

INTO THE CORRIDA:

An analysis and testing of Geese Theatre Company's

The Violent Illusion Trilogy

prison Residency for violent offenders

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**To all of my colleagues in Geese Theatre Company, Officer Blue,
and the men of HMP Blackwood**

ABSTRACT

Into The Corrida: An analysis and testing of Geese Theatre Company's *The Violent Illusion Trilogy* five-day prison Residency for violent offenders.

In the last decade UK criminal justice policy has attempted to systematise 'evidence based' practice in terms of dealing with offending behaviour, through a variety of 'accredited' programmes in prison and probation. In the literature, a key distinction is between *instrumental*, goal-directed violence as a 'planned' behaviour and *hostile violence* motivated by the experience of anger or other strong direct emotion.

The current criminal justice conception of violent offending specifically is confused: the dominant analysis is 'cognitivist', seeing instrumental behaviour as originating in 'faulty thinking'; but existing violence programmes cater primarily for offenders whose violence is reactive and hostile. The overwhelming treatment orientation remains cognitive-behavioural and psychological.

This thesis investigates an intervention that, within a cognitive-behavioural framework, is essentially *dramaturgical* in nature, utilising methodologies such as scripted performance, mask, and improvisational drama, reflecting several theoretical domains outside of the cognitive perspective and which are currently 'illegitimate' within the dominant paradigm; these domains are reflected in eight critical 'nodes' of theory emergent from the literature review.

The epistemological foundation of this study can be defined as essentially post-modern and holistic, and the methodology used reflects this, combining quantitative psychometric measurement of 'what' the Residency does, i.e. reduce the likelihood of violent behaviour, with a qualitative approach to analysing 'how' the Residency brings this about. This is pursued through a framework of Participant Observation and 18 questions of Discourse Analysis directed at the 'living' interpersonal phenomena of the Residency, and following several participants who were a) accessible to the researcher and b) appear to represent a range of reactions.

In emphasising a dramaturgical analysis this study departs significantly from the cognitive-psychological paradigm of origins and treatment of violent behaviour, but this allows us to explore and emphasise dynamics of change and the collective level of a group process, as opposed to the more usual 'Euro-American' individualist cognitive approach. The thesis both demonstrates that such dramaturgical interventions are measurably effective within the terms of the dominant model and offers a far more profound, complex and contradictory model of the person and working with violent behaviour than the 'orthodox' vision permits.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

What follows is both a brief history and an overview: A history of Geese Theatre Company (UK) and the beginnings of this research followed by an overview of themes that are recurrent throughout this thesis. *The Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency (VI3)*, the focus of this work, is introduced. Major themes to be encountered are foreshadowed. There is an outline of dissatisfactions with certain accepted conventions of 'scientific research' as being unsuitable in many ways for the dynamic phenomena under examination and a discussion of alternative paradigms involving reflexive and critical methodologies.

Also, a plea is raised for the acceptance of the deliberate inclusion in this document of *ambiguity*: That it may encompass both a postmodernist challenge to accepted notions such as the 'separateness' of 'individual selves' one from the other and (contrapuntally) an argument for the essential unity of many things considered 'opposites' or separate in Western culture: Phenomena under focus will be suggested to have many epistemologies but only one ontology (Rose 1997) while resisting absolute definition.

Who are Geese Theatre?

Geese Theatre Company (UK) was founded in 1987 by Clark Baim, an American member of the original Geese Theatre Company (US), following an appearance by the US company at the Edinburgh Fringe Festival. The ground breaking United States company was itself founded at the beginning of the 1980s by John Bergman (MA RDT) a British director living and working in the United States at that time.

In the United States, the company focussed on work in penitentiaries but following limited success with shows taking a Marxist slant and featuring the injustices of American social history, the US Company went on to devise and elaborate the core of Geese work: *The Plague Game* and *Lifting the Weight*. Both these shows revolve around a structured improvisational 'game show' format, the former set inside prison and the latter after release, taking a much more 'individualistic' stance.

It soon became clear that a powerful theatrical style had been devised utilising what were to become classic Geese techniques:

- Skilled but highly focussed improvisation within a clear structure
- A deliberate attempt to represent the actual audience present in the room
- The presentation on stage of inmates' experiences back to the inmate audience
- Halting the action at moments of dilemma to canvass the inmate audience to advise the characters on stage

- The subsequent enactment of majority choices
- The use of half masks to illustrate the notion of 'fronts' and 'lifting the mask' to communicate honestly
- Direct interaction between stage and 'audience'

The Geese style is considered in more depth in Chapter 4, The Research Project.

The hallmark of Geese Theatre Company UK and of Geese workers is thus an interest in the political and social dimensions of theatre applied to criminal justice work: An interest centred on taking theatre into the unusual and 'unprivileged' spaces of prisons and probation centres, bail hostels and drug rehabilitation units; but not simply to rest at *performing* in such spaces. The Geese drive is to *apply* theatre to the lives and experiences of the people encountered there, to explore and facilitate the examination of offending behaviour and to facilitate *changing that behaviour*.

The Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency (VI3 or the Residency), around which this research is focussed, both incorporated, developed and moved away from this style. *The Violent Illusion Trilogy* is the overall title for a five day-long prison residency for a maximum of 15 serious violent offenders. It consists of two one hour-long performances: *The Violent Illusion Part 1* (VI1) on Monday and *The Violent Illusion Part 2* (VI2) midweek on Wednesday. Friday is the Corrida. This is not a performance *per se* but is a ritualised, theatre-based challenge crafted for a limited number of inmate participants and specifically designed for each person. Between and around these three major elements are workshop style whole- and small group work sessions utilising cognitive-behavioural and drama and theatre techniques focussing on the examination of violent behaviour and the facilitation of behavioural change.

Geese work in general and *The Violent Illusion Trilogy* in particular has never sat within the mainstream of offending behaviour work in the UK, and still does not. Further, certainly in the U.K., and as far as I am aware, in the world, Geese (UK) is unique in being a full time professional theatre company concentrating solely on offender issues (Geese US no longer exists). The UK company has been a major influence on the development of the field and practice of applied 'prison theatre', such is as described by Balfour (2003) and Thompson (1998, 1999, 2004).

Background to the Research: Tories, Arts & Anecdotes

In 1993 when the *Violent Illusion Trilogy* Residency first began to tour, to be involved in drama-based work with offenders was particularly thankless. Disillusion with the 1970's notion of rehabilitation and the feeling that 'nothing works' (see Martinson 1974) led to the 1980's and 1990's 'prison works' programme under Conservative Home Secretary Michael Howard. A programme of building private prisons was going full steam ahead, and then-Prime Minister

John Major had said (with reference to offenders) that we should 'understand less and condemn more' (Major 1994).

Geese believed otherwise. Whilst not quibbling with the notions either of personal responsibility or of deprivation of liberty as punishment for crime (with reservations of course), to do nothing with a person whilst they are actually in prison is a wasted opportunity. Over the last decade, from the mid 1990s, UK criminal justice policy has caught up with this thinking, through the introduction of standardised 'evidence based' offending behaviour programmes, which run in prison (and probation) but which bring their own problems in terms of rigid delivery and stifling of innovation.

At Geese, after several V/3 Residencies, anecdotal evidence had gathered that it really did 'do something'. In prisons such as HMP Blackwood, (name changed and the scene of this study) where the Residency had run more than once and Geese remained in contact, staff reported sustained and continuing change on the part of men who went through the week. This in the face of institutions and systems which more or less did nothing to facilitate or mentor behavioural change, and which could be seen as working against it (rather than taking the motivational 'para therapeutic' stance described in Farrall, 2004). I believed that positive results from the Residency, as a piece of work intended specifically for incarcerated men, would provide an argument against simply 'locking them up' and for pro-active intervention with men who had committed violent offences, while they were still serving time for those crimes.

Doing Things Differently

The argument has changed slightly since those times: There has been a national attempt to standardise and deliver pro-active offending behaviour programmes in prison and probation as mandated by the Home Office Pathfinder and 'effective practice' initiatives (Furniss 1997, 1998, Home Office 1998a, 1998b). Research has demonstrated that a cognitive behavioural element was present in 75% of 'successful' programmes and this approach is now emphasised (Furniss 2000, Hedderman & Sugg 1997); what this drive appears to be leading to is a mechanistic approach enslaved to 'programme integrity'.

There appears to be little or no room in this body of research for arts or emotion, or spontaneity or ambiguity, with drama and theatre being shrivelled into 'role plays' run by workers with little or no artistic or dramatic skills or training. Beyond sexual offending work there is also little recognition that therapist or worker characteristics are crucial in successful client outcomes (Beech & Scott Fordham 1997, Miller, Taylor & West 1980); characteristics that I will suggest are extremely relevant to effective practice.

Paradoxically therefore, amid all this change V13 still represents what it represented over a decade ago: A more sophisticated understanding of human change and development, utilising

potentially more powerful and humanistic artistic methods than the individualist, psychology driven cognitive-behavioural initiatives now in prominence, and taking a perspective considered to be 'on the fringe'.

On Method

In brief, it seemed worthwhile to me to attempt to provide formalised research evidence for a number of reasons:

- i) To counter the anti-humanistic punitiveness of prison policy at that time and which may return
- ii) To counter the reductionist positivism of current offending behaviour work
- iii) To provide evidence of the worthwhileness of arts based work with offenders
- iv) To be able to provide 'proof' for potential funders of future VI Residencies

The elements to be investigated were operationalised into the following hypotheses:

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- i) *The Corrida creates an emotional and psychological experience which stimulates and activates the individual's persistent physical and behavioural responses and by encouraging resistance to these responses provides a learning experience which enhances reflexivity, challenges conditioning and alters the probability of 'deviant' behaviour occurring.*
- ii) *A unidirectional (one-tailed) hypothesis predicting a reduction in psychometric scores gauging the expression and experience of anger and aggression in participants following the Residency.*

The aims of the investigation were to:

- 1: Test the above hypothesis.
- 2: Substantiate informal theories of the efficacy of *The Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency*
- 3: Measure any evidence of attitudinal change in the offenders participating, at least in the short term.
- 4: Substantiate that it is the dramatic (dramaturgical) dimension that provides a unique component, centred on affective engagement, to render this approach effective and memorable
- 5: Provide a coherent explanation for the overall process of the Residency as a vehicle for change

In attempting to pursue these aims academically, at this early point I was aware of certain tensions which continued to resonate throughout the life of the research: I felt that an academic game with its own rules and script as a 'form of life' (Wittgenstein 1958) was being played and which was looking for an 'answer' of some sort, for reified truth-made-absolute and for a 'scientific method', without which the research would not 'count'. The above hypotheses, by their presence and format, imply an acceptance of a certain epistemology, by which I mean the

"form which our knowledge or understanding takes, assumptions which underlie it and methods we use to establish it." (Stevens 1996, p77).

In the case of this research, it implies an acceptance of the Western scientific paradigm of putting forward a proposition that can then be 'tested' and falsified or verified (Popper 1969, 1973) in order to arrive at a definite conclusion. When dealing with the imponderables of human behaviour change and the arts, this framework simply may be inadequate.

Descartes' Error?

Damasio (1996) argues from a neurological perspective that Western science is incorrect in imposing the dichotomous structure of 'thought' and 'feeling', 'cognition' and 'affect' to human experience; he argues that these 'two' things are actually profoundly one, as does Best (1992) from an arts educational vantage. Neuroscientist Joseph LeDoux (1994) concurs. Similarly, human beings should not be seen as a 'conjunct' of thought and feeling - but as one holistic whole (Best 1992). Such propositions are central to this thesis, in contrast to a Western intellectual heritage that Cottingham (1997) argues is descended from a misreading of Descartes. This misreading has several consequences for the way in which our language 'discusses' thought and feeling: Terms that are of course dichotomous.

This misinterpreted Cartesian heritage of definite divisions means that our resulting conceptual language is couched in dichotomous terms of synthetic oppositions. These have surface explanatory value but are seriously anti-holistic and fit what Derrida describes as 'binary logic' (Derrida 1972). The language in which I write is British English: Other traditions are more at ease with the notion of holism, and their languages more easily conceptualise the world as a 'dynamic process' rather than our familiar Indo-European subject-predicate structure (Honderich 1995). In our culture the requisite conceptual language which may be of use in pursuing this thesis lies mainly in the realms of the 'alternative ontologies' of mysticism, spiritualism and religion (Gordo-Lopez 1999), or in the concepts of Chaos science and quantum mechanics (Gleick 1987, Hawking 1988): Two branches of science whose tenets question the core assumptions of Newtonian 'scientific method'.

Another consequence relevant to this thesis is the atomistic Western belief that complex phenomena can be understood merely as sums of their parts, and that enumeration of these parts will lead to an understanding of the whole, versus the Gestalt-influenced counter-argument that a body of knowledge cannot be examined in terms of its constituent elements as the sum is greater than the parts. With the former view inspired and driven by the precepts of Enlightenment Rationalism, we are left with a 'logocentric' belief in metaphysical 'ultimate foundations': 'truth' and 'knowledge' (singular entities) are seen as existing 'out there' waiting to be unproblematically 'discovered' in an independently pre-existing reality of 'right answers'. A tension exists between the reductionist drive for 'verifiable fact' and the complexities of this

research when dealing with live human beings in a process of change, brought about by human media as subtle and ambiguous as drama and speech.

A New Paradigm: Politics, power, presence

Banister, Burman, Parker, Taylor & Tindall (1994) describe a 'new paradigm' of research articulating many of these tensions and providing an alternative model: the reflexive writer. To be reflexive means to "...acknowledge the ideological and historical power dominant forms of inquiry exert over the researcher and the researched." (Smyth & Shacklock 1998 p6) and to be aware of certain 'critical frames' such as locating meaning in broader, cultural and political spheres (Lather 1992).

I (as researcher) was certainly part of the discourse of the research and not the absent 'ideal researcher' of 'objective science' (Smyth & Shacklock 1998) because I had a clear social and political agenda in pursuing the work of the research. Further, my main role through the week of the Residency was as a member of Geese Theatre Company, concerned with making the work as efficacious as possible; as a worker, I was there as a vehicle for possible change, actively attempting to catalyse events and wishing to address the problem of these men's violent behaviour. This is far from being the 'disinterested observer'.

However, the genre conventions of academic writing demand that this document appear as a seamless, unified piece, hiding its nature as 'literature' (Parker 1994). Refusing to conform to convention - or writing in a way which challenges such orthodoxies - is itself a challenge to those who assert a 'fiat' of power and legitimisation which rests upon the maintaining of such rules (Burman 1994). The development of this research and this thesis has not been straight forward though, and a reflexive approach extends to making this explicit (Smyth & Shacklock 1998): Readers should be aware that what you are reading will perhaps convey a false impression of pre-ordained order, logic and progress.

Reflexivity also demands that the power relations behind this document be exposed: not simply the issues within an academic context (although they can severely affect the work, see Bewley 1993) but in a wider societal context too. As will be made clear, I was very aware of the power issues between myself as researcher and the incarcerated men I was researching, but the issues of power as it relates to incarceration, abnormality and knowledge are also crucial and terms must be made clear. Power will therefore be viewed as linked to the *ability to define*; ideological power will be viewed as the *ability to impose and control* the ideas that are available to any given subject. *Culture* (both 'legitimate' and 'sub') will be viewed as the *means of transmission of power* and also as generative of that power. These perspectives, all of which bear on aspects of this research, are grounded in the work of Foucault and Derrida (Foucault 1977, 1980, 1982, Kritzman 1988, Derrida 1974, 1993).

On being critical

Cox (1980) claims that to take a critical stance is to "...stand aside from the prevailing order of the world and ask how that came about." (Cox 1980, p128). Feminist theory takes such a stance, arguing for the foregrounding in research of a 'politically informed relativism' which reflexively constructs itself to challenge the dominant discourses of our time, forging an alternative reality which throws into question the present one (Gill 1995). Burman (1994) states that men (as well as women) can 'do' such feminist research and argues that a defining characteristic is taking a transformative position toward the world, echoing Marx.

Ambiguities and multivalence are core characteristics of the Residency, as will be expanded below, but the above two points describe what the *Violent Illusion Trilogy* is all about, as a vehicle for change in violent offenders. The Residency has an immediate 'here and now' focus as a starting point for altered future behaviour; from that point Geese are in effect asking the men to consider how their 'prevailing order' of violent responses came about, and to consider altering the world they (and by extension, all of us) inhabit.

Finally, if the traditional scientific paradigm can be seen as a (deliberately) non-reflexive instrument for the status quo (Sapsford & Dallos 1996), then certain still-influential deterministic discourses also support this status quo, such as those arguing for a fixed 'human nature' (Eysenck & Eysenck 1975), racially determined intelligence (Herrnstein & Murray 1994), or sociobiological arguments for the genetic roots of crime (Scientific American 1995). In line with Gill and Burman my intention is to attempt to produce a political and ethical document opposed to these arguments and allied with other, pluralistic and anti-reductionist discourses such as those put forward by Rose (1997) and Wetherall & Maybin (1996). The attempt is to aim for holism of the conceptual kind described by authors as diverse as Heyerdahl (1986) and Allport (1937).

Relativism and incoherence?

Any argument attempting to be resistant to determination in its terms lays open to the charges of relativism and incoherence. However, a science as respectably 'hard' as Quantum Mechanics argues that ambiguity is "... a fundamental, inescapable property of the world." (Hawking 1988 p55). Complex systems (such as people and their process of change) are not simply systems of massive complexity but which ultimately obey laws that make them predictable in a Newtonian sense (Stewart 1995): They are Chaotic and fundamentally non-computable (Coveney & Highfield 1995, Penrose 1989, 1994, 1997, Lederman & Teresi 1993).

This ambiguity, being neither this nor that (or perhaps both) is reflected both by the subject matter of this thesis, and by the analytical model employed, exhibiting metaphorically the Chaotic quality of self-similarity found in computer generated images of Fractals (Gleick 1987), in that analysis of different levels of structure and argument reveal profound similarities. Further,

the inclusion of Deconstruction gives a 'drive to disorder', to dis-arrange or re-arrange through the notions of *undecidability* and *contamination* (Derrida 1972, 1987) – a drive which also parallels the problematising nature of Geese's theatre work. A tolerance in the reader for such ambiguity will mirror the process of the Residency for the men undertaking it.

Thus, I argue that 'relativism' does not matter. If one accepts epistemological relativity and that one is arguing from within a particular ethical construction, as long as one is reflexive it is possible to perform a pragmatic act of will (Bjork 1988) and say of one's position: "We *hold* these truths to be self evident..." "(Edwards, Ashmore & Potter 1995, pp35-36, my emphasis).

Accepting relativity does not mean being unable to take a position for some things and against others and does not deny the 'social reality' of oppression and global capitalist hegemony experienced by millions (Davis 2000). As for the incoherence of my arguments, this word has been levelled at proponents of post modernistic thinking before (see Appignani & Garratt 1995) but I believe that by its own terms this thesis will form a totality which must be viewed as being in coherence.

A little more unity

The work of Vygotsky suggests a concern that phenomena be studied as "...processes in motion and in change" (Cole, John-Steiner, Scribner & Souberman, 2000 p6-7), providing a coalescent dynamic toward a 'unified behavioural science' that emphasises process, dynamism and development, within a political, collective context. This thesis follows and takes note of the Vygotskyean drive toward a 'unity of [seeming] opposites' where false dis-junctions such as 'mind or culture or biology' become dialectically linked into con-junctions of such categories (Davis and Roper 1995), a position on the way to the holisticity of Demasio and LeDoux mentioned above, and in sympathy with postmodernist notions of the self.

Similarly, Best (1992) reaches out from arts education with his premise that there are not affect and cognition but only artistic (emotional) feelings which are *rational in kind* - not a *dichotomy* but a *unity*. This sense of 'unboundariedness' or of permeability of boundaries, particularly when dealing with change of and in the 'individual self', will return full force when we come to consider the effects of the Residency upon its collaborative participant creators - the inmates.

Somewhere, Coyote is howling

Finally, a spirit of destabilising ambivalence should pervade this work. Derrida has been called a Joker for his blurring of boundaries and questioning of accepted 'truths'; the on-stage director responsible for continually problematising the provisional solutions generated by Boalian Forum theatre is also termed the Joker; the native American Indian Trickster god Coyote brings regenerative disorder wherever he passes (Erdoes & Ortiz 1984, Robinson 1981) and the

Geese Fool embodies all of these aspects as he flick-flacks capriciously between absolute ethical rigour and anarchic anti-socialism.

These linkages provide another level of self-similarity in that such Coyote-like spontaneity (Erdoes & Ortiz 1984) and tolerance of ambiguity are essential parts of the Residency and Corrida processes (see Lee 1995, Moreno 1985). Just as the Residency can be seen as 'Carnival' (Bakhtin 1984) in its challenging of accepted boundaries, potentially so too could the arguments being presented in this thesis.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

What is the function of a literature review or survey? In the case of this thesis, I was starting from a point of practical exposure to what the members of Geese Theatre Company actually 'did' in the *Violent Illusion Trilogy* Residency, and as an involved 'doer' and performer myself. I had been trained as a company member and had taken part in the development of the final shape of the overall Residency and the conceptualisation of the Corrida event.

I came to this literature review therefore not as a blank slate, a researcher seeking an intellectual or theoretical framework to analyse or describe a phenomenon about which I had only external observed data. Instead I had:

- A host of practice examples taken consciously or unconsciously from other company members and embodied/embedded in or influencing my own practice
- A collection of theoretical arguments for why we did what we did, some derived from conversations with colleagues, some articulated, others not
- Some unargued out but strongly held beliefs derived from practice and experience of work with offenders
- Some explicit theoretical reading directly for the Residency
- All my own experience as a group worker and drama and theatre practitioner over the previous fifteen years

As will be expanded upon below and in Chapter 4, The Research Project, Geese practice within the criminal justice system also sat at a crossroads between artistic endeavour, cognitive-behavioural approaches to offending, and therapy; I also had a psychology degree, which itself offered a host of parallel or alternative terminologies, theories, models etcetera. It also seemed important (following the Vygotskyan drive mentioned at the end of the previous chapter) for the literature review to continue to attempt to reflect or recapitulate the sense of the Residency as 'processes in motion' and therefore to include the elements of reciprocity and mutuality – in other words, I also needed a sense of the 'who' the Residency worked upon/with in order to construct a model of the 'how' it worked.

Since one's perception of a problem influences one's solution (Weisenberg 1980); new information is interpreted in the light of old comprehension (Eysenck & Keane 1995) and a deeper awareness of structure allows clearer perception of the whole (DeGroot 1966, Saariluoma 1990, Chi, Feltovich & Glaser 1981), a major function of the literature review seemed to be to seek among alternatives (epistemologies) for:

- A 'theory of mind'
- A model of change
- A model of process
- A philosophy

which may be represented sufficiently in 'live' Geese practice to constitute a distinctive 'Geese paradigm', consisting of a number of articulated and interrelated key concepts emergent from the literature review. For all of these reasons this review of literature will suggest particular models of violent behaviour and the self upon which *The Violent Illusion Trilogy* is then presumed to act. Three sections follow.

Section 1 begins with the behaviour of violence and then turns to emotion and cognition.

Section 2 constructs a more subjective appreciation of the self.

Section 3 considers growth, change learning and development for that self in the context of violent behaviour.

Again touching on the notions of *contamination* and *undecidability* these sections cannot be entirely compartmentalised: instead the reader will loop around and encounter aspects of the subject matter of each which will form the basis of explanation and analysis in Chapter 6, Analysis. Throughout, the reader should remember my earlier caution that though we encounter multiple epistemologies in this chapter, they may still be descriptions of one ontology. For example, a brief consideration of similarity or difference between cognitive-behavioural and psychodynamic formulations or explanations of violent behaviour may be of use in illustrating the 'multiplicity' of explanation: both epistemologies are considered in this literature review, and play a part in the Residency which is the subject of study.

Example: Rapprochement of the cognitive-behavioural and the psychodynamic

Despite what might seem deep divisions on the surface, Persons, Curtis & Silberschatz (1991) argue that both epistemologies appear to share a conceptual underpinning at a deep level. Both see the area of concern as being the centrality of beliefs in maintaining psychopathology, although they emphasise different aspects of this central concern: a psychodynamic approach sees such distortions arising from defence mechanisms to protect against intrapsychic anxiety. By contrast a cognitive behavioural approach sees such distortions as arising more from identifiable learning experiences of the individual as a conscious being.

Ursano & Hales (1986) see another point of rapprochement in citing 'cognitive psychotherapy' as deriving from a psychodynamic model and with a 'high degree of overlap' in the problem areas identified, with both models understanding that cognitive distortions are central, although

(as said above) emphasising different aspects. Thus, rather than being an Enlightenment attempt to 'find the roots' or a 'founding principle', to 'bring the unruly under one rule', the following literature survey is an attempt at a Wittgensteinian *rhizomatic* network of explanations, a "...multiplicity, which has diverse forms ramifying in all directions...[where] any point on it can be connected to any other" (Heaton & Groves 1994, p128) in a 'spreading wave' of activation.

The following survey will thus aim to reflect and build upon the concepts mentioned in the Introduction and attempt to act as a vessel (an alchemic crucible) to contain and mix epistemological relativity and indeterminism with a claim of unity of ontology in a reflexive *act of will* to privilege certain explanations above others, ultimately reflecting, derived from and fitting with what Geese *actually do*, consciously or unconsciously. As with the Residency, the decision as to the success or otherwise of this attempt lies ultimately with the participants in this thesis.

Overview: The themes of the literature review (table i)

Part 1: The Person	Part 2: The Self	Part 3: Learning, Change & Development
<p>Models of violence</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Naming the Beast: Defining violence The instrumental - hostile distinction The cognitive emphasis Is violence instinctual? Are men biologically violent? Is violence hereditary? Is it all in the personality? Is violence social? Acquiring the habit The role of traumatic experience Some more Damasio feelings Latent effects of early childhood deprivation Chronic or acute? <p>Emotion & cognition</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Definitions of emotion The social construction of emotions The social construction of anger Defining cognition The emotion-cognition 'link' – 'fethinkel' Can there be pre-conscious processing of emotion? Models of thought: A cognitivist perspective Organising cognition: Schema theory Cognition in action? Human problem solving The making of meaning <p>Memory</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Memory systems General mechanisms Encoding, storage & retrieval or recall Autobiographical & Semantic memory Emotion & memory The effect of emotion on memory The making of memory <p>Summary of Part 1: The Person</p>	<p>Interpersonal: individual vs. group</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The looking glass self The mirror cracked The shattered glass self Talking into being: The role of dialogue Dialogue and narrative as therapy The dramaturgical self Aesthetic space With Moreno in surplus reality Performance & role The role of role The 'social atom' The 'Tinkerbell' effect: Ritual & magic <p>The intrapsychic dimension: 'Inner worlds' of the self</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The defensive self Freudian psychodynamic structures & mechanisms The Kleinian perspective Object relations Psychodynamic elements of the dramaturgical self <p>Contradictions: 'Me, Myself, and I'</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Situation not self? Fluidity & stability: Islands in the stream <p>Summary of Part 2: The Self</p>	<p>Learning</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The politics of learning Conscientisation 'Fethinkel' & environmental restraints Teaching & learning Socrates' error? Abstraction versus 'human sense' Experiential learning Social Learning Theory Learning & memory <p>Change and motivation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The link to Motivational Interviewing Core conditions of change: The therapeutic alliance The therapeutic alliance: A 'way of being' <p>Growth & personal development</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The hierarchy of need Therapeutic endeavour Theatre of therapy? Catharsis <p>Literature Review: A Final Summary</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Overall model Theoretical 'nodes' Philosophical endnote

Part 1: The Person

Establishing a model of violence

Introduction

This study focuses on working with violent men. Therefore it seems fitting to begin with an examination of the core issue of violence, while maintaining an awareness of the complexity of the subject and need to tolerate ambiguity and apparent contradiction. We will consider relevant definitions and distinctions, and examine the evidence for violence as an 'innate' human characteristic and as a human cultural artefact. Finally we will briefly examine mechanisms for the acquiring of violent behaviour and foreshadow a deeper dimension to come, that of the psychodynamic or intrapsychic, as part of the attempt at holistic perspective.

Naming the Beast: Defining Violence

Gilligan (2000) identifies that in the West we lack a generalisable theory of violence: This is at least in part a result of Western cultural individualism. There is no universally accepted or clear definition of violence, and confusion reigns amid such terms as anger, hostility, aggressiveness and their relationship (Berkowitz 1993, Selby 1984). Campbell (1976) lists many competing definitions of violence ranging from personal injury to the intentional use of force, through psychological and emotional torture to the imposition of one's will upon another (though thinkers such as Freire (1990) and Boal (1979) might prefer to see this as *oppression*), and supports Gilligan (2000) that to treat violence as a phenomenon outside of normal social processes hinders analysis. We will first attempt some working definitions.

Anger

Anger is not necessarily linked to violence or aggression and will be considered and defined more fully below in the discussion on emotions.

Aggression

The concept of *aggression* will generally imply a wider variety of destructive or punitive behaviour directed towards other persons or objects, other than actual interpersonal violence.

Violence

Following Archer & Browne (1989) *violence* is defined here as a specific and extreme type of aggression, where for an act to be characterised as *violent* there must be present

- Hostile affect (see below)
- Injurious behaviour
- Harmful intent

The Instrumental - hostile distinction

A key distinction to be drawn is between *instrumental aggression* and *hostile aggression*.

Instrumental aggression refers to 'rational' purposive aggression and subsequent violence as a more 'planned' behaviour directed toward removing or circumventing an obstacle that stands between an aggressor and a goal.

By contrast, *hostile* aggression and *violence* refers to behaviour motivated by the experience of anger or other strong direct emotion (such as fear) where the attainment of a goal is considered to be a secondary factor.

It is important to note that while hostile aggression is also purposive, the crucial question may be of the degree of *consciousness* of intention. The man who, from across the nightclub, sees another man seemingly looking at his girlfriend, walks to a table, picks up a glass, walks across the room and then 'glasses' the other man, all the while rehearsing the kind of cognitive 'self talk' posited (for example) by the Cognitive Self Change Programme (CSCP) violent offender programme model (discussed below), is arguably doing something *different* to the man who simply attacks, as well as doing something *similar*. Both may be motivated by jealousy or fear of loss, and violence remains purposive in that it is meaningful for the attacker (Toch 1969, 1986a) as both may be wanting to 'teach a lesson' or remove the other man as 'threat', but one behaviour possesses an immediacy and heat which the other does not seem to, in the same way. As Toch (1986) identifies "Frustration or anger arousal is a *facilitative*, rather than a *necessary*, condition for aggression." (p210, my emphasis).

This distinction may best be seen as a continuum, since it is likely that all violence is purposive to some degree, but also that even extremely instrumental violence is, at some level, rooted in an emotional experience which in turn is related to the experience of trauma (see below and Gilligan 2000). Jefferies (1991) argues that in her experience as a therapist with incarcerated serious violent or sexual offenders, the majority of the inmates have violent or abusive backgrounds, witnessed violence or were themselves abused. Citing Bowlby she adds "The tendency to treat others in the same way as we ourselves have been treated is deep in human nature." (p91).

This point is also supported by Baim (2000), Moretti, Penney, Obsuth & Odgers (2007) on the influence of exposure to parental violence and its subsequent effects on attachment patterns in intimate relationships, similarly to Dutton (1999), and by Gerhardt (2004) and Balbernie (2001) offering neurological data on the importance of affection for infantile brain development, an idea linked to the concept of *long term potentiation* (see below under the section on the 'making of memory').

The cognitive emphasis

The present conception of violence within the English and Welsh criminal justice system is somewhat confused: Violence is seen as a purposive (instrumental) behaviour originating in thinking: "...the majority of offenders commit violent offences because *they want to.*" (Atrill 1999 p58 my emphasis), but it is also identified that existing violence programmes "...cater primarily for offenders whose violence is associated with a heightened emotional state, such as anger or is reactive to a stressful situation" (Home Office 2006, p15, my emphasis). This is clearly tending toward the *hostile* end of the spectrum. The intervention approach is however clearer: It is overwhelmingly cognitive:

- The *Cognitive Self Change Programme* (CSCP) for serious violent offenders in prison claims to work with the 'thoughts, feelings, attitudes and beliefs' that support violent behaviour, and to identify the 'connections' between thoughts and (violent) behaviour, before practising alternative behaviours (Atrill 1999)
- The *Controlling and Learning to Manage Anger* programme (CALM) aims to reduce aggressive behaviour "...which is related to poor emotional management skills..." by "...teaching social skills [and] anger management" (Home Office 2006 p19)
- The *Aggression Replacement Training* (ART) programme aims to reduce aggressive behaviour through "...teaching social skills, anger management techniques and improved moral reasoning" (Home Office 2006 p19)
- The new *Life Minus Violence* (LMV) programme is described as "...long-term cognitive behavioural group work package" (Ireland 2007)

The *Life Minus Violence* programme appears to promote a more holistic model of working, but the first three programmes mentioned above exemplify the orthodox approach to violence and violent offenders current in most Western criminal justice systems. They are 'psychological' in orientation, and a product of the 'cognitive revolution' that swept through criminal justice psychology in the last decade of the 20th century, seeing violent behaviour as faulty information processing. The 'cognitive skills' elements privilege 'thinking' above all else and are individualistic, seeing change as situated entirely in the individual 'doing' the thinking. 'Feelings' (by which I presume is meant the emotional gamut associated with violent behaviour; see below for the more specific definitions of *feelings* and *emotions* to which this thesis works) are referred to but not really worked with except as information for a cognitive analysis.

The central model of 'anti-social logic' in the CSCP (prioritising cognition, see figure (i)) mentions the concept of 'Victim Stance' which is intended to reflect a *cognitive style* at this particular point of the 'offending cycle' – specific (though generic) *thoughts* such as 'they can't do this to me' or 'they're all having a go at me'.

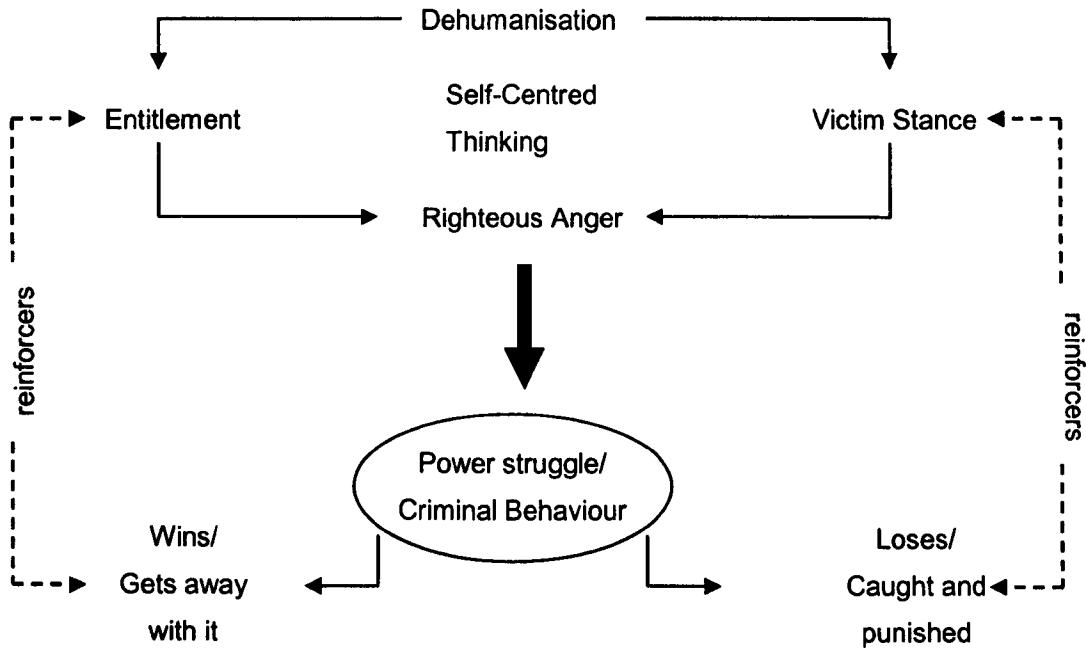


Figure (i) Model of Anti-social logic

Victim Stance is a concept central to Geese's work (through a historical association between John Bergman and Jack Bush, originator of the CSCP) but in the CSCP the *emotional* experience of 'feeling like a victim' is again downplayed and these 'victim thoughts' are seen as a *conscious cognitive artefact* that then serves as a rationalisation to purposive behaviour. The essentiality of the *affective* dimension and of *embodied sensation* is almost entirely lost, and psychodynamic principles are not considered at all. These issues will be expanded upon at length below, when we turn to consider the notion of embodied somato-visceral *feelings* (Damasio 2000) and a wider psychodynamic perspective on the drivers for violent behaviour, based in traumatic experience, and the way in which the Residency can be suggested to deal with these.

Returning to the programmes mentioned above, my tone implies that the features described are all problematic, yet it must be remembered that the CSCP has also been demonstrated to be effective in reducing violent offending (Henning & Frueh 1996), as have other cognitive-behaviourally orientated interventions (see also Arsuffi 2007, Ireland 2000, McCulloch, McMurran & Worley 2005) and as will be seen, many core features and an emphasis on cognition are in fact *similar to* or *shared by* the process of the *Violent Illusion Trilogy* Residency. The key difference is that, as will be expanded, this thesis asserts that *in addition to this cognitive element and because of its dramaturgical nature*, the Residency provides a far more holistic experience, with subsequent gains not easily available to the programmes briefly discussed here.

We will return to the theme of traumatic experience as a driver for violent behaviour below, but first Gilligan (2000) proposes some useful questions concerning the aetiology of violence and violent behaviour: I will borrow his framework for this inquiry.

i) Is violence instinctual?

Ethnological studies beginning with Lorenz (1963) have argued that violence is 'instinctual'. Freud posited a build up of instinctual forces that must eventually be 'vented' in a sort of *catharsis* - characterised as a 'hydraulic' theory (see MacQueen 1996). Yet there is no evidence for 'violence' *per se* as an innate motivating force in the way that hunger or thirst is - there is no *innate 'drive'* to restore homeostasis to the organism through violence, although as will be suggested later, this is a physiological motivation for violent behaviour that can be *developed or learned subsequently as a response to re-stimulation of embodied trauma*.

This is an important point, and a related term that will be mentioned several times in passing before it is fully explored below is 'Damasian feelings'; hence a brief definition will be helpful here. Damasio (2000) uses the term *feelings* to indicate somato-visceral changes originating in both the somatic and autonomic nervous systems and which are perceived *internally*; the muscle tension, sweating etcetera that is the embodiment of *emotional states*.

To return directly to the question being considered, palaeontology is equally unsupportive of the notion of our 'violent ancestors' (Leakey & Lewin 1992) as, on serious scrutiny, is the new discipline of evolutionary psychology (Segal 2001, Rose & Rose 2001). Instead, evidence suggests violence as a cultural construct: Sipes (1975) found a positive correlation between the level of aggressive or belligerent sport practised by a society and its level of warfare. Conversely societies with the lowest level of warfare had the least aggressive sports. This suggests that rather than 'venting' aggressive or violent 'urges' the enactment may form a rehearsal for the behaviour, which is supported by associated cultural values. The evidence in this area is complex and contradictory however and it is unlikely that there is a simple cause and effect relationship.

The idea that violence and its expression is a primarily cultural construct does not deny a biological dimension: As LeVay (1993) argues, all behaviour and feelings have a biological substrate and our experience as *embodied beings* is central to this thesis (Toates 1997); the understanding of social behaviours such as violence is lessened without biological knowledge even while not reduced to it (Rose 1997). Finally, instead of instinct, Gilligan (2000) cites the notion of a behavioural 'fixed action pattern' (Tinbergen 1969), which is activated by highly specific environmental triggers (see Toch 1986b), and which again may be linked to reactivation of previous traumatic experience.

This notion of a fixed action pattern tending towards violent behaviour is a key concept for the subsequent analysis of the Residency and in particular the Corridas. Overall, I am

suggesting that in persistent violent offenders these patterns are not 'intrinsic' but a constellation of learned behaviours, intrapsychic structures, embodied sensations and conscious cognition.

ii) Are men biologically violent?

In our culture at least the persistent expression of anger, violence and aggression appears to differ according to gender: Men are responsible for the vast majority of such behaviour (Kimmel 2004, Powis 2002) and tend to turn such feelings outwards towards others while females tend to self-harm (van der Kolk 1985, Carmen, Reiker & Mills 1984). Genetic analysis has shown that in violent men the Y chromosome - which determines male sex - is 'unusual' in one location (Horizon 1996). This site coincides with the 'MAOA' gene - a gene linked to neuro-transmission in the brain. Criminality may therefore be hypothesised to be linked to the 'male' Y chromosome.

However, Andrews and Bonta (1998) detail the search for biological explanations of crime and violence in men born with an extra Y chromosome, (the 'XYY hypothesis'), who, if the hypothesis is correct, should exhibit higher levels of these behaviours. They conclude that "...the XYY anomaly is extremely rare...and links weakly with criminality and not at all with violence" (pg166). In other words, 'normal' XY men are violent and criminal without the extra Y chromosome and men with it are not overrepresented in the criminal or violent population.

Thus Rutter (1994) identifies that such possible genetic *influences* are just that - *probabilistic* and not *causal*. Wills (1994) emphasises that we have a huge stock of genetic possibilities with bearing on behaviour but that these may never surface unless there is an environmental need for them. There is no 'gene for violence' as it is the phenotype and not the individual that is selected for (Analysis 1995). As Toates (1997) points out, complimentarily to LeVay "...there exists a social and cultural level [to humans] which cannot be reduced in any simple way to biology". (p65)

iii) Is violence hereditary?

Twins studies have attempted to answer this question: Andrews and Bonta (1994) find that although the results from studies of twins "...point to a role for heredity" (pg168) such studies have been unable to separate the role of environment and genetics and can offer no clear conclusions.

In adoption studies, the hypothesis is that if the rate of criminality is higher for male children who have a criminal parent but are taken into non-offending families than it is for adopted children with non-offending parents, heredity must play a role. Using a database of 14,000 children in Denmark, Mednick, Gabrielli & Hutchings (1984) found that the evidence is 'mildly consistent' with a genetic effect: Adoptees raised by noncriminal parents but who had a criminal biological parent were at a higher risk to be convicted, of 20% vs. 13.5%.

Analysis of persistent offenders in this data set found that as the number of offences committed by the biological parent rose so did the number committed by the adoptees, but that this effect did *not* hold for violent offences (Mednick, Gabrielli & Hutchings 1987): There is no significant relationship between biological parentage and violence specifically (Moffitt, Mednick & Gabrielli 1989, Farrington 1994).

iv) Is it all in the personality?

Ideas on 'personality' encapsulate fundamental assumptions about the nature of being human (Ewen 1993). This thesis accepts that children exhibit different behavioural and temperamental characteristics from birth and that these are therefore 'hard wired' to some extent (and arguably affected by *in utero* experience, Berry-Brazelton & Cramer 1991, Sheldon 1995, Stevenson & Oates 1994); it accepts that some individuals may have biologically disposed predispositions to behaviour which is subsequently societally sanctioned as criminal (Eysenck 1977, 1987). But it denies the notion of a violent or criminal 'personality' in the sense of fixed biologically determined 'traits' (Mischel 1968, Yochelson & Samenow 1976).

Instead this thesis takes an essentially social constructionist view that personality be operationalised as a set of social, behavioural and interpersonal competencies performed within an 'experiential reality' (Lakoff 1987) drawing on biological potentials but deriving from our social matrix. Again, this thesis sees violence and aggression as a common outcome of traumatic experience in that experiential reality (Hodge 1992). Other, dramaturgical conceptions of personality (Goffman 1959, Landy 1993) of relevance to this thesis will be considered below.

v) Is violence social? Acquiring the habit

What then are the mechanisms of acquiring violent behaviour? Accepting the possibility of genetic predispositions, the weight of evidence suggests that crucial mechanisms are to be found in that prime arbiter of our learning and development: The social context (Vygotsky 2000). This 'social matrix' (Cox & Klinger 1988) that reciprocally both forms and is affected by us, leads to the acquisition of violent responses in a number of ways:

- By making aggressive behavioural responses both salient and often evaluated as interpersonally and instrumentally positive and 'rational' through cognitive mediation, which may be affected by sub cultural mores (Durkheim 1966, Dodge, Bates & Pettit 1990, Eysenck & Keane 1995, Wolfgang & Ferracuti 1967, Cloward & Ohlin 1960, Wisdom 1989, Feschbach 1964)
- By negative or inconsistent parental modelling of *novel* aggressive behaviour which can then be acquired and passed on to future generations (Bandura 1986, Bandura & Walters 1963, Hoffman 1960, McCord & McCord 1961, Wheeler 1966, Silver, Dublin & Lourie 1969).

There is a preponderance of such overt behaviours in lower socio-economic classes (Farrington 1994) and for Gilligan (2000) poverty is the deadliest form of violence, which in turn is related to social class (Dodge, Bates & Pettit 1990) and its 'injuries' of shame and humiliation (see Sennett & Cobb 1973).

While this may begin to sound like a plea of expiation or exculpation for violent men, I ask you to be reflexive about the social and political frame from within which you are reading: These arguments do not sit well within contemporary power structures, as suggested in Chapter 1; but that does not mean they should be dismissed as unrealistic or 'politically motivated'. A social conception of violence and the self is no more or less political than an individualistic conception.

Taking in the above points, *social learning theory* (SLT see Bandura (1969, 1977a, 1977b, 1986, Bandura & Walters 1963, Bandura, Underwood & Fromerson 1975) offers a compelling analysis that includes specific mechanisms for acquiring behaviours through observation and types of modelling across the generations (see below). Being 'inherently dramatic' (Courtney 1968) these observational mechanisms are central to this thesis through their concern with *mimesis* and *enactment*. Social learning theory (SLT) will be considered at greater length below, in Part 3 of this review.

Gilligan (2000) sees a stable sense of self as emerging *only in interaction with others* (another link back to the 'social matrix' and forward to a *dramaturgical* sense of the self that will be considered below). Gilligan conceptualises violence in epidemiological terms as a 'culturally transmitted disease' that can only be understood if seen as a 'bio-psycho-social' problem. Overall, his arguments can be taken as an assertion that traumatic experience lies at the heart of violent behaviour.

The role of traumatic experience

The question arises of what is meant by 'trauma' in this context? From the perspective of originating events for Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD), the theme of massive and life-threatening events, often based in combat situations, is common, such as van der Kolk's (1987a) "uncontrollable, terrifying life events" (p1) and van der Kolk, McFarlane & Weisaeth's (1996) idea of 'overwhelming experience'. Gilligan (2000) suggests experiences of extreme oppression and fear that give rise to shame and guilt: He specifically identifies the use of homosexual rape in US prisons. Such experiences are conceptualised as 'dominating' the mental life of the 'victim' for a considerable period after the experience (see Horowitz 1976, Kardiner 1941, Krystal 1968, Lindemann 1944, Reswick 2001).

Van der Kolk (1987a) notes that:

"Because they respond with hyperarousal to *emotional or sensory stimuli*, many traumatized individuals *have difficulty controlling their anxious and aggressive feelings*" (p7, my emphasis)

while Krugman (1987) identifies that the 'posttraumatic stress response' involves "...intense feelings of *vulnerability and rage*" (p127 my emphasis). These comments are of obvious significance to this thesis, linking as they do to the central idea of Damasian somato-visceral *feelings* which are triggered by re-activation of past traumatic events, leading to an attempt to (in Gilligan's 2000 phrase) 'cleanse' the associated guilt and shame though 'emotional logic' powered by Freudian *primary processes* or 'magical thinking'.

Some more Damasian feelings

That persons suffering from PTSD experience fragmented or overwhelming sensory 'flashbacks' of the events is well acknowledged and is in fact a diagnostic criterion for the disorder (American Psychiatric Association 2000); van der Kolk & van der Hart (1991), Kardiner (1941) and Terr (1993) all report that traumatic memory is frequently organized without semantic representation and on sensori-motor and affective levels and that this can include 'kinaesthetic' i.e. bodily sensations or Damasian *feelings*. Hudgins (2002) also suggests strongly that traumatic experience remains in a 'bubble', live, unprocessed, stored in the body and open to re-stimulation until it is somehow dealt with therapeutically (see also van der Kolk & Fisler 1995).

It is also interesting to note that in the context of repeated violent encounters, van der Kolk (1996a) identifies that "Re-enactment of victimization is a major cause of violence in society" (p11) and Freud interpreted the voluntary re-exposure by trauma victims of themselves to further traumatic experience similar to the original, as an attempt at 'mastery' of the trauma (Freud 1920). Green (1983) also suggests a need or compulsion in abused children to repeat trauma in an attempt to identify with the aggressor or abuser; the key point here is that doing so the traumatised person may be attempting to replace unbearable (Damasian) somato-visceral feelings of fear and helplessness with feelings (and subsequent emotions?) of 'omnipotence'. This links to the 'cleansing' of fear and guilt and the temporary vanquishing of the suggested unbearable, embodied Damasian somato-visceral feelings when they are re-aroused.

Latent effects of early childhood deprivation

This thesis does not contend that all violent offenders have the clinical symptoms of PTSD (although some do) but that we need to cast the net of 'traumatic experience' wider, to encapsulate more than the kind of intense adult 'fear of death' experiences identified so far. Van der Kolk (1987a) notes that "the emotional development of children is intimately connected with the safety and nurturance provided by their environment" (p14) and that the

experience of abuse or neglect by carers can produce "...extreme reactivity to internal and external stimulation" (p15) – which can again be seen as a link to the central mode of violent behaviour proposed by this thesis. As a result, traumatised children (who grow into traumatised adults) have difficulty modulating aggression (van der Kolk, Roth, Pelcovitz & Mandel 1993, van der Kolk 1996c).

It can be suggested that van der Kolk is really talking about *attachment theory* (see Bowlby 1988a, 1988b, 1989, Holmes 1993). Bowlby emphasises that *attachment behaviour* is a vital psychobiological function, indispensable for human survival, consisting of behaviours that aid the formation of deep emotional bonds between infant and carer. Disturbances in childhood attachment bonds brought about by a failure of child-carer meshing and synchronisation can result in of a lack of sense of engagedness or effectiveness about its contributions on the part of the child (Meltzoff & Moore 1977, Berry-Brazelton & Cramer 1991, Oates 1994) and such faulty social integration can have "lifelong psychobiological consequences" (van der Kolk (1987c p33, Grotstein & Rinsley 1994

Thus, De Zulueta (1993) sees violence as 'attachment gone wrong' and originating in "loss as a form of deprivation and trauma" (p76) while Dutton (1999) also suggests that such experiences, resulting in problematic attachment styles, are fundamentally involved in the perpetration by heterosexual men of violence and abuse in intimate relationships. In another link to the emergent model of this thesis, van der Kolk (1987c) identifies that such experiences of 'loss' through neglect or poor parenting can have not just *psychological* consequences, but *physiological*, with a reduced capacity to deal with stress or arousal being passed on both genetically and through upbringing.

Chronic or acute?

Van der Kolk (1996b) identifies that we should be beginning to differentiate between different types of trauma victims rather than judging all by the monolith of 'overwhelming experience'. The important point to note here is that the *trauma* we are discussing can be the acute direct, intense 'overwhelming' experiences of physical abuse and violence identified above and which may be perceived as life-threatening¹; but also considered here as 'traumatic experience' is

- a) The type of attachment-based *emotional trauma* related to loss and infantile 'failure of meshing' discussed above
- b) *Chronic* day to day abusive or neglectful experience, where the level is not always intensive and overwhelming, but a corrosive 'drip by drip'

Bowlby (1988a, 1988b 1997) argues that such experience results in diminished capacity for *empathy* – the ability to imaginatively project oneself into the situation of another and

¹ Many violent offenders with whom I have worked have told essentially the same story of frequent beatings as a child 'until I got big enough to hit him back'

transformatively, *understand how that would feel emotionally* (Heathcoat's 'left hand of knowing' see Wagner & O'Neill 1999). Krugman (1987) identifies that in the context of family violence one must consider not just the specific traumatic event, but

"...the way in which the event colours the individual's experience of the ecosphere and organizes his or her interpersonal world" (p131)

and in a glance ahead to the *psychodynamic* theories to be considered below, notes that traumatic experience

"...causes victims [and] perpetrators ... to rely heavily on [the psychological defence mechanisms of] denial, avoidance, projection and splitting" (p129).

It is the contention of this thesis that the child growing up in a home where there is a failure of attachment and/or exposure to the kinds of chronic trauma described here is most likely to develop a skewed and distorted *internal world* which predisposes toward violent responses: The argument Gilligan (2000) presents for there being psychological forces which underlie all violence. It is a contention of this thesis that the convicted violent offenders who take part on the *Violent Illusion Trilogy* Residency are very likely to have had such experience (see Groth 1979, Seghorn, Boucher & Prentky 1987) as their feedback to the performance of *The Violent Illusion Part 1* (see Critical Episode 3 Chapter 5, and Episode 3, Appendix A) suggests.

It is a central theme of this thesis that such traumatic experience as we are discussing can be intensely provocative (or re-stimulating) of emotions of *shame* or *guilt* around the original trauma and that the 'unbearability' of the Damasian somato-visceral feelings is in large part because of this reactivation; the *rage* involved is seen as a subsequent response.

However, following another theme of this literature review, we should note van der Kolk's (1996a) observation that "...the [construction of] meanings that victims attach to these events is as fundamental as the trauma itself" (p6), meaning that 'trauma' is only 'trauma' if conceptualised as such. Hence, (often because of the 'normalising' effect of trauma) the men on the Residency will not perceive themselves as having been 'traumatised' at all, even when living the effects of the trauma, and to do so (remembering Freud's suggestions above on 'mastery' of traumatic experience) can be seen as an admission of weakness and vulnerability too difficult to bear. Figure (ii) attempts to represent in diagrammatic form the suggested linkages and model of violent behaviour emergent; however hard to represent diagrammatically, readers should bear in mind the image of a 'spreading wave' of activation through a network of 'nodes'.

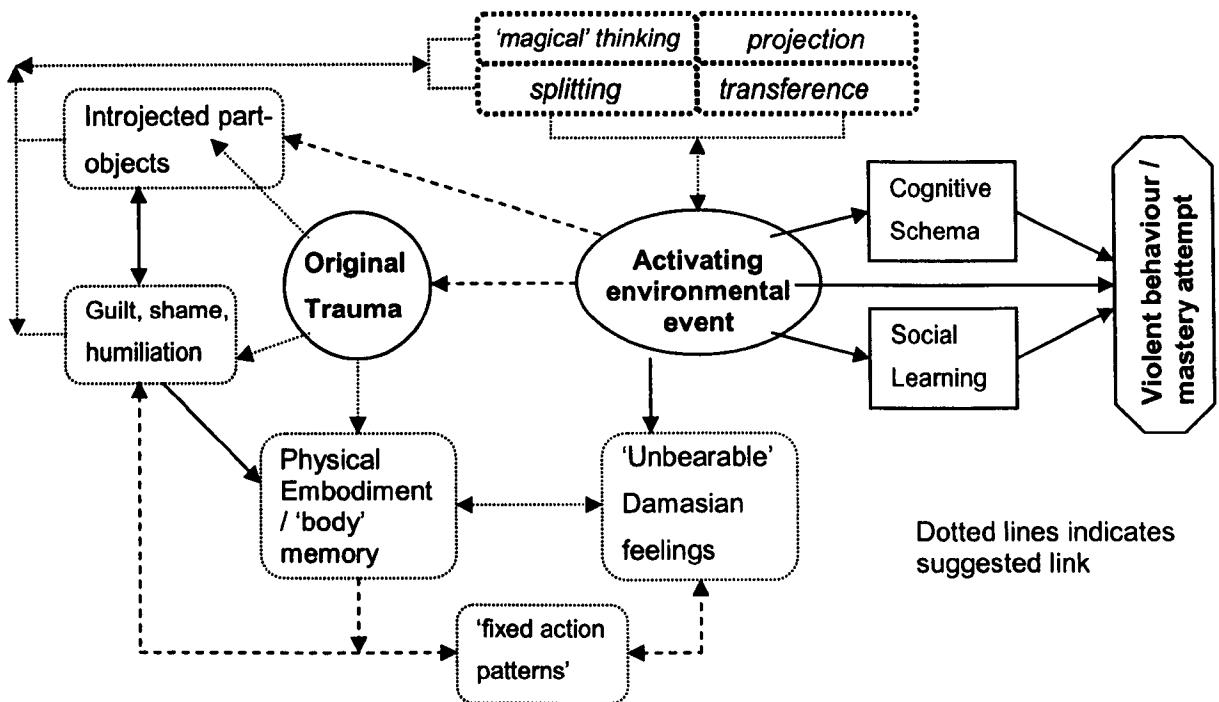


Figure (ii) suggested model of violence processes

Summary

To this point we have considered a general overview of the phenomenon of violence: The overwhelmingly cognitive orientation of current work with the vast majority of violent offenders has been considered and some of the potential shortcomings with such a restricted analysis that does not deal holistically with the person have been outlined.

We have also considered definitions of violence and constructed the definition to which this thesis will work and outlined the crucial distinction between instrumental (planned or rational) and hostile (more emotionally driven) violence, while noting there may also be similarities.

Various models of the aetiology of violence or violent behaviour have been examined. Questions of personality and biology have been examined and no compelling evidence found for violence as an 'inherent drive', a hereditary trait, a personality characteristic or primarily biologically based. While plotted levels of testosterone and rates of murder over the male life cycle match well (Gilligan 2000) and even chess victories raise testosterone level, male violence is clearly an interactional social process of which biology in whatever form is only one dimension. Social and experiential determinants of violence appear far more powerful than biological: Given an environment or social learning facilitating aggression, girls can be as aggressive or violent as men (Campbell 1981). Similarly, risk factors for delinquency in general are primarily social in nature and act as a constellation of influences (Scientific American 1995).

Thus, we have found good evidence for a subtler, societal analysis that provides mechanisms for the experience, observation and consequent learning of violent or aggressive behaviours that are both

- Culturally salient and interpersonally rewarded
- Traumatising and shaming to the individual

This latter point has also hinted at the need to examine a further level of complexity, that of the effect on violent behaviour of such trauma at the *psychodynamic or intrapsychic* level and not simply 'consciously'. This dimension will be considered in Section 2 of the literature review, The Self. Next, we will begin to focus in on two crucial aspects of the person: Cognition and emotion their nature and relationship, and related aspects of functioning.

Emotion & cognition

Introduction

Several themes are of central concern here, linked as emotional experience is to a core element of the hypothesis on the efficacy of the *Violent Illusion Trilogy*. Through this literature survey I hope to establish a more holistic understanding of the emotion-cognition 'connection', to consider human problem solving processes which are relevant to the Residency and to consider some models of human thought.

Despite my earlier criticisms of atomism, it is first necessary to consider the 'elements' separately before recombining them. We will thus consider definitions of emotion; the social construction and expression of *emotion*; the social construction of *cognition*; and the ultimate holisticity or unity of '*cognition and emotion*'

Definitions of emotion

Firstly, what do we mean by 'emotion'? Kleinginna & Kleinginna (1981) found 92 emotional definitions over 11 categories, and theories of emotion span philosophy, history, anthropology and sociology in addition to (at least) psychology and post modernism (Strongman 1996). Linking to Gilligan's (2000) holistic analysis of violence as a 'bio-psychosocial' issue, Kemper (1991, 1993) suggests emotion be considered as a socio-psychophysiological phenomenon, supported by Damasio (1996, 2000) whose conceptions are central to this thesis. Damasio offers the following definitions:

Feelings are somato-visceral changes originating in both the somatic and autonomic nervous systems and which are perceived *internally*; the muscle tension, sweating etcetera that is the embodiment of emotional states. These feelings are continually present as 'background' data and can be represented non-consciously or become known to the reflexive organism, when cognitive labelling or attribution process may apply (Damasio 2000). As Shapiro (1990) argues: "...we have to recognise that the mind and body are one..."

our bodies... manifest the unconscious energies that underlie our every action" (p90).

Within this thesis, these Damasian *feelings* are seen as intrinsically linked to re-stimulation of previous trauma on a subconscious level (see below) and to the notion of 'fixed action patterns' facilitating violent behaviour.

- *Emotions* are part of the process of regulatory homeostasis for the dynamically changing organism and at least in part intended for outward social communication: They are evolutionarily based in the sense of being response selections or 'action tendencies' (Fridja 1986, Lazarus 1991) providing a motivational incentive in goal directed behaviours (Bloom & Lazarson 1988).

It seems likely that there exists a set of around six *primary emotions* which are 'hardwired' evolutionally and thus rooted in the 'old brain' limbic system: These appear to be universally (cross culturally) recognised (Ekman 1971, Ekman & Friesen 1975) and of most survival utility such as anger, fear and disgust. *Secondary emotions* are subtler, mixed shades of the primaries and may be regarded as culturally influenced (see below). An *emotion* is thus

"...a combination of a *mental evaluative* process, simple or complex, with *dispositional responses to that process, mostly toward the body proper*, resulting in an emotional body state, but also *toward the brain itself*...resulting in additional mental changes." (Damasio 1996 p 139 italics original).

Moods are seen as states of emotion which are frequent or prolonged; a prolonged state of arousal which may or may not have been attributed cognitively. *Affect* can be seen as a blanket term covering all of the above.

The social construction of emotions

Denzin (1984) sees emotion as arising in the social situation and as a 'form of dialogue' with others (a conceptualisation which has overtones of Wittgenstein) while Fridja (1986) argues that different emotions can be distinguished by the *action tendencies* they bring about. Rosaldo (1984) claims emotions as being social practices which we enact and tell and which are structured by our understanding. These strongly social constructionist positions ignore or downgrade the physiological or biological elements discussed above and so this thesis concurs with Oatley (1993) in that while emotions are socially constructed, some are more so than others.

Certainly the *expression* of emotions appears to be a cultural artefact: White (1992) cautions against cross cultural 'translation' of emotional terms, but Markus & Kitayama (1991) cite other cultures where the expression of anger – as a relevant example – is entirely different to Western culture, such as the Utka of Greenland who do not show anger in situations which

would be extremely anger arousing in European terms; this appears to be more than a simple 'suppression'.

Rosaldo (1984) cites the Ilongot peoples among whom anger can be 'forgotten' or 'paid for' in a penalty transaction: The experience or understanding of anger therefore appears to be different to a Western conceptualisation based on individuality and individual 'insult' or a specific transgression, an idea supported by Markus and Kitayama's (1992) reading of Japanese culture. In their view, the culture is one based on consensus and group harmony, where the expression of anger such as is viewed positively in Western society is viewed extremely negatively and as being inappropriate to the social matrix. This point links to ideas of the socially constructed *relational self*, which we will consider below.

The social construction of anger

Although we have cited anger as a primary emotion and therefore universally 'hardwired' for its evolutionary adaptive value, the question here remains the expression of such emotion and the phenomenological understanding, the *meaning* of the anger for the expresser or experiencer of the anger.

Miller & Sperry (1987) describe how dialogues and narratives in the social context of a child can shape the experience and expression of specific emotions such as anger. Add this to the other social learning mechanisms described above, and to a 'Euro-American' (Brewster-Smith 1994) cultural milieu which is predicated on individuality and boundedness (Kanagawa, Cross & Markus 2001) and we come to a position outlined by Lazarus (1991) where in our society the key motivational theme to anger is a (culturally constructed) '*demeaning offence against me or mine*' which then has a culturally determined behavioural expression. In the light of Gilligan's (2000) insights, this 'demeaning offence' must be seen as linked to shame and guilt related to previous trauma and could well be received or perceived on a non-conscious level, but serving to activate unbearable embodied somato-visceral *feelings* (Damasio 1996).

Defining cognition

In the above consideration of emotion and feeling we have inevitably already mentioned cognition. Cognition is seen as the very basis of our species individuality, we are *Homo sapiens*, 'thinking man' (sic). In our everyday experience we are continuously subjectively aware of our 'thinking', woven as we are into a web of purposive behaviour and rational decisions, although as will continue to be explored below, this rationality is inherently emotional.

But from whence does 'cognition' arise? The evidence considered below suggests the same kinds of evolutionary driving mechanisms in our *social* existence as 'group animals' that have been mentioned above for the development of emotions, apply to the cognitive domain.

Stemming from our evolutionary history of complex grouping and cooperation (Wills 1994), individual and group survival is aided by an ability to predict others; this in turn rests on an awareness of self and subsequent empathic projection through a 'theory of mind' to enable that prediction (Humphrey 1982). The social constructionist position of Vygotsky, stating that internal thought literally begins with the external speech of others *in social interaction* is a baseline (Vygotsky 2000), as are social learning processes in general, their environmental effects colluding with whatever biological potentialities may exist.

The notion that one's thought and conceptual and literal vocabulary is literally constrained and shaped by one's material environment is known as the 'Sapir-Whorf' hypothesis. As Butterworth (1992) states, there is an "...inextricable link between contextual constraints and the acquisition of knowledge". This hypothesis is evidenced by studies of societies arising in environmentally extreme conditions such as the Arctic and the deserts of the Middle East where the indigenous populations have developed extreme precision and conceptual subtlety around – respectively – types of snow and types of sand, their characteristics and how best to deal with them – what, in fact, they *mean*. There is reciprocity here in that without a (environmentally determined) concept there cannot be language to describe it and without language there can be no conceptualisation. Hence the two contrasting cultures in their natural state have little or no experience of the environmentally opposite conditions and thus no language or concepts for them.

These arguments have been clearly articulated by Vygotsky and by Best (1992) and represent a key concept here: Environmental constraints include the *social* environment and thus the 'injuries of class' mentioned above by Gilligan include limitations that are injurious to the widest development of the constellation of thought, concept and language.

The emotion-cognition 'link' – 'fethinkel'

As discussed in the Introduction to this thesis, our Western language in the main finds it difficult to conceptualise the affective/cognitive unity emerging from this review of the literature. There is no doubt that cognition and affect are connected; several influential emotional theories agree on some cognition-affect linkage (Zajonc 1980, 1984, Kiesler 1982, Lazarus 1991, Fridja 1993) while differing on the exact relationship and degree of holisticity. As a reminder of the dramatic nature of the Residency to which much of this literature search applies, from DIE Bolton (1978) states that "...significant feelings...can only be wrought from significant thoughts, that *feeling and thinking are aspects of the same mental operation.*" (p101, my emphasis).

From a more 'scientific' neurologically based perspective Damasio (1996) argues that not only are cognition and affect linked but that certain aspects of the emotional process are *indispensable* for rationality; he denies the neo-Cartesian split which sees emotion as based in evolutionarily 'old brain' structure like the amygdala and rationality as situated in

neocortical structures; for him rationality (which we will see is inherently emotional) is the product of both high and low level brain structures in collaboration working to provide flexibility of response to environmental stimuli. Emotion is also social in this reading, serving to communicate meanings to others (see Wittgenstein 1958).

