcher: so tell me about that. What's the story around all that?

Lee: well we'd have to go back... we were jigging school and we would break into a house, and that was the first time I got arrested. Parents weren't too happy about that (laughs).

Researcher: how did your dad react to that?

Lee: violently (laughs). He has always been violent, you know..... More into crime, I guess, cause when I left home I would stay with a friend of mine and then, it's sort of hard you know at 14, living out, you know. At that time at my school there were older people like me, basically a gang, you know. And they asked, and we said, yeah what the hell. Why not? We've got nothing better to do. So we joined up, pretty stupid little gang, you know. Try-hard things, you know (laughs), when you're young. They taught crime and stuff like that, robberies and things like that.....

Researcher: so was this part of your rebellion toward your father? Was it boredom?

Lee: to survive....we had no money, we were living out in the streets or at a friend's house, but you can't stay at your friend's house forever..... there was a bunch of us, we all ended up on the streets together. We were all part of this so-called gang that they said would look after us, and they never looked after us (laughs). But we were doing what we could to survive and eat and stuff. There were times where we would share a pork roll between five people or, you know, we had no money. Who is going to give a homeless kid a job? There is nowhere it you can actually go to get help when you're that young, especially at that time. At that age when you think of older people, you think they are just trying to put you down and things. When you're that age you think you're mature, but you're not. You think you're mature, you think you know everything, but you don't. You always try, try to survive. Do things that you can try to do, you know. So that lead to more crime, I was a pretty bad criminal (laughs). At that age there is a lot of fighting and crime was just an everyday thing. At that time you didn't think that what you are doing was actually called a crime, you know. You think it's just a means to an end to survive. We never thought that it was like serious, or something like that. We knew that it was against the law, but what do we know of law? Things just kept escalating from then. And I think that when the problem came was with drugs, drugs started coming into it.

Researcher: at what age did that happen?

Lee: about 15. These so-called gangs, they give you drugs and say "go sell it for me", so we started selling drugs, just to get some money for renting. We were renting an apartment and we were selling drugs from that. Then you're young, you want to experience things. So we tried drugs that we were using. So it was pot, then I started smoking cigarettes. You try pot and then you try other drugs, and then I started selling heroin. And then we got hooked onto heroin. And that's not a very good thing to do (laughs). And just recently I found out that I've got a problem, and addiction problem. Not with just drugs, with a lot of things. I get addicted to gambling, I get addicted to drugs, sex, I get addicted to everything, games. I just found this out by talking with the drug and alcohol officer. I knew I had a drug problem but I never actually looked at it till recently. And when I look back I realise I've got a lot of addictions to things. I found out that I get addicted to one thing and then when I get hooked on something else I stop the other thing so that it doesn't look like I've got addicted to it. But then now I realise that I've been jumping addictions.

Researcher: so how did you come to look at that? Like you've just recently discovered that....

Lee: I knew I had a drug problem. When I got out last time I didn't want to use the drugs, but then I started using the drugs. I think I sabotaged myself. I wanted to come back to jail, I sort of felt safe in jail. Can you understand? There's the boredom of outside, I know it's more boring in jail, but the responsibility..... like I was trying to get a job when I was outside and I was

sabotaging my own interviews. Subconsciously. I realise that when I look back now what I was doing..... like I never really wanted those jobs. I would try to get my way out it.

Researcher: you weren't conscious of that at the time?

Lee: well I knew it, like after I said something they would say, "beg your pardon". Like one lady she thought I said I was rude. She goes, "are you rude?" I didn't say that, of course I didn't say that but then after I'd say, "oh yeah, whatever". (Laughs) of course they're not going to hire people like that. So I realised what I was doing..... and then drugs again started getting in to it. When you're on drugs.... I find like it's an escape from life and it's not a good escape, you know, it's not. Using drugs, you get addicted and then you're using it just to be normal. At the end. And you're wasting so much money just to be normal. And it's not affecting you, the drugs that you used to take they don't affect you the same way. You need more or you're at the stage where it's not actually doing anything, it's keeping you from hanging out but it's actually making you normal. You're spending all this money just to be normal when you could have been normal for nothing (laughs). But at that time you don't look at it that way. You think, oh yeah just now and then, you know. It leads to more, and more, and more, and more. Because of my addictiveness, yeah. I tried to get treatment for it, like I am trying now, there's like Narcotics Anonymous. Never heard about them before, but I'll try it now, things like that. Yeah, Narcotics Anonymous, I just heard about them recently through the drug and alcohol officer. That has helped me in a way for me to look at my problem. I actually

know I have a problem now instead of being ignorant to it. Just saying, "I don't have a problem". I know I have a problem. And I want to help for that problem. So we have been studying that in the 12 step program. It is a very spiritual program, which is good because I am Christian. I was brought up Christian, I only found Jesus in my life maybe... the last time my friends were dragging me to church. They were dragging me to church saying, "you should come to church, it might change your life", and that, I said, "yeah, yeah, whatever". So I was going to this church and after a few weeks, it's something I've never done before. Like I've been to mass, you know when you're young your parents take to the church and you go, "I don't want to go to church". It's so boring, you know, you don't know what they're talking about, nothing. (Laughs) I thought it would be like that. So I thought I'll try something, see if I change. Something happened while I was in church, I felt more peace within myself. Some people can't understand, you know, but some people can. It has done a lot for me. Even though I was still addicted to drugs at the time and I was still doing crime, it's not like a change like that, instant. I know it takes time and I strive to achieve..... beat this disease. She calls this addiction a disease.

Researcher: so how has the spiritual dimension, like the church and Christianity, helped you? What has it done for you?

Lee: made me see there's more to life than the way I was living. Sometimes I go out with my church friends and we do things I would never do. I would never do before (laughs). Like we go to movies and stuff like that, go eat together, karaoke or something, and they would all have to go home before it's even like

10 o'clock. They are all working and studying and stuff like that, and I didn't have a job. And I met some old friends, which, we all used to live together before and you see them, they're all doing whatever they're doing and just leads me back into it. It's hard, you know.

Researcher: do you have a sense of belonging to the new group? The Christian group.

Lee: no, like, they're really are happy people. I never even met people like these people before, you know. They go to church more than once a week, three or four times a week and I used to go to school with these friends and I know most of these people because the Korean community is pretty small, I know them all, you know. And they are really happy for me to go to church with them because they know how I've lived my life and some of them used to come with us before and do crime and stuff like that..... jig school, I used to stay at their house, but they all stopped that. Now they are leading good lives and things like that. And even some of them used to be addicted to drugs with me.

Researcher: and now they've changed.

Lee: yeah, they've changed. They weren't actually addicted but they used to buy drugs. A big change, they are working hard now.

Researcher: so what about you in your life, are you looking for significant change in your life?

Lee: yeah, I know I'm 27 now..... and I haven't spent a birthday out of jail since 18. Even though I've been out of jail always for a couple of months, a very short period of time. And the family, you know, it is important to me. Now I come to realise my dad what he was doing was out of love, basically you know. He doesn't know much better, than what he was brought up, you know. I've done a lot of things I'm ashamed of to my family, you know. And you get to realise that your family is going to be there for you, even in times like these, you know.

Researcher: so have you found your dad there for you?

Lee: ah... my dad. He is there for me, but we don't talk. I can't talk to him, I've never really talked to him. It's always talk about, what you doing working, studying something like that.

Researcher: so when you say your family are there for you, who is your family?

Lee: my family, my whole family, my dad, my mum-my stepmother, my sisters, my cousins and things like that. Even though now they're a bit upset because I'm back in jail after I was changing. Last time I did four years jail and they thought that I would have changed by then, but they don't understand me, they don't understand me. And I don't understand myself sometimes. But I sort of understand where they're coming from.

Researcher: so what is there about change and you, like when they say they don't understand you in terms of this change. They thought you would have

changed after four years in jail and you said that they didn't understand you. What is there about you and change? What is the process do you think for you?

Lee: me and change..... don't know.

Researcher: so what do you see for yourself in the future? Do you think this will be the pattern of your life, in and out all the time?

Lee: that's what I want to change. I don't like this lifestyle, I might be accustomed to it, used to it, but it's such a waste. A waste of life. You only have one life and it's the way you live your life that you can see what you can actually do in your life for success. What people perceive success is, you know. Can be different things. Succeed in a family, a family of my own, success financially, success business-wise. I've tried studying, you know. I've been studying business courses and I've been studying myself.

Researcher: so you have been studying different things.

Lee: I read a lot now, I read every night. I study during the day. I'm doing what my dad wanted me to do (laughs)on my own!

Researcher: is this a new thing for you? Were you doing this when you were in jail before?

Lee: not really. I always read, I love to read. Before it was like training and then you get caught up in this stupid jail politics....

Researcher: so this time it's a bit different?

Lee: yeah. I'm trying to deal with my problems but..... looking for help, and jail is not a place where you can get help. Like you can get help but..... you go to jail, they lock you up, you're in your room, you've got your mind to play with, you've got influence from other inmates, you have psychology and all that ...but people don't use them. I never used them before, like I used to talk with them but now I'm trying to use them, use what I can in jail to actually change. But you know, I was talking to the drug and alcohol officer and she said I can't change in jail. There is no way I can get help for my problems in jail. She said I have to get out and try to a rehabilitation centre. So I said I would try that.

Researcher: we had better stop the interview now, thanks for what you told me and maybe we can continue next interview. Thank you.

Duration: 34:27

Narrative Interview 7

This narrative interview was conducted on October 25, 2006. Carl is 37 years old and he has been in jail before.

Researcher: okay Carl I would just like to thank you for your willingness to participate in this study and what I'd like you to do is to talk to me about your life, you can talk to me about anything you want and I might ask you questions from time to time.

Carl: I was born in Italy, a very poor family, we were at about 17 kids in the family. At age 6 I was adopted out to a wealthy family, a really well respected family in Australia. So I moved on with them. I moved to Australia when I was about eight years old. Started school, but I wasn't too happy with the school because I couldn't speak English well. I started working with my dad and I became the youngest jeweller in New South Wales in 1978 or 1979, I was only 10 years old then. Since then I've been doing jewellery work, working in my dad's shop and I bought my first house at 15 years old. I wasn't much into school, mainly I was into art and mathematics-they were the two subjects I used to love. I left school at the beginning of year seven because I was the oldest kid in the class; when I transferred from Italy here I was three years behind. So I left school at the beginning of year seven when I was 15 or 16 years old and I started working for my dad in the jewellery shop. My dad and Mum owned the business. Since then I opened up my own business; manufacturing jewellery which I used to supply the jewellery shops. I also did shop repairs as well, because at that time there were no jewellers in the stores. They used to send all

the jewellery out to fix them. That went really well, I went pretty good with that. I had a partnership with that as well. A good friend of mine, and he is still doing the jewellery. I quit when I just had my first divorce actually. I was involved with the girl here in Australia but my family said that I wasn't allowed to get involved with a girl. I had a really strict family, you know. I really well known family. So they sent me to Canada for a holiday. I went for a holiday there and ended up staying there for about four years. Got married, opened up another jewellery shop as well, that was 1989, really bad recession then. Before I end up losing everything, I said I was going to pack up and move back home. Back to Sydney. So I sold everything in Canada and me and my wife ended up moving to Australia. After that, six months later, my wife was missing home, homesick, so she applied for a divorce and went back home. I ended up staying here and I had a hard time going through the divorce. I ended up in hospital from alcohol poisoning because I sculled a whole bottle at that time. That was from depression because I was really in love with the girl. After that a year went past and I met someone else, a Portuguese girl. I had two children with her. Still running my business, my jewellery shop, I got involved with breeding horses as well. I breed racing horses. Trotters, at Bankstown. I had my licence for training. That went really good and then I had my first child. I moved up to the farm, because I had a farm just outside Mudgee. I had the first child there in Lithgow. That was a big change in my life, looking at my beautiful daughter, you know. That freaked me out most that day, because my brother, my twin brother, he had a baby girl as well, same day, same month and same year. Then after that I had another child about a year after. Another baby girl. Six months after that my wife decided to divorce me. She was an alcoholic. She couldn't

handle a baby crying so I had to sell all my business and I had full custody of my children. I was a single parent for five years. I reared my two little girls on my own, one was six months old and one was two years old. That I opened up a factory again, manufacturing jewellery and I had this Asian bloke working for me. He knew my family really well so he said, "I've got a niece for you in Vietnam". I said, "okay, we'll go for a holiday". So I went on holiday with him, I left my children with my mum and dad. Went over there and met this girl, I was over the moon, she was a really beautiful girl. Got married in about six months and it took me two weeks to bring her down to Australia. Actually my family knows the immigration lady, even the Minister my mum and dad knows. So they helped me out to bring my wife here. After that around August or September of 2004 my dad started feeling a bit sick. We went to the hospital, that's where I heard the bad news about my dad. He was going to die from cancer. He was in World War II, he had a really good life, he was 86 years old. I couldn't handle it, hearing the news and keeping it as a secret: he didn't want my mum to know because she has the same problem now. So I was with my dad in July 2005, I was in hospital with him 24 hours a day, watching my dad breathing less and less every day until he died. That's when I got involved in drugs. Not selling drugs, I bought it for Christmas and New Year. This was the end of 2004. Just to get my mind off what was happening with my dad. I got raided by the police of course, and they got me. Just for personal use, but they called it commercial because you're only allowed to have 2 g and I had 3 1/2 grams. Since then my life went down. I opened up a video shop as well but that closed down and I lost \$140,000. I couldn't stay in the shop anymore, I just couldn't deal with life any more. When my dad passed away I just went ballistic

on drugs, a good one year. When the court case came up I breached bail because taking drugs my mind just forgot where I was. I was on the streets for two or three months. I lost track of time and everything. Then one day I ended up picking up my children from school, which that's another wrong thing I did because I had no licence, I got a suspended licence for eight years and I haven't been driving for a good six years. But that day I had an argument with my wife and she wouldn't pick up my children from school so I ended up taking the car to pick up the kids myself. I got back home with the kids and the police were there waiting for me. So I guess my wife called the police on me. I know she calls the cops all the time. So then August 28 they locked me in here and since then I've been having a hard time really. I'm thinking about my mum, she is dying and I try my best to get out of here. I hope I will get out of here probably by the ninth of November. I don't know what else to say. While I am here in the jail my mind is all cleared out, free of drugs. I realise myself that I was stupid and silly to do things like that. But at that time when I do that I wasn't thinking because of the depression and I couldn't handle my dad gone. In Australia I'm the only child for him. I was adopted. When my real dad died in Italy about five years ago I never felt like this, like I did with my adopted father. My adopted father to me means the whole world. He is a true friend, he did a lot of things for me, he left good things behind as well. I've got a four-storey big mansion, I got 25 houses, he bought me cars all the time for my birthday. Lamborghini, half a million dollar cars. Now that I have cleared up my mind I just want to get back into my life like my dad taught me. When I get out of here I want to stay away from drugs. I just want to get back with my wife and my children and be there for my mum. I promised my dad that I would look after mum.

Researcher: so do you think what happened to you when you found out that your dad was going to pass away..... it seems like that started a whole series of events which led you into a downward spiral.

Carl: when I found out from the doctor what was happening to my dad made me go ballistic.

Researcher: it affected you more than losing your wife and so on?

Carl: with my dad yes. With my dad, it's like part of me has gone. I didn't know what to do, the good side of me was just out of control. It just went, I don't know where it, I couldn't find it. It was like my twin disappeared. I was just lost. People used to talk to me and I couldn't register in my head what I was doing, sleeping on the streets; and like I come from a rich family. But I just couldn't deal with it. That was the stage and I just wanted to kill myself as well. I just wanted to be with my dad. I ended up sleeping of the cemetery for a good month every day.

Researcher: do you feel like you have moved past that now?

Carl: like I said, when I came into jail I have been off drugs, nice and clean. I accept that my dad is he still here in spirit, looking after my back, so I just need to clean up myself and prove to him that what he taught me.... that's what I want to do, to make proud of him that he has a son like me. I just don't want to go

back to the old street again. I did that, not thinking at all, like just being stupid and childish.

Researcher: so if you hadn't have come to jail, what would have happened?

Carl: I probably would have been on drugs still and in depression, because I wouldn't have a clue how to get off it. I wouldn't have been able to ask for help because I am a person.... I keep it inside of me until the day I explode and everything just goes out of control. In a way it was good for me to come to jail because it really cleaned my whole system out and my mind is more clearer than what it used to be on the streets. But also regret myself for what I did. I know I've got to pay the penalty for it. I have made up my mind what I want to do with my life, get out of here, go back to my family, open up the shop again and do the usual thing.

Researcher: so you think that your wife put you into the police for driving to pick up the children that day, why would she have done that?

Carl: because I was on drugs and she wanted to teach me a lesson. She called the police five times in eight months. I was on drugs, I wasn't listening. She told the police that my husband won't listen to me, maybe he will listen to you. I ran away from home every time she rang the police and disappeared for a couple of weeks, then I would come back. I told her, you call the police, they're going to take me in. I am not in the mood for going in because of what I'm going through with my dad. I just couldn't handle it. In a way she is doing good, she was the

one that was trying to help me out to get off the drugs, that's why she was calling the police for help. But that's not the right way to do it, I think. It just causes more dramas and more anger inside of me.

Researcher: do you think that she betrayed you?

Carl: she did it with love, that's what she told me and I do believe her. She has taken two of my children in care and she treats my children like they are her own children. I can't believe the work she does. In one way I feel bad, I feel like I was using her for looking after my children. That was not the case, but that is what was going through my head - that's what she used to tell me, you married me just to help your children out. I said, no I'd done the hard part you know, the first five years was the hardest part. She is trying to teach me a lesson, trying to straighten my life out. She understands why did it, because my dad passed away and I just went ballistic and now that I'm in here and cleaned up I want to go back to my normal life.

Researcher: do you feel like you've improved through all this?

Carl: I have yes. Drugs are not a manner of solving your problems, it just gives you more problems. And doing silly things like driving doesn't solve nothing. I got suspended for eight years but I'd done really well, six years not driving. That day I had an argument with my wife, she wouldn't pick up the kids, I'm not going to leave the kids on the street.

Researcher: so, I'm just interested in exploring the whole issue of when your dad died, or when you found out that he was sick, and you couldn't cope with that news, what do you think there was about you that made you not able to cope with that?

Carl: because I can't read and write, my dad used to do all my accounting. I used to make the money and my dad used to do all the bookings and make sure all the receipts were there for tax return purposes, and I know at that stage I could not do that. My dad used to give me the right opinions, how to run things, how to make the money and without him beside me I feel hopeless. He was everything for me, my dad. That's what made me go out of control.

Researcher: but now you have a sense that he is still with you and that you need to make him proud that you are his son, that he would be proud of you doing what you're doing. So how are you going to manage all these other things that your dad used to do for you?

Carl: that's what I want to start lessons for English, reading and writing, because my English is not the best. That way I can read the paperwork, because that's the only problem, I can't read the paperwork, I don't know what the letters mean. So by me taking lessons or taking a course to upgrade my English, I hope that will improve me so that I can do what my dad used to do. I have got the magic hands for artwork, I create jewellery. All that is missing out of me is my English. If I can improve that then I can make him happy and proud of me. That's what my next step is.

Researcher: and how are you going to do that?

Carl: if I do get out I will go to a TAFE, enrol myself in and take it from there.

Researcher: and you will have time to do all this?

Carl: oh yes, I have got plenty of time. I will have my own business, I will have workers like I used to before and my wife can do what my dad used to do, because my dad taught her, but I want to do it myself. I feel really hopeless that I didn't learn from my dad about this paperwork. Looking at paper for me is really nothing, can't make any money, but I realise that it is very important these days. It's the most important thing on earth, you know. Without paperwork you go backwards. So I need to learn my English better.

Researcher: so do you feel when you look back at your life now, do you feel proud of where you've come when you look back at the whole picture?

Carl: I know my dad was very proud of me. I am proud of myself as well, until this happened to me. It happened once before, a long time ago, with the drugs. That was about 10 years ago. That's when I got divorced, I did the same silly things again, I went ballistic on drugs, and I do that now again with my dad. But beside those two bad things I did in my life, everything else I'm very proud of myself. I did what my dad taught me and I know I can do it again.

Researcher: it's happened before, so if you faced another crisis in your life, if something bad happens, and none of us know what is going to happen in life, do you think you would go back and turn to drugs again?

Carl: I have been looking at what drugs do to you now, I will be going straight for help this time. I really don't want to get involved anymore with drugs. Not for what it does, and I have lost a lot of money. I was spending \$1000 a day for myself, that's like five or \$10,000 a week I was spending. I had the money, I had no problems but I could have given that to my children to give them a better life. They have a good life but I would never go back on drugs. No way, I will go straight for help. If I can't deal with it I will go straight for help. I just need someone to talk to, to help me out. When I first came in here I looked at myself, I was so skinny I looked terrible, but now I've been doing exercise, eating well, I'm putting myself back together. I look big difference, you look at drugs what it does to you, I would never put myself back in those shoes again. Never again, I can't do that for my children. If any of my children do such things with drugs, I will be very disappointed in them. I will make sure they never touch drugs. I would like to help people out there, whoever takes drugs, to get off drugs if I could. One stage I did help. I helped three people to get off their heroin and I succeeded in that and they even said that they would help me out in court. I wasn't a drug dealer I was just for personal use. Heroin to me is like a drug, I don't know nothing about it, but to me it's like a funeral box, that's what you're buying for yourself. This girl was on a heroin, she was only young, she was only 15 years old and I got her off the heroin. And I got another guy off the heroin from Mudgee and I succeeded in that. I made work for them in my shops or on

my farm and every time they were hanging out I knew they were doing things behind my back. That's when I checked their arms and I looked at it and they've had a shot. But I love to help as much as I can. I am against drugs now myself. Once I get out of here I will be asked to get involved with activities for people who are taking drugs and make a donation to them, to clinics, that's what I will be doing. All the money that I spent on myself on drugs, I could have given that to the clinic to help children off the streets. That's what I would like to do. That's my next step.

Researcher: thank you very much Carl for participating today. Is any other thing you want to add?

Carl: no

Researcher: thanks very much.

Duration: 23:42

Narrative Interview 8

This interview was conducted on Friday, October 27, 2006. The participant is a 58-year-old male who is the first time offender.

Researcher: okay Frank thanks very much for your willingness to participate in the study and what I'd like you to do is to tell me about your life. You can tell me whatever you like, you can leave out whatever you like, it is entirely up to you, and from time to time I might ask you some questions.

Frank: I am 58 years old, I have been in remand for 14 months. Prior to coming into prison I ran my own business for 35 years, employed several men at all times.... very little problem with the law before I came in here.... I have been married for 35 years.... I have been around the world 15 times.... I've had a great life..... I am not very happy about being in here, and education in here, especially for me, but I would say for a lot of other inmates, is very important for when we leave. Not so much in my case for reoffending but for a lot of people when they leave here they have got no other option but to reoffend. Me personally, education in here will help me communicate. I am illiterate in computers and that is one of the main things that I would like to educate myself in when I get out of here. I am a bit lazy with letter writing but I can see that the Internet will keep me in touch with everyone and will give me a broader outlook on life. I find that here is not as bad as I thought it was going to be. The only thing lacking, basically in the remand, is education facilities. The only thing that I have been able to get signed up with is the bible studies and I am doing them; I have been doing them ever since I came in here and that involves a lot of writing.

My problem when I leave here will be I won't have a driver's licence, my drivers license will be expired, I won't have many options about visiting people to organise a driver's licence again and I will have to resit a test more than likely, so being computer literate will give me other options. I was a stone mason and after a while in here my body..... plus I need a new aortic valve in my heart..... so the chances of me carrying on that trade when I leave here at my age is quite slim. When I leave here unless I've got myself ready for a new life and lifestyle I will be totally lost. There is no way that I will reoffend in anything, it won't be that, but it will be very, very difficult for me to lead a normal life.

Researcher: and you have got to reinvent yourself, basically.

Frank: and the chances of doing that when I leave will be very hard because of no vehicle, no licence..... I live in a country area so public transport is nonexistent. So being able to get in touch with different government departments and things via the Internet and modern technology will be a great assistance for me, and any of the people of my age who have been incarcerated for quite a long time will find it very difficult. Since I've been here I have met a lot of people that reoffend. When I talk to them I ask them how come they are back in, they promised me they weren't coming back. I have only been in for 15 months and they say that you get outside and you get half a social cheque and what else are you going to do? And that is where a lot are going to find it difficult when they get out. I am going to the family Law Court soon; I have got 1 1/2 million dollars worth of assets but my wife wants them all (laughs). I have got to try and fight that but they have denied me legal aid because I am too rich.

Crazy, eh? I have got no way of getting to my assets and I can't defend them because I can't get legal aid. I have asked a solicitor if he'll do it and take the money out once we've split the assets up, but that is still to be decided. So it is a difficult situation. My wife has got some good solicitors on her side so I am going to go and see if I can see welfare today and see if they can get in touch with some people for me.

Researcher: so you are in a really difficult spot aren't you? So I gather what you are saying is that the marriage is not.....

Frank: yes the marriage is over. Divorce proceedings were initiated when I first came in.