Evaluation is a key concept: Damasio's (1996) 'evaluative process' is at least partially a collection of changes in the body states which are *responding to the content of thoughts* – "Men are excited not by objects but by their thoughts about them" (Epictetus). Similarly several decades ago Schacter & Singer (1962) demonstrated that the same physiological state of autonomic arousal could generate subjective descriptions as varied as joy and anger: Clearly the internal cue (a Damasian body state) enabled a gross distinction that the individual is 'emotional', but *decisions as to which emotion appear under the control of external cues.*

Obviously however, Schacter & Singer's laboratory experimental context lacked ecological validity (Neisser 1976) and the 'cultural communication' element of emotion must have been severely curtailed. This all suggests a conscious process, and Lazarus (1982) claims that *cognitive appraisal* underlies all emotional states; Zajonc however argues that *affective evaluation* can occur independently of cognition (Zajonc 1980, 1984).

Can there be pre-conscious processing of emotion?

By 'pre-conscious' I mean a type of processing that occurs at a speed or in a manner whereby there is no 'rational thought process' of which we are aware. Lazarus (1982) argues for the existence of pre-conscious cognitive processes, something which Eysenck & Keane (1995) describe as an 'article of faith', but for which they also provide evidence on subliminal (pre-conscious) processes.

LeDoux (1990, 1994) suggests that physiological responses to an emotional stimuli can bypass the neocortex via a direct neural pathway: Clearly, in some situations, such as something running into the road while you are driving, environmental stimuli are perceived, processed and reacted to far more quickly than a consciously rational process allows. This too links to the notion of Damasian *feelings* that are in turn linked to experience of trauma, guilt, shame and humiliation and consequent rage. From the field of work with trauma, van der Kolk & Ducey (1989) and van der Kolk (1996d) support LeDoux in the contention that "...emotional memories can be established without any conscious evaluation of incoming information by the neocortex..." (1996d, p234).

In effect, an affective response of some type can occur without much in the way of conscious processing, supporting Zajonc (1980), though in the frame of this thesis this produces a primary Damasian somato-visceral 'feeling' rather than an emotion, which does require cognitive processing or evaluation. This notion of pre-conscious reaction to primarily

emotional stimuli will be examined in more depth below when the intrapsychic dimension is discussed.

Summary

We have now considered and defined *feelings* and *emotions*, the former being an essentially physiologically based sensation which are then subject to a degree of conscious cognitive evaluation and/or interpretation in order to become the latter. We have seen that there is evidence for the evolutionary utility and cross cultural recognition of a set of 'core' emotional communications, while recognising that in the main the construction and expression of emotion is culturally rooted and relativistic.

We have established good evidence for the unity of 'cognition and affect', for an integrated concept one might call 'fe-think-el' (literally 'thinking and 'feeling' in one) and have considered that the physical environment plays a profound role in the boundarying of reciprocal possibilities for linguistic and conceptual development possible to a culture. Within this, the drivers for the evolution and development of 'fethinkeling' arise in the *social* and interpersonal environment.

We have considered that within such an environment some stimuli can produce physiological somato-visceral *feelings* (linked to previous experience of trauma) that are themselves powerful motivators, without fully conscious processing; *these embodied sensations* can themselves alter cognitive states of the organism (Gilligan 2000). The mechanisms involved in this are evolutionarily old and related strongly to survival responses.

Having established the above, we will now move on to consider some issues of modelling 'how thought works' which privilege the rational and the cognitive, the logical and the abstract and hence inevitably underplay the emotional essence which we have established is an equal and fundamental part of human cognition.

Models of thought: A cognitivist perspective

Introduction

The following discussion must be considered in the light of such evidence as Damasio (1996) cites with a patient who as a result of specific brain injury remained completely rational but had no emotional life. He was able to logically proceed through innumerable decisional options but was unable to *decide* without some sort of emotional aid and was just as likely to choose self-injurious or disadvantageous options; in this sense he was *irrational* because his *thinking* lacked *emotion*: It was *too rational*. With this caution in mind, we will examine some of the more useful concepts from cognitive psychology, including schema theory; connectionism; and problem solving

Organising cognition: Schema theory

Schemas have been described as "cognitive structures that organise experience and behaviour" (Beck 1990 p4), their contents being seen as 'rules and beliefs' which determine the content of thinking, affective reactions and 'rule determined' behaviour. They are posited as being categorically and hierarchically arranged, and their contents are available to consciousness through the 'rational disputation' that forms part of the CSCP and CALM programmes with their cognitive-behavioural emphasis. Dysfunctional behaviour is seen as due to schema which produce 'consistently biased judgements', leading to a tendency to certain 'cognitive errors' in certain situations.

Of obvious relevance to this thesis, we hold 'person schemas' which usually refer to interpretation of information regarding persons we know well, but which can also be generalised to 'strangers' – in the absence of 'actual' information, our schema 'fill in the blanks' in terms of inferring motivation and meaning etcetera. Perhaps more importantly, we also hold *self-schemas*, referring to ..."general information that we believe to be true about our own traits [and] dispositions...." (Searleman & Hermann 1994, p 124). However, in the following discussion on the psychodynamic aspects of the human self, we will consider the notion that people may also have schemas which are entirely *unconscious*, which are primarily *emotional* in content and which can powerfully affect and motivate conscious behaviour.

The theory for the type of information processing schema that we are discussing at this point remains problematic however in that several elements such as the internal organisation of schemata remain unspecified; schema are clearly related to the 'constructs' of George Kelly (Kelly 1955) while lacking their clear phenomenological process. Additionally the theory lacks the flexibility to account fully for human behaviour and does not take account of evidence on the 'fuzzy' logic and heuristic nature of much human behaviour (Labov 1973). The model is also anti-humanistic, reflecting a historic concern of cognitive psychology with information processing mind-as-computer metaphors – a schema in itself (Lachman & Lachman 1979) and which Augoustinos & Walker (1995) identify seriously underplays the social aspect of cognition.

Some of these difficulties are countered by cognitive models of parallel distributed processing (PDP). PDP or 'connectionist' models are inherently 'human' in nature because they are inspired by the physical structures of the brain, the collective 'neural network' of neurons and synapses, where functioning is distributed over the whole system (Tulving 1991). They are also inherently human in that they are Chaotically probabilistic and unpredictable (Eiser 1994). These models are 'intrinsically capable' (Cohen, Kiss, & LeVoi 1993) of many characteristics of human behaviour, which do not need programming in, unlike their schema-based rivals. These qualities simply spring from the network system and are said to be *emergent* qualities (as is the case in the Residency with the men who will be

chosen to enter the Corrida): Schema-based organisation of knowledge can emerge from such a network (Rummelhart, Smolensky, McClelland & Hinton 1986).

The relevance to this thesis is that the evidence suggests that we as humans have mental 'scripts' or expectations about how life events 'should go', derived from a variety of sources (conscious and, the literature suggests, non-conscious) which effect our expectations, perceptions, behaviour, thinking and memory. These scripts/schemata/models can:

- Make certain information more *salient* than other (Anderson & Pichert 1978)
- Obviously be dysfunctional in a broad sense

In addition Blud (1999) identifies a number of 'cognitive deficits' from which offenders specifically are generally said to suffer and which can generally be seen as contributing to behaviour that is defined as anti-social. These deficits include:

- A lack of self-control
- A lack of comfort with abstract concepts or abstract reasoning
- A lack of critical reasoning
- An inability to see other's points of view
- Difficulties in interpersonal problem solving

The latter point above will be considered in depth both in this chapter and in Chapter 6, Analysis. Since we have earlier suggested the unity of cognition and affect through the word *fethinkel*, 'deficits' in cognitive functioning actually imply associated 'deficits' in emotional capacity – as the above list implies. Since offenders of the type with which this study is concerned are over-represented in the lower socio-economic classes, one can argue that this is another manifestation of Gilligan's 'injuries of class', arising from an impoverished or traumatising interpersonal environment, with subsequent consequences for linguistic, conceptual and emotional repertoires.

Cognition in action? Human problem solving

Problem solving is relevant to this thesis since in many ways – and harking back to the distinction between *instrumental* and *hostile* aggression - the violent behaviour of the men concerned can be seen as an *intentional* or *purposive* attempt to solve some sort of perceived problem, although the degree consciousness of the intent may vary (see the discussion above on instrumental versus hostile aggression and violence). Again, cognitive psychology historically has stressed an information-processing approach to human problem solving such as *problem space theory* (Newell & Simon 1972).

This describes the abstract structure of a problem and sees problem solving as a "constrained and guided search through a space of alternative possibilities" (Eysenck & Keane 1995, p366). Stressing 'means-end analysis' and the application of heuristic 'rules-of-thumb' strategies, this enables the solver to move from a clearly specified 'problem state' to

a desired 'goal state' through the application of 'operators' to reduce the difference between the two states; such a problem is classed as 'well-defined'.

Tversky & Kahneman (1979) however argue that people rely only on a limited number of such heuristic principles, reducing the complexities of assessment in a way that can have severe systematic errors, including errors of representativeness and validity; we are also constrained by the availability to us of comparative examples. Thus, in the real world domain where most human solving of human interpersonal problems actually takes place, 'idealised specifications' of the problem simply do not pertain. Simon (1978) suggests that problem solving is an interaction between the (problem) task environment and the solver where the problem structure itself contains both considerable information as to solving, and constraints as to what methods may be used. However, as stated above, humans do not always construct optimal representations of problems, and human problem solving constantly deals with ill-defined problems such as inter-personal issues.

Greeno (1976) states that if a solver's knowledge is taken into account the boundary between well- & ill-defined problems becomes even more blurred since, for example, the human solver may treat a well-defined problem as though it has indefinite goals, a characteristic of ill-defined problems. Even this situation is not clear-cut however as the information gathering process itself can result in an initially unclear problem becoming well defined (at least to the problem solver, Kahney 1993).

In short, if an interpersonal situation

- Is 'filtered' through the type of schema discussed above (which link to previous traumatic experience and intrapsychic structures, see below) and
- Is then perceived as problematic in some way, perhaps with the wide activation of previous stimuli available through distributed memory processing in the brain

and then has added to it

- The physiological changes which alter the style of cognition (Damasio 1996)
- The 'cognitive deficits' described regarding impulsivity and consequential thinking
- An aggressive behavioural repertoire of fixed action patterns which are rehearsed and culturally supported

then violence is indeed likely to be the outcome of many interpersonal encounters for the men featured in this study.

The making of meaning

One issue to which we have not yet paid much direct attention but which underlies much of the discussion so far, and much to come, is that of *meaning*. This issue is of importance in

the (re)constructive process that is memory, in the discussion of problem solving above and in cognition in general, and will be seen as central in our consideration of learning, below.

Bruner (1990) argues that the 'cognitive emphasis' and 'mind as information processor' approach which is critiqued extensively in this thesis has been responsible for a neglect of the mind as 'maker of meanings' and the reciprocal 'special interaction' through which mind constitutes and is constituted by society. Meaning and its construction will be explored in more depth in both Part 2: The Self, and Part 3: Learning Change and Development but for now it should be noted as an issue of central importance to which we will return as our rhizomatic network of review develops.

Summary

Having looked at emotion, we have now considered in addition some specific aspects of cognition. The notion of schemas as an organising structure for cognition has been put forward and found insufficiently holistic, and the suggestion that 'schema-type' structures may exist on an unconscious level and perform similar functions in terms of organisation and activation of (in this case) primarily somato-visceral *feeling based* responses has been put forward but not yet developed.

We have considered a practical application of cognition in terms of problem solving and seen that, both in general and in our specific context of violent behaviour, most 'people problems' are interpersonal in nature and thus not easily defined either in structure or desired outcome. We have also considered that specific 'cognitive deficits' (and by association, emotional deficits) associated with offenders in general may have their origins in experience of impoverished emotional and social circumstances. This is both an echo of the already stated suggestion by Gilligan (2000) that emotional trauma is at the root of violent behaviour and a foreshadowing of a deeper exploration of this idea when we consider psychodynamic elements.

Thus, we have considered the origins, nature and unity of cognition and emotion in the social environment, the possible perturbations arising from an impoverished environment, and suggested structures by which we organise our knowledge (schemas and distributed networks). The importance of meaning as opposed to information processing has been raised and noted for further exploration and development.

We will now move on to the final aspect of the person to be covered, one which is (again) intrinsically and inherently a matter of unity of 'fethinkeling' and which is central both to our sense of ourselves and the possibility of meaningful change: The area of memory.

Memory

Introduction to Memory

Memory matters to *The Violent Illusion Trilogy* Residency because without memory no learning – in the sense of adaptation to environmental experience – can occur. It is also important because a core theme of this thesis is that *The Violent Illusion Trilogy* generally and the Corrida specifically are memorable experiences because of their *emotional* content: In fact that a key part of their efficacy is due to this. Therefore we must consider just how memory may work, and the role of emotion in it, including various 'types' or 'systems' of memory and how memory might be 'made'

Memory systems

There are many competing models of memory from biological through connectionist to straight information processing (Searleman & Herrmann 1994). Areas of particular relevance to this thesis are:

- The general mechanisms of encoding, storage and retrieval
- Memory relating to the self (autobiographical)
- Memory relating to the world generally (semantic)
- Memory relating to doing things (procedural)
- The effects of emotion on memory
- Memory and learning

General Mechanisms

Although the following discussion is overwhelmingly cognitivist in orientation, an intriguing general point is that of *sensory memory* - each sense modality is thought to have its own sensory memory system (Searleman & Herrmann 1994) and traumatic experience seems to be frequently "...organised in memory on sensori-motor and affective levels..." (van der Kolk & van der Hart (1989 p1). This is a point linked to the discussion on Damasio's somato-visceral *feelings*, and to which we will return when the three dimensional, holistic nature of the dramatic and theatrical practice in *The Violent Illusion* is considered more closely.

One of the most influential general memory models put forward has been that of a *multiple store* such as suggested by Atkinson & Shiffrin (1968, 1971.) This proposed a modular structure of sensory registration, short-term storage and long-term storage, corresponding to what would appear to be the obvious features of memory. Such computer-based models are now discredited for separating components from processes, for lacking ecological validity and for lacking the complexity and subtlety that later memory research has suggested (Searleman & Herrmann 1994). The exact architecture of memory is not the focus here, but issues of encoding - i.e. actually remembering a stimulus – storage and recall must be considered.

Schemata are again relevant as they affect memory in several ways:

- Through selection and storage of material according to congruency rules
- Through abstracting the specific to the general
- Through integration, interpretation and normalisation

and finally through their effect on retrieval (Cohen, Kiss & LeVoi 1993, Memon 1998, Schank & Abelson (1977).

Encoding

There is still validity in conceptualising memory as a 'multiple store' operationally with both long and short term repositories, but which, in general, faithfully records and 'encodes' memory traces or 'engrams' (the idealised 'unit' of memory, see Searleman & Herrmann 1994); any particular engram is considered to be an amalgam of discrete features such as 'size, shape and colour' (Gudjonsson 1992).

Short-term memory overlaps considerably with *conscious attention* and is most clearly conceptualised as *working memory*: Baddeley (1990, 1992) emphasises the manipulation of such memory data in the performance of complex cognitive tasks such as learning and reasoning. This information remains in consciousness and forms part of the psychological present, often as a result of rehearsal (actively remembering a telephone number for example) placing working memory squarely at the heart of human functioning and the cognitive system, encompassing not just abstract cognitive activities but also actual, purposive behaviour in the real world.

At present, working memory represents the crossroads between memory, attention, and perception, even if the over-all model itself is under-specified in some respects and eventually proves incomplete. Future developments in the field of Parallel Distributed Processing may show the way forward, as cognitive psychology hopefully moves towards a greater holism in its conceptions of human cognitive functioning (Roth & Bruce 1995). A final point is that encoding of engrams may not be purposive: Things are simply 'remembered' whether or not you intend to.

Storage

The theoretical structure of memory stores is not the main focus here (see Cohen, Kiss & LeVoi 1993 for further discussion): The crucial point is that a man who undergoes *The Violent Illusion Trilogy* may be taught anything, any number of cognitive interventions or behavioural alternatives to violence, but if at the time of need he cannot recall what he has learned, then the learning has been useless. Memory stores are considered to be comprehensive: Therefore *retrieval* or *recall* of encoded material is a key issue (Eysenck & Keane 1995, Williams, Loftus & Deffenbacher 1992).

Retrieval or recall

Several aspects of recall are of direct relevance to violent behaviour in general, the process of *The Violent Illusion* and to the process which may occur in the Corrida; the following points will therefore be returned to more fully later. Memory is in general reconstructive and associative (Bartlett 1932); Multiple Trace Theory (Bower 1967) therefore suggests that engrams can be retrieved with the use of an appropriate cue, of which there may be several.

This links to the 'network' theory of affect which suggests that 'emotions' can be regarded as nodes of a semantic network which connects to ideas, physiological systems, external events and so on which may be activated through a 'spreading wave' of associations so that in the example of violent men, activation of 'anxiety' may activate anxiety-related 'nodes' such as anger (Gilligan and Bower 1984). This in turn is clearly linked to the ideas proposed by Gilligan (2000) and Damasio (2000) above regarding embodied somato-visceral feelings that may be linked subconsciously to previous experiences of trauma, being re-stimulated by a wide range of environmental triggers.

The effectiveness of such retrieval cues is dependent on the extent to which the encoded material and the retrieval cue overlap, with context dependency factors being important (i.e. materials encoded in one context might not be easily accessed in a different context, see Flexer & Tulving 1978, Godden & Baddeley 1980). Additionally, Multiple Trace Theory suggests that information not accessed in one way (through one set of stimuli) may be accessed in another (Tulving 1974) and finally the Encoding Specificity Hypothesis (ESH) states that reinstatement of the original context within which encoding took place should facilitate access to the encoded material (Tulving & Thomson 1973). These points are all of direct relevance to the suggested process of the Corrida.

Autobiographical & Semantic memory

Autobiographical and semantic memory systems may exist in close relationship. *Autobiographical memory* is concerned with memory of specific life events relating to the self, such as events, people or places with some sort of personal relevance and which are bound to some sort of spatio-temporal context (Tulving 1972, 1985) but which may have a wide range from lifetime to seconds or minutes (Conway & Berkerian 1987). Our autobiographical memory is a major motivator in that it contains our weightiest emotional memories (positive or negative) and is the vessel of our continued 'sense of self' beyond some type of second-to-second awareness. The distress caused by its absence can be observed in patients with discrete brain injury or dementia (see Real Lives, 2005).

Semantic memory is seen as consisting of meaningful facts with general, rather than personal relevance: Such as knowing the calendar months or that birds can fly. Autobiographical memory may be 'embedded' (Tulving 1984) in semantic, so that there is a

dual flow of information: The two 'types' of memory are certainly interdependent as semantic knowledge is built up from individual experiences and individual experiences are interpreted through semantic knowledge; individual experiences may go into the semantic general knowledge store or become 'individualised' memories (see Linton 1982). Semantic memory is thus closely related to the ideas of schemata discussed above.

A further distinction necessary is that autobiographical memory can be subdivided into *declarative* and *experiential* or *procedural*. The former may be seen as 'facts' with personal relevance (e.g. I own a car, I have dark hair) while the latter are an altogether richer experience, such as recalling a favourite holiday along with images, sounds, sensations, and – of course – emotional content.

The effect of emotion on memory

Affective states have several implications for recall. Gilligan and Bower's (1984) theory suggests that recall will be best when:

- The mood at recall matches that at encoding (*mood state dependent recall*)
- Emotionally toned learning is most effective when the 'mood' of what is learnt matches the learner's current mood state (*mood congruity*)
- *Mood intensity* should cause increases in the intensity of the 'spreading wave' of activation of associated memory 'nodes';
- *Thought congruity* should lead to a matching of 'thought mood' with the affective state

Additionally, memories which have a high degree of surprise, personal importance and emotionality are often remembered vividly, if inaccurately (Rubin & Kozin 1984, Wagenaar 1986, Greenberg 2004) and Bartlett (1932) observed that in recalling a prose passage what his subjects remembered was driven by their 'emotional commitment and response' to the events portrayed. Baddeley (1982) identifies that in terms of performance, immediate recall benefits from a low level of (physiological or emotional) arousal such as anxiety while higher levels lead to an initially worse performance but in the long run produce better results.

Finally, it seems that the 'memory for detail' of an emotional event fades over time (and the procedure will be recalled reconstructively anyway), leaving instead a kind of emotional tone to the memory, either positive or negative (Searleman & Herrmann 1994). Although originating in laboratory tasks of memory these points are all crucial both to later analysis of the *Violent Illusion* and *Corrida* processes.

The making of memory

Memory is ultimately a phenomenon based in physiology or the biological: "... it is now taken for granted that the basis of all learning and memory must involve some anatomical changes in neurons or in the synaptic connections" (Searleman & Herrmann 1994, p150). Rose

(1993) has demonstrated that such chemical/neurological changes occur in day old chicks exposed to one single learning event.

From the perspective of the vastly more complex question of how human life is transformed via these mechanisms into 'memory' as we experience it, and also with reference to memory and the possible effects of *The Violent Illusion Trilogy*, we must consider the concepts of *consolidation* and *long-term potentiation*.

Consolidation is the process by which memory moves from 'short term' to 'long term' storage (and thus availability for recall). Consolidation can take years to occur and the *arousal hypothesis* of memory consolidation suggests that the amount of consolidation is directly linked to the degree of neural activity in the brain; the hormones which facilitates consolidation are also associated with higher levels of arousal or stress, a point of interest given discussion above on the persistency of memory for traumatic experience.

Long Term Potentiation (LTP) is the 'leading candidate' to account for the biologically based synaptic changes which underlie learning in mammals such as humans. It has been found that bursts of high frequency electrical stimulation to the pathways in the hippocampus area of the brain (an evolutionarily old part of the brain) of mammals can produce an effect whereby the next time the affected neurons receive stimulation their response is bigger than if they had not previously been exposed to the stimulation. There are several types of Long Term Potentiation and the relevance to *The Violent Illusion Trilogy* and the Corrida is that the hippocampus plays a 'major role' in the formation of most human long-term memories and it is possible that LTP may be facilitated by the kind of hormonal activity which was described above as being associated with physiological arousal or stress specifics (see Searleman & Herrmann 1994 for a wider discussion).

While the research undertaken for this thesis clearly does not extend to such biological exactitude, the processes suggested might be of extreme relevance, providing another level of explanation (another epistemology) for the Residency

Summary of Part 1: The Person

We began by considering the predominant 'cognitivist' paradigm currently informing work with violent offenders and we saw that within the chosen example, the Cognitive Self Change Programme, violent behaviour is primarily seen as a result of thinking errors or faulty social perception. 'Victim Stance' is understood as the offender *thinking of himself* as a victim, which then gives the license to behave in a certain way. These thoughts may have a certain degree of automaticity and thus not be fully in conscious attention but they are still *thoughts*. Cognition is both separated out and privileged while emotion is not directly dealt with.

Other possible roots of violent behaviour were interrogated and no evidence for violence as a 'drive' or an innate characteristic was found, but there was strong support for it being seen as arising and acquired within the human social matrix, and needing to be treated multi-dimensionally, as a complex 'bio-psycho-social' problem. An analysis based on this perspective and with trauma, shame and guilt at its core augmented by social and economic factors was noted.

Moving on to consider emotion and cognition, the model emerging from this review sees cognition as inherently emotional and vice-versa, in a unified whole of 'fethinkel', a construct which has its origins in social interaction, is profoundly shaped by the social and emotional environment and which communicates on both a conscious and non-conscious level to shape behaviour. Behaviour is thus seen as a product of this complexity, with non-conscious, physiologically based responses to environmental stimuli playing a powerful role as motivator and driver.

This suggests that the serious violent offender is an *actual victim* in a very profound sense and that Victim Stance is in fact a core emotional and bodily state, perhaps not even in awareness, which powers the violent behaviour and is rooted in trauma, shame and guilt. The 'thinking of oneself as a victim' was suggested as the conscious cognitive icing on the cake of some fundamental psychodynamic structures and embodied states and note was made that this model has yet to include the intrapsychic factors mentioned above and which will be considered soon in Part 2: The Self.

Returning to cognition we considered schema theory as a way of conceptualising the organisation of cognition and found the concepts of connectionism and parallel distributed processing to provide a more holistic model. Still within the realm of the cognitive, violence was considered as an aspect of problem solving and the point made that in the human sphere most problems are actually interpersonal rather than matters of abstract logical reasoning. Evidence that offenders in general display a number of 'cognitive deficits', which affect their likely behaviour, was presented.

Finally, we considered the question of memory. This was established as being a reconstructive process in which emotion plays a large role in both what is 'remembered' at the time and what is later 'recalled', especially when the information is of personal relevance to us. Similarities were observed between suggestions of how memory recall may operate and connectionist models of cognition in terms of parallel or distributed processes rather than linear. In closing, the physiological basis of memory was explored.

Having considered such 'generic' or 'systems' questions as cognition, emotion and memory and their relation to the person, we turn next to an examination of what may constitute our 'inner worlds', in Part 2 of the review: The Self.

Part 2: The Self

The interpersonal level: Individual versus group

Introduction

The aim of this section is to develop the emerging model one stage further: Part 1 dealt with what might be called the fixities of behaviour, cognition and emotion associated with functioning as a person. Part 2 looks at a more diaphanous concept of the 'self', which includes all the above elements but also far more: It is the sense of being a *particular person* and is the holistic vessel for our encounters in the experiential life world. Without 'self' there can be no consequent self-awareness, and without 'self' we can be said in quite a profound human sense not to exist.

The relevance to this study is the suggestion that *The Violent Illusion* works holistically: That it has some sort of effect on the 'self' and not just the 'mechanical' elements considered in Part 1. We will begin by considering what is quite an important dynamic for the Residency as a collective process; that of the 'individual' versus the 'group' and what such distinctions imply.

As has been mentioned above, the present status quo in Euro-American psychology emphasises the cognitive. But this emphasis has effects far beyond merely privileging 'thinking'; it is, in effect, positing 'inner worlds of the self' and 'mental mechanisms' following cause and effect relationships. It sees the world as a collection of these individual 'selves', separate psychological entities sealed off and bounded from other separate individuals, and that these selves (once an age-based process of maturation is completed) are essentially 'fixed': People 'are this' or 'are that' (Kanagawa, Cross & Markus 2001).

Politically, this is a position which conceals a discourse regarding the structure of society and once famously summed up *in extremis* by Margaret Thatcher: "There is no such thing as society. There are individual men and women and there are families" (*Women's Own* 1987). I have mentioned the 'new paradigm' of research which acknowledges it is part of a wider societal agenda or perspective (see Banister, Burman, Parker, Taylor & Tindall 1994) and which places itself within a political perspective; the necessity for consideration of more developed psychological perspectives beyond the cognitivist, as a framework to analyse the drama at the core of the study, and the wish to take a position which challenges the present status quo means that this study must present a critique of a cognitivist understanding of the Residency and its effects while maintaining an awareness of that epistemology.

The looking glass self

A more critical social psychology sees 'individual' psychology as utterly dependent upon the social context in every way, following the evidence presented in Part 1 above, such as the

Vygotskyan position of internal thought beginning in external dialogue in group (in the sense of dyadic at least) interaction. Such a position also implicitly questions the notion of a psychological ‘individual’, at least in our early beginnings, as do some of the developmental theories that will be considered below.

Cooley (1902) suggested the notion of the ‘looking glass self’; that we see ourselves reflected in the looking glass of other people’s reactions and that such social feedback tells us who we ‘are’: This is the self as internalisation of other’s viewpoints. Mead’s symbolic interactionism (1934) also sees the self as reflexive and shaped by social experience. However, both positions still suggest individualised ‘others’ to have such viewpoints. James (1892) hinted at a more contemporary understanding by suggesting that a person has multiple ‘social selves’, but is again constrained by the need for discrete ‘individuals’ to be the vessel of these differing conceptions of self experienced by others, as is early dramaturgical analysis of the self based in role and performance (see Goffman 1956).

Multiple authors outside of the cognitivist axis have developed the looking glass self idea far beyond such a simple process of social perception, arguing that the person and the social context cannot be separated out one from the other at all (see for example Bruner 1990, Gergen 1985, Harre 1983, Shotter 1993, Vygotsky 2000). The self is seen as a product of our social matrix and is *distributed* across a ‘relational and social field’ (Wetherall & Maybin 1996); it is “the sum and swarm of participations in social life” (Bruner 1990, p107) and Marx sums up the alternative political discourse behind such a conception: “...man (*sic*) is not an abstract being squatting outside the world. Man is the human world, the state, society”. (Lukes 1973, p75).

To return to an earlier theme, this dynamic social experience reflects and is partially defined by our biological embodiment, which affects the judgments we make regarding ourselves and others, and they us. This moves us toward a much more social psychological understanding of the self, which will be developed ultimately into a *dramaturgical* understanding below.

The mirror cracked

As said, contained in the idea of the looking glass self is the implication that although it may be reflected from many angles – and accordingly look rather strange at times – there is still only one ‘self’: the self of the ‘Euro-American’ cultural milieu (Brewster-Smith 1994) mentioned above, which is predicated on bounded individuality, and of which we simply gain knowledge from the reflections. By contrast, later thinking explicitly sees any sharp demarcation between self and other as becoming increasingly blurred: We are *jointly* constructed as a dynamic *relational self* (Markus & Kitayama 1991) emergent within our (mutualised) cultural world, through joint actions which position oneself and other actors and from which interaction identities emerge (Shotter 1993, Kondo 1990). In such a non-Euro-

American cultural world "...there is no I, there is no me, there's just we.... a oneness" (Rajeshwar 2008) and conflict can occur when the two conceptualisations of self clash.

The shattered glass self

Thus, rather than having a looking glass self we are closer to a *shattered glass* self, with all the fragmentation and refraction this image implies. It is necessary to remain aware of a political dimension to this argument: Gergen (1991) argues that such a multiple post-modern self is in fact 'saturated' – too many possibilities, choices, too much freedom to 'be who you are'. This may be true for people in his economically and socially privileged position but for the men involved in the *Violent Illusion Trilogy*, their problem may be the opposite – too few choices of 'who one is', too few abilities, too little variation of existence. This thesis therefore fully accepts the notion of *situated freedom* (Sartre 1995): That social and economic circumstances affect the degree to which one can have existential freedom in determining one's self.

An important point to note is that the shattering of self here is not meant to imply a breakdown of otherwise fundamental structure: Instead the descriptor is *potentially*. Like a kaleidoscope, the fragments of self can be rearranged to become a new pattern without any one being foundational: In Chaotic or complex systems terms, the waveform of the self has coalesced into a particular actualisation, a particular alignment, which is as valid as any other but which retains its essential indeterminacy. So of what are the glittering shards of self composed?

Talking into being: The role of dialogue

The literature surveyed so far suggests that the self arises in society and primary social interaction, and indeed a sense of self appears to exist in social animals lacking sophisticated linguistic capacities (compared to humans), such as chimps (Gallup 1977). Harre (1979) follows Vygotsky in arguing for social interaction and conversation as the fundamentals of social psychological activity and thus, 'talk' both *states* and *does* (Austin 1962) rather than simply relaying information from a speaker to a listener: It has an *action orientation* which presents and constitutes reality, usually from the perspective of a particular participant's concerns or interests – their 'stake' (Edwards and Potter 1996).

Once the symbolic and communicative possibilities of language begin to emerge a major mechanism for the development of self(s) is dialogue within 'culturally established texts' (Shotter & Gergen 1989). By 'text' is meant the web of embodied culturally constructed *meanings* to which Wittgenstein (1953) refers by 'pointing' (see below) and which Gee (1999) refers to as *Discourse*. Discourse (capital D intentional) can be seen as

"... a "dance" that exists in the abstract as a coordinated pattern of words, values, deeds, beliefs, symbols, tools, objects, times, and places in the here and now as a performance that is recognizable as just such a coordination.

"Like a dance, the performance here and now is never exactly the same" (Gee 1999, p19).

Gee (1999) uses the term *Discourse* to mean the combination of both spoken 'discourse' in the sense of verbal utterance and the far wider 'Discourses' invoked in the above quote. This concept of Discourse reflects many links to the theoretical framework emergent in this literature review and thesis as a whole, such as indeterminacy, dramaturgical concepts of the self, rhizomatic knowledge and post-Newtonian physical theory.

The construction of meaning thus becomes a joint activity, as 'conversation' can never be divorced from its social context, a point also put forward by Wittgenstein in that a word's meaning is highly dependent upon its 'staging' (note the theatrical term), the 'language game' and circumstances of its use. Not only this, but following Wittgenstein, 'dialogue' becomes part of a 'language game' in which we respond to the *totality* (holism) of (the) other(s) and persons, bodies and minds *inhabit* language.

Dialogue and narrative as therapy

The notion of the 'talking cure' is common in psychotherapy; dialogue as the vehicle for a mutual exploration of a problem or issue. But it is possible to go far beyond this in dialogic terms, to the extent of 'therapy' being a case of co-creating a new 'story of self', a new narrative that fundamentally changes the relational self (see McNamee & Gergen 1999).

Even at this level however, and as has been stated above, dialogue is only one dimension of the human experience and it in itself cannot be divorced from what it is 'pointing' to: Persons, bodies and minds 'inhabit' language (see Wittgenstein 1958). Amidst this, the construction of *meaning* becomes crucial. Taking an anti—cognitivist stance Bruner (1990) argues for seeing the natural role of the mind not as an information processor but as *creator of meanings*, which both constitutes and is constituted by culture – in the sense of the reciprocal collective product of inhabited dialogue, narrative, interaction and discourse described above.

As should by now be clear from the preceding discussion, to focus on the verbal component of dialogue while disregarding the wider Discourse of social interaction personified in the speakers is to commit the same error as is common in literary criticism: A play text is not meant only to be read, its natural environment is in being acted out and actualised in any one of a number of equally valid ways. Thus, while dialogue plays a major role in developing and constituting the self, the self must be seen as essentially *performative and dramaturgical* in nature.

The dramaturgical self

Jones (1996) cites several authors who argue that theatre (and performance in the sense meant by Schechner 2003) is an essential human impulse necessary to healthy living, and Leakey & Lewin (1992) also argue that theatre/performance is a fundamental aspect of our human evolution. In this 'dramatistical' analysis the experiential life world and the people within it are seen as inherently theatrical. Perhaps at this point it is as well to define the understandings of drama and theatre to which we are working.

Drama is seen as a primary process including the use of games, improvisation and skills-focused experiential teaching strategies; it utilises the human ability to pretend and create separate or 'other' realities 'as if'. It is Aristotelian 'mimesis' (Aristotle 1940), action in imitation or representation of human behaviour (Jones 1996) but which is also 'a thing done' and therefore not just 'copying'. It is also a social situation to which one must give oneself but which has an existential quality when one is within it (Bolton 1992). This dual perception is Boal's (1979) 'metaxis', the participation of *one world in another* and this 'as if' quality is a crucial factor in drama- and theatre based work, inherent in the origin of drama deep in human cultural evolution, in sympathetic magic and rite (Chambers 1972, Frazer 1993, Schechner 2003).

Theatre focuses on the performance aspect of drama. Bolton (1992) claims that the 'fictitious social events' of *drama* only become *theatre* when attention is given to the art form itself and when the meanings of what the participants are creating or watching "resonates beyond the literal meanings of the actions and words" (p21) although he accepts that participants may experience theatre without realising it. Therefore "...theatre exists as a process for the interpretation of human behaviour and meanings as well as for their expression" (Neelands 1992, p3).

The line between *performer* and *watcher* is of relevance to this thesis, and is a major dynamic throughout the Residency. Obviously, a Western paradigm of 'theatre performance' has a very clear boundary between those (passively) watching and those (actively) doing/being watched. In Forum Theatre, Boal (1979) challenges this divide through the concept of the 'spect-actor', these being members of the audience who are encouraged to come on stage and play out alternative ways of dealing with the problematised situation presented on stage. This 'actor-spectator' boundary is treated as extremely permeable in the Residency and will be explored frequently in Chapter 6, Analysis.

Aesthetic space

Both *dramatic* and *theatrical* activity can take advantage of and take place within 'aesthetic space', which offers an 'imaginary mirror', allowing a person to observe their 'self in action' & thus "...imagine variations of his (sic) action, to study alternatives" (Boal 1995 p13) – a link to

the notion of the 'shattered glass' self (above) and the *potential* nature of the dramaturgical self.

Aesthetic space possesses both *physical* dimensions and *subjective* dimensions: It is 'oneiric' (of or belonging to dreams) with memory and imagination serving to project subjective dimensions onto the physical, so that the 'affective space' is both *dichotic* and *asynchronous*, in that the subject both *observes* and *projects* these memories & sensibilities, and is also 'in two places at once' – Boalian 'metaxis'. However, Boal notes that if this 'oneiric' quality becomes too developed, the aesthetic space loses its dichotomous quality as the individual loses consciousness of the *physical* space (i.e. where they actually are) and "penetrates into their own projections". Thus, the properties of aesthetic space are 'aesthetic' in that all are 'related to the senses' (Boal 1995 p28) and include:

- 'Gnoseological' properties: The stimulation of knowledge & discovery, cognition and recognition: Stimulating learning by experience, particularly through the 'telemicroscopic' ability of the stage to bring far away time, space and emotion, closer to hand
- Plasticity: Anything can happen because aesthetic space "*is but doesn't exist*". Time is not measured, only duration counts and it is possible to 'make concrete your desires'. This is a clear link to the Morenian notion of 'surplus reality' (see below), as well as earlier noted Derridan arguments about *contamination*

With Moreno in surplus reality

Surplus reality is a core concept in the group-based experiential psychotherapy of Psychodrama, developed originally from theatrical principles by Jacob Moreno (see Moreno 1985). Many of the ways of working exemplified in the *Violent Illusion Trilogy* residency are actually very 'Morenian' or 'psychodramatic', although at the time of HMP Blackwood none in the company was a qualified psychodrama psychotherapist. Geese practice here may therefore be seen as an example of 'parallel evolution' where very similar solutions are arrived at independently in different places at the same or different times. Moreno states that the 'psychodramatic' stage space is "...an extension of life beyond the reality test of life itself" (1993 p53) and sees surplus reality as an ontological dimension capturing the 'phenomenological reality' of an individual.

Prefiguring Boal (1995), Blatner & Blatner (1988) identify that "...the personal world of subjective phenomena and dreams and the objective world of consensual reality..." (p58) are both addressed in surplus reality, which they link to Winnicott's (1971) 'fluid transitional space' between the object relational 'inner world' and the existential life world of 'objective' reality, and to a ritual space (such as is suggested by Schechner) where "...participant's identities change significantly" (p58). Experiences in surplus reality can result both in "...powerful new internalization of a positive feeling" (p78) or (re)experiencing of a 'defeat' (or

insult) in such a way as to "...reduce injury to self-esteem" (p78); both of these points are of relevance to the later analysis of the Corrida, in Chapter 6.

It is important to note that surplus reality allows the experiencing, performance or embodiment of scenes which have never occurred, will never occur or can never occur in the existential life world and Casson (1998) points out that surplus reality is both a container and the vehicle for creation of "new realities" (p82) and that the power of 'symbolic resolution' in such scenes may be very great. Bradshaw Tuvon (1998) also supports such interpretations and Kellermann (2000) adds that surplus reality scenes may "...symbolically transform tragic life scenarios both in terms of changing a traumatic event and in terms of allowing for a *different emotional response*" (p31 my emphasis). The latter element of this quote is especially relevant to Corridas and the central hypothesis of this thesis.

Blomkvist & Rutzel (1994) see surplus reality as being about 'disintegration' in the sense of being an extension of reality with a transformational potential for discovery and healing. They also note that the *witnessing* and 'consensual validation' of others is important: This too is a key issue of relevance to the Corridas.

Thus, Boalian aesthetic space and the Morenian 'psychodramatic stage' where surplus reality comes into being can be seen to share many qualities or properties. They are clearly potentially therapeutic in nature, and so could be dealt with in Part 3 on change growth, and development; however because of their essentially dramatic nature they have been discussed here. This attempt at definition should illustrate that (in line with suggestions on contamination and indeterminacy presented earlier) there is no absolute boundary between drama and theatre: Theatre does not describe a single form of activity (Neelands 1990) and The *Violent Illusion Trilogy* makes use of both these aspects and every combination or shade in between. The particularities of Drama *in Education* specifically will be considered in Part 3 on change growth, and development.

Performance and role

To return to our main focus, a *dramaturgical self* has for some time been at the core of thinking around *performance art* where "The actions of the person himself (sic) become the object of his own attention" (Kirby 1969, p155) and more recently in radical psychological thinking such as *performative psychology* (see Holzman & Morss 2000) where 'performance' (literally and including theatrical artistic endeavour) is a revolutionary activity with the potential to "...abolish the present state of things, transform totalities" (Holzman 2000, p83). This is entirely congruent with a dramaturgical analysis, and as Nagel (1986) points out "If we are required to do certain things, then we are required to be the kinds of people who will do these things" (p191). The cross over of such a perspective with the concepts of aesthetic space and surplus reality mentioned above should be obvious.

In these terms, 'performance' becomes the 'sum and swarm' of interaction mentioned earlier, the self is social and relational and developed and defined through interaction with other actors in the scene – the 'individual' has no permanent identity but instead is a collection of roles or personas. Goffman's (1959) dramaturgical theory emphasises the theatre-like nature of social behaviour including the concept of 'role' and the possibility of enacting different roles (different selves) in different contexts. Role theory is therefore also of central concern to this thesis.

The role of role

Landy (1993) sees role as a container of thoughts and feelings with reference to the self and as a basic 'unit' of personality, while dramatherapy in general understands role as constituting different aspects of a person's (singular) identity (Jones 1996). Moreno (1985) expands the concept into a developmental model:

- *Psychosomatic* roles of basic physiological functions such as the 'sleeper' or 'eater' emerge first
- Followed by *social* roles (mother, son, daughter etcetera)
- Finally *psychodramatic* roles emerge which are the 'personification of imagined things'

In terms of the shattered glass self mentioned above, each of the shards of self can be seen as a role, however fragmentary. This is not a taxonomy in the sense proposed by Landy (1994, 1997) i.e. an array of archetypal roles derived from Western literature and exemplifying elements of human existence: *The Violent Illusion Trilogy* does not use the 'role method' of treatment where people are explicitly led to invoke and 'work through' their roles, although the notion of learning to live with ambivalence in their roles does have some cross-over and Landy's taxonomy usefully expands Moreno to include affective and cognitive roles. The essential point to grasp with role is that 'how a man acts can alter what he is' (Bettelheim 1986, p16)

Instead of such a structured conception of role as Landy suggests, this thesis sees role as having a more Chaotic flavour: The self as a *complex dynamic system* of roles exhibiting a directional character, but inherently non-deterministic. Using Eiser's (1994) Chaotic metaphor the structure of self can be viewed as a complex system that is both cohesive and contradictory; in fractal terms an infinitely long line surrounds a finite area (see Gleick 1988).

This would suggest a different understanding to that of an inmate needing (for example) to play out and experience a specific number of (Landyan) archetypal roles such as 'Vulnerable Child' in order to effect change in their role as violent offenders: Instead this Chaotic conception sees every (possibly fragmentary) role as connected to or exerting influence (contaminating) in some way over every other (fragmentary or whole) role.

The latent or potential selves implied can be enacted without need for a taxonomic labelling: Meaning is construed by and for the individual as they carry and enact multiple and ambivalent identities *simultaneously* (Schechner 2003, see also Mauss 1985); the *personnage* of all the suppressed or unexpressed roles of which we are capable (Boal 1995) in their *role repertoire* (see also Meldrum 1994). The crucial point here (which will be expanded below) is that the dramaturgical self can enact latent, potential or even *fictional* selves, which have a developmental or therapeutic potential.

The social atom

As a final note the network of persons directly interacting with a given person in the here and now forms their 'social atom' (Moreno 1985). This sounds quite limited, but a social atom is also described as an "...open [system] that extend[s] indefinitely, without boundaries....towards many in the past and towards many in the future (Holmes, Karp & Watson (1994, p176) .This is a point to which we shall return below, under our consideration of the 'cultural atom' in the psychodynamic aspects of the dramaturgical self.

Drama, theatre and ritual

Still connected to the dramaturgical self is the concept of ritual. Schechner (2003) identifies that ritual exists on a continuum with play, games, sports and theatre as forms of performance, although he sees theatre as having 'more in common' with sports or games than with ritual. He writes that

"Ritualized behaviour extends across the entire range of human action, but performance is a particular heated arena of ritual, and theatre, script and drama are heated and compact areas of performance" (p99).

He further defines performance as "Ritualized behaviour conditioned/permeated by play" (2003 p99). There is thus no absolute boundary between 'arenas', and in terms of the suggested Chaotic self-similarity of this thesis (and the theme of one ontology, multiple epistemologies) we see a further reflection of a rhizomatic structure and contamination of one realm by another.

Firth (1951) offers a useful definition of ritual as "...a kind of patterned activity orientated toward control of human affairs, primarily symbolic in character with a non-empirical referent, and as a rule socially sanctioned" (p222). There are several elements of interest to this thesis within this definition and we will spend a little time in considering them further.

patterned activity

Firstly, Schechner (2003) also identifies the notion of patterned activity in ritual, when he refers to the 'script' involved; by this he means the 'pattern of doing' rather than the written 'text' which may be implied to us. This sense of 'pattern' is also implicit in the use of the word 'script' in the therapeutic approach of Transactional Analysis (see Berne 1978), to refer to an

on-going and repeated way of relating or behaving interpersonally and emotionally, a notion which could be applied to the violent responses of the men taking part in the Residency. The notion of 'patterns' is also of relevance in terms of Discourse and discourse analysis, an approach which will be explored further in Chapter 3, Methodology.

control of human affairs

It is a common point that ritual is associated both with some sense of control or influence over the environment within which primitive society existed (i.e. influencing a positive outcome to a hunt) and with some sense of transformation, as a marking of some *change in status*, i.e. a young boy performing a specific task to mark his entry to manhood (see Berndt & Berndt 1988, Levi-Strauss 1963).

In the context of the Residency and the Corridas it is the latter sense that is to the fore, coming more sharply to focus as the week progresses and the potentiality for any of the men to enter the Corrida coalesces into the few who actually will. It is important to note however that the evidence considered in this literature review (see the section on catharsis for example) would suggest that even when an individual man is the focus, as in the Corrida, subconscious group processes mean that his actions are 'doing the work' for other men in the group

Berndt & Berndt (1988) identify that rites are usually re-enactments of mythology – the question could be asked therefore, what is the mythology of the men taking part in the week, particularly in the Corrida? Is the Corrida, in this mythological sense, re-enacting these ancient traumatic encounters suggested above, voluntarily 're-feeling' the Damasian somato-visceral sensations, in order that, as Freud suggests, some control may be exerted or mastery felt?

symbolic in character

I would suggest that the entire *Violent Illusion Trilogy* Residency is a symbolic undertaking. There is no actual violence in the week, although it is present symbolically throughout by means of scripted performance in full mask and costume, improvisational drama, didactically orientated group sessions and so on. On a wider scale the fact that an entire theatre company has come into a prison space for a week to concentrate in this issue is a symbol of the issue's importance.

The symbolism is perhaps at its most full in the Corridas themselves, when the ritual element of the week is at its most prominent and the examination and testing of the men is in its most specific and heightened form. With reference to symbolism in shamanic healing, Levi-Strauss (1963) suggests that

"The cure [sic] would exist.... in making explicit a situation originally existing on the emotional level and in rendering acceptable to the mind pains which the body refuses to tolerate" (p197 my emphasis)

This particular phraseology is extremely interesting given the model which has emerged in Parts 1 and 2 above of violence being at least in part a response to *emotionally based* trauma being stored both subconsciously and kinaesthetically *in the body* via Damasian somato-visceral 'feelings', which when re-stimulated through environmental stimuli, are unbearable, initiating Tinbergian 'fixed action patterns' and driving behaviour to ameliorate these feelings in some way.

It is very probable that the Residency and the Corridas cannot in fact be divorced from the symbolism within them and which they constitute (just as they cannot be divorced from the drama, theatre and 'performance') without becoming 'something else' – something 'asymbolic' if this is possible, perhaps in the line of standard offending behaviour programmes.

non-empirical referent

By non-empirical one must assume that Firth means something that cannot be tested or verified directly, such as the god(s) being favourably disposed towards a hunt? If so, the ritual involved in the Corrida does arguably have an empirical referent in that the 'testing' and 'change' immanent in the Corrida experience are intended to lead to real effects in the life-world. Verification must be subject to the same rules as determining whether or not the god(s) were well disposed to the hunt: If it went well then the god(s) were in favour and the preceding ritual was successful, and similarly, if the Corrida is experienced as having an effect then it too was successful.

This may seem like circular reasoning within a Western scientific paradigm, (although a well-documented parallel exists within Western science with the placebo effect) but in this context the question of something having an effect *because one believes it does* is linked to the consideration of magic, below

socially sanctioned

Firth identifies the need for a group acceptance of the ritual in order for it to be valid or significant. This links to many themes mentioned in this review around the construction of meaning and the development of personal saliency and relevance. This is a key point in considering the Corrida as, if by the time the Corridas occur on Friday of the Residency, Geese have *not* established the socially sanctioned nature of the ritual, then under this definition, the Corrida will fail because it will retain an identity as an *imposed 'Geese ritual'* rather than being accommodated by the inmates and thus *having significance (meaning) for them*.

Again, this links to the issue of 'belief' and the performance of ritual associated with 'special space' or 'special time'. Campbell (1959) notes that in ritual proceedings (particularly involving the use of masks) there has been

" ... a shift of view from the normal secular sphere, where things are understood to be distinct from one another, to a theatrical or play sphere, where they are accepted for what they are experienced as being *and the logic is that of "make believe" - "as if"*" (p22, my emphasis).

The 'Tinkerbell' effect: Ritual and magic

Ritual is also often related to magic and Levi-Strauss (1963) makes the interesting point that in the context of shamanic healing the efficacy of magic (and thus ritual) implies a *belief* on three levels:

- 1) The *sorcerer's* belief in the effectiveness of the techniques
- 2) The *patient's* belief in the sorcerer's power
- 3) The faith and expectations of the *group*

Frazer (1997) describes *public* magic as "...sorcery practised for the benefit of the whole community" (p45) and Levi-Strauss (1963) also notes this collective dimension in his claim that "...magic readapts the group to pre-defined problems through the [person under focus]" (p183). A key point here for the Corrida and the Residency as a whole may be that the Residency-as-magic works *if you believe it will* (see *The Skeleton Key*, 2006 for an exciting cinematic exploration of this question).

Summary

All of the preceding sub-section has focussed on exploring the issues bound up in the continuum of explanation and understanding posed by 'individual versus group'. The challenge to the prevailing cognitivist understanding dominant in Western psychology has continued, and instead of an individually focussed sense of the self, the *social* world has been put forward as paramount in the construction of self.

Building on the literature presented in Part 1 which saw cognition and emotion ('fethinkel') as rooted in the social, various conceptions of the self as constituted in the social matrix have been considered, moving from a sense of the 'looking glass' self as reflected in the mirror of others' reactions, through a much more multiple 'shattered glass' self, to a *relational* self composed in a reciprocal dance with our entire social and psychical environment.

The crucial role of *dialogue* in the widest sense of culturally constructed *Discourse* of embodied linguistic and social practice and narrative has been considered, and attention drawn to the on-going issue of the determination of *meaning*. This consideration has led to a

concept of the *dramaturgical self*, a self which is constituted in the sum and swarm of everyday relations, and is relational, but also *inherently performative*, being 'brought into being' in a continuous process of creation.

This led to a brief definition of drama and theatre and their core place in human culture, and to a consideration of the dramaturgical self as composed of a multiplicity of roles, latent, and fictional, which can be embodied or actualised through performance. Finally, the function and role of ritual was discussed.

In the next subsection, the intrapsychic dimension, we will move from a consideration of the *social* to a consideration of concepts which may seem to have been contradicted by the preceding review and its emphasis on the collective: That of our individual 'inner worlds'.

The intrapsychic dimension: 'Inner Worlds' of the self

Introduction

In Part 1 of this literature review we considered evidence that not all mental activity is conscious, and have referred several times to the need to consider the *intrapsychic* dimension of the psychodynamic. To write of 'inner worlds' when the preceding passages on the socially constructed nature of the self – the *interpsychic* dimension - have attempted to question such implied boundaries might seem like a retrograde step. Yet experientially I appear to have access to inner thoughts and feelings, dreams and fantasies and so the idea of an 'inner world' appears experientially valid. Additionally, Vygotsky saw conscious thought as having its *beginnings* in external dialogue but then being *internalised* – hence implying the existence of a psychological 'interior', at least for conscious cognition to occur within.

Thus "...language is part of a history of *shared communications* which predate it" (Bancroft 1995 p52, my emphasis). Continuing the theme of dealing with the holism, Thomas (1996) states that

"In psychodynamics, embodiment is the subjective experience of having a body, living in it and ...the raw data of psychodynamics are the kinds of feelings and thoughts and turmoil concerning bodily sensations and emotions...."(p284).

This is a position of obvious relevance to the concerns of this thesis, and Thomas further suggests that a psychodynamic perspective can provide "...a comprehensive account of subjective experience..." (p283), offering a way to consider what processes may be at work in order for the external interpersonal, interpsychic *social* world which has been previously emphasised, to 'get inside us'. Thus we must examine concepts dealing with subjective experience and the way in which the unconscious mind symbolically represents the exterior

'life world' to create our own psychic realities. This is necessary to the holistic model of the person, which is emerging, and also to considering the 'how' of *The Violent Illusion Trilogy*.

Psychodynamic theory also allows us to move to an early phase of the developmental trajectory or 'life line' (Rose 1997) of the offenders: While social learning mechanisms undoubtedly begin to function in early childhood, the psychodynamic focus allows us to move back to infancy and the experiences therein. We will therefore next consider generally accepted mechanisms of intrapsychic functioning Freud, Klein and the object relations theorists.

The defensive self

There is a general notion that the 'psychodynamic self' is defensive in nature, acting to reduce the psychological pain of experienced external reality through *defence mechanisms* and attempting to reduce anxieties that threaten the (emerging) 'sense of self'. These anxieties can take two forms. *Objective anxiety* that is generated by

- Real events that are actually occurring in the life world of existential reality

Signal anxiety that can be occasioned by

- Revisiting conscious internal representations of past trauma or experience (thoughts, memories etcetera)
- Fantasies of future harm or frustration i.e. not yet occurring
- Current external events
- Unconscious phantasy
- Repressed (unconscious) conflicts

There are two spellings of 'fantasy' and 'phantasy' above. The former, 'fantasy' refers to imaginings of which we are aware and which occur in consciousness, such as daydreams or imagining the outcome of an event, while the latter 'phantasy' is considered to refer to such imaginings on a non-conscious level.

These mechanisms or defences are seen as naturally occurring human processes as we attempt to construct a reality which compromises between "... sufficient accuracy for physical survival..." (Thomas 1996 p288) and sufficient distortion to make the psychological pain we are experiencing, bearable. The mechanisms (which will be explored in more detail below) are seen as *irrational and unconscious*.

An original, Freudian perspective sees the resultant internal world as based in *innate drives*: The external world of objective reality does exist but is incorporated into the psyche in a *distorted form* that does not necessarily correspond to an existential reality. By contrast, the evidence previously suggested on our essentially social nature supports an interpretation based more in a continuing *social psychological perspective* – so that the social, emotional

and physical 'outer world' which shapes our speech, language and conceptualisations, and even our physical embodiment, also shapes *and is reflected in* our 'inner world'; a world which is inherently reciprocal, multiple, potential *and social*. We will now turn to consider some of the relevant psychodynamic structures and mechanisms in more detail.

Freudian psychodynamic structures and mechanisms

Many of these concepts began life in the theories of Freud. The Freudian staged schema of psycho-sexual development, penis envy and Oedipus complexes (Freud 1940) has been critiqued extensively elsewhere (for example Masson 1984, 1988); none the less several Freudian concepts remain of interest and use and have passed into everyday language.

These are:

- The *Id* as a repository of non-conscious experience and motivations
- The *Ego* as the conscious 'sense of self' or 'I'
- The *Super Ego* as internalised societal rules

Several specific mechanisms must also be considered. These are *introjection*, *transference*, *repression* and *catharsis*.

Introjection is a useful paradigm (Freud 1933, Thomas 1990) and has been sufficiently widely explored to be considered valid (Thomas 1996). It is the process whereby elements of the external world (in whatever form) are brought into representation in the psyche. As such it is not a specified 'mechanism' but a useful descriptive term, although in Freud the 'introject' is most often taken as being the paternal figure.

Transference

Transference is defined as

"the unconscious transfer to someone in the present of feelings and ways of relating [either positive or negative] that comes from experiences of others and of relationships in the past" (Thomas 1996 p159).

As will be expanded shortly, while not accepting the Freudian perspective that transferences are always rooted in forbidden childhood sexual desires toward parents, it seems reasonable to suggest that these early prototypic experiences (which may often be traumatic) may well form patterns which shape the expression of our later behaviour. This is still not to say that human behaviour is as blindly determined as Freud suggested: Accepting the influential power of unconscious motivations toward violence as described above by Gilligan (2000) does not invalidate humanistic notions of personal agency. Part 3 of this review will consider processes of growth, change and development for humans.

Repression

There appears to be evidence for Freudian notions of *repression* in the sense of deliberate 'motivated forgetting' and 'not thinking about it' to keep a memory which has anxiety provoking qualities from the conscious mind at least with reference to traumatic experience (Melchert & Parker 1997). Repression can also be seen as linked to the psychological defence of *dissociation*, in which thoughts, emotions, and/or sensations, around a traumatic experience (or memories of such) are 'split off' because they are too overwhelming for the conscious mind to integrate (Scaer 2001, 2005, Waller, Putnam & Carlson 1996). This is of relevance in that traumatised persons can often perfectly well remember their experiences of abuse or trauma although they may not conceptualise or construe the experience as 'abuse', even though it was painful and aversive.

Catharsis

The concept of *catharsis* is perhaps best known from ancient Greek theatre but is also a Freudian notion requiring some re-examination. Since a major part of the notion of catharsis is that it can be 'cleansing' or transformative in some way, we will deal with it more fully in Part 3, on learning, growth and development. For now, we simply note that it requires further examination and continue with our survey of psychodynamic concepts.

The Kleinian perspective

Klein followed Freud in also seeing the self as essentially defensive and drive-led, concluding that the psyche does not directly represent actual experience; however her insight that early introjections can be *multiple* rather than the monolithic Freudian paternal figure tallies with models of fragmentation and multiplicity described above and sees the self as driven by powerful emotional forces. Again, while not necessarily accepting her structure in its entirety, the defensive mechanisms she proposes of *splitting* and *projection* are important to understand.

Splitting

Splitting is the attempt by an infant to polarise the positive and negative qualities of an 'object' (in the sense of a person) into *part-objects* which are entirely good or entirely bad. While Klein posits this as a very early reaction of the infant to the provision or removal of breast or bottle (Klein 1959) this tendency towards polarisation can also be seen as a feature of adult life. It can also be seen as linked to the mechanism of *repression* discussed above.

Projection

Projection occurs when anxiety provoking negative emotions toward the (original) 'bad' internal object are unconsciously directed outwards, thus making the unpleasant feelings/emotions 'safer' as they appear to originate from a persecutory, hostile or

threatening figure in the outer world. This projection of inner destructiveness or fragmentation thus effects outside social structures.

Having considered some basic psychodynamic structures and mechanisms, we will now examine a psychodynamic school of thought that pays great attention to 'outside social structures': That of object relations.

Object relations

Freud and Klein both saw the 'inner world' as originating intrapsychically and as being filled with unconscious phantasms that do not necessarily reflect the external world. By contrast, the British object relations theorists reconfigured psychic reality as "versions of real relationships experienced in infancy and childhood" (Thomas 1996 p177). This emphasises the role of *other people* in the infants' 'internal world' where *versions* of significant others (such as primary carers) and patterns of relating are introjected by the infant.

The child's inner world should be positively elaborated through these interactions (Winnicott 1947) and the child aided in achieving what Trevarthen (1979) calls *primary and secondary inter-subjectivity*: A meeting of minds where actions, objects and events can be shared in the experience of two people. This is related to the socially developed 'theory of mind' that enables empathy.

This reading emphasises the *interpersonal* and *interpsychic* nature of the self, with the root of later difficulties not seen as unresolved psycho-sexual conflicts in one 'individual', but, as mentioned above under the discussion on traumatic experience, as faulty social integration brought about by a failure of child-carer meshing and synchronisation resulting in a lack of a sense of engagedness or effectiveness about its contributions (Oates 1994), or more extremely, though traumatic experience of abuse or neglect.

Bowlby (1988, 1997, 1998) recasts the Freudian notion of transferential 'templates' from past experience affecting present behaviour as *attachment theory* (suggesting that a lack of such emotionally engaged relationships and consequent dysfunctional *attachment styles* has lasting effects for the psyche and relationships in adulthood (see also Grotstein & Rinsley 1994)).

Internal worlds are thus seen as representations of the external world, and again, phantasy versions of objects and object relations may follow defensively *from real experience*, which, as has been suggested above, will often be traumatic. This move brings psychodynamics closer to the ideas of socially constructed 'multiple selves' as discussed above. In this 'relational mind' transferences are seen as projections of *other people and ways of relating* carried into the present, expressed through inter-personal communication. From another epistemological stand point, that of Social Learning Theory, Bandura (1977a) argues that

fear responses originating in painful experiences persist despite awareness that the *physical* threat no longer existed; in one way, this psychodynamic model merely internalises at an *unconscious* level that same 'fear response' to trauma, even where the original traumatic stimulation is no longer present. Coln (1990) suggests that thus, violent offenders turn fantasy into 'actuality'.

Through introjections, this inter-personal perspective to psychodynamics also provides a mechanism for the way in which Vygotskyan dialogues are internalised as the beginnings of thought. Bakhtin (1981, see also Mayerfield Bell & Gardiner 1998) takes a similar perspective on internalised dialogue, but views that dialogue as a site of struggle for the construction of meaning: The introjected 'voices' are therefore multiple and fragmented, again suggesting a self which is reciprocal, potential and social.

Psychodynamic Elements of the Dramaturgical Self: The Cultural Atom as Introject

Part 1 above considered the notion the *dramaturgical self*, a self that is constituted in the sum and swarm of everyday relations, and is relational, but also *inherently performative*, able to enact (actualise) latent, potential or even *fictional* selves. We considered that the *social atom* is seen as the 'network of persons directly interacting with a given person in the here and now', but an important point is that in terms of the dramaturgical self, the psychodynamic perspective sees the 'social atom' as consisting of not just persons who are *actually present*, in the here and now, but of objects *introjected* at an early age through social experience: The real figures who are present in some way during early childhood (see Holmes 1992).

The *cultural atom* is then composed of the *role relationships* between these currently present and introjected entities, and forms the basis of projections and transferences in adult life (Moreno 1985, Clayton 1994) as part of the Chaotic system that "...extend[s] indefinitely, without boundaries....towards many in the past and towards many in the future (Holmes, Karp & Watson (1994, p176

The subtlety and complexity of this concept (and its linkage to the relational self) lies in the mechanism of *role progression*. This is, for example, a change in (person A's) initial role as a response to the response of another (person B's) role towards the initial role held (by person A) which was in turn affected by the initial role held by person B. These roles can be either 'here and now' roles or affected by transferences based on introjects.

The intersubjectivity implied here is very complex and links to the concepts of meshing and turn-taking which form the spiral of connectedness in early infancy (Meltzoff & Moore 1977, Berry Brazelton & Cramer 1991). Just as when this meshing does not occur synchronously and attachment difficulties follow so the difficulties in role repertoire follow, especially as, is

described here, a change in role may not be to another, different role but a variation in the initial (unhelpful) (and possibly unconscious) role.

These internalised role relationships are thus dramaturgical versions of psychodynamic introjects and as with a social psychological interpretation of object relations, they *originate in real world experience*. The cultural atom is seen as having 'hooks' in that each of the roles in the internal world seeks out its reciprocal in two senses: Firstly that behaviour of a certain type elicits behaviour of the same type in response - this is another version of the 'reciprocity principle' (Miller & Rollnick 1991), or in Geese terms, of a Fist mask eliciting another Fist mask (see Chapter 4 The Research Project for detailed discussion of these terms and concepts). Such reciprocal behaviour is likely to be strongly influenced by social learning models.

Secondly on a more unconscious level, a given role – e.g. 'worthless needer' - will seek its reciprocal in another role that will facilitate the first – e.g. it seeks one such as 'dominant critic'.

Contradictions: 'Me, Myself, and I'

So far, the sense of 'self' that is emerging from this review is fragmentary, fluid, and relational, in contrast to the Euro-American sense of bounded 'individuality'. Yet the observant reader will have noticed that even in the midst of my talking about our lack of individualised self, the language of individuality and bounded selves still creeps in even while I am describing how the dramaturgical self is constructed through social interactions. This sense of individuality also concurs with our personal daily experience in the life world: I have both an active sense of personal identity as 'I' and a sense of personal continuity over time.

Further, if the self as it is posited here is so dynamic, why do we see such apparent behavioural stability over long periods as the violence of the inmates appears to exhibit? Certainly Olweus appeared to find consistency in personality of individuals, at least with reference to aggressive reactions, over periods up to 18 years (Olweus 1979) and Ewen (1993) offers a survey of multiple schools of thought concerning 'personality' which includes several 'trait based' conceptions. This final seeming contradiction should be dealt with before we move on to consider how processes of change or the self may operate, in Part 3.

A useful distinction is between the 'I' of individual consciousness and personal experience and the 'me' as a culturally specific vehicle for social concepts of 'personhood'. The 'I' of Euro-American culture is a very specific 'I' – it delineates self from context absolutely and is the same 'I' throughout, for example, morning to evening. At the opposite end of the spectrum, I will again cite Rajeshwar (2008) on Anglo-Indian conceptions of self: "...there is no I, there is no me, there's just we.... a oneness". Somewhere in the middle perhaps, other cultures have an 'I' which is linguistically represented as being contextually driven and

discursive in nature (Harre & Gillett 1994, Kondo 1990); in Japanese it is impossible to form a sentence which does not also comment on the relationship between the speakers, with subsequent consequences for the 'I'.

In Euro-American culture less affected by such 'Eastern' concepts of self, however it may *feel* experientially much more as though the 'I' is bounded, and as is reflected in our language (which we have seen is reciprocally determined by our conceptual repertoire). None the less, if we accept the premise that speech both states and *does* (Austin 1962), and that our social environment primarily influences our 'self', both psychodynamically and interpersonally, then we are left with two possibilities.

Situation not self?

Firstly, that apparent continuity of 'personality' in terms of behavioural responses may be more about continuity of situation rather than of self. Mischel (1968, 1981) takes this approach, suggesting: "Complex behaviour is regulated by interactions that depend ultimately on situational variables, as well as on dispositions." (Mischel 1981 p78)

As stated earlier, the importance of our embodiment with its allied potential biological dispositions is accepted by this thesis; it is therefore possible that Olweus (1979) found social environments, which supported or elicited the aggressive responses of the people studied rather than a fundamental 'personality' in the sense of fixity.