Researcher: so you have lost the marriage, you have lost your money, you have lost your job and then you have got all the inconvenience of not having a driver's licence when you get out, having to find a new kind of life. How do you feel about all that?

Frank: stressful. I try not to think about the future because it makes me feel worried. I start panicking. I basically live every day for today, make the best out of every day and that is the advice I give to people in here. Not to worry about outside, that's what gives us what we call in here "head miles". Just to make the best out of today. I have found that it works for me. I play table tennis, I play chess and I always try and have a job.

Researcher: you don't have to answer any question if you don't feel you want to, and I don't want to pry into your private affairs, but I don't know what went wrong for you. When you look back, was it something you could see coming, was there anything building up that you could see?

Frank: yes, yes. As I said we had been married for 35 years and my wife had reached menopause and you might say, 33 years of bliss and then two years of hell. I tried doing a lot of things, I said to my wife, "lets go on a holiday". We have been around the world 15 times and I said let's see if we can..... and she got herself another man. Then things lead to things, and I am in here. What happened I will tell you. We had a fight and she took to me with an iron bar and I took it off her and I don't remember hitting her but I know I did hit her. I pleaded guilty to the fact. The worst moment of my life: I have spent 35 years looking after this lady and I hurt her and it is devastating (cries). That is the biggest thing because we were together 24 hours a day and that is going to be a difficult.... that's one of the reasons I want to become conversant in IT so that I can find some other outlet, some other way of communicating with people. It will be a lonely place when I get out. (Long pause)

Researcher: so thinking about..... I am looking in my study at positive life change. You have had in the last few years a negative life change, haven't you? Your life has gone from being good and stable to sort of dropping down a hole....

Frank: yes, as I have said to different people I am less unhappy in here than I was in the previous two years before I came in. I have always throughout my whole life, I have always tried to live life to the full. Whatever my wife wanted I have always provided. I have always been a good provider. That is why I prefer to work, I am usually a sweeper and doing that I can help people out. I do as much as I can for the inmates. Nothing illegal, I will not get involved in any drugs or anything like that even though I was quite a heavy user of marijuana before I came in. Ever since the 60s I have smoked that. But I have had clean urine since I came in, I have decided that's in my past and it's something that I've already made myself a promise that I will not get involved in again. That new hydroponic stuff that people are smoking nowadays is totally different from what I have smoked all my life. I am not using that as an excuse but it wasn't a happy drug like I was used to. It was more intense, your feelings became uncontrollable. That was a big part of my social life; all my old soccer mates, we used to get together and smoke. It was our way of just laying back. So it is going to be a difficult transition. I haven't found coming in here at all traumatic. I have actually felt better about myself since I have been in here than I did for the previous two years.

Researcher: so the crisis was in those previous two years.

Frank: yes. In here the only emotion that you can say I have got is what am I going to do, what is going to become of me when I leave here? I know if I haven't done anything I will get back into marijuana. I know that I will just sit at home, watch TV and smoke dope. I will not get into any trouble but I will be

breaking the law in that fact. Marijuana does tend to relax me. I don't want to waste the rest of my life. At one period of my life I taught at the TAFE, I taught long-term unemployed kids landscaping skills, stonework and I wouldn't mind getting back into some form of education, something in my trade. But I will need extra skills than what I can do with my hands. And so ever since I came in I have been trying to get education but we can't get education from this wing. It is basically for when you are sentenced. A lot of people get found not guilty and walk and have had 18 months out of their lives, then it is pretty hard for them not to reoffend. They leave here penniless. They have drawn all their favours by getting people to put money in their bank account while in here, and when they get out I think a lot of people find out that their families have had enough. We owned a business for the two years before I came in. My wife was no longer happy so she said, "let's buy a business". So we bought a caravan business. We had 35 caravans and anyone who has got nowhere to stay we deliver a caravan to their aunty's or uncle's or mother's garden and we put a caravan in the garden. They live in that. We really enjoyed doing that but that is the only alternative of a lot of people.... a lot of people that we did give caravans to had just come out of prison. We found that good because they were used to being neat and tidy and not damaging things. But that for most of us when we get out of here is what we are going to do.

Researcher: so you are basically.... a lot of what you are used to for most of your life is gone. And you are in here at the moment and this is a time when you are thinking about your future. What does positive life change mean in your case?

Frank: at the moment because my wife and I had no children, she couldn't have children,.... meeting people..... I am going to join a church group when I leave here and I was looking at education, going to TAFE or something. Not only for the education benefit, but for meeting people. I would like to think when I leave here that I can do some good, that I'm not just going to be a passenger. I have always been the driver but I haven't got any skills at the moment. I know that if I went back and try to do my work I wouldn't be physically able. I have always done it so it wasn't hard work for me but even now, 14 months in here, I know just carrying my TV from the reception to here I felt a bit physically strained. I used to move lumps of stone as big as my TV. So being in here doesn't even give as much chance of becoming a labourer when we get out because of the lack of activity. So positive lifestyle change would be for me getting a new group of friends and support groups. That is about all I can hope for. I have always been quite a gregarious person and if I am stuck in a flat somewhere with no vehicle that will be devastating, I know that. I would rather be back in here than consider that option. At least in here you've got plenty of.... out of the unit of 40 odd that there is usually eight or 10 people that you get on fairly well with. I have got several people that I've met in here that I know I will look up when I leave. They are really nice people. 90% of I wouldn't, but it's a good social life in here, it's like a boy's club. That's what I would consider, the ability to communicate and mix with people.

Researcher: so the work situation you would like to move into doing something with TAFE if you can so that you can utilise some of the skills that you've got and the knowledge to pass on to other people. Okay I might just leave it at this

and have a think about what we've spoken about here today and may be might have some more questions to ask you.

Frank: I am better at answering questions than monologues.

Researcher: okay thank you very much for sharing this with me today and talkie next time.

Frank: great, thanks Steve.

Duration: 23:41

Narrative Interview 9

This interview was conducted on Wednesday, November 8, 2006. The participant is Frank, and this is the second interview.

Researcher: okay Frank thanks very much for coming back for this second interview. Really what I wanted to in this interview is to check with you that what I heard you say is what you meant and you might want to add some stuff. I heard you talking about the struggle to reinvent yourself at this time of your life after you have had all of these years working in a particular trade as a stonemason and you had your own business and 35 years of marriage and life is pretty much established for you. Then you've been here for 14 months. Prior to that were probably the worst two years of your life when it all started to fall apart....

Frank: I think we had three deaths in the family, four actually, Sues dad died, who taught me my trade, then my dad died 10 months later and in the year after that Sues mum died. And then about six months after that my big sister died. It affected us..... because for 35 years Sues parents were like my parents. So I lost all those parents and a big sister. Looking back on it we were both severely depressed.

Researcher: did that happen in the two years prior to coming in here? That was all part of it as well?

Frank: yes.

Researcher: so that was really a big crisis for you. You made the point that that was really the crisis time not so much coming here.

Frank: not at all being in here. I haven't felt threatened, I haven't felt unhappy. I am less unhappy in this 14 months that I was in the previous 18 months or two years.

Researcher: so has being here giving you a chance to think about your life and process what happened to you at that time? Has it given you a bit of space away from it?

Frank: no, I find, and its advice I give to other inmates to, that it is a lot easier in here if you let go of the outside. It's just head miles, you worry and you can't do anything about it. The worst type of worry is worry that can't be acted upon. So I try not to think about the outside, I haven't been sentenced yet so I don't plan for my..... I'm doing Bible studies and I've put my name down for education but nothing has come of that yet. I find that until I get sentenced I can't make any definite plans for the future. I've got hopes for the future but once I know how long I'm going to be in here I might be 65 when I get out. I don't know how long I'm going to serve. I might be a retired man when I leave here. But I will have to work anyway because I have got no superannuation, my superannuation was in our properties.

Researcher: so it is that struggle to map out some kind of a future for yourself when it's all so uncertain.

Frank: I live day by day. I try to enjoy each day as much as I can. I get some enjoyment out of every day I'm in here, whether it be playing table tennis or chess or cards. I read a lot, I'm an avid reader. I've just been given the responsibility of looking after the library in our pod, so me and one of the other sweepers have been given the job of cataloguing all the books. That's another skill I'm going to learn, I mean I've always been to libraries so it's not a skill that I need any training for. I know how to alphabeticalise and categorise books, I've been to libraries all over the world, I love libraries. But it will be a written piece of experience, I will have something to say that I've done it.

Researcher: I hear other people's stories, like you would hear other people's stories,.... for you, you had a very stable life which unravelled due to a lot of circumstances that were beyond your control, or not you're doing,....

Frank: yes, it will never happen again, like I will never lose three parents and her sister in a year again, or 18 months I think it was. I tried, I even said to my wife lets go on a holiday, let's get out of here. When my dad died Susie was over in England with her mum, she took her dad's ashes back to England to spread them on the farm where he was born and a few other places that meant a lot to him and so I stayed on the farm looking after the animals and doing daily chores and so my dad died whilst she was over there. So I couldn't go to the funeral two, which was very, very hard. When he got buried it was about midnight here and I made arrangements with the church where I got married in, because my dad came out to the wedding, and he always said what a lovely church it was and I made arrangements with the pastor to get me the keys of the church. It was a

little country church, a beautiful little sandstone place. It is still hard to talk about (weeps). (Long pause)

Researcher: and you talked about.... like I got the impression that a lot of it will be establishing new friends, you don't want to be on your own, you want to make a new circle of friends and it is really beginning again.

Frank: yes, I am torn between going back to England where all my family is or staying here. I have got a basic group of friends, we don't see each other on a regular basis but we do see each other 3, 4 or five times a year and that's what I am torn between, staying here with my friends that I've had for 25 years, the small group of them, but that has got its downfalls because we always used to drink a lot of alcohol and smoke a lot of dope. So depending on how strong I feel when I leave here I may not be able to look those friends up because the first thing they'll do is open a bottle of whisky, Irish lads and Scottish lads and English. We do enjoy a good party (laughs).

Researcher: so it's all pretty difficult isn't it, to see into the future, it is all so uncertain at this point of time.

Frank: education is so important, that's how I feel. Unless we can be educated whilst wearing here its punishment, it is not rehabilitation. You might as well just call it punishment and do away with that rehabilitation part of it. Unless we get educated, unless we can see a better future, and as I say lots of lads leave here and there only way forward is to do what they were doing why they were

arrested. They always say, now I know where I went wrong but they don't realise that the police have got you. They know you. They can put an observation on you at any time. That's why there is so many recidivists. It is all they know. I mean I am lucky, my knowledge is all legal knowledge. Even at 70 I could still do my trade; it would be very hard, you can't work as long and is hard but your skills are still there and that's what people need. I can always get young strong lads to do the lumping work and just use my knowledge. Working on building sites and outdoors in Australia, you need some pain, some motivation to do it. The money isn't enough motivation, even though it is fairly good money. Just what you learn isn't the motivation, it's something you've got to enjoying and you have got to have a name in life. When I get out of here I don't know what my aims will be.

Researcher: yes, you are in a hiatus. In a bubble, at the moment. Okay, or thanks very much for your time. I haven't really got anything else to ask you, have you got anything you would like to say?

Frank: no I wish you good luck in your project. I am glad you are doing it because it needs to be done. Me personally, I think I've got enough drive to forge ahead. That's why I don't have to worry too much about planning ahead, I know when I get out I can drive machinery, I've got friends that own machines, I've got family in England who said they would give me a job straight away and somewhere to stay. So I don't have that immediate necessity to start planning now, it's just something that I would like to learn some more life skills. That may be important for me. Learning how to make friends again, my whole life

revolved around one lady. Her friends were my friends. She was the same because in 35 years of marriage Susie never, I won't say never because when we were younger and she used to play sport she used to bring her teammates home for parties and things like that, but all her friends were my friends. From sport mainly, but from work as well. I used to employ up to wait men and when you work with someone you become quite close to them. So I was always the one who brought new friends into our relationship. I brought the lad in that caused a lot of our troubles (laughs)..... my big heart, I was trying to help him out. But, you know, that's life. The only thing I do regret is the violence, that is my only regret, and obviously losing my wife of 35 years.

Researcher: okay, thank you.

Duration 14:17

Narrative Interview 10

This interview was conducted on Friday 10 November, 2006. Martin is 26 years old, and he has been in jail before.

Researcher: okay Martin thank you for agreeing to participate in this study. What I would like you to do is just to tell me about your life, you can start wherever you want to and you can go wherever you want to with it, leave out whatever you want to leave out.

Martin: so what from school, going through school,...

Researcher: wherever you want to.

Martin: my grandad brought me and my sister up because my parents died when I was, this is the first thing I remember, when I was 4, 3 or four. My grandad became me and my sister's guardian. He brought us up, but he couldn't do it on his own because he was getting old and he had to work and that still, so we moved in with my aunty, my uncle, and my three cousins, who I call my brothers and I call my aunty, mum. We all just moved into one house so I have brothers and sisters and that. We moved all into one big house and I think we had a good upbringing, you know, because we went on holidays, we have been overseas a few times, grandad has taken us on holidays. We all went as a family, one big family, then me and my grandad and my sister went on some. They say that people on drugs maybe had a bad upbringing but I think I had a good one. I guess that's not everything but.

Researcher: so will you an only child, originally?

Martin: no, I have my sister, she is two years younger than me. She is 24 now. I am 26. We went overseas and done everything together, us three. My grandad would come to my sports games on weekends, and everything. At school, when I started getting into trouble, going off the rails a bit, but when I went to high school, because..... there were three primary schools that went to the one high school and the one I went to there wasn't really many bad kids there, you know. But the kids from the other primary schools, some of them were in the cool sort of group or they were the bad ones. So I don't know why really but straight away I wanted to hang out with them. I think I have a low self-esteem, I know that now when I look back, but I didn't know that back then. I just didn't feel the same as everyone else. I started hanging around then from the start pretty much, and a lot of them smoked pot and drank. I had never done either when I first got to high school. And they did crimes as well, used to steal motorbikes and stuff like that. So I started hanging around them and with only within a couple of months of being in high school I tried smoking pot. We were at my mates house after school one day and his mum had a bong under the cupboard and they started smoking it, because they already smoked, but I didn't. I was just watching them and they said do you want some and I didn't really even think about it..... I don't know if I'd learnt not to really. I knew it was wrong, drugs and that, but I didn't even think twice, I said, yeah. I wanted to fit in more. I did that, and I don't think I really even liked it that much but I kept smoking it. It would always make me real quiet and paranoid but I kept doing it. You know how I said I moved in with my three cousins that I called brothers, well two of

them were older but one was exactly three months younger than me. We two were the closest because we shared a room and that. Me and him.... the first time we were going to have a drink, we were at this friend's place.... we sort of had different friends, but there was one that we were both good friends with and we gave him some money, probably the lunch money we had at school, to take home and get his sister to buy some alcohol. We were going to drink it on the weekend and we came to school the next day and he had it. Across from the school there is a hardware and it has bushes behind there where people sit and smoke pot. He gave it to us up there and both me and my brother both had a bottle in our hands and he just opened his and he wanted to have a swig of it. We'd had never even had alcohol before. Just as soon as he popped the lid off the vice principal came around the corner and we both had a bottle of alcohol in our hands. We both got suspended. We got into trouble when we got home. We thought it was a bit funny at the time. And around that time in year seven we found out that he had a brain tumour. He was the one I was closest to, because we were the same age. Both our mums, before my mum died, would have us both wearing the same things, because they were sisters. We were close and we would hang around at school sometimes. Like I said, we had our own friends. He left school in year nine because he was getting too sick, we knew he had it for six years but he was getting worse. He died in 2003..... there's a cancer group called Canteen; they go on trips, they have little trips throughout the year like day trips, four-wheel driving. You can take one of your siblings with you so he took me. We got on the best, we were real close. Then in summer they have the camp, the real big one and in the winter we went to Thredbo. It only cost \$90, and that was ski hire, lifts, accommodation, everything. We stayed right on the

snow slopes and everything. All the kids were sick and all that, you know, which is pretty sad. He still tried to do everything but he was still pretty sick. Anyway, he left school in about year nine so I wasn't hanging around him as much at that time because he was at home all the time. I was just hanging around that other group and from year seven up I was getting a bit worse, doing some stealing and that with them. They would steal trail bikes and ride them around. When we left school, I would muck up a bit at school just to make people laugh, trying to get accepted or something like that, even though I had plenty of friends, when I look at it I don't know why..... my grandad always said that I was friends with the good and the bad. I finished year 10 and when I left I always wanted to be a Carpenter, I don't any more, I would like to be a chef. I started a carpentry apprenticeship and around that same time I started using speed. We were going to party once and my mate had some. He was one of my best mates at the time, Grant, he had just started doing it about a week before me. He told me that he had done it and that he had some, so I tried snorting some of that. I was going to work and doing that on weekends for about only a month or so before I shot it up. My mate tried shooting up and he told me, like this was after work, we would all go around to this person's house and we would use drugs and run amok I guess. He told me he had shot it up, so I tried it and so I started injecting drugs from then. It wasn't very long before I got pretty bad, like it didn't take long. Not as bad then as compared to now would be, but..... I lost my job because I would be real tired and they could notice. I would do real stupid things because my brain was scattered. My grandad ended up knowing, I was always honest with him I think. He was dead against them because he is a generation before my parents. Absolutely dead against drugs. And he could never understand why

I don't just stop. He didn't understand how hard.... like now I'm an addict, so they say. Well I am, but..... he would always hassle me, want to know where I have been, what I have been doing. It would annoy me so much that I maybe rebelled a bit or something. I still love my grandad so much because he brought me up and now he is old..... anyway, I will get to that. So I started doing that when I was about 16 and I started shooting up speed and by the time I was 17 I had tried heroin. This bloke across the road, he was a year older than me, and I was over there one night and at the local primary school they had these new computers.... and he wanted to lift them over the fence to me so I helped him steal them. He rang this bloke who was coming to buy them and he has brought money and half heroin, he has played him in half heroin. So I said that I would have the money and he could have the heroin, because he was already using heroin. But he wanted some cash as well so I took some of the heroin. He said, just try a bit, you will like it. So I smoked a little bit and I didn't really feel much. Then I ended up going home just across the road and in my room I had some needles because I had been shooting up speed. I had some heroin on me, I had never had it before apart from that little smoke so I had a shot of it. When I think about it, it was dangerous, your first time injecting heroin in my room on my own, I could have died, you know, when I look back on it. Instantly I just loved it. I felt better about being me, more confident and a feeling of well-being. Some people don't like it when they first have it and they spew up but not me, I just loved it. So then I would use the rest of that heroin in the next couple of days. I would go with him and he would have to steal something to get some money for it and I was just using real little bits, you know. \$20 worth, not even. So at the start I could afford that. I was just having a little bit every day and

enjoying it. But before I know it it's getting worse and if I don't have it I start to feel sick, hanging out. I really only learnt about hanging out as it was happening, I didn't know that was going to happen. The next thing I know I'm on my own, he's got other friends and that. I'm on heroin, a lot of other friends that I had grown up with were on heroin too but I was the first to get on the heroin. There were some older guys that were on it, like him..... and I started using that. The next thing I've got a habit, no money, no job. I could get money off my grandad to go out and that and he would give me money a bit but he ended up working out..... he knew that I had a drug problem. Once he knew that, no money. I could scam him a bit every now and then, this and that, to buy clothes, but once he worked out that I would spend it on heroin.... he would help me any way he can if I was clean, he always has, if I need clothes or anything. He would obviously rather me work for them but he will take me to go in to get them and buy them himself but he wouldn't hand me the money over. I don't blame him. He is dead against drugs so I went to rehab and that after I had been using for about a year, I had been to boy's homes a few times, started getting into trouble with the police, getting a criminal record. I thought that was cool, you know what I mean? For some reason it makes people like that accept you more, but they're not really people I want to know if that's the reason they want to.... and I know I am here in jail but I don't really think that is me at all. My brother died when I was 23 but... when you talk to psychiatrists and drug counsellors they think that people who use drugs it might be like something that happened to my parents, my brother, because it was around the same time that I found out he got sick that I started using. They say that had something to do with it, you know. Because I have got a lot of guilt around my brother. I spent some of his money

before he died. This is how I left home: I was living at home still, I was 20, and I took off to the city because I spent some of his money. It was \$2000. I bought some speed, only \$50 worth of it. I had some of his money because I was buying a computer for him from this bloke. He didn't have it there and then because it was a real good computer so, it might have been hot, probably, so I took the money around there to buy it and while I'm with this bloke someone is meant to be bringing it around I ended up buying 50 bucks worth of speed. So instead of \$2000 I had \$1950. I spent 50 bucks and the nights going on and I'm coming down a bit off speed and I think it's time to go home and I couldn't get the computer and I'm worried about going home 50 bucks short. He is going to be dirty on me, when he probably wouldn't have. I was worried, even talking about it now gives me sort of..... anyway, I went to Penrith Panthers nightclub to try and win it back on the pokies. 50 bucks back. I walked out there the next morning with 500 bucks. So I spent 1500 trying to win back \$50. So I couldn't face him, I couldn't go home. What made me feel worse that I spent it was that he is sick and he can't work and earn money and I've done that. So I took off to the city because I knew that I was using and I've been to the city to use before and I knew there were hostels and places you can stay if you're homeless so I went to the city and ended up staying in men's hostels and other crappy joints. Three months it had been and my 21st birthday it was: I was sitting in this men's hostel picking up my methadone, I was on the methadone, I got on that at about 20. I was sitting in this hospital and it was my 21st birthday and I've spent every birthday with my family, you know. I was feeling real depressed so I ended up ringing. It had been three months and they didn't know where I was, worried sick, my grandad, he is old, worrying him, my brother.... so I rang and my aunty,

who I called Mum, she answered the phone. "Where have you been?... worried sick". I was reported missing, a missing person to the police. She said come home and I said, "no, I'm not coming home till I pay Jamie back double".... she goes, "I'll put him on"..... I go, "no". But she put him on and he said, "what are you doing?". I said "nothing" and he said, "come home". I said "no I am not coming home till I have....." and he said "don't worry about it, I have got the money back". My grandad gave him the money, because I have got some money that grandad holds for me, inheritance from my parents when they died. I was supposed to get it when I was 21 but I didn't because I'm on drugs. I was upset, crying on the phone because I got real emotional. I get like that about my family. So I ended up going home; I didn't really want to face them but I came home. As soon as I got home my brother is at the front door, the one I stole this money off, that's what I did, I stole it, and he comes to wish me a happy birthday and give me a hug and that and he gave me a present. It was a gold watch with "happy 21st birthday, love Jamie" on the back. That meant a lot because after what I had done to him and he still done that and that made me feel even more guilty. I felt so bad. Anyway, that's how I left home. They wanted me back because grandad could never kick me out and he wanted me to go to rehab and get clean and I had left myself and I had been gone for three months so he used that as an easy way to say that you can come back home but only if you get off the drugs. So I have been out there for the last four years. On methadone, I have been to rehab a few times, trying and I fail that rehab trying to get off the methadone. Last time I went I got off the methadone, come down and I was 30 days clean going to N. A. Meetings and my roommate at rehab, we both got clean at the same time and it had been 30 days (they give you a key ring that says "30 days"). And he said,

"how are you going?" And I said "yeah I feel all right". He goes, "are you saying that if I offered you a shot you wouldn't take it?". I said, "it would be hard". He goes, "do you want one?" and this is in rehab, it is supposed to be a safe environment. He has obviously got some snuck in somehow but I can't blame him, I can a bit, but I was the one who didn't say no, but I was still at a weak stage. I was still a bit crook through coming off the methadone even after 30 days. I felt all right, not a lot of energy, but I used so I ended up getting kicked out because I had used in the rehab before that, the same one. I went and owned up to at both times because if I have used, it is meant to be a safe environment and there are people in there wanting to get clean so I couldn't hang around while I am stoned because I didn't want to bring anyone else down. So I told them what I had done and they appreciated that and said that I could go back. And I really want to go back there. Before when I went to rehab it was more because my grandad was hassling me and I guess I feel guilty there as well because my grandad has spent his golden years bringing up me and my sister, which he didn't mind doing at all, in fact we have had real good times, but then I get on drugs and I must have taken years of his life. He had so much stress worrying over me, worry, worry, worry, he should be old and enjoying himself and here I am in jail and still on the methadone. So I come down from 125 to 60, I have halved my methadone dose in two months and now I have to wait to see a doctor again to get permission to come off altogether. That's unreal and I want to do rehab now. I have got to do it for myself but that will please him as well but I have got to want to do it and I do more than anything else. I have come down this much on the methadone and I was even a bit sick coming down but I still done it. I know I am not going to use again, I have said it heaps of times before

and people say it, but this time something is different inside. I am sick of it. Last time I wasn't. This time I am ready because I just want my grandad to be proud of me when he dies. I want him to die happy knowing that.... you know, like all his other kids, he is proud of them. I want him to be not worrying and know that I am going to be doing the right thing and I am going to. My parents would want me to be doing that as well. I go to court in a month but why I am here is because on the outside I am on methadone, you can't really use heroin anymore, you don't really feel it, you need to use a lot. So I was using extra methadone, take-a-ways in the bottle, you buy them. The guy I was living with got them so I was injecting methadone and I would crave for that so bad and I didn't have any extra one day, my dose wasn't enough because I was using all this extra, so I was not stable.... I don't know why, I was just sitting at home taking sleeping pills, they make you do real stupid things, you don't think straight, and I just decided to go rob the chemist. I had never done an armed rob before or anything and this is how crazy you are when you were on drugs, these people know me. The people who run this chemist. And I knew they knew my name and that they would call the police straight away and I would be caught. And that is what happened. And here I am still doing it. You only worry about here and then, only care about here and then, getting that bottle of methadone and probably if I got that, I didn't get it, who knows I probably might have died because I was that worried I could of went too far and shot up too much of it. How I felt that day I didn't really care. They were at my house an hour later. So I have gone in the chemist, it is only around the corner from where I was living, I rode the neighbour's bike down there, I put all black clothes on, I don't know why, a hat, I didn't even bother covering my face, and I just sharpened up

barbecue tools. I had a bag over my shoulder and I walked in and I said, "give me the methadone". I would never hurt them, I am not a violent person, I hope they know that, I am really sorry about that, because they're good people and I upset the lady, I must have scared her. But they didn't handed over so I don't know how scared they really were because the bloke he picked up a chair and I think I got more scared than them because I took off. I wasn't going to hurt them with his weapon, I didn't even lay a hand on them. I just really hoped that they would just go, here, and I could walk out. Maybe if I was more aggressive they would have but I wasn't prepared to do that. Next thing I am jumping on the bike riding up the only way back home thinking, you idiot, you got nothing and that was an attempted armed robbery and you're going to be going to jail for this. When I got back home I was crying, you idiot.... I was so angry with myself. I had never done that before, anything like that, first time and I get caught. They were at my house an hour later and I hid for a couple of days but I still had to pick up my methadone. So they just waited there on that day that I got caught, I went to the doctor because I was real depressed and got pills and they make you feel really relaxed and I was just sitting down in Hyde Park in the city and sort of reading, nodding off and worrying and I ended up ringing my grandad saying what I had done. I said, "can you come in town tomorrow, come and get me and take me to the methadone clinic and do you think I should hand myself then?" He said, "yes", he is real straight. They have been around to the house and I knew I was going to get caught, I had to pick my methadone up every day so I knew they were going to find me and my sister came into town and my sister is crying because she is upset that I'll have to go the jail. So they came and picked me up and took me to the methadone clinic and grandad came in with me and my

sister and the lady in there said, "just come in the room. I have had to call the police". I knew that she had to and I was spewing because I wanted to hand myself in. "I wanted to hand myself in", I said and she said that they were on their way. So they took me into this room on the side and give me my methadone and I was sitting there waiting for them to come. So it didn't end up looking as good, it didn't look as though it handed myself in. But I didn't take off, I just sat and waited for them. And the police were even being nice, because I admitted to everything straightaway. I was that upset with myself it just wasn't me. I know I done it and I have to take responsibility, I deserve to be here. That is not really me, I don't think if I was on drugs, I am not like that at all. Drugs is what makes most people do all this stuff. I know I am ready to get off because I just want to get my life, I said about my grandad I just want to make him happy and everyone else but I have to do it for me because I want my life on track. I want to get married and have a house one day and have a good career and my grandad's youngest son, my favourite uncle, was with as too when my parents died, he was about 14,..... because when my parents died me and my sister were there.... I don't remember seeing it happen but we were there, that was my grandad's house, he was at work....