Certainly the behaviour of the aggressive individuals was associated with very particular social learning and early experiences (McCord 1979, 1986, McCord, McCord & Howard 1961, Olweus, Block & Radke-Yarrow 1986). The interactive nature of this process again implies that people play a part in creating the very *environments* which appear to create *them* by 'calling out' certain behavioural reactions such as hostility, violence and aggression (see Bandura, Lipsher & Miller 1960), or in dramaturgical terms 'reciprocal roles' (see above also).

To return to the 'injuries of class' mentioned by Gilligan (2000), in the context of work, Moir (1995) suggests there is a 'standard membership category' identified with institutions and that those working or aiming to work within the institution measure their self against this. Thus people highlight their possession of characteristics commonly associated with the work, and, through language, construct a sense of self that is congruent with their perception of the type of person who works for their proposed choice of institution. Since structural variables are more influential for the lower socio-economic classes (Roberts 1975, Layder, Ashton & Sung 1991) is it possible that such a process could apply to contexts outside of work so that rather than 'violent' men choosing a situation it, in a sense, chooses them?

Fluidity & stability: Islands in the stream

Secondly, our 'stream of consciousness' is undoubtedly moving forward second by second, yet appears to the 'I' 'inside' it to be stable. In a different context Kerr (1986) has coined the phrase 'the conversation which we are' to signify the fluid, dialogic nature of self and I have mentioned the Chaotic interpretation of self as a 'steady state' dynamic system – is it possible that our apparent moment to moment sense of 'I' actually represents an 'eddy' in the stream, which though moving forward continuously, swirls about itself in a cohesive (complex) manner?

The eddy is still a part of the surrounding (social) water and open to perturbation and perhaps dispersal by it, given serious enough turbulence, yet is also capable of re-forming down stream. Certainly no final answer is possible to this question since as yet consciousness itself is only poorly understood, but I suggest that the evidence presented in this review suggests such a formulation is congruent with the lines of inquiry that have preceded it.

In Summary

Part 2: The Self has surveyed several ephemeral and challenging concepts of the self. Beginning with the 'looking glass' self of bounded individuality affected by the social responses of others, we moved to the notion of a 'shattered glass' self which questions the idea of bounded others at all. Instead, we see a 'relational' self, meshed entirely with the social context, and constructed through social interaction in which dialogue (in the widest, embodied sense) plays the crucial role.

The rationale for considering a psychodynamic perspective has been stated, in terms of examining mechanisms that can account for subjective experience and for the 'interface' of external experiential reality and internal representation of that experience. We then considered the question of how an individualised 'inner world' could exist among such fluidity and saw that the evidence above suggests that 'internal worlds' are best seen as originating in and reflecting that external reality, through a process of *introjection*, rather than as innate and pre-existing structures (though this does not of course deny evolutionarily rooted predispositions or potentials) and that reciprocal process the internal world is as fragmented as the outer, is formed by and reflects the outer, and powerfully affects the outer.

The notion has also been put forward that the self acts defensively to cope with anxieties rooted in actuality or phantasy and that early experiences can be traumatic, having an effect on later relationships and ways of relating, feeling, thinking and behaving. The mechanisms of *transference*, *projection*, and *splitting* have been suggested to account for the ways in which the self acts defensively, and the notion of *catharsis* flagged up for further investigation.

Finally, building on evidence presented above, the psychodynamic self has been seen as a continuation or reflection of the multiple, potential, performative *dramaturgical* self emerging at the close of Part 1. We now have a two-thirds completed model or 'blueprint' for the men who walk into the room to begin a *Violent Illusion Trilogy* Residency; but they are in a dynamic process both as organisms and as participants, they are present to consider altering their behaviour and possibly more. Accordingly, the next section of this literature review, Part 3, considers the linked questions of learning, change and what may be termed 'personal growth'.

Part 3: Learning, change & personal growth

Introduction

Having two-thirds developed a model of the self as fragmented, dialogic, relational and potential, a collection of roles or part-roles with unified cognition and emotion in 'fethinkel', we must then ask: How does such a self change? How does it learn and how does it develop? These questions are central to the identity of *The Violent Illusion Trilogy* as an intervention focussed on rehabilitation and again the sense of rhizomatic structure should apply; though we will begin by considering each in turn they are, ultimately, linked one to the other. We will also revisit questions considered earlier in this review, when issues of memory, emotion and change all overlap.

The politics of learning

"Education is never neutral"

Paulo Freire

To begin again with a question: What do we mean by learning? It is certainly associated with education, but what do we mean, in turn, by that? Jarvis (1983, p5) sees education as "any planned series of incidents, having a humanistic basis, directed towards the participants' learning and understanding" - which captures the improvisational yet structured nature of the Residency (see Chapter 4 The Research Project, and Chapter 5 Analysis, plus Appendix A).

This agrees with Wittgenstein in seeing 'education' in its broad sense as a 'rhizomatic' growth too complex to fully define but involving both process and planning and being inherently humanistic because knowledge is a human concept. Relating forward to evidence on the importance of the therapeutic alliance, considered below, the effective facilitation of such a process depends on "...certain ... qualities which exist in the personal relationship between the facilitator and the learner" (Rogers 1969, p105). Rogers (1969) offers a comprehensive list of criteria by which learning is typified.

- 1) A belief in the natural human potentiality to learn
- 2) Significant learning occurs when subject matter perceived as significant
- 3) Learning involves change in self-perception and organisation
- 4) Such learning is more easily assimilated when external threats are minimal
- 5) Learning occurs when the self is not threatened
- 6) Much significant learning is acquired by doing
- 7) Learning is facilitated when the learner participates responsibly in the learning process
- 8) Self-initiated learning involves the whole person

- 9) Independence, creativity and self-reliance are all facilitated when self-criticism & self-evaluation are basic
- 10) Much socially useful learning is learning the process of learning so the change process can be incorporated into the self.

Linking to notions of 'forms of life' and 'language games' expressed earlier in this thesis, the Brazilian liberation-educationalist Paulo Freire sees traditional methods of education (that is hierarchical pupil-teacher relationships) as mainly an instrument for the maintenance of the status quo: Reality is structured through the teachers' version of deposited 'knowledge' and pupils duly 'write cheques' on this knowledge during the process of exams. This is the 'banking' concept of education that Freire (1990) and Rogers (1969) decry.

Conscientisation

Instead *The Violent Illusion Trilogy* is closer to Freires' preferred model: Education as *conscientisation*. Conscientisation is a 'striving for consciousness', served by an attempt to see education and knowledge as *processes of inquiry* whose aim is to make the learner aware of social, economic and political contradictions and to encourage them to "...take action against the oppressive elements of reality" (Freire 1990, p 15). Freire recognises that "Violence is initiated by those who oppress, who exploit, who fail to recognise others as people" (Freire 1990, p32). In the context of *The Violent Illusion*, the men attending the week are being asked (at least as a first step) to recognise their own oppressive behaviour and *take action against themselves* to "...fight for the restoration of their humanity" (Freire 1990, p22): This is 'learning to be human'.

Through such Freirian education a Gestalt-like process of altering perceptions of what is salient (what becomes the 'field' and what moves to the 'background') occurs: A paradigmatic shift is achieved (Boslough 1992, Kuhn 1962) as things which had existed unnoticed in the experiential 'life world' now begin to 'stand out', "... assuming the character of a problem and therefore of challenge" (Freire 1990 p36).

Education in this Freirian sense is therefore transformative because those involved in it are in a dynamic process of *becoming*, echoing earlier evidence presented on the performative qualities of the self; a developmental/psychodynamic dimension to this education is the aim to attain existential freedom by ejecting the internalised (introjected) image of the oppressor (echoing Boals' later work on the 'cop in the head', see Boal 1995) to replace it with autonomy & responsibility, thus linking to broader humanistic developmental perspectives. On this theme, Campbell (1985) provides a link to the epistemology of ritual and magic, when he suggests that one function of ritual is to attempt to "educate... not to simply assume uncritically the patterns of the past, but to recognise & cultivate... creative possibilities." (Campbell 1985 p37).

'Fethinkel' and environmental restraints

Freire also parallels Best (1992) and Gilligan (2000) and earlier suggestions such as the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis in acknowledging materialist restraints:

"The very structure of [the violent offenders'] thought has been conditioned by the contradictions of the concrete, existential situation by which they were shaped" (Freire 1990 p22).

Freire thus rejects what he sees as a repressive and passivity-inducing 'narratively' structured education and maintains a phenomenological approach to argue that educators must not impose their own world view, but instead *enter into dialogue* through *praxis*: The learner is engaged in exploration followed by action based on what is learnt followed by reflection on the action and so on. Pedagogy must be forged *with* not *for* the oppressed.

This last point is crucial as *The Violent Illusion Trilogy* Residency is an *adult* learning situation. Brookfield (1986) points out that adult learning 'defies categorisation', but that (universally in my experience) groups of violent offenders attending the Residency are unusual participants in adult learning in *not* being affluent, educated and middle class. Brookfield sees their general non-participation in education as a

"... function of a cluster of cultural attitudes whereby formal education is perceived as irrelevant to the circumstances, life-crises and anxieties of the working class" (Brookfield 1986, p7).

Devlin (1995, see also Furlong 1985) found a strong correlation between bad school performance or attendance and criminality and recidivism; another of Gilligan's 'injuries of class'? These factors mean that principles of effective practice (Darkenwald & Merriam 1982, Brookfield 1986) for working with such men include:

- Voluntary participation
- Encouragement to participants to respect the self-worth of themselves and others
- Facilitation should be collaborative
- Facilitation should aim to foster a spirit of 'critical reflection'
- An aim to nurture self-directed, empowered adults
- Intrinsic motivation produces more learning and more effective learning

If the above thinking represents a model for a *philosophy of education* inherent in the *Violent Illusion Trilogy* we must now consider the intertwined mechanisms of *teaching* and process of *learning* in the Residency, since how one teaches will affect what is learned. We will then move on to consider the related areas of *change* and of personal growth and development.

Teaching & learning

"Facts, that's what matter"

Mr Gradgrind. 'Hard Times'

Two useful concepts to bear in mind in this section are the Piagetian notions of *assimilation* and *accommodation*. The former (*assimilation*) refers to the way in which people will "...transform incoming information so that it fits within their existing way of thinking ..." while the latter (*accommodation*) refers to the way in which "...people adapt their way of thinking to new experiences..." (Siegler 1991, p55). Note that Siegler's use of the phrase 'experiences' implies an educative realm not restricted to the cognitive.

By contrast, Piaget himself takes a very cognitive stance, seeing the achievement of 'formal operations' and abstract 'hypothetico-deductive' reasoning at age 12 onwards as the ultimate stage of cognitive development (Inhelder & Piaget 1958). This stage is supposedly achieved through what is often characterised as 'proper' teaching of abstract concepts, logic & reasoning. Thus, the major thrust of offending behaviour programmes at present pursues what is arguably a Piagetian agenda to:

- Instigate cognitive disequilibrium through abstract formal teaching
- Attempt to instigate cognitive re-equilibrium at a 'higher level' of thought
- Possibly attempt a truncated experiential teaching of behavioural 'skills'

This agenda is linked to an attempt to rectify those 'cognitive deficits' which offenders are identified as suffering from, particularly deficits involving lack of consequential thinking or impulse control.

Socrates' error?

A key concept in the approach of such formalised teaching in the current generation of offending behaviour programmes is that of 'Socratic dialogue'. This is based (allegedly) on the method described by Plato (Hutchinson 1997) as employed by Socrates: A series of question and answer responses in conversation with students (dialectical logical discourse) to bring 'latent' ideas to consciousness – what Boal (1995) calls a 'maieutic' method.

Socrates is described as applying himself to questions of ethics and of virtue – to the 'examined life'. In accredited programmes the approach to these issues has either lying behind it or, in the case of the *Aggression Replacement Training* programme mentioned at the beginning of this review, explicitly in it: Kohlberg's hierarchy of 'moral reasoning' (1963, 1969, 1981, see also Kohlberg, Levine & Hewer 1983). This Piaget-influenced (1932) theory suggests that moral judgement develops in six invariant stages and that the process of development is through 'cognitive conflict' in the consideration of moral 'dilemmas', leading to restructuring and reorganisation of cognitions or what may be seen as 'moral schemas'.

Within the emerging model of this thesis, several difficulties with such a conception arise. Firstly, Miller (2007) argues that as evidenced by the Dialogues, Socrates "...know(s) the right answer and is leading the witness toward it", and thus the Socratic notion of 'latent' ideas being brought to the surface is still based on an epistemological absolutism of 'philosophical truths' and 'correct insight', implying an assumption that there is a set of 'right answers', simply awaiting 'discovery'; this is another version of the 'banking' approach to education decried by Freire (1990).

Socratic dialogue may arguably be effective for the type of 'well defined' problems (see Part 1 above, on human problem solving) with which it is most famously associated, such as 'working out' through dialogue the trigonometrical principles of Pythagoras's Theorem – but the question of inherently 'right answers' to any ethical or moral question is problematic within the relativistic epistemological stance taken by this thesis. Such an educational approach is much closer to deserving the critique put forward by Davis (1983) of education as social control (see also Baron Cohen & King 1997 for a discussion of therapy in a similar vein).

Finally however, similar to the misreading of Descartes considered earlier above, it may be that it is the Socratic method as *embodied in the practice of accredited programmes* that is a misapplication or misunderstanding of the method, rather than an intrinsic fault – but any questioning style is inherently problematic when compared to the arguments raised for the benefits of a *reflective* style of dialogue based in Motivational Interviewing (see Farrall 2006a).

Abstraction versus 'human sense'

Brookfield (1986) points out that adult participants in learning bring existing skills, experiences and knowledge that influence how new ideas are received, new skills acquired and other experiences interpreted. In general cognitive terms, pre-existing schema will both shape how new material is received (whether it is accommodated or assimilated), and will affect the saliency of what is perceived. A further factor is that it is likely that individuals – and, perhaps more importantly for this thesis, groups – will have a 'latitude of acceptance' with regard to new information: Start too far from their original position and the discrepancy is simply so great that the person cannot make the leap to engage, and dismisses the argument (Sherif 1966).

As has been said above, offenders often hold negative views towards 'school' and it has been suggested that the Piagetian 'formal operations' necessary to consider abstract issues are only ever achieved by a 'minority' of adolescents and adults (Das Gupta & Richardson 1995, King 1985). Perhaps more crucially for this thesis Girotto & Light (1992) found that

even adults are bad at such reasoning when the premises involved are "...remote from everyday experience".

In this vein, Margaret Donaldson identified the concept of 'human sense' (Donaldson 1978). She took the view that 'errors' in children's thinking as measured by performance on standard Piagetian tasks were actually the result not of a passive mistake or incapacity, but of an active attempt by the child to try and understand what the adult teacher actually means, as expressed through language. When abstract Piagetian tasks were reframed by Donaldson to make 'human sense' she found that children were capable of advanced reasoning at ages far younger than previously suggested (see also Waxman 1990).

Linking to the evidence presented above on the social roots of 'fethinkel', Donaldson (1978, 1992) argues that human cognition is not simply the individual working its lone way to abstract thought by developing hypotheses about the world and then testing them out - it is about developing the logic of 'human sense' *in company with others*.

This argument would suggest that the kind of interpersonal, 'fuzzy' *human* problem solving which is the focus of this thesis and *The Violent Illusion Trilogy* Residency is not amenable to the Socratic method as interpreted in offending behaviour programmes *if that requires arriving at predetermined 'right' answers* to 'fuzzy' questions of ethical behaviour or human interaction. There, we are simply back to a disguised version of Freire's 'banking' education and the question arises as to whether a cognitively based Piagetian agenda, even when an attempt is made to deliver it though 'Socratic dialogue' is the most effective method of teaching offenders to *alter their offending behaviour*?

Another point arising is that while there is some attempt made in most offending behaviour programmes to 'rehearse' pro-social or non-offending behaviours, the major axis of 'learning' remains cognitive, as described. By contrast, the residency takes drama and theatre based work as its major axis and we will therefore consider next the area of *experiential learning*.

Experiential learning

*"Tell me and I will hear
Show me and I will see
Involve me and I will understand"*
Lao Tzu

Drama (in the broadest sense of experientially based 'action methods') has long been recognised as possessing particular advantages as an educational tool exactly for its ability to access and stimulate in a holistic fashion the behavioural-affective-cognitive holism which has been suggested here as the most fitting model for the human being (see Boal 1979,

Courtney 1987, Davis & Lawrence 1986, Johnson & O'Neill 1984, Joyce 1983, Neelands 1992).

In terms of Drama in Education (DIE) specifically, Bolton (1982) identifies that DIE "...is a process, dramatic in kind, which focuses pupil's feelings and intellect toward educational goals" (p18), noting that drama requires the 'as - if' of 'two worlds in the mind', and a "subjective/objective relationship at an affective as well as a cognitive level... that is both dynamic and rational" (p18) clearly linking to Boalian aesthetic space and Morenian surplus reality (see below).

Some use of drama within Probation settings had been made since at least 1966, and some truncated form is involved in most offending behaviour programmes as mentioned, but the introduction of accredited programmes has effectively ended the type of innovative drama-based work by Probation staff described by Moore (1993). The notion of 'experiential learning' goes wider than simply 'using drama' however.

Social Learning Theory

Social Learning Theory (SLT) has been mentioned above for providing 'specific mechanisms for acquiring behaviours through observation and types of modelling across the generations. Behaviour is seen as an interaction between cognitive, behavioural and environmental determinants (such as is suggested by the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis) and Bandura (1977a) states that "Both people and their environments are reciprocal determinants of each other." (pvii), clearly relating to Blackburn's (1993) 'reciprocal determinism' where all elements within an environment interact with and influence all others.

Several mechanisms are suggested for the origin of 'learnt' behaviour, such as learning by response consequences, which Bandura (1977a) identifies is 'mechanistic' and takes insufficient account of cognition, but Social Learning Theory's most powerful analysis lies with experiential 'observational learning', where people "learn by watching before they perform" (p36) in the sense of learning derived from and as a normal part of the 'life world'. Here, there need be no overt 'didacticism' or 'pedagogy'; the learning is almost osmotic.

Bandura suggests that observational learning can include processes of *attention*, where associational patterns are important since the people "...with whom one regularly associates... delimit the types of behaviour that will be repeatedly observed and hence learnt most thoroughly." (1977a p24); *retention*, where "The highest level of observational learning is achieved by first organising and rehearsing the modelled behaviour symbolically and then enacting it overtly" (p27); *motor reproduction* where one converts the symbolic into the actual; and, crucially, *motivational*, since people do not enact all they learn – therefore there is a difference between *acquisition* and *performance* (see Bandura, Jeffery & Bachicha 1974).

Modelling (a three dimensional learning opportunity of obvious relevance to the dramatic nature of the Residency) is seen as being able to generate *innovative behaviour* since observers can heuristically "...derive the principles underlying specific performances for generating behaviour that goes beyond what they have seen or heard" (1977a p40) and modelling can be a "...highly effective means of establishing abstract or rule-governed behaviour." (1977a p42). In this context, 'abstract behaviour' can be seen as linked to the type of 'fuzzy' interpersonal problems discussed above, where the 'answer' will always be in the abstract (see also Bandura 1971, Zimmerman and Rosenthal 1974).

Pro-Social Modelling can be seen as a targeted usage of Social Learning Theory in that the observed behaviours of everyday interactions between authority figures such as staff (and which thus form the material for observational learning), are carefully orchestrated so that they provide only *pro-social* models. See Cherry (2005) for a further discussion of this concept.

Bandura also argues that *emotional responses* can be acquired via observation through *vicarious expectancy learning*, where the similarity of (observed) experience makes the consequences to *others* predictive of outcomes for oneself, and (in a demonstration of the starting point of intersubjectivity) people can react more emotionally to the sight of a person in pain when they imagine *themselves* in that position rather than imagining how the other felt (Stotland 1969). Such affective reactions can be stimulated *cognitively*, (which links to earlier points about the unity of cognition and affect ('fethinkel')). This is a point of interest with particular reference to the Corridas on the Friday of the Residency, and the *witnessing* function: Bandura notes that *vicarious reinforcement* means that *observers* who have *not performed or been rewarded directly* can increase the behaviour they have seen *others* reinforced for.

Kolb (1984) considers 'experience' to be composed of the 'subjective and personal' and the 'objective and environmental' in continuous dialectical or dialogical interaction. He states, "Experiential Learning is the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience" (p38). This links to Siegler's (1991) implication that Piagetian accommodation requires more than just cognitive involvement.

However, in order to establish the relevancy and saliency which renders experiential work meaningful (making personal and human sense, see Beard & Wilson 2002) the work must be closely supported and structured by conceptual and behavioural 'scaffolding' (Bruner 1975) to enable the learner to engage and understand the process – the kind of support involved in the Vygotskyan notion of 'zones of proximal development' where more skilled or able adult enables a child to advance its area of competence. Otherwise the risk is that the

learner or experience will be "...shaken by the vicissitudes of new experience... left paralyzed by insecurity, incapable of effective action" (p28, see Farrall 2002).

Hilgard & Atkinson (1967, p270) define behavioural learning as "any more or less permanent change in behaviour *which is the result of experience*" (my emphasis). This, taken with the point above and the fact that the Residency has as its aim the altering of the men's embodied (violent) *behaviour* in the existential life world, suggests that the *praxis of action & reflection* (Boal 1979, Freire 1990, Dewey 1916) to increase reflexivity (Silcock 1994) is a core feature at the heart of effective facilitation in this context. The 'plan – do – review' (Kolb 1984) cycle where cognitive involvement leads to experiential action followed by reflection is therefore a crucial element of experiential learning and takes account of evidence suggesting the need for a variety of learning experiences to cater for differing learning styles (Entwhistle 1981, Furniss 1998).

In Part 1: The Person above we considered issues of 'memory systems' and the point was made that without memory, learning cannot occur. Therefore, we will consider next the overlap of memory and experience within the context of learning.

Learning & memory

The mechanisms of Social Learning Theory are clearly active in experiential work and of relevance to cognitive-behavioural work. The 'what works' agenda emphasises the need to teach behavioural skills: The most effective way to do this is through skilled experiential facilitation (Belbin & Belbin 1972, Goldstein 1988) and this experiential approach ties in to other relevant areas.

Mechanisms of memory were considered in Part 1 of this review, and the conclusion was drawn that memory is a reconstructive process and a product of how *experience* (not just information) is *perceived*. Transience or durability of memory depends on what is encoded (Rose 1994) and experience encoded in terms of relevant elaborated personal detail (personal saliency) is more likely be accessible later when needed (Craik & Tulving 1975). Experiential work particularly requires the 'depth of processing' (Craik & Lockhart 1972) that facilitates such elaboration: Depth is defined in terms of the 'meaningfulness of a stimulus' and (reciprocally) such meaningfulness is derived through establishing the personal relevancy described above.

Emphasis on the interpretation of stimuli - finding *meaning* - leads to better recall & recognition (Rose 1994), especially of information relating to oneself when the self is available as a 'retrieval cue' (Bower & Gilligan 1979, Rogers, Kuipers & Kirker 1977). Thus, experiential work, with its holistic, physical, three-dimensional approach, aids such processes through "...*meaningful types of interaction that appear to promote effective learning and retention*" (Bransford 1979 p51).

Eysenck & Keane (1995) cite 'compelling evidence' that recall is affected by the similarity of context at the time of learning and at the time of test (Baddeley 1982, Godden & Baddeley 1975). The hypothesis of this thesis suggests that the dramatic methods of the Residency create such a context by creating a learning environment where personally relevant material is examined and new skills taught which are then tested in a setting (the Corrida) that is cognitively and affectively similar to the real world situations of violent behaviour experienced by the participants. This should facilitate *transfer-appropriate* processes - meaning that what you do whilst *learning* should enable you to apply what you have learned when it matters (Bransford 1979).

Summary

To this point we have considered what may be described as the 'politics' of learning and seen a model suggested for an education based in the work of Paulo Freire that is concerned with changing oneself and the world rather than adapting to it to maintain the status quo through a false 'Socratic dialogue'.

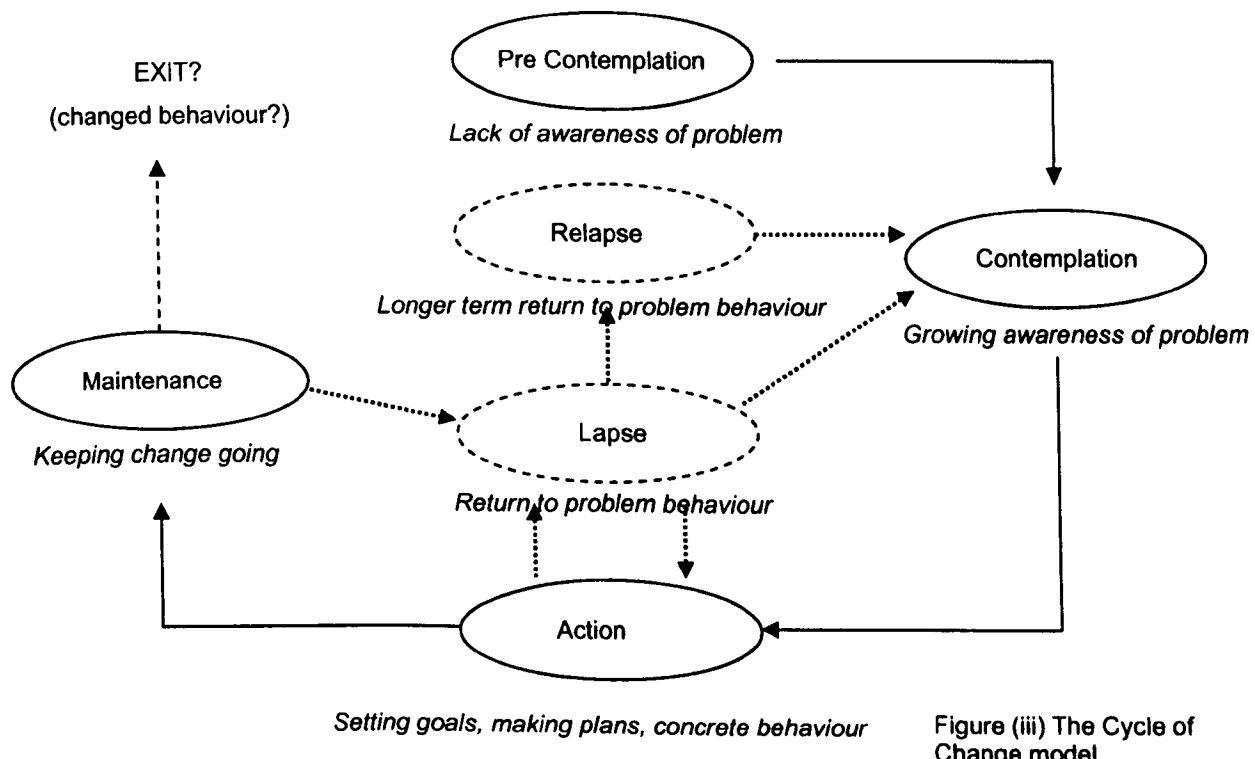
We have again considered the question of the ways in which one's social, emotional and environmental context can act to shape and restrain one's capacity to 'fethinkel' and seen further evidence suggesting that 'human sense' and the social context is crucial to development of abstract thought. This then led on to a discussion which suggested that *experiential learning* has particular capacities to stimulate the holism of the human being without over-privileging any one aspect, but that the attempt to establish personal relevance for the learner must be continuous on the part of the 'educator'.

Finally we re-examined the question of the interrelationship of learning and memory, seeing again that personal relevance is likely to render experience more memorable, lasting and better recalled, as well as (in behavioural terms) applicable across a range of functionally equivalent contexts. It is this *behavioural* element that means that we must also consider the question of what *embodied change* may mean as distinct from abstract or embodied 'learning'.

Change and motivation

Several of the accredited offending behaviour programmes current in England and Wales at present have at their heart the 'model of change' proposed by Prochaska & DiClemente (1982, 1984) see figure (iii). They propose a 'transtheoretical' model of behavioural change, so called because its elements are perceived as being universal or at least applicable to the process of change in any therapeutic modality or towards any problematic behaviour: The suggestion is that the changing client will go through the same process irrespective of the tenets or theories of the model within which they are being treated.

While recent research has questioned this assertion, from the point of view of this thesis it is irrelevant here whether or not the model is an *actual description* of the process of change: Its main worth is that it appears to be *experientially valid* and that (drawing on another central theme, the construction of meaning) serves a useful way of *structuring experience* for persons involved in trying to change and for clinicians in formulating their approach.



This 'cycle of change' should not be seen as a series of one-way stages but may be better conceptualised as a sequence of phases or 'states of mind' which are Chaotic in that each phase contains some element of the others: It is possible and indeed likely within the model that the individual in the process of change will repeat the journey or part journey though the cycle a number of times, moving forward, moving back or staying mainly in one phase for a period, or any other combination, before a satisfactory (to the individual concerned) degree of change in the target behaviour is attained.

The possibility of a lapse from changing or changed behaviour back to the behaviour one is trying to alter is contained within the model: This is not seen as a 'failure' or as a once and for all derailment, but as a slip up which for many is a natural part of change. Even if lapses intensify into a relapse – i.e. a sustained or apparently permanent return to the old behaviour – the model allows for the process of change to again kick in and for an individual – however apparently incorrigible – to return to the cycle and complete it successfully (as determined by them) even though other relapses may occur.

The likelihood is that most inmate participants coming to the Residency will be in the Contemplation phase of the cycle, which in itself can be further broken down into 'sub phases' (Farrall & Emlyn-Jones 2007):

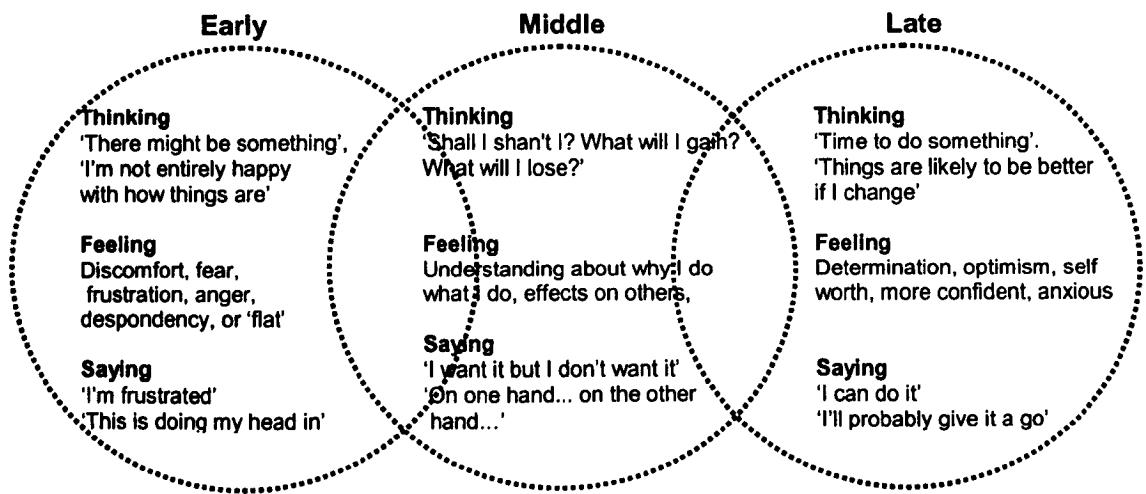


Figure (iv) Sub stages of Contemplation

The link to Motivational Interviewing

The Prochaska & DiClemente transtheoretical model of change and 'motivation' itself are intimately linked, and cross over hugely with the concepts embodied in Motivational Interviewing (see Miller and Rollnick 1991, 2002). Originally arising in the field of substance misuse counselling Motivational Interviewing effectively worked backwards from patients with the most positive clinical outcomes to the practitioners working with them and codified what their practitioners were doing, in a process of practice based 'reverse engineering' or praxis.

Within Motivational Interviewing, motivation is seen not as an 'all or nothing' quality which an individual has or does not have, is or is not motivated, but as a fluid, dynamic process in which *ambivalence* about change ("... a state of mind within which a person has coexisting but conflicting feelings about something..." [Miller & Rollnick 1991 p38], both wishing to and *not* wishing to change, however negative the behaviour) is a natural occurrence.

Resistance to change is thus also a naturally occurring feature of the process rather than being seen as an inherent quality or defect in the person; crucially, it is a *reciprocal process* and the worker can act to raise or lower levels of resistance from the person they are working with, by what they do. Rollnick (2007) identifies that when working in a motivational way "...you can see a person moving through the stages in front of you". Change itself is also not seen as an absolute: Any degree of change or alteration in behaviour is success, without the prerequisite of total change right from the beginning. Associated with each phase are

particular strategies which are *more likely* but not inevitably so, to be productive when working with a person at a particular phase (Figure v Farrall & Emlyn-Jones 2003):

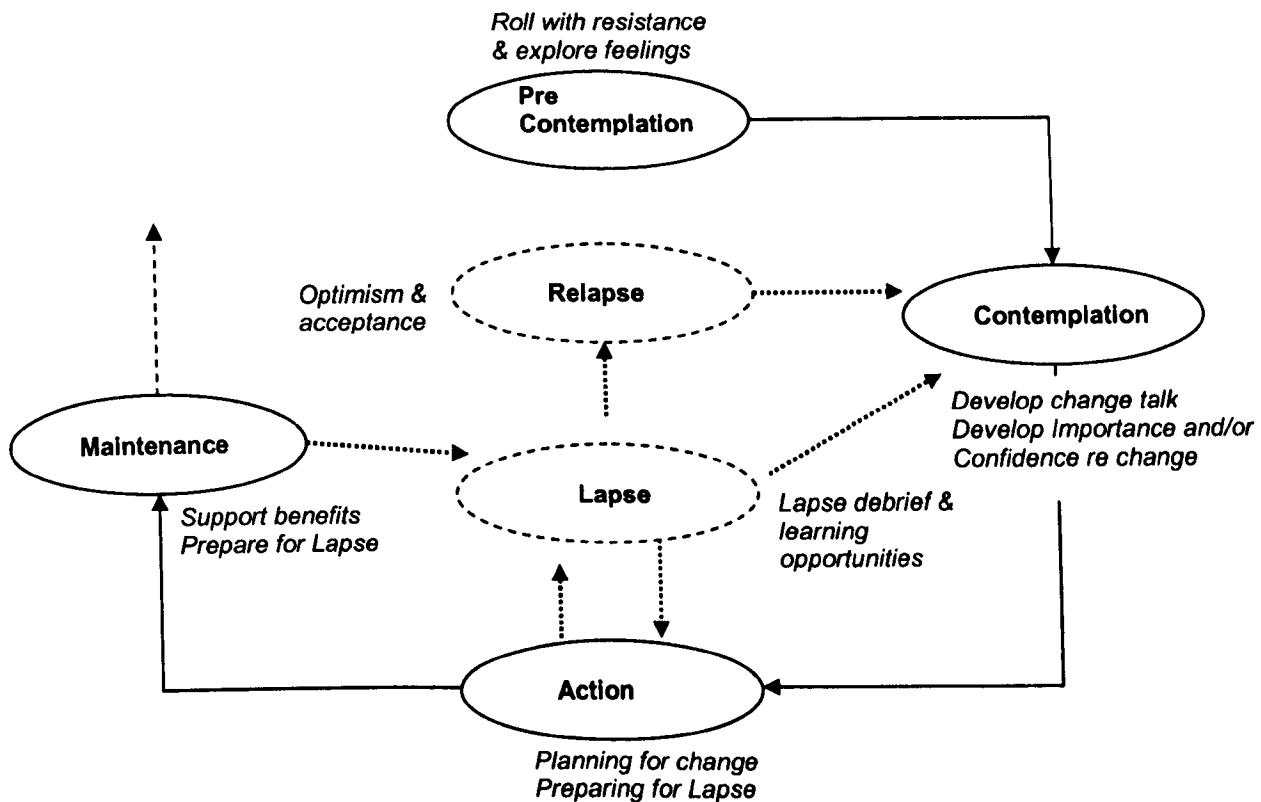


Figure (v) MI strategies associated with stages of the Cycle of Change

Motivational Interviewing as related to 'treatment readiness' is now allegedly a core skill in UK criminal justice practice (see for example Ginsberg, Mann, Rotgers & Weekes 2002, Sullivan & Shuker 2007) but difficulties occur within this setting when there is a clash between the notion that even limited change is good and the sense that offenders must cease their offending behaviour entirely. Also there is the possibility of conflict between the model itself, which allows that people may not be at the stage of thinking about their problematic behaviour in any depth (Contemplation) even when suffering consequences of it, and criminal justice practice which tends to leap in at the 'Action' stage, assuming thinking and decision making has already occurred. The resultant mismatch can generate increased levels of resistance, and the tendency is then for the worker to pathologise the offender for being difficult or unmotivated, rather than change their own approach to reduce resistance.

Leaving these difficulties aside, the conceptual structure of the Cycle of Change is thus immensely robust and intensely optimistic. Such a model is therefore intimately linked to humanist models of person-centred practice through the need to create the therapeutic alliance which is the core condition of change and which is exemplified through the spirit and practice of Motivational Interviewing (Miller & Rollnick 1991, 2003).

Core conditions of change: The therapeutic alliance

The Home Office 'Effective Practice' initiative and 'Treatment Management' of accredited programmes continues currently to be in thrall to the notion of 'programme integrity' and the somewhat Napoleonic concept that every Probation worker everywhere involved in offending behaviour group work (and even one-to-one work) must deliver an accredited programme as the manual says: The belief is that standards of delivery will therefore be ubiquitous.

This is a narrow and reductionist understanding of what is involved in engaging people in a process of change: Even if *programme integrity* is maintained in the sense of exactly the same material being delivered everywhere, over-rigid sticking to a manual is actually warned against in the 'What Works' literature (Furniss 1998 p3), and the need for *delivery integrity* in the sense of treatment style being universal (and effective) has not been met.

Some designers of programmes may be aware of three levels of ability in delivery, beginning with merely *competent*, moving through *capable* and ending with a *mindful* worker able to deliver material in a fluid manner which is not prescribed by the manual but remains relevant to the individual and group (Maguire 2002), but this higher level of functioning — while embodied in the 'What Works' principle of 'responsivity' (Andrews & Bonta 1998, Furniss 1998 p51) - is currently not taken sufficiently into account.

The therapeutic alliance: A 'way of being'

One of the difficulties of *delivery integrity* is that it is not easily measured within a positivistic framework. *Programme integrity* can be easily adjudged by whether someone did or did not complete a sequence of exercises as specified, but *delivery integrity* is more concerned with how a worker *is* in an existential sense – their 'way of being'.

The quality of the interpersonal relationship – the *therapeutic alliance* - between worker and client has been found to be the single best predictor of benefit in psychotherapy (Department of Health 2001), even where the worker rates the quality of alliance as lower than the client does. Therapeutic empathy has a direct, moderate to large effect on clinical improvement: Patients of therapists who are warmest and most empathic improve significantly more than patients of therapists with lower empathy ratings (Burns & Nolen - Hoeksema 1992). These findings are consistently reiterated in the psychological literature, see for example Luborsky (2000) and the January 2005 special edition of *Psychotherapy Research* (Volume 1/2).

Even the 'father' of cognitive-behavioural work, Aaron Beck states:

"The efficacy of cognitive and behavioural techniques is dependent, to a large degree, on the *relationship between therapist and patient...* The relationship requires therapist warmth, accurate empathy, and genuineness.

Without these the therapy becomes "gimmick orientated" (Beck, Wright, Newman & Liese 1993, p135, my emphasis).

What Beck is referring to here are the 'core conditions' of empathy, sincerity, warmth and respectfulness which can be reliably identified as characteristics of therapists (Marshall, Serran, Moulden, Mulloy, Fernandez, Mann & Thornton 2002) and which lie at the heart of humanistic practice (Rogers 1965, 1969). From Drama In Education Heathcote (1978) echoes the need for the teacher to 'be themselves' – to be *congruent*.

Turning to offending behaviour work specifically, these same qualities are necessary to work with offenders on changing their behaviour (Andrews & Bonta 1998). Even in predominantly cognitive-behavioural programmes like the various England & Wales National Offender Management Service sexual offender treatment programmes, these characteristics are present among the most effective workers where they are positively associated with change in offenders (Marshall, Serran, Fernandez, Mulloy, Thornton, Mann & Anderson, 2001, Marshall, Serran, Moulden, Fernandez, Mann, & Thornton 2002, Marshall & Serran 2004). Research also indicates that the same applies in the field of domestic violence work:

"...the quality of the therapeutic alliance, whether or not deliberately facilitated, and the maintenance of that alliance... were together predictive of the participant's level of integration of the group work into their lives" (Garfield 2005 p10).

In thus suggesting that the presence or absence of the therapeutic alliance is a major factor in outcomes, irrespective of the treatment modality, am I therefore damaging my hypothesis of the specialness and efficacy of the kinds of active, drama-based methodologies used in *The Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency*? Am I implying that the same results could be obtained through other methods, if the quality of the alliance were sufficient? These are questions to which the reader should remain alive, but also to which I hope some answer has been given in Part 2 above, concerning the *performative, social* nature of the self and the hypothesis remains that (on top of the core conditions of therapeutic alliance) *particular types of change, learning and development* are facilitated by the methods under question.

Growth and personal development

Introduction

In this final section of Part 3 of this literature review, we come to what might be described as the over-arching or background dimension of the Residency: Human growth and personal development. We have already considered many aspects of relevance here: The nature of the self, conscious and unconscious motivation, role, learning and education, conscientisation, to name but a few.

The notion of 'personal growth' touches on and subsumes all of these to some extent, becoming more amorphous as it spreads; it is one of the least straight forward elements to specify because it is in some ways, most resistant to specification, verging on the 'spiritual' epistemologies which this thesis began by saying our language finds hard to conceptualise. None the less, we must consider some of its territories if an area or level of the Residency is not to be ignored.

The hierarchy of need

Maslow (1962) posits a 'hierarchy' of developmental need, the lower levels necessarily needing to be satisfied before progress upward is possible (see figure vi).

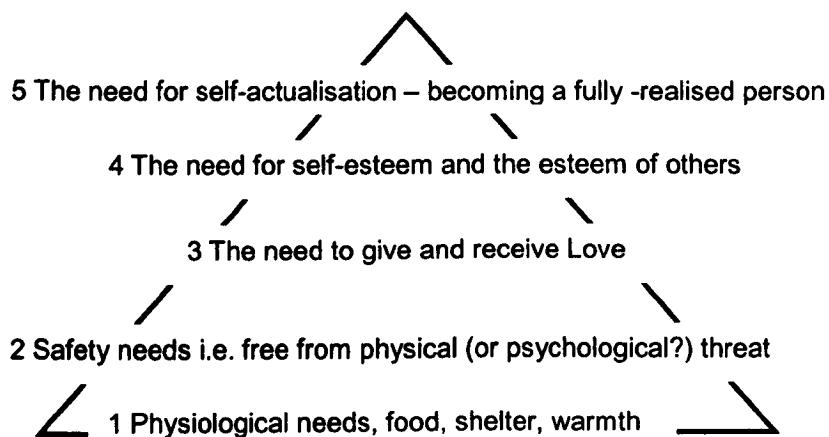


Figure (vi) Maslow's hierarchy of needs

Maslow puts forward an inherent *drive* for people to move upward through the levels as opportunity presents, with the stipulation that the higher levels are not obtainable until the lower levels are satisfied. Rogers (1961, 1965) also suggests the idea that humans naturally move toward happy and healthy psychological functioning if they are not prevented from so doing, or presented with circumstances where survival necessitates the development of functional but 'unhealthy' strategies and behaviours. This maintains a general humanistic position that people are always capable of change and that they are worth the effort to facilitate such change, whilst accepting that the change itself can be viewed ambiguously.

Although *The Violent Illusion Trilogy* Residency originated as a work on behalf of the victims of violent crime (i.e. to prevent the creation of more of them), the idea that the perpetrators of such crime can be 're-directed' towards such a 'healthy' existence having been diverted is at least implicit in the Residency, and implicit in the terms of the hypothesis of this thesis. Philosophically therefore, the Residency can be seen as aligned with models of offending behaviour work found in sexual offending – the 'Good Lives' model proposed by Ward (see for example Ward 2002, Ward & Stewart 2003, Ward & Brown 2004, Ward & Marshall 2004).

The 'Good Lives' model suggests that sexual offenders are actually seeking to fulfil the same natural drives for intimacy and human connection that the rest of us have – but it is the manner in which they choose to fulfil those drives that is problematic – not that the drives are inherently pathological (at least in the vast majority of cases). The task for the worker therefore is to facilitate the men to consider and to fulfil 'good lives' in terms of how those needs may be met productively. The overlap with Freire in terms of non-oppressive conduct and with Socrates in ethics is obvious, and in terms of becoming 'self actualised' this may be seen as equating to the dramaturgical self actualising and experiencing new roles.

Therapeutic endeavour

So how is this growth and development attained? In Western society, the usual vehicle for an explicit pursuit of such change is counselling or 'therapy'. The entire notion of 'therapy' has been comprehensively questioned elsewhere (see Masson 1988) and the political dimension of 'therapising' a discontented population to accommodate themselves to 'reality' cannot be ignored (Baron Cohen & King 1997, Magill & Muldoon 1997).

The question here is whether or not the Residency is therapy? If we accept Gilligan's (2000) conceptualisation of violence literally as an epidemic, then the answer is yes, as therapy is defined as "medical treatment of disease" (Sykes 1982). However, Geese do not view themselves as 'therapists' (nor are they 'trained' as such) and there is no explicit contract between Geese and the participants that they are 'in therapy' and this meaning for events is not constructed.

The Residency cannot therefore be construed as explicit therapy but it can be construed as a *therapeutic endeavour*. In an echo of Derrida and Chaos the Residency can be seen as the rupture through which the contamination of therapy and non-therapy occurs: It is both at the same time, and neither.

Theatre of therapy?

Moreno (1970) states that

"theatre and therapy...are closely interwoven. There will be a theatre that is pure therapy, there will be a theatre which is free from therapeutic objectives, and then there will be many intermediary forms" (p93).

Following Jones's (1996) argument that the urge to performance and theatre are a human impulse necessary to healthy living (a drive similar to that posited by Rogers and Maslow, above), Courtney (1987) argues that where the use of drama is a primary process in this development or growth, it is central in the creation of meanings for participants, and thus the giving of permanence to the learning. The Residency can be seen in this vein as 'therapy in drama' (Watts 1992) or as 'therapeutic theatre' (Mitchell 1992) where "...the inner and outer

world can meet and influence each other and the unknown can be encountered with absorption..."(Watts 1992 p103).

Kellerman & Hudgins (2000) claim that many trauma symptoms are unconscious, in the way discussed earlier in this review, and that because of the 'right brain' nature of these traumatic experiences, they cannot be accessed through 'talk therapy', as does Hudgins (2002). As was considered above, Freirian education in its fullest sense must be regarded as therapeutic in pursuing 'conscientisation' and its inherent 'learning to be human'; these points suggest that the Residency is inherently an opportunity for personal development in the senses described above.

One aspect of change, growth or learning which has *not* yet been considered specifically is *catharsis*. This concept was encountered above in Part 2, when we explored the psychodynamic self and associated mechanisms. There, it was simply noted that catharsis would be examined at a later, more appropriate point because of its transformative character. It has been delayed to this point because it seems to involve more than 'learning' or 'education', and popularly the notion of the 'cathartic experience' often seems associated with a positive connotation of forward movement or development in the self.

Catharsis

As suggested above in Part 1 above, contemporary research does not support the older notion that expression of violent or aggressive impulses *per se* allows a 'ventilating' effect through released emotion, as expressed by, for example, Mitchell & Mason:

"When control is exercised and the accompanying emotions are inhibited, irritability results... strenuous fighting games serve as substitutes for actual fighting, and the organism is relieved" (1948, p33).

Rather, the expression of such behaviour seems to have a 'practice effect' of reinforcement through social modelling and learning processes (Mallick & McCandless 1966).

The notion of catharsis has ancient roots; Schechner (2003) writes "...Greek tragedy [is now] understood as an outgrowth of rites celebrated ... at the Festival of Dionysus..." (p1) while emphasising the rhizomatic intertwining of theatre and ritual rather than seeing a steady, linear 'cultural evolution' from one form to another. Schechner is surprisingly silent on the question of catharsis itself but Hodgson (1972), writing on theatre rather than ritual or rite cites a Greek view of catharsis as passive and localised *in the spectator* (the Aristotelian 'purification through tragedy'). He cites that the actor was *catharsis for himself* though subjectively experiencing such a 'purging', presumably through a process of enactment and role identification.

Surprisingly from the perspective of a drama based group psychotherapy, Moreno, in an early definition of catharsis (1923) states that "[the drama] produces a healing effect..." but denies that it occurs in the spectator, limiting catharsis and its effects to "...the producer-actors who produce the drama, and at the same time, liberate themselves from it." (p18) via *action catharsis*.

His later thinking reflects the understanding now current in contemporary psychodramatic practice, where (linking back to ritual) the work done by the 'protagonist' of a psychodrama session (the 'active' individual under focus) is seen as being work of relevance to the group as a whole and an expression of group concerns and issues (Karp 1998) with *catharsis of integration* occurring in the audience though a process of identification (Langley 1988). These boundaries are fluid in psychodrama as they are in Boalian Forum Theatre and the concept of the *spect-actor*, mentioned previously.

Yalom (1985) also acknowledges that the 'audience' can experience catharsis from the work of another, even where the degree of 'activity' is more limited to sharing or *witnessing* a discussion or disclosure. Thus catharsis may occur in the 'active' individual but also in the 'passive' spectator through a process of identification and for the purposes of this thesis we will draw a distinction between *primary catharsis* as that experienced by the 'actor' and *secondary catharsis*, which can be experienced by the 'audience', wherever they are on the passive-active continuum.

Having established some definition of catharsis, there is the issue of what it does. A common conception of catharsis is that it takes the form of an 'out-flooding' of hitherto unexpressed emotion, after which expression one 'feels better' – this is the Freudian 'ventilation' theory in another form and is a reflection of the notion of Greek tragedy whereby vicarious involvement in tragic events 'purges' one and enables one to better accept the vicissitudes of one's own life. Arguably this is another form of the 'drama for deference' criticised by Davis (1983) as it implies an accommodation to external reality rather than an attempt to change it: Catharsis as agent of social control.

It may be that expression of hitherto unexpressed or repressed emotion may be a positive event; however the concerns expressed above about the 'rehearsal effect' of violent or aggressive play are also relevant here. It is possible to 'get stuck' in 'replaying' a hugely emotionally loaded life event (usually of some traumatic nature) and not be able to accommodate, interpret or integrate the experience, remaining simply 'overloaded' each time the instance is reactivated (a common occurrence with post traumatic stress disorder, (see Hudgins 2002).

By contrast, Langley (1998) suggests that a) the focus of catharsis is not just as an end in itself but as a means to an end "...[clarifying] the here-and-now feelings in order for the

protagonist to move forward" and b) that catharsis can be "...an altered facial or bodily expression..." (p264), which is of significance in the light of material presented above concerning physiologically-based Damasian somato-visceral 'feelings' and Tinbergian 'action patterns' connected to unconscious processes but driving conscious thought and behaviour.

Finally, Brecht suggests an interpretation of catharsis which seems more cognitively than emotionally based, instead citing an educational or pleasurable catharsis via "...exhilaration we experience when we enlarge our understanding." (Esslin 1959, p117). Given the evidence reviewed above for the unity of cognition and emotion ('fethinkel') it is unlikely that in fact there is any functional separation between these 'types' of catharsis, but the subjective experience (depending on external stimuli and circumstance, context and meaning) may differ.

With this examination of catharsis we come to the end of the literature review *per se*. It is now time to try and summarise the territory over and through which we have passed.

Literature Review: A final summary

Let us remind ourselves of the central hypothesis of this thesis:

- i) *The Corrida creates an emotional and psychological experience which stimulates and activates the individual's persistent physical and behavioural responses and by encouraging resistance to these responses provides a learning experience which enhances reflexivity, challenges conditioning and alters the probability of 'deviant' behaviour occurring.*
- ii) *A unidirectional (one-tailed) hypothesis predicting a reduction in psychometric scores gauging the expression and experience of anger and aggression in participants following the Residency.*

This literature review has been concerned with establishing some sort of framework to deal with part i of the above hypothesis; part ii will be dealt with quite straightforwardly in Chapter 5, Results. Thus, the quest for descriptive or explanatory frameworks around what Geese Theatre Company actually 'do' in the *Violent Illusion Trilogy* Residency and which can shed light on our hypothesis was introduced as a search for

- A 'theory of mind'
- A model of change
- A model of process
- A philosophy

that may be represented sufficiently in 'live' Geese practice to constitute a distinctive 'Geese paradigm'.

This necessitated a pre-cursor of clarifying a model of the 'who' the Residency worked upon/with in order to construct a model of the 'how' of the working. It was made clear that the parts of the review should be seen as interrelated and 'rhizomatic' in that any one point or feature may be connected to another conceptually.

Part 1: The Person then began with a consideration of the current 'cognitive emphasis' predominant in Western psychology, specifically within the context of offending behaviour work with violent men. The limitations of this approach in terms of its lack of inclusivity of the emotional element of the person were explored.

Next we considered definitions of violence and various explanatory models, including instinctual, hereditary, biological and personality bases for the 'acquisition of violence' before concluding that none of these are sufficient. Instead, a strongly social constructionist position emerged from the literature, seeing violent behaviour as acquired primarily through the 'social matrix', and as a form of epidemic in which subconscious processes and embodied sensations play a major role.

Next we considered the linked issues of emotion, arriving at an understanding where *feelings* refer to embodied somato-visceral sensations and emotions are a more complex phenomenon, being partially a result of cognitive evaluation.

Emotions and their expression were seen as socially constructed. This social constructionist interpretation was taken further, seeing cognition as arising in social experience as external dialogue is internalised, and that the social/emotional/physical environment reciprocally determines the conceptual and linguistic repertoire available to us. Finally, it was suggested that emotion and cognition are better seen as an integrated holism, through the neologism of 'fethinkel', and that emotional responses can occur through preconscious cognitive processes, with resultant embodied sensations acting to alter cognitive states of the organism.

Further attention was paid to conscious cognition and 'schema based' models were rejected as insufficiently holistic, a preferred model being found in 'network' theories of cognitive organisation. The issue of problem solving was considered, the conclusion being that *human* problem solving in the experiential life world is an essentially emotional and heuristic matter, rather than rule governed as a matter of abstract cognition.

The issue of 'fethinkel' arose again in the consideration of memory; processes of encoding, storage and retrieval were examined and memory found to be a (re)constructive process, working on a network principle which suggested that experience of high personal relevancy, with a degree of emotional loading and requiring 'depth of processing' is likely to be 'well remembered'. Further, reinstatement of the context in which something was originally memorised is likely to facilitate recall.

The key themes emerging at the conclusion of Part 1: The Person were holism, our socially constructed nature, and the importance of our embodied experience.

Part 2: The Self moved in to consideration of our subjective experience of an 'inner world'. The dynamic of 'individual versus group' was explored and the Western notion of an individualist bounded self rejected in favour of evidence for a far more socially constructed, fluid self existing only in relation to others, arising in social interaction and inherently multiple and potential. The *action orientation* of language in constituting reality was considered and the importance of language and dialogue as socially embedded activities was emphasised.

Drama and theatre were considered next and the key point emerging was of the ability of drama/theatre processes to embody an 'as if' potentiality, creating a liminal state which is transformative in nature and actualised through performance. This perspective was developed further into the *dramaturgical self* where the individual' becomes a sum and

swarm of enacted or potential roles in an experiential life world which is itself inherently performative. The conclusion established the lack of boundary between performance, ritual, theatre, drama and magic and their importance in creating the potential for transformation.

Having established a model for a multiple, potential, performative self arising in *interpersonal* social interaction, we considered the *intrapsychic* subjective experience of the self. This *psychodynamic* self was seen as defensive, acting to reduce psychic anxiety and involving an (often traumatic) internalised (*introjected*) model of the world arising in and reflecting social experience. The defensive mechanisms of *transference*, *projection* and *splitting* were considered and the notion of unconscious motivation in violent behaviour mooted. Finally, the dramaturgical self was recast with an *internal* orientation so that the multiplicity and swarm of the experiential life world is mirrored in the internal world, forming a system of *role relations* that can act reciprocally with the 'outer' world.

Part 3: Learning, Change and Growth considered the politics of education and the notion of 'conscientisation' and 'learning to be human' in order to take a fully aware, non-oppressive role in the world. The question of environmental constraints on cognition was again considered and the importance of dialogue and praxis in this type of education emphasised. The particularities of adult learning were considered, and the conclusion reinforced that dialogue is a crucial element.

In a return to the issue of abstract cognition, it was seen that a problem or situation making *human sense* is crucial to optimum cognitive performance, and the notion of 'right answers' in the kind of human problem solving involved in work with violent offenders was queried.

The issue of experiential learning, linked to the points made above concerning drama and theatre modalities was raised, and the unique ability of experiential techniques to work holistically to create knowledge through the transformation of salient and relevant embodied experience was surveyed. The need to provide structure or 'scaffolding' around this transformative experience also emerged from the review.

Continuing the theme of the holistic abilities of drama and theatre based educative work, we saw that memory for learning is also affected by factors of personal saliency, relevancy and the way in which the meaning of an experience is constructed.

We then moved on to the subject of change. The importance of motivation to change was considered and also that change should be seen as a process rather than a one off event. The key importance of the quality of the relationship between worker and (in this context) offender or inmate was seen. This then led to an examination of human growth that posited a general human drive toward healthy emotional and psychological functioning if not perturbed.

Finally, we again returned to theatre and drama to explore the notion of performance as an impulse necessary to the healthy functioning mentioned above, and as an embodiment of the transformative education encapsulated in 'conscientisation'. The links between theatre/drama/ritual were again made, again emphasising the importance of the *social* or *collective* dimension and the role of *catharsis* was explored, concluding that catharsis can occur in an individual, in an audience witnessing an individual, and can be experienced subjectively as primarily emotional or cognitive or physiological while being constituted of all three aspects.

Overall model

Thus, the model emerging at the end of the literature review is a holistic one of a self which is multiple, relational transformative and performative in nature; it is utterly bound up with the social environment in its widest sense and 'cognition and emotion' are seen as originating in social interaction in that environment and as one thing: 'Fethinkel'. The resultant human being experiences a subjective 'inner life', the organisation of which may reflect traumatic experiences in the experiential world; these traumatic experiences may be stored physically and activated by environmental triggers which activate the feelings and their associated shameful and painful emotions, which can then act as a driver to behaviour.

Again, I will state explicitly that this thesis does not take the position that all violent offenders are suffering from PTSD, but does accept that the evidence strongly suggests a reciprocal process where memory of traumatic experience can be held subconsciously, stored physically and re-ignited repeatedly through (social) environmental triggers, the unbearable (because shaming and humiliating) somato-visceral Damasian *feelings* then being consciously evaluated to some degree as 'anger' and tying into conscious cognitive schemas and socially learned aggressive behaviours; but more importantly, serving to activate the 'fixed action patterns' that lead to a violent response in an attempt to 'cleanse' the re-ignited shame and humiliation through Freudian 'primary processes' of 'magical thinking' (see figure ii above).

Changing this situation requires an interpersonal engagement between workers and offenders which operates in a structured but exploratory, dialogic manner, accepting phenomenological relativity and working to construct or reconstruct meaning. The intervention should work at all three aspects of the holism, cognition, emotion and behaviour, and drama and theatre offer particular advantages in so doing because of their ability to create 'as if' situations of potentiality which are simultaneously 'in' the experiential life world. Dramatic engagement also renders memory processes more efficacious through an enriched context for encoding and recall of personally relevant experience where emotional engagement is also present.

Theoretical 'nodes'

The key elements of the model emerging from the literature review may be summed up in the following list of interconnected 'nodes' forming a rhizomatic network within which any particular 'node' might be connected to or activated by, any other:

1. Unity of cognition & affect ('fethinkel' and a holistic approach to the human being)
2. Emotion and memory (interrelatedness)
3. Drama and theatre (communality, witnessing, ritual, emotion)
4. Role and the self (self as social, performative, potential, embodied)
5. Meaning/narrative/discourse (construction/performance of, change in)
6. Therapy/catharsis (primary & secondary)
7. Interpersonal style (therapeutic alliance, humanism)
8. Learning & change (behavioural, emotional, personal)

As we continue through and into the analysis presented in this thesis, these nodes will form our framework of reference.

Philosophical endnote

And what of philosophy? This thesis began with the premise that one thing sought after would be a philosophical framework which seemed to marry to the Residency and the activities therein. This framework would seem to be found in the work of Wittgenstein, whose influence has already been mentioned and felt several times to this point.

A 'logocentric' conception of knowledge and 'ultimate foundations' was rejected in the Introduction to this thesis in favour of a more post modern interpretation, and Wittgenstein's concern with indeterminacy, meaning, language, embodiment and social experience appears to parallel, reflect and link to the residency experience in a profound way. This position parallels other themes and thinkers to be encountered throughout the thesis, such as the notions of contamination, lack of boundary, (inter)connectedness.

This philosophy is open to a number of interpretations and support for a number of arguments, which is completely acceptable within Wittgenstein's view so long as the experience facilitates *thinking*, and possibly, change; the conclusions drawn are almost irrelevant and the sense is that what matters is 'the nature of one's commitment'.

In Chapter 3 we will consider the methodology that was devised for the research into *The Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency* and which attempts to bear in mind the above philosophy.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Introduction

In the preceding Introduction to this thesis (Chapter 1) and Literature Review (Chapter 2) an attempt has been made to seek a model which reflects or recapitulates the Residency process, to include the elements of reciprocity and mutuality amid a philosophical position which concerns itself with lived experience and a rejection of epistemological 'ultimate foundations'. Paralleling this desire within the Literature Review, the following account of methodology also seeks among alternative approaches for a methodological model which is 'in tune' with the lived Residency experience and which could explore the key elements of the model emerging from the review.

As will be detailed below, the research methodology therefore attempted to combine holistically several 'strings':

- Psychometric measurement of the inmate participants' experience and expression of anger pre- and post-Residency
- Behavioural observation of small group and whole group work during the Residency itself
- Field notes concerned with the same
- Individual interviews (some contemporaneous and some post-event) with inmates, staff and members of Geese

Throughout the week itself I was both researcher of and participant observer in the phenomenon under study and was attempting to gain an understanding of the Residency in terms of both effect and process – the 'what' and the 'how'. We will therefore consider the methodological choices involved in finding a suitable approach.

Overall approach: Quantitative or qualitative?

An initial choice to be made concerned the use of quantitative and/or qualitative approaches. There is an on-going dispute within psychology over the validity or primacy of these methods one over the other (see for example Morgan 1998, Cooper & Stevenson 1998, Sherrard 1998) a dispute which reflects certain discourses of what constitutes 'scientific data' and certain epistemological assumptions of the type of which this thesis has expressed a wariness. From the beginning therefore, it seemed important to construct a methodology which could use either approach as *appropriate and useful*, rather than discounting or crediting one entirely, an approach supported by Jupp, Davies & Francis (2000) from the related perspective of criminological research.

Patton (1990) writes that "Quantitative measures are succinct, parsimonious and easily aggregated for analysis; quantitative data are systematically standardised and easily presented in a short space...." (p24) while by contrast

".... qualitative findings are longer, more detailed and variable in content; analysis is difficult because responses are neither systematic nor standardised. Yet the open -ended responses permit one to understand the world as seen by the respondents." (Patton, 1990 p24).

Clearly, from the discussions so far and the model which emerged from the literature review, parsimony is not necessarily a positive quality in a methodology attempting to explore the complex concerns around the central hypothesis of this thesis; yet the dispute mentioned above over 'validity' meant that I was concerned to obtain some 'hard' numerical data and this led to a consideration of psychometric instruments and of behavioural observation schedules (see below).

Action Research

Simultaneously, I was seeking the main vehicle for the study; a seriously considered but ultimately rejected option was Action Research. Although the Residency fitted Cohen & Manion's (1980) definition as being concerned with the solving of a 'concrete problem' - i.e. the men's violent behaviour - it did not seem to quite fit the criteria of 'joint collaboration to result in altered practice' (Robson 1993) or where the people studied make the decisions (Reinharz 1992), or have the dimension of 'professional development' cited by Elliot (1980). Ultimately, the Residency was not intended to affect institutional practice in HMP Blackwood and the decision was therefore taken to reject an Action Research approach.

Case Study

The next paradigm considered was that of case study. Case study is a widely applied strategy involving empirical research of a particular contemporary phenomenon in its real-life context and utilising multiple sources of evidence or data (Robson 1993). Yin (1994) identifies that case study is a preferred strategy when:

- The concern is with the 'how' or 'why' of a phenomenon (a central theme in this research)
- Events are not controlled by the researcher
- The focus is within a real-life context

This was appropriate as my interest was very much on the process of the Residency, and how change in participants was achieved; beyond my role as a Geese worker in facilitating the 'timetable' of the Residency I had no control over events. Overall, the 'post-positivistic' or naturalistic tone of case study fitted well with the philosophy of the work, avoiding the unsuitable

over-prescription associated with (for example) single case experimental designs (Barlow & Hersen 1984).

Within this model, analysis would rely upon building an explanation and analysis of the case, attempting to draw on and reflect the theoretically significant propositions emerging from the literature review, encapsulated in the research hypothesis, and which were themselves reflective of actual Geese practice. However, the limitations of myself as sole researcher meant that while some degree of focus on some of the men taking part in the week was possible, a full case study methodology was not possible; hence this approach too was rejected.

Non-Participant and Participant Observation

As a lone researcher with a Geese 'day job' I did not have the time or resources for common Non-Participant Observation (NPO) techniques such as videoing, and in addition much of the 'action' of the Residency happens in small groups, not amenable to such an intrusive approach. Further, I felt that to stick only to structured observation schedules would have been to fall into the trap of 'spurious precision' mentioned earlier: Any decision to include certain behaviours as pertinent to record inevitably excludes others. More importantly, such 'non-participation' was against the ethos of the week and ran counter to the Geese therapeutic intent, and was indeed not possible within the constraints of Geese staffing the Residency. Non-Participant Observation was therefore rejected as impractical.

The sister strategy to Non-Participant Observation is Participant Observation (PO). Denzin (1978) notes that Participant Observation (PO) is an 'omnibus strategy' in that it "...simultaneously combines documentary analysis, interviewing of respondents and informants, direct participation and observation and introspection" (p183). Several qualities recommended PO for this research, especially its utility for small projects of limited duration where much activity is inaccessible to simple observers (Robson 1993).

Although work with 'special populations' such as the prison inmates may naturally involve limitations on the extent of one's participation (see for example Patrick 1973, Patton 1990), participant observers are often regarded with suspicion as in danger of 'going native' in the sense of taking on too strong an identification with the 'subjects' of their study; such a 'worry' of course reflects a particular 'scientific' epistemology of the sort queried in Chapter 1, Introduction.

As further discussed in Chapter 1, reflexivity requires I admit my advocacy for the Residency: Every observation or inference I made was loaded with my own preconceptions or biases, however much I attempted to be 'objective'. Burgess (1985) argues that one's observations will inevitably be biased and are necessarily part of the data (see also Gleick 1987); my status as a

lone observer should at least mean that the biases were constant and exhibited 'ecological validity' (Neisser 1978, 1988, see below).

A greater difficulty is that the more familiar one is with the phenomenon under investigation, the less one is able to see the rituals, behaviours, Discourses and procedures involved in it (Spradley 1980). An observation paradigm more suited to the spirit and material of the Residency may therefore be not an illusory 'scientific objectivity' but the 'defamiliarisation' of Brechtian theatre, the *Verfremdungseffekt* (Willett 1978).

Because of the flexibility and comprehensiveness of the Participant Observation methodology and also its ability to come close to a dynamic process such as the Residency, PO was decided upon as the methodology for the research.

Data gathering techniques

Again reflecting the Residency, I would need a variety of techniques, which would operate at a variety of levels. The quantitative methods of psychometrics and observation schedules detailed below can be seen as 'distant' methods in that I (or another researcher) could have undertaken them with no other involvement in the Residency and (theoretically) with no physical presence in the prison. Yet this approach would not have a chance of coming to grasp with the essential lived experience of the Residency and hence data gathering techniques involving a 'closer' approach as part of the Participant Observation would be necessary: We will consider these below in the sections on interviewing.

At a distance: Scales & psychometrics

Psychometrics are almost exclusively nomothetic in orientation in the sense that they attempt to place people within fixed categories or in positions on certain scales and draw definite conclusions about them, and thus are at odds with the philosophy of the Residency and of this thesis. No exhaustive reference work exists for the many types of psychometrics available, and many focus on clinical assessments beyond the scope of this research (see BUROS 1988, Hersen & Bellack 1988, Edenborough 1997). Several types of instrument were considered however, including:

- Likert scales
- Semantic Differential
- Repertory grids
- State-Trait Anger Expression Index (STAXI)

Likert Scales

Likert scales are most familiar from consumer research or attitude surveys asking respondents to rate themselves over a five or seven point scale from (for example) 'strongly agree' to 'strongly disagree', covering shades of agreement or disagreement in between. Likert is taken

as a generic term referring to scales similar in theory and construction and can also cover scales that more specifically would be termed Guttman or Thurstone scales.

Since the Residency dealt with violent offenders and their behaviour, I had begun by wishing to measure the participants' attitudes to violence in order that we could see if there had been any change after the week. To gain a complementary coverage, I was also looking for something on attitudes to women, based on past experience that the main female character in the *Violent Illusion Part 2* received much negative feedback for what was plotted in the show as being reasonably assertive behaviour (a phenomenon which occurred again in the HMP Blackwood Residency, see Chapter 6 Analysis and Appendix A).

Thurstone (1970) begins by honestly describing the difficulty in measuring 'attitude':

"The concept "attitude" will be used here to denote the sum total of a man's (sic) inclinations and feelings, prejudices or bias, preconceived notions, ideas, fears, threats, and convictions about any specified topic...It is admittedly a subjective and personal affair." (p128)

Attempts at finding such a scale soon foundered on definitional issues, the lack of causative link between attitudes and behaviour, and the situationally dependent nature of attitudes (Lloyd, Mayes, Manstead, Meudell & Wagner 1987, Summers 1970, Wetherall 1996). Turning to assessment of 'anger' (see Chapter 2 for definitional issues), scales considered and rejected included the widely used Novaco Anger Inventory (Novaco 1975). Although valid and reliable in 'scientific' terms no instruments considered seemed able to capture the complexity of the violence perpetrated and experienced by the participants on the week.

Construction of a specific instrument such as a Thurstone scale, Likert scale or Guttman scale was too complex and beyond my resources (see Kline 1990, Moser 1979, Seiler & Hough 1970) and in combination with a discomfort over the statistical and deterministic structural assumptions of such scales (Lemon 1973) the possible use of this type of scale was abandoned.

Semantic Differential (SD)

Deriving from experimental linguistics work this method allows a measure of 'attitude' toward a particular object (i.e. 'the police'), and the representation of that object in three-dimensional space along three evaluative factors. The resultant scale is a multi-dimensional scale, offering a more sophisticated analysis of an attitude in relation to other attitudes, and any shift (Osgood, Suci & Tannenbaum 1957). The SD was rejected however for reasons similar to those given above for Likert scales, namely as being too constricting, and for further technical reasons regarding structural assumptions (see Rust & Golombok 1989, Tittle & Hill 1970). Nonetheless,

with more time and resources, for a specific study, it might be an interesting scale to use for the sophistication of its coverage.

Repertory Grids

Repertory grids (Kelly 1955), or derivations of them, have been used in previous research on Geese work in an offending behaviour programme with the old Gloucester Probation Service. The technique allows construction of a representation of the way in which an individual evaluates the world and their salient evaluative 'constructs', i.e. 'harsh', 'strong' etcetera.

Repertory grids thus seemed to offer a measurement technique, which was in harmony with the spirit of the research: Non-prescriptive, holistic, phenomenological, and non-deterministic. However, the technique was rejected on grounds of tension between the supposedly individualized nature of the grid and the standardised requirements for administration and interpretation (Bannister & Mair 1968, Fransella & Bannister 1977, Yorke 1978, 1985). Construction of such grids with all participants was also too difficult in time and resource terms. In parallel with the developing literature review, 'attitude' also began to seem an inappropriate focus for measurement; at this point I found the STAXI psychometric instrument.

The State - Trait Anger Expression Inventory (STAXI)

The State - Trait Anger Expression Inventory (STAXI) has a long developmental history (Spielberger, Jacobs, Russell & Crane 1983, Spielberger, Johnson, Crane, Jacobs & Worden 1985, Spielberger 1988, Spielberger & Sarason 1991) and assesses both state anger and *trait* anger.

Spielberger (1996) defines *state* anger as

"...an emotional state or condition that consists of subjective feelings of tension, annoyance, irritation, fury and rage, with concomitant activation or arousal of the autonomic nervous system... state anger varies in intensity and fluctuates over time as a function of perceived injustice or frustration resulting from the blocking of goal directed behaviours" (p10).

Conversely, *trait* anger is defined as "... individual differences in the frequency that state anger was experienced over time" (p10). Spielberger (1996) describes the use of the STAXI for assessing hostility and anger, and the need to differentiate between anger, hostility and aggression, as well as between trait anger and state anger, and from these points and the above definitions it will be seen that the STAXI theoretical base accords well with the models of aggression and anger established in Chapter 2. The STAXI also correlates well to other validated psychometric measures (Spielberger, Jacobs, Russell & Crane 1983) and is frequently used where measurement of anger is a central issue, such as in anger management intervention programmes.

The scales comprising the STAXI are as follows:

- | | |
|---------|---|
| S-Anger | = State anger as a measure of the intensity of angry feelings at a particular time |
| T-Anger | = Trait anger as a measure of individual differences in the disposition to experience anger |

The T-Anger scale has two subscales, T-Anger/T and T-Anger/R:

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| T-Anger/T | = a measure of general propensity to experience and express anger without specific provocation |
| T-Anger/R | = individual differences in the disposition to express anger when criticized or treated unfairly by other individuals |

The remaining scales are as follows:

- | | |
|--------|---|
| AX/In | = the frequency with which angry feelings are held in or suppressed |
| AX/Out | = how often an individual expresses anger toward other people or objects in the environment |
| AX/Con | = the frequency with which an individual attempts to control the expression of anger |
| AX/EX | = general index of the frequency with which anger is expressed, regardless of the direction of expression |

An independent study of *The Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency* also used the STAXI (Reiss, Quayle, Brett & Meux 1998). This research focused on anger reduction and follow up work with mentally disordered offenders following a VI3 Residency in Broadmoor Hospital. Their work did not examine process issues or offer any analysis of the techniques used in the Residency (in fact referring inaccurately to the VI3 as 'dramatherapy'), merely gauging its efficacy in the areas noted. The Reiss et al results are referred to in Chapter 5, Results.

A further bonus of the STAXI is that the scale is relatively easily administered as a questionnaire, requiring only 14-year-old levels of literacy, and was suitable for a special population of possibly low educational attainment. One difficulty was that although comprehensive response norms were provided for the general population, figures were not available on some measures for the special population of prison inmates. The decision was thus taken to opt for the STAXI instrument, yet the overall warning provided by Fransella & Bannister (1977) on tests and scales should not be forgotten: "We have provided tools for tyranny in pursuit of spurious precision" (p119).

General Observation Schedule (GOS)

A further attempt at obtaining quantitative data from a 'distant' method informed the development of the General Observation Schedule (GOS). This was a device aimed at providing a source of potential correlational data - i.e. was there any correlation between how someone contributed in the week and who actually went into the Corrida on the Friday? A General Observation Schedule Mk I (GOS 1) based on the Bales schedule for observing group process (Bales 1950) was constructed, piloted, and abandoned as too unwieldy.

The GOS1 was attempting to note what is often described as 'verbal behaviour', although within the frame of this thesis verbal utterances form part of a much more complex social process of Discourse (see below and Chapter 2 for discussion of this concept) and dialogue; in an attempt to capture the indexical nature of speech and discourse, I would need categories, which could be marked positively or negatively for apparently the same thing. For instance, a comment of "Oh, yes, you're right there" could be either positive agreement or negative undermining, depending on the tone of voice and expressions etcetera accompanying the utterance. The GOS 2 (see Appendix C) thus used six categories, each of which could be expressed either positively or negatively as follows:

- 1: Agrees, Concurs**
- 2: Supports others, raises status, gives help**
- 3: Asks for suggestion, direction, possible action**
- 4: Disagrees, agrees**
- 5: Antagonistic, deflates others**
- 6: Sabotages, minimises, colludes**

The judgment of what category a particular interaction fell into would be entirely mine. As explained, bias in the marking would at least be consistent, and my criteria for positivity or negativity were a general one: Did the remark aid or hinder the process of what Geese were trying to do during the week. The six categories were further coded according to defined criteria for:

- Humour
- Sarcasm
- Hostility/anger
- General positive example

In addition, I included a small 'Notes' column on each page, to cover anything not within the scope of my categories. This column was also where I recorded the E for engaged and the N for not engaged. This was a qualitative judgment by myself and based on criteria such as yawning, looking around, engaging in conversation not germane to the proceedings and so forth. Each 'page' of the GOS covered a time period of five minutes, and had space to record time, date,

exercise and so forth. Ultimately, while some data was gathered using the GOS, the shape of the Residency and the progressive move from whole group exercises to multiple small group work meant that analysis was not possible as the data was incomplete.

Officer's Questionnaire

The STAXI provided a very short-term measure of changes in the participants, but only over the pre- and post-test period of one week. I had planned to return and retest the men after three months, but this was to prove impossible as the group would have been released, transferred, dispersed etcetera. Therefore a secondary way to measure changes in the men would be to ask those in close contact with them to take note of any observed behavioural change in the inmate. To this end I constructed a questionnaire (Appendix D) to be filled in by the prison officers who were in daily contact with the inmates after the conclusion of the Residency. Sadly, even with Officer Blue (an extremely supportive officer who appears frequently in Chapter 6) on hand to give out/collect in the forms, the response rate was zero.

Governor's Orders

Every prison has a system of punishment and discipline for inmates who have offended against prison rules; this is 'Governor's Orders'. In most institutions, the details of the offence and the punishment are recorded in a large book. This book thus forms a behavioural record of each inmate, recording - for example - how often they have been involved in fights on the wing. My thinking was that if I could get access to this book, and check the disciplinary records of the participants on the week before and after, I would have another potential measure of change. I was entirely unable to gain access to this information within HMP Blackwood, as the disciplinary record of a prison seems to be a subject of some sensitivity.

Closer to: Data collection in Participant Observation

Field notes

Field notes gather the 'story' happening before one, which then serves as grounding for a theoretical framework of understanding and explanation. Spradley (1980) notes nine dimensions of 'descriptive observation' using 'concrete details' rather than generalities while Lofland and Lofland (1984) suggest the notes include initial interpretive ideas: These are deliberately termed 'ideas' to counter their quickly becoming reified into unassailable truth or an absolute explanation. One's interpretive ideas must always be provisional.

Following Robson (1993) a system of coding was devised to denote verbatim remarks, interpretations, running description and so on. Where possible the notes were made contemporaneously; otherwise mental note was made of salient points and transferred to paper as immediately as was possible. This was the case for myself when on stage performing in the two plays during the week, or when running a whole group or small group exercise: I kept a note book backstage to jot down observations in the periods I was offstage, and similarly after

handing over to a co-worker. I attempted to fully expand and elaborate all notes before as soon as possible and definitely before the next observation session.

The chronology of the Residency both enforced and hindered this discipline since as a member of Geese I was working late five days in a row. The writing up of these notes was accomplished on a laptop computer. A further very practical usage of the Field Notes, which emerged during the week, was as a vital aid to the transcription of tapes.

Taping

In addition to field notes, a core data collection method for the research was the use of audiotapes. At the earliest opportunity I had gained permission from the inmates to tape them for the study. Since I myself was the 'primary instrument' of data collection I opted for a small, mobile, inconspicuous personal stereo with a recording facility. I sought out a personal stereo with an external microphone in the hope that it would lead to better sound quality, and which would be fixed to my shirt at all times, enabling me to conceal or carry the recorder in a breast pocket. Robson (1993) identifies a 'factor of ten' ratio between taping and transcribing: One hour of tape to ten hours notation and transcription.

Interviews

Cohen and Manion (1989) describe three conceptions of the interview:

- 1) Straightforward 'information transfer', where potential biases can be eliminated through structure
- 2) As an inevitably biased transaction where structure can reduce biases
- 3) As an 'everyday encounter' sharing features with other 'ordinary' encounters

The first two views see the properties and interests (the 'concerns' of the participants [Edwards & Potter 1992]) inherent to interpersonal exchanges or transactions as blocks to 'good communication'. By contrast, the third perspective does not need a technique (structural or otherwise) to 'deal' with these dread 'biases' as long as they are taken account of theoretically. One advantage of this is the possibility of using the exchange (the interview) to 'deepen' the understanding an interviewee has of the situation or issue to which the interview refers (Altrichter, Posch & Somekh 1994). This transformative stance and the empowerment implicit within it made interview a prime methodological choice, and aids understanding of the methodology as a whole.

I use the word 'exchange' above to describe an interview, because as Burgess (1993) points out, the 'interviewer' cannot 'control' the interview, but power relations are important within it. Depending upon the situation, the interview/exchange may have an interrogative function for the (primary) interviewee also. To paraphrase Nietzsche, as you ask quotations of the interview, the

interview asks quotations of you. Cohen & Manion (1989) identify four types of interview ranging along a continuum of overt control by the interviewer

Structured Interview

The epistemological choices outlined above meant that the 'fully structured' interview where predetermined questions are asked in a predetermined order and the responses recorded on a pre-prepared standardised schedule was entirely unsuitable. Robson (1993) notes that this is effectively a questionnaire where the interviewer rather than the 'subject' fills in the answers.

Unstructured Interview

Cohen & Manion (1989) see an unstructured interview as one where procedures are merely less rigid: Although there will still be a particular area of interest, the interviewer is free to decide the content, sequence and emphasis of the questioning as seems appropriate. For Robson (1993) this style of interview is, logically, a 'semi-structured' interview, a title I feel is clearer and more descriptive. He sees the defining characteristic of this style as being its 'clearly defined purpose'.

Focused Interview

Originating in psychotherapeutic practice, the interview focuses on the subjective experiences of an individual who has been exposed to a particular situation. In practice, it may not be that much different to an unstructured interview (in Cohen & Manion's [1989] definition) except that the extent of pre preparation may be simply to know that the subject is - for example - the Residency, without any ready-to-ask questions. Its purpose may be less clearly defined also. Since I desired more direction over what we talked about, and had particular areas of interest, the focused interview was rejected.

Non-directive

The non-directive interview is most similar to the classic conception of a 'Freudian' or classic Rogerian therapy session where the 'interviewee' directs the conversation entirely (see Rogers 1965). This option was rejected for several reasons: Although the entire Residency, both as an artistic experience and a piece of work on offending behaviour was 'therapeutic' (or paratherapeutic, see Mitchell 1992, Farrall 2004), this was not and is not an overt function and I had no therapeutic contract with the inmates. Mainly however my concern was that in the short, one off time I had to talk to the men, I needed a sharp focus on what was talked about, rather than having time for the therapeutic process to unfold.

The final choice of interview method

After due consideration, it seemed that the semi structured interview as described by Robson (1993) was the most suitable for my undertaking. My clearly defined purpose was to explore the phenomenological experience of the inmates, but within particular boundaries: Robson (1993)

suggests a situational analysis to identify the important aspects of the situation to those involved, and the meaning and effects for and on them. In the specific case of the HMP Blackwood Residency, I would of course have been part of the Residency process for five days and have some knowledge of the individual men to be interviewed. My own research interests and the brevity of interview (see below) meant that I prepared several questions, which ranged across the 8 theoretical 'nodes' of interest emergent from the literature review:

1. Unity of cognition & affect
2. Emotion and memory
3. Drama and theatre
4. Role and the self
5. Meaning/narrative/Discourse
6. Therapy/catharsis
7. Interpersonal style
8. Learning & change

I would be using the same personal stereo as I had all week to record the interviews and this would be in plain sight.

Interviews with inmates

The experience of the Corrida was a central focus of interest. I therefore interviewed two of the three inmates who had been chosen to enter the Corrida on the day before, rather than inmates who had been involved as audience members. In retrospect the thoughts of this latter (majority) group on the Corridas from the perspective of being part of the overall collective experience but not directly 'under challenge' would have been useful, particularly with reference to the 'witnessing' function which is discussed in Chapter 6.

These two interviews took place on a Saturday, when the prison is in weekend shutdown and it is even harder to gain access, have escorts, get anything done etcetera. Leisurely interviews were not an option, and the 'transcription ratio' meant I was wary of adding extra hours, despite the possible richness of this data seam. Another factor was my own tiredness: By the Saturday I would be coming to the end of seven days non-stop on the research and Residency, and was not sure I could effectively handle several long interviews.

Conducting the Interview

The conduct of the interview attempted to embody respect and equality for the person (Altrichter, Posch & Somekh 1994) a stance reflecting the modelling of pro-social behaviour in the Residency and following Robson's (1993) recommendations for style, including listening more than one speaks, being behaviourally neutral, and not appearing bored (!) He notes that it

is often after the end of the formal interview, after the recorder is switched off, that interesting material is revealed, and the researcher should have a considered strategy to deal with this.

My solution was to keep the tape off, and then as soon as possible after the interviewee left the room, switch it on and try to repeat what had been said. I felt this was cleaner than asking the respondents to repeat themselves for the tape, although the initiative could have been seized to further explore whatever had been said. If they had not wished to talk to or be recorded, I would have accepted that decision, and either not proceeded or not used the tape. If they agreed the tape was then turned on.

Probes and prompts

A probe in the sense of interview technique is a device to encourage or enable an interviewee to expand on a response. These probes vary from the explicit 'Is there anything else?' to the covert inquiring glance and Robson (1993) characterises the use of probes as an 'art form' not easily grasped by the novice interviewer. I felt that my professional experience qualified me in the use of such techniques, and that in fact Geese already utilised such methods while not calling them 'probes'.

Ethical framework

The British Psychological Society recommends *informed consent* when working with 'detained persons' (British Psychological Society 1978, 1985). The key themes are

- Competence
- Voluntarism
- Comprehension
- Full information

Participants must be competent to make a decision about taking part, they must have the power to choose not to take part, they must know what the study is about and they must understand the nature of the research.

These themes informed my initial meeting with the potential participants prior to the Residency. I made clear that nobody was obliged to take part by talking to me or doing tests, and that such a desire was absolutely fine. Anyone who did decide not to take part would not be written about, and anyone who did take part could change their mind at any time. They would also then not be written about. The inmates were also informed that all biographical and geographical data would be changed sufficiently to protect anonymity. Hence this study occurs in the fictitious prison of HMP Blackwood and all names of inmate participants have been changed.

I explained that the prison authorities, or other members of Geese would not see any notes I took, or hear tapes, and that psychometric results would also be confidential. Finally, I gave

people a chance to ask questions before reading through the consent form (see Appendix G) which all those willing then signed. No one refused.

My role as a Geese member trying to study the process of the Residency and as a researcher after a degree was 'up front' with the inmates, but I was loath to tell the men that I was particularly interested in whether they changed around the issue of violence; this was because of 'Hawthorne effect' concerns about the observer (by their observation) changing the nature of what is observed and also a wariness of inmates possibly 'talking the talk' or prejudging the Residency. Rather, I talked of wishing to see if the Residency 'did anything', and if so what. This prevarication is closer to 'reasonably' informed consent (Cohen & Manion 1989, Robson 1993) than 'fully'.

Robson (1993) signposts the gaining of 'explicit authorisation' with regard to professional colleagues. An oversight was the failure to gain explicit consent from Geese colleagues and prison staff participating in the Residency until after the fact. Although prison staff knew I was conducting research, Malcolm (their manager, name changed) had failed to inform them fully as had been arranged. Geese colleagues were not as aware of my intentions as I thought they were; informal office chats about my doings had not been sufficient, no one had asked specific questions and the result was a lack of clarity. All staff were thus discomfited by the perception of their practice being 'written about' and reassured only by assurances of confidentiality identical to the inmates.

Robson (1993) also emphasises the importance of retaining the right to report one's work; providing it is fair and accurate, those involved should have no veto over the writing. A self-imposed veto was my decision not to write a follow up report for the Senior Social Worker, Malcolm, because I would have had to be critical of the prison and of Malcolm's failure to implement what had been agreed at a previous meeting. The management of Geese felt that we could not afford to be critical of somewhere we still wanted to work. Discretion thus became the better part of valour and the report was never written.

Special considerations in the prison

One point of note is that prisons are not an environment conducive to immediate cooperation with outsiders (see Jupp, Davies & Francis 2000, Williams Saunders 2000). Prison Officers hold all the power, the security function is constantly at odds with any therapeutic drive, and the importance of an ally acceptable to the Prison Officer culture cannot be overstated. In the case of HMP Blackwood I had Officer Blue, an officer who has played a pivotal role in Geese work at Blackwood, and of whom we will hear more later in Chapter 6 and Appendix A. A man of immense sensitivity and thoughtfulness, it was only through his unstinting cooperation and help that much of the Residency and most of my research was possible at all.

I have mentioned the need for speed due to the weekend conditions, but additionally one to one interviews meant being alone with the inmate. This is a privilege normally only accorded to legal representatives, and had security implications, for the prison rather than for myself. I had no fears about being attacked (and would not have conducted the interviews if I had felt the risk) but the security apparatus of the prison and Officer Blue in particular would have some difficult questions to answer if I were assaulted.

Secondly, prison authorities strictly control access by inmates to all means of communication with the outside world. Access to a phone has only recently been possible without a direct request to an officer (there are now card pay phones on many wings) and even these calls are monitored. Yet I required the free use of a tape recorder and tapes, as I had done during the Residency. Although I was of course security cleared to work in HMP Blackwood (and higher security prisons) such discretion would not normally be awarded to an outsider to the prison establishment. I could, after all, discuss the escape plans of an inmate and then hand over this taped requirements to confederates.

A third security consideration was that I needed a space to be alone with the inmate. Such secluded spaces are not easy to find, and the three obvious options were 1) the inmate's cell, 2) a room such as an interview room on the wing itself, 3) a separate space away from the cells area. In addition, all three options required special provision by the prison and/or Officers to find men, provide escorts, unlock and lock doors and so on. All of these requirements were made more difficult by the interviews taking place on a Saturday. Solutions to these problems were found only because of the goodwill of Officer Blue, and in this instance he facilitated the use of a small medical room adjacent to but separate from the wing.

Interviews with prison staff

Brief interviews were also conducted with prison staff who had been present for the duration of the Residency. These interviews were conducted under the same conditions as for the inmates in terms of permissions and privacy and focussed on the same five areas of particular interest. Staff were interviewed over a period ranging from immediately after the Residency up to two days later

Interviews with Geese theatre staff

Interviews with Geese staff were conducted after initial analysis and writing up of the Residency data had begun. The interviews were focused on the same eight theoretical 'nodes' emerging from the literature review as were the inmate interviews. The interviews were of 30 minutes length each, and asked the Geese staff member for their perceptions of the mechanisms or processes of the Residency. The interviews were taped, and subject to the same confidentiality and permissions as the inmate interviews.

Documentary data

The Residency offers several sources of documentary data. Thinking Reports (TR's) are a generic tool in cognitive behavioural work. Also known as 'thought trackers' or 'control logs', in Geese usage the TR is a simple form, which asks an individual inmate for a brief description of a violent incident (see Appendix E for a blank example). It then gives space for ten or so lines of 'I thought...' 'I felt...' which the inmate completes. The intention is to demonstrate that thinking is present in violent behaviour, that there is a process and not that it 'just happened', and that the process can be altered.

- Thought Wheels

Linked to the Thinking Report is a diagrammatic representation of the process of cognition and affect involved in the violent incident; this is the Thought Wheel, intended to represent the notion of a cycle of thinking feeling and behaviour. Each participant will fill out or have filled out for them at least one of these Wheels (see figure ix, page 215).

- Flip chart notes

Many of the whole group exercises involve the use of group responses or group complied items. As many as possible of these were obtained or copied during the course of the week.

- Inner Man

A visual aid used in the Residency is a outline of a human figure which is filled in over the week with various categories of information such as nature and number of victims, skills learned and so on.

- Geese materials

Geese Theatre provides some written information for inmates and staff and also has a formal contact, which is signed at the commencement of the week (see Appendix G).

Drama assessment workshop

A drama assessment workshop was planned prior to the Residency proper commencing. This did not take place ultimately due to lack of space and organisation within the prison, but focussed on the use of image work as found in Boal (1979, 1992, 1995).

Supplementary data

The Social Work Department at HMP Blackwood volunteered to interview the participants in the Residency, including those who had dropped out, over the weeks immediately following our time in HMP Blackwood. This was to gain background information on the participants over a number of static and dynamic risk factors including family history, previous offences and convictions and so forth. I would not have had the time or facilities to obtain this, and so supplied the staff with a list of these factors to guide any discussions they may have.

Analytical tools

The STAXI and General Observation Schedule were suitable for standard types of statistical analyses in order to provide the 'hard' numerical data mentioned above. As described, the STAXI provided its own normative data for purposes of comparison, while in conception the GOS, because it provided data which was non-parametric in nature, was suitable for a test of correlation such as the Spearman's Rho (Field 2000).

Analysis of qualitative data

The major emphasis of the analysis was always to be on the qualitative data of how the inmate participants engaged or otherwise in the Residency week. In the literature review in Chapter 2 a major emphasis has been placed on the concepts of 'discourse' meaning verbal utterance and 'Discourse' in the sense of the far wider embodied 'dance' including verbal utterance but also extending (at least) to meaning, symbol, physicality, written word and action. The main analytical framework therefore would have to focus on Discourse.

Conversation Analysis and Discourse Analysis

Conversation Analysis (CA) regards talk as both 'stating and doing' (Austin 1962, Sacks 1992) and as the site of constructed inter-subjective understandings, of shared meanings. Through a process of 'working backwards' from the 'outcome' of a person's spoken discourse in any given interaction, and examining how this outcome was achieved, CA enables us to consider just what is being created and represented through the 'talk' of the Residency (Silverman 1997).

Although the original tape recorded data of whole group sessions was not taken in a form sufficiently technically sophisticated to permit the use of full Conversation Analysis techniques *per se* (Silverman 1997) the useful strategy of working backwards from the 'outcome' of speech was applied to the transcripts. Additionally, Discourse Analysis (DA) argues that through their talk speakers create and construct both their world and their self; analysis of changes in discourse (Parker 1994) should therefore indicate changes in world and self-view (Edwards & Potter 1992, Potter 1997).

Table (ii) below gives the notational and definitional framework applied here when attempting some degree of conversation analysis.

Notation	Definition or description
Tone unit	Set of words said 'as if they go together' (each line represents 1 tone unit)
//	Tone unit said with 'final contour' rising or falling pitch to indicate 'finished'
clause	Any verb and the elements that 'cluster' with it
stanza	'Clumps' of tone unit dealing with unitary topic or perspective
<u>underlined</u>	<u>Underlined words carry the major stress in their tone unit</u>
CAPITALS	Emphatically said
..	Hearable pause
die:d	Colon following vowel indicates elongated vowel
low pitch	Previous unit said on overall low pitch

Table (ii) Notational & definitional framework for conversation analysis

Transcription conventions

There are many citations of spoken data in this thesis, and it is worth establishing the conventions with which they will be treated, so as to establish consistency of notation.

i) Discourse analysis

Where this is attempted, the notation used in table (ii) will be applied. Quotation marks (single or double) are not used, nor is punctuation such as question marks. The passages of Discourse analysis will be given stanza numbers as a whole passage, and individual line numbers within stanzas, to aid later reference. The quotations are not inset. Emphasis is denoted in the ways described above, i.e. by underlining.

ii) Transcripts from whole group sessions, small group sessions or debriefs

This often involves extended passages of dialogue with multiple speakers. Individual lines within these passages will not be set within quotation marks, but will be given individual line numbers and set within numbered stanzas. Quoted passages will not be inset. Punctuation will follow the general notation above, even where full Discourse analysis is not attempted, so that emphasis and stress by the original speaker (where recorded) will be denoted by underlining and capitals as described in table (ii). Emphasis by the author of this thesis will be denoted by italics.

iii) Individual interviews with inmates or staff

These again often involve extended passages of dialogue. Where an individual is quoted 'solo' rather than in conversation with the interviewer, quotes will be in quotation marks and inset as per standard practice, with emphasis conveyed by italics. No line numbers or stanza numbers will be given. Where quotation is of 'conversation' in interview, quotation marks will be used for each line but the overall passage will not be inset.

To focus only on *verbal utterance* however, even within a context of dialogic interaction, is to ignore the greater part of the 'dance' of Discourse consisting of "...words, values, deeds, beliefs, symbols, tools, objects, times, and places in the here and now..." mentioned above in Chapter 2. Another important element is that the Residency is a *group* experience: Hence the analysis attempts to deal with on an equal footing the non-spoken communications of the inmate participants when they have a given role as 'audience' as much as it does on the individual level of 'spoken interview'. Gee (1999) notes therefore that an 'ideal' analysis will pay attention to the six 'building tasks' of Discourse through a related framework of '18 questions'.

The 6 'building tasks' and related questions

Gee (1999) argues that whenever we speak or write (and thus, presumably, also whenever we *interact*) we always and simultaneously build six things or areas of 'reality':

1. The meaning and value of aspects of the material world

E.G. I enter a room as *if* about to run a meeting and where I sit 'becomes' the front of the room

2. Activities

E.G. we speak and act in one way and it is 'informal chat' prior to the meeting; we speak and act in another and it is the formal opening of the meeting

3. Identities and relationships

E.G. I speak and act one way at one point and I am 'Chair' of the meeting, I seek and act another and I become a colleague or peer commenting to another

4. Politics (the distribution of 'social goods' i.e. power, status, aspects of gender, race, class)

E.G. I speak and act in such a way that a visibly angry male is "staking a principle" while a visibly angry female is "being hysterical"

5. Connections

I speak and act in a way which makes what I am saying now about subject A relevant or connected to or irrelevant or unconnected to what I said last week about subject B

6. Semiotics (what and how different symbol systems and different forms of knowledge "count")

I speak and act in a way so as to make the knowledge and language (epistemology) of science or legality relevant, or not, over everyday "lay language" or "academic" language

These 6 building tasks will be present in the *Violent Illusion trilogy* Residency as they are in any social situation and the 18 questions Gee (1999) suggests to ask about building tasks fall into 6 main categories

1. Semiotic building

Concerned with what sign systems, ways of knowing (epistemologies) and social languages are relevant and/or irrelevant in the given situation? How are they made relevant or irrelevant?

2. World building

Concerned with what situated meanings of words or phrases, places, times objects seem to be of value or of importance? What cultural models or institutions are being (re)produced, stabilised or transformed?

3. Activity building

What are the larger or main activities and what the sub-activities, and what actions compose these?

4. Socioculturally-situated identity and relationship building

What relationships and identities, with their concomitant knowledges and beliefs seem to be relevant? How are they stabilised or transformed and what Discourse are relevant and in what ways?

5. Political building

What 'social goods' are relevant and irrelevant in this situation and how are they so made? How are they connected to the Discourses operative in the situation?

6. Connection building

What sorts of connections are made within and across the interaction, to previous or future interactions, to other people texts ideas, and how do these connections contribute to 'coherence' in the situation?

In using the above framework, the intention is not for a logarithmic step-by-step application of each element to each point of interest in the Residency; instead the aim is for a heuristic interrogation of data, asking the questions that seem relevant and important.

It is important to remember that from the perspective of this thesis, 'identities' (and their near-synonyms of 'role' and 'self') are socially situated and mutually co-constructed through the nexus of situated meanings, social languages, cultural models and Discourses. Another important element is that the Residency is a *group* experience: Hence the analysis attempts to deal with on an equal footing the non-spoken communications of the inmate participants when they have a given role as 'audience' as much as it does on the individual level of 'spoken interview'.

While Gee concentrates on verbal Discourse, the Residency is a site of extreme negotiation for varying Discourses, the 'dance' comprised of so many varied experiential elements. Thus, these techniques will be applied to the observed behavioural data in the Field Notes, to transcripts of the general group sessions, and to the individual interviews. All are amenable to analysis for evidence of change in participants' Discourse, incorporating a phenomenological analysis (see Cohen and Manion 1989) and avoiding issues of small sample size (Robson 1993). Additionally, all of the above data, but particularly the rich data supplied by the individual interviewees can be scrutinised in terms of changes in the 'role concept' and 'role repertoire' of participants (Landy 1990, 1993, 1997, Moreno 1985).

Methodology overall: Credible or incredible?

Patton (1990) notes that the credibility of this type of research rests on myself as researcher and "...the instrument of data collection and the centre of the analytical process" (p461). Three issues arise from this situation:

- i) Were my data collection methods rigorous, and was data analysed carefully and with attention to validity, reliability, and triangulation?
- ii) Is my training, experience, status, track record and presentation of self as researcher credible?
- iii) Do you, the assessor of credibility, actually believe that naturalistic enquiry, inductive analysis and holistic thinking are a valid way to conduct research?

To begin in reverse order, if one accepts the paradigm of qualitative research as valid in the first place, then the issues of credibility, reliability and validity assume their proper proportions. This acceptance cannot be taken for granted however, with positivist battle lines still being drawn and methodological trenches fought over. If you the reader are not inclined to view such qualitative methods kindly, then I would ask you to do as Coleridge suggests, and willingly suspend your disbelief until this thesis performance is over.

On the second point, as research performer my interests have been declared - as for my status? It shares the Residency characteristic of ambiguity, in that I have been an itinerant actor or a highly skilled educationalist or practical (now professional) psychologist and paratherapist depending on one's view. The same applies to my experience, and my performance (literally and figuratively), as a researcher must remain a site of dialogue and negotiation.

Reliability, validity & triangulation

The third point above, regarding reliability, validity & triangulation requires examination.

Reliability

Tindall (1994) argues that reliability in the sense of the "...extent to which the same results will be obtained if the research is repeated..." (p11) is not appropriate to qualitative work of the kind involved in this study, where 'uncertainty and not knowing' are core features. This ambiguity is inevitably present because while I am clear that the data represents only one group in one place at one time, I am also suggesting (in Chapter 6) that the data represents more generally applicable themes and findings about effective practice with violent offenders. This is of course another echo of the themes of self-similarity and 'contamination' – of the data being both *this* and *that* at the same time.

The importance of reflexivity within this work has been considered at some length (see Introduction) and Tindall (1994), supported by Jupp, Davies & Francis (2000) emphasises the centrality of *personal* and *functional* reflexivity in obtaining reliability in research: With the former, of the need for me as researcher to be aware of and acknowledge who I am, my individuality and how my personal interests and values influence the process of research; and with the latter to carry out a continuous and critical examination of process of research to reveal its 'assumptions, values and biases'.

As described above, the data was collected as rigorously as possible within the paradigm and circumstances. The same observer using the same criterion did the collecting over a period of seven days. Each collection methodology be it field notes or interview was thoroughly researched and field-tested where possible and I attempted to gather data on all aspects of the phenomenon under study, applying the same approach to different individuals or different aspects of a larger part, such as work in the small groups. I attempted not to ignore some things and note others as fitted, but to see all that there was to see. I believe that under this definition of reliability, this research and the data obtained are indeed 'reliable'.

Validity

In quantitative research validity refers to the degree to which "...what has been measured corresponds with other independent measures obtained by different research tools" (Parker 1994 p10). Parker points out however that in qualitative research the aim is *specificity* and *ecological validity* (Neisser 1978, 1988) when the particular meanings of the research setting are explored, and Tindall cites qualitative validity as being about "...the adequacy of the researcher to understand and represent people's meanings" (p143).

Further, Gee (1999) argues that validity in Discourse analysis is not about claiming a 'reflection of reality' in any way, and that validity is a quality which different analyses can have more or less of, with validity never being a 'once and for all' absolute, but always a site for renegotiation over time. He cites Discourse analytic validity as being based on four elements:

1. Convergence

Greater trustworthiness or validity is gained the more the answers to the 18 questions préciséd above converge in the way they support the analysis.

2. Agreement

Answers derived are more convincing the more that 'native speakers' of the social languages in the data and members of the Discourse in the data agree that the analysis reflects how such social languages can function in the setting.

3. Coverage

The analysis is more valid the more it can be applied to related sorts of data, such as being able to predict the sorts of things that might happen in related sorts of situations.

4. Linguistic details

Gee argues that the analysis is more valid the more tightly it is tied to details of linguistic structure.

Validity is thus achieved because convergence of these elements is highly improbable (but not impossible) without 'good reason' for trustworthiness of the data. The final judgement of this validity must rest with the reader.

Triangulation

Cohen and Manion (1989) also discuss the conclusions that can be drawn from 'convergent data'. If data collected in a number of ways (observations, interview, psychometrics) all points in the same direction, one can make an assumption that the data from each strand is tracking some common theme, and argue for triangulation, as data from different sources enables a cross check on any one source.

In the process of the Residency I employed the device of constantly checking in with my Geese colleagues what their 'take' on particular interactions or the Residency process was. This provided some occasions when we agreed, others when we differed, but nonetheless it was done and made note of. The interviews conducted with Geese post-Residency also provide a source of triangulation over the eight areas of interest that emerged from the literature review.

In summary

We began this chapter with a consideration of the thinking behind the overall approach to the research, culminating in a pragmatic decision to utilize either quantitative or qualitative techniques as appropriate. The rejection of Action Research and Case Study, and the choice of Participant Observation as the overarching model more in tune with the philosophy of the study was discussed and the ethical framework of consent were clarified.

We then moved on to consider data gathering techniques, beginning with the quantitative devices of psychometric scales and the choice of the State-Trait Anger Expression Inventory (STAXI), before describing the format of the General Observational Schedule intended to record behavioural data for correlational analysis, and concluding with other limited sources of quantitative data.

The use of Field Notes and the tape recording of proceedings was discussed. This led to an extensive discussion on interviewing techniques, and a brief recapitulation of the sources of documentary and other qualitative data available. The penultimate section of the chapter dealt with the analytical tools to be employed, namely analysis of Discourse (verbal utterance within embodied social context) and Conversation Analysis so far as was technically possible.

Finally we turned to a consideration of the methodology overall in terms of reliability and validity of data. The point was made that these concepts necessarily have different senses in quantitative and qualitative data and their definitions, conditions for and limits to fulfilment within the ambiguous and indeterminate data that is the focus of this research were considered.

In Chapter 4, The Research Project, we will return in more detail to the Geese Theatre 'style' and see a brief description of the shape of the Residency week overall. We will also consider the 'dramatis personae' of the research: The inmates, and the Geese personnel involved. Following this we will take a tour 'backstage' to consider the Geese theatrical signatures of use of mask, improvisation and the relationship of Geese work to the theatrical approaches founded by Brecht and Stanislavski.

Chapter 4: The Research Project

Introduction

In Chapter 4, we will expand upon the brief background given in Chapter 1, Introductions, and will take a tour ‘backstage’ to consider the Geese theatrical signatures of use of mask, improvisation and the relationship of Geese work to the theatrical approaches founded by Brecht and Stanislavski among others. We will then narrow our focus to consider a brief description of the shape of the Residency week itself – the elements of which it is composed, moving on then to consider the ‘dramatis personae’ of the research: The inmates, and the Geese personnel involved (tables iii and iv). Finally, table (v) provides the ‘timetable’ of the week.

Glossary of Terms

The section opens with a glossary before considering the following areas.

- **Backstage: The Geese Theatre style**
- The core impro shows
- Where does the curtain fall?
- Improvisation
- Use of masks
- Half-masks
- Lifting the mask
- Full-face masks
- Use of mime: Walking against the wind
- Workshop material
- An encore for contamination
- Stanislavski
- Brecht

The Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency

- The emotion bomb: *The Violent Illusion Part 1*
- Chronicling chaos: *The Violent Illusion Part 2*
- Whole group sessions
- Games and exercises
- Small group sessions
- Improvisational drama
- The Corrida

Dramatis Personae

- Geese personnel
- Prison staff
- Inmate participants (table iv)
- Timetable of the Residency (table v)

Glossary of terms

Many of the terms briefly described here are expanded upon later in the Chapter and discussed at much greater length in Chapter 6 Analysis, and in Appendix A. The intention here is to supply readers with an easy 'ready reference' for most of the jargon or technical terms that are likely to be encountered

Assignments or cell work

Brief written exercises intended for completion by men overnight, as stimulus material for the following day.

Commedia dell'Arte

An Italian theatrical style involving energetic improvisation, stock characters and masks, Commedia is an influence in Geese Theatre's historic performance work. Its influence in the Residency is more limited.

Choice points

A generic term used in Geese offending behaviour work, to mean the 'nodes' within an incident where a person could have 'done different'.

Contracts

Signed at the beginning of the week by all staff, Geese members and inmate participants, the Contracts are the beginning of the ritualised elements of the week and an overt declaration not to use violence. They are also an example of the 'behaviour contracts' found in cognitive-behavioural approaches, and the 'learning contracts' sometimes found in educational settings.

Exercises

A generic term used interchangeably by Geese personnel to cover the variety of functions discussed further in episode 6, Appendix A. and including

- 1) Games as games
- 2) Games as metaphor
- 3) Exercises

Which meaning is relevant is usually context and content dependent, but the term covers both *warm ups* and specific theatre-based sessions with a clear link to offending behaviour, and anything in between.

Half-masks

Masks covering only the upper half of the face, enabling verbal interaction and acting as a device to illustrate the metaphor of 'lifting the mask'.

Lifting the mask

Mask lifting is the physical removal of the half-mask from the face as an integral part of the performance, usually by shoving the mask up to the top of the head. In performance, great subtlety and nuance of suggestion, intention and emotion can be achieved through sophisticated use of this technique. The notion is that when the mask is lifted (literally and metaphorically) what emerges is a 'deeper truth'

Fragment Masks

Special version of half-masks, highly stylised to represent particular facets of consciously used defensive or manipulative behaviour.

Full masks

Masks covering the whole face and used in the performances of the *Violent Illusion* Parts 1 and 2, intended as an aid to *projective identification*.

Improvisation

In the Residency, a basic distinction must be drawn between 'scripted' drama based work such as the *Violent Illusion* parts 1 and 2, or the *Victim Lazzi* where no deviation from a core representation is desired, and the much looser and free form 'impro' work. This in itself covers a range of possibilities, as a demonstration of the *Fragment* masks will always follow a similar pattern, but the words and order of use of the masks will always vary, just as *Walk Throughs* will always feature the same techniques while representing different events.

The widest range of form is probably found in *skills practice* sessions or the *Corridas*, where there remains an overriding aim (to develop or challenge skills) while the form through which this is achieved can literally be anything attainable through use of drama.

Inner Man

The Inner Man is visual aid and is a smaller than life size, two-dimensional, bright red hard board figure of a human male. Affixed to his head is a rotating disc on an axis and affixed to this is the paper form of the Thought Wheel. The Inner Man is to be filled in as the days progress, with specific information. On one arm should go a list of all the victims an inmate can recall; on the other a list of all the injuries they have inflicted. On the legs will go the skills which the inmates identify themselves as having developed over the Residency, and on the midriff go

feelings and emotions. The neck will be filled in with cognitive and behavioural *interventions* - the idea being that these will stop the Thought Wheel from spinning.

Interventions

A general term referring to whatever behavioural skills or cognitive strategies or skills a person develops in order to change their behaviour, i.e. developing a *self talk* which reiterates 'Keep calm, he's not staring at me, count to ten" or performing the behaviour of walking away from a locale or situation, or deep breathing to maintain calm.

(Victim) Lazzi

A term from Italian *Commedia del' Arte* used to refer to a very short dramatic scene. In the Residency used as a dramatic stimulus for a specific purpose or discussion

Lifting the mask

Referring to use with *half masks*, a key Geese metaphor and visual representation of speaking or behaving in an emotionally open and honest, non-manipulative manner.

Offending behaviour work

Usually the specific criminal behaviour under focus: In this instance, violence, but also extending to the constellation of related behaviours such as inter-personal relationships with significant others.

Processing

Processing refers to the discussion based cognitive reflection on or analysis of stimulus events or exercises.

Projective identification

A psychological mechanism of which the Residency attempts to make use, projective identification is the unconscious process by which a 'mix up' of 'self' with 'other' occurs, and is a normal part of the process of developing inter-subjectivity. It is facilitated through the use of full-face masks

Self talk

Exists in both negative and positive versions. Negative self-talk is the automatic narrative of which we may be barely aware but which accompanies our thought processes in many instances and serves to reinforce problematic behaviour or responses. Positive self-talk is often developed specifically as a cognitive *intervention*, which means developing an inner dialogue to reinforce alternative behaviours, counter the physiological reactions aroused by aversive stimuli and replace the previous, negative self-talk.

Skills training

Often taking part in small group work, skills training in this context means developing the behavioural and cognitive *interventions* necessary for an individual to attempt to change their behaviour.

Small group work

In the Residency much work takes place in small groups of three or four inmates, two Geese members and one or two prison staff. The small group work often expands, enhances or furthers work begun in the *whole group exercises*. *Walk Throughs, Thinking Reports, Thought Wheels and skills training* are the main stuff of small groups.

The Violent Illusion Trilogy

Often referred to as VI3 or The Residency, this is another term for the entire week-long process of the prison-based event.

The Violent Illusion Part 1

Often referred to as VI1, this is the first full mask performance. Occurring on Monday morning after introductions and the signing of *Contracts*, VI1 is an hour long performance with no dialogue and records the first four or five years of life of a child in a deeply abusive family setting.

The Violent Illusion Part 2

The second full mask performance, occurring on Wednesday morning. Referred to as VI2 and set within a rather more 'functional' family home than VI1, this performance has a theme of change, development and growth as a violent man returning home after a prison sentence for violence struggles to change his behaviour.

The Corrida

The culmination of the Residency (technically, the Corridas are *The Violent Illusion Part 3*), occurring on Friday of the week, in a specially constructed set. The Corrida refers both to the physical entity and the highly ritualised, drama based, individually designed challenge that will in some way test and hopefully strengthen the inmate participant who undergoes it.

Thinking Reports

A tool focussing on making explicit a person's own cognition, a 'TR' is simply a form for recording thoughts, feelings and behaviour from a description of a violent incident. This information usually forms the basis for and is expanded upon in a *Walk Through*.

Thought Wheel

The Thought Wheel is a concretisation of an explicitly cyclical model of violent behaviour. It is similar to the kind of cycles associated with sexual offending but in the context of violent offending usually focuses on a specific incident and short period of time from insult (environmental event triggering fixed action patterns rooted in experience of trauma) to injury (violent behaviour in response).

The purpose of the Thought Wheel is to further clarify the notion of process and cycle in the behaviour of the men: Countering their (possibly phenomenologically truthful) perception that 'it just happened' rather than there being thoughts and decision making involved. If the men can accept that a violent action is the end link in a chain of thinking and feeling, they will be more aware of the possibility of 'switching the points' so that the train of their impulse does not reach its violent destination.

Transference

Transference is the psychological phenomenon of relating to others in the present in ways that come from past experiences, a transferring of the 'blueprint' of psycho-emotional-behavioural reaction.

Walk Through

A walk through uses improvisational drama in a live three-dimensional reconstruction of an event in order to generate material for the Thinking Report of an individual inmate participant. Other participants take roles as the offence is reconstructed and deconstructed while looking for thinking, feeling, behaviour and *choice points*. Alternatively, the written TR forms a skeleton that is then fleshed out and elaborated via the walk through.

Warm ups

Literally intended as a physiological, cognitive, emotional and interpersonal 'warm up' to the work, the parallel is with an athlete who prepares physically before sporting exertion. Warm ups can be a 'thing in themselves' so the value is from the fun and taking part, or they can provide a level of metaphoric connection enabling *processing*; if this occurs, the usage is beginning to tend towards *exercises*.

Whole group work

Many events over the week take place involving the whole group. This usually refers specifically to didactic or exploratory exercises focussed on something to do with violent behaviour, rather than warm ups which involves the whole group.

Backstage: The Geese Theatre style

As noted in Chapter 1, Introduction, Geese performances have a very particular style. John Bergman describes the 'Geese style' as being heavily influenced by the Continent: This includes the naturalism of Zola, the masks and physicality of Italian Commedia del'Arte and the brash confiding of Berlin cabaret in the Weimar Republic (Farrall 1995). He cites also the epic theatre of Piscator, Meyerhold and Brecht (Braun 1969, Piscator 1980, Willet 1977, 1978) and aspects from Grotowski in Poland (see Burzynski & Osinski 1979, Grotowski 1969).

British counterparts adding a polemic and didactic influence and a tendency to question social orthodoxy include Joan Littlewood and the Theatre Workshop (see Goorney 1981, Leach 2006), and the British Theatre in Education and Drama in Education movements of the 60's and 70's (see Vallins 1980, O'Toole 1976, Johnson & O'Neill 1984). Finally, Bergman identifies that mediaeval Church drama in the form of morality and mystery plays (see for example Gassner 1963) influenced certain staging conventions.

More overtly therapeutic influences come from the Psychodrama of Jacob Moreno (1985) of whom Bergman once said "Every time you think of something, Moreno got there first", and dramatherapy (Jennings 1987, 1992, 1997). Geese also strive at all times to avoid the necrosis of 'deadly' (bourgeois) theatre and to achieve the energy of Brook's 'rough theatre' (Brook 1968) through their unique interactive style. There are strong similarities between the Forum Theatre of Augusto Boal (Boal 1979, 1992, 1995) and Geese performances and Bergman claims parallel evolution. The linking theme that joins these disparate influences together is the notion that 'everyone has a story' which can be told, through theatre.

The core impro shows

Both *The Plague Game* and *Lifting the Weight* revolve around a structured improvisational 'game show' format, hosted by the character of the Fool, with *The Plague Game* set inside prison and focussing on dealing successfully with the challenges of visits from the outside world and *Lifting the Weight* set after release.

The offender characters play through a number of areas of the 'game' which, for example, challenge them to take responsibility for their lives and actions, to communicate openly and honestly with intimates or to avoid reoffending. The character of the Fool takes a central role in this, acting as on-stage director of action, agent provocateur, narrator, presenter of unpalatable truths, tempter, moral arbiter, friend to the oppressed and living metaphor for the urge to reoffend. The Fool encourages the offender characters to foul up and go straight in equal measure.

The main mechanism of the show echoes Boalian Forum Theatre in that at problematic moments where a choice point presents itself to the offender character (e.g. steal the money or put it back, talk to the wife openly or go out drinking) or to a significant other character (e.g. give him one more chance or tell him enough is enough) the action will be halted by the Fool and the company ordered from the stage space, literally into the audience. There they seek views on what the character should do, and then report these views back from the stage. The action then recommences and events unfold through improvised drama, shaped by the audience advice.

What Geese are seeking in the impro shows is a 'change point': The point at which a critical mass of the audience sensibility shifts from an enjoyment of the anti-social behaviour they are shaping and to a consciously concerned, emotionally connected, *conscientised* attempt to guide the characters in a more positive way. Added to this rich mix is the use of half masks to illustrate the notion of 'fronts', and 'lifting the mask' to communicate honestly.

This thrust is continued on in 'classic' Geese work in prison or probation where a morning performance is followed by a drama workshop in the afternoon which focuses directly on the inmates and their offending behaviour – a change from working 'at one remove' in the shows, to the level of direct personal relevance (see Baim, Brookes & Mountford 2002).

Where does the curtain fall?

Geese work can be seen to occupy an ambiguous or indeterminate position in the borderland between several theatrical or performance Discourses: It seems to fit with the definition of Theatre in Education (TIE) of having a primary aim to "... use theatre and drama to create a wide range of learning opportunities..." (Arts Council & Regional Arts Association 1993), and with Drama in Education (DIE) which Bolton (1982) defines as "... a process, dramatic in kind, which focuses pupil's (sic) feelings and intellect toward educational goals" (p18). Further, it seems to be the kind of 'radical theatre form' discussed by Woolland & Lacey (1992) as a means of confronting 'contemporary social & political realities' and underpinned by a political belief that "...participants should be empowered to make decisions and explore the possible consequences of those decisions..." (p14).

Clearly the Residency falls into 'prison theatre' (Balfour 2003, Thompson 1995, 1998, 1999, 2004) and 'applied theatre' (e.g. Fine & Macbeth 1992) while not being the same as 'arts in prisons' using theatre or opera performance (e.g. Johnston 2007), although Geese do facilitate 'creative' residencies where participants 'tell their story through theatre' with no overt analysis of offending behaviour. Geese work is also different to the use of performance in therapy detailed by Cox (1992) while sharing similarities with it, and the 'therapeutic theatre' of Mitchell (1992) or Jones (1996).

Furthermore, Geese work can be seen as part of the broad approach gathered under the title of 'therapeutic jurisprudence', meaning a concern with the way in which legal processes can produce therapeutic or antitherapeutic consequences for individuals involved and the law's 'healing potential' (see Wexler & Winick 1991, 1996, Birgden & Vincent 2000, Birgden & Ward 2003, Stolle, Winick & Wexler 2006) and in a final area of contamination are the elements of Geese work that can be seen as 'therapeutic theatre' (see Chapter 2, Literature Review). Amidst all of this variety, the keystone is that the Geese approach is both 'learning medium' and 'arts process' (Bolton 1982b) with the central rehabilitative aim of tackling offending behaviour (see also Mountford & Farrall 1998).

Improvisation

As mentioned above, improvisation or 'impro' is a key part of Geese work, whether in the stage shows focussed around the technique (*Lifting The Weight* and *The Plague Game*) or the offending behaviour workshop elements associated with them, or the didactic or training elements involved with the *Violent Illusion Trilogy* Residency. This improvisational theatre as embodied by Geese is specifically influenced by the Italian theatre form of *Commedia dell'Arte*.

www.theatrehistory.com specifies that the term *Commedia dell'Arte* refers to 'unwritten or improvised drama', and is concerned with the *manner of performance* more than the subject matter of the play while Mantzius (1970) captures the spirit:

"The actors had to find the proper words to make the tears flow or the laughter ring; they had to catch the sallies of their fellow-actors on the wing, and return them with prompt repartee. The dialogue must go like a merry game of ball or spirited sword-play, with ease and without a pause." (www.theatrehistory.com).

A note however is that the Geese impro shows are *structured* improvisational pieces rather than 'free form' impro such as is described by Johnstone (1991), or the 'impro games' described by Brandes & Phillips (1977), Johnston (1998) and Spolin (1963), although it shares similarities; again the key point around Geese impro, in these shows or in VI3, is that it is extremely disciplined and blends disparate theatrical sensibilities (see below for a discussion of the melding of Brecht and Stanislavski) to *tackle offending behaviour*.

Use of masks

Masks and their use are a Geese Theatre hallmark. The company uses two types of mask, *full* and *half* mask. The former are used relatively rarely in the Geese repertoire, being restricted mainly to the two performances in the *Violent Illusion Trilogy* (see below). Legend has it that the first company masks were developed after an inmate, seeing one of the early versions of the *Plague Game* or *Lifting the Weight*, remarked to the effect that the show was good but that the actors needed masks as 'everyone in the joint [American slang for prison] wears one'. This was the impetus to the development of the *half-masks*.

Half-masks

A half-mask is designed to allow verbal interaction and so covers only the upper part of an actor's face, down to their upper lip. In the domain of Commedia, from which the Geese usage derives, the half-masks are *character masks* in the sense that they are archetypes and their 'features' are clearly associated with specific sets of known characteristics and instantly recognisable to those literate within the tradition. Thus the *Punchinello* character's mask is equipped with 'a long crimson nose' and the dashing *Captain* is always a swashbuckling braggart who runs away at the first sign of trouble. In Commedia, over time, the masks themselves 'became the character': "... there crystallized about each mask an entire code or repertory of phrases, exclamations, curses, exits, epigrammatic sayings and soliloquies appropriate to the rôle..." (www.theatrehistory.com, my emphasis).

Within Geese Theatre the usage of half-mask is quite specific and counter to the 'rules' of Commedia in that the mask as artistic device is always subordinated to its other role as a facilitative device for addressing offending behaviour. Thus the Geese half-masks are not 'characters' in the exaggerated or parodic sense described above, but they are *emblematic* in the sense of their features suggesting *disposition* (Brookes 2004, 2005). By this I mean that a given mask, by the arrangement of its features, (a frown, a heavy eye ridge, its purplish colour) *connotes* or suggests a character who is aggressive, while another half mask by the twist of its eye, its 'expression', denotes a more shifty or 'snide' character. Behaviours embodied by the actor wearing the mask are thus 'directed' to a particular starting point.

These features are clear but quite subtle, and each actor inhabiting a given mask will produce a different flavour of the disposition. Images of the half- and full masks used in the Residency are available in Appendix H, but it must be stressed that without an actor bringing the masks to life, the effect I am describing can be illusive. This is another reminder of the 'live' nature of the Residency experience.

Lifting the mask

In the improvisational shows of *The Plague Game* and *Lifting the Weight* the half-mask is explicitly referenced as a concrete example of 'front' – the persona that we choose to (or habitually) exhibit to the public world. This is linked to Goffman's (1959) 'onstage' persona.

The hidden and paradoxical logic of the use of Geese masks is that of 'masking to unmask'. Thus, the wildest departure from established half-mask tradition is the trademark of 'lifting the mask'. This is literally and simply the physical action of lifting the half-mask from the face to a position where the face is revealed – usually sitting on top of the head where some people wear their sunglasses.

This action represents a key metaphor for Geese, in that in the improvisational shows the 'mask down' position covering the face is explicitly set up as implying an evasion, a hidden truth or a deeper meaning; 'mask up' when the face of the actor is revealed represents emotional and literal honesty, vulnerability and a dropping of pretence. Correspondingly, what is said (and its associated behaviour) when the mask is up or down can be very different indeed. Through skilful use of this simple device it is possible to convey all manner of shades of reluctance, fear, prevarication, hesitation, and denial around emotional honesty. A prime aim of the improvisational shows is to engage the audience in wanting the characters to 'lift the mask'.

In the Residency, Geese use of half-masks is actually quite limited, occurring only in a few specific performance pieces or exercises, such as the *Mimed Offence* (Episode 11 see Appendix A) and the *Victim Lazzi* (episode 13 see Appendix A).

Fragment masks

The Fragment masks are a special case of half-mask. If a half mask representing a character were broken into its elements, these would be the Fragments. Each mask "...symbolise[s] a prominent strategy - or fragment of behaviour - [they represent] key self-protective strategies..." (Bain, Brookes & Mountford 2002, p184). The Fragment masks (see Appendix H) are the

- Fist
- Brick Wall
- Mr. Cool
- Good Guy
- Mouth (or Bullshit)
- Joker
- Poor Me
- Rescuer

Each Fragment has a strictly limited, yet at the same time exaggerated repertoire of responses: In this they are much closer to the original conception of Commedia del'Arte.

Fist

A glowering brick red presence, Fist has a fist emerging from his forehead and his immediate response to any interaction is suspicion, hostility and surliness accelerating rapidly to explicit threat, extreme anger and imminent violence: "Are you trying to wind me up?"

Brick Wall

With a brick wall protecting his forehead and a blank expression, Brick Wall is the master of uncommunicative silence, deliberate lack of understanding, obvious boredom, loss of memory, irrelevant question and lack of opinion on anything: "Dunno".

Mr. Cool

Protected by his wraparound shades, Mr. Cool sees that for a man of his status it is sometimes necessary to deal with the slings and arrows of outrageous fortune; but it's nothing to worry about, since "Y'know, shit happens man".

Good Guy (the Angel)

His pinkly cherubic face radiating self belief, Good Guy is always certain not only that his violence was justified but that it was in a good cause: "I can look after myself. But they was out of order. Somebody had to teach them a lesson".

Mouth (or Bullshit)

Varying between subtle self deception and outright fantasist, Bullshit never gives a straight answer to anything, while always being able to present an often humorous, acceptable or justifiable reason for his behaviour in parallel with a denial of responsibility: "Actually, what happened was, right, I tripped just as he came towards me and I fell and hit him with the bottle".

Joker

So busy is he seeing the funny side of everything, this Joker in the Jester's cap never seems to find time to address his own behaviour: "Effects on my victims? I was the victim, having to look at those shoes he had on."

Poor Me

Why is it that no one can ever understand how difficult things are for Poor Me? "You live where I live you'd do it too. Coppers round all the time – they never give you a break – and the Social...". This mask particularly relates to the Victim Stance discussed in Chapter 2

Rescuer

A particular variant which only tends to appear in group work situations such as offending behaviour programmes, Rescuer is a master of the *quid pro quo*, on the basis that supporting another man in the group when that person is 'under attack' from facilitators will be repaid at a later date when it is Rescuer's turn to be scrutinised. "Hang on, Gerry's a good lad, he's not violent".

The Fragments "...symbolise a prominent strategy - or fragment of behaviour - [they represent] key self-protective strategies..." (Baim, Brookes & Mountford 2002, p184) and can be thought of as representative of the particular conceptions of role and self mentioned in Chapter 2: That each of the Fragments is not a complete role but, as its name explicitly suggests, is a 'fragment' of the post modern or dramaturgical self. As the Residency progresses, the sense of trying to develop other 'fragmentary roles' as a basis for transformative change increases, echoing the Morenian conception of self emerging from role and not the other way around (Moreno 1964).

The Fragment masks and their use in the Residency is detailed further in Episode 11, The Mimed Offence, in both the main body of the thesis and in Appendix A.

Full-face masks

The full masks, as might be expected, cover the whole of the face, so that none of it is visible to the audience apart from the eyes. They do not allow speech and require from the actor quite a careful 'pointing' directionally so that they remain constantly 'alive' and visible to onlookers, never reaching an angle of turn away so great that the mask 'dies' and cannot be 'read' by the audience. Geese's use of full mask is not 'pure', in the sense that as a theatrical element there are 'rules' to mask work which 'proper' mask companies such as Trestle Theatre Company follow and embody in performances and which Geese utterly ignore: The only universally observed 'mask rule' is to keep the mask 'pointing' so that it remains alive to the audience.

The full masks of the *Violent Illusion Parts 1 and 2* are *character* masks. This means that rather than being somewhat bland or 'neutral' of feature like many mime masks (Johnstone 1991) they are based in the concept of character mask taken from Commedia dell'Arte (Brookes 2004) and similarly to the Geese half-masks, their features typify a character in the sense of *disposition*, or, arguably, *archetype*. Thus the Child mask has a wide-eyed innocence about it, Daughter has a furrowed brow and perpetual anxiety within it, Grandfather's mask is overweight, with a cruel twist to the mouth and creased eyes.

Clearly then, Geese's full-mask work is entirely different in its execution to the type of mask work where the intention is for the actor to be 'possessed' in a trance state by the spirit of the Mask and the mask is understood to 'die' when controlled by the actor's will (Johnstone 1991. See for example De Panafieu 1982, Pollaczek 1954 and Saigre 1989 for further discussions). Here, the mask functions as a device to facilitate *projective identification* on the part of audience members.

Use of mime: Walking against the wind?

Mime is another area where the Geese's use of the technique follows no particular rule. Certainly some Geese members have training in mime, at famous centres such as the LeCoq school in Paris, but generally Geese Theatre is even less of a 'mime' company than it is of a 'mask' company.

The original improvisational shows are 'bare stage' in that they are performed in front of a backdrop but there is no other stage furniture. Every setting is thus mimed in the most basic sense: A pub may have someone leaning on a bar but is most often signified by simply seeming to hold a pint glass. Car theft involves an individual roughly showing the breaking of car locks, hot wiring of ignition and perhaps some lurching and swaying from a physically close group as the car 'drives' off stage to vocally produced sound effects.

Overall, this is Brook's 'rough theatre' and is *aided by the knowledge of the audience*: They know what the roughly described moves *mean* - that fumbling at waist height is the jemmy or screwdriver in the car lock, that lurch forward the beer glass thrust to the face. An odd characteristic of Geese work is that when played to a 'straight' audience who do not 'know the world' presented and cannot construct the appropriately informed meaning, the on-stage action loses much of its significance. To an informed audience however, the Geese *gestus* (a Brechtian term referring to the revealing of social relations between characters) can be extremely powerful and evocative.

The 'scripted' shows of *The Violent Illusion Trilogy* have far more stage clutter or sets including tables chairs, props such as plates, flower vases, bags etcetera. Thus many objects are actually physically represented but amid all this there is still rough mime: Cigarette packets but no cigarettes when smoking; real belts are used to thrash but knives are mimed. Much of this is due to security considerations within prison settings, but there is the continued sense that the purity of any theatrical tradition is subordinated to the para-therapeutic or educational aims of the Geese Theatre work.

Workshop material

In a typical prison event, the Geese impro shows are intended in many ways as mere stimulus for the drama based workshops sessions that follow. Typically the workshops involve the use of drama games and exercises for the familiar takes of building the group, creating safety and disclosure, relaxing and gelling the group, and then move into the 'processing' of such exercises where the inmates would be asked to draw connections between the game and their offending.

Following this, the bulk of the workshop time would be spent in small groups, using image work and improvised drama to ask the participants to explore issues concerned with their offending. This may be on their use of particular Fragment masks, or looking at a situation where things turned out in a way they did not like, or any such theme. The aim is to gently consider what was done, the thinking and feeling (*fethinkel*) involved in it and possible alternatives.