Researcher: what don't you remember see happening?

Martin: my dad killed my mum then himself. He done that with a knife and psychiatrists say that you can block that out. I am probably glad that I don't have that image in my head but I don't even know if I've seen it, I could have been playing with my toys, I don't know. We lived in the house where it happened.....

Researcher: how old were you then?

Martin: nearly 4, about four. My sister was one or two. For the next two years we lived in that house and I don't.... I got memories of my parents but of those two years I don't have any memories. It's like I blocked them out. The next memory that starts is the day we moved out of the house, in with my aunty and uncle into one big house, my memories come back. I remember that day moving out.

Researcher: coming to jail, what sort of an experience has that been for you?

Martin: it's the worst situation I been in in my life. In here, you know how there are other nationalities, well I'm not racist or anything but lots of them get in groups and they don't get hassled, but me, I get on alright with blokes but I get hassled sometimes but I don't want to go to protection or anything like that. And I don't know if I need it but people are always bludging, I hate it.

Researcher: but what do you reckon would have happened to you if you hadn't have come to jail?

Martin: well it's probably a good thing because it has snapped me out of it. If I hadn't come to jail I would still be in that same hole I was in and I needed this to happen to jolt my brain or something, to make me think what have I done. I am in jail, I have got to get my life on track. If this hadn't happened I could have just kept on drifting on.... before this happened I wanted to get clean for ages but

never done anything about it. It was too easy because the bloke I was living with got methadone extra and I picked it up every day, my methadone, and I get extra off him and I'd shoot it up and go to the doctor and get pills and have a drink and that's it. They're in a was just existing, I was doing nothing. But this gave me a kick up the arse which is what I needed.

Researcher: so how are you going to get control of your life in the future?

Martin: will I don't know.... there is a drug program you can do here. If I get 18 months I am going to do that but even if I get whatever and I can't do this drug program when I get out my choice, I am going back to rehab. Even if I will be off the methadone by the time I get out. I will be totally drug free, but just to get some living skills and that. A lot of people think that you've got to go to NA for the rest of your life.... I am going to go to NA to start with because I want to be an apprentice chef and I will meet new people that are clean. I can't hang around those people at all. I can't even have one shot or one can drink. Not even a drink they say but I wish I could still have a drink but I can't hang around them, even that area I have got a stay away from. Although if I am going to get clean I have got to be able to do it around people that are using around that same area because everywhere you go there are going to be people on drugs. I have got to learn to say no and I have got to hang around people that are clean, that aren't on drugs.

Researcher: so you know what you have got to do, you have got to stay away from people who are going to use, at the least at the beginning, and you are going to go to NA. Have you got the strength to be able to do that yourself?

Martin: I don't know. I mean I have to but may be now not. It's not easy at all because when you're on drugs when you having a rough day you go and use, but normal people have rough days, everyone has rough days, and you have got to push through it. You're going to come out the other side and so I have to have the strength even if I have to go to councillors, NA meetings. You have got support there, and my family and talk about it. No matter how hard it is doing it I just have to say I have got too much to lose. If I use once I will go straight down there. It is going to upset all these people, it is going to ruin my life, it is just not worth it, it is not worth it. It is not an option, I can't. It is not worth it.

Researcher: but it is a real struggle isn't it?

Martin: yeah. Every day it is going to be. That's what they say in NA, you've got to go one day at a time, even after 10 years they say you can still struggle. Some days are great but you're still going to have bad days. I suppose after a couple of years the thought to go and use when something goes bad goes, you know. I guess you can still think of it sometimes but you just can't do that at all. You cannot use no matter what happens, don't pick up the drugs. Deal with it in other ways. You have got to find new ways and when you use and you get off you feel empty, you just feel like an alien. You feel like you are from another planet. These drugs put a cloud around your head and you just feel..... it is hard to explain but you have got to find something else to fill that gap. Find something else that you like doing or hobbies or go to work, a girlfriend that's not on drugs.

Researcher: so do you know what those things will be for you?

Martin: these aren't going to be enough on their own but I like basketball. I might go and join in a sports team again, the fitness, go for a run, go to the gym, go and do martial arts again, or boxing or something.

Researcher: you mentioned before that she wanted to be a chef. How will you make that happen?

Martin: I don't know because with a criminal record it can be hard to get a job but you have just got to be honest I think when you go for an interview. I'm not sure exactly but there are job places out there that can help you find a job. I would like to be a chef on a boat or in a big hotel. Maybe the start with I will be a chef at a football match canteen but... you've got to start from the bottom.

Researcher: so you would have to go to TAFE for that.

Martin: you go to TAFE one day a week and you do your apprenticeship.

Researcher: can you see yourself doing that?

Martin: yep. Definitely. I like doing things with my hands and I am pretty creative.

Researcher: can you picture yourself in the long term with a wife and a house and children and career?

Martin: yes I do picture myself, I do. Nice car and go to work and come home to the family. That is years down the track probably but I want to own a home. Yep I can definitely always picture myself doing that. Drugs have just gotten in the way there for a while and I've gone off track but I'm getting back on it for sure. This is the worst situation I've been in in my life.

Researcher: so you have got the reasons to do it, you got an idea of what you want to do and you understand that the drugs are the things that are going to limit you, you have got people who will support you and as long as you can stay away from the drugs then you will probably be okay?

Martin: yes

Researcher: okay we might finish at there. Thank you very much for what you told me.

Martin: that's all right.

Duration: 39: 51

Narrative Interview 11

This interview was conducted on Wednesday, November 15, 2006. The participant is 23 years old and has been in jail before.

Researcher: okay William thanks for a much of your willingness to participate in this study. What I would like to do is to tell me something about your life. You can start wherever you want to and go wherever you want to, include whatever you want to and leave out whatever you want to. I might ask you some questions periodically.

William: I was born in the Philippines in 1983, Manila. I came here in 1989 when I was seven years old I lived with my stepfather and my mother and I started going to school in Campbelltown and had some troubles fitting in, learning the English language as Tagalog was my first language. The first year or so I had trouble at school in socialising with other kids. I got kicked out of the primary school I was in the first year and I went to another primary school and then I started getting along with the kids there. Then my mother got help from my real father and I went to a private school and I only stayed there for one year. I was pretty good with kids, normal, average and I went back to my old primary school in Campbelltown and finished my primary years there. Went to high school in Liverpool, Liverpool Boys and I was into sport until around about year eight or nine when I started getting involved in Asian gangs. I started getting influenced by music, rap music, by these gangsters and I got into a couple of fights here and there at school and I started getting more into it. I started developing strong zeal for Asian crime gangs. I got kicked out, I actually left

that school in Liverpool because I got into trouble with other Asian gangs and I left I went to another high school, another Catholic high school in Campbelltown and I started making my own little group there. There were straights and I corrupted them. I corrupted them and I had my little gang there. Officially I got into a gang, I got recruited and then I recruited the people from my high school so I had my own little branch. I was like a little leader. I left school and then I got into it full-time, alcohol, music, fighting other gangs, I started getting tattoos which resembled gang tattoos, which other members had the same, and I started getting into it pretty heavy. That heavy that some of my recruits were dropping out but when I was at my prime with my group I had a pretty strong group, I had probably the most members under me and we all had the same gang tattoos. It was like a stamp, and we caused havocand finally I broke out of the group because of problems with girls.... so I got a bit weaker. I wasn't really into the gang scene but I was still in the scene of alcohol and slowly drugs, light drugs like marijuana. Then I started hanging around old school gangsters, old school gangsters but they were very heavy. I started hanging around them and then I committed my first offence for which I did time in 2003 and 2004 at Windsor. I committed that crime, I stabbed someone four times, punctured his lung and I was on bail and while I was hanging around these heavy old school gangsters I met some younger ones and I got involved with them very close and I started getting involved in heavier drugs. We went into the clubbing scene heavily, like from Thursday to Sunday, no sleep, no home, just partying non-stop, girls, drugs, guns, alcohol, or fancy clothes, jewellery and really into the gangsters scene, the club, club scene, and I was never home. Got more tattoos, I was skinny, never rested, never ate. There was a girl within that group and I got with her and what

happened was that the other people, a lot of deception happened, and I broke up from those people. I just went off with the girl and we went out for a while and I wasn't really involved in any drugs, just alcohol, and just being with her and then I finally got sentenced. I got three years, 15 months on the bottom. I came into jail the first time. I broke up with that girl but I would say that I was insecure, I was depressed. Even when I was with her I was insecure because I would ruin myself by getting drunk and making a fool out of myself in front of her, in front of her friends, in public. Off the track, wild and when I came into jail I got depressed because she broke up with me and everything caught up. All my enemies from outside caught up in jail. I had a couple of dramas with some As John gangsters from the outside, caught up to me, so I got more depressed in jail because all these things were happening at the same time, her deceiving me, backstabbing me, her own friends were the ones that wanted to jump me in jail and she didn't try to help. I got into the drugs scene in jail and that's the heavy stuff, that's the heroin. So I started using heroin in jail the first time and I just dug myself into a deeper hole and I was just a person that was anxious all the time, scared, insecure. I was lost, no guidance, no goals, just a slave of my evil desires and bad habits. I used to just cover all my problems with drugs. I was in debt in jail, I had to pay it off. I always paid my debts off in jail but just having the debts hanging over me all the time made me anxious and depressed. All the time I was in jail the first time was hard, I made it hard for myself and I picked up some more crime. I started using heroin with needles and because of that I have got hep C. now. I just got more corrupt in prison. So by the time I got out, I did 15 months, and when I got out of prison I was worse. I was worse, I was arrogant, I was worse, I was like an animal. I lost my humanity. I got out and

just because of having that tagging under my belt I thought I was the man because I was a crim, I got some jail tats, I use heroin, a shoot it up, I am corrupt, I have been to prison and I know all the bad crims. Just that false pride, false confidence. I got out and I didn't use heroin straight away. I was moderate in using it but I got out and just wanted to party. Let's have fun, don't worry about work, don't worry about goals, don't worry about family, don't even worry about yourself, don't even care about yourself, don't look after yourself, let's just have fun. I had that false confidence, that false pride and I ran amok. I went out and I just partied, women, like I had three girlfriends, I had a girlfriend in the city, I had a girlfriend in Wollongong and I had a girlfriend in Guildford. I would be in the city one time and then back in the middle, so I was no dignity, I was just sleeping around with girls, going out partying, getting off my face, going to clubs, using drugs, never home, disrespect my parents, disrespect my friends, very arrogant, off my head, partying all the time, never home. Because of my alcoholism, it started getting heavier, everyone started moving on, the fun dies out and I didn't want to stop having fun. So I started using heroin and my habit started getting bigger and next thing you know, I was and every day user. I lost my girlfriend, I lost my friends, I nearly lost my family. I nearly lost my family, I was kicked out. At one time I was sleeping in the streets. I used to hock in my own family's stuff, that's how low I got. Stealing from my own mother's purse. I was Hocking in my things, desperate. I would go out and get drunk off my face and after that, this was the routine, I would be sick in the morning, I would be hanging out plus I would have a hangover so I would have to get the heroin somehow, just to feel normal. That was the routine. I was just losing my humanity, I was blind and didn't even see it. I thought I was all right, digging

myself into a deeper hole, physically and spiritually and mentally. I was just eating off everyone, I got depressed because I had no one. I had a good girl, she was a top girl, I don't blame her, she had nothing to offer me any more, she had nothing to give to me any more so I don't blame her. I lost her, she tried. I stole off her. Very bad, everything falling to destruction and one day I went out with my friends, got drunk, went to a club. That day I had some heroin too, went to a club, very arrogant, walking out the club I don't even remember half..... this is what I'm in for now..... seen someone on the street, smashed him. Ended up robbing him and that's what I'm in for now. Came back into prison and I was devastated. I thought I would never come back into prison. I had 10 months parole left, so I was in big trouble, double Jeopardy, reoffended on a violent charge. I was devastated, crushed, spewing, even wanted to kill myself, looking for some answers. I started asking myself the big questions, reflecting, pondering, contemplating on life. I said to myself one day, "look if you die now, what have you left behind? What have you achieved?". What clicked to me was, "you are really not a good human being." That hit me hard. I said to myself, "whatever calamity strikes upon me, I deserve it." I started becoming religious. I was raised up in a Catholic community, I went to Catholic high school and everything and I said to myself, you know, I asked myself the big questions: What is the purpose of life? I said to myself that if I knew what the purpose of life was I would really go hard at it. I would go strong and it and I would put my best at it. I always had this natural disposition of believing in God ever since I was young so I started reading the Bible and one day I was reading the Bible, I was in a one out cell in POD 10 at Silverwater, this was about four weeks after I came back in, I was a sweeper there, and one day I was reading some little verses

in the Bible, I got up and I said to myself, "look, from now on you are going to change. You are going to change your behaviour, you're going to change yourself." I started changing my behaviour, I started becoming more humble and more polite and more nice. I was trying and I was reading the Bible and everything like that but I wanted to be sure in my conviction and the Bible and Christianity, I found a lot of mystery and contradiction. So I wasn't 100% satisfied. Even before I came to prison I had a little bit of interest in Islam, so I started asking questions. I was being objective, you know, I didn't want to jump into a religion that I knew nothing about. I was objective and I started asking around and there was this one man who was there and he was a beautiful man. Our hearts just met, his behaviour, his conduct was just upright and I met him and then one day I asked him about things about Islam. He gave me a couple of books, slowly I was reading and to me it made a lot of sense. It was very clear, it was very complete, it was flawless. Anyway, he was talking to me and explained to me a lot of things that made sense and that answered my questions. The big questions that I was asking got answered and what I wanted, I got. I converted and then he says to me that when you convert to Islam you have a clean slate. So I said to myself, "Jackpot. God has had mercy on me, he has given me a clean slate so I am going to take advantage of this clean slate and I am going to turn my life around. I am going to grow in goodness, I am going to grow in the light. The system of Islam is just sublime. It makes human beings the most high in character, in morals. I started learning how to pray. Praying five times a day makes you punctual, makes you have real power, it purifies you and that's what I needed. I needed motivation and punctuality. I needed something to keep me busy throughout the day, something in my life and Islam just filled that hole in

my life. From a human being that was using drugs, using alcohol, indulging in excessive money, women, so in other words I was falling into my own destruction because I was a slave of my desires which were not fulfilling my spiritual needs, my spiritual nourishment, from that piece of human being, from a heroin junkie in other words, from an alcoholic to a person that prays five times a day, wakes up before sunrise to wash up to pray, a person that develops discipline, develops punctuality, develops willpower, develops knowledge, develops hygiene and abstains from food for a whole month, that's the system of Islam. That is the jump I made because of Islam. Don't worry about abstaining from drugs and alcohol, abstaining from drink and water for a whole month, that's discipline, that's what I built because of Islam. It has purified me, it has cleansed me, it has enriched my heart, it has made me strong, it has made me confident and the unity with God, I have no fear. If I die it's his will. The teachings of Islam are so rich that there is no limit. I just become a better person more and more. More stronger, more confident. To me, because of Islam, I can be more confident in doing other things in my life. Like I have developed to go to work, to train myself to go to work, to be patient and to be steadfast, to persevere, to be tolerant, to have mercy on people, to have sympathy with people, to have pity on people. It has made me an upright human being and what keeps me going is that I know I have leapt that big bound and so I can become even better and better and better. I want to grow, I want to blossom like a flower and knowing that I have made that big bound it makes me feel, look how much you've changed. It has spread through my mother, my mother has converted to Islam, she has been Muslim now for four to five months. Other people have seen the change in me, I have seen the change in me and now I have got goals,

positive, you know. I say to myself, "I am a master of my fate. I am the driver of my soul". I just find that the more I am in here.... like I thank God that I am in jail otherwise if I wasn't in jail I would probably have ended up dying. I would probably end up killing someone so I find... I thank God that being in jail has been beneficial for me. I've cleared my mind, you know, I have developed my spirituality, I have developed my body, I feel strong, I feel confident, I feel positive and I don't let negative mental attitudes defeat me. I don't have fear anymore, I don't have anxiety anymore. I have overcome depression. I believe that whatever a human being decides, he can do. It's up to us, you know. And I'm off drugs, I feel good, I have been off drugs for 16 months. Clean and I don't even smoke cigarettes. It's because I don't need that. I am interested in something more beautiful and filling and it has enriched my heart. People used to smoke in front of me and I'm not interested anymore, I would just jump on to my bed and read the Koran. It was just beautiful, it is beautiful and now I feel strong and I feel good, I feel healthy and I honestly feel like I have changed in leaps and bounds. I have been Muslim now for 15 months and I'm already doing a call for prayer, and they say to me, "you do it beautiful. How could you do it so beautiful in Arabic and you're not even an Arab?" And I say that's what keeps me going. Encouragement like that. It's because it is from my heart and I was keen to learn and I was keen to..... learn Arabic language in its rich form..... because I was keen. Some Muslims say to me, "I've been Muslim on my whole life and you've only been Muslim for 15 months and you're a better Muslim than me." That keeps me going, positive encouragement and even just people, you know. They just say to me, "I can tell you were naughty before but now you have changed". They see that, you know, they see that. My mum sees that.

Researcher: so where do you see your life going in the future?

William: I see my life going..... I see it as a change, I see my life in the future different to my past. I think my future will be involved in working, family. I like preaching, you know, I want to get involved in preaching. I want to..... my goal anyway, these are my goals, my goal is to first get out of prison, work and develop my own income. Then do a business course, I want to get into business, I want to open up my own business and I also want to study Islam more. I want to become like an Imam, like a religious leader, and then preach. Open up my business and then with the money that I make I want to open a mosque. Then teach younger kids the Koran and also I want to have a family, which I would love, Islamic traditions, have a beautiful family and just spread and teach whatever knowledge I have because now I have got a clean slate I just want to go hard, you know. Step-by-step, at the moment I'm still in jail, I haven't been sentenced yet but I want to become a religious leader one day, I want to open up my own business, I want to go to school, I want to study things. I want to be a good human being, I want to be a good dad, I want to be a good husband, I want to be a good son. I want to make it up to my family. I want to do some charity, you know. But like I said, I cannot do charity unless I make my own money first. First I have to work, work like a donkey for a while, keep my head down, study and be the best human being that I can be, to live up to my potential. I am confident and I want to do it and I don't want to fail. I am not going to quit because quitting is for losers. That is part of the change, not quitting. Before I would just quit, but now I don't want to quit, now I am trying. I want to change, I want to be the best human being as I can possibly be, I want to live up to my

potential and I can do it. I'm positive. I have got a positive mind and I am confident and I don't want to be one of those people that say this and they don't do it. I don't want to be one of those people that say, "yeah, I had a lot of plans before I got out but I didn't do it". I want to be different from those people. I want to do it. I want to be one of those people that end up becoming successful. I want to be one of them, I don't want to be one of them others. I am sick of it. I want to start looking after myself now, I want to start caring about myself, you know. I am not going to quit no more.

Researcher: you have used the word “confident” a lot of times today, saying that before you weren't confident and now you are confident. I have just noticed that as you have been speaking to me, when you are talking about your old life you looked down there on the floor and when you started talking to me about your change of identity as you have become a muslim and the changes that that has brought in your life, you started looking at me. Is that a confidence thing?

William: the thing is that I am very ashamed about my past. I look down on myself, you know, and I have a lot of shame about it. I don't like talking about it so when I talk about the past I am ashamed of it and that is why I put my head down. And the reason why I put my head up when I talk about now and the future is because I have got passion for it, I am excited, you know. It is sincere, it's genuine and it's from my heart. It is vibrant, you know, so that is why...

Researcher: okay, I wish you all the best, thank you very much for sharing this with me. Duration: 32:16

Narrative Interview 12

This interview was conducted on Monday, November 20, 2006. William's second interview.

Researcher: well mate thank you very much for coming back for a second interview. I have read through all what you said and have thought about it. Very interesting stuff. It sounds to me as though what you are saying to me was that you have reached a point in your life where you felt that what you were doing wasn't getting you anywhere, it wasn't fulfilling you, you felt that in some way it was wrong, at least wrong for you, it didn't have a lot of meaning in it, and it was at that point where you were at your lowest point where you met this man in jail. Before that you had always had a spiritual interest in things...

William: yes

Researcher: and what he said made a lot of sense to you. It answered your questions. There was a kind of intellectual harmony with what he was saying and also the practice of Islam, the discipline of having to get up in the morning, of praying five times a day, the emphasis on living a moral life, were all important parts of you or ability to move on from where you were.

William: that's right.

Researcher: and the spiritual dimension combined with the system and combined with the fact that you were ready to make a change, in that you were sick and tired of your old life...

William: that's right, it's suited it perfectly

Researcher: it's suited you perfectly

William: it is what I needed. I believe that the teachings of Islam can make me the best human being that I can be. To live up to my potential and like I said before all the bad deeds and actions that I have done in the past just caught up to me in one hit. I believe that every action, every bad action you do, does catch up to you in the end. My heart was just diseased spiritually and it had a lot of spiritual blemishes and my heart was very deep in bad habits and diseases that were immoral and that were putrid and indecent. The teachings of Islam are so precise and dynamic that I believe they can make me the best human being that I can be, to have the highest character and morals.

Researcher: those ways of describing your life in the past pretty heavy kind of words.

William: I describe them the way I felt.

Researcher: but were you aware of that at the time?

William: no. I thought I was all right, and I was living blind. I could not see it. When I saw it was when I came back into jail and I looked at myself. I had that time to look at myself and when I did I felt this guilt, shame and, like I said before, all the bad deeds and evil things I had done just caught up to my heart.

Researcher: how important do you think is that ability to reflect on yourself and see yourself as you are? How important do you think that is for readiness to change?

William: it is very important because you have to rectify yourself before you try to rectify anyone else or point the finger. You have to first self purification, see if you are doing any injustice within yourself before you can point the finger and try to rectify other affairs. Self purification is very important if you are not mucking around in changing your life towards a positive future.

Researcher: I suppose it is hard for some people, like in your situation you could look at your life and say all those words that you used to describe it, they are pretty bleak kind of words, and now you can look at yourself and you can describe yourself using different sorts of words, the opposite kinds of words. But for some people, when they looked back on their life it is not so black and white. It must be hard for them to get a sense of what they are like.

William: yes, I think it is guidance. You need guidance, you have to have knowledge and you have to put in effort if you want to change. You can't just say things that you don't do. When you have really put in effort to change yourself you start doing things that are from your heart, not from your tongue.

You can say things with your tongue but it doesn't come from your heart, but if it comes from your heart you do it and you put it into action. That is effort, that is true, genuine change. You really want to make a turnaround in your life, to make a U-turn, to snap out of it. To have knowledge and to use the beautiful gift that you have, the brain, the heart and it is powerful when you use it the right way. You have a choice to be upright in your life or to be lower than in an animal. Some people they are really lower than an animal. They don't use their hearts, they don't use their brain. I think it is very important to have guidance.

Researcher: you use the word "choice". How much of a pull is the old way? How much of an attraction does the old lifestyle have for you now?

William: that is a good question because every time, for example, not really temptation but a thought of something that is alien to the way I live now, straight away I see aright. Straight away I see straight. I see how unbeneficial and how insignificant, how meaningless and how destructive my old lifestyle was. I feel felicity when I say to myself, "hey, you're growing... keep on growing, keep on blossoming".

Researcher: so really the choice is not a choice that was made once but it is a choice that is made all the time. Is that what you are saying?

William: yes, yes. It is like you are going upstairs and the more you go up the more elevated you get and the stronger you get and the more you can see aright and really have control and strength and knowledge. Knowledge has got a lot to

do with it. I do a lot of reflecting, contemplating, reassessing. I always try to pick my faults and better myself. Sometimes I relax on my bed and contemplate what do I have to improve in, in my character and then I pin them out. I am always rectifying myself so that I can blossom even stronger and more and more and more. And purification of the heart.

Researcher: do you think I will ever see you back in jail again?

William: God willing, no. God willing, no.

Researcher: thank you very much.

Duration: 10:02

Narrative Interview 13

This interview was conducted on Wednesday November 15, 2006. The participant is a 19-year-old male and this is his first time in jail.

Researcher: okay Tony, thanks very much for coming here and for being willing to participate in this study.

Tony: no problem.

Researcher: what I'd like you to do is to talk to me about your life. You can tell me whatever you want, you can start where ever you want, go wherever you want, you can leave out whatever you want. It is entirely up to you. Maybe I might ask you some questions as we go through, or maybe not, we will just see how we go.

Tony: no problem. To me being in here is just real hard for me because this place, I really don't belong here. In my mind I see that. I am from Canada originally, I lived there for 11 years, I went through school. I just graduated in 2005 and ever since I graduated I have been doing music. I write music and I have been doing a lot of stuff. I came here, the biggest mistake of my life. I came here and got arrested on November 21 of 2005 and at this moment, at this stage, I am 19. I just turned 19 this Sunday and I am just waiting now for my, my sentencing. Hopefully everything will go good and I am hoping to do a course right now with audio engineering. If I could get it, which I am hoping I could, to help me to what I want to do with my life, like music and that area.

Other than that, that's basically what I've been doing for the last couple of years. Other than that there is really nothing going on in my life now. I have been here for now 12 months and..... (laughs)

Researcher: so when you say you don't think you really belong here, what you actually mean?

Tony: will I mean, being here it just changes a person because nothing changes, it just..... there's nothing you can do in your life right now, you are in a pause in your life. Everyone else on the outside, who I did my music with, who I designed clothing with, I did whatever I was doing with, have moved on and I'm stuck in 2005 since the day I was arrested, in here. So I'm just trying to still do what I would do on the outside in here in my cell or anything, just keep doing it. I still write my music in here, I play the guitar and in my mind I know that when I get out this is not a place to come back to. This is not something to.... to reoffend or something like that. But in that question you asked me like I don't belong here meaning that I come here, I come here to do something which I really didn't want to do. I did that, I played my case and everything and that didn't help too much so I'm just waiting now to get my sentence and get along with my life. Hopefully it all..... this situation that I got myself into will help me later in the long run to realise that you can't take things for granted too much, you know. I was on the outside, I had so many chances to do recording, make an album, do all this stuff. I have producers back home that are still waiting for me from when I get out from 604. That's 604 Entertainment, that's what the label is called in Vancouver. They are just real sorry that this happened to me. I had

everything going in my way on the outside and I just took it for granted and I came here and now I realise what I have lost.

Researcher: when you say you took it for granted, what is that actually mean?

Tony: I didn't try hard enough, you know what I mean? I had everything laid out on the table but I didn't want it, to do anything, you know? I did a little bit but I was more interested in other things, doing other things. I'm not in here for a violent crime, I'm in here for drug related matters. That kind of thing. But people practically handed me everything, "listen, we're giving you studio time, we're giving you these connections to record". Back home recording in a studio is expensive. You have got to pay for each hour and my producers were paying for it all. And then I said, "yeah, yeah". I did about three songs and a recorded them and everything and then I come here and now I am just stuck.

Researcher: so were you not ready at that time to make use of those opportunities?

Tony: you could say that, yes. I was ready but not willing, like, I don't know how to put that. It was like I said, it was all there for me..... yeah, I guess so, I wasn't ready. I had all this other stuff going on and even my parents said that. "Look at what you left behind. You didn't use any of this stuff that people gave you." After I graduated I was supposed to go to the Art Institute of Vancouver to do this audio engineering and I didn't do that. Came here instead and now I am hoping that my uncle on the outside can somehow help me get this course, this

audio engineering course and if I do that it will be a great help to me. So I hope for the best for that.

Researcher: so these other things, they distracted you, did they?

Tony: yeah.

Researcher: what was the appeal of those things? Why did you go down that path?

Tony: money. Money just messed with my mind. I had a job, I was a dishwasher at a pub and..... I don't know, I just didn't..... and then I moved out with my friend and I started getting into all this kind of stuff, you know, what I got arrested for. That kind of stuff. But in my mind back home I was, "it's easy money", that's what it my mind. "It's easy money, I'll go for it". Not robberies nothing but, still it's bad you know what I mean? It's an offence but now I understand like..... my mum told me every day, "I hope you're not doing stuff, this kind of stuff". I always said no, but then when I came here and I first got arrested I called her. The pain in her voice, just like, "I told you". And I'm her only child. I live with my mum in Canada and my dad lives in Sri Lanka. All the money I made, I won't be able to pay my parents back, so much they have given me in here. My mum has come three times to visit me here, came from a trial, she will probably come for my sentencing. I think she's coming this March with my grandma and my grandpa, my aunts and my uncle, my real dad from Sri Lanka, they are all flying from different countries to see me here. I'm like, all

this and all the love I have had from my family, you know what I mean? That too, like I always knew I had love from a family like my cousins, my aunts, but then again I veered off into this land of money, this money hungry mentality of mine. It was hard for me but now I understand, not understand because I've always understood, but now when I get out I know what is there for me. Not to take it for granted, not to take the love my family gives me for granted. I may not even have that for too long, you know what I mean? They are getting older, I am getting older, no one is getting younger these days so.....

Researcher: so it was really when you lost it that you realised what you actually had and you haven't lost it really, have you?

Tony: no I haven't lost it. I will be out in a couple of years, I'll go home and I will do the same thing that I was doing when I was 18, 17. Still writing music, still doing my music but with more knowledge, if I can do this course that I've been thinking about, this audio engineering course. It will help me more on the outside and I'll have more knowledge of what I'm doing. And not to..... if I see someone doing this all that, I'll stay away from, do you know what I mean? In here it's just like.... your mentality, it doesn't grow. You have got to read books, I go to the library once in awhile and get a book to read it. I order the book it's called "91 laws", rules or something like that. It just teaches you everything about society and how to avoid situations and stuff like that.

Researcher: do you know what it was about you that made you go down that wrong path? You talked about the lure of money, but why was it such a lure to you?

Tony: I don't know..... nothing else lured me down there..... it was only after seeing the money come to my grasp that I went there. That is the only thing that made me go down that path. I don't sing or nothing, you know, I do the hip-hop, the rap, I write lyrics and it was excitement in my life, doing this doing that. Now it's not an excitement no more, coming in here. You meet people, you meet some people that you can converse with in here, but those people I converse with I think in my mind that they don't belong in here. I have met some real nice people in here that are in for something that they didn't to or something like that, but then you meet the people who are coming in weekly. They get out and two weeks later they are back in again. I could never do that, seeing the pain I put my family through and things like that. It's not the pain I feel it's the pain that I put people through on the outside from me being in here. I don't understand what they are feeling because they don't get to call me every day and when I call them they get happy. Sometimes and I don't call my mum in three or four days, she gets worried because she knows I am in jail and anything could have gone wrong. She knows I'm all right. They were here last month for my trial and I was happy to see them. Hopefully the sentence goes good, that's what I'm hoping for.

Researcher: you are basically saying that you can never see yourself going back to the sort of thing you were doing before...

Tony: no way, no way. I would rather do legitimate through my music. I have a friend that I rap with and he is doing his thing right now back home and there is so much I am missing out on. I call him every day to see what is going on and my producers have got him shows, meaning like at the club or something. He will do a show and get known in the city, you know, more airtime and he has been doing it and he did a show they lose big rappers that everyone knows around the world. He did a show, he did an opening for them. I missed out on meeting them, I've missed out on a lot of things and I don't want to keep missing out. I want to be out there doing it with him, you know what I mean? I promised him too when I first met him, when we first started doing this, that we would never stop this, no matter what. If I have got to wash dishes or flip hamburgers, we are still going to do this and we will fight to get up there doing this. I kind of just lost that in my head when this came along.

Researcher: so what do you..... once you get back again, do you think that you will be able to get back to where you were or will you be more advanced than where you were?

Tony: I think I will be more an advanced, a little bit, not like..... I'm stuck here, I don't know what's going on, only a phone call away, that's all I know. They tell me. But I think a little more advanced meaning, if I can do these courses, or read books. Back home I rarely read books, I always watched the news, that kind of thing. But now that I'm reading more I know more about what is supposed to happen, instead of just living day to day, thinking "what happens today happens today".

Researcher: coming to jail has taken you out of your situation that you were in before and you have come to realise how important those things were. I guess you never realised that you were taking them for granted?

Tony: no, I never did. I didn't think that I was taking it for granted, meaning my family mostly because I go to visit my family in Sri Lanka every summer, June to whenever and ever since I moved out with my mum I always stayed with my mum. Because I love my family. I live with my mum and my step dad and my real dad is with my step mum in Sri Lanka with my half sister. My whole family is in Sri Lanka, I barely have family in Vancouver. I didn't think in my head that I was taking it for granted because I was showing up at home, doing things with my family and stuff but in the back of my mind I knew you that I was doing this and this. Going behind their back doing this stuff. But now they know everything and they say, "when you come out you stay with us". They wanted me to do this music, they back me 100% with the music. That is what I want to do and they will back me. I didn't think that I was taking them for granted. My dad came here and he said to me when he came to visit he said, "you are lucky you're young. You are lucky to get caught, lucky to get put in jail". I see that too because if I didn't get stopped now who knows what I would have gotten done for along the track? This is just a small thing, I will be out in a couple of years but if it was huge like 25 years or something I mean that's my life gone. I might as well live life in jail, you know what I mean? But now in here I look to the future. I think this is what I will do when I get out. I have this plan and this plan and I have a book in my cell with everything I want to, you know. My music, my first album what is going to be called when I get out, stuff like that. I always

look to the future because this is not the end. Don't dwell on the past, you know, just think to the future.

Researcher: that's great, thank you very much.

Tony: no problem.

Duration: 17:12

Narrative Interview 14

This interview was conducted on Monday, November 20, 2006. Tony's second interview.

Researcher: thank you very much Tony for coming back for this second interview. I wanted to double check that I had correctly heard what you had said to me before. I heard you say that you came from a good family, you had a good background with a supportive mother and even though your parents are separated it sounds like both of them are pretty supportive.

Tony: yes.

Researcher: and all other members of your family are all supportive. Most of your family live in Sri Lanka, except for your mum, who lives in Vancouver. You graduated from high school and you had all these opportunities in the music area opening up to you. You had opportunities with recording studios, people liked your work, your writing of rap songs and so on and it was all happening there. But I got the impression that at the time it was all happening you were really ready to take advantage of it all in a way. You were washing dishes and so on but then you found that there were other ways that you could make money and, probably without thinking too much about it, you went and did it.

Tony: yes.

Researcher: and then that has brought you here. What I heard you say was that that experience of being in jail for the last 12 months has brought you to the realisation of firstly the importance of what you had and how valuable that was, because you talked about taking it for granted, and secondly the importance of your family. You felt that you took them for granted as well. But they have really stood by you, your mum has come out three times and other people have come out from overseas to be with you. So you have come to this fresh understanding of what you want life to be like and the support structures that you have always had, but you see them in a new light. And also that you have the sense that your life is on hold here, you have got catching up to do but it has given you time to reflect on your life and come to these pretty vital understandings.

Tony: that is exactly right. Being in here gives me time to think about what I want to do in the future but also to be prepared for it. When you get out it is easy to catch up but it is better not to waste these four years, or however long I get, by doing nothing. It is better to always be prepared for when you get out, what you want to do.

Researcher: I can see the regret in terms of lost time and the regret in the sense of the impact upon your mother in particular, but do you feel anything about the thing that you did?

Tony: I feel kind of like stupid in a way, that's how I felt since the day I was arrested. I put myself in here you know and I don't blame nobody for it. I just

feel very not smart in what I did. But 12 months is long enough to think about what is going on and now I am going to have maybe a couple of years more. I think it is better for me though, that this happened. When I get out I will have everything set out. Even like I was saying with my music, I still have it. They are waiting for me because they know it is not for ever that I'm going to be here.

Researcher: the impression that I get of what you said to me about your life is that this criminal activity if you like was not a major part of your life.

Tony: no, it was on the side of what I was doing. But I was paying more attention to it than the straight path. It was like a left turn in what I was supposed to do.

Researcher: do you have a sense that if you hadn't been arrested you might have got further and further and further down the path way?

Tony: yes exactly. I would not have even gone straight. It would have been a full turn and just done this. Like my dad was telling me, I am lucky to have this now. What if I had got arrested for so much more and done in 25 years? My life would be over so I am happy that it happened now and make me think.

Researcher: when you look at your life do you think you might have gone down that track where you could have done something really bad? Do you think you could have got sucked in to this life of crime?

Tony: yes because if what I did was allowed it to go through and I didn't get arrested here I would have thought, "you can do this any time. It is easy to beat Customs or whatever". And then I would have thought that this is too little and it would have escalated and then I would have gotten more apart from my family. That would have been a real bad regret for me.

Researcher: did you have a sense that what you are doing was wrong?

Tony: oh yeah. I had a sense but in my mind I always knew that there was a downside to this and that you have got to look at the down side and not always the upside, but in my mind I was paying more attention to what I was getting. My mentality was messed up. That's what my mum was telling me too. She asked me the same question; did you know that what you were doing was wrong? But I was doing it so I didn't really think that I was doing something wrong. I knew that it was against the law but..... that's what happens.

Researcher: do you think you are strongly influenced by other people?

Tony: not really influenced by what other people were doing, but influenced in the way that, "it could work. Maybe it could work. We will do it". But nobody pulled me into this, I just stepped into it.

Researcher: and what makes you think, and I assume you do think that you will not get back into this sort of thing, that you will not get back into it? What makes you sure of that in your own mind?

Tony: no, no, no. First of all jail is not something for me, it has just ruined my life. I have got to start over again and I don't like that. You learn a lot from what other people are in here for and you don't want to get involved in all this commotion. I just want to go along with my life and live my life.

Researcher: when you say you learn a lot, what sorts of things have you learnt?

Tony: you hear about what other people are in for, you get people who are in for similar things that I am in for, you kind of hear their story and the people that I talked to have been maybe four or five times offenders. They say that it is nothing but you look at them and think, "what do you have on the outside?". They say, "when I get out I will restart it again." And I'm thinking that you've got keep starting over. It is a risk that you are taking with your life. After you reach the 40s or 50s, what's the point? You might as well live in here. If you want to get money, get it legitimately. Do something creative or something like that in your life to make your goals work. That is mainly what is giving me the mentality that I don't want to get into this. My goals, my dreams, I want to just carry on with this.

Researcher: it sounds like the goals and the dreams are really important for you. Like as though it is a real pull.

Tony: yeah. At least for a couple of hours every day in my cell when I am not listening to music or watching TV I am always thinking, "I will do this when I get out, or I will do that". It is a long time before I get there but it is still good to

think about it and not to leave it. It is better to have it all planned out and I have a book where I write down what I want to do for clothes, what I want to do for music. When I get out I will get right into it. I will hit the studio the first day out. That's it.

Researcher: okay, thank you very much for talking to me. I appreciate it very much.

Duration: 10:52

Staff Interview 1

This interview was conducted on Wednesday, November 15, 2006.

Researcher: Megan, thank you very much for your willingness to participate in this study and what I would like you to do is to think about people that you've known who you think have been ready for change, serious about making positive life change, and what it is that made you think that they were ready. What were the indicators that suggested to you that they were ready, serious about making some change and moving on in their life in positive ways? And think about other people who you've known over time that you don't think were serious and what was it about their behaviour or about their attitudes that made you feel that they were not serious about make in positive life change.

Megan: right. One thing I've noticed is that some people make a very quick decision. It is as if they do a complete reverse to what they were. Other people come to it very slowly, and both can be, from what I have observed, quite genuine changes. Whether they have been abrupt or whether they have come on slowly. Today a young man appeared before me and remembered me and I could remember his face and he had been with us three years ago and I saw him again today. I thought he had reoffended but he hadn't, he had been in the system the whole time, had been moved around to a total of six different centres, which goes against the poor fellow trying to do anything for himself and you could see that he had started at various levels of literacy and had not been able to carry through. He started speaking in such a way that I thought, " hello, this isn't the

cheeky nuisance that I used to know." This sort of laughed when he met me and he said, "do you remember me?", and I did. Fresh memories sprung to mind. But he was quite different, he was able to sit and sit comfortably and quietly. Two points of time he didn't, at one point he jiggled his hands and another point of time he slightly rocked in his chair but all the time he was deeply reflecting on where he was at. At one point of time he spontaneously and not in any way to impress, it didn't have that flavour about it, he was almost ruminating to himself and he didn't even complain that he had been shuffled around the system and the game that sometimes gets played with the inmates and he had had a bad run and they need to move someone on because they need to make more room for someone else more pressing, he just tried again each time that he reached a new centre and he seemed quite pleased to be back here. He was explaining to me that he heard about the new compulsory drug court jail and he went away and thought about that and he thought, "that's really the thing for me". I said, "what makes you think so?". So he ran through his reasons and they sounded pretty good and I spent some time with him and I said, "supposing you put it on paper." He sat down and wrote down his reasons why he'd like to be selected for it and I gave him a copy and dated it and I said that I had deliberately given him a carbon copy so that people can't think that you have just added today's date on it to look good. I suggested he goes back and speak with one of the chaplains about his possible chances and follow-through further when it. But his whole manner and demeanour was almost the complete opposite from what it was when he was in before. He was almost a larrikin, looking for the fun of the moment, and now he is a man who is realising that if he were to be let out tomorrow he will probably eventually go straight back to what he used to do before, which is take drugs and

alcohol and then punch somebody out, without even realising what he is doing half the time. Today he was very glad that he wasn't in that position and that if he could get more help he felt that he could really beat these daemons. As he said, he has tried often enough to hold on hard to his anger, and he has got good reasons for it, but he said it eventually breaks down, he eventually takes some grog so the only thing he can do is to get right off the grog.

Researcher: this is an interesting story because here is a man that you have seen actually change over that period of three years, he is different to what he was before, and now he is looking into the future and he wants to continue that change process. When you think back to him three years ago did he give you any indications that he was a change process?

Megan: no. You could not have spotted it. He was just a young fellow getting into mischief, life was boring and he would get up to mischief or cheek most of the time you would let him in. He was likeable enough but you just knew that he wasn't settled and he just bounced around from one activity to another. Today he came in because he had very recently arrived here again and he thought, "I'll give it another go". I got the file that had been sent on from his most recent centre and I just let him talk, in what I would describe as a settled state of mind. If he can get into this drug court centre he will receive lot of the help he needs and as I see him today he is fully receptive and hungry for, not just education, but help with anger, help with being able to get on with people even though they pressed the wrong buttons and ready to settle down and do things. When I asked him would he like to write his thoughts down, he didn't hesitate. Now many men,

particularly youngish men, look at you and think, "here we go again, I have to write something", and you can feel it. He was eager to write it and he actually expressed himself quite well. We talked about it and he asked if I had any connections and whether I could get any material for him and I said, "you go through the person who mentioned it to you and he may have something, I don't have anything that I could give you". If I met any of those people I would try to find out something more for him. He was just so refreshingly different, not as much fun but with many more hopes and building blocks for the future. And I believe that if he can get help at this point of time, the sort of help he needs, he has a very good chance of not offending again.

Researcher: was he aware that you saw a lot of difference in him?

Megan: yes, because I actually said it. I said, "you are a bit different to what you were", and he laughed. He agreed, and I said, "you were bit of a mischief then", and he laughed and said "yes". And then he said, "but I am tired of going around, in and out, and if I had to go out and do something wrong and, in again I wouldn't try, I would have to give up. I need help, I need help in a number of areas". I didn't ask him to go into depth but he said, "I know I need help and from what Tom told me I know I can get help in that place". He has done lots of thinking. And there are a lot of others too. There was a man with whom I had a very, very tense and unpleasant confrontation. It was very unhappy for me and it was very unhappy for him and we were under full observation from three or four officers. I had to carry out the thing is required of me which was to destroy all his unlawfully held things, including the paint. The officer called me around and

asked what I am going to do and I said that we have to get rid of it all of course. He had come back from some other prison with all this stuff. So I sent for him, because I had to question him, and I asked the officer where he is and the officer said, "in his cell painting pretty flowers on the wall to make it pretty". I tried not to laugh and we sent for the poor fellow and I had to ask him where all his things were, and he wouldn't tell me. He told me that he had pieces of paper that said that he could keep these things and I told him they were from a different prison, and that they are not allowed here, and that we had to remove them and destroy them in his presence. He was quite a giant of a man and when I saw him turn up at the gate two or three weeks later I thought, "hello, hello", but he stood back until everyone else had come in and then he approached quietly and asked if he could come in and use the library. This happened several times and he asked if he could book in for courses again and I said yes. One of those occasions when there was no one around he said, "I wish to say I am sorry." I said, "I am sorry too and if you had have explained more to me I may have been able to help you. But if you can't come clean with me I have no ground to stand on and I am also very sorry". And I was very sorry, I didn't like seeing all that work go. From that episode on very quickly the man was claimed by industry again because he was a very good work of there and he moved over to our area and settled down and the courses. He turned out to be, I think, their top man in that particular shop and he went through a number of certificates run by TAFE. He has stuck loyally to his partner and her two children, whom he loves dearly as his own, I think he has to others somewhere else in Australia, and he stood differently, he looked different, he behaved differently. It was as if he had had a bath and had come out clean. At Christmas time when his TAFE results came back I went to the shop

and handed them out and I came to his shop and I looked at him and I said, "I am so proud of you, the changes you have made", and both of us were close to tears. ... And he gave me a big hug and said, "I had to change and I knew it and I have made it and I promise you I will never go back." I said, "it doesn't matter to me, it's for you and your family." He said, "my woman has stuck to me through thick and thin, I love my kids and I am never, never going down that path again." He has now moved on and he has moved on with excellent work reports and he will be snapped up anywhere. I think he did the whole thing in one swift move because a few weeks before when he had been in our area, before he went to a country centre to answer charges there and go to court up there, and he came back with all its collection of stuff he had, he was quietly belligerent. He thought he knew his rights, no he didn't want that class he'd have this class. When he did this huge turnaround he was quite, soft, and gentle but no way a sissy. He had this quiet dignity about him and the other inmates respected him. Work always sent for him and wanted him and couldn't do without him and I saw some of the beautiful things he had created in industry. It was absolutely wonderfully refreshing and encouraging to me to see how an inmate changes.

Researcher: so in his story, what do you think were the main catalysts for his change?

Megan: I think it all came quickly that night. He decided that he couldn't fool the system, that systems are put in place to correct whatever is wrong and even kind people have to keep rules. Don't bend them, you can't buy people off, you reach certain situations where you certainly can't buy people or threaten people

or refuse requests. It gets beyond that and the rules takeover and I think he must have done 10 or 20 years of rethinking in one night. The very first time he came over in the following weeks, perhaps about two weeks after that incident, he came in very quietly and in a very dignified manner and asked could he use the library. It was only a short time after that that he apologised to me.

Researcher: so was it that he stopped fighting against the system?