An encore for contamination

As noted above, John Bergman cites Zola, Berlin cabaret, Commedia dell'Arte, Piscator, Meyerhold and Brecht, Grotowski, Joan Littlewood, British Theatre in Education and Drama in Education and mediaeval Church drama as theatrical influences on Geese. He also cites Moreno's Psychodrama, the discipline of Dramatherapy and Boal's Forum Theatre.

While the linking theme which joins these disparate influences together is the notion that 'everyone has a story' which may told through theatre, the reader will note the extreme range of named influences, some which are in apparent contradiction: The naturalism of Zola allied with

the theatricality of Commedia? Grotowski's conception of the actor as 'angelic being' and barely a space for an audience in company with Brecht's insistence on the primacy of audience as vehicle for political change? Again, the post-modern concept of *contamination* plays a role here, perhaps best exemplified by the leaking into one another in Geese work of the seemingly separate schools of Bertolt Brecht and Constantine Stanislavski.

Stanislavski

To begin with the latter, at the Moscow Arts Theatre in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries Constantin Stanislavski developed an acting style known as 'naturalism', which, through a series of paradoxically conscious artificial techniques enabled the actor to develop a character that was entirely free of artificiality or stereotype, a unique and authentic persona. At least in rehearsal, the actor was to 'lose' him or herself in the character, in a sort of shamanistic trance (see Stanislavski 1937, 1963). This 'natural' style was in distinction from the highly 'theatrical' or 'stagy' style of acting of the day. The key to this characterisation was 'emotional authenticity' and the development of 'inner emotional memory'.

Stanislavski's work is perhaps best known for its zenith (or nadir) in New York in the Actor's Workshop under Lee Strasberg in the 1950's, with 'The Method'. Here actors such as Marlon Brando or James Dean developed the style which took them to Hollywood stardom. 'The method' emphasised absolute authenticity of character, so that, for example, Robert De Niro in *Raging Bull* (1981) actually gained and lost huge amounts of weight to portray Jake La Motta the boxer in both his athleticism and his decline, or actually drove a New York cab for several weeks as preparation for *Taxi Driver* (1976).

The key point is that Stanislavskian acting privileges *emotional authenticity* and a *lack* of interaction with the audience: They are passive spectators to the 'real life' passing before them on stage and naturalistic theatre attempts to create a 'fourth wall' to the three sided box of a traditional proscenium arch stage, on the other side of which sit entirely passive spectators.

Brecht

By contrast, Bertolt Brecht working in the mid- to early twentieth century in Germany developed a style of acting which apparently eschewed emotionality for a didactic purpose to 'educate' the audience in order to bring about social and political change. In the Brechtian style, the actor, however 'emotional' the events being portrayed, is not to lose him or herself in the character, but retain a 'here and now' consciousness, aware at each second of the way in which the performance is meeting or not meeting its overt didactic goals (Esslin 1959). Interaction with the

audience exists, often in the form of soliloquies or narrative declarations direct to what still remain spectators, although the hope is that the audience will proceed directly to the barricades on leaving the theatre.

In the work of Geese Theatre these two streams run into one another and flow towards a sea different from either's original end. The subordination of 'art' to 'end' in Geese work has already been described, with regard to mask and mime. In Geese acting, role as it is represented here offers a further level of self-similarity in its model of integrated emotion and cognition. A Stanislavskian conception of role demands absolute immersion in the character by the actor in order to establish emotional truth. By comparison, Brechtian acting requires an emotional distanciation from the character role on the part of the actor in order to better promote the didacticism of the play as a whole, by facilitating a parallel emotional distanciation in the audience so that their critical faculties can remain unimpaired by emotional connection with a character suffering an oppressive situation.

The Geese style of acting in the core improvisational shows requires a blend of both approaches – the Brechtian analytic standpoint and a consciousness to be retained second by second, guiding the improvisational performance among the myriad of choices in the way that is most educational and effective in serving the purpose of considering, exploring and changing offending behaviour, allied with Stanislavskian 'emotional verisimilitude' in order to facilitate projective identification and make the show engaging enough for the offender audience to connect with the characters that represent them on stage.

The Violent Illusion Trilogy culminating in the Corrida can be seen to ask for something similar: For an inmate to inhabit/explore/create a 'small degree of shift' (Jones 1996) in the blueprint of the self through embodiment of a role/fragment which has simultaneity of cognition and emotion (Boal 1992); a dynamic balance of emotional involvement and analytic perspective as the role is embodied. We will move on now to consider the Residency itself.

The Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency

The Violent Illusion Trilogy is the overall title for a five day long prison residency for a maximum of 15 serious violent offenders. It consists of two one hour long performances: *The Violent Illusion Part 1* on Monday and *the Violent Illusion Part 2* midweek on Wednesday. Friday is the Corrida. This is not a performance *per se* but is a ritualised, theatre-based challenge crafted for a limited number of inmate participants and specifically designed for each person.

Between and around these three major elements are workshop style whole - and small group sessions utilising cognitive-behavioural and drama and theatre techniques focussing on the examination of violent behaviour and the facilitation of behavioural change. The 'timetable' of

the week is given in table (v).

Chronicling chaos: The emotion bomb of *The Violent Illusion Part I*

The narrative of the play is given in more detail in Appendix A, under the consideration of Episode 3, Performance of *The Violent Illusion Part 1*, and what follows should be seen as a brief outline.

The Violent Illusion Part I is the story of three generations of a 'family' over a period of about three years, compressed into an hour of unremitting intergenerational and relationship abuse in all directions: Sexual, physical, emotional, substance and psychological. The tatty flat in which the show is set is a scene of fear, neglect, pain and very occasional glimpses of light.

The show is played with no dialogue and the cast wear character 'full masks' that cover the whole face. The action is backed by a specially written 'music' full of menace, threat and foreboding with an occasional hint of hope. The revolving backdrop panels of the set are intended to be rotated at significant points in the narrative, so that the 'wallpaper' becomes a particular image (see Appendix I).

In the beginning the inmates see Daughter in her late teens attempting to make the flat her home. Granddad (played by me) enters, and, sitting daughter on his knee attempts to force her to touch him sexually; it is clear this is well-established behaviour. Daughter shows baby clothes to reveal she is pregnant, and Granddad storms out. There is some hostility and puzzlement on the faces in the audience as they try to work out our relationship.

Later, Daughter is now heavily pregnant and we see Boyfriend 1, possibly the father of the baby. At one point Daughter poses before a mirror with a fashion magazine and Boyfriend brutally pushes her aside, again occasioning general frowns in the audience. This scene forms the basis of the group Thinking Report (a cognitive technique which attempts to clarify and establish the link between thoughts, feelings and behaviour) we will construct later. My character again enters and seeing Daughter lying hurt attacks Boyfriend 1; Granddad is stabbed and wounded by Boyfriend 1 who leaves for good as abused Daughter attempts to comfort her injured abuser.

Later we see Daughter alone at home and smoking dope to relax. She tries blowing the smoke in the face of the bay to ease its colicky crying, and there is some laughter at this. Clearly not coping, she briefly locks the newly born baby and its incessant crying outside the flat. One day her father (Granddad) is present and the boy, now a toddler, repeatedly misbehaves to get some attention. His mother tells him off, eventually slapping his hand. Granddad loses patience and demonstrates how to discipline the child it, severely beating the boy with his belt. The men in the audience are all either upright or staring furiously at my character or sitting head

downwards not wanting to watch. After beating the child my character presents the belt to his daughter.

As the child grows into a toddler, Daughter's only baby sitter seems to be her father, my character, who at one stage leads the child offstage, returning after a pause and zipping up his fly to indicate sexual abuse of the child. The child itself - now seen to be a little boy - returns seeming dazed and confused. The audience is now radiating waves of hostility to the point where, even in a full-face mask, I dare not look towards them directly.

There is no sanctuary for the Child. Daughter plays with him in a tickling game using an Emus hand puppet, again occasioning a little laughter; but her motherly touch becomes inappropriately sexual and then physically hurtful. She gains a new Boyfriend (2) who is not as brutal as the first but is again clearly uninterested in the boy and more casually sadistic and cruel, flicking the belt to frighten him. Eventually he too tires of Daughter and the boy interrupting his sex life and leaves, with Daughter begging him desperately to stay.

A little later the Child again misbehaves as his mother is cooking; this time she does not return him to his play and slap his hand but deliberately burns his hand with the hot frying pan, leaving him convulsed with pain.

The show now shifts into its final scene: Daughter wanders on with a vodka bottle, clearly drunk, takes an overdose of pills and collapses. Child tries desperately to waken her. Granddad enters, also clearly drunk; he collapses in the armchair without noticing Daughter and falls asleep. Child tries to get his attention and the play concludes with the victimised little boy expressing rage and violence on his environment, left to fend for himself in a darkened flat.

After the stage lights fade down there is no applause and no 'curtain call' other than for those of us who have performed quickly to get out of costume and come back on stage to be reintroduced by our names

Chronicling change: *The Violent Illusion Part II*

Wednesday begins with a performance of the *Violent Illusion Part II*. By contrast to Part I, the time period covered is only a few days, following the return of the Dad to his family after release from prison for a violent offence. Equally contrastingly to Part I, the family involved (the Blairs) display what may be considered only a 'normal' range of dysfunction, i.e. cheeky children, rebellious teenagers, underage drinking and substance use, marital disharmony, as opposed to the full blown violence, abuse and horror of the family in *V/I*.

The show is set in a family house, again using the device of revolving backdrops with wallpaper on one side and evocative images on the other. The show is played in full character masks that

cover the whole face, but the masks' expressions are much less worried, harried or sinister than the VI1 character masks. The show also has dialogue in the form of taped Thinking Reports, mainly for the Dad, but also on one occasion for the Mum. During these taped monologues, the stage convention is generally (but not always) adopted that action freezes while Dad enacts a 'fantasy' of violent behaviour.

The reverse of the wallpaper images can be found in Appendix J, and further details of the narrative of the show can be found in detail in Appendix A, under Episode 16 Chronicling Change: The Performance of *Violent Illusion Part II*. An important difference to note is that while VI1 is silent bar its musical soundtrack, VI2 introduces narration via taped 'Thinking Reports' for the Mum and Dad, which are played following significant events in the play.

Whole group sessions

Much of the work of the Residency is conducted in sessions involving the whole group (see timetable, above). The content of these sessions may be seen as varying along a continuum of didacticism and along a continuum of audience involvement: Some may be primarily eliciting, such as getting feedback from the audience of their reactions to the performances of VI1 and VI2, reactions which are reflected, validated and explored, but the 'audience' stay seated and contribute only verbally.

Other sessions may have some didactic element such as presenting a model but conducted in a *hypothetical* way, for consideration, such as suggesting the mechanism of the Thinking Reports through the medium of the Boyfriend 1 character and exploring that *if* such a Report were to be filled in for him, what might be in it? Or the aim may be to familiarise the group with some core concepts and provide a vocabulary, such as the scene where the Fragment masks (see above) are demonstrated. Yet other whole group sessions may be further along the didactic continuum, such as a skills modelling scene where suggested skills are explicitly demonstrated and put forward for development.

Games and exercises

The whole group work can also be seen as including the special case of the group warm ups and experiential exercises, where the inmate participants, having crossed the line from spectator to spect-actor, are actually 'up and doing' something. This activity can be aimed at serving a group forming or bonding function, or can provide a stimulus that then serves as a source of reflection and analysis. Overall, the whole group sessions are *exploratory* in tone, serving as a stimulus for work that is likely to be developed further and individualised in the small group sessions. The particular usages covered under the term 'games and exercises' are discussed at length in Appendix A under *episode 6*.

Small group sessions

The small groups, consisting of three or four inmates, two Geese staff and one or two prison staff, are where much of the work specific to an individual gets done. They are the locations where individual Thinking Reports are developed in the walk throughs; where discussions occur on how exactly the Thought wheel may roll for a particular man; where the motivational process to aid contemplation, decision and action is primarily sited; where skills are explored and developed, where the interpersonal relationships between inmates and Geese staff are most likely to be developed. The particular shape of each small group process, while staying within certain parameters, will vary as to pace and exact content.

Improvisational drama

The use of *structured* improvisational drama is a core feature of the week. It includes the Walk-throughs or offence reconstructions, the skills practice sessions and demonstrations, and most of all, the events of the Corridas.

The Corrida

The Corrida is both an experience and a specific physical environment. The set is constructed last thing on Thursday or early on Friday morning when the inmates are absent from the space and is an important element of the Corrida experience as the architecture of the set (Corrida is Spanish for 'bullring') both embodies and contributes toward the challenging nature of the experience. A full description of the Corrida architecture is given in Episode 34, Appendix A.

Dramatis Personae

The incarnation of the *Violent Illusion Trilogy* under study in this research is comprised of three major elements:

- The Residency structure and material itself
- The Geese and prison staff
- The inmate participants

The interaction of all three contributes to the week. We will therefore introduce the cast, a term taken to include all present, following earlier discussions on the concept of the 'spect-actor'.

Geese personnel

The reader should be aware that the following descriptions are filtered through the prism of (and a product of) my own perceptions; the Geese thus described below may not recognise or agree with the descriptions!

Mountford

The longest serving of the Geese present, Alun is a qualified Ericsonian hypno-therapist, an experienced solo facilitator of group work and a keen explorer of techniques such as Neuro Linguistic Programming (NLP, see O'Connor & Seymour 1995), Psychodrama and their

applications to Geese work. When things reach a point where the rest of us don't know what to do with a man, Alun usually takes the role of 'back stop'. A safe pair of hands.

Nicholas

One of the less experienced members of the Company, John is intelligent and an able performer, but in the impro shows often seems to lack the insight into or understanding of the inmates which the other Geese have, often taking the safe route of 'playing for laughs' and thus letting the inmates off the hook when what is required for impact is emotional commitment. In the Residency, the longer and closer connection with specific inmates seems to help him make the connections.

Brookes

An ex-Commedia actor and originally having the highly skilled role of mask maker for the Company, Sally is also an excellent group worker and a cool and contained, thoughtful presence. She is often found borrowing a light for her roll up cigarettes.

Kirkham

With a Probation background, Hilary has 'jumped the fence' into Geese. Insightful, intelligent, forceful, demanding of standards, she never fails to have a suggestion for the way forward.

Guy

The only Black member of the company, Ken has a natural ebullience, energy and a 'rude boy' 'front' that the offender audiences always love. A great performer, he and Hilary hail from the same Community Theatre degree at the highly respected Rose Bruford school.

Heywood

Following a drama degree, Lou worked as a teacher, before 'returning to her first love, the theatre' by working in Theatre in Education prior to joining Geese. She has a solid appreciation of the 'nuts and bolts' of the Geese style.

Farrall – the researcher

At the time of the research, holding a degree in Drama and Film Studies, and with past experience in Theatre in Education before joining Geese. As a Geese actor it took a while for me to 'find my con' in the sense of being able to play an authentic offender, but eventually specialised in sadistic sexual offenders. In the Residency I am always amazed by what the inmates do and always afraid that this is the time it won't work.

Table (iii) below summarises the Geese personnel present and also those members of Geese not present at HMP Blackwood on the occasion of this Residency, but who were interviewed for research purposes.

Name	Number of Residencies attended ¹	Present at HMP Blackwood?
Brookes	5	Yes
<u>Farrall</u>	7	Yes
Guy	7	Yes
Heywood	7	Yes
Kirkham	7	Yes
Meakes	1	No
Morris	1	No
Mountford	5	Yes
Nicholas	3	Yes
Raynsford	1	No
Robinson	1	No
Watson	1	No

Table (iii) Geese personnel

Prison staff

Officer Blue

Blue is a bear of a man able to combine great humanity and sensitivity towards the inmates with the willingness and ability to wrestle them to the floor in a restraint hold if required. An additional credence is lent by his having been a roadie for the *Bay City Rollers* at some point (though this is not common knowledge). I can imagine no better model of prison officer than that represented by Blue. He was our escort on the first *Violent Illusion* Residency we performed in Blackwood and now he is our guardian angel.

Anne

A member of the Social Work department at the prison.

Kate

A colleague of Anne's from the Social work department.

The inmate participants

Information is not available on all inmates who began the Residency, as some dropped out and disclosure of the information below was dependent upon the agreement of the individual. Table (iv) summarises what information was available.

¹ At time of interview

Man	History	Age	Completed Residency?
Alan A.	In trouble with the law, age 16, 14 previous convictions and 2 prison sentences, now serving life for murder.	30	Yes
Andy B.	Offending began aged 9, Borstal, Young Offenders Institution, 10 prison sentences, breach of the peace, police assault. Total eight years in custody to date	32	Corrida
Darren C.	Aged 10 in trouble with police for fighting. Seven prisons sentences. Breach of the peace, assaults on police, 30 previous convictions	32	Yes
Billy D.	In trouble with law aged 13, Borstal, 2 adult sentences. Two counts of Grievous Bodily Harm, Breach of the Peace, 14 previous convictions.	33	Yes
Bruce F.	Alcohol related convictions for Assault, football related Assault	24	Yes
Gerry G.	One conviction, first offence, Manslaughter	24	Left after Tuesday
Ian H.	52 previous offences, including 2 assaults 2 Actual Bodily Harms (ABH)	24	Yes
Davy J.	Brought up in children's homes from age 10, convicted of Assaults, police assaults, Breach of the Peace	24	Corrida
Howard K.	No information available, other then has served minimum of 3 sentences for violent offences		Yes
James M.	First sentence 1976, 5+ sentences for Drunk & Disorderly, serious assault with a weapon, Assault		Yes
Billy R.	Offending began aged 10. Assualts & Grievous Bodily Harm. 24 previous convictions	25	Yes
Colin S.	Served sentence as Young Offender, several assaults of police officers, Breach of the Peace, Assault, Grievous Bodily Harm		Corrida
Deek T.	In trouble with law aged 12. Three adult sentences, for Assualts	23	Left on Thursday
'Big' Jack T.	Convictions for Actual Bodily Harm, Assault		Left after Tuesday
Jimmy W.	No information available, other then has served minimum of 3 sentences for violent offences		Left after V/1
Kevin Y.	No information available, other then has served minimum of 3 sentences for violent offences		Left after V/1

Table (iv) Inmate participants

Table (v) Timetable of the Residency

Conclusion

It is hoped that the reader now has sufficient information concerning Geese practice, personnel and the Residency to proceed to the detailed analysis in Chapter 6. Prior to this however in Chapter 5 we will briefly consider the quantitative evidence in support of part i of the research hypothesis.

Chapter 5: Results

As discussed in Chapter 1, Introduction, this thesis is the site of certain tensions between an acceptance of a Western scientific paradigm and 'scientific method' for the research, and the imponderables of human behaviour change facilitated by an inherently artistic process, for which such a framework may be inadequate. None the less, as also discussed in Chapter 1 and in Chapter 3, Methodology, the need for some sort of quantitative 'proof' means an acceptance of the use of a psychometric instrument, the State Trait Anger Expression Inventory (STAXI), as a source of 'hard' quantitative data.

The STAXI was administered to the men participating in the Residency, over the weekend preceding its commencement and even (due to prison lack of organisation) to some men who were put forward on the Monday morning itself. The administration of the scale is quite quick, but took place in a variety of locations that were less than ideal, including on the wing itself in the midst of inmate movements for the morning.

Several inmates dropped out of the Residency over the course of the week. Such a loss often occurs as part of the process, and because of the difficulties of gathering up such 'unwilling' subjects within the prison, these men became unavailable for the post-Residency readministration of the STAXI scale. The results in figure (vii) therefore refer to a sample size of nine men who both

- Completed the entire Residency
- Were available to be retested, i.e. not on court visits or otherwise away

As a reminder to readers, the hypothesis at the centre of this thesis is as follows:

- i) *The Corrida creates an emotional and psychological experience which stimulates and activates the individual's persistent physical and behavioural responses and by encouraging resistance to these responses provides a learning experience which enhances reflexivity, challenges conditioning and alters the probability of 'deviant' behaviour occurring.*
- ii) *A unidirectional (one-tailed) hypothesis predicting a reduction in psychometric scores gauging the expression and experience of anger and aggression in participants following the Residency.*

The following results should be seen as applying to part ii) of the hypothesis.

The State-Trait Anger Expression Inventory (STAXI)

Scoring information for the STAXI instrument translates raw sub-scale scores into correctly apportioned percentile scores, and normalised linear T (anger Trait) scores for comparison to appropriate supplied normative sample groups (Spielberger 1996). The STAXI structure and validity are discussed more fully in Chapter 3, Methodology.

Statistical Analysis

The Wilcoxon matched pairs signed-ranks test was used to test for differences in time over the repeated (before and after) measures. This statistical approach is suitable for data from small sample sizes as is the case here and has been used in previous evaluation of the *Violent Illusion Trilogy* (Reiss, Quayle, Brett & Meaux 1998).

Table (vi) gives STAXI scores of participants from the HMP Blackwood *Violent Illusion Trilogy* pre- and post Residency, and provides normative scores for the male prison population.

Table (vi) Mean, median & range scores for STAXI, Pre- and Post Residency (N = 9)

Scale	BEFORE			AFTER		
	Mean SD	Median	Range	Mean SD	Median	Range
S-Anger	19.2 9.3	18	10-37	12.0 2.1	12	10-15
Norm. score	15.06 6.55					
T-Anger	25.3 5.6	26	17-33	21.4 7.2	20	10-32
Norm. score	21.66 6.71					
AX/In	19.3 2.0	18	17-23	9.0 4.1	18	8-20
Norm. score	18.06 4.61					
AX/Out	21.8 3.4	22	16-28	17.4 5.0	17	10-23
Norm. score	15.62 4.96					
AX/EX	8 3.9	8	2-14	33.0 12.0	32	5-44
Norm. score	N/A					
AX/CON	16.1 4.3	16	8-22	17.6 5.7	16	9-29
Norm. score	24.79 4.98					
<i>Normative means & standard deviations for prison population, N = 563</i>						

As a reminder to readers the scales comprising the STAXI are as follows:

- | | |
|---------|--|
| S-Anger | = <i>State</i> anger as a measure of the intensity of angry feelings at a particular time |
| T-Anger | = <i>Trait</i> anger as a measure of individual differences in the disposition to experience anger |

The T-Anger scale has two subscales, T-Anger/T and T-Anger/R:

- | | |
|-----------|---|
| T-Anger/T | = a measure of general propensity to experience and express anger without specific provocation |
| T-Anger/R | = individual differences in the disposition to express anger when criticized or treated unfairly by other individuals |

The remaining scales are as follows:

- | | |
|--------------|---|
| AX/IN | = the frequency with which angry feelings are held in or suppressed |
| AX/OUT | = how often an individual expresses anger toward other people or objects in the environment |
| AX/CON | = the frequency with which an individual attempts to control the expression of anger |
| AX/EX
the | = general index of the frequency with which anger is expressed, regardless of direction of expression |

STAXI percentile scores

Figure (vii) (below) shows the average scores for inmates pre- and post-Residency on the STAXI scales converted into percentages, and represents an agglomeration of scores, which may serve to disguise difference between individuals, but which also is the clearest illustration of *average change across the group*: This is of relevance for the Residency as a collective process. Unfortunately, percentile conversion data on the AX/CON scale for the inmate population group is not available at this time.

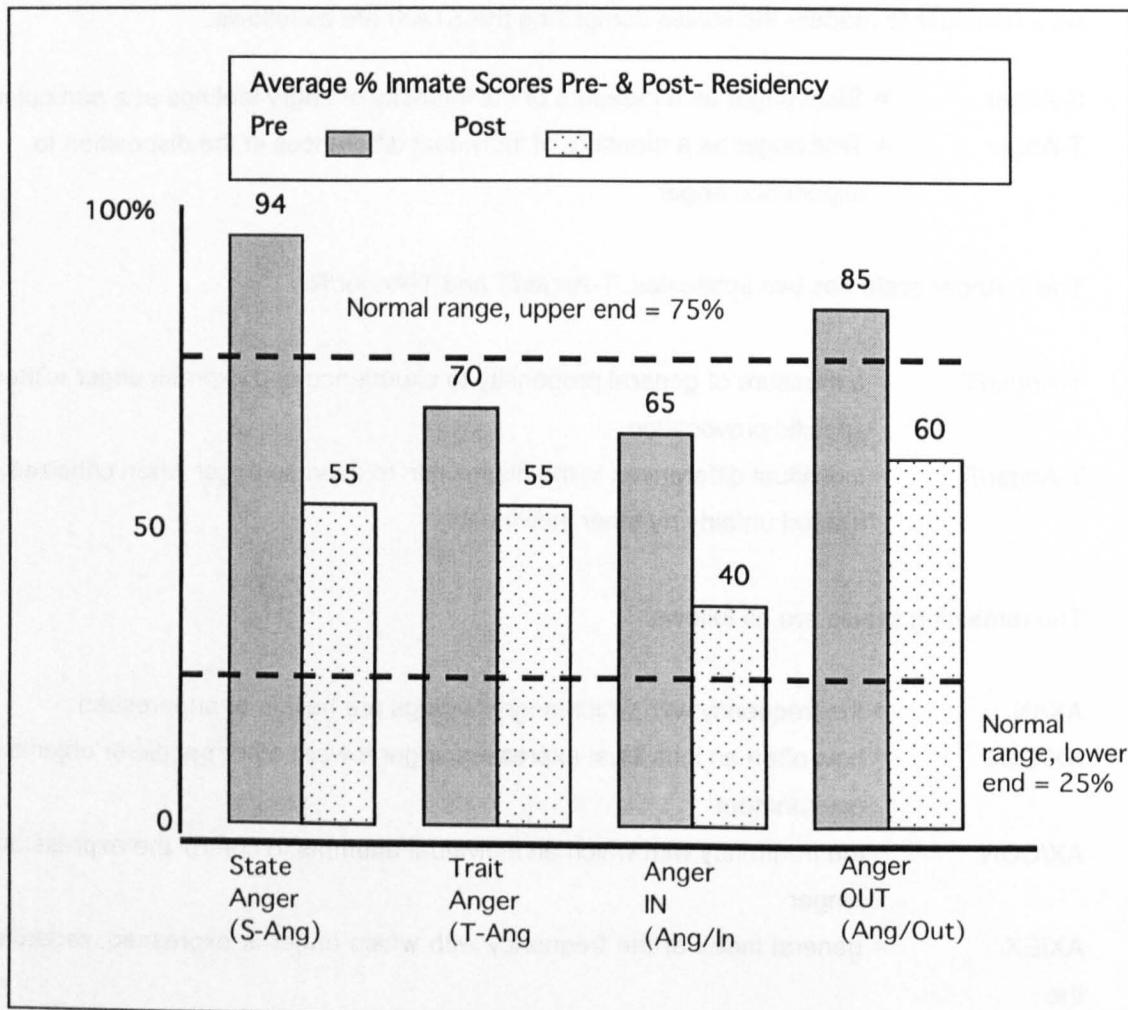


Figure (vii) STAXI percentile results Pre- and Post Residency

Discussion

On the STAXI instrument, the higher the score, the higher the level of anger indicated, with the obvious exception of the Ax/CON (Anger Control) scale where a higher score indicates a greater ability to control the expression of anger. Scores on the STAXI pre-Residency were elevated above the normative scores for the population group across the S-Ang, T-Ang and AX-out scales (see table vi).

Since the Residency group were specifically incarcerated for violent offences and selected as being especially in need of work on their violent behaviour, this may reflect the fact that the men in this study are specifically *violent* offenders, whereas the prison inmates in the normative group are not so. It could be expected that, whilst the average prison population would have scores on the STAXI which would be elevated above the general population (as is born out by the normative data, see Spielberger 1996), in turn the violent offender population could be expected to be elevated above the general prison population.

The Ax-IN score was slightly lower than the normative data, again reflecting that men incarcerated for violent offences against the person could be expected to have a lesser propensity for turning their anger in on themselves. Finally, the Ax/Con score for the HMP Blackwood group was lower than the normative data group. Again, their level of anger control could reasonably be expected to be lower than that of the general prison population.

Analysis of the STAXI scores showed a mixed picture. The S-Anger scale showed a significant improvement from pre- to post-Residency ($p = 0.25$), as did the T-Anger scale ($p = 0.25$). There were no statistically significant changes on the Ax/IN scale. The Ax/OUT scale did show a significant change pre- and post- Residency at the level of $p = 0.005$. However, changes in scores for the AX/CON scale showed wild variation across several places of standard deviation, and were not significant.

Spielberger (1998, 1996) considers that scores above the 75th percentile or below the 25th percentile are outside the normal range for the population in general. As will be seen from figure (vii), the average score for the group on the State Anger and Anger Out scales were both well above this problematic level.

Prior to the Residency five men had scores above the 75th percentile on the S-anger scale, indicating that such individuals are likely to experience and/or express angry feelings to a degree that may interfere with interpersonal relationships or dispose them to developing psychological disorders (Spielberger 1996). Post Residency, all five men had reduced scores below this level. This shift was not statistically significant however.

On the T-Anger (Trait anger) scale four men scored above the 75th percentile before the Residency with one man's score reducing below the 75th percentile afterwards ($p = <0.025$). None of the nine participants had scores occurring below the 25th percentile, either before or after the Residency though several men reduced scores in that direction, more toward the centre of the normal range.

On the Ax/IN scale four men scored above the 75th percentile prior to the Residency while all four men had reduced scores below this level post Residency ($p = <0.05$). For the Ax/OUT scale measuring how often an individual expresses anger outwardly to people or the environment, eight out of the nine men scored above the 75th percentile prior to the Residency. Post Residency four of these eight men had reduced their scores below the 75th percentile, toward the normal range ($p = < 0.01$).

Additional research on *The Violent Illusion Trilogy* Residency

As mentioned in Chapter 3, Methodology, Reiss, Quayle, Brett & Meux (1998) conducted an evaluation focussing on anger reduction and follow up work with mentally disordered offenders following a VI3 in Broadmoor maximum security Hospital. Their research population consisted of 12 young adult male patients, all of whom had a history of major violence, and who had of course participated in the Residency. The 'subjects' (as they are described) were being treated on a ward specializing in psychotherapeutic interventions.

The evaluation used self-report questionnaires both pre- and post- the Residency week, as well as at a three-month follow-up. Reiss et al found that:

- Levels of anger in participants significantly reduced from before to after the Residency
- This improvement was maintained at the three-month follow-up
- There was an 'associated' increase in the frequency of attempts to control the expression of anger

Reiss et al reached the rather general conclusion (although perhaps specific for them) that a dramatherapy (sic) project within a psychotherapeutic environment might be an effective therapeutic modality for reducing anger levels in young mentally disordered offenders.

Conclusion

Part ii of the hypothesis is supported by the STAXI results obtained from the HMP Blackwood Residency and further supported by the results found by Reiss et al.

Having reached some sort of conclusion concerning the 'what' of the Residency, in Chapter 6, Analysis, we will turn to an examination of the more complex part i of the hypothesis, using methods and scrutinising data which are fundamentally different to the implied epistemological 'ultimate foundations' of the STAXI. Through this effort we will hope to elaborate the 'how' of the Residency – quantifying how the STAXI results are achieved, and attempting to establish an explanatory framework for the Residency process.

Chapter 6: Analysis

Introduction

Chapter 5 dealt with results from quantitative data concerning the efficacy of the Residency, as measured by psychometric instrument, and the conclusion drawn was that part ii of the hypothesis can be supported. However, part i of the hypothesis is far broader:

- i) *The Corrida creates an emotional and psychological experience which stimulates and activates the individual's persistent physical and behavioural responses and by encouraging resistance to these responses provides a learning experience which enhances reflexivity, challenges conditioning and alters the probability of 'deviant' behaviour occurring.*

A continuing concern throughout this thesis has been to seek a model for the document which, as far as is possible within the genre conventions of scientific/academic writing, attempts to convey (at least some of) the lived experience of the *Violent Illusion* week and to reflect or recapitulate the dynamic Residency process relating to the above hypothesis.

Within such a model, even though much of the evidence for change will come from the Corridas at the end of the week, there must be an essentially Vygotskian perspective concerned with 'processes in motion and change' in the week overall, rather than a settled outcome. From such a perspective, the most authentic way to convey the sense of the 'live' Residency process is to present the fullest possible narrative account, expanding upon each element of the Residency 'timetable' shown in table (v). However, the dimensions of such an account would outrage the genre conventions mentioned above. Conversely, to pursue a traditional atomistic 'analysis' is at odds with the holistic and dynamic nature of the Residency and most likely to fail to give a sense of the experience through which the men involved have been, and which is itself generative of the Corridas.

Episodes from the narrative

Therefore, this chapter will attempt to follow the *narrative* of the week but do so *selectively*. I have broken down the Residency into thirty-six discernable *episodes* that in the main reflect and arise from the Residency timetable. (Some of these episodes have been selected for further attention as *critical episodes* (see table vii).

Critical episodes

From this week long narrative I have selected a smaller number of *critical episodes*: These are scenes from the Residency that best exemplify aspects of interest in the dynamic processes and which also attempt to follow through *certain* of the men involved, using them as examples of the process in action. These are not case studies, but an attempt to provide a particular lens through which to focus the scrutiny.

The episodes are *critical* not in the sense of a 'turning point' or 'tipping point' without which the Residency would not have effect for an individual or the group (though any given one of them does not exclude the possibility of being such a crystallising 'butterfly's wings' moment) but as examples of the *accretion* of processes which are under analysis. To use a metaphor from visual arts, they are each one of the spots of colour that accumulate to create the overall image in a pointillist painting.

As mentioned above, this may render analysis problematic within an atomistic paradigm which favours the 'breaking down' into component parts of a complex system like the Residency; to do so with a pointillist image would result only in a collection of coloured dots, which in themselves each have no more significance than any other. It is only when the Gestalt is seen *in totality* or *unity* that the whole can be perceived; yet the whole would not exist without the individually insignificant points.

Unequal focus

The *critical episodes* are drawn from events Monday to Thursday as part of the attempt to provide a sense of the dynamic of the Residency and illustrate the precursor activities, which this thesis suggests are themselves generative of the Corridas and without which the Corridas would not be possible in the same way. None the less, it is in the Corridas that the 'testing' element of the hypothesis is most to be found; thus, while there will be some focus on episodes Monday to Thursday, the weight of analysis will be on the data provided by the Corridas, from Friday, as a summation of the principles, models and work done throughout the week.

Appendix A

The separately bound Appendix A contains supplementary material on the thirty-six episodes identified from the Residency timetable for HMP Blackwood; material which adds to the comprehensiveness of the picture but which is descriptive rather than analytic (although this is not an absolute boundary). The material in the Appendix should be seen as a supplement to the material in Chapter 6, to further contextualise events around the limited number of 'critical episodes' selected for analysis in this chapter, and to allow space for analysis and discussion around episodes which, while interesting and part of the holistic process of the Residency, cannot be considered 'critical' within the scope of this thesis.

It is not intended that Appendix A *must* be read in order to make sense of the material selected and presented here, but it is likely that the understanding of the reader will be enriched and expanded by reference to the Appendix, where indicated. Thus, while this chapter should operate as a 'stand alone' document, readers should remain aware of the wider account of the week that forms the material separately presented in Appendix A.

Day	Episode No.	Description * denotes Critical episode	Location
MONDAY	1*	Prologue: Before a word is Spoken	Ch.6
	2*	Introductions & Contracts	Ch.6
	3	<i>Violent Illusion Part I</i> performance	App. A
	4*	Group feedback of reactions to <i>Violent Illusion Part I</i>	Ch.6 & App. A
	5	Accessing the mask of <i>Boyfriend 1</i>	Ch.6 & App. A
	6	Games after lunch	App. A
	7*	Replay of <i>Mirror scene</i> & group Thinking Report	Ch.6 & App. A
	8*	The Two Man Exercise: Accepting Ken's challenge	Ch.6 & App. A
	9	Small groups: Personal level work & Discourse on violence	App. A
TUESDAY	10	Games in the morning	App. A
	11*	Mimed Offence; Fragment masks	Ch.6 & App. A
	12*	Small groups: Darren C.'s Thinking Report	Ch.6
	13	Victim Lazzi & one's own victims	App. A.
	14*	Small groups: Thinking Reports for Colin S. & Davy J.	Ch.6
	15	Finishing Tuesday: The Thought Wheel & Inner Man	App. A
WEDNESDAY	16	Chronicling Change: <i>Violent Illusion Part II</i> Performance	App. A
	17	Group feedback of reactions to <i>Violent Illusion Part II</i>	App. A
	18*	Replay of <i>Silent Rage</i> scene & group Thinking Report	Ch. 6
	19	Developing awareness: Physical Cues & Triggers	App. A
	20	Pub scene skills modelling – failure to connect	App. A
	21*	Not rushing off to dinner	Ch. 6
	22*	Games after dinner	Ch. 6
	23	The end of the day: Check out & Corrida talk	App. A
	24*	Not rushing off to tea	Ch. 6
THURSDAY	25	A problem of equality: Group meeting re visits	App. A
	26	More fun and games in the morning	App. A
	27	Small groups: Darren C. talks to the Fragment masks	App. A
	28*	Small groups: Colin S. "Turn out your pockets please"	Ch.6
	29	Small groups: Andy B. Empty Chairs	App. A
	30	The Corrida Announcement	App. A
FRIDAY	31	Prologue to the Corridas: Before a Word is Spoken	App. A
	32	Final warm-up games	App. A
	33	Declarations in small groups	App. A
	34	Prologue to the Corrida: Architecture that builds belief?	App. A
	35	Corrida Master's speech: Welcome to the Corrida	App. A
		Analysis of the Corridas	Ch. 6
	36*	The closure process: Final data on Discourse.	Ch. 6

Table (vii) Episodes and Critical Episodes

The analytical framework

Before proceeding further, we must consider briefly two elements central to the following analytical framework used for the examination of the critical episodes:

- The *theory nodes* emergent from the literature review in Chapter 2
- The *18 questions of Discourse analysis*

'Nodes' of theory

Readers will remember that eight major conceptual categories emerged from the Chapter 2 literature review as nodes of particular interest within a Wittgensteinian 'rhizomatic network' of knowledge and ideas:

1. Unity of cognition & affect ('fethinkel' and a holistic approach to the human being)
2. Emotion and memory (interrelatedness)
3. Drama and theatre (communality, witnessing, ritual, emotion)
4. Role and the self (self as social, performative, potential, embodied)
5. Meaning/narrative/discourse (construction/performance of, change in)
6. Therapy/catharsis (primary & secondary)
7. Interpersonal style (therapeutic alliance, humanism)
8. Learning & change (behavioural, emotional, personal)

In an echo of parallel distributed processing (PDP) computer models of human neurological and cognitive activity, these nodes should be regarded as interlinked to one another so that a 'spreading wave' of activation originating at any point may reveal or illuminate a link through or to any other point, with surprising (unpredictable) connections being an emergent property of the 'network'. Equally, any particular evidential point could be construed as an example of one or more nodes. This is also an echo of Derridan theories of 'contamination' and lack of boundary discussed earlier, and of the Chaotic quality of 'self similarity', of fundamental sameness in structures at different levels of analysis, and of the theme of 'multiple epistemologies, one ontology' that has appeared previously.

The 18 questions of Discourse analysis

In Chapter 3 on Methodology I wrote that the notion of 'Discourse' would form a central part of analysis. To recap, Gee (1999 p19) describes Discourse as:

"... a "dance" that exists in the abstract as a coordinated pattern of words, values, deeds, beliefs, symbols, tools, objects, times, and places in the here and now as a performance that is recognizable as just such a coordination"

Discourse includes the combination of both spoken 'discourse' in the sense of verbal utterance and the far wider non-verbal 'Discourses' implied above. It is important to remember that from the perspective of this thesis, 'identities' (and their near-synonyms of 'role' and 'self') are socially situated *and* mutually co-constructed through the nexus of situated meanings, social languages, cultural models and 'inhabited language' Discourses. Another important element is that the Residency is a group experience: Hence the following analysis will attempt to deal with on an equal footing the non-spoken communications of the inmate participants when they have

a given collective role as 'audience' as much as it does on the individual level of 'spoken interview'. The 'borderland' between 'actor' and 'spectator' is also a dynamic of interest.

One of the main analytic tools for Discourse is through asking the 18 *Discourse analytic questions* focussing on six *building tasks* (see below). These questions and the related tasks form the basic framework of enquiry and are expanded upon in Chapter 3, Methodology, but a brief recap follows below:

Semiotic building task

- 1) What sign systems -
 - 2) What ways of knowing (epistemologies) -
 - 3) What social languages -
- are relevant and/or irrelevant in the given situation? How are they made relevant or irrelevant?

World building task

- 4) What are situated meanings of words or phrases that seem important in the setting?
- 5) What are the situated meanings & values seem attached to places, times, bodies, objects, artifacts?
- 6) What cultural models or institutions are being (re)produced, stabilised or transformed?
- 7) What institutions or Discourses are being (re)produced in this situation and how stabilised or transformed?

Activity building task

- 8) What are the larger or main activities going on?
- 9) What are the sub activities composing this?
- 10) What actions compose these?

Socioculturally-situated identity and relationship building task

- 11) What relationships and identities, with their concomitant knowledges and beliefs seem to be relevant?
- 12) How are they stabilised or transformed?
- 13) In terms of activities, identities and relationships what Discourses are relevant and in what ways?

Political building task

- 14) What 'social goods' (status, power, gender etc) are relevant and irrelevant in this situation and how are they so made?
- 15) How are these social goods connected to the cultural models and Discourses operative in the situation?

Connection building task

- 16) What sorts of connections backwards/forwards are made within and across utterances and large stretches of the interaction?
- 17) What sorts of connections are made to previous or future interactions, to other people texts ideas
- 18) How do these connections in 16 and 17 help contribute to the overall 'coherence' of the situation?

Gee (1999) identifies that in this context we are not discussing a 'step by step set of rules' but rather a set of 'thinking devices' – a *heuristic* rather than *logarithmic* process, where not all questions are asked in a given order, but rather as they seem relevant, much like the Residency itself. Thus, in terms of the critical episodes, not all of these questions will be asked for all episodes. Additionally, and particularly as we move closer to Friday, the *dramaturgical* analysis will come to the fore.

The intention is to weave attention to the 8 theory nodes and 18 questions/6 tasks through the analysis of the episodes in the hope of producing a heuristic interrogation of data, remaining process-orientated, flexible, and ultimately, subjective and qualitative. However, the danger is that such an analysis can become too embedded in its subject matter and become *implicit* analysis rather than *explicit*: In order to pursue *validity* I will also be attempting to combine the methodologies described in Chapter 3, so that the interpretations and judgments made by myself as primary research instrument can be *triangulated* against other data sources such as observational Field Notes, tapes from the Residency, and interview tapes with participants, prison and Geese staff.

Monday

Critical episode 1

Prologue: Before a Word is Spoken

Perhaps the first critical episode can be said to occur when the inmate participants enter the Chapel of HMP Blackwood for the first time in the Residency, on Monday morning. They are at that point walking into the site of a 'Conversation' (Gee 1999). The capital C denotes an intercourse between Discourses rather than individually-based verbal conversations, though these too will form part of the analysis. To be a Conversation, at least three non-verbal elements must be included:

- Controversy - there must be 'sides' which can identifiably constitute a 'debate' in the sense of an exchange
- There must be values and ways of thinking and being which are connected to the debate
- There must be symbolic values to 'objects and institutions'

The Residency setting can be said to satisfy the above 3 criteria. The Conversation situated in the Chapel does not occur in a void: The Residency is an iteration (but perhaps in a different way, as will be explored) of a yet wider Conversation whose 'sides' can be characterised as 'Society', as represented by the legal system, and 'violent criminals' or 'offenders' as represented by the participants. As the less organisationally powerful 'side' the men are already intimately familiar with values and ways of thinking connected to this debate (see Foucault 1977) and enacted through the courts and prison. The debate has had real effects in their 'life world' because they are incarcerated as a result of their actions connected to the Conversation.

The controversy is clearly around the subject of the week: Violence and the relation of these men to it, and the possibility of their changing that relationship. Prison staff have undertaken the selection process for whom should attend the week and the *Information for Participants* (see Appendix G) supplied to the men beforehand sets out the terms of the 'debate' in which Geese Theatre wish to engage the men. Also, while not necessarily overtly or consciously using the terminology of such a framework, members of Geese Theatre appear commonly to conceptualise the Residency as being about such a debate: "[The purpose of the Residency is] to look at.... their behaviour and how that affects their life and to look at the 'what ifs'...." (Raynsford 2003, para.10)

Notably, there seems to be a specific theme of the 'potential' nature of the Residency, identifying the focus on 'what ifs' (Raynsford) and 'possibilities':

"[The Residency] is about... people... explor[ing] what they do; ...To look at kind of the possibilities of doing things differently, just kind of opening up, the realms of possibility" (Heywood 2003, para.12, my emphasis).

This focus is a description of a process, rather than an outcome. This heuristic frame of reference can also be seen to link to theory node 1 around a holistic approach to the human being, as another common theme is that the Residency looks at more than just violent behaviour, as noted by several Geese members: "[Geese work]...look[s] at what backs up that behaviour like thoughts, fears, beliefs...."(Heywood 2003, para.12); "[we take] apart the behaviour and look at thoughts and feelings... (Brookes 2003, para.12); "[we look at] how the beliefs and feelings, and the emotions contribute to [behaviour]" (Raynsford 2003, para.24)

Gee (1999 p83) defines an 'institution' as a situation where the "distinctive configurations or patterns of semiotic resources, activities, things and political and sociocultural elements" have become ritualised, habitualised or otherwise 'frozen' – they have become a 'cultural conserve' (Moreno 1986) where all spontaneity has been drained away, leaving a deathly repetition devoid of life energy and extremely resistant to innovation, similar in feeling to Brooke's 'deadly theatre' (Brooke 1966), a situation arguably reflected in the 'role stasis' of the inmates. As Goffman (1961) suggests, prisons are an ultimate form of the 'total institution' and embody the "procedures of domination characteristic of a particular type of power" identified by Foucault (1977), and which Menzies Lyth (1959) would see as a defence against [institutional] anxiety.

Task 4, the building of *socioculturally situated identities* can also be argued to be underway even before the men enter the room. The men have been conducted from their cells to the Chapel by Officer Blue who at this point can be seen as a particular sight of creative tension. He holds a very clear role within the prison institution as 'prison officer' and more specifically as Officer Commanding, Segregation Unit. As a 'key holder' he has enormous *social goods* in terms of ability to escort Geese around and facilitate prisoner movement: He is literally a nexus of movement through which all things must pass, and the Residency would literally not be possible without him. This 'legitimate' (within the terms of the institution) identity is normally denoted by the obvious signifier of uniform, but now, Officer Blue is wearing 'civilian' clothes (jeans and a blue check lumberjack shirt over a tee-shirt) [Field Notes p10].

In terms of the *world building task*, question 6 asks *what cultural models are being stabilised or transformed?* Blue's dress in itself is signifying 'difference to the norm', which in the prison institutional context, where absolute stasis and predictability is a core assertion of power, is a

powerful sign of some *change or difference* in role. Question 11 asks *what relationships and identities, with their concomitant knowledges and beliefs seem to be relevant?* Officer Blue has a personal relationship with me that (because of my expressed values which are in tension with much of the wider 'criminal justice' Discourse and the professional role I hold of 'actor' and the values imposed on that) works within the prison to destabilise his 'prison officer' role and support another identity.

Blue's humanity and compassion means that he has found it necessary previously to take on a protective colouration in his work life by having to pretend he is /less humane and dedicated than he actually is – Field Notes record that on this subject he has said: "If you say you think these men can change, they'll [other officers] just say 'What's the matter with you? You been watching the Care Bears again?' So I just don't say it" (Blue 2001, p67). Simply by being out of uniform, Blue can be seen to be making relevant a *different* set of beliefs or knowledge to that which he might be expected to hold in his 'legitimate' identity.

There are also other benefits to his presence: In the context of therapeutic work with violent and sexual offenders Jefferies (1990) points out that having Officers involved in therapy "provides role models & relationships that the prisoners would not otherwise experience." (p190), while Social Learning Theory suggests that such contacts 'humanising' Officers for inmates (rather than seeing a 'screw') will reduce aggressive responses towards them (Bandura, Underwood & Fromerson 1975). Further, at a psychodynamic level, Menzies Lyth (1959) suggests that institutions are capable of actually modifying the personality structures of their members (both staff and inmates in this case) temporarily or permanently, as part of the defence against anxiety – Blue's presence and dress can be seen as an attempt to counter this drive. All of these elements can be understood as contributing to the 'Conversation' even before the inmate participants enter and see the set for the *Violent Illusion Part 1*.

The beginning of the Conversation

When the men walk into the Chapel this first encounter can be understood to represent the 'opening remarks' of the Conversation of the Residency and it is thus appropriate to consider the six 'building tasks' that may be underway, from both Conversational 'sides'. It is important to remember that the analysis and description contained in this thesis are the most skeletal, most minimal palimpsest of the rich social situation of the Residency: Elements which are literally obvious in that setting must be specifically referred to here before they 'exist' for the reader.

In terms of Geese Theatre's contribution to the *semiotic* and *world-building* tasks underway (as distinct from an adjunct actor such as Officer Blue), a specific example of this is the theatrical set for *The Violent Illusion Part 1 (VI1)*. Question 1 asks *what sign systems are relevant or irrelevant*

in the situation? An answer to this is that the set forms part of a specific Geese sign system that is entirely relevant for the week: The Discourse of theatre and performance (which in turn will link to wider theories about performance and the dramaturgical self as the week progresses).

This theatrical Discourse is made relevant by the simple fact that the set is present in the prison space, which itself connotes evidence of a *political building task*: The 'social goods' (q14) of power held by the Geese Theatre company to make this transformation of space happen are literally on display. Arguably, many elements related to theory node 3, drama and theatre, and node 4, role and the self, are already coming into play. Meakes notes that the presence of the set "[Is] about creating a sense of occasion an expectation and the notion that *something is going to happen...*" (Meakes 2003 para.32 my emphasis), a notion supported by Thompson (1995). This is another destabilising of the prison Discourse of fixity and stasis.

The world that is being 'built' and of which the set is a physical symbol is intrinsically theatrical in its transformation of space and its temporally limited scope: It is deliberately destabilising the institution of 'prison' within which it is placed, since the presence of the set is not a usual part of the frozen institution, and, as argued above, in prison the mere occurrence of something 'unusual' or 'unroutine' carries power: 'Doing time' is a common term for serving a prison sentence, and is the absolute antithesis of the Residency - a situation of stasis, all potentiality collapsed under the institutional exercise of power to maintain the status quo through enforcing how time is (not) used and ensuring what does *not* happen.

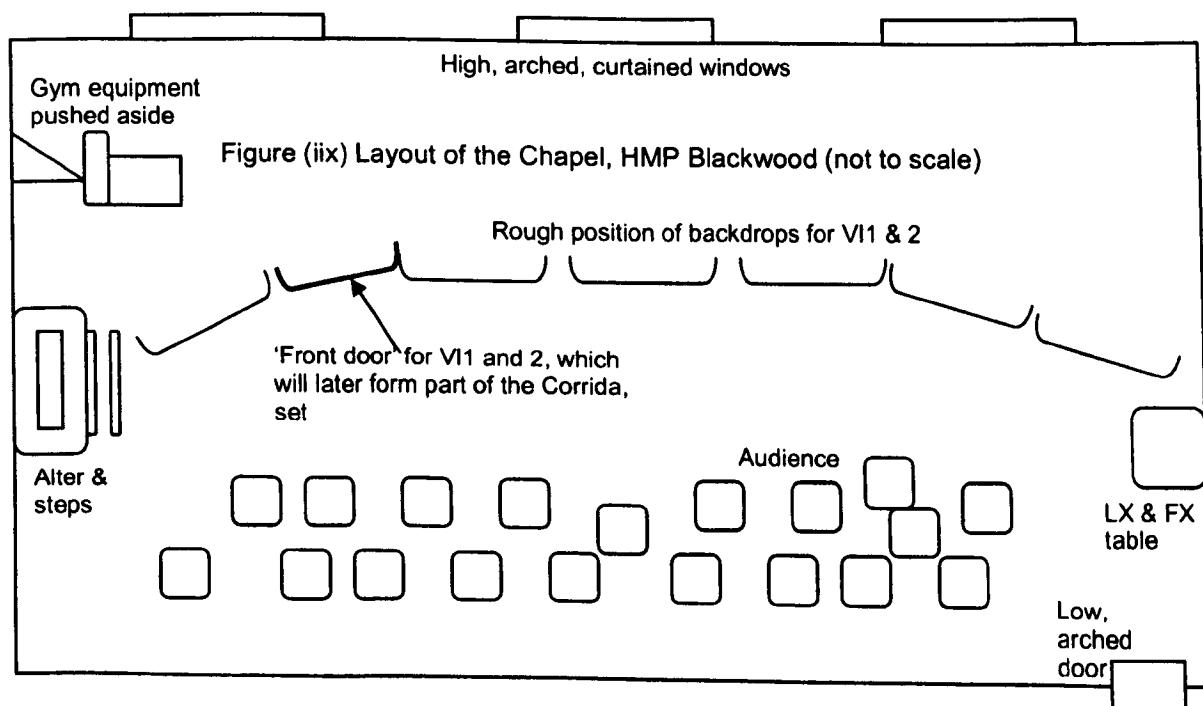
Before the explicit theatrical performance begins, the presence of the set is 'doing' at least two things. Firstly, it says (in a prefiguring of a phrase from the Corridas and as Meakes notes) '*something [different to the norm] is about to happen*'; it is preposition of potentiality in opposition to the prison Discourse (and by extension in opposition to the inmate's stabilised Discourse of being 'inmates'). Linking back to discussions in Chapter 2 on aesthetic space, Watson identifies that "*I think that the week gives a different space in which they [the inmates] think different things can happen*" (Watson 2003 para.37 my emphasis).

Secondly, following Woolland & Lacey's (1992) comment that the physical presence of the set also initially embodies the initial separation of the 'sides' in the Conversation: There is a perceptible 'audience space' into which the inmates move and which represents temporary passivity; they will watch as the Geese perform. This Discourse will alter as the week moves on, from this physicalisation of the separation between 'spectators' and 'actors' (a Discourse with which the audience can be expected to be familiar, even if not regular 'theatre goers') and into a Discourse with which they can be expected to have less familiarity, one far more akin to Boalian notions of the 'spect-actor' (Boal 1990) and beyond as the participants begin to take more of a

role in assuming responsibility for the creation of their self narrative and 'dramaturgical selves' (Goffman 1959). It is transformational and transformative. It is the beginning of a Discourse involving 'aesthetic space' (Boal 1995) and 'surplus reality' (Moreno 1985) that will culminate in its ultimate expression in the Corrida.

Question 2 asks *what ways of knowing are relevant* to a given situation and Brookes identifies that the ways of knowing which are more familiar to the inmates are being challenged by the sight of the set: "We're asking them [the participants] to do, to think in a way that they wouldn't normally do" (Brookes 2003, para.18). This can also be seen as further evidence for the conducting of the task of *socioculturally situated identity and relationship building*. The questions to consider around this task are *what relationships and identities, with their concomitant knowledges and beliefs seem to be relevant?* (q11), *how are they stabilised or transformed?* (q12) and *in terms of activities, identities and relationships what Discourse are relevant and in what ways?* (q13)

In the moment of entering the prison Chapel (now a theatre space) the settled identity/role of inmate is at least partially transformed by the transformation of the physical space as the men become 'theatre goers' and the latter identity becomes more relevant (for the moment) than 'inmate'. Field notes (p13) record that the inmates are themselves busily creating or maintaining an identity as they enter from the door at stage left: They already hold a group identity as 'prison inmates' which is symbolised by their prison clothing, their 'rolly' cigarettes, their overt joking among themselves. Several of them are unshaven, denoting a 'normal day' in prison where access to water and shaving may involve real effort.



Embodiment

In a kind of reverse palimpsest, the faintest trace of what is to come rather than what has been, there is an intimation, a foreshadowing of changes in the inmates' Discourse present in this moment of literal entry into the Geese Discourse. Physical *embodiment* is a powerful element of the 'dance of Discourse' and *observably*, as the men pass through the small, low door from the corridor outside and gain sight of the set and the new arrangement of space in the Chapel, their *embodiment* alters. Field Notes (p13) record that the joking talk drops, they quickly look more 'serious' and embody a recognisable 'theatre goer' role as they enter from the door at (Geese's) stage left: With some exceptions, the eighteen men file quietly across the room and stay very close to the line of chairs, not crossing into the 'stage space' even though there is no physical delineation or barrier such as a chalk line or taped perimeter, it is merely the same area of floor on which the chairs sit.

Clearly, a liminality of some sort has been established, and the men appear to have to some degree accepted the presence of the theatre Discourse and its implicit 'rules of behaviour' (recognisable in any Western theatrical setting) as dominant and their assigned role (for the present) as 'audience', with the power relationship this implies. Again, the clear delineation of space discussed above can be seen as evidence of 'political building' involving the *social goods* of status and power: That the Chapel is now 'our space' (in the sense of Geese space) operating to our rules and that we have the *right* to claim it in a space where applying the Discourse of theatre is itself an act of power to transform.

Geese can be seen as 'bidding' for a position as valid contributors to the debate through an initial socially situated identity as 'actors': This identity is both *claimed* and *imposed* by the theatre set, which is itself a 'characteristic activity' associated with this identity, as is the presence of the stage lighting and sound system and the desk of mixers and faders etcetera to one side. In turn, the inmate's knowledge of *how to be* in prison is thus made *less* relevant, because semiotically we are no longer in prison, but somewhere else. The transient-yet-solid nature of the theatre set is itself an embodiment of the transformative nature of the Residency, continuing the *world* and *semiotic* building tasks. All of this may be taken in, in seconds, as a physical term of the Conversation, unconsciously, as the inmates enter the room, before any discourse is uttered.

However, while the paragraph above shows that Field Notes record an immediate change in the 'relevant' embodiment as the men become 'theatre goers', moving from the observable physicality of 'inmate' which has its own Discourse, commonly referred to as 'having on a prison head', this transformation is no way stabilised, and seems to remain a sight of contention. Field Notes (p14) record that Deek T., moustachioed and in his late twenties is loudly laughing and

joking as he sits in his chair, seeming to be competing against the Geese Discourse for 'possession' of the space, while others James M., stocky, slightly podgy, in his 40s with slightly receding sandy hair sits seemingly unaware of any scrutiny, patiently waiting.

This 'old lag' role will become clearer as the week progresses. Andy B. speaks to no one, sitting quietly to one side, while Davy J. has on his 'prison head': A grim scowl and a lack of eye contact with anyone, muscular arms firmly crossed to augment a forbidding scar across his cheek. Colin S. is neat and tidy, looking at the set, sitting by Darren C. who contrasts in his untucked striped blue and white prison shirt. Gerry G., short and stocky, jowls darkly unshaven, leans back in his chair, arms crossed, appearing to communicate casual unconcern.

These changes in embodiment can be argued to be an *emergent* property of the Residency, a sign of the synchronistic nature of the event, and as suggested above, foreshadow greater changes: Raynsford comments

"[As the week goes on there is] definitely a change in physicality, they become more 'fluffy', a general Geese phrase for it.... you see people starting to take more pride in how they look ... there's a pride thing, *there's a kind of softening around the edges of them...*" (Raynsford 2003, para. 149 my emphasis)

This 'fluffiness' can also be seen as evidence for a change in the 'political economy' of the inmate-participants' usual 'social space': Auslander (1994) follows Brecht and Boal in seeing the body as a site of ideological struggle and Feenberg (1980) argues that the body is 'shaped by place'. Thus, by changing the 'body space' of the inmates during the Residency they are symbolically transported 'elsewhere', away from their physical space and into a realm of greater potentiality. To view events from another epistemology, in Chaotic terms, the set is an embodiment of a quantum change in the space from one energy state to another; the space's former identity as 'prison Chapel' has been renegotiated, what was a 'settled wave form' has altered and the sign systems of religion around us - the cross, the altar the pulpit - have been rendered irrelevant to this Conversation for the period of the Residency.

Since Discourses are mutable and are always defined *in relationships with other Discourses*, bringing the Discourse of the inmates together with the Geese Discourse of 'The Residency' in turn creates a site for a third, 'borderland' Discourse where the constructed meaning of our shared activities and their outcomes will be a site of negotiation over the week. There are arguably many links here to theory node 4 around meaning and discourse and the overall Wittgensteinian philosophical stance of this thesis: Wittgenstein (1958) argues that meaning is highly dependent upon its 'staging' and we are in a situation where 'staging' is a literally applicable term. It is also possible to see here the beginnings of Boalian metaxis, the

participation of one world in another, which in turn links to earlier arguments around the shamanic and magical nature of the Residency. Linking once more to Chaos and complex systems the 'end state' of the week – the Corridas – is already arguably discernable here in its beginnings.

In interview with Geese staff, this intrinsic theatricality (which will continue to remain literally centre stage as the week progresses) is identified as absolutely crucial to the Residency: "...*the theatre creates, the theatre just does it, ignites it, it's like a touch paper. It brings something in*" (Meakes 2003 para.128)

"I think the fact that we get x amount of non-theatrical individuals to that point, the whole power of the Corrida is its intensity, its drama and I think that's the most important thing of the week. So you need the whole build up and you need to have built up a foundation of drama works before you get to that point." (Raynsford 2003 para.158)

Officer Blue, who has experienced the Residency in previous incarnations at HMP Blackwood, sees a synergy that goes beyond simply the use of drama and theatre and is emergent from the individuals involved, linking to issues of the therapeutic alliance:

"... you could get any group of actors together to do V/I, but it's what happens after that [in the Residency] that makes it a thing *that's not just about drama...* the Geese week is unique in that yes, there is a dramatic input, yes there is a system, we're talking about a system here of thinking report, the [Thought] wheel, these are things that you could sit and learn in a couple of days ... But how to relate that to a group of people and then particularise it for individuals requires a great deal of skill. (Blue 2001, para 158)

Finally, in terms of the *connection building tasks*, it is important to note that at this stage at the beginning of the week there are very few connections between the opening Geese Discourse of theatre and the inmates' Discourse: I have had previous interactions with the men before me (while administering the STAXI psychometric tests over the weekend) but the rest of the Geese have not; this means that the Residency situation at this point lacks 'coherence' in the sense of connections to previous or future interactions. Chaotically speaking, Shroedinger's box is still closed and the lid will be lifted only slowly in the days to come as the currently infinite number of possibilities for each of these men begin to coalesce down into a limited number of actualities.

It should be noted that though in this thesis the seven men named above in Chapter 4, The Research Project, have already been brought into the foreground of attention, at the beginning of the Residency week this was not the case; they emerged only as the week went on. Again, in

Chaotic terms, the potentiality of the men, their indeterminacy, is central to the work of the Residency: Not 'collapsing the wave form' into a particular outcome too early. It is also an example of the level of 'self-similarity' between the Residency process and the process of writing about it for this thesis in that I am attempting to replicate the 'emergence' of these men rather than present them anachronistically and Athena-like, fully formed.

Critical episode 2

Introductions & Contracts: 'We're here to talk about violence'

The first critical episode selected for attention and considered above, is essentially about the elements of the Geese Discourse and the inmate Discourse meeting non-verbally: No member of Geese (barring myself) has spoken with any inmate at this stage; as suggested, the Conversation has begun, and many of the building tasks are underway, but not yet through the medium of speech.

As the point approaches where literal dialogue is about to ensue, the Geese use of spoken language (as opposed to non-verbal 'language', such as the set) is therefore of importance, as is the context in which it is used. On this first day of the Residency proper, most of the opportunities for 'dialogue' occur in a group setting for most of the day (see table v, above). Thus, the introduction and signing of contracts is led by one Geese member interacting with *the group*, as are

- The feedback of reactions to the performance of V/1
- The 'accessing' of the *Boyfriend 1* mask
- The replay of the *Mirror Scene*
- The *Two Man exercise*

Only in the late afternoon does the mode turn to small group work. There are consequences of this for analysis: There are few examples of extended discourse and 'dialogue' *between individuals* to analyse, the pattern instead being closer to question and answer, with the questioner being a Geese member and the 'answerer' role moving round the group of inmates. Most of the discourse analytic examples given here are therefore of a special kind: The Discourse is with *the group* and though spoken by differing individuals, a major theme of this thesis is that the *group* nature of the Residency is a crucial element.

Focuses of critical episode 2

There are two elements to which I wish to draw attention by the selection of critical episode 2. The first element to consider is the Geese use of language. In interview, both Raynsford and Morris identified a generic 'Geese style' of language. Raynsford notes that "I think [Geese use of language] it is in an invitation to responsibility....[an] invitation to your life.. [an] alternative life, it's

about inviting you to look at other ways of change and of other roles" (Raynsford 2003 para. 122]. Morris supports the notion of speech used by Geese in a specific way:

"...we work within the boundaries of a particular vocabulary....the cognitive process, we're also talking about behavioural stuff, we're talking about a non-therapy based therapeutic process" (Morris 2003, para. 135).

It is the latter part of Morris's comment that is of particular interest, the mention of "a non-therapy based therapeutic process" in addition to what may be seen as normal or routine elements of offending behaviour programmes (i.e. consideration of cognition and behaviour and the links between them). Thus, a brief discourse analysis of some of the features of spoken language as used by the collective entity that is Geese Theatre *in the specific context of the opening moments of the Residency* seems appropriate, as a brief analysis can serve as a general indicator of usage in the rest of the Residency, the 'tone' of the language.

Secondly, within the overall framework of the spoken elements of Geese Discourse there is the observed reaction of the inmates to the Geese language. This is of import because it may provide evidence or indication of their Discourse *at this point*, at least as 'voiced' by individual speakers.

Spoken introductions

The brief sixty seconds or so it took for Officer Blue to open the Chapel door and for the inmates to file in, see the set, and walk across the theatre space to their seats has passed. The inmates are now settled and the Geese company are all 'on stage' in the space that has been established. As a reminder, before we move into attempting to analyse spoken language, the notational and definitional framework for this endeavour as described in Chapter 3, (Methodology) is reproduced below (table ii):

Notation	Definition or description
Tone unit	Set of words said 'as if they go together' (each line represents 1 tone unit)
//	Tone unit said with 'final contour' rising or falling pitch to indicate 'finished'
clause	Any verb and the elements that 'cluster' with it
stanza	'Clumps' of tone unit dealing with unitary topic or perspective
<u>underlined</u>	<u>Underlined words carry the major stress in their tone</u>
CAPITALS	Emphatically said
..	Hearable pause
die:d	Colon following vowel indicates elongated vowel
low pitch	Previous unit said on overall low pitch

Table (ii) Notational & definitional framework for conversation analysis

Readers should note that the circumstances of the research, undertaken with limited audio equipment and producing relatively low quality recordings, do not permit a full 'conversation analysis' in the style of linguistics, utilising a range of highly technical methodologies. Such an attempt is not the intention here as the focus is not so much on the actual grammatical structure of language, but on *what it does and communicates in a given social context*. Additionally, both here and in Appendix A, readers will encounter passages of quotation from taped sessions which are not subject to analysis in the way described here, and which do not follow these formatting conventions, but are presented for other reasons such as triangulation with other Geese or prison staff member's comments.