Megan: I think you stopped fighting against life. He saw where he was fitting into it and not fit in. I think he did a self evaluation because the change was so very complete. He dropped his overconfident and brazen manner. He was a big fellow and the tendency of fellows with big chests is to stand and look very big, they stick their chests out and he dropped all those habits, he just looked unaffected, quiet, which he was. The new man was quiet, he didn't need to announce himself, he didn't need to paint walls in his cell, he was just himself.

Researcher: so how long after that change event happened was it that you lost contact with him?

Megan: a few months later. He stayed on that wonderful path and he stayed on with industries and did well. I think he was the head man there. And there are many others who make attempts at changes but don't get there. There is always hope for them if they concede that they have gone wrong and they want to try again. I never knocked them back, especially the poor fellows who come in and say, "I am in again", and I think "you poor old thing". Some of them really do

make enormous efforts to change. The ones who don't tend to be undisciplined ones and not particularly intelligent. It is hard to pinpoint it but certainly undisciplined within themselves and they think that anything goes and I can express my emotions whenever I like and however I like. Lot of young ones seem to have a lack of the timeframe, they can't seem to project the future. They think that it can start the day after tomorrow or when I get my sentence or see how bad it is or if I can go and live with my mum again I might be safe and try again. Quite often it's probably the last place they should be living. There are a whole lot of things but the two cases I've mentioned, for one change has taken place over a period of three years and he has been thinking and thinking and I suppose that even all the moves and being disrupted so much he realised that unless he can get something stable and stick at it is not going to do much. But he hasn't ended up angry about it he is just determined to give it a good go and really try getting help if he can get it. He also indicated that if he couldn't get it he is not going to give up but he would really like to try hard for this. The other one was such a huge change. I realised that the change had taken place when he turned up in the next couple of weeks at the gate. He was a totally different man, his whole stance and bearing and his nicely modulated voice and everything.

Researcher: okay we might leave it there. Thank you Megan.

Duration: 21:00

Staff Interview 2

This interview was conducted on Tuesday, October 10, 2006. The participant is a drug and alcohol counsellor.

Researcher: I would just like to thank you for your willingness to participate in this study. So you're an A&OD. worker. I'd just like you to think about this whole area of how we might identify people who might be ready for positive life change. What sort of things do you look for, what sort of clues do you get that someone you meet might in fact be ready for positive change in their lives?

Dennis: well, taking into consideration where we are, we are in remand, and you'll get people for whom this is probably their first time, and usually it is a bit of a shock to them, and others who've come in many times. With people who are in for the first time, depending on the crime, if it's drug and alcohol related, that's what I'm interested in,usually, depending on the background and support they have including education and their ability to understand the situation that there are in, I think first timers, I don't know what the percentages are, but they're a good chance not to come back. If they have the ability to think through the situation and have the support. Just from the initial shock of being in jail and seeing what happens in jail. When we move on to, again we are talking about remand people, and some of those remand people can be here for quite some time, years on remand, when we move on the people who are much more experienced with the system and with the situations or actions we've got in here, I found that some of them are quite easy to engage. Some of them just seem to

churn out information very quickly, some of them are not so easy to engage. The trick is to engage them at to find out where they're at in relation to, you know, change. And I found, just trying to keep in mind that question that you've asked about what are the signs of change, I suppose.

Researcher: yeah, what are the signs, how do you..... what gives you the impression that someone is serious about making some kind of change?

Dennis: well, I found that with people who've been back a few times, they're actually talking, "look I think this is a waste of time for me. I've got a family, sometimes the family of procreation, which particularly is very important, or I've got my family of origin and I'm sick and tired of putting my mother and father through this." And they start to talk about what they missed out on, or what they never got to do, in this case related to drug and alcohol use. The people who are able, even though it is difficult, to talk about issues that may have been avoided or they have gained some respite through their drug and alcohol because they've told me, not in so many words, that it's not stopping drugs, it's staying stopped. And when they're able to articulate or communicate in their way those issues and work through those issues and they..... sometimes they don't seem like they want to, but if you've got some communication skills in particular with this type of person, they seem just to be able to communicate. It mightn't be at that particular time but often when they ask to see you again and there is no talk about a certificate or a court report or whatever, that is a fairly good indicator that something is happening, that they're interested in talking about themselves, with someone that seems to listen. There would be other things, but that's the

track I'm on at the moment. I think if I just sum up that - when they start talking about their family of procreation or of origin, when they start talking that they've had this, that it's not doing anything for them, when they start thinking about the things that they missed out on that they might well have achieved, and they start talking about age, I think they're indicators of wanting to change.

Researcher: so these are all motivational factors?

Dennis: well, I know what you're saying there, but I suppose you'd need to define that a bit more. By motivational factors do you mean emotionally, their feelings or their emotions are affected by these things?

Researcher: well I was thinking more that these are the reasons they're either sick and tired of being in jail or they're missing their family and they're realising what they're missing out on, or they realise that they're getting too old for this game, that these are motivating factors to say, "I need to start doing something different".

Dennis: yeah, I suppose now that's clear. That is why I wanted you to define that because there are intrinsic and extrinsic motivating factors. For me, the outside influences, even though it's part of the family it's still outside of them, they are usually the precursor to intrinsic or internal dialogue and understanding of themselves. So what I'm saying is that sometimes the family will get them into thinking about things, but I think the more important part that can shift people is when they start to think about themselves.

Researcher: you talked about an intrinsic and extrinsic.....

Dennis: perhaps if I could define that a bit more, well not define it, just explain that interpersonal skills are difficult for some people and then they learn those but the intra-personal skills are things that they find hard to describe, or that they haven't got and they need to be given some tools to do that.

Researcher: you don't think that they've got a great deal of awareness oftentimes of what those intrapersonal.....

Dennis: well, it would be a guess because I haven't had an evaluation tool for that, but from experience I think there's an innate thing there but they don't know how to describe it.

Researcher: right,

Dennis: there's something there, but how do I describe that? And a lot of times they will describe that through their emotional self. They can become quite angry, not necessarily with me, maybe with themselves, but they can be quite angry and they can be quite violent. They can isolate, because that's how they deal with those issues. That's what I've found, not with everybody, but with a lot of these people.

Researcher: and when you encounter that what is there about that that makes you think that these are intrapersonal struggles that are going on that are to do with readiness?

Dennis: well, particularly that they don't articulate that very well. There may be hints of it, sometimes they will cry. And just not necessarily wanting to talk at that stage; it is a sign I think. I'm quite okay with waiting because silence builds maybe the tension, or sometimes they just need that time to think things through.

Researcher: so it's an inability to express or describe or articulate what's going on inside of them. Is that what you're saying? And it comes out in other ways, in the emotional ways, silence.....

Dennis: yeah well that's a guesstimate from me but that's my experience.... because I'm not sure myself.

Researcher: what about people who you have encountered who you don't think are really interested in changing personally? What's different about these people?

Dennis: their manner, I suppose. Although I might just say, I'm fairly optimistic about people. Unless there is some organic damage, I think given the right circumstances, the right situation, the right support, that most people can change. I could be held up for ridicule in some areas in this system because I've got that approach. But look, I tell you that if I had enough time and the situation and support was there I think that most people, you know..... you talk about

capacity, the capacity or potential to do a lot of things, but it is still theory until it is put into practice. I think that they've got that, that's a bit of a copout, but I think they've got the capacity, the potential, but it's still a theory.

Researcher: so, if I understand what you're saying, it's something like that the ability to identify readiness for change in someone else has got a lot to do with the person who is looking.

Dennis: I think so. It's is not your question, but a bit of background into what you just said. You need to be patient and you need to be respectful. You don't need to pre-empt anything, although you may offer a lead if someone's struggling. You will obviously have to go through this, because I'm thinking of things as I'm talking that are kind of adjuncts to what you are saying. In this field a lot of times the roughies get up in the favourites go down. Someone who looks perfect, is just doing what we have briefly talked about....they're telling you that everything is fine, that everything is happening, they have got this they have got that, but all it is is talk. There's no action.

Researcher: is it possible to discern that? Is it possible to pick up on the spiel that people might be giving you?

Dennis: sometimes, and there are different types of that, too. They're a good manipulator, or someone who does believe what they're telling you, but it's all theory in their head. They haven't put it into practice. That is what it seems like

because they're back and they're back and they're back. And when you talk to them they really haven't done anything. So it's about action rather than talk.

Researcher: so is that the only way you could discriminate between the people who might be seriously wanting to change and those people who are just telling a story?

Dennis: what do you mean? Do you mean if they got involved in action?

Researcher: yeah

Dennis: well no, this is just information that I've gathered through experience through talking with people but as I said at the beginning, the roughies get up a lot of the time and the favourites go down. So I could think that this person will never do well, and low and behold they do well. And I could think that this person will do exceptionally well, and then bang, they haven't done anything that they said they were going to do, in fact they've done the opposite.

Researcher: so when you talk about the roughies, what is it about the roughies that make them roughies in terms of your encounter with them?

Dennis: well, their history, the way they articulate or communicate their experiences, their bluntness, "I don't think I can do it, it's too hard for me". That's at the beginning in particular, and there are people who are isolators and

they don't need to tell you everything. But things are still happening, they have made up their mind, this is what they want to do and they go out and do it.

Researcher: in groups do you find that people change over the time that the group lasts? Have you encountered people that might be, to say negative at the beginning, and end up....?

Dennis: yeah, that environment is completely different. I mean that room in particular is different. And probably the way I facilitate the group has something to do with that, if I do a good job then fine, if I don't do a good job the group's going to show that. But my office is a respite from the pod: the group room is the same in a way, it's different and we are talking about things that have got something to do with the issues that they're here for. But when they walk back out and go back into the area, I think they've got to be politically astute to survive properly. So, I think it's fine while they're in the room and maybe they do change, I'm sure that some do. I mean I receive letters from inmates out of the blue and they talk about things, that they have changed, they're doing this and they're doing that. So I suppose that's pretty good testament that they're making changes when they're writing to you and letting you know what's going on.

Researcher: when you're talking about these people who have written to you and said that they have changed, do you recall these people as ones you thought would have changed?

Dennis: well, one in particular, the last letter I received was from someone who was in turmoil with himself. That in itself is a sign, I think; a confusion about issues.... that they're thinking and they're fighting against, I suppose, the old ways.....

Researcher: what sorts of issues was he in turmoil with?

Dennis: this is a while ago, about having the ability to change, society, the system....

Researcher: whether society and the system would allow him to change, do you mean?

Dennis: oh..... yeah, well that's a general view or a general statement that you've made. But I suppose that's right, yeah. And not necessarily him, but some people I've noticed when they're desperate they seem to get to a point where they are desperate to make a change. And that desperation is seems to get them.....

Researcher: just finally in relation to that, you started talking about coming to a remand centre, especially for people on their first occasion, to what extent do you think that the whole experience of coming to jail for the first time makes people desperate or gives people a strong motivation to change?

Dennis: well look, I've said that but sometimes when you first arrive you're going to have friends here and so it's not so bad. Again there is complications all the way through. But I just think, again I'm trying to keep the question in my mind, I think the loss of liberty when you're being told exactly when you can do things and can't do things, and it can be quite hostile, the area that you're in. So just that confrontation, depending on you, what your confidence is in yourself, if you're not a strong person mentally and physically, you could be prey for the stronger. People have been assaulted, verbally, physically, sexually and, especially the sexual assaults and the physical assaults, can be life changing. You could be unlucky and that could happen to you on your first visit to jail. Again that could be a precursor to you acting out and coming back to jail, when you never had that intention in the first place.

Researcher: could any of those events be a precursor to a positive change?

Dennis: well you would think maybe, yes. I think it could, yeah. If you were assaulted, if someone was standing over you, if you're under that psychological pressure, especially if there's a few of them and you know and you might even see something happen. A lot of these people see things, so that could be a reason not to come back, a motivating factor not to come back.

Researcher: well thanks very much for your time. I appreciate it very much.

Duration: 21:43

Staff Interview 3

This interview was conducted on Tuesday 9 October 2006. The Participant is a communications teacher at the jail.

Researcher: this is the first interview with an education person and I would just like to welcome you and thank you for participating. Perhaps you could just tell us something about people you have known that you think are ready to change. Can tell me about someone who you think is ready to change.

Sarah: one specific person?

Researcher: yes but don't refer to them by their real name, just when you think of someone when you think of someone who is ready to change what sorts of things to you, give you the clue that that person might be ready, in your estimation?

Sarah: a bit of self-awareness and not seeing things so much in black-and-white. So they may have stopped making statements such as, " all prison officers are scum and that's the way everyone sees it." So, they aren't actually thinking in a linear way and there are actually aware of the differences between people and they can bring it into their conversation. In the example I gave, they can say, 'well that's that person's job and because that's their job that creates the role of, say, hostility with the inmates', where they're, they're not totally centred in their own experience and that's how the world is. So, little clues might be that there

are open to new information and they're interested and they want to think about it. So they realise they've been stuck somewhere and they want to move on, they don't want to recycle the same stories so they are actually looking for points. And it could be even... a course, it could be a different job, it could be actually thinking about something they haven't done before. You know, even if they're at the start of that process ...they'll be alert to cues and to openings.

Researcher: and what do you think causes people to get stuck?

Sarah: um..... well we all get stuck somewhere. I think it's reliving the same story and going... and doing exactly the same things. So, for example, if I'm walking down a street in a new town I might want to look to see where the library is, whether it's got a gym, things like that. I might look for different things, but say I was, say I was a drug user, I would probably spot other drug users or dealers. I'd be cued in to observe that, like it would be something I would take from the environment and focus on. And if I wasn't used to focusing elsewhere it would be very, very difficult to do, so often I think they live a story and see that as reality. It is an external reality imposed on them and they just keep doing exactly the same thing, and the story continues to recreate itself over and over again. And even if someone actually challenges that reality.... goes, "well no", the person will work harder to prove that it's actually right and give you all this evidence to show you that this is the way the world is, this is how I am poorly treated, this is why what's happened to me is unjust and it's almost like they fight to stay where they are when something else appears to them. And I suppose it's because it discounts everything that has gone before. So I think

sometimes the awareness comes in, "oh, if I do that, that's going to happen". Or it's more an honesty about it.... "I know exactly what I'm doing and what will happen."

Researcher: do you think that coming to jail, the whole jail experience, makes people more open to that honesty, that awareness?

Sarah: ah..... not necessarily, because a lot of the stories that people live are reinforced in the yard by other stories that are the same. So in the example I gave of the prison officer, the inmates will go, "yeah, that's right, they've done this, they've held us up at the gate, they abused me, they did this... and even in a class the other day I had an example of someone going, "yeah, but some of them are alright"..... "nup, mate, they're all dogs."..... "but that's their job"..... "nup".. and then the others jumped in with more, so I think the story they're stuck in is similar to the stories of everyone around them and its reinforced, and when they want to find an opening in jail, I suppose there's education and welfare and certain places where they can do that, or maybe through reading lots of things but maybe having someone.....(interruption)..... so I think on the other hand they're exposed to lots of people who reinforce and see reality the same way. But I think on the other hand, they're exposed to programs where there's opportunities for growth and change. So they're exposed to, say, the expensive programs that someone might pay a fortune to do on the outside in self development, and its whether they just use it as rhetoric, you know, they know the lines, the script and they sit in class and that, or whether they actually grasped hold of something in it and try it or think about it.

Researcher: okay, so..... firstly, what is it that makes people start to question that story? In terms of inmates that you've encountered, how do you know that they are questioning their story that they've lived with for a long time, that makes them ready to question that story; what makes them open to question that story?

Sarah: well, I think some of it is age. I think as people get older and tired, this is with one group, and look back on what they have achieved, or haven't, they may realise that they just haven't the energy for that lifestyle or they're watching younger people in the same lifestyle and there's seeing it from a bit of a distance and they just go, " haven't got the energy". So, you know, they change in a way that they grow out of it. I think maybe other people get bored know it becomes too painful or they find points of differences between themselves and the people they're with. And it can be an interest, a hobby, an attitude or something but they maintain a little bit of difference there. So I think that sometimes it can just start with a single thought that opens their awareness. Sometimes it's accidental. Sometimes..... I've come across people who I thought were just totally stuck and then they've read something or spoken to someone or something in their life has happened, maybe a child's got..... can I give you an example?

Researcher: yes, not the real name though.

Sarah: no, I had a group of people when I was doing stress management, depression, and anxiety, and this young guy in his 20s said to me, " DOCS only take the kids who are well dressed." I wrote that on the board blazing red, and I said, "we're going to stay with that the whole session, DOCS only take the kids

who are well dressed.".... "yeah, yeah, DOCS are this DOCS are that...."anyway, so I said, "okay, give me examples of why you think...."... "well, my kids were really well dressed, my kids always went to school...", I took everything he said about being a good father and put it up there, and I went, you know, where forgetting something, and he went, what? I said, "well, you are in jail". I said we have to put everything..... so in jail, why? "You know, I bashed their mother unconscious in front of them." I said, "well we need to add these things to of this, you know, your kids..... you had a business". So we put the whole lot up there and we were looking at it and I said, "well, if they were someone else's kids would you be worried about that?" But what it was, we role-played how he was acting with DOCS. He was just ignoring them, being rude to them, being aggressive, etc,"so what are they seeing? You're in here for that", and we worked right through this and the class got involved in the whole thing. So we looked at what he was doing wasn't helping him to get his kids and he actually took sole care of them for a couple of years by himself in this process. And he thought about it and he went, "oh yeah", and he came to me later, and I saw him as someone who had come a long way, and he said, "I wrote to the DOCS officer and I told her I understood why the kids had been removed because of my behaviour and concerns for their safety and I said, 'but I'm really missing them and I haven't seen them while I've been in jail so could I organise a visit?'" And he actually started to get visits with his kids whereas before he'd..... he was really, he was really stoked, I can think of two examples..... Ultra, ultra stoked. He was building a relationship, and he did it. He actually wrote this letter and he changed a behaviour and he had to change how he was seeing. And, you know, things were working out for him. Another example

was, this guy I worked with in groups, his 17-year-old son tried to commit suicide. And this guy used to talk about a belief that he was nothing, he would never amount to anything and he was a screwed up father. You know, he was hopeless as a father. When his young boy had the suicide attempt the boy's mother wanted him involved in counselling and in group he was saying that all he saw was his own failure as a father when he looked at this 17-year-old boy. And all he wanted to do was get out of it and run like hell. He didn't want to see him, he didn't want to face it, he didn't want to do.... so we looked at this. We drew it all up on the board and I said, "okay, so you're in a lot of pain and you're looking at your boy at the moment as your failure. This is the evidence that you've failed as a father. So what are you going to do?"..... "I'm just going to stay in myself, I just can't deal with it."So I got to him to work through what staying in himself would be, and he went, "well, it would show that time a stuffed father, I'm not going to participate in and talk to him and that". So after a.... we talked, and I know also that Welfare was also working with him, and we just happened to do his scenario in that group and he actually did engage with his son and he told him that he loved him and that..... so that was a positive step for this guy because he became aware that he was seeing his son as evidence of his own failure and he was responding to that. For him actually to go knowing that, and it was uncomfortable, and engage in a bit of family therapy and to work through it.....

Researcher: so they were both crisis situations really, the father who had to address the son's issues, and then the first story of a father who was in the crisis of not having contact with his children.....

Sarah: the second was a crisis situation, it was immediate, it happened, the other one was a long-term pattern that he'd just established. He'd been in jail for.... you know, by that time he was in minimum, he'd been in jail for a while and he hadn't had contact with the kids and he'd just set up in his head that it was DOCS. They were the ones doing it and he had that statement, "they only take the well dressed kids", so he wasn't taking any responsibility in that. So that was more that he had a bit of a glimpse into how he was contributing to not seeing his kids. In fact, you know, creating it a lot. And when he actually tried the other thing..... what I see sometimes is little things like someone who might abuse someone on the phone. You know, they'll say they thought about something prior to it..... I think rather than sweeping life changes, it is taking these little steps and then getting excited about it. Like, "wow, that actually works, I did something different, I thought about it differently and, yeah.... and it had a positive outcome. It was like out there changed as I changed."

Researcher: and what about people who remain stuck, who have the possibilities of enlightenment but don't respond to that? What's going on for them?

Sarah: well, I think there's a lot of safety in remaining stuck. Even if you're stuck in the thought that you're a failure, it's all hopeless, and it may be absolutely miserable but..... there's a lot of fear linked to..... it's known, it is safe.... to actually being somewhere else, doing something.... there could even be fear of going back there. Someone might be stuck coming into jail all the time but they know it and there's a certain fear in being somewhere else. It's unknown.

Researcher: can you think of any examples of people who have been stuck and haven't wanted to move on or haven't been ready to change and how you've recognized that?

Sarah: oh heaps and heaps. It's not that they rationalise jail as a good place but they are adamant that their point of view is right and it's the only one and that's how it is. And blame is a massive one, I think. When the person can't even see themselves in the picture and they're blaming someone else and they stay rationalised on that thought and they just don't want to know any other thought, or they stay with theirs.... it's almost like you get caught into the argument.... if you're arguing in there you feel a bit crazy.... and you have to step out. So I think that's a biggie because when someone is stuck somewhere someone can only enter that space for a short-term and then you have to exit because you're in somewhere that feels really uncomfortable. The more stuck they are, I think, the less open they are to having anyone work with them and the less people, in a sense, want to work with them because it's so intensive. I think a lot of it is the thinking patterns that they've developed. Some of them go and see the Chaplain. Some of them have some sort of spiritual awareness, they might go to their service or what not and they have some sort of peaceful experience that's out of sync and they might just.... yeah. They might go with that, especially if there's a peer group there supporting them. It can be on any level.

Researcher: okay, thank you very much for your time.

Sarah: you're welcome. Interview duration: 17:06

Staff Interview 4

This interview was conducted on Thursday, November 16, 2006. The participant is a teacher.

Researcher: okay Andrew, thank you very much for your willingness to participate in this study and I'd like you to think about some people you've known who you think have been ready for change and what sort of things about them made you think that they were ready, and then some people who you thought weren't ready for change and what it is about those people that gave you the impression that they're not really serious about doing anything positive.

Andrew: I have worked for corrections for six years now and Parklea for almost 4 of those years and in that time I have come across quite a lot of different inmates going through difficult times in their life. So while I teach a vocational course here, Information Technology, there have been a lot of times where I have been able to talk to inmates about their life and also about their crime. This has often happened in a one-on-one situation but some times some guys who knew each other, we would talk in a group as well. I think in corrections a lot of guys when they come here to prison are going through a real low in their life and with them I see, the guys that I have seen just as a bit of an introduction before I talk about specific guys, I see that there are two choices that they have. Some of them, it's obviously a low in their life, and they say, "well, I am not getting anywhere and the things that I have done in my life have come to this. I am on my own, I have hurt my family or I have lost friends and so on", and I think that

is a motivator for them to be ready for change there. They may choose then to go on another path. The other is that I have seen, and I think this is probably the majority, have come to the same situation but they instead justify it, you know, their actions. They say, "it wasn't really my fault. Maybe next time I will find a better way to get away with what I am doing." I think that's the two base points. If I could start by looking at those who do not particularly want to change. As I have said, I have met many of those. When I was working with sex offenders I found that there were many who believed that their actions and their crime was okay. And I think that if you do not believe that you have a problem, you are not going to change. I remember once there was a group of guys and they were just talking amongst themselves and an inmate that I didn't particularly like, he had been doing the course on and off, was saying in a conversation with some of the other inmates, "oh, they all want it. Even when they are 2". He was talking about women, and I thought that it was obvious what this guy's crime is. If you think it is okay, then you will not change. And many of the guys I have seen are like that. So I suppose the first point is that I would like to make in recognizing whether people are going to be ready to change is that they need to recognize that they have a problem. That what they are doing is wrong, they believe that what they are doing is wrong. Many of the inmates think that what they have done is okay or it's justified because of the circumstances that they were in. They have excuses, they have reasons and they feel that these justify their crime. Like a guy I came across once, a guy called Mark. He was a guy who had been in prison since he was about 17. He had been involved in juvenile crime. His dad was a gangster, he said, and he remembers as a young boy he would open a closet and inside were all these machineguns and weapons that his dad had at home. His

family was a Catholic family but he gave up God when his father and mother had died. I think he was still close to them and looked up to them. He said he started off by doing petty theft and then stealing cars and then he began robbing banks in Queensland and in New South Wales. While in prison in Queensland he and another inmates were seriously assaulted by other prison inmates and they used some weapons and he was stabbed a number of times. He ended up being in hospital fighting for his life but he pulled through, but he lost a lung and his spleen as a result. Mark had about six children to two different women over his life. He did get some qualifications, but only in jail. He got his chefs licence and worked in restaurants and he tried to go straight for periods of time but the lure of easy money and robbing drug dealers, which he started to do later on, which he thought was okay anyway because they were bad guys. The trouble with that was that when he got out he had to carry a weapon on him in case one of these drug dealers took revenge and got back at him. But Mark always felt that the police had done him wrong, that many of the police were corrupt. He felt that though he had a good time, is now in his 40s but he looks probably 10 years older than that, he recognizes now that he is getting old and he has tried to stay away from his old crowd. He tried to move to the Central Coast for a while but then he went down to Parramatta and got together with some of his old gang. He ended up having a bet with a guy playing pool and he won the pool game so the bloke owed him \$100 but he didn't pay him. So later on he went out with his mates, they were a bit drunk, and he saw this guy walk past further down and he went after him. They had an altercation and the assaulted him and he ended up back in jail again. He was on parole at the time, he had been out for about six weeks. I don't think Mark wants to be in jail and he didn't want to return to jail

and he doesn't want to be here too long, but he does hope to get out and get together with his family so that they can be together again. He has got some young daughters, but on the outside he has made many enemies and I don't believe that he will change unless he comes to a deep realisation that his actions are wrong. Although one of the things that could bring him to change I see with him at the moment, one of the motivators for Mark, is that his body may not be able to endure the lifestyle that he led in the past. Also there is a desire to be with his daughter and wife and this may be a motivator that will get him to look at alternatives. He is one of those guys.... I think one of the other identifiers that I've seen in some of these inmates as a motivator for change is a desire to want to change from what you are doing currently to go to another way, things like family. Some guys say, "I've got family, children and things like that. I need to get my life together", and that can be a motivator for them as readiness for change. An inmate called Lee I have been talking to at one time. He was a guy who was born of young parents, his mother was only about 15 when she had him and I think his father was 16. They lived in New Zealand at the time and they had a battle in their relationship that obviously went on for a few years because they were young and all the issues that went around that. This was probably back in the 60s too when it wasn't a common thing. Eventually the relationship between his parents broke up after a few years and young Lee went with his mother and came to Australia and he grew up in a single-parent family. As a teenager he developed depression and he started to experiment with drugs. The drugs helped him to escape from the depression and alleviated it. He chose a variety of drugs he experimented with. But through all this he did complete a mechanical apprenticeship, became a mechanic and he went to the United States

and met a girl in New York. She was also into the drug scene over there in New York and he ended up staying with her for some time and eventually married her. They were together for a turbulent seven years and had two children. The wife continued drug taking and it is an addict and the children were taken off her and given to some of her family who are looking after them. He came to Australia, back to Australia and was using drugs and started a new relationship. He also held down a job whilst he was doing this. He was working with Mercedes-Benz so he must be a pretty good mechanic. He was in jail because he had a severe domestic violence crime with his partner. He bashed her and fractured her skull with some dumb bells, he was telling me. He said he was under the influence of drugs at the time. But Lee indicated to me that what he did was wrong, he felt that what he did was wrong and he was very sorry for what had happened and has since been reconciled as friends with the woman that he hurt. He got a few years for the crime. She has forgiven him and he seems to have a real desire to change and to make a difference in his life. A factor in Lee's turnaround may be whether he gets custody of his two children, he has applied for custody of his children in the United States and he is seeking permission from corrections when he does get out, when he is on parole, to go over there so that he can get custody of his children and bring them back to Australia. He has the support of his mother and his brother and so on. This may be a significant factor in his turning and leading a new path. He has got a job when he gets out and he also has a family who will support him. Lee feels that he also needs to get right with his creator and he seeks what he calls in his words, "a more spiritual path". He feels that he needs to go on a more spiritual path. From the inmates that I have met, I think that some of them who are ready for change, for real life change, the

spiritual area seems to be a significant factor with them. A spiritual encounter with their god. I think that's why organisations like AA depend upon a higher power, a god, to give us the power to change. To recognize that I have sinned against other people, but ultimately I have sinned against my creator, broken his laws, not just the laws of men. Because I see in a lot of ways these guys look at the justice system and they say that these are the laws of men. Then they look at the police and they see the compromise in the police or they look at the lawyers who are taking their cases or the judges that are judging them and they're saying that the way these guys administer justice, there is hypocrisy in the justice system, they don't do the right thing, they always look at the worst-case scenarios obviously. The most corrupt and vicious cop is always highlighted when you do talk to them. Or the incompetent lawyer who doesn't really care about them anyway. And may be a lot of these cases are true. But the ones that I've met who have recognize God or Christ and who can see that God is above that and that there is no hypocrisy in him, when they see God who is above all and is the final judge, then they are more likely to submit to him and I think that is a motivator for change in their life. An example of that is a guy called Alan. Allen had been in for malicious wounding causing grievous bodily harm. Allen had grown up in a Samoan Christian family but had gone away from Christian things and he had dabbled in drugs and eventually assaulted someone seriously. He had spent a number of years in jail and it was his first offence, the first time he was in jail. But there was a downward path after he had left his church and his community and had gone into other things. He was living with a girl who did love him and I think she has still stuck by him through all this time. He recognizes in his life now through the prison experience that what he did was

wrong and that he had been going down the wrong path and was doing the wrong thing and for him jail was a real low point. It has given him time to think, he said, about his life and where he wants to go. He is a guy who is only about 30, so he is a fairly young bloke and he is quite sorry, even repentant about what happened. He wants to make it right. He recognizes that if he doesn't stop drugs, he is obviously stopped that now that is in jail, and change his attitude, he is going to waste his life and obviously hurt the lives of those around him and he is sorry for what has happened. He is sorry about what he has done to his family and done to his fiancée and the community. He feels that they want him to succeed and he knows that he cannot make another mistake like that again. Also he said that he wants to get his life right with God and do what would please God. So that is an example there were all these things are factors motivating towards change. So I have said so far that these inmates need to recognize that they have a problem and that what they have done is wrong. I think that when they come to that point that it is a starting point in readiness. Then they need a desire and a decision, I guess a strong enough desire and a decision then to want to change. I think also be the real life change is a spiritual encounter with God and a genuine motivator to stay in that change, depending on someone who is stronger and higher than anyone else and who has real power to help and who knows me better than I know myself. And I think the fourth factor is that they need to see a future, that they have a future and hope. They need to see something in the future that there is a future for them. They need to see that there is light at the end of the tunnel, people who will support them on the outside so that they're not on their own. Something to look forward to, a family to look forward to go back to, who they can do things for, a job, all those things.

I think that in our increasing secular individualistic society we have become more isolated relationally and when people in the past used to live in villages and probably the church, particularly in western countries, was a central part of the social fabric, and it goes back to who we hang around with, we are going to be like. If you want to soar with the Eagles then don't walk with the turkeys. That kind of thing. A lot of the people or associates that these guys have often brings them down. The guys I have mentioned, like Mark, when he gets out his going to be with his mates and that is why it is very difficult for these guys. There are pulls in different directions. The last guy I will talk about is a guy called Chris and he is a guy who got in with the wrong crowd and things went wrong in his work. He was seriously hurt, he had a back injury and he had to give his back fused. He was in a lot of pain and got an insurance payout but he wasn't doing a lot in his life. He got in involved in this wrong crowd and he ended up breaking into a house and stole some costly items and was caught red-handed. He was actually be trade by the guys who were getting him to do the work. They were eventually found out and court as well but he spent a number of years in jail. Chris is a guy I see who is pretty motivated to change. He realises that what he did was wrong, he really regrets what he has done. He has a son and a wife and he has spent a lot of time away from them. Again he is someone who has sought something deeper in his life, he has sought to get right with God and depend upon a higher source as well. He is a guy that has displayed some of these characteristics in his readiness for change and he has on the outside a support network of people who love him and he wants to move off in a different direction. I worked with some guys when I first came to Parklea, the STG. These guys were very hardened criminals and is interesting comparing them to

sum of the regular guys that we see. I think with these guys they particularly felt that they were right and everyone else was wrong. That is the sort of hardened criminal that they get. And although there was this privileges and sanctions sort of thing that they were trying to do to break patterns with these kinds of guys, I felt that a lot of them were just playing the system to get along and get the things that they want. I think that with some guys like this, from what I have seen in my experience, it is like their consciences are seared. It is very difficult for them to change because they have built a pattern and they have a paradigm that justifies their behaviour and it is very difficult for those kind of guys to break out. They feel that what they have done is okay and what they do is okay and it is the world and society that, for them, is wrong. Sometimes that paradigm may come from the way they have been brought up or whatever, or it may be a certain belief system that they have but I think for some of those guys they are not ready for change, and they may never be. That is probably some of the thoughts I have. There are many other guys I could probably go on about but that gives you a bit of an overall view.

Researcher: that's fantastic. Thanks very much Andrew.

Duration: 24:10

Staff Interview 5

This interview with a custodial officer was conducted on Wednesday the 15th of November 2006.

Researcher: Mark thank you for your willingness to participate in this interview. What I would like you to do is just to think about some inmates that you have known here and think about them into categories: the people who you think were ready for life change, people who you got the impression was serious about changing and wanting to move on in positive ways in their lives, and think about what it was that made you think that those people were ready, were serious about it. How did they demonstrate that to you or how did you pick it up? Should then also think about people who you think probably aren't that serious about change, maybe they are happy with life as it is now and apart from getting out of here than it really want to do too many things different, and what it is about those people that makes you think that's the way they are.

Mark: I have only been in this jail now for nearly 2 years so I haven't got a lot of experience but what I've seen or noticed is that there are two categories, as you have mentioned. First, the ones that do want to make change, I have come across a few of those in the print shop, that's basically what I see because I am based in the print shop. There are two still here now, two that I'm going to talk about. What I have seen.... tells me that when he gets out he is going to basically not come back in here for whatever reason. What I have seen is the way he talks about his family..... there is a lot of remorse for what is done. He wants to

better himself, he is talking about getting employment, full-time employment and apparently his employer does come and see him every once in a while, his old employer. He has a strong family based and they seem to be nurturing the release and making sure that he will have a business when he gets out. Just on a personal level here in the print shop, he appears to be, and not just appears, he is, polite, courteous, takes directions, never rude, always seems to be happy. He is a pleasure to deal with. I have only ever seen him depressed a couple of times since being here and he soon got out of that. He has been here for all the time that I have been here and I have never seen him not follow directions. I will move on to the second person. Again, he is everything that the last guy was, applies to this bloke. He is a younger inmate, probably early 20s, he is educated, articulate, understands what needs to be done so there is a level of intelligence there, pre-empts situations, sometimes is not motivated for reasons only associated with being incarcerated..... something may be going on in the wing, or something like that. It gets sorted out pretty quickly and is back on track. When he talks about getting out he talks about jobs he's done in the past and what he can get out there and do when he leaves. He is a bit impressionable but he seems to also have a strong family base. Not much ties there with his father but the family base he has got is pretty tight. He talks about his grandparents a lot. The bottom line is that if the family is not there when they get out, I think that if there is no family base there when they get out, or at least a very strong friend, they are going to go back and to what they were doing before. Now the other category, there is quite a few here that just turn up because they have got to have a job and they get paid so many dollars for it which does their buy ups. While they're here they don't do much until they are threatened or it looks like

they're going to be threatened or a warning at least, then all of a sudden it's 100 miles an hour and that goes down to zero in about two days and then they go back doing what they were doing. Then there is a third group actually too. One bloke here is very intelligent, again that does everything you are asking to do and on the surface he is fine, he is compliant, never rude, but every now and then he will say things to other inmates. It's like a stand over sort of thing, you can see he's like the kingpin here, or at least he thinks he is. What happens is that he is indirectly trying to run some of the inmates here and some complain about what is going on. They never complain about him, they complain about the guys he gets to do things. Now, will he go back? I think he will. It's more a power thing with him.

Researcher: so the guys that you get the feeling ready for change.... what I have heard you say, Mark, is that the family is really important and it is a key factor that they have got plenty of support when they get back outside, they have got a good attitude to work, they have got a good attitude to authority, they are a self motivated people. The category of people who you don't think ready for change, they are probably going to keep doing what they have been doing before pretty unmotivated, they don't have much interest in what they are doing. But this other guy that you are mentioning, he demonstrated quite a loss of the characteristics of the first group but he didn't seem to have a real concern about the interests of other people, he was more interested in his own power.

Mark: yes, not so much in promoting himself, you never saw him walk around sort of thing but you know that he is trying to run things. It is a power sort of

thing. He fancies himself as sort of like a godfather. Nothing goes on here unless it goes through him, that sort of thing.

Researcher: so in the first category of people that you think are ready for change, what is their attitude towards other inmates?

Mark: friendly, trusting up to a point. Certain inmates, like the third category I was talking about, you see them interacting with them but only because probably of the fear. Probably because they have to, there is some sort of scam going on.

Researcher: would you say that the inmates ready for change are more interested in helping other inmates than the other groups?

Mark: yes I have noticed that. They are ready to jump in and help. There are actually quite a few here that do that. Yes, they would in that category, they do help.

Researcher: you have given me some ideas there which have been great. Are there other things that you want to say about it?

Mark: yes, the ones that are willing to change and wanting to change and wanting to make something of their lives, you can see the remorse. Another thing is they get involved in education classes here. The machine operators here, for example, they have done a TAFE course and what not and the guys who are not on the machines will do education. Sometimes we are flat out and that stops

them from going, we have to get the job done but generally you can see the ones that..... education is a factor, the motivation, the family, attitude to authority and willingness to take directions.

Researcher: and wanting to help other people, to some extent. Is this a small group of inmates about like this compared to the whole, or is it a sizable group?

Mark: probably three or four stand out, but it is a sizable group. In here there is probably one third that do not fit into that category.

Researcher: so two thirds would fit into that category of being people who want to change? I suppose that working in industries.... I mean if you didn't want to do anything you probably wouldn't put your hand up to come here, would you? You would sit out in the yard in area one.

Mark: they all want to get out of the yards. The print shop is the place to be, so that's what they put their name down for the print shop. They think it is all playing cards and chess. That happens when there is no work but when the work is on they are expected to get in there.

Researcher: okay Mark thanks very much.

Duration: 13:34

Staff Interview 6

This interview was conducted on Wednesday, November 15, 2006. The custodial officer interviewed is a long serving officer of a relatively superior rank.

Researcher: thank you John for your willingness to participate in this study. What I would like you to do is to think about people you have known here who you think have been ready for change and talk about what it was about them that made you think that they were actually serious about doing something positive in their life and moving ahead in a positive way. Then also think about the other side, people who you meet here who you don't think really ready for change, they didn't give you the sense that they're actually wanting to improve themselves. What was it about those people that made you think that they were not ready? So there's the two sides of it. Think about actual people without using their names.

John: it's something you can't pick straight off. I think you get it in on by just watching them over a number of months and that. It's just little things that you pick up, little directions they're going in and how they treat what they are doing and how they treat authority and this type of thing. Some of them are just prepared to play the game and just go along with the time factor, knowing that they are only going to get three years and our 24 years old, so three years out of their lives is not too bad. But the ones that do impact on me was one fellow was, bearing in mind that this is a remand centre now but it wasn't ways a remand centre, we had long term As here and it is maximum-security so you are getting

some bad buggers, but one bloke he was born in 1948, the same year as me, and he had spent 28 years in jail. He was definitely ready for a change because he had spent no time in jail that he had outside virtually. It was ridiculous, but he was a notorious criminal. It was just a sheer waste of time for him. He was an old fellow and I think he was just ready for the change, he had just woken up to himself. But the younger ones..... I don't know.. they are very hard to pick because they get three or four or five years, and time does not impact upon them like it does on an old fellow. You can't pick them, you really can't pick them. You have just got to observe them and pick up on the little things and how they apply themselves. In the print shop, even, how keen are they to learn or are they just doing it to fill in the day? This type of thing. It's a lot of little things, it's not just one thing. Its observation on our part too and the observation is just from our side of it. We have got no impact upon their sentencing remissions or anything like that. Just observations, they are on the telephone and they're ringing home and they're missing the kids. Like one fellow flies in here at each morning, he is the first on the phone five days out of five. He just wants to say goodbye to his kids before they go to school. There is no way in the world that bloke is going to be back in jail just because of the family impact. That is an observation. He's only young, he has got a young family and that. Another old Asian fellow, who is obviously a big wig in this crime family, it has really impacted upon him but I get the impression that he is so entangled in that even if he wanted to get out he can't get out. He is right up the food chain, but he is doing it extremely hard. He gravitates to me a little bit because of the fact that he doesn't want to mix with the element that he is involved with.

Researcher: so he is really trapped in it and he can't get out of it because he is too far up the chain.

John: yeah. Again these are observations I haven't seen any records or anything so I... but he is doing it extremely hard and missing his family. The family has got a big impact on it, mothers and fathers and that. I get with the younger ones and try to convince them that jail is not hard, it is just a sheer waste of time. Time at 25 is different to time at 55. Five years at 55 is a lot longer than five years at 25. I try to explain that and some of them you get through to but others you don't know if they are just pissing in your pocket. I play their wages each week so they don't tend to upset me or....

Researcher: so the ones that it gets through to, why do you reckon it gets through to some and not others?

John: I don't know. Jails are good in one respect. They are not hard places but they get plenty of time to reflect. We have got older fellow here at the moment and he has worked it all out and it has come to him that he made one wrong decision at the wrong time. He said yes when he should have said no. And that is going to get him eight to 10 years. It's terrible because I think it's probably the only thing he has done wrong in his life really. This seems to me to be quite a good living type of person and he has got a family structure around him. He knows that he has done wrong and he realises that he has got to pay a penalty for it, but it is just one wrong decision at the wrong time.

Researcher: and a bloke like the other fellow who was born in 1948 and spent 28 years in jail, for an older fellow like that what does positive life change mean for him?

John: he and I are gone quite well together, and I don't know about positive life change but the things he used to reflect on, he didn't want too much, he just used to want to walk along the beach with his shoes off in the sand. It used to get me, when I was on holidays I was doing the same thing and it didn't mean that much to me (laughs). All I could think of was, "when we have finished this will go down to the club for tea". But that is all he wanted to do. But as far as what it meant to him....

Researcher: but I suppose that is what it means to him, I suppose.

John: I suppose so, yeah..... he didn't want much and he wasn't going to have much. I have always said that I don't mind getting old and that but I don't want to be old and poor. You structure your life so that when you do retire at least you own your own home and you've got a few investments and you can go on a trip or a holiday whenever you wish. Live within your means and that..... but some people, their ambition is just a walk along the beach.

Researcher: I suppose that if you spend 28 years in jail not being able to walk along the beach, then walking along the beach is sort of like winning the lottery.

John: yeah. No bars or anything, no screws looking over your shoulder.

Researcher: and what about the people who you don't think ready for change?
How are they different from the others?

John: I think they are smarter than the others, smarter with you.....

Researcher: you mean their attitude to authority is not as good?

John: yeah..... no, that's wrong..... I think their attitude to authority is the same as the others but they are more playing the game than really deep down sincere....

Researcher: going through the motions....

John: yeah. You know the ones that have been around before, you see we know the ones that have been around before by usually their MIN numbers. That tells us a lot. I like getting new ones, one only time fellows because you can have some impact upon them. But things have changed in this jail. We used to be Young Offenders and when I joined this job Parklea was a Young Offenders jail. I felt we did some good, especially in the print shop with young offenders because I had about four very good officers and they were good with the kids. The kids were aware of this and they took it up and we did a lot of good with young offenders in the print unit here in Parklea. The metal shop didn't like them, the cabinet shop didn't like them but we loved the young offenders. They were good. Now being a remand centre you don't have them for very long either, sometimes you can only have them for a month because they have got caught on..... these industries are good for inmates in respect that it fills their day up and

I don't know about the older ones. It doesn't give them any work ethics, you get your work ethics when you're young, they come from the family. Anyone who has got work ethics has already got them before they come here. I don't think we do much good at that. We have got a lot to draw from here. Industries in these shops, I think we've only got about 150 or so and there's 800 in the jail, so we have got a lot to draw from. If they are no good, between us is weeding them out and then just not applying to work, because they don't have to work being remand, so that if they don't apply you don't see that portion that don't want to work and the ones of bad you just get rid of. The 35 that I have got in here are very good workers. I have got a bit of a bad element trying to creeping here at the moment but we will weed it out, we're right onto it at the moment so we will weed out and get some new ones.

Researcher: okay John, thanks very much for that.

Duration: 14: 50

Staff Interview 7

This interview was conducted on Friday, November 10, 2006. The participant is Leone, a psychologist.

Researcher: thank you very much for your willingness to participate in this study. What I would like you to do is to talk to me about some of the people you have known since you have been working for Corrective Services at Parklea, some examples of people whom you think have been ready for change and why you think that they were ready, what with the clues, and also some examples of people whom you thought weren't ready for change.

Leone: okay, well I have looked through my diaries with particular people in mind and I have extracted things that are common to the people to whom I will refer. Some of the things I have thought about..... I'll just start going through my list and then we can expand on things. One of the significant things I think is taking responsibility of what they have done to end up in here, their crime or whatever they've done. This is going to be confounded by what the court says they have done and what they actually say happened and of course your stuffed really because you don't know whether they are just minimising their crime or whether they're actually telling the truth. And I suppose you just get over that by the amount of contact you have with the inmate. Throughout the time that you get to know them you can actually distinguish whether they're telling the truth or not. I think they have got to realise that it is not going to be easy, this process of change isn't going to be easy. Lot of them that I see that aren't ready don't have

the kind of insight, but they think, "I'm going to stop using drugs", or "I'm going to stop being involved in crime", and they think it is that desire. That is part of it but it's not the whole thing and I think they realise that it's not going to be easy that is one of the things that I have identified. Being a psychologist, I think having insight is important and from the guys that I have seen they have a good kind of grasp of what being able to reflect on themselves and their thoughts and what they have done and what they need to do to change things. The next point I have got down is about showing appropriate emotion and there is a particular guy I think of in here who, because you are talking about different kinds of change and one of the changes I have seen him is actually being able to sit with the fact that he has had lots of traumatic experiences with his job and how that has actually affected him. So I think it's important if they can actually recognize appropriate emotion, show appropriate emotion and actually be able to sit with those emotions.

Researcher: so when you say sit with those emotions, I can you expand on what sit with those emotions means?

Leone: yeah sure. A lot of people that I see use things like drugs, alcohol, crime, avoidance techniques to shut off the experience of emotion because the emotion might be too overwhelming or too intense for them. That of course can spiral into a whole lot of other things that can negatively affect their lives. This particular person I am thinking of instead of actually using drugs and avoidance, he actually sat there and cried, talked about it, showed appropriate emotion. Sitting with a motion actually means experiencing that emotion in the here and

now without trying to avoid it or trying to stop it or do something to fight against it. Other inmates that I've seen show appropriate shame or remorse and that's involved in that too. There's another inmate I have considered and one of the biggest things I think with him changing and his process of change is he takes a lot of initiative in talking to staff, in participating in programs, in doing things for himself and for him I have seen that to be very effective. I am constrained by the fact that a lot of people that I see at the very early stages so I have actually picked out, I suppose, people have probably been more in the exceptions than the rule. A lot of people here are at that stage where they are not really ready for change. Other personal characteristics like not being selfish from what I have seen is indicative of change.

Researcher: how does that work? What you mean by that?

Leone: there is an inmate I am thinking of and he has decided to go down a particular path with a plea and from what I have seen with him that was very important to his change process because part of his decision to change and to go down this particular path was to do things for other people and do not cause other people pain. For him, doing something for other people and not looking after his own interests was really important to motivate him and spur him on and for him to make sure he is doing the right thing. I think a very big important thing for people who are ready for change is to not being crisis. The things that I see.... it is extremely hard for someone to get change process under way if they are in crisis and a lot of people in here in crisis. They are away from their family, they have got a big charge hanging over their heads. The uncertainty is too much. I

think that change process gets arrested just until court staff is dealt with. I see a huge shift when people get sentenced and classified. Absolutely huge. They're actually able to focus on future goals, reflect on themselves more, have more control over things. They absolutely feel like they have no control with all the court stuff going on. They get taken and brought back from court, they don't know whether it is going to get adjourned or not, their lawyers never ring them back. I think people who are in crisis, in that kind of legal crisis, it is very hard for any process to get under way. There might be stuffed sort of bubbling under the surface, and they're probably is, but it's hard to actually see that, it's sort of after that you see evidence of what all that court process must have had.

Researcher: it is interesting to explore this whole crisis thing because I'm doing this study within a remand centre so they are not sentenced and there is some suggestion in some of the literature that crisis inspires people to change.

Leone: oh is there

Researcher: Coming to jail, especially your first time, is very much a crisis situation but what you're saying is that there is an impeding element of that, but because of the uncertainty.....

Leone: I think it's probably right to say that the crisis, I think you said, might be an impetus but the actual process, I think the actual crisis.... look, maybe change is starting to happen but I have trouble seeing it until they are through the crisis.

Researcher: so what you are saying is that they are kind of overwhelmed by the uncertainty of their situation, by this impending court case or in pending sentence and they really can't think of anything else in a lot of cases.

Leone: yes, that's exactly right. It might be an integral part of either helping to spur them on to change and deciding to maintain change but for me it is very hard to see while they are going through that crisis. When they come through it and court's over and they're getting classed and that they are settling down I can see that some kind of change has taken place.

Researcher: do you think that whole process that we are talking about now is different for people whom you identify as ready for change as opposed to those whom you think are not ready for change, or is it the same thing?

Leone: (long pause) I think it's the same thing. I can't tell until they are through it. It's a very hard thing to try and articulate.

Researcher: is the implication of what you're saying that we can't really identify who is ready for change until after the sentence.....