To return to the moment in the Residency, Kirkham leads the introductions of the Company:

Hello to you all.. We are Geese Theatre Company// (Field Notes p13).

We all then introduce ourselves individually by name. Wieder and Pratt (1990) argue that such a communication (an 'utterance') only has meaning if it communicates a *who* and a *what* – as part of the building tasks of socially situated *identities* and a socially situated *activity*. Gee (1999) following Bakhtin (1981, 1986) points out that the '*who-doing-what*' can also be referred to as 'social language' insofar as the actual linguistic elements are concerned: This 'social language' also further carries out the six 'building tasks' considered above.

This simple introduction can be seen as work for the building task of *socioculturally-situated identities and relationships*. Question 11 asks what relationships and identities with their concomitant knowledges and beliefs, seem to be relevant? As presented in this utterance, a sense of duality is introduced for the collective entity of 'Geese Theatre Company', which is also composed of its individual members by name.

Thus, the associated *activity* being built is 'theatre' and without being spoken, our claimed role is as 'actors', a role that can hook into the 'cultural model' of what 'actors' do, i.e. in this context (a prison and a group of violent offenders) at *this point* we have come to 'do a play' (apparently unambiguously signalled by the presence of the theatrical set). Schechner (2003) identifies a 'basic polarity' in the 'binary system' of 'efficacy-entertainment', which he sees as including the subset' of 'ritual-theatre' (performance). He also identifies that in Western society, performance incarnations are now focussed (and understood as being) at the entertainment end.

In this context, our 'acting' (following on from Schechner 2003, above) is to be understood as something of inconsequence, 'entertainment' and we are not presenting as 'experts' in violent offending behaviour. This is important in enabling Geese to keep open a site for dialogue which,

were the Company to claim a clearly unambiguous 'expert' role in dealing with a pre-defined 'problem' would be likely only to precipitately collapse the number of potentialities and the potential of the space we are working to create. Dramaturgically we would have fallen into a 'script' with associated narrowly determined roles in dynamic opposition that would be 'called out' through the process of 'role reciprocity', and be likely to generate resistance from having fallen into a non-person centred 'expert trap' (see Miller & Rollnick 1991, 2002).

An interesting point to note is that throughout this section of the morning the audience is being treated as a collective: In a group work setting it would be normal to ask members to name themselves, but here the institution of theatre where – barring special cases – audiences remain anonymous is being observed. Again, over the week, (and even over the day) the fluidity of the actor-spectator boundary will increase as the level of Boalian 'metaxis' ('as if' participation of one world in another) increases and the drive to establish relevancy through joint construction of meaning builds.

Immediately after introducing ourselves, those of us performing in *The Violent Illusion Part 1* (VI1) go backstage to get into costume and prepare, while the other members of the company move to join the audience. Kirkham remains on stage. She checks whether the men have seen the 'Information for Participants' - they apparently have not, so she reads through the document, a departure from our schedule. The 'Information for Participants' is a part of the Discourse which Geese are attempting to develop and because Kirkham is having to read it in the 'here and now' it immediately takes on a different role to if the inmates had read it previously. It becomes part of the 'building tasks *in the moment*' rather than holding a more 'informational' role, and is a first instance of the responsivity and spontaneity of the week.

A fuller discourse analysis of the text of the *Information for Participants* document can be found in Appendix G, and readers should be aware that the reading of the document is, within the terms of this thesis, forming part of the Conversation and contributing to the building tasks of the Residency. Using the notational framework given above in table (ii), while the full text of the document is not included here in full, I would like to draw attention to some pertinent points.

Stanza 1

- 1 : On the fina:l day
- 1b: there will be a te:st..
- 2a: We will talk
- 2b: more of this
- 2c : later in the week// (Farrall 2001a)

In lines 1 and 1b, Kirkham is reading the text from the document. In lines 2 a – 2c she is demonstrating the 'reflexivity' of language *reflecting* and *constructing* reality by her use of a particular grammar. G1 refers to 'conventional grammar' of nouns, verbs etcetera. G2, the grammar of more interest here, is composed of the *rules* "... by which [G1 units] are used to create *patterns* which signal or indicate '*whos-doing-whats-within-Discourses*'" (Gee 1999, p29).

In English, informational saliency (relatively new and relatively unpredictable information) is conveyed via *stress*. Kirkham conveys new information in Lines 1 and 1b, but is also 'doing' an activity ('introducing the Residency'). Her choice of words (lines 1 to 2c) demark the activity as 'serious' and thus reciprocally help to create the context as a serious one where such language is appropriate. It is a common theme identified in interview by members of Geese that the *ritualistic* nature of the week is a key component in its effectiveness; Kirkham's language in lines 2a to 2c, produced spontaneously, is, through its G2 grammar, a presentiment of the greater ritualistic elements to come.

Heywood identifies that by the time of the Corridas on Friday, there is "a sort of expectancy and a sense of importance that something important is going to happen there *because it's got the paraphernalia around it*". (Heywood 2003, para. 61 my emphasis). Heywood is referring to the Corrida set specifically, but Kirkham's early use of ritualistic or 'special' language as a micro-example of the Geese Discourse should, in the argument of this thesis, also be considered part of the 'paraphernalia' that go to make the week work. Kirkham can also be seen to be introducing a sense of *process* combined with *time limitedness*, of liminality and of culmination (line 1 and lines 2b and 2c). In line with the rest of the document (Appendix G), the G2 grammar can be suggested to be attempting to construct a sense of *shared endeavour* and *collaboration* (line 2a).

Thus the 'who' being constructed through this use of G2 is a 'credible communicator' with the status to set tests and to decide when it is appropriate for arcane matters to be further revealed (line 2c): This is a numinous 'who', and it is *not just Kirkham* for whom this identity is being constructed, but for the collective entity of 'Geese Theatre Company' as introduced in the opening of this section. In parallel, from social psychology comes the argument that change can be achieved as a result of the type of (extended) one -off communication the Residency represents, and as a function of the attributes of the communication, these being *the message, the audience and the context* - in other words, the Discourse (Hovland, Janis & Kelly 1953).

Kirkham's activities here are all part of 'recognition work', where people try to 'make visible' (in Discourse terms) to others and themselves who they 'are' and what they are doing. The set and the Information for Participants all form part of this recognition work. Through Kirkham, Geese

are deliberately positioning themselves in the 'borderland' discourse: Deliberately creating a fluidity or 'fuzziness' (a potentiality) of role that reflects the 'fuzziness' of Discourses in interaction.

The Contract to participate

Continuing on, Kirkham introduces the Contract (see Appendix G).

Stanza 2

- 1: There is a Contract which you must sign if you are to take part in the week//
(Farrall 2001a)

Many elements of the Geese Discourse are present in this brief statement.

- 1: There is a Contract

In the terms of *world building*, Question 6 asks *what cultural models are being produced?* The cultural model put forward here can be seen as appealing to a 'master-model' of the 'social contract' (which the inmates, by virtue of their incarceration, can be deemed to have broken) and by extension to Enlightenment values. The Contract is given as pre-existing: It simply 'is' (line 1), presenting a social construction as a state of nature, appealing to inter-relationship and the validity of compact, and of accountability. It demands trustworthiness, since a contract is of no use if not honoured.

This can be seen as indicating the paradoxical nature of the Residency since I have earlier argued that the conduct of the week is opposed philosophically to the Enlightenment idea of an inevitable progression towards 'right answers' and the 'logos' (see Chapter 2). The evocation of contracts can therefore be seen to be a *political building task* involving the exercise of power and linking to arguments presented by Foucault (1980, 1982): Geese are making the idea of contracts relevant simply by the imposition of the model and thus claiming the power to do so. The model can also be seen as an attempt to force observance of a legalistic, capitalistic paradigm, requiring men to accommodate themselves to an opposing discourse, just as the legal system has done.

This cultural model is emphasised by the next 2 lines:

- 2: which you must sign
- 3: if you are to take part

Duality is again present here, since the G1 of the statement contains an *imperative*, a command, but the G2 is working to make this an act of *mutuality*, of voluntary submission, not coercion - the

world being built is one of contingencies, of trading, the bargain being struck is ‘if-you-sign-you-can-take-part’. Agency to sign or not sign remains with the men, but the cultural model being presented is of actions having consequences (signing = can attend but also signing = agree to abide by rules) and of personal responsibility for those acts.

All of these meanings are relevant, and again refer to an Enlightenment ‘master model’ of group and collective being privileged over the individual: Of voluntary self-limitation for the greater good. The Contract is thus a *metaphor* for the cultural model held by Geese (Lakoff 1987) that within this context is itself ‘espoused’ (consciously used), evaluative and a model-in-interaction (guiding our actions in the ‘life world’) (see Strauss & Quinn 1997). There is also a Chaotic theme of tolerance for ambiguity: What ‘taking part’ may actually ‘be’ is still undefined, even though we have heard earlier as Kirkham read the Information for Participants document it will be ‘sensitive’, ‘challenging’, hard’ and ‘uncomfortable’.

Evidence of inmate Discourse

We have to this point focussed mainly on the first element of the critical moment, the Geese verbal discourse as an element of the wider Discourse, in order to illustrate the ‘style’ or ‘tone’ of language that will often be utilised in the Residency, even where specific mention is not made of it in this thesis. The second element of focus was the *inmate reaction* to the Geese Discourse, as evidence of *their* competing Discourse. We will now turn to this aspect. Kirkham continues to read through the Contract, and Field Notes record that at the 5th item:

I will not be violent towards anyone

there is laughter from someone or two in the audience, possibly in the region of Deek T.. This is the first point of overt ‘rupture’, in the Conversation, of conflict between the inmate’s Discourse (as expressed by some of them) and the Geese Theatre Discourse. Kirkham responds as follows:

Stanza 3

- 1: Yes it does say I will not hit anyone..
 - 2: that's because this week is about violence
 - 3: that's what we're here to look at
- (Farrall 2001a)

In lines 1 to 3 Kirkham is not now deferring to any sense of indeterminacy, but clearly involved in a *political building* of status and power. She reiterates what is ‘fact’, the line on the Contract, reinstating the Geese Discourse of the legitimacy of this as a demand in the face of a de-

legitimising response that the item is literally 'laughable'. There is a further implication that the term is needed because over the week someone *might* hit someone else, unless they have promised not to, which in itself reflects the Geese Discourse of self-control, personal agency and responsibility.

In stanza 3 the social language has shifted from the more formalised and ritualistic, 'numinous' phrases of just moments before to a more 'matter of fact' tone, a 'take it or leave it' tone (lines 2 and 3). This tone in Kirkham's voice is literally not discernable from the transcript as given here, reflecting again the difficulty in finding an adequate frame to analyse the social, interpersonal nature of the Residency.

3: that's what we're here to look at//

In line 3 Kirkham reinstates a sense of duality and shared work: The 'we' is both Geese Theatre (that's why we are here, as 'conductors') and the men (that's why you and we are here together). There is no mention that we will do anything more than 'look' at violence although this contains the implication of difference ('there could be another way to the way in which you behave'). The theme of transformation and change (on the part of the inmate participants) is not explicitly stated as to privilege 'our' side of the Conversation so early through an explicit statement would risk the emergent 'borderland' Discourse simply being overwhelmed by a strong restatement of the existing Discourse constructed by the men, leaving no room for a co-constructed reality. In psychodynamic terms, lines 2 and 3 are also a reiteration of the 'task' for this 'work group' (Bion 1961).

It was stated earlier that *to this point* very few 'connections' existed between Geese and the inmates. Question 17 asks *what sorts of connections are being made to previous or future interactions, to other ideas?* Question 18 asks further *how do such connections help contribute to the 'coherence' of the situation?* Through her words in stanza 3 Kirkham can be seen to be undertaking just such a *connection building task*, making an explicit link to future 'looking' at violence and helping establish a coherence that although 'we in the room' seem to be dealing with the institution of theatre (i.e. coming to watch a play), we also seem to be dealing with 'something more', i.e. violent behaviour.

This section of introductions overall can also be seen as part of an activity *building task*, where the larger or main activities going on (question 8) are 'watching a play' but the *sub-activities* composing this seem to include signing contracts, and being told one's behaviour will be under scrutiny. Kirkham's *connection building* above can be said to contribute to these apparently unconnected things being held together coherently.

Finally, in a further piece of world and connection building, as the inmates sign their copies of the contract, the contract is brought backstage and those of us performing in the *Violent Illusion Part 1* all sign, as do the Geese staff out front and the prison staff, embodying the Discourse of mutuality, submission to the same 'rules' for this special time and space, and of binding ourselves to one another in *collaborative activity and involvement*.

In summary, at this early stage before anything has even 'begun' in a sense, the Conversation of the Residency is establishing coherence as a situation with rules, mutually engaged in (though still provisionally so at this point) where some things (i.e. violence) are unacceptable and others will be pursued jointly, where discussion and dialogue are privileged, connecting to a wider Discourse of what might be described as 'civil society' or the 'liberal family'. With the paperwork concluded it's at last time for the show.

Episode 3

Performance of *The Violent Illusion Part 1*

As described in Chapter 4, The Research Project, *Violent Illusion Part 1* is the story of three generations of a 'family' over a period of about three years, covering the pregnancy, birth and toddlerhood of a boy child, compressed into an hour of unremitting intergenerational and relationship abuse in all directions: Sexual, physical, emotional, substance and psychological, father to daughter and grandson, mother to child, adult male to adult male, boyfriend to girlfriend. The tatty flat in which the show is set is a scene of fear, neglect, pain and very occasional glimpses of play or affection. Detailed discussion of this episode as a 'jumping off' point and stimulus can be found in Appendix A.

Critical episode 4

Group feedback of reactions to VI1

This episode has been selected for critical attention, not because there is a *specific event* arising from the feedback that is in itself crucial in some way, but because the episode:

- Provides further possible evidence of a 'Borderland' discourse in development, where the meaning of 'violence' becomes a site of multivalence and potentiality
- Is a point where crucial concepts such as responsibility and choice begin to enter the dialogue

Thus far in the Residency, the inmate-participants have not yet had a formal chance literally to voice their perspectives and the feedback session thus allows our first real opportunity to explore the discourse of violence which that may be presented: The Conversation is in flow, but so far it

is only Geese Theatre who have really spoken. All the members of Geese, bar Kirkham who is leading the feedback, are now seated with and among the inmates in the 'audience'.

Geese use of language

Stanza 4 now gives direct support for the contention that the inmates are likely to have experienced past abuse or trauma in the ways suggested in Chapter 2, literature review, and of likelihood of the accuracy of VI1 in representing such experience. The speaker, Alan A., is not one of the men selected for attention overall. Appendix A features further material on this episode, including a more detailed analysis of the language of the stanza in terms of similarity to Motivational Interviewing (Miller & Rollnick 1991, 2002).

The choice of Kirkham to lead the feedback can be seen as part of the on-going *connection building* task: She it was who stated 'we're here to look at violence' before the performance and, the men having literally looked at the Geese epistemology, our 'way of knowing' about violence, she now returns to lead what can be seen as an *activity building* task. Having watched a play, the main task here (question 8) can now be seen as 'talking about a play' – a familiar part of the theatrical Discourse. Within this, as will be discussed below, there are arguably a number of *sub-activities* (question 9) going on.

Field Notes (p16) record that the atmosphere feels "tense" and the inmates look "angry" or "blank" and there is much "closed body language" such as "crossed arms" and extended "legs out" [straight in front] or "staring at the floor", or "heads up, look[ing] ahead", reflecting the comments made by Geese in interview that the performance generates a lot of emotion, often hostile.

Stanza 4

- 1 Kirkham First off-reactions? Anything anybody has to say about what they've just seen//
(pause)
- 2 Alan A.: It was sick//
- 3 Kirkham It was sick// Say a bit more about that//
- 4 Alan A.: ..Well .. it reminds me .. about .. it minds .. it remembers me of me .. why I'm in
here//
- 5 Kirkham It reminds you of why you're in here//
- 6 Alan A.: Aye//
- 7 Kirkham OK//
- 8 Alan A.: Sheer ..sheer TORTURE in the family and stuff// It was WELL OUT OF
ORDER// And er .. ABUSE towards the kid//
- 9 Kirkham: Uh huh//

10 Alan A.: and towards the woman// Way OUT OF ORDER // That's why I'm in here//
11 Kirkham: And the and the feelings around that//
12 Alan A.: huh//
13 Kirkham: The feelings are sick//
14 Alan A.: Aye.. Cos I grew up with that kind of shit //
(Farrall 2001a)

During this exchange Alan A. is sitting leaning forward, elbows on knees, with eyes downcast; he looks troubled (Field Notes p16). By his disclosures Alan A. seems to be *acknowledging* the perpetration of such violence (line 10 "that's why I'm in here") and in interview Davy J. (a man who goes on to enter the Corrida) also acknowledges such experience:

"[In VI] The first boy in the boyfriend and girlfriend... because that was how I was towards my ex-wife. I wouldn't take no for an answer you do as you're told and that. The kids - I smacked them on the backside till they were black and blue and they'd be screaming their heads off..." (Farrall 2001q, para 32).

As said, further details on the episode and the Geese use of language, can be found in Appendix A, but here we will focus on the discourse presented by the inmates with regard to violence. Readers should note the convention adopted in this thesis that sections of dialogue or spoken words selected for discourse analysis from transcriptions of tapes are in numbered 'stanzas' and the framework described above and used in examining the initial exchanges during the introductions and contracts will again be used, where such analysis is the focus. Within a stanza taken from a more extended piece of transcript, the line numbering may generally reflect where the selected stanza is situated in the overall transcript, but 'paragraphs' may have been broken down into individual numbered lines.

Evidence of discourse: Some things 'you can't have'

If stanza 3 above can be taken as an exemplar of Geese linguistic practice in terms of their Discourse, and thus constitutes a critical moment, it is also a critical moment because Alan A. is opening up a discourse which will feature more openly during the week as a term in the inmate's side of the Conversation: That there are some types of violence which are 'well out of order" and by implication there are other types which are acceptable and justified. Deek T. is next to speak; again we will make a closer textual analysis of the transcript.

Stanza 5

19 Kirkham: Anything else//

- 20 Deek T.: Aye I'd say the one with the long hair [my character, Granddad] needs a fucking GOOD KICKING//
- 21 Kirkham: He needs a good kicking//
- 22 Deek T.: Aye//
- 23 Kirkham: Why//
- 24 Deek T.: That.. ABUSE against (gestures to Heywood, who played Daughter) Lots of violence, you can't have that//
- 25 Kirkham: OK just..so if something like that happens you have to take action// (pause)
- 26 Kirkham: Does anybody else agree with that statement// (Field Note p17: body language of nodding, facial gestures of 'agreement')
- 27 Kirkham: ..or does anyone else disagree with it// (pause. Field Note p17: no one shakes heads etcetera to signify disagreement)
- 28 Kirkham: Most people agree with it//
- 29 Kirkham: Anybody disagree with that// (pause)
- (Farrall 2001a)

With this utterance, Deek T. can be seen as involved in a *world building task*, just as Geese are: Question 4 asks *what are situated meanings of words...that seem important in the setting?* Deek T.'s tone (again, not evident in the palimpsest of the transcript) in this exchange is crucial: Even though he claims an *individual perspective* (line 20 "I'd say") his vocal tone is actually working to make the utterance a *statement of a generally accepted and self evident fact*: A universal truth. He is working to *inoculate* himself? (Edwards & Potter 1995) from accusations of having a 'stake', an interest in the matter, from perceptions that as a 'violent offender' "he would say that wouldn't he"). He is attempting to appeal to cultural models of 'common sense' around responses to certain types of conduct by 'warranting factuality' about his claim: It is not an opinion it is a 'truth'.

Deek T.'s assertion in line 20 is countered by Kirkham's *content reflection* (see Miller & Rolnick 1991, 2002) treating it as an assertion rather than a statement of fact. Deek T. responds to the query in line 23 by specifying the 'type' of violence that 'you can't have'. Specifically, violence against women and, by extension children, is being claimed as illegitimate. To paraphrase Jane Austen, it is a truth universally expressed among offenders that 'this type' of *domestic* violent behaviour is not acceptable, the only type of behaviour less acceptable being explicitly sexual abuse (of which the Granddad character is also culpable).

By contrast, Deek T., by *his* assertion in line 23, can be seen to be attempting to build a connection to pre-existing acknowledged Discourses of 'right and wrong' that do not admit the possibility of the perpetration of such violence as being similar or linked to the inmate's violence

– thus he can be seen as attempting to stabilise a cultural model of ‘violence’ that has been threatened by what Geese have shown and done so far in the *V/I* performance. Deek T.’s position will not shift far from this assertion over the course of the Residency and indeed he is one of the men who will leave (or make it impossible for himself to continue) before the end of the week.

The question may arise of why *V/I* includes such types of extreme violence if it serves only to provoke inmates to deny the legitimacy of it, or at least not acknowledge it openly; several Geese members are clear that the portrayal is deliberate and crucial as a starting point in constructing meaning around what is and is not ‘acceptable’ violence:

“I think it gets them right close to violence which has no kind of.... It’s not the sort of violence that you can go ‘oh well obviously I had to do that because he was raping my two year old child and smacking me about with a baseball bat’... there’s no excuse for the violence in *V/I*, there’s no hiding from it” (Heywood 2003 para 76)

Thus, Kirkham in line 25 above makes a *meaning reflection* that is an important statement of the discourse being expressed by the inmates at *this point*, clarifying further in lines 27 – 28. She is continuing to define the terms of the ‘Conversation’, not explicitly ‘challenging’ them at this stage. The level of challenge to the Discourse of the inmates will grow in the coming days, both on an individual and collective group level, as the status of Geese and the *connection* between us as a group and the inmates as a group grows, enabling us to make such challenges in a way which will be felt to be legitimate, rather than seen as another example of the Discourse of the prison institution or ‘wider society’ and which would be likely to raise resistance. This is a process of developing rapport is one which Meakes identifies, linking to theory node seven around interpersonal style:

“...I honestly think that the group of people that work for the company have got something ... not unique ... but which is fairly special ... some kind of force of personality which can build a bridge ... between the men and the issues”
(Meakes 2003 para. 24).

If *V/I* has been successful in eliciting projective identification from the inmates, in arousing but containing past trauma and in representing their experience as suggested above, the question arises of which particular character (if any) the men may be most identifying with and why? In the group therapy of psychodrama Moreno (1985) suggests that the audience, through recognising their own problems in the protagonist’s ‘as if’ enactment can experience ‘vicarious therapeusis’.

Projective identification?

There are no positive male role models in *V/1*, but staff members out in the audience during the performance noted that events focussing on the *Child* provoke a particularly strong reaction, such as in scene 4 *Use the Belt* when the Child is being beaten, scene 6 *Bad Emu* when the mother uses the Emu puppet to pinch and then sexually assault the Child, and scene 8, *Child Alone*.

Officer Blue: "...it's at that point [Scene 8] - there's a couple of heads (drops head stares at floor) down...That's when Davy J. asked me for a cigarette, Deek T. almost crept onto the stage" (Farrall 2001c). Ann, one of the social work staff involved with the Residency also notes that a particular moment of focus seems to be when the child is himself learning to victimise, in Scene 8: [Andy B. was standing up at the point] "... where the child is just actually beating itself. Taking it out on the Teddy bear" (Farrall 2001c).

Perhaps significantly, in the feedback on *V/1* only one inmate *openly* seems to identify with the Child and this is Alan A., for whom the events seem to have offered a particularly powerful stimulus. This may indicate that the other men did *not* identify with the experience of the Child but this thesis would suggest it is just as likely to mean that such identification *is* present, but to openly admit it at this stage would be too psychically painful (since it would mean admitting their own victimisation). The following stanza 6 suggests that the men are able at *one remove* to acknowledge the likely effects on the Child, but appear to be speaking clearly from personal experience.

Stanza 6

42 Kirkham: What..what effect does it [the events and environment of *V/1*] have on the child//
43 Andy B.: The child kind of goes into himself ..he's confused .. he seemed to look for love..
didn't get any//
(Farrall 2001a)

In line 42 Andy B. seems to be describing defensive reactions indicative of *disassociation* or *numbing*, common features in cases of trauma (Resick 2001, van der Kolk, McFarlane & Weisaeth 1996, van der Kolk 1987a) and also expressing a regret for the dysfunctional psycho-emotional attachments (Bowlby 1988) the Child is experiencing. This may be an indication that the performance has been 'successful' in reinstating the negative mood state associated with 'being a victim' which in itself is facilitative of recall of experiences congruent with that mood state – thus the inmates may be temporarily 'in touch' with their victimisation in a way which the defensive mechanisms mentioned here normally operate to prevent. As Kirkham continues to

lead the feedback, there may also be an opposition emerging to the Discourse of violence as voiced previously by Deek T:

Stanza 6 continued

45 Kirkham: What happens to that child as it grows up, becomes an adult//
(Field Note, p18: muttered exchange between Alan A. & James M.)

46 Alan A.: It's natural//

47 Kirkham: Alan A. yes//

48 Alan A.: It's natural to him// (Field Note p18: muttered exchange continues)

49 Kirkham: So it becomes natural to the kid to behave in that sort of violent way//

50 James M.: It's natural.. same as his dad//

Arguably, there is a different understanding of the nature of 'natural' emerging: above, Deek T. presented a violent response to certain behaviours or situations as natural and inevitable (line 21 "I'd say" and line 25 "You can't have that"). Now at least Alan A. and James M. appear to be generating a conception of violence as a *learned response originating in dysfunctional and traumatic childhood environments* (lines 46-50). This is an understanding or analysis that is very close to the one Geese hold collectively, as exemplified by comments in interview:

"...I don't think people are born fighting I don't think anybody in Geese does really. I think a lot of it is learnt, I think a lot of it is very functional, I think a lot of it is about survival in the environments in which they live" (Watson 2003 para. 153).

Meakes states further:

"... things that they have seen, heard, experienced for themselves....I think [social learning and psychodynamic] they're compatible if that little chaos box, the little thing is struck when someone calls you a 'wanker' or whatever, I think you could explain the [violent] reaction" (Meakes 2003 para 96 – 100).

Comments such as those James M. and Alan A. make in stanza 6 can be seen as a purely imaginative response – but this thesis would see them as very directly touching on and informed by the inmates own likely experience of victimisation and the 'intergenerational transmission of violence' (Wisdom 1989). Kirkham takes the opportunity to lead the discussion into a consideration of change and personal responsibility.

Stanza 7

52 Kirkham: OK.. question.. is it inevitable that .. does that have to happen//

- 53 James M.: No//
 54 Kirkham: Anybody think it does have to happen//
 55 Bruce F.: No//
 56 Kirkham: It happens//
 57 James M.: It happens but ..
 58 Kirkham: ..but it doesn't have to//
 59 Kirkham: ..doesn't have to//
 60 Kirkham: That's encouraging//
 61 James M.: Things can change//
 (Farrall 2001a)

In Line 61 it is James M who introduces a note of *potentiality*: From a motivational perspective, this is an admission of the possibility of change that has implicit within it the admission that things might *need* to change. This has been elicited from the inmates, rather than imposed upon them and though still a site for negotiation, is thus less likely to generate the interpersonal phenomenon of resistance as discussed above.

Field Notes show that there has also been a change in collective body language from the 'angry' or 'troubled' embodiment at the conclusion of V1/1 to the current point stating: "...eye contact mostly...seem [to be] listening no head down" (p18). This may be indicating overall a *lack* of resistance at this stage: That despite the possibility that their traumatic past experiences have been activated and their private 'distorted internal world' literally placed on stage in front of the inmates, the safety inherent in dramatic distance ('as if') means familiar defence mechanisms are not being expressed in embodied stance (Blatner 1997).

Later in the exercise, as stanza 7 shows, Kirkham is building on the construction of violence as a 'non-natural' (in the sense of inherent) response and is eliciting discussion around 'responsibility': Is it the individual or the environment (including other people) that directs actions? It is important to introduce this term of the Geese discourse into the Conversation, since for people who *externalise* the 'locus of control' developing a sense of *internal* control or personal agency rather than perceiving themselves as purely reactive may be crucial, linking to humanistic notions of choice, personal responsibility and so on. It is also crucial in that violent offenders will often present their actions so as to minimise *responsibility* (that is, whether or not they did do what they are described as doing) as well as *culpability* (the degree to which what they did was under their control, rather than a pure response to someone else's actions and hence effectively under that person's control).

Stanza 8

- 95 Kirkham: Whose responsibilitywas his [Boyfriend 1's] violence//..Who was responsible//
- 96 James M.: For his violence//
- 97 Deek T.: Him//
- 98 Alan A.: Himself//
- 99 Kirkham: He was//
- 100 Alan A.: Yes//
- 101 James M.: Aye he's responsible//
- 102 Andy B.: He's responsible for his own actions//
- 103 Kirkham: He's responsible for his own actions//
- (Farrall 2001)

What makes this exchange part of the *critical moment* is that Kirkham's (verbal) action can be seen as part of the on-going *world building* task for Geese, constructing an alternative, emergent reality (still only potential) where if a man is *responsible* for his own actions, he can *choose* which actions to take: It is building a discourse of *choice* rather than *inevitability*. This is an empowering concept, although as will be seen below, it remains hedged around by the inmates with all manner of exemptions and special circumstances related to 'justifiable' violence which limit their responsibility for violent behaviour and their ability to do anything else. The Field Notes record that Davy J., Andy B. and Colin S. (the three men who will go into the Corrida) appear to be listening and engaged in this exchange (p17) as does Gerry G., even though they are not directly contributing.

Objectively, for the inmates in their role of 'violent offender' the most obviously representative character in V1 is that of Boyfriend 1: He is shown to be violent and capable of casual brutality, narcissistic and sexually abusive 'only' in the context of intimate adult relationships. At this stage his action in stabbing Granddad has been constructed as an exemplar of the kind of action you 'have to take' when 'unacceptable' things occurs.

Stanza 9

- 171 Kirkham: Anybody look at that character [Boyfriend 1] and say yeah that's been me//
- 172 Deek T.: Aye//
- 173 Heywood: What was it about him//
- 174 Deek T.: Drinking//
- 175 James M.: Aye// (nodding in recognition)
- 176 Deek T.: Making the woman scared//
- 177 Kirkham: Making the woman scared//

- 178 Deek T.: You know you can make her scared//
 179 Kirkham: You know.. What does that do for him//
 180 Deek T.: Turns him on// (low tone overall)
 (Farrall 2001a)

What is interesting in stanza 9 is the difference between what Deek T. was saying only a few minutes previously (see line 24 above violence "you can't have") and now: In stanza 9 Deek T. is openly identifying not just with that 'acceptable' side of Boyfriend 1 who justifiably stabs men who "need a good kicking" but also with abusive actions which have immediately before been characterised as *unacceptable*. Again, the safety of distance achieved through dramatic character can be seen to allow Deek T. to both recognise and *own* negative actions for himself (lines 172, 176) and to turn to that distance when admitting something which is currently too difficult to fully own (line 178 and especially line 180) when the agency of the action switches from 'me' to 'you' to 'him'.

In eliciting some degree of identification between the inmates and the role of Boyfriend 1, then eliciting the contradictions, Kirkham has arguably been *problematising* the role the inmates themselves hold, if one accepts that their most realistic 'role model' is the Boyfriend 1 character. The 'meaning' of Boyfriend 1 is becoming more ambiguous, as he engages in both 'justifiable' and 'unjustifiable' violence.

This (in Chaotic terms) attempt at an entropic 'opening up' of what was a 'coalesced' or 'collapsed' wave form (and thus a limited and determinate form) matters because as Meakes suggests on the subject of narratives men construct for themselves (and by so doing, since 'talk both states and does', construct a self):

"[Those stories go towards creating who they are] because they've told those stories hundreds and hundreds of times to each other every time they meet someone in the wing... [their] negative self talk convincing them they're in a place where things are working better than they would if they weren't doing what they were doing... So it's self-justification.... if you've managed to convince yourself that you have no choice or you did the right thing, then maybe that's a more comfortable place to sit than 'goodness me I've fucked up, I'm spending the next four years inside'" (Meakes 2003 para. 145-148).

The 'story' of Boyfriend 1 (and by extension the inmates whom he represents) is now, like the wider 'Borderland' discourse, beginning to be a site for negotiation and proliferation of possibility.

In the next critical moment we will consider how Geese attempt to continue the process and further (de)construct or problematise the role.

Episode 5

Accessing the mask of Boyfriend 1: Who is in my Shoes?

Thus far, having seen him in the play, the Boyfriend 1 character has been referred to in his absence; now Nicholas, the Geese member playing Boyfriend 1, enters in full mask. This is to provide a concrete, 'here and now' referent for the next part of the exercise where Brookes attempts to begin an examination or construction of the inmate's understanding of inter subjectivity and 'theory of mind', through a continuation of the use of projective identification and dramatic distance. Further details of this episode are given in Appendix A, but a key point to note here is the inmate's aversion to connecting violence outside the home to the experience or perpetration of violence inside the home:

Stanza 10

247 Kirkham: Are hard men on the street ever hard men in their own homes as well//

248 Alan A. and Billy R: (very quickly) No//

249 Bruce F.: No//

250 Kirkham: Never//

251 James M.: Not usually//

252 Billy D: Not in front of their wives and that//

(Farrall 2001a)

This denial is of relevance to work considered under critical episode 7, *Mirror Scene replay*, below.

Episode 6

Games after lunch on Monday

No specific critical point arises from this episode, but a useful consideration of the three main usages of the word 'games' in Geese practice is given in Appendix A, covering:

- 1) Games as games
- 2) Games as metaphor
- 3) Exercises

As stated in Chapter 4, The Research Project, which meaning is relevant is usually context and content dependent, but the term covers both *warm ups* and specific theatre-based sessions with a clear link to offending behaviour, and anything in between. Readers may therefore benefit from the more detailed discussion available in the Appendix.

An educational point

Overall, whether the usage is focussing on games as games, or games as metaphors, or on exercises as discussed in Appendix A, it is possible to argue that the unifying theme is *education* – but of a special type. As discussed in Chapter 2, *The Violent Illusion Trilogy* Residency is an *adult* learning situation which 'defies categorisation' (Brookfield 1986) with a group of people for whom 'education' is likely to have been a negative experience (Devlin 1995, Furlong 1985) and "...perceived as irrelevant to [their] circumstances, life-crises and anxieties..." (Brookfield 1986, p7). Geese are of course utilising a Discourse of 'theatre' rather than 'education', but the games can be seen as part of the informal, viral or rhizomatic education delivered through drama, so that "...people may not even realise education is going on" (Squires 1987). As such this is a 'hidden education' and links to the questions of change, growth and personal development within a Freirian framework, considered in Chapter 2.

Critical episode 7

Replay of the *Mirror Scene* from *VI1*, and construction of the group Thinking Report

Boal argues that "...theatre...is pedagogic in the sense of a collective learning." (1995, p7). Thus, it can be suggested that the 'educational' element of the Residency has already begun, with the performance of *VI1* and the games. But if these constitute 'hidden education', and this description can be applied throughout the Residency and to the Residency as a whole, the replay of the Mirror scene is being selected as a critical episode because, while the education is still 'hidden' it is the point at which

- The construction of meaning, which will be a key component of future work, comes to the fore
- There is a further move closer to the 'personal' level of work with direct reference to the inmates
- We begin to see the 'cognitive' framework on which much of the offending behaviour work rests
- Key elements of the Geese discourse are broached
- The inmates' discourse may be of relevance to the central theoretical propositions of this thesis

The collective Thinking Report (TR) below represents forty minutes or so of complex interaction, with the scene moving on in short bursts and Geese workers eliciting, reflecting and selecting material in a delicate turn-taking 'dance' with the inmates which, psychodynamically speaking, can also be suggested to echo parent-infant interactions (Bruner 1975) of the sort considered in Chapter 2. The group-constructed TR is reproduced below with interspersed quotations from the

session intended to illustrate particular aspects; it is edited to delete the Geese workers generic eliciting and reflecting, citing them only where there is a specific point of interest.

Neelands (1990) sees such 'Thought-Tracking' of the 'inner voice' (of the fictive Boyfriend 1 in this case) as a *poetic* activity, another reminder of the artistic nature of the Residency. He argues that if action in theatre is always in the 'here and now' then "The effect of the experience of translating ideas and concepts into 'here-and-now' symbolic action is to transform pre-existing thinking about the content." (1990 p62). But arguably, Geese are doing the reverse here: The 'symbolic action' of the scene is being translated into ideas and concepts through the written Thinking Report, although with the same aim of (ultimately) transforming thinking and feeling in a holistic whole.

GROUP CONSTRUCTED THINKING REPORT FOR BOYFRIEND 1 IN THE MIRROR SCENE FROM VI1

For ease of reference, the Thinking Report will be given in full here and then deconstructed with analysis and reference to the inmate's discourse.

THOUGHT for Boyfriend 1

FEELING for Boyfriend 1

(Daughter is standing posing before mirror as BF1 enters from bathroom, sees her, and stops)

- | | | |
|-----|---|----------------|
| TR1 | What's she playing at? | jealous hatred |
| TR2 | [I want to] make her feel small | head gets hot |
| TR3 | Who's/what's she getting tarted up for? | frightened |
| TR4 | You bitch! Whore! | resentment |

(BF1 snatches and throws away hat and magazine)

- | | | |
|------|----------------------------|------|
| TR 5 | that's taught her a lesson | good |
|------|----------------------------|------|

(Boyfriend 1 posing before the mirror himself)

- | | | |
|------|--------------------|---------|
| TR 6 | the mirror is mine | jealous |
|------|--------------------|---------|

(Boyfriend 1 sits on the Child's toy and leaps up)

- | | | |
|-----|-----------------------------------|------------|
| TR7 | I'll teach this bitch a lesson | Annoyance |
| TR8 | What the fuck's this doing there? | bad temper |

(Boyfriend 1 sweeps everything off table onto floor, grabs his jacket)

(Daughter grabs arm of Boyfriend 1)

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|-----------|
| TR9 | Get your hands off me | Annoyance |
| TR10 | What do you think you're playing at | temper |
| TR11 | I'm off | |

(Daughter slaps face of Boyfriend 1)

TR12 You little bitch!	Shock
TR 13 You're getting it	Anger <u>9 out of 10</u>
TR 14 I'll kill you	Anger at 10
TR 15 Who do you think you are?	[desire for] revenge
TR16 Big mistake!	Fuming

(BF1 twist Daughter's arm up her back)

TR17 How hard shall I punch?	Anger
TR18 Where shall I punch her?	

(BF1 punches Daughter in the kidneys, she falls and he again turns to leave)

(Daughter raises herself up and says something to Boyfriend 1)

TR19 She hasn't had enough if she's still shouting	Rage
TR20 Cow!	

(BF1 crosses back to Daughter, kicks her hard in the stomach and walks to door again)

TR 21 That'll do her	Easing off
TR22 That'll teach her	
TR 23 That'll show her who's boss	<u>4/5</u>
<i>(Boyfriend 1 pauses to adjust his jacket, and leaves)</i>	

(Field Notes p21)

Themes of Interest in the discourse

Several interrelated themes of interest appear below, and can be roughly categorised as

1. Discourse of violence against women
2. Presence of the 'demeaning insult'
3. Discourse of choice and decision making

We will consider them in turn.

Theme 1 - Violence against women

Clearly, the *Mirror Scene replay* involves violence against a woman. This is deliberate as Hayward (2003) noted above under critical episode 4, *Group feedback of reactions to VI1: "...there's no excuse for the violence in VI1, there's no hiding from it"* (Heywood 2003 para 76 my emphasis). Brookes (2003) too identifies that the *unjustified* (by the inmate's own assertion) nature of the violence is central:

"VI1, unlike presenting some old pub scene where they can go 'that person asked for it and he was doing this and he was doing that'..... [VI1] leaves them nowhere to go because it's totally and utterly unjustified violence, really from beginning to end, nobody deserves anything that they get in VI1, it's horrible" (Brookes 2003 para. 77).

As noted above under episode 5, (*Accessing the mask of Boyfriend 1: Who is in my Shoes?*) and expanded in Appendix A, the issue of violence towards women and children has arguably thus far been a sight of difference in the 'violence discourse' of the inmates: Alan A. appeared to make some early acknowledgement of this type of 'domestic' violence ("... I grew up with that kind of shit", see stanza 4 above, under critical episode 4, *Group feedback of reactions to VI1*) while in stanza 5 Deek T. voiced an alternative discourse of acceptable and unacceptable (or justified and unjustified) violence centring on retribution towards those who commit such acts, and as an *inevitable and natural response* to certain acts 'you can't have'. (This is a theme that will be picked up in critical episode 12, *Return to the small groups*, concerning the individual Thinking Report for Darren C., considered under Tuesday's material)

By stanza 11 (see below) Deek T. appears to shift towards some acknowledgement of the possibility of perpetration of 'unacceptable' (in terms of the inmate's discourse) violence and the *Mirror Scene replay* appears to demonstrate that the inmates actually have no difficulty in supplying a convincing TR for Boyfriend 1, in this situation – suggesting familiarity with the thinking (and possibly behaviour) at least?

Theme 2 - The 'demeaning insult'

Readers will recall from Chapter 2 the suggestion that a 'key motivational theme' to anger (and subsequent violent behaviour) is a (culturally constructed) '*demeaning offence against me or mine*' (Lazarus 1991), and that this was linked in Chapter 2 to shame and guilt related to previous trauma and could well be received or perceived on a non-conscious level. The discourse below may be seen to suggest just such a theme, as follows when Brookes leads an inquiry on the emotional state of *Boyfriend 1* in the opening seconds of the scene:

(*Daughter is standing posing before mirror as BF1 enters from bathroom, sees her, and stops*)

Stanza 11

435 (unattributed) What's she doing// She's gonna do something I don't like//

436 Brookes: She's getting ready for something..

437: Davy J: Aye, that he doesn't like//

- 438 Brookes: ..there is this real sense that 'She's getting this stuff on who's she doing it for//
 What's she doing//
- 439 Andy B: She's doing it for herself//
- 440 Deek T.: She's got a fancy man//
- 441 Brookes: Could be. If he thought there was a fancy man what would the thought be//
- 442 Deek T.: Kill her//
- 443 Alan A.: Whore//
- 444 Brookes: Whore// Maybe, yeah we've got whore and we've got.. and I know we've got
bitch//

(Farrall 2001a)

The abusive attitude demonstrated above towards the Daughter character (who would be the intimate partner, or at least the sexually attractive character for men the age of the inmates) may simply reflect male abusive and patriarchal attitudes and beliefs found widely in society (see for example Burt 1980, Pence & Paymar 1990, Dobash, Dobash, Cavanagh & Lewis 2000). Andy B., who spoke earlier about the Child 'looking for love' (stanza 6 line 43 above in critical episode 4, *Group feedback of reactions to VI1*) is the only one to suggest a motivation for Daughter which is about her *self-satisfaction* (line 439), rather than Deek T.'s suggestion of her only in relation to a male figure (line 440), possibly suggesting a more developed sense of intersubjectivity on the part of Andy B.

Perhaps significantly, Andy B. is described by Officer Blue as not having the same extended history of interpersonal violence that the other men on the week have, his presence instead being triggered by a sudden onset of violent attacks (within the prison) that are seen by Officer Blue as uncharacteristic, and he is also described by Officer Blue as having a steady and supportive relationship with a woman outside (Field Notes p7). This may suggest that Andy B. may have a less distorted inner world as evidenced by his comments here in contrast to those (for example) of Deek T. or Alan A. Brookes continues an exploration of the emotional state of *Boyfriend 1*.

Stanza 12

- 452 James M.: Frightened, he's frightened//
- 453 Brookes: He's frightened so there might be a feeling of fear here// What else// Are there any other..could there be ..any other feelings at this point//
- 454 Davy J.: Resentment//
- 455 Brookes: Resentment// OK//
- 456 Guy: What what is the fear// What is it he's scared of//
- 457 Alan A.: Other guys looking at her//

458 Davy J: In case she's away with somebody else//
(Farrall 2001a)

In stanza 12 James M. continues a previous theme he has opened up previously (see stanza B under *episode 5, Accessing the mask of Boyfriend 1*, in Appendix A) of fear as motivator. But this is not an evolutionarily useful fear response to threat of physical harm or comprehensible conscious anxiety about the consequence to one of one's violence; instead, the discourse in the stanza is of a fear which (as Alan A. suggests in line 457) can be inspired by other men simply *looking at Daughter*.

This may be seen as a cognitive, schema-based response rooted in societal attitudes and patriarchal entitlement, but may also (within the terms of this thesis) be suggestive of the sorts of processes considered in Chapter 2 and hinted at by Gilligan's (2000) 'emotional logic' or Freudian 'magical thinking', and operating similarly to the 'demeaning insult' of Lazarus (1991), but in the sense of a *narcissistic injury* and/or primal fear of abandonment, causing 'resentment' (line 454) with no obvious explanation. Certainly Dutton (1990) suggests that what are essentially *attachment issues* (see also Bowlby 1988, 1997, 1998) play a profound role on the perpetration of domestic abuse. Support for such an interpretation may be provided by the completed lines 1 to 6 of the TR:

(Daughter is standing posing before mirror as BF1 enters from bathroom, sees her, and stops)

THOUGHT	FEELING
TR1 What's she playing at?	Jealous hatred
TR2 [I want to] make her feel small	head gets hot
TR3 Who's/what's she getting tarted up for?	frightened
TR4 You bitch! Whore!	resentment

(BF1 snatches and throws away hat and magazine)

TR 5 that's taught her a lesson good

(Boyfriend 1 posing before the mirror himself)

TR 6 the mirror is mine jealous
(Field Notes p19)

Theme 3: Choice and decision

Line TR6 is a direct quote from Deek T. (Field Notes p19, Farrall 2001b). The discourse in TR lines 5 and 6 can be seen as linked back to the discourse expressed by Deek T. in stanza 5

(critical episode 4, *Group feedback of reactions to V11*) with reference to responses to Granddad's behaviour, in that an act has occurred which is some way 'unacceptable' and a consequent 'corrective experience' (a 'lesson to be learned') must be applied: On this conscious level, usurpation of the mirror goes some way towards ameliorating the narcissistic insult.

The scene continues with Boyfriend 1 moving to sit at the table and sitting on Child's toy, which has been left on the chair; he throws this to the floor and sweeps the contents of the table to the floor also. Field Notes (p19) and Farrall (2003b) show that at this point the inmates are tumbling over themselves to suggest thoughts and feelings; the following stanzas are edited to give the inmates' suggestions, followed by the written TR:

As Boyfriend 1 sits on the Child's toy and leaps up

Stanza 13

- 482 Davy J.: I'm gonna teach this bitch a lesson//
483 Brookes: I'm gonna teach this bitch a lesson//
484 Brookes: Feeling// Give us a feeling// (pause)
485 Davy J.: Bad tempered//
486: (unattributed) Annoyed//
487: (unattributed) Angry//
488 Brookes: Annoyed, angry//
489 Davy J.: Bad tempered//
490 Brookes: Bad tempered// Feeling of annoyance and bad temper//
(Farrall 2003b)

As Boyfriend 1 sits on the Child's toy and leaps up

- TR7 I'll teach this bitch a lesson Annoyance
TR8 What the fuck's this doing there? bad temper
(*Boyfriend 1 sweeps everything off table onto floor, grabs his jacket*)
(Field Notes p19)

The next stanza represents a truly critical point in the episode as James M. volunteers the following:

Stanza 14

- 502 James M.: He's looking for an excuse//
503 Brookes: Waiting for an excuse, looking for the excuse..
504 James M.: That was his excuse.. Yeah, he went ..he went for it//
(Farrall 2003b)

I am suggesting this passage as crucial because previously in the day, as has been expressed by Deek T. in stanza 5 above, the discourse of the inmates has represented violence as an inevitable, natural and justified thing in response to the kind of behaviour 'you can't have'. Here in line 502 and 504, James M. clearly states that Boyfriend 1 is consciously 'seeking permission' for himself to behave violently *because he wants to so behave but must justify it to himself*.

This is critical because as the Residency moves into a more individual focus on the inmates in the small group work, their discourse will often attempt to construct violence either as an unavoidable existential incident which 'just happens' in response to environmental circumstance, or as the natural and unavoidable response to or consequence of 'things you can't have', which has been expressed above.

Both serve to minimise personal choice and responsibility, whereas in stanzas 14 and 15 an assumption of *existential responsibility* for one's situation has been introduced into the developing Conversation: This has been identified as a crucial first step in therapy (Yalom 1985 1989, Ginsberg, Mann, Rotgers & Weekes 2002) and the Geese Discourse will continue to emphasise *choice, decision and personal responsibility* as the week goes on. Thus, the inmates' presentation that Boyfriend 1 *makes a conscious decision* to react aggressively and violently, and thus *could do otherwise*, no matter how he feels, is crucial.

As a brief note, these arguments may seem as though they are contradicting a core theme of the thesis, i.e. the psycho-dynamically rooted, trauma-based drivers of the embodied somato-visceral Damasian *feelings* which, being *unbearable* due to their evocation of shame guilt and humiliation, and through 'emotional logical' or 'magical thinking' power the 'fixed action patterns' of the violent response in an attempt at 'mastery', and to be returning to the kind of 'cognitive' analysis of violence as *purposive behaviour* critiqued in Chapter 2. However, readers will recall that as discussed in Chapter 2, the argument is not for an 'either/or' absolutism, but that the degree of *consciousness* of intention is crucial, and the psychodynamic aspects are underplayed in the cognitive approach.

Sapir-Whorf revisited?

Davy J.'s responses in particular are also of interest here. In stanza 13 he has associated highly abusive cognitions such as "I'm gonna teach this bitch a lesson" (line 482) to a quite weak emotion of "bad tempered". This suggests the possibility of a lack of vocabulary to describe his own emotional state, or a lack of ability to differentiate or distinguish, possibly adding weight to earlier discussions on the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis, as 'pissed off' and 'gutted' tend to be generic catch-all phrases used by offenders, the former covering all shades of anger and associated

emotions, the latter being attached to a constellation of 'sadness' feelings, though there is cross-over.

Part of the pedagogy and the 'hidden education' of the Residency relating to theory nodes 1 and 2 is therefore about development of the conceptual and literal vocabularies needed to make differentiations and attributions to facilitate a finer tuned cognitive evaluation of the physiological experience of arousal and 'decide' what emotion one is experiencing (see Chapter 2 and Schacter and Singer 1962) and thus what may be the appropriate behavioural response (see also Goleman 1996 on 'emotional intelligence').

This matters because as Damasio (1996) argues, there is a reciprocal relationship with cognitive processing of somato-visceral states predisposing to certain behavioural reactions (action tendencies) dependent on the decision reached, and being altered by the actions, i.e. behaving 'angrily' because one 'feels angry' and then 'feeling better'. Clearly, given the suggestions in this thesis of the importance of embodied somato-visceral feelings and the resultant behavioural 'fixed action patterns', helping the men to broaden their conceptual interpretive resources may be extremely important in changing their violent behaviour.

The 'tone' of Davy J.'s contributions is also noteworthy and not evident from the page; Field Notes and the audio tapes record that while Deek T. continues to be 'high energy', throwing in lines in a laughing manner, and James M. is very 'matter of fact', Davy J. appears engaged but affectively 'flat', frowning as though trying to 'make sense' of what he is seeing and the process of analysis (Field Notes p17). As the Mirror scene moves on and Daughter grabs the arm of Boyfriend 1 to prevent him leaving, Davy J. continues this engaged and thoughtful stance. In stanza 15 below, he deconstructs the 'insult' of being touched (by Daughter) and identifies that it would raise his anger levels:

(Daughter grabs arm of Boyfriend 1)

Stanza 15

547 Davy J.: Well..she's got her hands on him..

548 Guy: Right//

549 Davy J: ..and then he kind of reacts//

550 (unattributed) He wants to get even//

551 Guy: She's got her hands on him so..that's enough to ..that would push it up for you//
(Davy J nods)

552 Davy J: That would provoke him into hitting back//

553 Guy : Uh huh. That's all he would need to..

554 Davy J: That kind of provocation// (Farrall 2001b)

This discussion leads to TR lines 9 – 11:

- | | | |
|------|-------------------------------------|-----------|
| TR9 | Get your hands off me | Annoyance |
| TR10 | What do you think you're playing at | temper |
| TR11 | I'm off | |

Importantly, in the few lines above Davy J. has also opened another term in the Conversation, on the issue of 'provocation': This will also be a central theme in the Geese Discourse in coming days in negotiating the reassigning of responsibility for and control of the inmates' violent behaviour, through analysis of past examples of 'provocation'. The scene moves on:

(Daughter slaps face of Boyfriend 1)

Stanza 16

- 582 Davy J.: I'd say he [Boyfriend 1] was a bit shocked as well//
583 Brookes: And a bit shocked..
584 Davy J.: Aye, for the slap on the face//
585 (unattributed) By a whore//
586 Davy J.: Mmm aye//
587 Brookes: On a scale of 1 to 10, in terms of his anger.. where is where is he now//
588 (unattributed): Nine//
589 (unattributed): Nine//
590 Brookes: Nine//
591 Davy J.: Ten//
592 Brookes: Nine or ten// Very high anyway//

Farrall 2001b)

The discussion shown in stanza 16 leads to the writing up of the following TR lines:

(Daughter slaps face of Boyfriend 1)

- | | | |
|-------|---------------------------|-----------------------------|
| TR12 | You little bitch! | anger at <u>9 out of 10</u> |
| TR 13 | You're getting it | Fuming |
| TR 14 | I'll kill you | anger at 10 |
| TR 15 | Who do you think you are? | [desire for] revenge |
| TR16 | Big mistake! | shock |

Field Notes (p19) and the audio tapes show that the TR lines 12 - 16 are direct quotes from Davy J., the fluidity of his contributions suggesting a clear projective identification and familiarity with the *emotional* scenario presented. As stanzas 15 and 16 demonstrate, from those who

spoke, Daughter has now transgressed in a major way – possibly providing another ‘demeaning insult’ in Lazarus’s terms - and resulting anger levels are high.

Daughter’s actions are continuing to fall into the Discourse of ‘things you can’t have’ and therefore necessitate a ‘corrective’ response from Boyfriend 1 – but lines TR17 and 18 below and the subsequent exploration in stanza 19 further emphasise the crucial terms of the Conversation around *decision* and *choice*:

(BF1 twist Daughter's arm up her back)

Stanza 17

- 610 Kirkham: What's he taking into account when he's thinking these things like where shall I punch her//
611 Davy J.: She SLAPPED him//
612 Kirkham: How hard shall I punch her//
613 Davy J.: She SLAPPED him//
616 Kirkham: What decision does he make about how hard to punch her then//
617 (unattributed) Enough to teach her a lesson//
618 Kirkham: Hard enough to teach her a lesson but..
619 Davy J.. Not hard enough to kill her//
620 Ian H: Hard enough to hurt her//
621 Kirkham: Hard enough to hurt her but not hard enough to kill her//

These discussions lead to TR lines 17 – 18:

(BF1 twist Daughter's arm up her back)

TR 17 How hard shall I punch? Anger

TR 18 Where shall I punch her?

(BF1 punches Daughter in the kidneys, she falls and he turns to leave)

(Field Notes p19)

In these lines, even though attention is not drawn directly to it, Boyfriend 1 is clearly *in control* of his violence in the sense that he is making *some cognitive calculation about its intensity and effects*, and the inmates are recognising and voicing this discourse. Since Boyfriend 1 is the representative figure for them, if *he* can be in control of his violence in this way, by extension, so can they: This Discourse will obviously be developed further as the Residency and the semiotic building tasks of attempting to make certain epistemologies (i.e. the Geese epistemology of violent behaviour) more relevant than others (i.e. the inmates discourse of violence as natural and justified response) progresses.

In the final part of the scene, as Boyfriend 1 makes to leave, Daughter raises herself from the floor briefly and in stanzas 17 and 18 the themes of *purposive violence which is in the control of the individual and teaching a lesson* are further developed:

(*Daughter raises herself up and says something to Boyfriend 1*)

Stanza 18

649: (unattributed) She's getting back up again//

650: (unattributed) You've not had enough you're still shouting//

651 Alan A.: She's probably said sorry, and he's said I'll give you something to be sorry about//

655 (unattributed) He's put her down she should stay down// (Farrall 2001b)

It is possible to discern here a theme of *continuing insult*, which within it has the sense of rules (on the part of Boyfriend 1) being broken: Daughter has not 'taken her lesson' and not stayed down as she 'should'. The notion of 'rules' (and their rupture) will form another element in the Geese Discourse and play an explicit part of the cognitive paradigm or analysis presented to the men.

Davy J. continues to remain very engaged and make frequent suggestions but as stanza 19 shows these are seemingly so far from any probable reality that it again suggests a failure of intersubjectivity or a distorted inner world where Davy J. *interprets* a very broad range of actions as demeaning. Alternatively, he may simply be supplying what (as becomes clearer and clearer over the week) is the dominant aspect of his own experience: People swearing at him and behaving aggressively.

Stanza 19

661 Davy J.: [She is] Probably laughing//

662 Brookes: She could be laughing// What do other people think// Do people think she's going to be laughing at this point//

663 Alan A.: She's probably said sorry, and he's said I'll give you something to be sorry about//

664 Brookes: She could be apologising, she might be saying sorry//

665 Davy J.: She could be swearing at him//

(Farrall 2001b)

The key point here is still a probable failure of intersubjectivity as, during the week, Davy J. will seem to reveal that he has no sense of reciprocity in *why* people may swear at him and the

contribution his own behaviour may make to that. The discussions produce the closing lines of the Thinking Report.

(*Daughter raises herself up and says something to Boyfriend 1*)

TR19 She hasn't had enough if she's still shouting

Rage

TR20 Cow!

(*BF1 crosses back to Daughter, kicks her hard in the stomach and walks to door again*)

TR 21 That'll do her.

Easing off

TR22 That'll teach her

TR 23 That'll show her who's boss

4/5

(*Boyfriend 1 pauses to adjust his jacket, and leaves*)

(Field Notes p17)

Interestingly, TR19 specifies 'rage' as the 'feeling' – this can be considered to be several notches above 'angry' and 'rage' is a state often associated with the kind of unresolved traumas suggested as lying behind much violent behaviour. However, TR lines 21 to 23 above appear to show a sense of *restitution* - that the perceived insult has been appeased in some way, and equilibrium, both emotional and physiological, restored.

It is the central argument of this thesis that such behaviour as Boyfriend 1 shows towards Daughter is not just a reflection of misogynistic masculinity in our society, nor a solely 'here and now' matter of situational perception and cognition, but that the perceived insults are also resonating at a far deeper subconscious level, activating the 'fixed action patterns' and bodily sensations of Damasio and Gilligan to motivate offenders to 'put right' that unbearable, ancient trauma and insult. Brookes returns to the key themes of decision, control and choice over violence:

686 Brookes: He found the excuse// As you said, she got back up and she talked, she just – opened her mouth and that was the excuse//To go and finish off..what he started//

(Farrall 2001b)

Critical episode 8:

The Two Man Exercise & accepting Guy's challenge

The structured, whole group input continues with the *Two Man Exercise*. This is a stage exercise where two volunteers are slowly manoeuvred towards one another and the thoughts, feelings and projections concerned with social cognition, attribution and the meaning of 'personal space' are elicited from the audience throughout (see Baim, Brookes & Mountford 2003). Further details on the episode are given in Appendix A, but here we will focus on one particular aspect of interest.

Challenging resistance

The exercise illustrates a combination of 'rolling with' rather than trying to 'break down' resistance or denial in alliance with an explicit challenge to that resistance. The exercise is intended to explore the personal boundaries of the inmates – their sense of 'personal space' – and what happens when this boundary is breached.

With its clear focus on deconstructing the thoughts and feelings that may be occurring in a situation of potential conflict, a space where the transformative power of violence may be unleashed, the exercise generates some resistance (conceptualised here, from a motivational perspective, as a normal psycho-emotional defensive mechanism to the consideration of ego-dystonic matters). Mountford tries to situate the action of the *Two Man Exercise*, seeking an acknowledgment from the inmates of being in such situations as are relevant to the week, i.e. situations where there is the potential for violence.

Stanza 20

- 938 Davy J.: It's a bent bar [gay bar] they're in// (laughter)
939 Deek T.: You get a lot of them about// (laughter)
940 Guy: Is that the only time that men look at one another.. in a gay bar//
941 Darren C: Yes.. in Blackwood yes//
942 Guy: Pardon// Hold on - Wait a minute wait a minute
943 Mountford: Answer the question..answer the question//
(Farrall 2001b)

In Gee's (1999) terms, *semiotic* and *world building* tasks are colliding here: although the inmates, particularly Deek T., are using humour rather than overt or direct hostility, the effect is still to undermine the 'serious' intent of the exercise. A struggle for dominance is underway as the situated meaning of the scenario being created sways between coalescing as a potential location for examination of (heterosexual) violence and therefore being of relevance to the men present, or as a location for the culturally unsupported 'activity' of homosexuality, and therefore

(allegedly) irrelevant to the inmates. If the latter is established then the exercise literally becomes impossible because every 'action' of glance, eye contact, and distance between men, touch, etcetera must be interpreted through the epistemology of 'gay sex'. This struggle may be seen as indicating that although the Geese Discourse has moved on to presenting a paradigm of violence in a way which seems to *assume* acceptance, such an acceptance cannot be taken for granted: It remains a 'working premise' in the Conversion. Guy now continues to intervene:

Stanza 21

944 Guy: That's the only time that men look at each other, men eyeball each other, is in a gay bar//

945 (Deek T.): Nah//

946 (unattributed): Nah nah nah//

947 Guy: I don't think so//

948 (unattributed): No.. it's not//

949 Guy: No no no no no//

(Farrall 2001b2

What is crucial about this moment is that, arguably because of the degree to which the corporate relationship between 'Geese' and 'inmates' has already been successfully established, and Geese accepted as 'credible communicators' (the inmates 'knowing we know' their world) Guy is already able to *directly challenge* the 'undermining' narrative being put forward, using the *inmates' own style of discourse (humour) and have his challenge accepted*; Guy's utterances in lines 942, 944 and 947 are particularly relevant because of the '*performative nature of their embodiment originating in a live response*'.

As has been mentioned previously, the written page here is the vaguest shadow of the original rich interpersonal situation of the Residency: The 'script' of Guy's words can be uttered very dryly and rationally, but the way the language is *inhabited* by Guy is humorous, exaggerated, and has some of the quality of a gently correcting nanny knowingly catching children out in a 'fib'. Field Notes (p22) show the inmates receive the challenge as genuinely funny, rather than patronising or confrontative, and here Guy embodies both the *responsivity principle* essential to the successful therapeutic relationship (responding in the moment to the 'here and now') and the *reciprocity principle* which dictates that the major determinant of the response received by an individual is the nature and quality of their original input.

Guy also demonstrates the 'broadband' nature of the Residency: Multiple levels of response are possible and effective, with 'silly voices' and rolling eyes as effective as 'rational' challenging, because of the 'special rules' now beginning to govern the shared endeavour. Guy successfully

'rolls with the resistance' (Miller & Rollnick 1991, 2002) defusing it through humour rather than being sidetracked into a head-on (and unproductive) confrontation which could have used exactly the same words. This intervention is the beginning of the more overt challenges to the inmate group about their behaviour.

"[The Geese style] requires people to be quick, to be able to think on their feet and be able to respond in a moment to what's happeningI think it requires people to be able to ...create rapport quickly and humour" (Heywood 2003 para 42).

The reciprocity principle recast

To turn to the individual level a moment, Davy J. seems to be continuing to struggle to comprehend the concept of reciprocal interaction, as suggested by his comments in stanzas above, or the effect his behaviour can have on others. He is referring to the sequence of actions Mountford has just gone through in the *Two Man Exercise*:

Stanza 22

1024 Davy J.: That thing you were saying about the.. the reactions..

1028 Davy J.: If a guy [man A] does that in a pub [looks at someone].. the guy he's staring at [man B] thinks what am I gonna do .. go back off.. so he (man B) might go then and push him (man A) away.. and that's him (man B) intimidating him (man A) threatening him [when it was originally man A's actions which initiated the sequence]

(Farrall 2001b)

In line 1028 Davy J. seems to be seeing himself as man A. In the Introduction was mentioned the notion of multiple epistemologies around the same phenomenon. This passage provides an example of such multiplicity. In terms of the dramaturgical self, it is likely that Davy J.'s (aggressive) role behaviour (which this thesis argues has its origins in traumatic experience) has been 'calling out' the reciprocal (aggressive) role of people encountered who hold that role within *their* role repertoire.

Equally, a Chaotic analysis can be applied with regard to stanza 22, that Davy's previous behaviour has been about 'collapsing the wave form' of *possibilities* in any one situation into *certainties of interpretation and action*: As Bandura (1977a) argues "...the environment is only a potentiality until actualised by appropriate actions..." (p199). It is possible to suggest that Davy J. is suddenly coming to face with what this thesis has put forward as an inherently human characteristic of *indeterminacy*, with *multiplicity of possibility* and is struggling to tolerate the ambiguity (a defining characteristic of indeterminacy) of the situation rather than seeking

certainty – forcing a resolution to the interpersonal ‘fuzzy problem’ with which he is faced.

Alternatively, to return to our earlier definition under the consideration of cognition, *schemas* may be considered as “cognitive structures that organise experience and behaviour” (Beck 1990 p4) guiding ‘rule determined’ behaviour. The *Two Man* exercise, with its theme of generating the possibility of multiple interpretations to the ‘glance’ in the bar can be seen as an analogue to the ‘rational disputation’ of a more cognitively orientated approach – hence it is also possible to see Davy J.’s violent behaviour as rooted in a failure of ‘social cognition’ and his comments as being schema based, and that he is now struggling with a Piagetian accommodation in order to ‘adapt’ his thinking to the ‘new experience’ of the exercise or Residency.

Still on the same theme, Davy’s comments here can be seen as a reflection of Kelly’s (1955) model of personal construct theory: Kelly suggests that a person is ‘fully functioning’ when they construe the world in such a way that their predictions are validated – which raises the question of what happens if one holds hostile/aggressive construals? Within this thesis, such construals would become a ‘self fulfilling prophecy’ since a hostile embodiment and acting ‘as if the world were a dangerous place, will make it so: “...sequential analysis of the interactions of people who repeatedly become involved in interpersonal difficulties show that *anticipations shape reality in a self confirming fashion*” (Toch 1969, p187, my emphasis, see also Jennings, McGinley & Orr 1997).

Whichever epistemological interpretation is privileged, Davy J. now seems to be struggling with developing a sense of intersubjectivity to account for *his part* in what hitherto may have seemed like a series of unconnected (aggressive) incidents that have been *initiated* by the *other* person involved. The insight that *one’s bearing and embodiment might affect how people respond back to you* - or even largely determine that response - is a crucial one which Davy J. will continue to develop - and experiment with - over the week.