Leone:.... until after their.... yes, yes that's what I think. And that ties in with another point I made because one of my points for not being ready is that I see them being critical of the legal system and not willing to accept the legal system's authority. But I also see that as quite a normal progression, especially at the beginning of their time in custody. They have been plucked out of their

normal environment and put somewhere else and the reason is because the courts and police have said that they have done something wrong. I think those kind of characteristics are a normal part of their process when they come into jail. I am saying that we can't tell because the things that can happen in a remand period that are indicative of them not being able to change are quite normal. I feel that they are a normal part so how can you actually tell until you get through it?

Researcher: okay, maybe we can get back to your list.

Leone: yes, a good idea. I have also put another point down from the crisis. I have seen, and there is a particular person I'm thinking of, he isn't through all his court yet but I think there is a change process going on and I think the reason why that has happened because he has somehow resolved in himself this issue with the legal system. "Okay, they have authority over me, I know I have done something wrong and I'm willing to accept whatever they say". That has happened and I think if that has happened in the end they can begin change process before the sentence. I think it has got a lot to do with whether they actually accept 1) that they have done something wrong and 2) that they are willing to accept punishment or that they have to do something to repair what they have done.

Researcher: do you see that happening in many instances, do many people accept it?

Leone: no. It's an exception.

Researcher: so what you're saying is that in some people, the exception rather than the rule, you see some people who indicate a real readiness for change before the sentence but for other people, perhaps the majority of the people, it is really not possible to determine whether they are ready for change because the things that are happening overwhelming them on the one hand and it's all part of a process, part of a normal process, which may or may not lead to change. We can't really tell at this point of time.

Leone: that is what I have seen and what I think. From what I have seen another very important point is support from family. This process is pretty scary coming to jail and a lot of them feel very alone and it's very hard from what I have seen for them to pull themselves back up again completely by themselves when their normal supports, which are usually drugs and alcohol, people at in the community, when they don't have those things is very difficult. So support from family I have seen as important. I don't know whether you're exploring this topic but I haven't done any testing to see if someone is resilient or not but there are some people that I see that I believe, without doing any testing, that they have a good level of resilience, which is like a dispositional, personality thing. There is a huge body of literature into that, that you may or may not want to go into. Another important thing is that they experience successful experiences. And someone showing interest. Just an example it has happened lots of times down there in segregation, and we are talking about a different kind of change here. I'm talking about a change in behaviour and a change in attitude towards staff and not acting out so much. When they have done quite a lot of time they give an inmate who may be has a lot of behavioural problems, down in segregation

they give them the sweepers job. And they turn around overnight. I think it is someone showing interest, someone giving them something to do, someone giving them a little bit of control so that they might have their own things to organise and their own things to keep clean. They have got a little bit of autonomy and I have seen that happened lots of times and people change overnight, in terms of their behaviour. Basically the inmates treated like they're responsible, trusted people that are capable of managing their own life by themselves. I see it a lot in classo, they come along to classo and either classo staff or other staff go, "this is what you have to do" and they start wagging their finger "because you've got this problem and you've got that problem". I think that can be very damaging. I have seen they seem to retract, disengage. If they aren't being treated like people who are capable of looking after themselves then how are we ever going to be able to expect them to do anything for themselves and run their own lives? Another significant thing is being able to ask for help and recognize when they need help. I have seen it a lot with a lot of inmates that they come in here and they go, "I don't want to see my family. It's too painful. I just want to do my jail on my own." That really.... they disengage from their families because they think it's easier than the constant separation of seeing them and then separation and having to deal with staff and the community but finding that they really can't do anything about it. I think this is also linked in to them experiencing emotion as well because they go to their visits and they can't sit with that missing their family and they try to avoid it. They disengage from their family..... so I think that when they can actually talk to their families and say, "look I need you to come and visit me, I need you to support me, it's not going to

be easy, I'm probably go sit here and talk about nothing much but I still need you to come and see me". That is significant.

Researcher: and is that the norm here, that guys recognize that they have a dependency on their family?

Leone: no. What I usually see is, if they do get visits, when I talk to them about what they have talked about in visits it's very superficial. They talk about the weather, what are people doing, later songs or videos or movies. It's very superficial, it doesn't seem to be a lot about how they're doing in here. They often say to me, "I don't want to tell them about starting here because I don't want them to worry." It's a black-and-white thing for them, but I can tell them anything but they should probably just tell them a few appropriate things so the family doesn't worry.

Researcher: so do you think people who recognize the importance of family support, do they tend to tell the more?

Leone: yes, yes. I am just going from self-report of the inmates from visits when I asked them how their visits are going and I try to tap into, without being too nosy, what they actually discuss at their visits, to get a bit of an idea what the relationship is like between themselves and their family or their friends. Another inmate I am thinking about, he is ready for change because... and look I think each person's change process is individual, depending on what their issues are... and this particular inmate that I'm thinking about his reason, from what I can tell,

for him coming into jail were issues surrounding self-esteem and identity. He has actually started to think more about who he is and therefore he is able to get better boundaries, he is not just shifting with whoever he is associated with. I think for some people knowing who you are, having good boundaries, knowing what your attitudes and beliefs and values are and sticking to them is also indicative of change. Going back to the first point, responsibility for what they have done coming here, a lot of them can't admit faults. A lot of them, say, "I have got all these things that are good about me and these are some of my weaknesses". They are not able to have that objective kind of, these are my strengths and these are my weaknesses and how I work with that? A lot of that process isn't there.

Researcher: so they haven't got a really balanced view of themselves, is that what you're saying?

Leone: yes. I'll give you an example of someone who I saw who was on a path, I thought was on a really good path to change, and then that regressed. I am pretty sure I know the reason why. There was a guy down in Segro and he was young and he had been involved in a lot of jail incidents, he had a very severe crime and he had a lot of criminal associations and therefore had a lot of problems in jail. He had to be in Segro a lot, he couldn't be placed in a lot of jails because he had too many people wanting to get him in things like that. He had started, I think, changing in terms of his attitude towards people in terms of being able to talk to them in a much more reasonable way, getting his point across in a much more reasonable way instead of violence and yelling and just

walking out. He used to do that a lot and I think the reasons why he started to change is because there were particular staff here who were doing ongoing work with him. I think he saw some kind of hope for himself. There in his court was finished after a very long remand period, so it was very protracted and stressful for him, and he wasn't able to go anywhere except for Goulburn. We knew this, that the only place he could go was the Segro unit at Goulburn. When he found this out, he didn't go there straight away but when he found this out, he just went completely back, he reverted to type. I think he felt that he had been let down by his history and by himself and he thought there was no hope and he completely did a 180 and went back the other way. So I think the system, our system here, can actually hamper people with their change process because it's not the number one priority in here. Even if you look at the mission of the Department is not to rehabilitate it is to protect the community. It's all about security, it's all about duty of care, that's the number one priority and that was the number one priority with placing this guy. Where is the thing that would have helped him along with his change process was giving him a B classification and sending him to jail that he was not going to be in Segro in so that he could progress to C classes. And that didn't happen.

Researcher: so he was profoundly discouraged and...

Leone: that's an understatement.

Researcher:... and he lost all hope....

Leone: for him to be able to turn his life around. He had a kind of history where there was a lot of criminal association. I think he was facing problems when he went out as well in terms of his life being in danger because of his history and were problems in here as well. So there was all that kind of background but he was still able to derive some kind of hope of a better future and I think it was the ongoing work that some staff were doing with him in here and in that just completely went by the wayside with classo. As I said before, and I think this is a normal part of their time in jail, but being critical of the legal system, blaming the legal system, blaming the police for their situation, from a psychological point of view in our cognitive ability, and problem solving ability, some of them have very good problem solving ability. So really you can conceptualise changed as well as problem-solving, in a way. So if their problem-solving ability is poor then you could say their ability for change is going to be poor also.

Researcher: but they might be ready to do something about solving their poor problem solving ability.

Leone: yes that is exactly right. So yes, it just depends on exactly what the change is. And that's right you can take a step back and say, "okay this is stopping you, so let's deal with this bit".

Researcher: and I suppose it's a matter of what you said before, of owning the things that they are not good at, if they can recognize that that is true about them, then they may be more willing to do something about it. But if they can't even see it.....

Leone: it's virtually impossible, yes. And then you take a step back even further and try to get them to notice difference in what is actually the case and what they might actually want and they might be able to see it that way and that might be your foot in the door.

Researcher: so would you say that openness to see what your lack is, or what your problem is.....

Leone: yeah, and that can all be tied up in insight.

Researcher: yes, okay, yes.

Leone: I have seen a couple of that actually like criminal activity. They feel that it either gives them power, control or they are used to seeing that that's how you get things in life. When they have still got those kind of attitudes I don't see that they're ready because they don't see that there is any kind of issue. Our social norm of crime may not be their social norm. The same goes with antisocial behaviour and criminal activity as well. Some of them don't feel that they have any option. It might be all well and good to say going get a job, go in to some education but some of them don't feel in practice that they can actually achieve those things because of what their life is already like, in terms of their commitments that they have already got, be it kids, a drug addiction or other psychological issues and stuff like that. I am assuming that you're not even touching mental health issues and people with personality disorders but you can still get people who don't have diagnosed personality disorder but they are very

manipulative and sometimes that is just a learned response, because of their history and a survival technique. I think a big part of change if they're doing it with some kind of change agent, like a psychologist or a drug and alcohol counsellor or someone like that, if they haven't got some kind of qualities that endeared in some way to people then it can be very difficult to engage them and to want to engage them and to want to continue. So if they are very manipulative, that can be a barrier and it might not be their issue, it might be someone else's issue (laughs). If they are particularly prone to peers influencing their behaviour, then they are going to have trouble being ready for change. Sometimes that is just a function of age because I see quite a few of them in here that chronologically are in their mid-20s or even 30s and they act like teenagers. Especially if that's all tied up with the affinity for criminal activity, they might think they're a little bit of a gangster and that its cool. When all that stuff is still there it's very hard for them to change to an anti-criminal kind of lifestyle.

Researcher: so it's an identity thing. They have got a certain identity that they committed to...

Leone: and it's beliefs and values attitude kind of thing as well. Sometimes other psychological issues can get in the way. For example, I talked about before that they might be in their mid-20s or 30s but still act like children. One particular inmate I am thinking of, he is in his mid-20s but he still cannot get over his parents divorced that happened 12 years ago. I think that is a significant impediment for him to start changing, to start leading a more grown-up kind of lifestyle. He still acts out, he still expects his parents to clean up his messes, he

still wants them to get back together again after 12 years. The same kind of thing goes for people who have been victims of child sexual abuse. These kinds of specific psychological issues can be a barrier and sometimes it's just a point of, okay now it will take a step back and deal with that first. That's pretty much it. Is there anything that you need me to expand on?

Researcher: know you have done very well Leone. You've given me a lot of really good stuff so I thank you very much.

Leone: that's all right.

Duration: 39:11

Staff Interview 8

This interview was conducted on Wednesday, November 15, 2006. The participant is a chaplain.

Researcher: Tom, thank you very much for your willingness to participate in this study. What I would like you to do is to think about people that you have encountered here and I would like you to talk about actual people but don't use their real names. In terms of those people that you think are ready for positive life change, what is it that gives you those clues, and other people that you've known who are not ready for change and what it is about them that makes you feel that they are not ready.

Tom: there are a number of inmates whom I've worked with who, I think, demonstrate a readiness for change. I think one of the similarities between the of them, well there are a number of similarities. There is usually insight, important insight, not just in terms of the crime that they have committed or they have been charged with, there is insight in terms of who they are as a person. Some of the more existential aspects of who they are as people. Usually the other thing that goes with that insight, it's a deep insight, is just a real sense of brokenness. A brokenness and a willingness to really engage who they are as people, what drives them, what feeds their offending behaviour. I think also too there is usually.... there is a sense of "otherness", a sense that may be there is a God. May be there is something divine happening here in my life, that out this negative experience there could be something positive happening here, which is

not just a physical rearrangement of my life but includes also very much a spiritual rearrangement. There are a number of inmates that failing to this particular category whom I have worked with and they reflect these types of things. I have one inmate at the moment who is in his late 50s and who has been on remand now for almost 14 months. Initially when I met him 14 months ago was clearly distraught and horrified by his actions and he was really looking. Using his words, and these are the words that he actually used, he was "looking for a miracle". A miracle in terms of actually..... that would actually address his offending behaviour and the damage that he had caused to a particular person, which is why he has been in jail and why he is currently still in jail on remand. And I think that what has actually taken place over these last 14 months has been a very profound spiritual transformation. He'd probably amplifies those qualities of brokenness and insight and a real sense that he is more than just flesh and blood. So we have worked with him, we have really led him to explore Biblical Christianity and what that means in terms of coming to own knowledge and understanding of God as creator and being his creator. I was only speaking with him this afternoon and he said that has been such a crucial part of his life over these past 14 months and has actually been something which he has said to me time and time again is going to have an ongoing impact in his life once he is finally sentenced and once he finally leaves jail. He said he wouldn't have made it this far if that hadn't been something he had been exploring and addressing in his life, because he is addressing the whole idea of God being creator, being his creator, that he is sacred and that he is important. He has also been able to look at his crime. And he realises just how horrific his crime has been because he realises that there is that sense in which that he has violated someone else who is

also sacred and created. So he has been..... he sees the link between the two, which in some ways has actually magnified the horror of his crime and has also magnified the remorsefulness that he genuinely feels. As he said to me, he said, "I am going to get jail time but jail time will never ever adequately punish me because I am being punished each day as a result of what I have done to someone else. And I have come to understand that as a result of the spiritual journey that I have been on". It has shaped how he has viewed himself and his victim and what he wants to start doing in his life and what he needs to start addressing and changing which will carry over once he is released. I think that that is probably true, he's an old inmate and there are younger inmates I have been working with that also display, perhaps not the same level of brokenness but certainly have expressed brokenness and a deep remorsefulness. They have tied that remorsefulness and that brokenness that recognizing that perhaps God has brought them to this point in their lives. Many of them have said to me that they really see that God has brought them here. If they had continued going on the way they were going on the outside they recognize that probably more damage would have been done to themselves and to other people as a result of their offending behaviour. The opportunities that I have as a chaplain to explore their story without necessarily making judgement on that story has a very therapeutic effect because it allows us then to explore perhaps the spirituality of people and what is happening. I think as a Christian chaplain being able to use Biblical stories to amplify and draw out some of those issues that are working in people's lives or need to work in people's lives, is very important. I think just as an example there are a number of stories that I use from Scripture. Some of the parables are very powerful, such as the wise and the foolish builders. Looking at

that from a very practical perspective about the foundations that people build their lives on as well as looking at the spiritual foundations that people build their lives on. If you don't know the story you have two builders, one builds his house on sand and the other builds his house on rock, and how that can have very practical applications for inmates illustrates, "well, what are you building your life on? Are you building your life on stuff that is going to be a very poor foundation, or are you building your life on things that adds value to your life in a positive way, to you and to other people?". So being able to explore that story and use Biblical stories to perhaps explore those themes in their lives is very powerful and very potent. Looking at that from a spiritual perspective, those stories such as those parables have a very strong spiritual messages well about where does otherness, where does the Divine, where it is God fit into the equation of your life? That opens up new opportunities and new realities that they can begin to perhaps think about. There is a real readiness that I see with these people that perhaps at this stage, because there is that level of uncertainty as to where things are going to go for them both in jail and in the courts, and so they are thinking, "what does my life look like now? How can I make it different?". With many of these inmates this is music to their ears because it speaks of hope and new life.

Researcher: do you think that the people who come to you people who are naturally asking those questions of life, you think that people come to you who actually aren't asking those questions at all?

Tom: there are people who come because... both. I think many of these people come, not because they have some sort of religious bent, but they recognize perhaps with the chaplain that here is someone who has time and here is someone who will listen to my story and here is someone who will perhaps help me understand my story. Where I have come from, why am I here? And may give some sense of hope that there is the real possibility of change. Many of these people are looking for forgiveness as well. They are looking for someone who will not necessarily make them feel like they are the worst person in the world. They are looking for hope and they are looking for a sense of value and worth against the backdrop of their crime.

Researcher: so if you can see the positive life change as writing a new story for yourself.

Tom: yes, and I think that is why they come along, they say, "well is there a new story? Is there a new drumbeat that I can march to because how I have been living hasn't really produced any positive value in my life for others?"

Researcher: you talked about forgiveness. Is forgiveness a vital aspect of being able to lay to rest or come to terms with your old story?

Tom: yes, I think that's true. I don't know if it's about laying to rest but it is coming to some sense of not closure but perhaps coming to a sense of inner peace. It is not about negating responsibility but I think it is about finding a new way of thinking about life, about themselves, about others. It is about rewriting

their lives, finding a new story, a new story that they can write for themselves in the sense of changing the way they view themselves, the way they think about themselves, the way they think about the world they live in, the way they think about other people. I think they come along because they want a new story. They are looking for forgiveness, "I have done this terrible thing, is there the possibility for me to have a fresh start? Is there a possibility here that I can be forgiven? Can I be forgiving? Can I have a sense of inner dignity about myself even though I have done this most horrific thing to someone else?" So they are looking for hope and they are looking at times for forgiveness. Yeah, very much so. I think there is an opportunity with what I do to perhaps explore existential parts of what it is to be a human being. These guys are very familiar with jail culture, familiar with court culture, but jail culture and court culture doesn't offer Grace. It doesn't offer forgiveness, it offers judgement, it offers a punishment, and that's all well and good, I'm not saying that there is no place for that, but within chaplaincy, I think the role of chaplaincy is very much exploring the existential nature of human beings and what we do. Also bringing that hope of being able to rewrite the story, a new story of new life and new possibilities and a new future, even if that future is to be here behind bars.

Researcher: so getting back to telling how you can ascertain whether people are really serious about writing that new story....

Tom: yes, I would say there are some key qualities. We have talked about in sight, I think insight is very important. And brokenness, a coming to an end in yourself, coming to an end in yourself. There is a great picture that I use with

inmates, it is the picture "The Scream " by Edvard Munch. We have this very graphic picture of a person screaming and I guess there is a sense in using that picture that people do come along with a very real sense of that's how they feel. It's the horror of discovering the darkness that within. It's the horror of, "I have come to a complete end in myself, and what I see is just this blackness, this hole, and is there any hope?". And I think that those are the type of qualities, the type of things that we try to pick up on, which I think, when people have reached that point of desperation, a sense of coming to an end in themselves, confronting the horror of themselves against the backdrop of their crime that those type of things are very potent, very real and really, I think, become the material which you can use to perhaps really facilitate change in people's lives. And also for them to facilitate the type of change that needs to occur in their lives. But there are people who come along who don't have that insight, who don't have that brokenness, who are just looking for kind words that aren't looking for change. Or people who are just very puffed up with pride, who are very much about justifying themselves and in justifying themselves, even perhaps is seeing themselves as victims that they can't change and that they are a victim to all the bad things that have happened in their lives. So it is very hard to work with people like that.

Researcher: how do you find people express that brokenness? What do they say and what do they do?

Tom: with words and with actions. I have had quite a number of inmates of varying ages who have come here and have opened up quite independently where

they have been on what they have done and they will break down in tears and cry and some of these guys are very hardened criminals who have been involved in crime for many years. And they have told perhaps their story for the very first time and I have had quite a number of inmates who have said, "I have never spoken about this to anyone before." And in talking about it, I guess they have actually connected with stuff that they have not really connected with before. As we said, a lot of them just sweep things under the carpet, but the garbage under the carpet just builds up and builds up and builds up, and even shapes them as people. It also influences how they cope or how they don't cope and it can even in impact upon their crime in the sense that this stuff that never gets dealt with actually becomes a catalyst for living a dysfunctional life. So I guess.... how do they give an inkling that there is that readiness to change? I guess it is through those things when they tell their story for the first time. That they break down in tears, there is a profound sense of horror again, which I have already said, with their lives and with themselves and a hunger and the first four, "I'm looking for some way in which I can change my life and change the story of my life to make a new story".

Researcher: what about the people who are in the other camp, the ones the ones who are you think aren't serious?

Tom: not that I have had very many, that is the ironic thing. Working one-on-one with people, there isn't that mask that people put on, but they have to put on perhaps to survive down in the yard and in their cell in their pod.

Researcher: but I suppose though that if people need to have that sense of brokenness, asking these existential questions, I mean if they haven't arrived at that point then they are probably not going to come and see you, are they?

Tom: that's true. I think there is that sense in which breaking free from the bravado of the prison yard and breaking free from all the survival techniques that people employ is a big step, at one level. I think chaplaincy has the advantage that there is permission to be able to do that. More so perhaps than some of the other disciplines, perhaps welfare or psychology, where perhaps there is in that time to explore things more deeply.

Researcher: I'm just thinking that people who are trying to move away from a story of their life, it is moving away from a certain identity, how many of them have a sense of what the new story would be like when they come and see you?

Tom: I think that is a good point. I think from what I have gathered that that new story is as much about creating a new life, but a new life that has a dynamic, a spiritual dynamic to that. How those that get fleshed out? It is as much about them finding a new community of people who will be able to support them when they get out and model that for them, and they know that. They know they have got to make significant changes, but those changes are changes that will lead them into faith-based living, into a church community for example. That's the direction that they need to go and yet that is probably the biggest breach that they have got to jump because I think that more often than not people who've done jail time, who know the changes that they need to make, the spiritual changes that

they need to make, the changes that they need to make to rewrite the story of their lives, does need support and does need to be facilitated. I think that leaving jail and finding a community, a spiritual community, is probably one of the biggest challenges that they have. In rewriting that story it is not something that is just done in isolation, it does need the support of other people, of like-minded people who can speak that language and help them to understand what a relationship with God looks like in the here and now, in everyday experiences that they have to face and deal with. Probably from a chaplains experience the involvement of faith communities is very important in the post-release stage to make sure that that willingness to change is followed up and is encouraged and is nurtured.

Researcher: I thank you for your time, did you want to add anything else?

Tom: I just think that the other thing I do enjoy is a freedom in chaplaincy, which I think is why chaplaincy has such a profound impact upon inmates lives, is because we are not stuck with having to necessarily follow a prescribed intervention or strategy. I think we have a big toolbox that we can call upon with many tools, and some of those tools will see me referring people through to psychologists, referring them through to drug and alcohol counsellors, referring them through to welfare. So we have got a big toolbox, we are not locked into a particular mode. I think what characterises what we do is that we do have an ability to be able to explore again that existential nature of people's lives, we have the ability to be able to appreciate that there is a spiritual dynamic in people's lives, and we are unable to explore those issues of motives and

brokenness and those things are just absolutely crucial to being able to actually reach a person and actually touch a person in their inner being.

Researcher: okay Tom, thank you very much for your time.

Duration: 22: 20

Staff Interview 9

This interview was conducted on Thursday, November 16, 2006. The participant is a Probation and Parole officer.

Researcher: okay Don, thanks for your willingness to participate in this study and if you can just tell me about some people you've known who you think have been ready for change and what they were like and so other people who you think were not ready for change and what it was about them that made you feel that they weren't ready.

Don: the first thing that I have noticed is when inmate is able to say, "I am getting too old for this and I have had enough. I am wasting too much time inside", there is something about that phrase. When they say to me, "I'm too old for this" indicates to me that they are ready to move on. The average age of inmates is 18 to 24 and I have found that inmates who have been in the system for quite some time, once they move into their 30s and can come to that realisation that this is just a game where they are wasting their time and wasting their life and are unable to say that, often pre-empts some significant change. When I have worked in the community and I have parolees on board, who are progressing well, that is what they will come out with. Now, I think that when they are able to have a sense of life being more finite, that life has an end, they are more motivated to do something about it. By that I mean they will get a job. There are a number of things that they will need to do and they will have to maintain to stay either drugs or out of jail. That is, they need to get a job, their

environment, their family or their social environment, support structures, all that sort of stuff have to be in place for it to work. But there is something about that realisation I think and along with that goes their mates that they thought were mates are still on the treadmill and they realise that they are not getting anything out of this, they are not really my mates at all. They are only mates if they want something. So that will often pre-empt change. And of course what also happens is as a bloke we mature a bit more slowly than women to, so for guys who are in relationships, relationships are often at their most volatile in those early years. Blokes are at their most virile and I think that as they get a bit older they are more ready for a stable relationship, a more steady relationship. Often a woman is a good controlling mechanism, as we know Steve. If they are lucky enough to get somebody who they love and who can meet their initial kind of needs, and often it is sexually, they will settle down and respond. What we have found In Probation and Parole is that best practice and what works, it's understanding has changed over the years, over the last five or six years best practice was understood to be programs, intervention. So you get them into the office, you have a group of them, you do drug and alcohol work, you do self-esteem and all that sort of stuff, and then off they go. They complete the program, signed off on parole and low and behold a month or a year later they are back inside again. What they have found and what they are working especially with in England and Canada is this desistance model. They have discovered that for programs to be effective they have to involve the family, so it has to be systemic. My experience is that when we involve the family in any education or therapy and counselling, when the family is involved the results are more sustained, more real. They want out of a great program and have all is

relapse prevention strategies and they walk back into a home where the missus might have lost it because of the five kids that have gone berserk, they walk back home into a volatile environment and no one can keep it together. Bring the family in and then out of that that then has communal ramifications and they can get involved in communal aspects as well.