Episode 9

Small groups: The move to personal level work & expressions of Discourse on violence

The whole group splits down into sub-groups composed of two Geese workers, one or two staff members and three or four inmates who are asked to volunteer a situation where violence occurred and which, in their own estimation, they are responsible for, rather than occurring ‘defensively’. The aim is then to use improvisational drama in a live three-dimensional ‘walk through’ of the event in order to generate material of exactly the sort that was used in the Thinking Report of Boyfriend 1, but to fill in a real Thinking Report for the actual individual inmate participant.

This process will receive closer attention in critical episode 12, *Discourse on violence: Darren C's Thinking Report*. Here we will merely note the composition of the subgroups (see table iix) and that Field Notes (p23) record that as the sub groups began to 'get up and do' in recreating the violent offences, the energy level in the room rises. Slightly expanded consideration of the work undertaken in this episode can be found in Appendix A.

Workers	Inmates
Heywood (Geese) Kate (HMP Blackwood)	'Big' Jack T. Colin S. Darren C.
Kirkham & Guy (Geese)	Alan A. Bruce F. Gerry G. Ian H.
Brookes (Geese) Officer Blue (HMP Blackwood)	Billy D. Howard K. Deek T. Billy R.
Mountford & Nicholas (Geese) Anne (HMP Blackwood)	Davy J. Andy B. James M.

Table (iix) Composition of the sub groups

A note on terminology

Two terms which will be of use in understanding future activities in the small groups are given below:

Protagonist

The Protagonist is the person whose 'life material' is under direct focus. They remain the Protagonist, even when placed in other, 'Auxiliary' roles.

Auxiliary

This term refers to any role named by the Protagonist as being involved in the work or situation under focus. Often it will be other people who were actually present, e.g. 'the policeman' or 'Auntie Val' and the term can then be taken to refer to the person who is *playing* the Auxiliary role as well as the *role itself*. The person remains an Auxiliary, even if they at some point *play the role* of the Protagonist.

Recap: By the end of Monday

By the closure of Monday, day 1 of the Residency, Geese have delivered the first performance, raised the emotional temperature, engaged with the men through feedback exercises and introduced major concepts. The focus has shifted from the group as a whole to a more individualistic level as the work in the small groups begins and initial estimations are made. We will turn for a moment to the Geese perceptions of the men in their small groups.

Gerry G.

Gerry G., who on hearing the aim of the subgroups explained to the whole group had earlier stated "I'm not doing acting, I'm off" (Field Notes p26) is clearly enjoying the physicality of the restaged fight in the walk-through. Gerry's offence is not under focus and he is in an Auxiliary role, walking up and down laughing at Ian H., whose material is under focus and who is thus the Protagonist. In the debrief, Kirkham and Guy feel that Gerry is happy to focus on other's behaviour, but not his own: "He's very much saying at the moment 'I can't remember any of the thoughts', 'I don't know anything' - it's like he plays being stupid. He isn't." (Farrall 2001c)

While this may be regarded as 'normal' avoidance around a very serious offence - Officer Blue explains that although Gerry G. is only serving three years he was convicted of manslaughter involving Gerry and a co-defendant kicking a man to death - both Kirkham and Guy feel that there is something odd about the way Gerry is behaving:

"I just get the impression that either he wants attention - it is his first offence - there's something about it - he blanks out a lot of stuff, like he chooses to do a lot of this [demonstrates face down in hands elbows on knees] and not pay attention, and then he'll go 'Sorry what were you talking about?'... and you've got Bruce [in the group], who, I think, has got more problems [intellectually] than Gerry has, Bruce is with it. And so I can't buy it, I don't buy it, there's something wrong" (Farrall 2001c).

Field Notes record (p22) that Gerry G. has often looked rather bored or uninterested, but in a way which seems calculated to communicate 'boredom' rather than genuinely being bored, just as his 'nonchalance' prior to the performance of *V/1* seemed rather 'obvious', and Guy notes further:

"It's like he wants you to say 'Gerry, pay attention', it's like he wants you get on his case all the time, I don't know, there's something about him... I wonder why he's here really, that's just my question, in fact I might ask him that tomorrow actually - why are you here? Because - you don't seem to - you'll do it but you don't seem to engage with it - so why have you chosen to do this week?"(Farrall 2001c).

Gerry's 'odd' behaviour is to continue over the next few days and possible explanations for it gradually begin to emerge.

Darren C.

In Heywood's group, her immediate impression of Darren is that he too is at this stage minimising his disclosure: "Darren was quite quiet.... he didn't really say that much". Officer Blue, who is obviously much more familiar with Darren supports this view "Darren will play his cards close to his chest, he wont disclose till other people have disclosed, he'll be last in the bunch" (Farrall 2001c).

Interestingly, Heywood notes that in fact Darren volunteered first for the walk though reconstruction of his offence, although relating an incident of football hooliganism where he was not at fault and was defending himself in circumstances of attack by the 'other side'. Heywood:

"... he was volunteering something about when somebody else tried to stab *him* and he had to get the knife off him and kill him, or you know, football grounds where somebody else started it" (Farrall 2001c).

This combination of admission of being involved in violence but denial of responsibility for it is the start of a pattern for Darren C. over the week and a common feature of the inmates' discourse: in the same small group, asked by Geese for a violent incident 'where you initiated it', Big Jack the cook comes up with an incident where he 'pushed' his co-defendant who had allegedly grassed on him (informed on him, Field Notes p25), a context where violence would again be seen as a legitimate response to 'things you can't have'. Later in the chapter (critical episode 12) we will consider specific examples of Darren's use of discourse to exculpate himself from responsibility for his violent behaviour.

Colin S.

In the same group Colin S. is being cooperative, helpful, doing as asked in the reconstructions with Darren C. and his other group members and Heywood feels that thus far he appears to be a 'standard' violent offender "...somebody looked at my girlfriend wrong - so I smacked him" (Farrall 2001c), a feeling supported by Kate, the staff member in the group. Heywood: "I would think [he will be] quite good to work with, and it seems it's all on the surface there [he] quite easily trips himself up..." although she and Kate note that Colin too is "...a bit resistant to say what he thought" (Farrall 2001c). Colin will continue to engage and will one of the three men to go into the Corrida on the Friday.

Deek T.

Over in a corner Deek T., in a group with three other very quiet inmates and led by Brookes and Officer Blue, volunteers a scene around being unjustly accused of not paying his bus fare. In the debrief, Brookes concludes that:

"I think we're sort of at the stage where he says 'Well of course there were loads of choices I could have taken and I chose to carry on', but that's not sort of in any way *internalised*. And he spat very unpleasantly which started the whole thing off with the bus driver, but he doesn't recognise it in any way as a violent act. [He saw it as] funny." (Farrall 2001c).

Other Geese and staff members are also feeling that many of Deek T.'s contributions over the morning were meant to be jokes as Kirkham and Brookes describe: (Kirkham) "Yes I was standing next to him during one of the games, and he was doing that all through the name game, these 'funnies', that just were not [funny]". Brookes notes:

"He made the comment about 'He went back and kicked her because she got up' [in the TR for Boyfriend 1, see above] - and I went 'so she should have stayed down' - and I think that was meant to be a funny thing, and because I took it seriously he suddenly backed down" (Farrall 2001c)

Officer Blue supports the analysis of Deek T. as a joker but insists that "All the way through - the morning - all the way through that - piece of drama - he was - connected. He didn't wander - at all. And there is a mother - father thing in there somewhere" (Farrall 2001c). Deek T. seems at once both less open and less resistant than some other members of the group: In quantum terms he remains indefinable as either a waveform or a particle, an indeterminate position he will continue to occupy for the duration of the Residency.

Davy J.

In the final group led by Mountford, Field Notes record that Davy J, James M. and Andy B. all appeared to be engaged and thinking, sitting forward in their chairs, elbows on thighs (p23). Mountford describes his perception of Davy J.:

"Davy J. worked remarkably well - he was very honest. He's Scottish and we got very early on an incident where he'd been walking down the street in Glasgow and he got into a disagreement with a security guard who called him a protestant bastard because he was wearing a Rangers shirt. But it was all very clear there'd been a lot of lead - up, he'd been in the pub and drinking and he had a bottle in his hand and he decided twenty minutes before this if anything happened, he was gonna kick off, so - he was looking for trouble" (Farrall 2001c)

This assessment of Davy J. is born out by later events as he continues to make efforts and enters the Corrida on Friday. Specific reference has been made above under critical episode 8, *The Two Man exercise* to connections Davy seems to be making in terms of understanding his part in interpersonal interactions, and the concept of reciprocity: As the week continues, Davy J. will make some of the most obvious changes in trying out a 'new me'. As Nicholas concludes, Davy J. "....strikes me as somebody that wants to do something about it". (Farrall 2001c)

Andy B.

Andy B. is also perceived as interested and engaged.

Blue: I can't disclose something about Andy..but about 5 or 6 weeks ago.. something major happened to him that that really frightened him.. and it partly explains his violent behaviour.. in this sentence.. but it was .. this event ..was earth shattering for him?? And caused him to re-visit his life.. and he didn't like what he saw//

Nicholas: I think of all the ones in our group he was the one most sort of .. jarred by .. by the storytelling thing of his own situation//

Kirkham: But he also got very emotional feeding back after [VI1]// He identified with the woman didn't he.. he said// And what she was surrounded by// (Farrall 2001c)

Andy B. too will eventually go on to enter the Corrida.

James M.

The final member of the group, James M. also seems willing to discuss matters of violence but seems less able to comprehend the notion of change, as Mountford and Nicholas describe: (Mountford) "[He has a] catalogue of violence, a lot of pub situations, knives and bottles the lot. 'But it's a jungle out there'". Nicholas:

"But there was a bit of this thing like 'the world we live in' - there was a bit of that 'OK yeah - this is the world that we live in - not you cos you know you're not - criminals - but it's the reality of it if you were to come over into our world"

James M. has a long prison history and a role as an 'old lag' who knows the system well and is comfortable within it, preferring relations between prisoners and officers (as described below) to be 'civil'. As the week progresses he does not make the energy jump from one quantum state to another as some of the other men do, instead acknowledging a point to the Geese Discourse but being unable to quite believe in it enough for the magic to work, perhaps being changed by the week, but untransformed.

Looking ahead

Tuesday, the second day of the Residency, will see the use of a major Geese technique and metaphor, that of the mask, in a different way to the full-mask work already seen. The focus will shift briefly (and powerfully) to a consideration of the victims of violence and work will continue in the small groups, at the individual level as Geese continue to develop and present a Discourse of responsibility and choice, and the inmates respond.

Tuesday

During The Tuesday of the Residency, we will see:

- The introduction of key Geese metaphors around masks and 'front'
- Further attempts to approach the level of personal relevancy for the inmates in small group work
- The introduction of further elements of the cognitive models used: The Thought Wheel and the Inner Man
- An attempt to 'bring the victim into the room' by considering effects of violence on the victims

When the inmates enter the Chapel for the second day, there is an immediate and obvious change in the space: The set of *VI1* has gone. In *critical episode 1, Prologue*, we considered the ways in which the set formed part of the *semiotic* and *world-building* tasks underway in the Conversation and helped render the Geese Discourse relevant by connoting a *political building* task and the 'social goods' of Geese's power to transform the space: It was suggested that this transformative act was also a destabilising of the prison Discourse of fixity and stasis and a further contribution to establishing the Geese Discourse of potentiality. The set was also embodying the initial separation of the Conversational 'sides', a division which throughout the rest of the day was made more fluid, culminating with the *Two Man Exercise* in two inmates leaving the audience literally to come on stage.

Now that the set has gone, what difference (if any) does this make to the Conversation? Paradoxically, the *absence* of the set can be argued to support the transformational power of 'Geese just as its *presence* previously did: Geese initially transformed the space; now they have transformed it again, maintaining the dynamic of fluidity and change, of potentiality. Although the stone walls of the Chapel do not move, the dynamic architecture of the Residency is in constant flux. The *absence* of the set is also representative of the growing move by the inmates into the aesthetic space where there is room for the creation of their self-narratives and 'dramaturgical selves'. The bulk of the days work will be in small groups scattered across the whole space, with no liminality between 'actors' and 'audience'.

Episode 10

Games In the morning

The distinctions and functions of 'games as games' were discussed at length under *episode 6* in Appendix A. Again, no critical data arises from the game here, *Anyone Who...* and it is not processed as a metaphor in the way described in the Appendix, or linked to offending behaviour. It is a fast physical exercise where people must swap chairs if they share a similarity stated by a

person in the middle of the circle, who does not have a chair, such as (a real example) "anyone who had porridge for breakfast". Further brief discussion can be found in Appendix A.

Critical episode 11

The mimed offence & related activity

Critical episode 11 is an extended passage in the Residency: Here we will select only certain elements from it for analysis and note where other, additional material is available in Appendix A.

The introduction of half-mask

Appendix A contains a general discussion of a key Geese metaphor: The mask. Readers should note that the following section on masks relates to *half-masks*: These are, as described previously, masks where only the upper portion of the face is hidden, leaving the lower jaw and chin free; this means that unlike in the full masks of V/1 where the actor cannot speak, a half-mask is designed to allow verbal interaction.

The Mimed Offence

The mimed offence is, as its name suggests, a silent scene on an empty (apart from a chair) stage. It is played by one Geese actor wearing half-mask. In an attempt to promote identification with the character a name (Tony) and age are elicited from the inmates. In the following 45 seconds the Tony character (played by Geese member Mountford) acts out a 'mimed offence' (see Baim, Brookes & Mountford 2002) walking into a bar and ordering a drink, checking who is around, and putting fifty pence down on a pool table to reserve his 'go'. An argument then starts and Tony seizes a pool cue, attacks a couple of people, kicking one while he is on the ground, throws the cue down and exits.

The scene is very much 'rough theatre' (Brook 1966) with no nicety of mime exactitude, like all Geese theatre work, subordinating the art *form* to its *purpose* as a vehicle for examining offending behaviour. Using the same technique as for the *Mirror scene*, again encouraging projection and establishing the co-constructed narrative, Mountford walks through the mimed offence again while I periodically freeze it and elicit from the inmates what they see.

Stanza 24

'Tony' nods at someone at the bar

- 32 Farrall: So what is this nod about// Is this a friendly All right mate how are you doing..or
is it not// What could it be//
- 33 Ian H.: Ahh .. it's maybe ..what the fuck are you looking at//
- 34 Deek T.: Might speak to somebody as well//

35 Farrall: So he could be coming in and just wanting to speak to somebody..
36 James M.: How you doing sort of thing.. caught the other feller's eyes an 'how you doing//'
37 Ian H: He could be maybe.. like.. 'what are you looking at//'
38 Farrall: So it could be how you doing mate// or it could be what are you looking at..
already//
39 Ian H: Yeah//
40 Farrall: What were you saying Deek T.//
41 Deek T.: Well basically that's what Tony says .. what's that prick looking at//
(Farrall 2001d)

The analysis in stanza 24 seem to recapitulate some of the themes of the *Two Man Exercise* from yesterday, expressed by Davy J. in stanza 22: The reciprocity in that Tony's reactions can play a large part in the reactions he gets back, and that there can be ambiguity or multiplicity in the possible meaning of a look, a glance a nod. In the following stanza 31 there may also be evidence of a shift in discourse:

Stanza 25

82 Farrall: There's a game of pool and somebody's got on[the table] in front of [the Tony character] .. how does he react to that//
83 James M.: Violent//
84 Farrall: What does he do specifically//
85: James M.: Attack//
(Farrall 2001d)

There is no attempt by James M. (or any other of the inmates) at representing 'Tony's' violent behaviour as anything other than 'violent' (line 83) or as justified: Instead the use of the word 'attack' in line 85 shifts the locus of control back to Tony and away from his environment; he is constructed not as *reacting* but as *initiating*. This may seem a minor point but it is another link in the chain of the Geese Discourse of self-responsibility and choice which began to be introduced with the Thinking Report for Boyfriend 1 and the *Mirror Scene* replay in *critical episode 7*.

Of the men under (intermittent) scrutiny, James M. seems to be willing to contribute in a way that is not oppositional to the Geese Discourse, while Deek T.'s contributions are still suggesting a very easily accessed 'violent' discourse (see line 41 for example). The transcripts show that Gerry G. does not contribute verbally at all, and Andy B. and Colin S. are also quiet. The Mimed Offence concludes and Field Notes (p30) show that Davy J. comes back in to the Chapel at this point, of his own volition. No one from the Residency has sought him out back on the wing. This decision to return to the Residency instead of being blocked from participation in the collective

by his individual anger and frustration is described by Officer Blue as "...a very positive sign ... usually he just sulks in his cell or bites your head off" (Farrall 2001f).

The Fragment Masks

The Fragment masks are:

- Fist
- Brick Wall
- Mr. Cool
- Good Guy (or Angel)
- Mouth (or Bullshit)
- Joker
- Poor Me

(See Appendix H for photographs of the Fragments and Chapter 4, The Research Project, for further description). As a brief recap, each mask is a half mask, so the actor can still speak while wearing it and each "...symbolise[s] a prominent strategy - or fragment of behaviour - [they represent] key self-protective strategies..." (Baim, Brookes & Mountford 2002, p184). This imagery is echoed by Burzynski & Osinski (1979) who suggest "In conventionalised daily life, in life which is a battlefield, man... armed himself... this armoury... consists of masks, a collection of conventions which have stifled what is spontaneous in us" (p108) and by Boal in his theory of the 'encrustation of the mechanical upon the organic' (1992).

The exercise revolves around the Geese actor being able to rapidly and spontaneously use the masks *in a manner illustrating the nature of the specific behaviour or defence*, in live improvised dialogue with the inmates. See Appendix A for further discussion of these specialised half masks. Readers should note that the tone of the utterances from the Fist mask, mostly undetectable on the written page, is extremely confrontational, angry and aggressive. Just as the tone of the Fist masks utterances is not easily detectable on the page, so Davy J.'s tone is not: It is however remarkable mild and conversational as (in stanza 26) Davy J. challenges the Fist mask, not in a reciprocally aggressive manner but calmly and quite respectfully:

Stanza 26

133 FIST: You don't know who I am. You don't know ANYTHING about me//

134 Davy J.: Don't you think there's anything better you can do//

135 FIST: What//

136 Davy J.: Don't you think there's anything you can do.. something better than resorting to violence// (Farrall 2001d)

Davy's discourse is noteworthy: 'Resorting' is a word far more congruent with the Geese Discourse of potential, choice and self responsibility than the discourse of 'natural response' which has been expressed previously, as is defining Tony's behaviour as 'violence' rather than a response to something 'you can't have'.

As Mountford moves on to use the Poor Me mask, Colin S. laughs and shakes his head in a way which suggests self-recognition, while Davy J. is now watching and listening intently (Field Notes p30) as the Poor Me develops a narrative of self-exculpation. Again Davy J. challenges explicitly:

Stanza 27

- 149 Poor Me: Well [the violence is] not my fault is it//
150 Davy J.: Don't you think you're better just walking away//
151 Poor Me: If you walk away somebody's gonna have you aren't they with a ..
152 Davy J.: Not necessarily//
153 Poor Me: Well they do where I come from anyway// I don't know about you, maybe YOU
can walk away from somebody pal.. you know.. but where I came from you can'
t do that// Not and be safe.. I mean there's fucking guns out there//
154 Davy J.: Still got the option to walk away.. 'stead of stabbing or shit//

(Farrall 2001d)

The Residency seems to have reached the stage where rather than Geese Theatre always taking on the function, the inmates can now *themselves* begin to *challenge* their own behaviour 'at one remove' rather than just *identify* it, and Davy J. has voiced a sentiment which of course would be supported by Geese Theatre and which is clearly closer to their Discourse. Additionally, Davy is generating *alternatives* for the Tony character as opposed to suggesting the narrative of the violent 'inner world' of the representative stage character. Davy J., a member of the inmate's own peer group and a man who carries on his face the clear evidence of a serious violent incident appears to be making his way deeper into the Borderland discourse which is emergent between the inmates and the Residency. Davy continues to take the opportunity to challenge the Fist:

Stanza 28

- 167 FIST: Look..I TOLD YOU.. you don't fucking listen to what I'm saying// I'm in the pub
right – I'm in the pub .. you know .. I'm minding my own business having a drink
.. and these three wankers over here..- my fifty pees on the fucking table they're
taking the piss .. what am I supposed to do//
169 Davy J: There you go .. you're getting angry and violent .. you don't want .. the truth //

171 FIST: (shouting) I DON'T GET ANGRY//
171 SJ: You just did// (laughter) The truth hurts huh//
(Farrall 2001d)

In terms of the dramaturgical self and of role, if the self is "the sum and swarm of participations in social life" (Bruner 1990, p107) then the *embodiment* of Davy's participations is different to the norm here: Wittgenstein points out that bodies and minds *inhabit* language and Davy's *performance* here can be seen as following Nagel's (1986) point that "If we are required to do certain things, then we are required to be the kinds of people who will do these things" (p191). In Morenian terms Davy J. may be 'trying out' a *psychodramatic* role (defined as the 'personification of imagined things') that could be named as 'reasonable man' or 'rational responder' or 'man who keeps his temper'.

Officer Blue has previously described Davy J. in the following terms: "He has one major failing... he goes about challenging folk all the time, and it rolls off the end of his tongue like God Bless You...he's the one that might start mouthing at other people" (Farrall 2001c). Given such a description, Davy's behaviour here may be significant in terms of the recognition of reciprocity: Although Davy's tone is still a little confrontational, (as opposed to aggressive) he may be seen as exploring the possibility of being *non-reciprocal* in the face of aggression. By the end of the day he will have demonstrated an observable degree of shift in the habitual or usual persona he shows, or will have 'lifted the mask' considerably.

At the conclusion of the Fragment masks performance there is spontaneous applause (Field Notes p31). This is the first time this has happened so far and is worth noticing as a sign that the collaborative, performative theatre Discourse is gaining ground.

Processing the Fragment Masks

Brookes now leads the processing, meaning that mask by mask she invites the men to clarify what the Fragment mask represents for them, what behaviours, thoughts, feelings, utterances might be associated with them. See Appendix A for discussion of this.

Interlude: 'Folks can get on'

During the morning coffee break I am in conversation with James M. and a particular friend of his in the group, Billy D. Billy volunteers that he prefers talking (as opposed to fighting) prison Officers, and being on first name terms, rather than it being "...cons versus screws" and James concurs: "It's more civil that way." (Field Notes p33). As the conversation progresses it becomes clear that there is a discourse at work, with James claiming "I keep myself to myself. I'm not a hard man" (Field Notes p33).

In terms of *connection building*, this is a link back to the work done in *critical episode 5, Accessing the mask of Boyfriend 1*, and the inmates' perceptions of that character as a 'hard man' – but James M. is referring back to *distance* himself from the role, not to claim it. He attempts to reinforce this 'not hard man' role by telling how he recently spent time on the Block (the segregation unit) because his cell was spun (searched) and a knife found, of which he disclaims all knowledge. James M. notes that: "...when you come back from the Block, the cons treat you like a hard man - 'don't mess with him'...you sense it" but he is again clear to state that "I'm not like that" (Field Notes p33).

Arguably, this discourse is appearing from James M. at this point because the Residency is succeeding in re-construing the meaning of behaviours with which James is very familiar and comfortable in seeing in a particular way, so that the role of 'hard man' or 'violent man', now reconstrued, holds some discomfiture or lack of role congruency – certainly (as was probably always the case) some ambivalence. James M. seems to be feeling the need to 'inoculate' himself (Potter 1996) against claims that the role lies within his role repertoire as judged by his record: ("I've been coming into prison since [19]76" Field Notes p33). His fellow inmates become 'the cons' and '*they* treat you' as a hard man, which is in itself purely a side effect of being sent to the Block for something about which you knew nothing (the knife).

This apparent role discrepancy has motivational potential. However, it has been mentioned above that James also holds the role of 'old lag' in terms of comfort with and fitting into the prison institution. He may be experiencing some role discomfiture but he has not crossed so far into the Borderland as to be approaching Geese territory (as compared to the ways Davy J. seems to be moving). In the coffee break discussion he agrees that "most violence" is "not necessary" (Field Notes p33) and while this is a discourse holding a transformative potential within it, from violence as justified action to 'mostly' not necessary and therefore unjustified, he still feels that "... sometimes there's no choice but to be violent" (Field Notes p33) a recapitulation of the 'natural response' discourse. However, when one is thus 'forced' to be violent, receive a consequence and enter prison one is still not a 'hard man' because it is better to be 'civil' and on first name terms with Officers.

Over the coming days, James M. will continue to engage with the residency Discourse and wind his way through the Borderland, but eventually be unable to leave behind his familiar 'civil old lag' role within the institution he knows so well and unable to take the step to a role with far greater potential, though arguably less comfort.

Critical episode 12

Return to the small groups and discourse on violence – Darren C.’s Thinking Report

The following has been selected as a critical episode because:

- Of the direct evidence it presents of the discourse of a particular man
- The discourse elicited may be seen as fairly representative of the group as a whole
- The move is into the direct personal level of relevance for the men

The aim for the rest of the morning is to continue with the ‘walk throughs’ of offences and to get a more filled out Thinking Report. I have joined the group led by Heywood, now containing only Colin S. and Darren C., as Jack T. (the previous third group member), has decided to quit the Residency. The following section here in Chapter 6 will focus on the Discourse of Darren C.’s TR; readers can find expanded material on the theoretical links to memory in Appendix A under *episode 12 (see Misty Watercolour Memories)*.

Discourse in action: Darren’s bar fight

We will not spend time on recounting in detail the drama-based process of the walk though by which the Thinking Report is gained, as the mechanisms are explored at length in critical episode 14, *Return to the Thinking Reports*, focussing on Colin S.’s walk though, but move instead to a consideration of the Discourse exemplified by it.

In the analysis of critical episode 2, *Introductions and Contracts*, above, reference was made to two types of ‘grammar’: G1 being the familiar ‘set of units’ of verbs, nouns etcetera and G2 the ‘rules’ by which G1 is used to create patterns which signal ‘whos-doing-what’s-within-Discourses’ (see Gee 1999). This is part of the central theoretical strand of this thesis that language, rather than simply relaying information from a speaker to a listener has an *action orientation* which presents and constitutes reality (both ‘saying’ and ‘doing’ Austin 1962), usually from the perspective of a particular participant’s concerns or interests – their ‘stake’ (Edwards and Potter 1996).

The construction of meaning thus becomes a joint activity, as ‘conversation’ can never be divorced from its social context, and through G1 speakers ‘design’ their utterances to have patterns “...in virtue of which interpreters can attribute situated identities and specific activities to us...” (Gee 1999 p29). Examples considered so far have been articulated by Deek T. in his feedback to V11 about the types of violence ‘you can’t have’ and legitimate violent responses, and James M.’s assertion that although it is better to have things ‘civil’ sometimes there is no choice but violence.

Wittgenstein (1958) notes that a word's meaning is highly dependent upon the 'staging' of its social context, and the following utterances should be read as set in or against a context of the Residency Conversation where common, habitual or repeated behaviours represented as 'natural' by their perpetrators but considered reprehensible and criminal by wider society are being examined or challenged. The set up to the small group work specifically is that the inmates have been asked to provide an example of violent behaviour *for which they are willing to take responsibility for initiating* in order that it can be deconstructed in terms of the Geese analysis already partially presented – i.e. a matrix of thoughts feelings and behaviour set amid choices – rather than the 'natural' model proposed by the inmates.

Thus, the demand characteristics of the situation imply that Darren C. (as a representative of one side of the Conversation) is likely to 'design' his utterance to construct a particular reality to render his 'stake' legitimate and which can be used to mitigate against the self responsibility and choice which is a core part of the Geese Discourse.

The bar fight

In Appendix A there is an expanded account of how the process of the walk through links to theory node 2 concerning emotion and memory. As a brief outline here, in this incident Darren recounts a fight where he is initially verbally abused in a bar, then 'attacked' outside by several men and he 'bottles' one of them, (effectively stabbing the man with a broken bottle) resulting in a clearly serious injury. In stanza 29 the one line of Darren's initial utterance on the incident has been broken down into sub parts for analysis.

Stanza 29

- 1 There was these three guys in a bar//
- 2 I was playing pool.. an a *fight started*//
- 3 I bottled one of them and the others run//
- 4 ..this guy says don't fucking call me mate you prick//

(Farrall 2001d)

Firstly, the utterance is quite neutral in verbal tone: Line 1 is a simple statement with no hint of context – i.e. as an example of Darren's violent behaviour. In line 2 there is an assertion of two activities, one legitimate – Darren playing pool – and the other (within the context) illegitimate: 'a fight started'. There is no connection between Darren in the first part of the line and the disembodied or decontextualised activity in the second: It is presented as nothing to do with him. Line 3 again presents a simple statement – 'I bottled him' – which *elides* progress from the first activity of playing pool into the second activity of 'a fight': Darren has become involved with no process of so doing.

Line 4 is also interesting in that Darren does not even lay particular stress on these words. The overall effect is to render the interaction extremely prosaic, and, reflecting Darren's 'stake', turn it into simply 'what happened' as an environmental event, even though he has offered it as an example of violent behaviour 'where he was responsible'.

Saliency & trauma: "Don't fucking call me 'mate' you prick"

Violent incidents are also likely to have a high degree of affective arousal and there is some evidence for such a quality contributing to recall. However, we will consider the arguments for this in more depth when we come to the Corridas on Friday, where it may be more appropriate. Here we will consider the notion of *saliency*, which we have previously met while discussing personal relevance in the presentation of 'at one remove' work such as *V/1* and the *Mirror scene*. Saliency of an event may be a more important factor for vivid recall than high emotionality: Wagenaar (1986) found that whilst high levels of emotional involvement were involved with vivid recall, high salience or rarity seemed to be even more relevant (Pillemer, Goldsmith, Panter & White 1988).

As Darren continues his recountation, it becomes clear that chronologically the specific insult referred to in line 4 occurs quite late on in the actual timeline of the incident, after Darren has been in the bar and had time to begin playing pool; yet he refers to it in his opening statement. The 'summary' nature of lines 1 to 3 as a description of past events also give line 4 the quality or role of being an 'explainer' for the events – the *casus belli*.

This may be because it represents the most painful 'demeaning insult' element or because it provides an immediate mitigating factor for Darren's subsequent violence in that someone else is being 'out of order' and behaving in a way 'you can't have'. In Darren's account, the *salient-for-him* features of the encounter lend support to Gilligan's interpretation of violence as rooted in trauma, the 'demeaning insult' which, this thesis suggests, can activate unbearable feelings rooted in previous infantile or childhood traumatic experience and about which something must immediately be done by the person experiencing them. As Darren describes the incident:

- 113 I asked this guy to move.. y'know for the shot [to avoid accidentally hitting the man with the pool cue] and he says..don't fucking call me mate you prick// I didn't do nothing cos there was four of em.. y'know//
(Farrall 2001d)

The comment would also seem to fit the notion of being a trigger for the 'fixed action pattern' cited by Gilligan (2000) and rooted in shame - here the feelings aroused by being spoken to abusively. The aversive motivational power of this comment is shown by the next lines

Stanza 30

114 Farrall: If he was alone, would you have hit him//

115 Darren C.: (pause) Aye probably//

(Farrall 2001d)

However, Darren describes that on *initially* entering the bar:

123 I walked in with my bird.. and they all looked at me.. I thought 'have I got horns on my head'// I felt... you know..intimidated//

(Farrall 2001d)

Arguably, line 123 again supports the Gilligan notion, since we have no idea whether anyone did actually look at Darren, or *how* they may have looked at him - but whatever the 'reality' of the situation, Darren seems to have experienced the perception of being looked at as somehow emotionally painful, a 'demeaning insult'. Again, this can also be catered for within a cognitive frame work of 'faulty' social perception, and indeed Darren appears to be 'thinking' all though his account, including sending his girlfriend away because he thinks there is going to be trouble and arming himself with a bottle before leaving the bar. In line 7 of the TR, when questioned as to whether he deliberately took the bottle Darren goes as far as to acknowledge he 'probably' did.

Justified action: "If he dies, it's his fucking fault"

The Discourse of violence as justified action and natural response has been considered above. In this Thinking Report, Darren too attempts to exculpate himself from responsibility for his actions by the account he offers of the violence. From the second he walks into the bar the patrons are characterised as people who 'look at you' in a way which makes you feel 'intimidated' (see line 123 above). They clearly offer 'unprovoked' abuse (TR line 3) to which Darren responds reasonably by telling his girlfriend he is worried and that they should leave. As he is preparing to leave, Darren then recounts support for his version by claiming that the barman warns him

146 The barman..he said to me they stick together up here//

This assertion provides a single mitigating component (Wetherall & Potter 1989) for the incident: The causal context was the sticking together of the local inhabitants, implying an unreasoning response based on tribal loyalties of which any given 'outsider' (including Darren) would have fallen foul. Darren thus removes his 'self' in that this incident could (and indeed would) have happened to anyone not from 'round here': The notion of unprovoked victimisation is further reinforced. The fact that this statement supposedly comes from some one who could be

expected to support the local situation - the local barman - further emphasises the unreasonableness of the opponents in the story.

As mentioned, Darren admits he 'probably' thought of taking a beer bottle as a weapon, which he uses to devastating effect on one of the men who confront him outside. Leaving the man bleeding heavily from the ribs after being stabbed, Davy is clear that:

I hope he doesn't die but if he does it's his fucking fault (TR line 13)
(Field Notes p38)

In a sense, this is another version of the 'not hard man' role asserted by James M. in the morning coffee break (see *interlude: Folks can get on*) the pattern presented is that Darren is clearly not the sort of man who hopes that others will die, even when he has been insulted without provocation and 'forced' to defend himself.

In this Thinking Report, even though recounting an incident which if prosecuted would probably be regarded as a serious assault or attempted murder, Darren manages to place the locus of responsibility far from himself: This suggests that at this stage of the Residency, though he can feel the pull of the Geese Discourse, he is working defensively to construct a self to which it does not apply. He is not a 'hard man' or someone who is violent, because he does not initiate any of the incidents that he experiences, and thus he cannot reasonably be expected to change his behaviour. The quality of the discourse in this Thinking Report is very different to that of Colin S. and Davy J., who we shall consider shortly.

Walking in aesthetic space

Interestingly, the walk through described above represents only a limited return to the Boalian aesthetic space mentioned earlier (see Appendix A for an expanded discussion of this aspect), since although the space is dichotomic (in the sense that two 'spaces', the Chapel and the bar where Darren's fight occurred 'exist' in the same place at the same time) and the space exhibits the characteristic of plasticity where anything can happen (though this potentiality is much more in the foreground during the Corridas), the walk through is not necessarily fulfilling the key criteria of 'stimulating learning by experience': The purpose of the walk throughs is to gather information which can then be used as stimulus for debate and analysis.

With the walk throughs, we are still in the ontological domain of 'roughly what did happen' rather than the full 'surplus reality' realm of 'what has not happened'. The 'learning by experience' element is much more present during the more free-form improvisational drama work to come on the Thursday of the Residency, when the focus is on preparation and testing out, rather than information gathering (though this remains a subsidiary role).

Episode 13

The Victim Lazzi: Consideration of effects on one's own victims

A 'lazzi' is a term taken from the Italian theatre form of Commedia del'Arte and in its original context denotes a short dramatic scene that is emblematic of a major theme or concern. The Victim Lazzi in the Residency is played in half masks and features four 'characters'. Two are present on stage: An old man (signified by a walking stick); and a young man. A third 'character' (played by me) is not really 'present' but functions to give vocalisation to two 'voices' in the younger man's head, which Geese name to themselves as 'Father' and 'School bully'. In Boalian therapeutic terms these would be 'cops in the head' (Boal 1995). The scene shows a serious violent assault, and the inmates are then asked to consider the victims they themselves have created through their violence. Further details can be found in Appendix A.

Critical episode 14

Small groups: Colin S. & Davy J. - Return to the Thinking Reports

This thesis has suggested an understanding of violence as a phenomenon with trauma, shame and humiliation at its core, originating in predominantly early experience and which creates a distorted inner world that then influences and shapes behaviour. In the theory, the 'feelings' (in the sense of embodied somato-visceral sensations) associated with this inner world are stimulated by environmental triggers which are in some way (through 'magical thinking') associated with the original traumatic experience. These feelings are unbearable when experienced and are a major driver to the 'fixed action patterns' resulting in violent behaviour.

While maintaining that traumatic experience of some sort is involved in virtually all sustained and repetitive criminal violent behaviour, and accepting that this emphasis on the psychodynamic and affective is a major point of difference with other, more cognitive-behavioural programmes aimed at reducing violent behaviour, this thesis also accepts that traumatic experience is only part of a holistic 'constellation' which also includes '... learned behaviours ... and conscious cognition' (see Chapter 2).

The following material has been selected as a critical moment therefore because

- Darren C.'s Thinking Report (given above) illustrates the 'insulting' nature of much stimulus to violence, but arguably serves as an exculpatory attempt by himself to avoid responsibility, thus avoiding much material that may be relevant to analysis within the proposed model
- By contrast, Davy J. and Colin S. both provide Thinking Reports based on an acceptance of the Geese Theatre premise that there will have been incidents of violence

which could reasonably be interpreted as the responsibility of the individual concerned and which could have been avoided

- Conversely Davy J. and Colin S's TRs exemplify ways in which they do not fit the model proposed in this thesis
- The Thinking Reports therefore provide much data of relevance to this thesis
- The two TRs concerned were developed chronologically after the work on the Victim Lazzi and so provide a further sense of process and the time dimension

Before we turn to the analysis of the Thinking reports of these two men there is one final piece of conceptual hardware to be introduced in relation to it: The Thought Wheel (see figure ix).

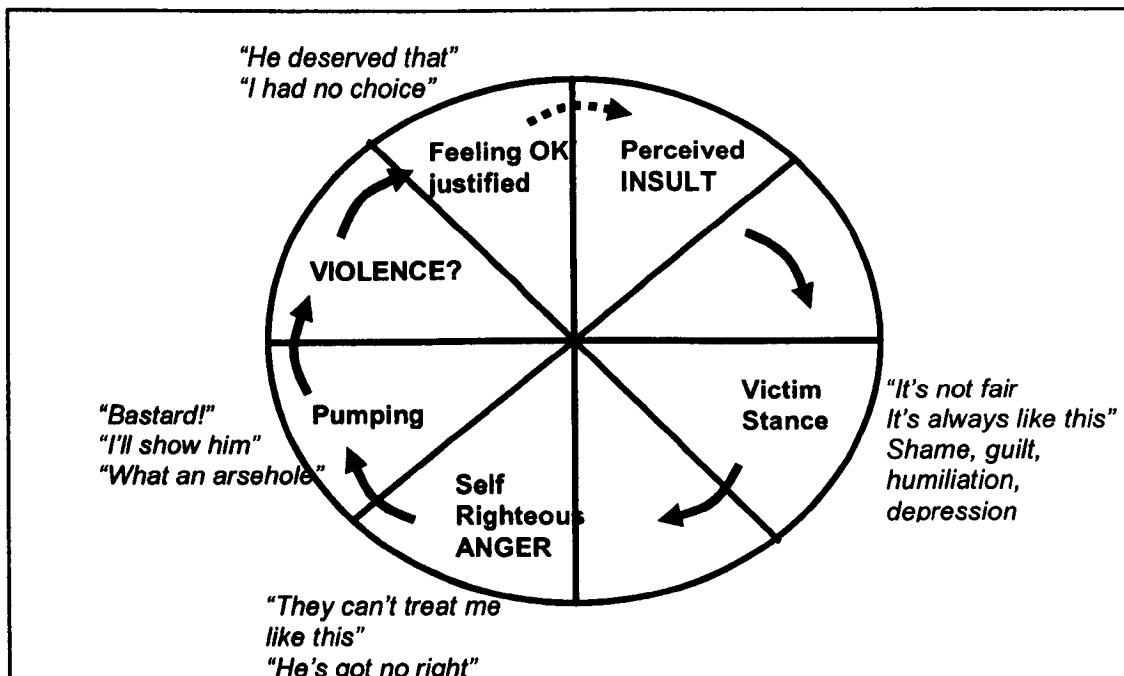


Figure (ix) The Thought Wheel

The Thought Wheel (see also Baim, Brookes & Mountford 2002, p115) is a concretisation of an explicitly cyclical model of violent behaviour. It is similar to the kind of cycles associated with sexual offending (e.g. Finkelhor 1984) and suggested in the cycle of 'anti-social logic' from the Cognitive Self Change Programme (see Atrill 1999, and Chapter 2) but in the context of violent offending here is focussed on a specific incident and short period of time from (in the frame of this thesis and in Geese terminology) *insult* (environmental event triggering fixed action patterns rooted in experience of trauma) to *injury* (consequent violent behaviour).

From figure (ix) readers will see that the Thought Wheel represents a process beginning with Perceived Insult, moving to Victim Stance (which in this thesis is understood as not just a

cognitive experience, but an affective experience connected to re-stimulation of earlier trauma or abuse), followed by Self Righteous Anger (as a reaction to the aversive experience of Victim Stance) followed by 'pumping' thoughts to reinforce the anger and then finally the violent act. After this is postulated a period of homeostasis before the next triggering incident.

The purpose of the Thought Wheel is to provide a cognitive model, a metaphor, to further clarify the notion of process and cycle in the behaviour of the men: As Robinson states "...cognitive therapy...is probably deemed the most successful therapy" (Robinson 2003, para 15) an observation supported by the thrust of the accredited programmes initiative. The model can also serve as a thinking tool to counter an expressed (possibly phenomenologically truthful) perception on the part of the men that 'it just happened' (part of a Discourse of violence as 'environmental event') rather than there being a cognitive process of thoughts and decision making – and hence in the Geese Discourse, personal responsibility - involved. At least for hostile aggression, if the men can accept that a violent action is the end point in a chain of thinking and feeling, however brief, they will be more aware of the possibility of 'switching the points' so that the train of their impulse does not reach its violent destination.

Davy J: The man in the iron mask

Davy J.'s TR provides a perspective on the concepts of role and dramaturgical self which we have been considering in this thesis and on Davy's habitual demeanour (his 'iron mask' and the increasingly divergent role and 'social self' he is presenting in the Residency. In addition, there is material relevant to the idea of *reciprocal roles*, with one role 'calling out' another, particular role in response (theory node 4). Davy's Thinking Report will be presented below and then deconstructed in analysis. Readers should remember that the process of gaining the report is an active, drama based 'walkthrough' rather than a purely static verbal account.

THINKING REPORT FOR DAVY J.

Situation:

Me and my mate Kevin had gone out for a few beers. I thought It's the last drink - I'll have a bottle instead of a pint. Toolled up - lots of people in town - fun time". We were walking down Union Street and a security guard was outside of McDonald's fast food restaurant and said things to me which I got angry about. After a heated exchange of words I went off my head and I attacked the security guard with a broken beer bottle and slashed him on the face and gave him a good kicking in and really hurt him.

THOUGHTS	FEELINGS
1) I'm gonna kill this fucking fool	raging, mad 10/10
2) Who does this idiot think he is?	pissed off 7/10
3) I'm gonna teach this arsehole a lesson	provoked 8/10
4) Who's he calling a protestant Orange bastard?	angry 8/10
5) What have I done to upset this guy I've never seen him in my life	a bit confused 5/10
6) fun time	I'll end up pissed out of my head 9/10
7) If anyone says/does anything I'm ready	tooled up w. a weapon angry 8/10
8) When I sobered up and realised what I had done to this guy I was shocked	a feeling of guilt/ remorse 8/10
9) Why do I resort to violence and go totally crazy?	
10) There are times when I resort to violence I feel I am superman and I am bullet proof and stab proof	cocky/arrogant 10/10
11) I feel I am invincible when I get violent or attack someone with a weapon.	violent, cocky 10/10

This incident took place in Glasgow, a town known for its religiously based sectarianism expressed through football and a clear triggering event 'insult' is offered to Davy J. by a shop guard who allegedly called out 'Hey you Protestant cunt' or similar, because Davy J. was wearing a Rangers football shirt. Line TR 5 demonstrates a 'victim stance' thought, but Davy J. was prepared for the event before it happened - his decision to take a bottle out after his 'last

'drink' was the result of what might be described as a violent 'Boy Scout' ethic, which this thesis suggest is based in both adult existential 'life world' experience and in earlier psychodynamic roots.

Another important element here is Davy J.'s *embodiment*. It has been suggested in this thesis that the person and the social context cannot be separated out one from the other and that the self is essentially a product of our 'social matrix', distributed across a 'relational and social field' (see Chapter 2), with this dynamic social experience reflecting and partially defined by our biological embodiment, which in turn affects the judgments we make regarding ourselves and others, and they us. Within the terms of this thesis, Davy J. is inhabiting a particular, latently or potentially aggressive role which has the effect of 'calling out' its reciprocal role - the aggression of the shop guard.

Readers should be aware that the 'live' Davy J, rather than the shadow presented here, is a very muscular man with a habitual scowl, and bearing a fierce bottle or knife scar across his face; the earlier discussion about the effects on victims of their scarring has clearly demonstrated the assumptions made and messages given by such a scar, on such a man. Thus, the image of Davy J. as constrained within the 'iron mask' of his own face.

In the TR incident, this all combines to produce extremely violent behaviour, yet in his account of it, Davy is not attempting any of the exculpatory manoeuvres used by Darren C., and takes responsibility for his actions, admitting to regret and remorse - emotions which are out of step with any discourse of 'justified action'. Further, although it is the most difficult aspect to recreate between these pages, there is a growing difference between the Davy J. of this report and the Davy J. who we are experiencing in the Residency.

In role terms, the Geese Theatre approach and the collectively held role of 'curious and respectful explorer' is 'calling out' a reciprocal role in Davy J. which is quite different to his usual role, as Officer Blue attests: "[You are taking] the time to listen to him. In the jail the opinion is that Davy [J] is an arsehole - and most of the time - he *is* an arsehole. You listened to him. It's *that little*" (Field Notes p47).

Davy J.'s self-presentation is undergoing an observable shift, as his reaction to the warm up exercise following the Victim lazzi demonstrates. The exercise is the *Knot*, where a circle of people create a tangled 'knot' of linked arms which they must then undo as far as the knot will go (see Baim, Brookes & Mountford 2002 p 94). I am in the circle, and Nicholas who is facilitating asks me to drop out for ease of numbers. Davy J. responds with "Oh, go on, let him join in" (Field Notes p32).

Though this may be a slightly clumsy attempt at social intercourse, it is undeniably (in the moment) a humorous attempt at *connection*: A marked difference from the embodied Discourse of separation and aggression which Davy J. appears to inhabit normally, and which it has been suggested his comments in the preceding exercises demonstrate he may be reconsidering.

This process can be seen as an example of a *world building task*: Through his engagement with the Residency and the Geese Discourse (not just the exploring of thinking and feeling but the experiential *being different* of the games) Davy is moving through the Borderland discourse in creation and possibly heading for a different psychological and emotional 'world'. As Watson notes "(The Residency) attempts to show *the possibility of a different role and what that might be like* and ... does that in a very focused way." (Watson 2003 para 59 my emphasis).

Thus, the *situated meanings* (question 5) attached to Davy, his (present and past) behaviour seem to be being renegotiated and shifting, in flux. As the week progresses, Davy will maintain this trajectory so that by the time of my interview with him on Saturday he will be able to say:

Davy J.: "... a lot of people said yesterday they've seen a big change in me.
Even the staff said that.... They say "you're not aggressive, you're not badmouthed us, you're quite polite". There have been a few instances where I've let off steam [but rather than be aggressive] I've just walked away and just screamed."

Farrall: "So do you think because you're being less aggressive and less mouthy, people are being nicer back to you, which means that then you can be nicer back to them?"

Davy J.: "Yeah"

(Farrall 2001q)

Colin S: Another Turn of The Wheel

The following Thinking Report for Colin S. was also gained over the course of Tuesday afternoon. It is reproduced in full below.

THINKING REPORT for Colin S.

[Walking though town] speeding on amphetamines. Five minutes previously had assaulted a shop security guard, now sees 100 yards away a copper sitting on a girl. Walk toward him, tap shoulder, "Get the fuck off". Cop stands up, Colin [5' 8" tall] head butts the police man [serious assault with large lump of wood follows].

THOUGHTS	FEELINGS
[on seeing girl and police man]	
1 Bingo!	
2 He's bullying her - I want to do him	
3 No-one around to stop me - I'll do him in good	angry justified
4 I hope he goes for me first (tap him)	angry, ready
5 (cop stands) He's gonna have a go - good - that'll make me angry enough to hit him	adrenaline, fear, scowling but calm
(Head butt)	
(sees 6 - 10 feet away a piece of wood being used to lay cobbles. Picks it up)	
6 That's for the rest of Manchester police	excited
(3 - 4 hits with the wood)	loving it
7 I want to see heaps of blood	
(kicking in head, jumping on head)	intend to kill
- grabbed by guards from nearby shops	

RULES

Police keep out of my way - or get punched
Anyone who tries to stop me gets it.

Analysing the Thinking Report

The first interesting point about Colin's TR as opposed to Davy J.s (or even Darren C.'s, above) is that it does not fit the model in that there does not seem to be a *conscious thought* marinaded with 'victim stance' emotion and feeling. Instead, on encountering the triggering event (seeing the policeman arresting the woman) Colin seems to jump immediately to self righteous, justificatory anger, with a clear statement of intent:

TR2 He's bullying her - I want to do him

angry

justified

TR3 No-one around to stop me - I'll do him in good

This is accompanied by clear cognitions which (similar to *Boyfriend 1*) are 'looking for an excuse', such as lines 4 and 5

TR4 I hope he goes for me first (tap him)

angry

ready

TR5 (cop stands) He's gonna have a go - good - that'll make me angry enough to hit him

adrenaline

fear

In the group discussions around the incident Colin is very clear that his assault is so serious (see TR line 7) that had he not been stopped, he could be facing a murder charge (Field Notes p32).

With Colin, it is as though the Victim Stance were a constant, generalised affective state, a backdrop, not a specific thought as may be the case in line 5 of Davy J's TR. Instead, for Colin it is as if this feeling of being 'victim' were the paper on which the rest of the Wheel is written, rather than being a specific section. This sense is confirmed later by Brookes who says exactly this after reading the TR: "It's sort of there all the time isn't it? The insult is sort of all-pervading, rather than being a specific thing..." (Field Notes p46).

This would appear to link to theory nodes 1 on unity of cognition and affect, node 2 on emotion and memory, and to be support for an interpretation based on Gilligan (2000) and Lazarus (1991) and the psychodynamic elements of this thesis: Colin cannot abide the actions of the officer (arresting the woman), however justified they may be and directed at someone else. What follows can be interpreted as a clear example of the psychic defence mechanism of *projection*: Within the frame of this thesis, Colin is likely to be 'carrying around' anxiety-provoking negative emotions and memories (both conscious and unconscious) toward a (posited) original 'bad' internal object, experiences rooted in infantile trauma.

His behaviour towards the police officer can be seen as an example of such *feelings* (in the Damasian sense) being unconsciously directed outwards, thus making the unpleasant feelings/emotions 'safer' as they appear to originate from a persecutory, hostile or threatening figure in the outer world – in this case, the police – and capable of being 'mastered' through the violent action.

In the small group discussing the situation Colin states "I saw them from a long way off – I just went straight toward them and *there was no way I could let him do that*" (Farrall 2001e). Field

Notes (p33) record that Colin is 'emphatic' and his gaze has 'gone inside', indicating a high degree of emotion. Within the model suggested by this thesis, the sight of the officer arresting the woman links directly to Colin's own experiences of trauma and victimisation (TR2 He's bullying her - I want to do him), creating a psychic parallel between the experience of the woman and himself – an intersubjectivity of a sort.

Through *magical thinking* Colin then somehow 'puts right' the original trauma suffered, by his beating up of the policeman, but is 'really' taking action against the earlier figures who have traumatised and humiliated him – thus the action taken is entirely disproportionate to what is rationally required for the stated 'purpose' of stopping the officer arresting the woman. Colin is so busy attacking the officer that he does not notice the pursuing security guards who apprehend him. The difficulty of course is that this is not a 'once and for all' solution, since the original trauma has not been resolved, and thus Colin is likely to repeat the sequence when he next encounters a trigger for the traumatic 'reactivation'.

Conversely, it could be argued that Colin's response is one directed purely at the police: A conditioned response, originating in social learning, to a group who have victimised him (see TR6 That's for the rest of Manchester police). However, Colin's violent responses are not limited only to the police (he has come straight from assaulting a shop guard) and the question arises of how the police first became involved with Colin, plus (as will become clear from work done with Colin on Thursday of the Residency) his feelings toward the police go well beyond a 'rational' dislike.

Episode 15

Finishing Tuesday: The Wheel and Inner Man

The afternoon closes with the introduction of two more concepts: The Inner Man and the Thought Wheel. Further details are included in Appendix A because:

- The models exemplify the 'cognitive' dimension to the work
- Their usage is a site of difference of opinion amongst the Geese themselves

An Update on the men in focus

Prior to a final summary of the day and an introduction to the work of Wednesday of the Residency we will turn briefly to an update on the men under particular focus, as we did at the close of Monday.

Gerry G.

I had observed earlier, on the walk though of Ian H. during Monday afternoon that Gerry seemed to be "enjoying the physicality" during the walk through. Guy comments on Gerry's conduct:

Stanza 31

- 124 Guy: Ian H. and Bruce F. were both into it. When Ian was down on the ground when his hands were down, he was *right there* and Gerry was coming up and stepping on his... I just saw [Gerry's] foot moving out the corner of my eye ..
- 125 Kirkham: He's a sly one that //
- 129 Farrall: Hang on you mean Gerry was doing a sneaky and standing on [Ian's] hands, it wasn't part of the walk through//
- 130 Guy: No no, everyone's standing and he was going like this (makes crushing rocking motion with foot) on his foot – on [Ian's] hand with his foot//

(Farrall 2001f)

This observation would indicate that Gerry, unlike other men, is continuing to not engage with the Residency – but observations by other staff might suggest a different interpretation. In the exercise on effects on victims Kate (a member of prison staff) noted the following:

Stanza 32

- 149 Kate: ... both Ian H. and Bruce F. were.. were struggling [to name how they felt about what they had done] .. and it was Gerry who said "shame" and that was right.. that's what it was//
- 153 Blue: I think he [Gerry G.] was really embarrassed about.. I think he felt that he was the only one who was going to have to sit here and say that he'd killed somebody//
- 155/157 Ann: What I noticed was .. cos I was at next to him .. remember when James M. was saying about how he had .. stabbed his best mate.. and .. Gerry's head went down a bit - remember// Cos [James M.] was really struggling with the feelings bit cos it was a friend and the family sort of forgave him afterwards.. Gerry's head was going down a bit.. so I did speak to him at coffee time to see if he .. to say are you alright// And he just .. this sort of grin came up and I thought .. now that didn't seem to go alongside how he was.. so it was obvious his front had come straight back in// But he dropped it momentarily// (Farrall 2001f)

Contrary to earlier comments, this would indicate that Gerry is *not* floating above the reach of the Residency, or managing to hold himself entirely apart from the Discourse - but as noted previously, though Gerry's offence involved the death of a man, he received a relatively light charge and a short sentence, and the offence is not one of a series of convictions for violence. As Kirkham and Brookes note:

Stanza 33

- 144 Kirkham: Yeah - I just - I'm not convinced - that he's ready for this ...
- 146 Brookes: If he doesn't give a bit it's just going to become more and more and more

uncomfortable for him isn't it? (Farrall 2001f).

In fact, Gerry will not return to the Residency on Wednesday morning.

Darren C.

In the previous day's debrief, Officer Blue had opined that Darren would 'keep his cards close to his chest', and that is exactly, at this point, what Darren seems to be doing:

Stanza 34

- 27 Heywood: Again very quiet.. not really doing anything.. he didn't do his homework.. he didn't tell us about his girlfriend ringing up and taking an overdose [information supplied by Officer Blue] he obviously chose not to do that ..
- 28 Farrall: He also didn't say anything when we asked very specifically do you use violence inside for gains// He just said Oh no I wouldn't tax.. I wouldn't do any of that//
- 29 Heywood: That's what Colin S. said.. they both specifically denied doing that. (Farrall 2001f).

The significance of line 27 is that the doing of 'out of hours' work for the Residency is often diagnostic of commitment, with men who are on the same wings frequently grouping together to help one another – Darren C. is obviously not doing this. Also, his failure to inform us of a traumatic event such as his girlfriend overdosing indicates a lack of trust in Geese – which, given the demands of the Residency, is also likely to be problematic. Line 29 is interesting in that while Colin (see below) appears to be engaging and cooperating, clearly this is not total disclosure and honesty, as Officer Blue has informed us that both Colin S. and Darren C. do indeed take part in 'taxing' - extorting from other inmates minor valuables such as cigarettes, by threat of violence. Darren has however at least acknowledged one of his most used tactics:

- 36: Heywood: "He admitted to using a Brickwall (mask), and he's done one TR where, you know, three people were going to beat the shit out of him so he sort of kind of joined in [the bar fight] - but the other stuff - he's trying to evade everything - just sort of coasting along, at the moment..." (Farrall 2001f).

Darren will continue to keep his distance for the rest of the Residency, although he will make a strangely emotional claim for his participation, right at the end of the week.

Colin S.

As noted immediately above, Colin appears to be engaging very well, if concealing a certain amount of very local (to the prison) nefarious activity.

Stanza 35

- 11 Heywood: Perfect TR - loads of Rules - very clear – beats the shit out of coppers

- 14 Farrall: Policemen - 'no way could I ever let them say turn out your pockets' - so he's going to have to do it [commit another offence] again, soon as he gets out.
- 16 Heywood: Really really enjoys [the violence] actually -
- 18 Heywood: Very clear, he's got to make a choice. Oh he's thinking, yeah. He understood the wheel and he saw how this lot fitted in so - good, good to work with.
- (Farrall 2001f).

Colin will continue to work well and will enter the Corrida on Friday.

Deek T.

Deek T.'s relationship to the Residency is summed up in the one statement:

- 292 Brookes: "Deek T.! I dunno, I think both Officer Blue and I feel that the way forward with him is actually just to try and do some real solid victim empathy work because he just does not have - seem to have any sense of other people really." (Farrall 2001f).

Empathy is not a word that has featured much in this thesis to this point. It can be defined as "The power of understanding and imaginatively entering into another person's feelings" (Collins 1985). As such it is more than just intersubjectivity, or more specific, and violent behaviour (up to and including war) could arguably be seen as stemming from a failure of empathy, since if we *really* understood on a emotional level what our behaviour would (physically and emotionally) *feel like* to another, it would be impossible to behave in an oppressive or abusive manner. Thus, if Deek T. could be aided to gain some appreciation of the effects of his behaviour on others and *feel it*, Brookes' contention is that his behaviour would alter. Unfortunately Deek T. will give little sign of such progress over the week.

Davy J.

Davy is being perceived very positively at this stage.

Stanza 36

- 304 Mountford: At the moment, last two days, I think I'm getting quite optimistic about him. He's working very hard, he's contributing very well, and out of our group if I was going to think of someone I'd like to do the Corrida at the moment it would be him. I think he would be prime Corrida material.
- 305 Kirkham: He seems to be making a lot of clicks [moments of understanding or comprehension] he was very clear when I was talking through the Wheel and Inner Man... (Farrall 2001f)

Officer Blue notes that Davy J. may be making gains beyond the purely cognitive:

316 Blue: "I'm hoping in a week, amongst a group of other prisoners, that he'll conduct himself in a way that's different to the way he conducts himself as soon as he steps through these doors here. Because he's finding that he doesn't have to go around [pulls aggressive face and makes aggressive noises] which is what he does all the time out there. And this is actually - this is quite major because he's now part of the group - and he can behave differently, he doesn't have to go around saying 'I'll rip your fucking face off' meaning its a joke." (Farrall 2001f).

Blue's comment above would seem to indicate support for the preceding analysis of Davy J. in these pages: That he is beginning to understand the concept of reciprocity and his part in interactions and that he has, in the Residency, found a 'potential space' where he can literally experience being a 'new man' and try out new roles in safety.

Andy B.

Stanza 37

52 Heywood: ...well he's just come into the group.. he's quite quiet.. so we haven't done the TR with him.. but he did talk about his masks and he did say that he used the Joker mask but he said he doesn't use it any more//
53 Blue: That's true..aye//
54 Heywood: And he said he used you know.. Brickwall, Fist - and a bit of Cool.
55 Officer Blue: Aye he does use a bit of Cool//
63 Farrall: With Colin on [self created rules about] the police.. Andy B. said very clearly .. Yes I thought that too.. all coppers are bastards.. I'd never turn my pockets out .. I've moved on from that, [now I understand] it's his job, he's got the law on his side, I have to do it and then I'm on my way//.
64 Heywood: So he did challenge Colin//
(Farrall 2001f)

The above exchange would indicate that Andy B – who, as has been said is not a frequent violent offender but has recently committed a spate of violent attacks in the prison – is none the less engaging with the Residency, and is not the same as either Colin S. or Davy J. in terms of his violent responses. Lines 63 and 64 also demonstrate a unique quality of groupwork, in that peer challenge is possible, and indeed is the aim, rather than (in this instance) Geese being the one's to continually challenge.

James M.

The feeling at this stage of the Residency is that James M. has entered the Borderland Discourse but is not necessarily going anywhere, as opposed, for example, to Davy J. who is actively exploring, as Nicholas notes:

"After we did the [Victim Lazzi] I had a chat with [James M.] afterwards cos he sort of said 'How are we supposed to know how they feel?' 'These are difficult questions' and he came on with the 'We're in prison, there are other prisoners here and we have to walk back out there, so we can't answer those questions'. I went to talk to him about... the stabbing [he had committed on his brother] and he said 'Well stabbing and violence are a part of our world', he's very much got that attitude.... " (Farrall 2001f).

James will remain in the Borderland for the rest of the Residency, and even seem to acknowledge that 'the other side' exists and may be worth striving for, but will ultimately retrace his steps to familiar territory.

Recap: By the end of the second day

By the end of Tuesday, the Residency has reached a significant stage. Almost all of the conceptual 'thinking tools' that will be used – Cues and Triggers, Thinking Reports, the Wheel, Inner Man - have been introduced and the notion of a *process* in violent behaviour been put forward and from here on in the process will be to elaborate and build upon this material.

The day has also seen the move from a generalised, 'at a distance' consideration of the issue of violence to a much more emotionally loaded and direct personal focus, strongly raising issues of personal responsibility and harm caused. This Heathcotian move from the universal to the particular will continue over the coming days, reaching its culmination in the Corrida where, it will be suggested that, an intensely specific, individualised and particular experience for each of the men who enter the Corrida will have universal significance for those witnessing it.

Before the culmination of the week on Friday remain two crowded days of work: Tomorrow, Wednesday, the focus will move from a consideration of *if* there is something about violent behaviour to change, to looking at *how* to change it.

Wednesday

Introduction to the day

I have now joined the group led by Heywood. It has lost one member, Jack T., one of the prison cooks. Officer Blue's comment on this withdrawal is as follows:

8 Blue: Aye. He saw what was coming - and wasn't going to own up. Basically.
(Farrall 2001f).

This may be taken as another indication of the difficulty of the subject matter for the men involved, and also that the trajectory of the Residency is clear: (In Raynsford's words) "...we are going to talk about violence... Whatever they try and do we are always going to bring it back to the issues" (Raynsford 2003, para 138). There is also an interesting coda to Jim's departure, as will be discussed in the material on Wednesday. The loss of Jack T. means that Andy B. has 'transferred in' to even up numbers, so all three of the eventual Corrida men – Davy J., Colin S. and Andy B. – are in the one group.

Wednesday will see a shift from analysis of past behaviour into a consideration of the possibility of change: The morning will be taken up with performance of the *Violent Illusion Part II*, followed by feedback and the familiar model of analysis of a replayed scene and construction of the 'inner monologue' or 'thought tracking' (Neelands 1990) as with the Boyfriend 1 character from xi.

We will then look at demonstrating and exploring some 'cognitive interventions' or 'anger reducers' to change or control behaviour once violently aroused, using a scene in a pub as stimulus. The afternoon will be spent in small groups, completing Thinking Report or trying to put those reports onto the format of the Thought Wheel.

Episode 16

Chronicling change: *The Violent Illusion Part II*

Before the performance we hear of the withdrawal of two inmates, Jack T. and Gerry G. Discussion of some interesting aspects around this can be found in Appendix A, as can further details concerning the performance of *The Violent Illusion Part II*, which features a man returning home after a lengthy prison sentence for violence. It is played in full mask, but there are a number of taped 'interior monologues' from the Mum and Dad characters. Various Geese members identify that *VI/2* is a much less emotionally loaded and far more pragmatic piece than *The Violent Illusion Part I*: "VI/2 is starting to look at the processes of change and what change means.... The effect is much more practical" (Raynsford 2003, para 76).

Critical episode 17

Feedback of reactions to *The Violent Illusion Part II*

Material in Appendix A considers the re-appearance of the 'woman-blaming' strand of the inmates' Discourse, and the possible links to the 'demeaning insult' in another form, that of infidelity. The material here in Chapter 6 focuses on the further development of the central Geese themes of choice, and personal responsibility.

Dad's best efforts

Geese reactions identify that V/2 has a very 'practical' function, to begin modelling some of the possible 'interventions' involved in changing violent behaviour. We should not forget that the key aspect of the feedback centres on what the inmates make of Dad's efforts to change: On how he manages to *not* become violent, and what is the general meaning of the fantasy rages in the taped TR sections. This aspect is brought to the fore as Brookes clarifies that the taped Thinking Reports in the show were a monologue in Dad's head, and focuses on the aspects of them that are exactly about him calming himself down. James M. continues to demonstrate that cognitively he 'understands' exactly what is going on:

Stanza 38

- 737 James M. He's wanting to.. they're [the family] making him feel like that and he's wanting to lash out.. to.. to make himself feel better//
- 738Brookes What did he say to himself//
- 739 James M. He was winding himself up..then he says no, it's not like that and he kept calm//
(Farrall 2001g)

This identification of 'self talk' is a common feature of cognitive-behavioural work (and may be called 'automatic thoughts' or similar), and the general concept has been reputedly raised by Geese, though the Mirror scene replay on Monday and the construction of Boyfriend 1's TR, with the identification of his 'looking for an excuse', to the individual Thinking Reports completed by the men. Development of a 'positive self talk' will feature heavily in the skills development work undertaken by many men during the Residency, in a process paralleling the Vygotskyean concept of developing external dialogue before it is internalised as cognition.