Researcher: and I suppose it also teaches the rest of the family what they can do. It gives them strategies for supporting this person.

Don: yeah. So I suppose that AA model, for it really to work you need the family, for it to work well. So that's what we have learnt and that's what we're piloting, this new model out of Blacktown. We are concentrating on more home visits, getting out there rather than them coming to the office we go out to their homes and develop a relationship and rapport with the family as well.

Researcher: and what about, do all inmates show a willingness to have their family involved in it?

Don: I think initially they don't really care. Initially if you say to an inmate, "Instead of reporting to the Probation and Parole, we will come out to you. Don't worry about coming in.", they think it is great. It is something less they have to do. My experience is, and I am talking about it from the home detention, which is where offenders have been sentenced to custodial sentences and they do their time at home, has the lowest rate of recidivism, because of our involvement in them and their family. It is much more intensive, it is not just once a month to

the parole office, which it is as much use as a fob pocket on a singlet. But if you get out there and you knock on their front door and you knock on their door all the time and get them involved in communal stuff, it makes a difference. So it is pretty hard, I find, young blokes can be much..... you know, you have got testosterone that reaches its peak about 18 or 19, if you remember that far back Steve, so it's pretty hard to engage young men seriously. There are processes there to go through. Just looking back on my own experience, I studied for the Catholic priesthood and was ordained a Catholic priest. I was in my late teens or early 20s and they had us doing 30 day retreats, silent retreats for 30 days. Now at that age, that was just rubbish. Nonsense. But at 50 or so, Ignatius who got the thing going, he was a lot older so it made more sense. You know Ericsson's stages, you move into that more contemplative, reflective part of your life. Not when you're bloody 18. So I think a lot of our intervention in Probation and Parole has been focused on presuming that people are more mature than they are. More than they can handle.

Researcher: but what is it about a young bloke, if that's where the bulk of the inmates, they are not thinking about time being limited like an old fellow is, what is it about a young bloke that you think.....

Don: what works the relationship and the rapport that they develop with you. Most of our young blokes in that 18 to 24 bracket, I would say over 90% if you ask them what is their relationship with their dad like. Now they did thing at MRRC, I think it was one of the chaplains that did thing when Father's Day was coming up. They prepared Father's Day cards. Of the 30 odd inmates only one

inmate actually posted the card to his dad. There was only one inmate out of 30 that had any relationship that he would be willing to post a card to his dad. So from my experience what works best is if you can develop a relationship with them, and it is sort of like a father son thing in a way. It is a bit of a mentor thing. It is a father role, you come down heavy at times, you can laugh with them, sometimes they will pull the wool over your eyes. But I think that if you can, the secret I think to walk with blokes through this, and when you think back on your own life Steve, or least I do, I think that I survived some times really.... I think, how did I get through that? I think, but for the grace of God..... I would be out in the yard myself. So my thing is about walking with these blokes through these times. As far as you can.

Researcher: some of them more responsive to seeing someone as a mentor or father figure than others?

Don: yeah, obviously some are and I don't know what the answer is to the ones who aren't. But the ones who aren't would be the ones, you know there are two kinds of resistance, you know there is passive resistance where they stick their head down and you just know that this is not going to sink. There is nothing happening for this bloke and he knows that it's only when he goes out and gets on the gear or the alcohol that he comes alive. And that is when he does the crazy things. Sarah has got a young guy there now, he is only 20 and he has got a shocking record. He has been charged here for the way he talks to officers and he has been charged for a whole lot of offences, real smart arse and a difficult bloke to handle. When he gets out on the street most of these charges resist

arrest and offensive language and all that. I don't know how you work with those guys because they don't respond to it at all. So I don't know what the answer is to that. Given some of their backgrounds are quite abusive.

Researcher: but do you think that some of them actually are looking for that father figure?

Don: I don't know whether, consciously they are probably not, but I think that unconsciously the desire for it is there. I do think that. Especially if you can help them see you apart from an authority figure. Anyone who is authoritarian will not get anywhere near the same response as if you come across in a more mentoring role.

Researcher: so more nurturing?

Don: yeah, along those lines. Affirming. I probably in my things with blokes here would say, would try and give a hundred affirmative statements in any given session while challenging them on their behaviour. Everyone has got some affirmations but most of these blokes have never heard any, especially from their dad. And from bloke. Hearing it from a bloke, you know it's that male stuff. That's why I think personally that having women psychologists, these blokes just see it as a bit of the game. That's my opinion. I think it's very important that it's a male to male relationship dynamic with these blokes. Absolutely. To bring out the best in them. They have never been told this stuff, they have never been told, "Gee that must have been tough." Questions like, when you're doing these

reports, "what has been the hardest thing for you?". No one has ever asked them that before. And then helping them say, "who has been affected by what you have done?" So pull them away out of themselves, "who has been affected?". They will always say, "me" first, "and who else has been affected?". "Well, the missus, the kids". You eventually get them to talk about whoever it was that they assaulted. So it is all that kind of affirmative stuff but at the same time you have got to get them to identify and empathise with the victims of their crime.

Researcher: so that would be, if the person is unable to do that, if they have already reflected on that and thought about their actions and what impact it has had on other people, that would be an indicator that they are along that path?

Don: yes, absolutely. The ability to empathise with the victim and being fair dinkum about it and being told by another bloke that what they have done is not acceptable. You don't just say "yeah, it's no good". I would always tell them, "look mate that is just not acceptable. Blokes don't do that. Blokes don't go around bashing their wives. We don't do that. That is not right". Bring about some kind of cognitive change, cognitive change is important because the problem is when they go back out all the negative thinking is reinforced when they are back in their environment. That is the other thing I was talking about, trying to bring some change into their environment.

Researcher: so how much awareness do guys have of the struggle of that? Of how difficult that actually is?

Don: yeah, I am not sure that they do initially. I am not sure. The struggle of it,...um. I think the struggle just seems to come a bit later, you know, with that awareness "jeez what am I doing?". But you can see it in them when you start to pose these questions. They get fidgety and some will shut down. I think that probably they know but they have got to survive. These blokes are all survivors and they have developed very intricate ways of doing that. They have got to, be it via violence or intimidation or whatever, they have had to survive.

Researcher: I am just trying to tease out what might be the difference between.... I mean, you have raised some of the issues of what people are like who are perhaps on a change process, they seek help, they think more about the future, about the time that they have got and what they are doing with their life...

Don: and relationships, you see that is the thing that I was trying to.... that is one of the other things with change, with the What Works literature and that, it was all programs centred, you know. It was all information centred, but this relationship is responsible for 70% of change with either their parole officer or counsellor or who ever it is. If they develop some rapport and to hear from me when you get them back in again and say, "geez I'm disappointed, and I'm pissed off as well", so you let them know that anger is okay, so from a male and again, I have got to reinforce that, feelings OK. You're angry that they're back and you're disappointed that they are back. Helping them to take some responsibility. It is hard to do that with an 18 or 19-year-old. They just say, "oh Fuck off". They are not too worried about it.

Researcher: when you look at the female parole officers, you have got a different dynamic happening there because you have got a young bloke maybe and a female officer, what do you think the experience of this is like for them? What do you think female officers encounter?

Don: I have found that the ones who are known to be tougher down the line are the ones who get better responses. That has been my experience. But it is hard for me to say because I know that when I was in the district office I would always give.... you knew which officers were best with which offenders so I had one woman who I've always allocated the sex offenders to. I knew how good she was with them and she could actually bring out the best in them. Tight as, you know, in terms of monitoring them and made that very clear from the beginning but she was able to develop a really good relationship with them and get the best out of them, employment, steady work. Really good because they can be so manipulative. I knew that she just didn't take any nonsense as well.

Researcher: in a way what you are saying is that a person's at least ability to change if not their readiness to change has got something to do with the relationships with the people who are helping them or monitoring them.

Don: yeah, absolutely, absolutely. I think that any kind of program or cognitive therapy will get the most benefit out of that if they have got a good relationship with their supervisor. Very important.

Researcher: and how readily do you pick up the clues all the cues that you have got someone here who is fair dinkum about change? Does that take very long to work out?

Don: well it is easier to work out the other way. Those who are not, you can tell straight away. They are just disinterested, get this over with, denial of the offence, minimises their drug use, no concern for the victim, it's always someone else's fault. You say that day long way on that chart, you know, of change....pre-contemplation. A long way from it. On the contrary, you know that the ones who are probably going to make a better show of it are the ones who can have a better idea of who has been affected by their behaviour, ones who seem more honest about their own addiction and addictive behaviours, their weaknesses, how tough it is going to be, "look, I am going to need this, I am going to need that", have some knowledge of what they require, of their needs. They are able to articulate their needs.

Researcher: and may be more willing to seek help for those needs?

Don: well of course. A guy was just in recently and he said, "there is no point in me getting parole to go back out on the street. I have got to go from parole into a rehab to have any chance". And then the other guy that Graham had downed there, Graham has spent the last month or so trying to convince another bloke to see that. To see that if you go straight back to your missus mate, you are going to be back in here again. You haven't got the resources. For example, we drew this diagram for him. This is a very interesting diagram you see. We drew a

graph. This was the offender here, this is where you are now. At this end of the graph you have got your drugs, life of crime, your lifestyle. That's the line you have been used to and it is a highway, very thick. You know that one, it is smooth, you know the way to it. And you know the result of it. Up here is where you want to be. You want a job, to be drug free, a better future, law-abiding, and your daughter is up here. So your daughter is up here, and this is where you are. At this point because this road is so thick and so well trodden by you, you are not going to make it up here at this point on your own. So to be able to get there you are going to need to get a rehab and you're going to have to get some resources so that you can walk through there, come out this side here and shut the door.

Researcher: so the first guy that you talked about could already see that. He said, "don't send me out onto the street, I need to go to a rehab" but this other bloke didn't have enough awareness...

Don: no, but he was younger, see. The other bloke had some years behind him. He had done the hard yards and had come to that, whereas this bloke was at a stage where he was either going to take more years and more crime and more jail to make that move out of desperation, or he was able to think and able to tell him and to say to him, "I am not going to recommend parole." I would say to him, "I am not your enemy. I am up here, I am up here with your daughter, we are in the same spot, me and your daughter. That's where I want you to be. I want you to be up here, with your daughter, which is where I am." It is a sort of a motivational thing. "So every time you think about putting a needle in your arm,

you are putting it in your daughter's arm." You would not say that to every inmate because they would deck you, but here is a bloke that started to think, "you're right". He came back the next day and said, "I thought about that. Every time it is going in my daughter's arm." If he remembers nothing else he has remembered that. So there is some cognitive change happening.

Researcher: so you are trying to teach him what his actions are actually doing.

Don: yeah, manipulating his emotions as well. Playing on them. You wouldn't do that too often but you can say that to these blokes. It is the only language they understand sometimes.

Researcher: so really whether or not they respond positively to that kind of an influence is really another readiness indicator, isn't it?

Don: yeah, exactly.

Researcher: you have got the first bloke who has already come to it because he has been in the treadmill for a while and he has come to realise that by all the mistakes that he has made, and a younger bloke here and you are trying to say, look, here is a graphic description of what is going to happen or where you are at and you are trying to shortcut it for him. I guess some people would look at that still and just say, "no, that's not me, I'm down here and I can't get out of it". Wouldn't they?

Don: yeah, exactly. And that is the way it is. Some blokes, they are not going to move, they are not ready to move, they don't want to move. I only need to have one bloke to make that kind of a move and it makes up for the other 90 that don't. If we can get a 10% success rate we are doing better than the rest of the world in terms of stats. If we can get 10%, 10% of our offenders. It is not a simple thing but I can't emphasise enough that it's the relational thing that can be such a good instrument to bring about some change.

Researcher: okay Don, thank you very much.

Duration: 30:46

Staff Interview 10

This interview with a welfare officer was conducted on Thursday November 16, 2006. The participant is a welfare officer.

Researcher: okay Sue, thanks very much for being willing to participate in this study and what I would like you to do is to think about some people that you have had dealings with here who you think were serious about moving towards positive change in their life and what it was about these people that made you think that, and on the other side people you've known who you don't think really are serious about it and what it is about those people that make you think that.

Sue: I will give you an example of one particular young man, and this was when this was a young offenders prison. He is probably the one that comes to mind as having made remarkable changes in his life. He came into custody at 18 for armed robbery, got a five-year sentence. When I first met this young man I was actually in education teaching living skills. So I had that perspective. I have seen what he was like initially; he was a little bugger. He was going along because it was something to do and fill in his days, and because it might look good on his court and all the rest of it. Then I came to work in Welfare, and he was still in my case load but in a different role. This young lad started coming up, very personable kid. Really a lovely kid. He had grown up in a Housing commission area and his mother had struggled. I think mum is probably a fairly decent person, dad was a drunk and abusive, and left. So mum went to work and he was left to his own devices from a young age. He fell in with a group of kids

that were trouble waiting to happen, jail waiting to happen. So he gradually started coming up to see me, initially about small things, welfare-based things, but gradually it would turn into, I guess you could say it was counselling. He didn't particularly like going to psychology and a lot of the inmates don't like to go to psychology. They have this fear that, if there is ever a court report having to be written, they will go into that. So lot of them come to Welfare instead. He must have been about 18 months to the end of his sentence when I started to notice a real change in this kid. He always did seem to attend church, right from the beginning. I have to admit that I'm somewhat sceptical about inmates going to church; there's free biscuits so they will go. I know that sounds terribly cynical but I have heard the boys say that you get biscuits and a cup of tea afterwards, so they go. But this boy started to talk to me about his life. Generally I think he just wanted to download about stuff. He wanted to understand himself, he wanted to understand why he did the things he did. He really didn't want to disappoint his mother, he really didn't want to cause her any more anguish because I think he genuinely cares and loves his mother and his younger siblings. His behaviour had really affected her. He was quite a bright young man and he was doing every kind of education that there was. He was working as well. He still continued to do that even though his court matters were no longer an issue, he still continued to do that. He started to talk about, right from as far back in his childhood as he could remember, he started to talk about everything. He had in the beginning, I recall he had this sense of hopelessness: this was now going to be who he was. He had been to jail so there would be no second chance, people would look at him now a certain way. And through the course of talking to him, and also I believe strongly the support that he got from

the chaplaincy here, between that influencing him at some point I noticed that there became this kind of sense of forgiveness to himself. There was this sense of forgiveness of himself and acceptance that he had made a really bad judgement, but that he was young and that you are not defined... I remember saying to him, "no one person is defined by one act in their life". I have said that to a number of inmates. If you choose to be defined by that one act and make that the entirety of who you are and what your life is about, then you are never ever going to get out of this cycle. No matter who holds your hand and pulls you up, you are always going to end up down there. About 18 months out from his release I really think this kid believed that he could do something with his life, he could be something, that he would be accepted into community and forgiven. I think that the forgiveness of himself and the belief that the community in general would forgive this young kid one mistake, even though it was quite a big mistake. The general public would probably be willing to forgive him and give him a chance to have a go. He then started to write, copious amounts of writing. I remember suggesting to him, "write by all means, but let's shred it, let's not leave anything around". He started to write virtually his life story and then he would dissect it as if you were writing an assignment. Then along side that he would write, "well why would I do something like this?" And "where did this come from?" Then we would talk about that, bearing in mind that I am not a psychologist, I am a councillor but not trained to their degree. And he was not going to go to a psychologist, but fortunately he did go to the chaplaincy and I think that they went through this with him too. I am going to give him the credit for changing his life completely because he really did wade through the crap that was his life. What he couldn't understand, he came to us to try to put some

perspective on it. Yes, he did education, yes he worked, yes he would go to chaplaincy and all of those things probably did help him to achieve a sense of self pride and certainly a sense of self love. He stopped using drugs completely. He went to the drug or alcohol counsellor but if he wanted to get drugs he could have got them in here. He made a choice to love himself, he made a choice to forgive himself. At one point I said to him, "what if people don't forgive you?" And he said, "well then I have to forgive myself", and hope that whether it was religion or whatever power he would be forgiven and be given another chance to make another life for himself. So in as much as that to me, there was genuine hard work and a genuine self examination. There was a responsibility to accept, "this is who I am. I am not perfect. I have certainly done lots of crappy things but I accept responsibility of myself and my actions. And along with that I accept the punishment and the consequences, whether those consequences just include jail", because consequences don't always just end at the front gate when they walk out. Consequences for actions that result in the jail sentence also follow you outside of jail as well. He worked really, really, really hard on himself. He would read every self-help book he could get his little mitts on. He would question, he would certainly question me, to as far deep as he knew how to. He would sit opposite me some times sobbing because ' this is the behaviour I had, how do I change it? I don't know how to.' Like a child is taught to tie their shoe laces, you have somebody there who teaches you the right way. He didn't know who was going to teach him how to make choices, how to know the right thing to do some times. Bearing in mind again, he had a good supportive mother but a lousy father. Ultimately I think he just worked really hard on himself. He has been the one person that I thought, "this boy is going to walk out

of this jail and I am never going to see him in this environment again." I am horrified to say that he did walk out of this jail, I did see him again. I saw him on the outside working. He was engaged, his partner was pregnant, everything was going wonderfully. Then he was arrested. I walked past and I saw him on the oval one day and I called him over, and this was about six years afterwards, six years had passed. I looked at him and I said, "you have got to be kidding me." He is now released, he has also been absolved of it. It was something that dated back a long time ago and through the DNA test it was proved, in fact it has become a precedent, that it was not him, the DNA proved that he was not charged. To him it brought home two things: one, that no matter how much you change your life, once you have been a criminal you are always going to be viewed with a certain amount of suspicion. The second thing is he never had any anger about this. He knew that he would have to spend some time, he missed his son's birth, which was tragic. But he never was angry. He said, "this is just something that I have to go through for whatever reason. I know that I haven't done this. I know that I will be proven innocent." Certainly in due course he was but not before he spent five months in jail again. He is out, he is in a good job. He is about 28 now, he is in an excellent job. He and his wife have bought a home, he got married. He is involved with the youth in his area. He is heavily involved with his church. He rings me from time to time and he has e-mailed me a photo of his son. I will never see him in jail again, of that I am certain. This is not a boy who is ever going to commit a crime again, because he turned himself around. I always knew from that 18 months out, before that I would have thought that this little bugger is going to be in again. He is such a likeable kid. If I told you who he was you may even know him, but he is just great. I just

know that he will make life a success because he will always keep questioning himself. He will always keep questioning, "why is it that I do that? Am I doing the right thing?" He is always going to keep questioning. He is a great kid, well he is not a kid. I have no concerns that he is going to be coming back here any time soon. He is a success story. I wish him everything that is nice in life and that the consequences of his crimes are no longer held against him.

Researcher: what about people who are in the different camp?

Sue: okay. There are plenty of those to choose from. They make all the right sounds, make all the right noises, go along and do the drug and alcohol course. I am thinking of one person now in particular. Now this is only a gut feeling, this is a gut feeling I have. This person is in this jail, this person is here for an extremely violent crime, this person makes all the right sounds, all the right noises, toes the line, a good inmate, never gets busted for drugs, does what he has to do, has found God (haven't we all?), believes that God has forgiven him therefore he has forgiven himself, you see it goes down the line again, but when I questioned him about different things, when I questioned him about his crime, when I questioned him about his responsibility and acceptance, he will tell you straight away, "I am the only one who stood up and took responsibility". Then he will go on and talk about how I have done this this and this and I run a bible group and I do this and I helped the officers to keep the peace in the unit (as if they need his help), I've now got a girlfriend who is devoted to me and I've met her through the church.... he might get out one day. My concern is that if he gets out, I think he will offend again. I think it will be the same kind of offence. He

is a high profile person. I am talking about xxxxx (name removed). I watched xxxxx in a visit with his girlfriend one day, out of pure curiosity I wanted to watch him. He sat there like that, while she was kissing him on the cheek. Like he was wound up tight as ever. Let's say he gets out one day, he is going to go one of two ways. He might never commit another crime and come to jail but that is not my gut feeling. My gut feeling is that he is going to go off. He came to jail as a 15-year-old boy, committed this heinous crime and my gut feeling is that if he ever sees the light of day he will not be able to cope with human affection. He can't cope with it in a visit and I think that if he had any kind of relationship at all he would explode....

Researcher: to what extent is mental illness...

Sue: he is not mentally ill..... maybe I will switch over to another case, let's go for something that is not quite so explosive. I have got another inmate who is in hear on breach of AVO's and things like that. "yeah, I'm getting out and I'm not coming back to jail. There's no way, I have done the drug and alcohol course, I have done the anger management course, I know where I have been going wrong". Rubbish. When you talk to him, in my position when I talk to them, and I do confront people on their offence and on their behaviours, on their ethos, what they really think and what they really feel, you know the people who, as in this case, "yes I slapped her but..". They will always justify. Even if they accept responsibility for 99% of it they will always find 1% of it that they can justify themselves or minimise what they have done or allocate blame to someone else. To me anybody who does not accept 100% responsibility, I just know they are

going to go out and do the same thing again. Or there is going to be a progression in the severity of what they have done previously. I just know it. They can do all the right things, all the things they are meant to do, we refer to it as "they are playing the game", but unless you can crawl into someone's head and really know that they are ready to make change, they are ready to look at themselves, they are ready to.... also this guy is going back out and nothing is really changing out there. "Yes I have done this and that is in here, I know all that kind of thing" but he is going back out to a situation where nothing has changed out there. I will always say, "look, why don't I make some appointment for you guys outside for domestic violence counselling?". "No, we will be right, we will be right". Rubbish.

Researcher: so if they were really serious they would do it.

Sue: yes. If they were really serious about change they would want to follow through with this after they have left jail. I certainly know that drug and alcohol will offer people names of councillors and places to go where they can get free counselling, where they can get support, AA or GA, NA or whatever. They will even make a contact person ringing and get a contact person for them before they leave jail so that when they get out of jail, the day they get out of jail someone will ring them and say, "hey mate, I'm your contact person. We spoke on the phone ", you know. That is someone who I think is halfway serious but this man I have offered to set up domestic violence counselling with him. I have even spoken to his wife ad nauseam about the same kind of thing, "maybe you need to have some domestic violence counselling to make yourself strong". "No no no."

Researcher: so the wife doesn't want it either.

Sue: no. "We will sort it out together and he has done this course and, you know, I did talk to somebody and I am okay". It's a bandaid that is on this and it is not going to be okay. It is going to be a disaster. He's going to come back to jail and she is going to run to the police and to a refuge again like she has done before and it is never going to be any good. In that kind of situation someone who is really genuinely wanting to address it will not just be doing all the Band-Aid stuff. For a start, when they came out of jail, they wouldn't be going back to live with a person. They might want that relationship but not willing to go back to the person again because they need to have time apart to deal with their issues, to deal with themselves. I know that although he is going to sit there and say all the right things, that he will be back to jail and he doesn't really mean it.

Researcher: so is it that they are just not realistic enough to recognize that they haven't actually addressed their problems? Do they think to themselves, "well I have been to this course and I have been to that course, I am going to be okay now", and they are not self-aware of enough?

Sue: I think that is part of it but I also think that it is a lifestyle choice. They thrive on drama. I know that that sounds peculiar but some of these people really thrive on the drama of it all. The cycle that gets going, the big blowup and all the attention that is focused on them, whether it's police coming out, whether it's her leaving, then the great romantic side over to where they kiss and make up and it is so romantic..... it makes my guts want to heave. And then everything goes

wonderfully for a while until it all blows up again. It is a perpetual cycle of drama, and they seem to love it. And even in that time when everything is going quietly there will be some other different drama going on. For this guy I think it is just normality. Life is normal. I mean, where you and I might go home and cook dinner blah blah blah, whatever our normal life is, his normal life is have a slap up with the wife. And he knows all the things to say and when he is in jail he knows all the things to do.

Researcher: but he is not really changing his version of normality.

Sue: no, he is changing nothing. Because he sees it, you know, "we only flareup once in a while". Once a month may be. And she doesn't either, for that matter. I have heard on the phone to me, "you know, it doesn't happen very often." That kind of situation shouldn't be happening at all. I mean every married couple argue but this is something that is just a really sick pathology that is part of their marriage and a part of their life. And they are transferring this down to their children. It is very much a learned behaviour.

Researcher: so really what characterises these two last people that you have spoken of is the lack of self-awareness that they have.

Sue: absolutely. And the reality of their life, themselves and their situation.

Researcher: they just see it as normal. That is the way life is. And they don't seem to question it.

Sue: yes, never question it. That's the way life is.

Researcher: whereas the other guy, the first guy you were talking about, he was very self reflective. He questioned every aspect of his life and he compare notes with all these other people, the clergy, with yourself, with others, agonised over it. It sounds like he had a deep sense of remorse, like he needed to be forgiven...

Sue: yes, very much. Whereas my domestic abuser, "as long as the wife forgives me, and she does because we have a nice romantic interlude, it's my marriage, why do I need...? Everybody fights, it's normal, it's normal." But it is not. And he just doesn't get it. He will make all the right noises and he will say all the right things and do all the right things while he is in jail, but when he gets out that door he goes back to what is normal. Just like in here, jail is not a normal life, going home to whatever is presenting at home is the normal life. But very different from normal to you and I. we like the boring life.

Researcher: well thank you Sue

Duration: 31:03.