The theme of Dad taking an active part in controlling himself is picked up on by Brookes and elaborated. As mentioned, both *The Violent Illusion* Parts 1 and 2 have images that reveal themselves during the shows, as the 'wallpaper' rotates (See Appendix I and J). As part of the overall 'visual representational system' (O'Connor & Seymour 1995) of the week these images are intended to allow one more level of exploration or expression, as projective devices, and

thus one particular image is subjected to scrutiny: The image of Geese call 'Man in a Can' (see Appendix J):

Stanza 39

1005 Brookes: What do you.. d'you think this is about.. when he kind of moves backward to here// (Indicating the panel).

1006 Billy D: He's under pressure//

1007 Brookes: Right//

1008 James M.: He's trying to not.. blow up. He's controlling himself//

1009 Howard S: He feels trapped//

(Farrall 2001g)

Goleman (1996) argues that "art... is the medium of the unconscious. The emotional brain is highly attuned to symbolic meanings and to the mode Freud called the "primary process": The messages of metaphor, story, myths, the arts." (p209). The use of such images – even while not fully exploited and used far less than the drama methodologies – is another reminder of the artistic nature of the Residency, and the multivalency at its heart, since what could be more relative than what an individual thinks of a painting?

In terms of the Geese Discourse, both this critical moment and the subsequent action in episode 17 next to be considered (the Thinking Report developed by the group for Dad) form part of the on-going *connection building task*: Question 16 asks *what sort of connections are being made within and across utterances and across large stretches of the interaction?* VI2 is a connection back to the opening phrases of the Conversation on Monday morning, discussed in stanza 3, above:

Stanza 3

1: Yes it does say 'I will not hit anyone'..

2: that's because this week is about violence,

3: that's what we're here to look at

(Farrall 2001a)

Having 'looked' at violence in terms of its horror and lack of justification (VI1) and its effects on others (the victim work) we are now considering it in terms of 'how do we change it'. Question 11 asks *what relationships and identities, with their concomitant knowledges and beliefs, seem to be relevant?* Through the showing of VI2, Geese are 'rendering relevant' an identity for the inmates that might be termed 'person wanting to change', by acting 'as if' thg159

at is the case (as well it seems to be for some of the men). Thus, one can argue that the concomitant 'knowledges and beliefs' which seem to be relevant are about 'things can be different', 'my violence is my responsibility' and 'I have a choice'.

Critical episode 18

Replay of *Silent Rage* Scene & construction of group Thinking Report

Following the model established with *V/1* on Monday, Geese now replay one of the scenes from the performance in order to generate a Thinking Report. In the case of *V/2*, the focus is the final scene of the show, where there is no taped monologue for Dad. The cast again walk through the scene, in masks, as Brookes stops and starts it to gain the Thinking Report from the men.

THINKING REPORT FOR *Silent Rage* Scene

THOUGHTS	FEELINGS
(as Dad discloses Daughter's stash of dope)	
TR1 That's taken the attention off me!	tense/guilty
(as Mum continues to challenge Dad over the missing bills money)	
TR2 Why isn't she blaming her?	
(Dad mimes punching & assaulting Mum & daughter)	
TR3 He is not part of it!	
(Dad moves aggressively toward Son but stops himself)	
TR4 He's my favourite	
TR5 I'm just as guilty.	
(As Dad backs toward the Man in a Can image on the backdrops)	
TR6 I'm sorry	Guilt
(As Dad out hands toward Mum from the panel)	
TR7 I've got to accept the guilt	
(As Dad moves back toward the table)	
TR8 Lets get it sorted	Helpless

(As Dad sits again at the table)

Analysis of the Thinking Report for Silent Rage Scene

If the earlier Thinking Report generated by the group for the *Mirror scene* from *VII* espoused a discourse of narcissistic insult, primary fear of loss and violence as justified response (even though this discourse contained discrepancies), the Thinking Report for the silent rage scene can be seen as very different. Readers should remember that within the frame of this thesis, Dad is a figure of projective identification for the inmates, and so the suggested TR can be seen as a representation of their internal or phantasy world.

Line 2 (TR2 Why isn't she blaming her?) still suggests a narcissistic injury, and can be construed as a 'victim stance' thought in terms of the model proposed for the Thought Wheel, but line 3 following (TR3 He is not part of it!) suggest at least a partial ability to make distinctions of attribution and remain 'reality based', responding to the 'here and now' situation, rather than falling into the transferential, trauma based 'rage' suggested by this thesis.

From this point on, the interior monologue generated for Dad clearly suggests that the inmates are proposing (or acknowledging) 'guilt' and presumably shame, as opposed to 'anger', as the dominant emotional tone: Lines TR5 5 and TR6 I'm sorry.

Lines TR5 (I'm just as guilty) and TR7 (I've got to accept the guilt) are potentially very significant in terms of

- A continuing shift in inmate discourse
- The establishing of an internal locus of control
- The development of intersubjectivity and reciprocity
- The theme of personal responsibility

Previously, the inmate discourse in terms of violence has been very much of a *lack* of responsibility: Davy J. has stood out for the taking of responsibility in his TR, while other case study men such as Deek T., Darren C. and James M. have all, in various ways, expressed a discourse of exculpation, and of justification, as considered earlier. Lines TR5 and TR7 are the absolute opposite of such a stance.

Further, if there is 'guilt' to be 'accepted', this implies that previous actions have been under the control of the individual concerned – after all, one cannot be guilty for something that was not under one's control, thus arguably, this is an expression of an acceptance of an internal locus of control, which is again in opposition to previously expressed discourse on the 'environmental' and 'reactive' nature of violent behaviour.

The final stated emotion is 'helpless', which is again interesting as an admission of vulnerability. Again possibly suggestive of a growing sense of security within the Residency that it is 'OK' to express such things, as the inmates could still be supplying a monologue which expresses justification, power, anger – such as with Boyfriend 1 in *VI1*. It is possible to argue that the stage action of the scene predisposes towards certain types of suggested monologue – so it is difficult for inmates to suggest, for example, a line such as 'It's all your fault, you bitch' – but is equally possible to argue that if the inmates were not at least involved in the Geese Discourse, they could blithely ignore the action and project whatever they want onto the dramatic stimulus.

The paucity of emotional expression when compared to the *Mirror Scene Thinking Report* is also of interest. It is a commonplace of work with inmates (or offenders generally) that their emotional vocabulary is often restricted to two categories: 'Gutted', signifying all manner of disappointments, hurts, let downs, sadness etcetera and 'pissed off' which covers all manner of irritation, dissatisfaction, anger, rage etcetera. As has been suggested, it is likely that the life experiences of the inmates have indeed left them with a restricted emotional range: Or at the least an inability or difficulty in 'staying with' some of the more aversive or ego-dystonic affective arousal states without translating them immediately into a more familiar or 'comfortable' (even if ultimately problematic) response of anger and its associated behaviour of aggression or violence.

Following Best (1992) that to describe a concept, there would have to be pre-existing language from which to form the concepts to create the description, and taking note of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis that our linguistic resources (and hence our conceptual repertoire) are environmentally determined to a large extent, it is possible to argue, following Goleman (1996) that the *emotional* environment of these men has been so restricted as to limit their emotional experience and their development of language to describe the concepts. Thus the lack of expressive emotional descriptions in the Silent Rage TR, because (following Wittgenstein) the *action and intent* of Dad is clearly recognisable to the men, but its domain is that of the change and the 'coming state' with which they are less familiar, hence less able to express or describe.

Statement of Intent: Let's get this sorted

The final line of the Thinking Report (TR8 *Let's get it sorted*) can be interpreted as emblematic of the entire Residency: It is a reference to joint effort and reciprocity; it is relational rather than individualistic (*Let us get it sorted*). Readers should not forget that a key theme of the model presented here is that the group nature of the Residency – especially concerning the witnessing in the Corridas – is crucial.

Secondly, the line can be seen as an admission of something needing to be 'sorted': If one accepts the Chaotic interpretation that the Residency as a whole can be seen in its smallest elements, then this one line, given to Dad by the inmate group, can be seen as an expression of intent of the whole group, even while accepting that the Borderland Discourse is still fluid and the Conversation still under way. However, the 'direction' of movement through the Borderland discourse is not easily predictable (a point relating to the overall theoretical claim of this thesis that human beings are essentially Chaotic 'complex systems', with indeterminacy as a defining characteristic, see Chapter 1 and Chapter 2).

Using two of our men under focus as examples, Brookes states that

"... in terms of the group that I was working with... [Deek] loves his drugs and has no intention of changing for quite a while, he sort of - loves the culture [of violence]. I saw him get more jokey, more disparaging of the process... because he got scared, is he going to have to do this? Is he going to have to do the Corrida? His mask is firmly down and he doesn't want to change." (Brookes 2003 para 100-101).

By contrast, Heywood notes with regard to Darren C.

"... he was really struggling and he really wanted to go with it ...but couldn't quite let himself... and I saw him going from disparaging to more serious, more focused in as the week progressed. But it wasn't long enough" (Heywood 2003 para 128).

Finally, in another 'Chaotic' echo, the notion of TR line 8 being a 'statement of intent' is a foreshadowing of work later in the week for the Corridas when men will be asked to write a 'Declaration' of what exactly they are 'doing here' on the Residency.

Episode 19

Developing awareness: Physical Cues & Triggers

The exercise is not 'at one remove', using character, but specifically targeted at the inmates and their own subjective arousal: In Geese terminology their physical 'cues' and 'triggers'. The intention is to increase cognitive and self- (physical) awareness as a beginning of control over behavioural responses to such arousal. Details of this episode can be found in Appendix A.

Episode 20

Skills modelling in the pub scene – failure to connect

The intention is to show a scene set in a pub, where a violent offender (played by me) is out with his girlfriend. Two Geese members play men laughing at the bar nearby: This laughter is intended to represent the 'demeaning insult' which the hypersensitivity of the inmates means can

occur virtually anywhere. Another Geese actor provides an *ex tempore* spoken inner monologue for my character (a kind of real time living Thinking Report), as with the 'past voices' in the Victim lazzi: The audience thus gets to hear my character's 'thoughts' and his attempts at cognitive self-regulation.

The scene shows an improvised sequence:

- Firstly, without intervention, resulting in violence,
- Then several attempts as my character (by now named Carl) attempts to control his behaviour and 'do something different'

This episode may be of interest because the exercise is felt to *fail in its purpose*, and so may be a source of negative data. Further details can be found in Appendix A.

Critical episode 21

Not rushing off to dinner

Dinner in prison is an important matter, since it is usually served on the wings where the cells are, after a journey from the kitchen and if an inmate is not immediately present, the likelihood is a cold and unappetising meal. In our discussions of Discourse, the neologism has been coined to include embodied behaviour as part of the 'dance' and not just spoken word. As the inmates begin to move off back to the wings for dinner, Ken comments that "It feels like they want to stay and talk" (Field Notes p37).

The significance of this observation is that, set against the importance of dinner, it suggests a change in the inmate Discourse: Usually as soon as the Chapel is unlocked they are gone, but now there are (observably) conversations continuing in small groups for a brief period before men rise, and a sense that the focus is still in the room rather than on dinner. It is the first time in the Residency that there has seemed to be this sense of *en masse* hesitation to depart, and it will be further exemplified at the end of Wednesday.

Critical episode 22

Games after dinner

Within the frame of this thesis, the games are a unique part of the Residency; elements around them have been considered in episode 6 and episode 10 (see Appendix A). This episode provides data on the embodiment and engagement of several of the men under focus and hence we will consider it in depth. The previous two days have been 'light' on the games as time pressures have meant they must be 'cut' in order to get through the 'material' of the Residency. Filed Notes show this has been felt to be affecting the Residency however (p38), and so we have put back three games.

These are *Wild West*, *Blind Trios* and *Zip Zap Bop* (see Baim, Brookes & Mountford 2005). The varying functions of games as utilised by Geese have been discussed previously (see critical moment 6, so here it will suffice to say that *Wild West* is a 'game as game' where players enact a series of 'Wild West' themed commands (i.e. 'Whisky Barman' involving the miming of pouring a drink and sliding it down the bar) and works on the level of 'game as fun'.

Blind Trios involves a centre person with their eyes shut being led around the room by two companions on either side and *Zip Zap Bop* is a series of gestures and sounds which must be passed on and responded to around a circle of players. Of the three games, it is the latter that can be used as an actual *metaphor* for offending behaviour, asking offenders to make connections and draw parallels between the actions of the game and their responses or actions in real life. This section has been selected as a critical moment however because

- The conduct of the inmates during the games can be seen as data to further our exploration of any shifts in Discourse.

Wild West

Prior to the games beginning Field Notes (p38) record that Deek T. is actually engaged in a animated conversation with other members of Geese, and show a conversation between myself and Davy J. concerning his shiny black prison issue kitchen shoes. I ask if they have steel toecaps, and Davy replies no, you don't need steel toecaps, as "A good kick in the gonads will sort most people out". It is my impression that this is a joke, of the lumbering sort that Davy has been attempting to engage in over the last day or so, and a sign of his engagement.

As we begin *Wild West*, the degree of 'silliness' in the game becomes apparent, and Davy J. turns aside, makes faces, looks embarrassed and generally gives the impression of not wanting to play. However – and this is the key point – he does play, even while looking very uncomfortable and glancing around as if to see how his behaviour is being received (Field Notes p39). Andy B. too is leaping and smiling, literally throwing himself in to the game and Colin S. too is taking part, though seeming a little closer to Davy J.'s embarrassment than Andy B.'s enthusiasm (Field Notes p39).

Lest the potential significance of this 'joining in' be overlooked, I will remind readers of points made earlier in this thesis:

"...[the games] actually serve an incredibly important function in that they first of all ask people to do something differently in a way that they haven't done before, which is often very uncomfortable and people get through that and often find that they enjoy that process and that's a process that goes through [the Residency] with them" (Brookes 2003, para. 26, my emphasis)

Conversely, the games can act as a vehicle for people to do just what they normally do, but in a new medium. There is one command in *Wild West*, 'Quick Draw', where the action is to mime the drawing of two six shooters as if in a gun fight, firing (including making the noise) and then blow the smoke from the muzzles before re-holstering the pistols. The difference is difficult to communicate in print, but Field Notes show that the first time this command comes up, Deek T., rather than performing this action, performs another with an arguably completely different significance. It can best be described as slow, rather than quick, and involves the one handed miming of a gun, taking aim and shooting in a manner which is not in the least comic, even though he is smiling (Field Notes p39).

It is part of the difficulty of the subject matter of this thesis that significance is conveyed but this exemplar of Deek T.'s Discourse reads in real time as a *distancing* from the rather innocent fun of the game, and through gesture as part of Discourse, and it is a brief interaction which is over in a second, but can be seen as a continuance of his attempted subversion of the Geese Discourse, through his (apparently) chosen medium of 'humour'.

Zip Zap Bop

Two very brief notes on this game may be of relevance: in the *processing* of the exercise the participants are asked to say if they had a preference for any of the gestures and their functions (the Zip, Zap or Bop). The Bop is a gesture whereby the player can 'bounce back' a Zip if it is 'sent' to them by another player: It thus has a 'blocking' function. Two of our case study men expressed a preference for this gesture:

Stanza 40

- 278 Kirkham: What did you like about the Bop//
279 (unattributed) You just give it away not interested//
280 James M.: Aye it was good – away you go//
(Farrall 2001h)

These responses can be seen as expressions of the degree of engagement these two case study men have with the Residency. Both are taking part but equally both like being able to 'bat away' what is happening. Interestingly, Darren C. does not offer any comment on his preferences – he is partaking in the exercise, but his behaviour in the small group and around his Thinking Report (see *critical episode 12*) seems to imply he is also 'bopping' to some degree. As has been noted above however, by the end of the week Darren will appear to have actually reached a point where the work of the Residency appears to gain significance, even if he has been unable to transit the Borderland in a more definite way.

Blind Trios

To turn to the last of our three exercises, Deek T. is paired up with Darren C. and Billy D., a man closely aligned with James M. – thus another man with an extensive prison history and a well developed and comfortable ‘old lag’ role. Deek T. and Darren C. are laughing and spinning Billy D., who is being led with eyes closed. When it is Darren’s turn in the middle, Deek T. & Billy lead him at a rapid pace, spinning him and (with an arm each) rapidly raising and lowering Darren’s arms in a disequilibrating manner. Deek T. is laughing (Field Notes p40).

When it is Deek T.’s turn in the middle, Darren makes it difficult, reaching high with Deek T.’s arm, and Deek T. comments aloud: “You want me to walk into a table” (Field Notes p40). Andy B. both gives himself trustingly when he is being led and is careful and observant while leading. Davy J. is walking like a stiff Frankenstein’s monster, but doing the exercise and is in turn very serious when leading. Colin S. frequently looks around when he is leading, appearing rather embarrassed. Over all, the trios are very fast paced (Field Notes p40).

Again, to remind readers of an earlier point a dramaturgical self is at the core of performative psychology where ‘performance’ (literally and including theatrical artistic endeavour) is a revolutionary activity with the potential to “...abolish the present state of things, transform totalities” (Holzman 2000, p83) since “If we are required to do certain things, then we are required to be the kinds of people who will do these things” (Nagel (1986 p191). As evidenced by their Discourse here, Deek T. appears to ‘the sort of person’ who is not trustworthy with another’s safety or comfort and finds it difficult to be so even in the context of game. Andy B. and Davy J. and Colin S. however (along with several of the other men) appear to be (at least trying to be) ‘the sort of person’ who can ‘do differently’, be free enough to play these games and engage with the Geese Discourse.

Immediately after the games Davy J. comes up to me to engage me in conversation about how my research – of which the inmates are aware – is going. I make a bland comment that there are things we could do better, to which Davy replies:

“At least this is getting you into the right frame of mind for thinking about it. My violence, I did a 4 year sentence, swore that’s it, I’m never going back - 2 months later I was getting into fights, fines, courts, the police. I just fell back into the same old patterns I was doing before” (Farrall 2001h).

At this point Geese member Nicholas comes up to take Davy to the small group and Davy shakes my hand: “Alright. Thanks” (Field Notes p41). I mention this because it is – strictly speaking – not a usual part of the kind of brief social interaction we have just had to end with handshakes and a sincere ‘thanks’. Again, in the moment, it feels as if Davy J. is reaching out

from within his 'iron mask' and literally enacting pro social behaviour, even if the fine-tuning is somewhat 'off' – as with his joke about steel toecaps and gonads.

Episode 23

The end of the day: Check out and the Corrida Talk

Work continues in the small groups for the rest of the afternoon and Field Notes record that all the groups have been up and on their feet working and there is again a "good buzz" in the room (Field Notes p41). The Corrida talk introduces the notion of a Corrida for a limited number of men on the coming Friday and asks the inmates to think about whether they wish to put themselves forward for this. Expanded discussion of this episode can be found in Appendix A.

Critical episode 24

Not rushing off to tea

As suggested under *critical episode 21, Not rushing off to tea*, above, the inmates' hesitation in leaving the Chapel at dinnertime can be taken as supportive evidence for a change in Discourse, a growing engagement with the work of the Residency. The final part of the last critical moment of Wednesday is a further such example. Field Notes (p42) record that the Corrida talk closes at 4.15pm – the men can then go back to the wings. Yet Field Notes (p42) also record the following: "4:45PM Incredible! Groups are just leaving now - people stayed in groups & talked". This is an interesting observation in two ways: For what it suggests about the inmate group and for what – by extension – it suggests about the prison institution.

To deal with the first point: The 'hanging around' of the men is an observable difference to previous days. Support for this sense of cohesion among the group comes from another source, as in interview Davy J. states:

Davy J. "... I don't know what [his] name was but [he's] got a tendency to be violent, I'm talking really violent. I could actually speak to him a lot more openly and [the others] were being open back to me. They were addressing their problems and even times when we were on the wing we were talking and just speaking out"

Farrall: "Did that happen after every day when we went, were the guys who were on the week sort of sticking around together and talking about stuff?"

Davy J.: "Yeah, yeah."

(Farrall 2001q)

Geese member Guy too thinks this qualitative change in atmosphere is due to the games and their effects. "It's the games – it's cos we've played" (Field Notes p43). This is a reference to time pressures having meant the loss of the usual games, as mentioned above. Interestingly,

despite my emphasis in this thesis on the importance for Davy J. of taking part in the games, in interview he does not appear to value them:

Farrall: "Do you think the week would have worked as well or have been the same without those games then?"

Davy J.: "I wouldn't have seen any difference ... of the games I enjoyed them but there was a couple I was like fuck!"

Farrall: "You wouldn't have seen any difference?"

Davy J.: "It wouldn't have changed the outcome to me"

(Farrall 2001q)

Update on the men

As with previous days, we will conclude with a brief update on some of the men in focus. By coincidence, all three of the men who are to enter the Corrida are now together in one group, led by Heywood, from Geese.

Darren C.

Darren appears to be remaining warily within the Borderland, still keeping his distance, but possibly slightly more engaged with the Geese Discourse, as Heywood notes:

"He's joining in more – did more on his TR where he admitted more of wanting to beat someone's head in with a pool cue – he seems to be listening but still not giving much. He's helpful with the others' [walk throughs of offences and constructions of Thinking Reports] though. I think he's thinking but not wanting to admit it... I don't think he'll be there by the end of the week"

(Farrall 2001i)

Heywood's thinking on Darren's level of admission and engagement and therapeutic process is of interest when set against research from HMP Grendon (Genders & Player 1995) which suggests that the time scale for change in their (admittedly very serious) offenders appears to be around a minimum of 18 months; the Residency has five days.

Colin S.

Heywood is positive about Colin S. and his level of involvement:

"Colin... working hard, actually seems a bit embarrassed by what he's done [with regard to offending]. Making lots of clicks and started talking about his mum today, and not seeing his sister. Good."

(Farrall 2001i)

The reference to 'clicks' is Geese terminology for a moment of understanding or insight or

recognition on the part of an offender, which can be an accumulative cognitive process of comprehension, of things 'making sense' – as seems to be the case here with Colin – or can be a sudden affective 'flash' of 'fethinkel', often accompanied by an observable behavioural correlate such as a drop of the head or jaw, or a sudden 'stunned' expression.

Heywood's reference to Colin's mention of his relationship with family is also of interest, since offenders are often most guarded around this subject (witness Davy J.'s statement in Appendix A, "Families is a big no- no ... if someone says something about my family I'm at them there and then", line 317 stanza V). Colin's bringing it in can be seen as evidence of further engagement with the Geese Discourse and also as linked to the main suggestion of this thesis on the traumatic roots of violent offending (especially in Colin's case) as will be seen in more detail in the work Colin does on Thursday.

Andy B.

As has been mentioned previously, Andy B. does not seem to fit the 'normal' profile of a violent offender on the Residency, though selected by Officer Blue for his recent spate of violent attacks in the prison. Andy B. was actually in Segregation Unit (on the Block) on Sunday, and Officer Blue has used his role as Officer Commanding that Block to get Andy 'out' in time to attend the Residency. Officer Blue notes: "Andy's wanting to sort his life out - but he doesn't know *how*. I'm hoping this'll give him an idea, cos he's out on Monday" and Heywood concurs

"Andy – drugs is his big thing, and violence around that – lots of good guy stuff about beating a dealer who sold it to a kid or something – but I think he is wanting to change things... he is working" (Farrall 2001i)

Deek T.

Mention has been made of Deek T.'s apparent lack of engagement in the Residency and Field Notes (p43) record that when I joined Brookes and Officer Blue's group in the afternoon Deek T. "tried to draw me in", and undermine what Officer Blue was saying at the time – i.e. supporting the Geese Discourse – with another 'joke': "[Officer Blue] is a Social Worker". Brookes and Officer Blue are pessimistic about progress:

Stanza 41

- Brookes: More of the same really – he's not disruptive but he's not really getting it.
He can sort of see the point, and be sensible for a bit, but then it all gets too much for him..
- Blue: I think he does know what we're saying.. but it's [the violence] too much fun and Deek T.. I think we'll see him back here [in prison] again//
- Brookes: Yes – I certainly agree he doesn't want to stop just yet// (Farrall 2001i)

Brookes' and Officer Blue's comments offer another perspective on timescale: If, as suggested with Darren C., the Residency is making an impression, but needs more time, then Deek T. may be showing that another part of the time dimension is that the opportunity the Residency offers must coincide – or at least be within sight – of the offender being 'ready' to change. Deek T. seems to be too committed to his current behaviour, and may be an example of the type of relatively young adult violent offender (Deek T. is 25) who is simply enjoying the buzz of violence and has not yet suffered enough negative consequences to power a re-evaluation. Anecdotally, many men are in their forties or later before they begin to make such a shift. At any rate, Deek T. will effectively remove himself from the Residency on the Thursday, as will be described.

Davy J.

Following the Corridas introduction, Davy J. approached me and said "Put me down for the Corrida, I won't change my mind" (Field Notes p43). Gersie (1997) argues that the "decision to participate may well be a monumental step, which requires great courage and determination. It often marks the beginning of a commitment to change." Mountford and Nicholas, the two Geese members working with Davy J., echo this impression of commitment: Mountford: "Excellent! He's working very hard; listening very hard, very thoughtful, taking it very seriously. I think he's definitely Corrida material, definitely". Nicolas also seems to have observed the 'new Davy' that Davy seems to be practising:

"He keeps trying to join in and I've had several conversations where he's friendly but ham-fisted, but you can tell he's not being threatening – it's almost like he's seeing what happens if he's just an alright guy... and there is that side to Davy, definitely" (Farrall 2001i)

James M.

The impression given by James M. seems to hold some similarities to Darren C.: James continues to remain in the Borderland, not moving forward, but not definitively moving back:

Stanza 42

Mountford: Listening.. definitely listening// We've had less of the it's just a jungle out there bit but I'm not sure he believes it can be different...
Nicholas: I think he'd like to//
Mountford: Yes because there's an awful lot of sadness and guilt, with blinding his brother and so on, and the alcohol related violence.. some of it is horrific ..but he can't quite make the leap... (Farrall 2001i)

Mountford's comment immediately above may be seen as linking to several aspects of this thesis: In Chaotic terms James M. remains unable to make the 'quantum leap' to a different energy state, a different 'way of being'; the 'strange attractor' of his current behaviour remains

too powerful and he continues to weave his complex orbit around it, unable quite to 'inhabit the language' (Wittgenstein 1958).

From a different epistemological standpoint, if, as has been suggested in Chapter 2, the Residency can be understood as a kind of 'public magic' "...practised for the benefit of the whole community" (Frazer 1997 p45) then, as discussed in the literature review, Levi-Strauss (1963) suggests that magical efficacy requires a tripartite belief:

- 1) The *sorcerer's* belief in the effectiveness of the techniques
- 2) The *patient's* belief in the sorcerer's power
- 3) The faith and expectations of the *group*

Certainly number 1 is fulfilled by Geese's faith and experience, and number 3 is a 'work in progress' as the Discourse develops, but (hopefully) the reader will agree that by this point there are definite signs of such 'faith'. In the case of James M., point number 2 seems to be at issue: As suggested in Chapter 2, it may be that the Residency-as-magic works *if you believe it will* and James continues to not quite believe it. His comments at the end of Friday, following the experience of witnessing the Corridas, may be seen as suggesting a change in this, but will be considered at the appropriate time.

Recap: By the end of the third day

The end of Wednesday is a significant point in the Residency: Almost all of the generic conceptual 'thinking tools' – Cues and Triggers, Thinking Reports, the Wheel, Inner Man - have been introduced, and the notion of a process in violent behaviour been put forward. Officer Blue, who has been involved in four Residencies at HMP Blackwood, comments,

"There is a point in the week when people begin to realise that 'although these characters were not me, there's bits of me in there' and then... they begin to acknowledge that and they've seen the process of how anger builds, when it reaches a point of no return and they realise that it's not an instantaneous thing that leaves them with no choice in the matter..." (Officer Blue 2003, para 36).

Evidence has been presented to support the notion of change in Discourse by some of the offenders under focus overall in the thesis, and Heywood identifies that by this stage:

"I think some of them start to take on some of the ideas that we've given them and they'll take on the language ... I think sometimes it's not necessarily the language they use, maybe it's the tone, there's less of a kind of arrogance or defensiveness about ... maybe less of the 'yeah but I was just...' and sometimes I think they start catching themselves out and sometimes I think they can find humour in that as well. So that when.... they hear themselves saying stuff they

always say, they catch themselves out and go 'oh yeah ha, ha' and sometimes they can see the incongruence" (Heywood 2003 para 102).

Morris concurs that by this point in the Residency changes in inmate Discourse are detectable:

"...gradually they're beginning to take ownership of their violence ... and they are beginning by articulating it more fully, they are demonstrating a level of responsibility taking that they weren't at the beginning" (Morris 2003, para 105).

The remaining work is to continue to try to engage men in the Borderland Discourse, and also, on Thursday, begin to try and select and prepare men for the Corrida. To return to the central hypothesis of this thesis:

The Corrida creates a holistic emotional, physiological and psychological experience which stimulates and activates the individual's persistent physical and behavioural responses and by encouraging resistance to these responses provides a learning experience which enhances reflexivity, challenges conditioning and alters the probability of 'deviant' behaviour occurring.

Thus, we will next consider how the work on Thursday may relate to this hypothesis, as a precursor to the 'final form' of the Residency in the Corridas where, paradoxically, the individual work of each man will be suggested as representative of the group.

Thursday

Introduction to the day

The Thursday of the Residency is the both longest day and the least structured: The formal group didactic inputs have finished and work continues in small groups, following a heuristic pattern of trying to gauge and devise work based in improvisational drama which will be of most use to the men involved. Thus each small group, while following a broadly similar aim, will be very different in the detail.

Other men who are judged not to be at the stage of readiness to enter the Corrida may be given a more supportive role, playing Auxiliary characters in testing drama and so on, while not having their self be the focus. Still others may undergo an experience which is itself cathartic, testing and forming a 'mini- Corrida', sufficient unto itself, while still others may be engaged in 'remedial work', still exploring and considering work and issues from earlier in the week.

Given the above caveats, the aims of Thursday are relatively simple:

- To try and assess which of the men who have put themselves forward are Corrida material
- To prepare those who are judged suitable or ready

Following the day's work the Geese will huddle briefly to make a decision on who will enter the Corrida. This is then announced and some important cell work assignments are set - the Wasteland and the Declaration - are set.

Episode 25

A Problem of equality: Group meeting re visits

Both Deek T. and Davy J. announce that they have visits scheduled, which is in contradiction to the attendance requirements of the Residency. To a prisoner, a visit is a precious commodity, which may occur only once a month last only 15 minutes in some cases, and must be formally requested by the issuing of a Visiting Order. Deek T. and Davy J. are told that they must make a choice: Deek T. leaves the Residency and Davy re-arranges his visit. Details of this incident are to be found in Appendix A

Critical episode 26

More Fun and Games in the morning

As is discussed further in Appendix A, the morning games provide more observational data on several of the men involved in the Residency. Here, we will focus only on evidence concerning Davy J. and the possible further development of his fragmentary roles. Davy J. has returned: His

mum is happy to delay the planned visit if Davy is addressing his violence. Officer Blue: "She told him 'you can see me any time, but you won't get this chance again". (Field Notes p44)

Continuing *Grandmother's Footsteps* (see Appendix A) I ask for another volunteer to be Grandma and Kirkham spots that Davy J.'s face has lit up at the prospect – I invite him forward as Grandma and he can only be described as bashful, receiving applause from the other men for taking the position (Field Notes p44). This latter point is of relevance in terms of the *relational self* suggested in the literature review (Markus & Kitayama 1991) which is 'emergent through joint actions which position oneself and other actors and from which interaction identities emerge'. As Officer Blue says of Davy, "In the jail the opinion is that Davy [J] is an arsehole - and most of the time - he *is* an arsehole" (Field Notes p47), a 'role relationship' which seems to be changing since the other men are *not* treating him as an 'arsehole'.

Remembering earlier comments about the 'performative' nature of the dramaturgical self (Holzman & Morss 2000) and 'roles' being conceived not as unitary and integrated wholes (see Landy (1997, 1994) but as fragmentary, multiple and ambivalent (see Schechner 2003), plus what has been said earlier about Davy's seeming struggle to understand the notion of reciprocity, then it is possible to see the potential significance for Davy in taking the role of 'man who can play 'Grandma' and being applauded for it, as Brookes identifies with reference to a previous Residency:

"The role of ... something very tiny like 'a man who smiles today' [the person trying that role] can understand the reaction...he gets back.... which is [that] people maybe smile back at him. Or people look at him and go 'God you're really different when you smile'... what an impact that that has on him, massive, massive impact... he's learnt that actually if you co-operate with somebody they're pretty decent back".

"And that challenges real core beliefs, because you know his core belief is around everybody's [a] shit and everybody's a potential danger and that everybody will get you before you can get them if you're not careful, it just completely blows it apart." (Brookes 2003 para 40 – 43).

Thus, in terms of complex systems, we may be looking at the 'butterfly's wings' effects of very small changes having large scale and unpredictable outcomes: If Davy alters even a small part of his role repertoire, he is changing the 'reciprocal determinism' (Blackburn 1993) of his violent roles 'calling out' their reciprocal role.

Further support for some change in role relationship is also suggested by a brief conversation Davy J. has with me later in the day, relating how in his job in the kitchen at breakfast time that morning the cook had told him off for burning the toast. Davy relates that normally he would just say "...aw fuck off you cunt, stick your job up your arse" and walk off the job. On this occasion he relates with a smile that he just said "sorry" and that "you can have a go at the guy – but it's not worth it" (Field Notes p49).

While some degree of 'role shift' or development of 'role repertoire' may be underway (without Davy feeling consciously that the experience of the games has anything to do with it) whatever may be happening in terms of role is clearly very different to a process such as is outlined by Landy (1993) where in the 'role method' of treatment "...clients are led through a process of invoking and working through roles, reflecting upon their role enactments, and learning to live in the ambivalence within and among their roles." (p128, see also Landy 1997). It may be fair to characterise Landy's model as 'top down' and originating in a master schema of roles deriving from Western literature (see Chapter 2) and the Geese 'model' as being 'bottom up' in the sense that the fragmentary role(s) derives directly from the individual.

As we move into considering the next three critical episodes, which all relate to the 'skills training' aspect of the Residency and to the work done on the Thursday with three of the men: Darren C., Andy B. and Colin S.; we will see that questions of role and actualisation of potentialities come more to the foreground, culminating in the Corridas on Friday.

Episode 27

Skills training work in the small groups: Davy C. talks to the Fragment masks

The 'skills training' work of the Thursday varies from intended preparation for the Corrida to remedial work continuing to explore and enhance core aspects of the Residency Discourse: Officer Blue identifies that

"...anybody that [still] has doubts you just walk them through; if it takes a dozen different situations from their lives or a dozen situations that [you] create in the room, they can see quite clearly there that is a process [lying behind violent behaviour] in there and that they can intervene in the process" (Blue 2001, para 36)

The above quote from Officer Blue points to a key feature of the Thursday work: The use of improvisational drama to create 'a dozen different situations' of relevance *in some way* to the violent offending of the individual. Bandura (1977b) states that treatments which combine modelling, such as we have seen in V1/2 and the *Pub Scene*, with 'guided participation' such as is represented in the Thursday work, are most effective in eliminating 'dysfunctional' behaviour.

Colin S., Andy B. and Darren C. make up my small group with Geese member Heywood. Their Thursday work can be considered as representative and emblematic of the kind of work going on in the other small groups, and we will consider some of it in detail. Details of this specific episode, concerning the level of Darren C.'s engagement and illustrating the type of metaphoric, drama based work that will be expanded upon in the Corridas, can be found in Appendix A.

Critical episode 28

Skills training work in the small groups: Colin S. - "Turn out your pockets please"

This episode has been selected as critical because it embodies and exemplifies so much of the blend of cognitive, affective and behavioural work applied through improvisational drama which defines the Residency, and is the practical application of the theoretical framework considered in Chapter 2, linking to the eight theory 'nodes' with which we began this chapter.

Return to the aesthetic space

Before moving into a consideration of the individual work of Colin S. and Andy B., we should remind ourselves of the properties of 'aesthetic space' as discussed in the literature review and touched on earlier in this thesis, since the type of activity undertaken here will share many features with the culminating work in the Corrida, the ultimate example of aesthetic space within the Residency.

The reader will remember that the concept of aesthetic space encapsulates many themes within this thesis: It offers an imaginary mirror with which to observe the 'self in action', not merely reflecting 'what is' but creating a developmental opportunity where latent, potential, fragmentary or even *fictional* (dramaturgical) selves can be enacted, showing what Boal (1995) terms the distance from 'I am' to 'I can be' in a 'maieutic' process of bringing latencies to consciousness or actualisation.

The space exhibits *gnoseological* properties in that it can stimulate knowledge & discovery, cognition and recognition – what Kolb (1984) refers to as "...the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience" (p38). Aesthetic space also exhibits *plasticity* in that 'anything can happen' because (in another parallel to the Chaotic, indeterminate nature of the Residency) the space simultaneously "*is but doesn't exist*" (Boal 1995 p28): It is also *dichotic* and *asynchronous*, in that the subject within it *observes* and *projects* memories & sensibilities stimulated by the aesthetic space while the space is 'in two places at once' (the quality of *metaxis*). A final point is that *embodiment* is a crucial element in working with these properties and within the aesthetic space.

Extensive mention has been made of the way in which the Residency attempts to move back and forth across the spectator – actor liminality, with the role of the inmate participants shifting accordingly. With the Thursday work, this dynamic continues and the focus is on them as ‘actor’ within the aesthetic space working at the personal level of direct relevance to their experience and behaviour, not using any degree of dramatic distance unless for what may be considered therapeutic reasons.

Heywood identifies that in the Thursday ‘skills practice’ space:

“...obviously it’s completely personal, completely stuff that they will have to do or might want to do when they get out and will find really hard and they will experience it as such I think the experience of doing it is quite real, so that when they do say ‘I found that really frustrating’ or ‘I wanted this to happen’ or ‘I was really pissed off and I wanted him to do that’.... I think most of the time that’s real...” (Heywood 2003, para 36).

Heywood also sees the work on the Thursday as going one step further than projective identification encouraged by VI1 and VI2, following the Heathcotian trajectory from the universal into the particular: “..[the improvisational work] makes it completely about them rather than about the character in the play that is like them. So I think that does give it an extra kind of element” (Heywood 2003, para 36).

Neither Boal nor Kolb make specific mention of the *affective* dimension of experience, although it is implicit within both. In an echo of Best (1992) and Damasio (2000) on the unity of cognition and affect, Heathcote (1979) talks of ‘the left hand of knowing’ – experiencing the (cognitive) knowledge *emotionally*, and this thesis suggests that it is *exactly* the affective engagement (including catharsis) which lies behind Boal’s claim that “An improvisation is real when it is lived” (Boal 1995 p58), and it is *only* the experiential methodology which enables this ‘living’ of the experience, as will be considered further below.

The task here then, utilising the properties of aesthetic space is to co-construct some activity that will either:

- a) Further clarify and resolve further for Colin S. any remaining ambivalence about wishing to change his behaviour
- b) Provide a learning experience that both confirms that decision and equips him with some skills and confidence to undertake the greater task he will face if he goes forward to the Corrida

Readers will remember that Colin S. has clearly expressed his powerful negative reactions towards the police and an inability to deal positively with them (remembering that the offence for

which he is serving his current sentence is that detailed in his Thinking Report, involving a serious assault on a police officer). He actually simply said that if asked by an officer to turn out his pockets he "couldn't do it" (Farrall 2001f). This seems the obvious place to start in his work for the day.

Deansgate Blues & Baby Bear's porridge

Colin reveals that, as a known offender in his hometown, he has frequently been asked to turn out his pockets by the local police. When we put this to him as a basis for a skills practise scene he looks panicked, simply repeating that he 'can't do it' (Field Notes p47).

We need to establish what is Colin's current limit of behavioural competency and 'Zone of Proximal Development' (Vygotsky 2000), the 'stretch' zone where, with help ('scaffolding', Bruner 1975, Wood, Bruner and Ross 1976) from more competent persons (represented here by Geese), he can achieve a task which he cannot (at present) do by himself. We are trying to locate Colin's 'learning edge' where the demand is not too high but also not too easy – Baby Bear's porridge of 'just right'. As discussed above, the Pub Scene on Wednesday failed because Geese did not get the right 'pitch'; too fast a progression, resulting in a lack of realism. We are seeking to avoid a repetition of this error with Colin.

Thus, the scene is set on Deansgate in Manchester with Davy in role as a police officer, and the task is set for Colin to walk past Davy and Davy nod and say 'Good evening' (Farrall 2001j). As soon as we start we find that if Davy as police officer speaks or even looks at Colin it is too much at this point: Colin, as soon as he comes within six feet of Davy, simply breaks from the scene, breathing heavily and saying "I can't do it, I can't do it" (Farrall 2001k); he is unable to even simply walk past someone in the police role

Colin's powerful reaction – which readers should note includes a *physiological* level of response - is also an immediate example of *metaxis* and illustrates the *dichotic* nature of the aesthetic space in a way which the work with Darren C. did not, since Colin S. (as subject within the space) is both *observing himself* and appears to indeed be *projecting* memories and sensibilities stimulated by the aesthetic space in the way that Bolton (1976) posits: "Central to any make-believe (sic) experience is the recall of past experiences... it is the relevant feeling that is evoked." (p44). While Bolton is probably meaning *emotion* by his use of the word 'feeling', readers should remember that within the frame of this thesis, Colin is likely to be experiencing Damasian embodied 'feelings', as his heavy breathing indicates.

Linking to earlier discussions, the aesthetic space both exists and does not exist, as the scene is taking place in the Chapel of HMP Blackwood but at one and the same time the 'action' (and for

Colin the psychological and emotional [phenomenological] reality) of the scene is taking place on Deansgate in Manchester. As Bolton (1976) notes "The emotional loading of the action must be true to the context; the physical use of time & space does not." (p45). This is a point of great relevance to the Corridas and to the Residency overall, which constantly seeks to blend a kind of Stanislavskian 'emotional verisimilitude' (for the participants) with a Brechtian cognitive distanciation.

Interestingly, though aroused, Colin is not interpreting his physiological arousal as anger; this would indicate the 'real enough' quality of the dramatic work, since (as Boal points out) if it is *too* real, the individual "penetrates into their own projections" and loses the awareness of the *physical* space (Boal 1995 p28), ceases *observing* himself and thus the learning experience is lost. This is also a point of direct relevance to the process of the Corridas and to the hypothesis of this thesis. Thus, here, Colin is not 'angry' at the sight of 'Constable Darren'; he is simply anxious and a little surprised at his own inability to complete the task:

167 Colin: I don't know why I can't do it – I just can't (Farrall 2001k)

In terms of alternative epistemologies, it would seem a stretch to define Colin's reaction as a consciously learned stimulus response: Darren holds no signifier of 'police' other than having been given the role, and having adopted an archetypal 'police on the beat' style of walking and posture, with his hands behind his back, so there is little to trigger such a response. If Colin holds a cognitive schema of 'meeting the police' that is negative (as seems likely) then in this setting surely again his rationality would enable him to 'know' the situation is not 'real' and thus deal with it competently.

Yet Colin seems entirely unable to operate through rational cognition in this context, i.e. that this is 'just Darren', and it is 'just drama' and all he has to do is walk past Darren. Clearly, there is something 'irrational' going on: In the model of this thesis, Bolton's (1981) note that the 'imaginative act is accompanied by emotions' appears to apply, and past traumatic experience of some sort is likely to be influencing present behaviour, with Colin's conscious rationality overpowered by his emotional reaction to the Damasian *feelings* stemming from subconscious reactions to the trauma and humiliation the police figure (even one so barely 'present') represents. As support for the notion of the active nature providing such stimulus, in interview, Colin says of this experience:

Farrall: "Did you like the fact that it was quite a lot of get up and do stuff...like [the scene on] Deansgate?"

Colin S.: "Yeah, I never thought it would have such an effect because that's helped a lot as well. It gets you, you start – your head goes and - you know it's like being back there [in the situation]"

Farrall: ...and that's a surprise?"

Colin S: "Aye. You're picturing it you know, I pictured it in my head what is happening...Yeah, it works don't it?... It's worked for me"

(Farrall, 2001r)

Heywood also notes that high levels of physiological arousal are common when using these active techniques, even where the focus is not on offending situations:

"Actually one person... the old guy, anyway he did his little going to the DSS and he was tearful because he'd been in prison so long and the idea of having to do that was so frightening and it was so real to him... And he didn't expect that and I don't think they do expect it when they say 'yeah I'll have a go at that', how real it is. And I don't think you get that without theatre". (Heywood 2003, para 90).

Walking the talk: Teaching cognitive-behavioural interventions

After several attempts that quickly reduce the degree of interaction between 'Constable' Darren and Colin, we settle that Darren is simply to walk past Colin with no acknowledgement or attention paid to him at all, with Colin walking in the opposite direction. Having established Colin's baseline competence when faced with this arousing challenge, we need to now develop some 'skills' in order for him to progress to a stage where he may be able to cope with the certainly higher level of challenge that the Corrida (as yet undetermined) will represent if he goes forward to it.

This is a move from the kind of 'hidden teaching' which much of the Residency represents and the general process of conscientisation and into a much more openly didactic approach, akin to the *Pub Scene* (see episode 20 in Appendix A) but with a greater degree of specificity for the individual. The process is still humanistic in that it is relatively 'bottom up', i.e. guided by Colin's need, although less so than coaching methodologies elsewhere which use the same dramatic methods as the Residency (see Farrall 2006a, 2006b).

This requires intervening to refine and organise tightly the demands being made upon on Colin. In other naturalistic or 'informal' teaching settings, Childs & Greenfield (1982) found that the adult would need to intervene up to 93% of the time on a first attempt, falling to 50% for the second as the (child) learner improved, and so on. Wood and Middleton (1975) described such informal naturalistic tuition as 'guided arrangement' or 'arranging experience' a notion paralleled in the Brunerian concept of 'scaffolding'.

Because of the active nature of the work, it will essentially follow the experiential leaning cycle of Plan – Do – Review, in a continuous loop, with the Vygotskyean aim of advancing the 'stretch zone' and 'edge of competency' a little further each time. This general process will be being undertaken in all of the Geese small groups on the Thursday, with the caveats mentioned above, depending on what might be most appropriate for the individual. Some very brief examples of the work with Colin will suffice to illustrate the general principles and to act as a basis for analysis in terms of the hypothesis of the thesis.

The behaviour of cognition

Since the walk though has seemingly been successful in reactivating a degree of physiological arousal, the first step is to isolate out and counter the associated cognitions that are involved in the behaviour. Thus, similarly to an offence reconstruction walk though, Heywood stops the action and explores the cognition as the scene progresses.

Stanza 43

147 Heywood: Right, there, when you first see that copper.. coming down the street towards you ..what are you thinking//

148 Colin S.: He's gonna have a go at me.. he's gonna pick on me//
(Farrall 2001j)

In Geese terms this 'automatic thinking' is 'negative self talk', and its role in violent behaviour has previously been explored through the model of the Thought Wheel, where its role in the cycle from 'insult to injury' has been presented, the thinking both being constructed by and helping support the physiological arousal. Luria (1961), following Vygotsky, argues that that 'self control' comes from internalised verbalisations and thus, in a step on from the Thinking Reports, once we have identified Colin's 'negative' self talk we need to develop a counter to it – positive self talk. Such a process is a staple of cognitive therapy where 'dysfunctional' or 'unhelpful' cognitions are explored through 'rational disputation':

Stanza 44

149 Heywood So what thought can help to keep that voice down, that thought that says he's going to pick on you//
150 Colin S.: I.. they always does//
151 Andy B.: Are you carrying//
152 Colin (to Geese) Am I//
(Farrall 2001j)

What Andy B's question in line 151 means, is Colin carrying drugs or 'going equipped' i.e. carrying a 'burglary kit' of tools, gloves and so on, or other legitimately suspicious items. To set the scenario that Colin *is* 'carrying' and must then deal with the police officer's reaction would be

to set the pitch too high so that Colin either cannot cope with it, or we commit the *Pub Scene* error again and make the action unreal, so that Colin can do it, but is not connected to the behaviour, so there is no 'stretch'. We clarify that in this scene Colin is 'clean', which enables Andy B. to comment: "Well, he's got nothing on you then – he can do what he likes and you just smile and walk on by" (Farrall 2001j)

Continuing this process, a positive self-talk script is achieved and rehearsed.

Negative	Positive
He's gonna have a go at me, he's gonna pick on me	I'm clean, I've nothing on me
I want to punch him	I'm going to keep calm and not hit him
I feel like a little kid	I'm not going to let him get to me
I want to run away	I'm just going to walk by

In terms of an offending behaviour cycle of Antecedent – Behaviour- Consequence, this is work on the Antecedent to violent behaviour, with the notion that by changing the 'lead in' Colin will be in a different physiological and psychological 'space' by the time he gets to the point where violence would often occur. (Using a Chaotic metaphor, Schrödinger's Cat remains in its undetermined state for a little longer before Colin collapses the waveform of potentialities into one or other 'actuality'.)

Such focus on cognitive antecedents is variably accounted for in current offending behaviour programmes practice, differing in emphasis from programme to programme¹, and often jumping straight to the *interpersonal* aspect of the Behaviour itself, rather than the *intrapersonal* aspect of the cognitive Antecedent. Even where the *cognition* is identified, the *behaviour of cognition* is usually not practised. By this I mean that, if Vygotsky and Luria are correct, then any change in Colin's *internal cognition* is a result of *internalising external spoken dialogue*, not just 'identifying' the cognitions or bringing 'automatic thinking' more fully into consciousness. Thus he must *behaviourally practise the new cognitions by speaking aloud* both the old and (more importantly) the new counter thoughts.

¹ E.G. Practitioners report that in the Controlling Anger and Learning to Manage (CALM) programme for violent offenders, this process is more prominent, while in the Integrated Domestic Abuse Programme (IDAP), it is often less so.

For the sake of brevity, we will note only that this element is also 'scaffolded' with Colin first being asked merely to read aloud for himself the old and the corresponding new thinking, before the level of demand is raised, as he must sequentially:

- Read the positive in response to an Auxiliary (Andy B.) reading the negative
- Read the positive more firmly in response to an Auxiliary reading the negative more firmly
- Read the positive definitely enough to counter an Auxiliary reading the negative very definitely
- Be able to respond to the Auxiliary being given free rein to use the negative self-talk statements in any order, repetitively, and argumentatively

Readers will of course note that in the Auxiliary role Andy B. is *concretising* the cognitions. The cognitive effort (for Colin) in remembering and speaking his positive self-talk should also link to earlier comments in Chapter 2 on *elaboration* of information achieved by the 'depth of processing' of 'having to think about it'.

In... and... out: The behaviour of behaviour

Once the positive self talk script is constructed and practised, we try again: Colin S is to speak aloud his positive self talk as Constable Darren approaches. Colin can do this, but still looks extremely 'wound up', sweaty and so on). He himself identifies that: "I can think it but my head's going" (Field Notes p47)

Since the human being is (in the model of this thesis) a holism, and physiological aspects have been suggested to play such an important role, we need to pay some attention to *behavioural* interventions that might enable the *cognitive intervention* of positive self-talk a 'sporting chance' of efficacy. In order to calm Colin's level of physiological arousal we therefore teach some basic relaxation techniques taken from Goldstein (1988) involving teaching Colin a simple regime of deep breathing, in conjunction with an elaboration of his positive self talk to include the self-injunction to "Do the breathing & calm down" (Field Notes p47).

To reach this stage has taken around three quarters of an hour, and as yet Colin has not managed to even walk past Constable Darren. Using the techniques described here, the 'stretch' zone is moved a little further and we begin rehearsing his using the self talk and deep breathing followed by walking past Darren, who is instructed to simply walk past and look ahead. Once Colin is able to do this, we pay attention to aspects of his embodiment: His current posture and rapid 'scuttling' pace reads as a combination of guilty and defiant (Field Notes p47) – certain to register on a police officer's social radar. We therefore work on him being able to walk past while

paying attention to his embodiment, including walking by without following Darren C. with his eyes or staring (Field Notes p47).

As a reminder, this process can be seen as taking place in Boalian aesthetic space while we are teaching Colin the various techniques and utilising the gnoseological properties of the space to access and stimulate cognition and understanding; the process is not a pure reconstruction as we are enacting a generic event rather than a specific time when Colin failed to walk past a specific police officer, nor is it entirely a 'skills role play' as described in Baim, Brookes and Mountford (2002 p150). It could be considered a 'simulation' (Van Ments 1983) in providing a "...highly simplified reproduction of part of a real or imaginary world" (p14). Surplus reality only really comes into its own when dealing with events that did not happen or have not yet happened, and this is achieved when Colin manages to walk past Darren, looking calm and relaxed as Colin does not have the experience of non-confrontational encounters with the police.

As a final step in this part of the process, now that Colin seems to have some degree of reduction of or habituation to his levels of autonomic arousal, aided reciprocally by his 'calming' cognitions and the behavioural experience of success in what is (for him) a demanding task, we increase the stressors by asking Constable Darren to make eye contact briefly with Colin, explicitly instructing Darren to do so in a friendly way, and once this is achieved, building up to Darren speaking to say 'Evening' as he passes.

Touch is the trigger

We now approach the crux of the situation. Darren as police officer is now not only speaking to Colin, but is actually stopping him to question him. Colin receives interpersonal support (which Kellerman 2000 identifies as an important point) through this by Andy B. who is offering suggestions for positive self-talk and also acknowledging the difficulty of the situation. Eventually we reach the point at which Colin is requested to turn out his pockets, which he actually does successfully (after a few attempts) even maintaining his poise under hostile and suspicious questioning. We explore why he is able to do this now, when he was so adamant earlier it was impossible: "Oh, I can do it, yeah, but if he touches me that's it – I'd just go". (Field Notes p47)

This element of physical contact is clearly powerful for Colin, as he has previously outlined several variations of being bundled into the back of police vans and physically attacked (usually in relation to having been in a fight or having attacked a police officer, although there do seem to have been cases where he has been victimised, Field Notes p46). It is recognised that in post traumatic stress one of the most potent 'reactivators' of traumatic experience is touch: For Colin, any touch by Darren in role as police officer seems to be 'pop' a 'trauma bubble' allowing out a trauma-based response of overwhelming fear, anxiety and humiliation (Hudgins 2000).

To end the session we spend some time on establishing just what degree of touch in this setting is tolerable and exploring Colin's ability to tolerate it. It transpires that Darren as police can lightly touch Colin on the arm and we run a few walk throughs of this occurring. Colin deals with the touch, but we notice he has developed a somewhat fixed grin on his face (Field Notes p47). We ask what this is about and Colin replies: "I'm getting used to it, and it's funny. Y'know' it's like a play. But if it was real I'd have to hit him". (Farrall 2001k)

Clearly, for Colin the dramatic enactment is losing the 'reality' it held earlier when he could not complete the tasks. We are in danger of repeating the mistake from the *Pub Scene* and so we cease the active work. The discussion that follows the work, as with all processing after the fact, is intended to provide an opportunity to *reflect* upon what cognitive and non-cognitive learning may have taken place: A further attempt to erect 'scaffolding' around the experience, helping a participant to develop a framework of comprehension for what may have been an entirely novel experience. Such 'feedback' is a crucial part of experiential learning (see Beard and Wilson 2002), and in some form is proposed by educationalists such as Lewin (1951), Dewy (1916, 1934, 1938, Inhelder & Piaget (1958) and Bruner (1990).

Colin admits that he is known as a violent man in his town and so is an object of suspicion - and possibly fear – to the police. Andy B comments that, both with reference to Colin's index offence and the scenario just explored, "The police was just doing his job" ((Farrall 2001j) thus providing a useful peer-based reality check and establishing some *role legitimacy* for the police role: Questioning Colin is within their legitimate sphere of role activity.

This is a useful distinction as hitherto Colin's discourse has presented all police activity in relation to him (and others) as almost entirely unjustified persecution and 'busybody ness'. We close the morning's session with a final affirmation for Colin as Darren C. too admits that he would have found the scenario difficult, picking up again on Kellerman's (2000) point about interpersonal support, and also a prefiguring of the importance of the 'witnessing' function in the Corridas.

Reflection: What is the learning here?

As a 'warm-up' to considering what the learning from the Corridas might be, we will consider what Colin S. might be learning from this skills practice episode. Colin began by saying "I can't do it, I can't do it" (Farrall 2001k): Clearly, by the end of the session, Colin has been able to complete the challenge or task. Arguably, in the model of this thesis, several things have been happening during the situation above.

What Colin has undertaken in the skills practice can be seen as related to the central hypothesis of the thesis in terms of creating the psychological and physiological response which must be countered, and indeed as a rehearsal for the greater challenge still to come. Clearly, the skills practice situation did appear to 'stimulate and access' 'persistent physical and behavioural responses', at least in relation to the police: As noted above, during the exercise Colin experienced physiological arousal, breathing heavily, sweating, and presumably experiencing the heart racing or stomach cramping associated with highly arousing situations. To return to the model of this thesis, these are the *feelings* of somato-visceral changes originating in both the somatic and autonomic nervous systems that are perceived internally (Damasio 2000); the embodiment preceding emotional states. They are powerful motivators, embodied sensations capable of altering the cognitive states of the organism (Gilligan 2000).

I have suggested that these *feelings* are rooted in past traumatic experience of shame and humiliation (Gilligan 2000), experiences which are lodged at an unconscious level and which, when reactivated by environmental triggers, create such overwhelming *emotions* that they activate the 'fixed action pattern' (Tinbergen 1969) of a violent response powered by the 'emotional logic' of 'magical thinking' which operates to cleanse shame and guilt. Social learning processes operate further that the behaviour 'takes away' the pain and so is reinforced.

At the level of conscious cognition, Bandura (1977b) states that 'therapy' works by altering perceived levels of self-efficacy: Expectations of such determine what behaviour is enacted, how sustained it is and so on. Motivational Interviewing suggests that the same concept of self-efficacy is central to successful behavioural change (Miller & Rollnick 2003). Bandura (1977b) also suggests that performance based (doing) procedures are best for stimulating change and that cognitive processes mediate change but cognitive events are *induced and altered* by mastery experiences; Bandura, Adams & Beyer (1977) also argue that performance creates stronger efficacy expectations than vicarious observation alone.

Colin's work should thus have been a strong teaching aid for him to increase his perceived levels of self-efficacy. In addition, taking a cognitive therapy stance, Colin has been aided in bringing his 'automatic thinking' more into consciousness, scrutinising it and finding alternatives (positive self talk).

At the proposed level of psychodynamic influence, this thesis suggests that violence is at least in part a response to *emotionally based* trauma stored both subconsciously and kinaesthetically *in the body* via Damasian 'feelings', which when activated through environmental stimuli are existentially unbearable, driving behaviour to ameliorate them in some way. From such a proposition arises the idea that a therapeutic experience exists "... in making explicit a situation

originally existing on the emotional level and in rendering acceptable to the mind pains which the body refuses to tolerate" (Levi-Strauss 1963 p197 my emphasis). If such a model is accepted, then Colin has literally *felt* what are usually unbearable sensations and been able to endure them without recourse to violence. This may fit Kolb's (1984) definition that "Learning is the process whereby knowledge is created through the transformation of experience" (p38).

Within this framework, what the work with Colin has done is to activate that physical embodiment which is usually so painful he has to act to clear it, as in the incident with the police officer arresting the woman. However, the activation has *not* been of *all* of the arousal; that would be 'too real' and an overloading with which Colin would be unlikely to cope. Instead, it has reactivated part of the arousal, and the task demand required Colin to undergo that arousal for a sustained period while doing *something different* to his normal response: Heathcote's 'left hand of learning'.

This teaches that

- a) He can survive (in an emotional and existential sense) the arousal
- b) He can behave differently
- c) This different way is valued and rewarded by his peers

For some men, this Thursday experience is so shattering that it can be the culminating experience of the week. As Watson identifies:

"I just remember one guy in my group whose offence was bottling somebody and putting [the victim's] head through a bus shelter window then picking up a coke can, ripping it in half and stabbing [the victim] in the face with it - and that was re-created and we got him to walk away from it and we just said is 'all you have to do is reach that wall' and there were people cheering him to get to the wall, walk away from it, and he got there and he was drenched in sweat and he was so pleased, ... like 'oh my God I can't believe I've done that'. And that was his Corrida and that was just in a very small group setting, there were three or four of it and us was like a big thing for him to have done and it was powerful for him. ...that was on the Wednesday or the Thursday and on Friday he was like referring back to it all the time." (Watson 2003, para 97)

For Colin, his latter response of "I'm getting used to it, and it's funny. Y'know' it's like a play. But if it was real I'd have to hit him" (Farrall 2001k) indicates that while important (as his arousal testified) the practice may not be quite such a moment of revelation as for the man Watson describes above.

Finally, in terms of the dramaturgical self, and linking back to notions of performative psychology introduced in Chapter 2 where "If we are required to do certain things, then we are required to be the kinds of people who will do these things" (Nagel (1986 p191), Colin may have expanded his 'role repertoire' to include a fragmentary role of 'man who can walk past the police'. As Kirkham notes however, this is still only a fragment rather than an end to the story:

"I think it's like extending their self rather than changing it because I think they can chose to not use certain behaviours, but whatever they are and whatever they've done is part of who they are... they're not going to be 'cured of their violence' because they're still going to have that, but they can make a choice about controlling it and not using it... it's extending their self and extending the part that have a bigger pay off [than violence] for them and other people."
(Kirkham 2003, para 138 – 140)

Colin will be one of the men who enters the Corrida, and we will consider these issues further, below. For now, we will turn to the next critical moment and the work done on the Thursday by another man who will enter the Corrida, Andy B. His work has been chosen as a critical moment because it provides further illustration of the potentialities of aesthetic space and that change with violent men might entail more than just attempting not to hit someone: This too is a prefiguring of the Corridas from this incarnation of the Residency at HMP Blackwood.

Episode 29

Skills training work in the small groups: Andy B. – The empty chairs

Andy B.'s work offers another perspective on the type of work which 'skills practice' can include, focussing as it does not so much on the explicit teaching of coping strategies in a situation of potential offending, as with Colin S. above, but focussing more on emotional expression and communication, or catharsis. This episode considers the use of the 'empty chair' technique where, instead of an Auxiliary playing a role (as Darren C. did as police officer, for Colin. S) in *critical episode 28*, above, an empty chair represents that position or person.

We place three chairs in front of Andy B and give him the instruction to "...put the people who are most important to you in the chairs" (Farrall 2001k). Andy B. chooses his friend John, his child, Michael, and his own mother. A full discussion of this aspect (which we will return to in the analysis of the Corridas) can be found in Appendix A.

Interlude II: Another fragment of Davy J?

At 3:45PM we break for coffee. Andy J. comes over to our small group and as Colin S. & Andy B. still seem quite shaken up by the empty chair exercise, the following exchange takes place:
Farrall: "Can you give them a bit of space Davy?"

Davy J: "Alright Mark, no need to bite my head off"
Farrall : "You know - they need a bit of head space"
Davy J. "Aye – OK" (wanders off)
(Field Notes p75)

Despite the surface features of aggression in Davy J.'s response, hopefully readers will by now recognise it for the continuing sign of change in his embodied demeanour: Even if responding in a somewhat aggressive manner verbally, Davy heard the request as a request rather than an 'insult' and responded accordingly. This can be taken as a sign of continuing evolution in the dramaturgical self and Davy's attempts to take on a different (fragmentary) role (the reasonable man?) in this Residency space.

This probability is further evidenced by an encounter with a wing officer as we leave the prison that evening. He sees us and asks: "Have you got Davy J. in that group?" On hearing we have, he responds "I don't know what you've done to him but it's bloody brilliant", an effect the officer then slightly spoils by adding "It's a pity you can't have all the bastards like him" (Field Notes p77). None the less, in conjunction with Davy's account of the burnt toast incident (see *critical episode 26*, above) it seems to be another indication that Davy J.'s behaviour has 'generalised' in the sense of not just being specific to and only possible in, the 'special' atmosphere of the Residency, but also is attempting to exist outside, in the prison 'institution'.

Episode 30

The Corrida Announcement

Geese members and staff huddle for the final discussion on progress of the afternoon and who will go forward to Corridas. There is a clear consensus that it will be:

- Davy J.
- Andy B.
- Colin S.

The language of the announcement is a return to the public use of G2 grammar (the *rules* by which 'normal' syntactic grammar [G1] is used to create..."*patterns* which signal or indicate '*whos-doing-whats-within-Discourses...*' Gee 1999, p29) which has been considered in detail in critical moment 2, around the introductions and Contracts preceding *The Violent Illusion Part I*. Further such analysis of this episode can be found in Appendix A.

Update on the men

At the end of Thursday, the penultimate day, of the original seven men who have received the highest degree of focus, two – Gerry G. and Deek T. – have left the Residency. We have considered the most recent work done by Colin S. in *critical episode 28* above, and for Darren C. and Andy B. in *episodes 27 and 29* in Appendix A, and so will focus briefly only on the two men who have worked in the other small groups.

Davy J.

In motivational terms, as has been discussed, Davy J. appears to have passed through Contemplation and clearly already be in Action: Attempting to make changes which we have conceptualised in terms of his discovery of reciprocity and actualising particular fragmentary roles of the dramaturgical self. Mountford comments:

"A good day. A good day, solid work. Real techniques he's really taking hold of and treating very seriously, very respectfully, and.... focussing on what to do, [with the cognitive and behavioural] interventions when he's about to blow"

(Farrall 2001I)

James M.

Mountford is less clear-cut about James M.:

"He's an odd one still. He's not interfering, not sabotaging, and actually being quite helpful with the others, ... taking an interest and staying very engaged. Not that he is yet thinking it's for him, but he's not dismissing it. And actually being thoughtful I would say, regretful about how his past has been". (Farrall 2001I)

From this brief analysis, it would appear that James M. is still in the Contemplation phase of the 'cycle of change', as discussed above for Davy C. If Contemplation can be broken down into three 'sub stages' (see Farrall & Emlyn-Jones 2007) each with distinctive or typical discourse, then James M. would appear to be in early Contemplation, characterised by lack of clear statement of a problem or wish to change, and finding reasons why change is not needed or realistic, without an absolute rejection of the same.

Sculpting from uncommon clay

Much work remains for Geese on the Thursday evening: An individual "challenge" utilising the knowledge gained of the men over the week must now be conceived, prepared and rehearsed for each of the three men who will enter the Corrida the following day, based on the common clay of improvisational drama. This can be a long and tortuous artistic and heuristic process of trying to devise a scenario that will test out the individual man.

The intention is not simply to be about 'winding up' a violent man or showing a 'red rag', i.e. by constantly poking a man in the chest or pushing him and seeing if he can keep his temper: Instead the challenges will be specifically devised to be difficult and challenging and rewarding on a case by case basis, and can take many forms. Field Notes (p74) record that on this occasion the process takes three and a half hours. We will not consider the thinking behind each challenge here, but introduce it at the appropriate point in the following critical moments considering the work of Friday.

Friday: The Corridas

In our analysis of the events of the Friday of the Residency, we will inevitably focus attention on the Corridas themselves; but these are only a part of the day (though a central one) and so we will consider the following things in the following order:

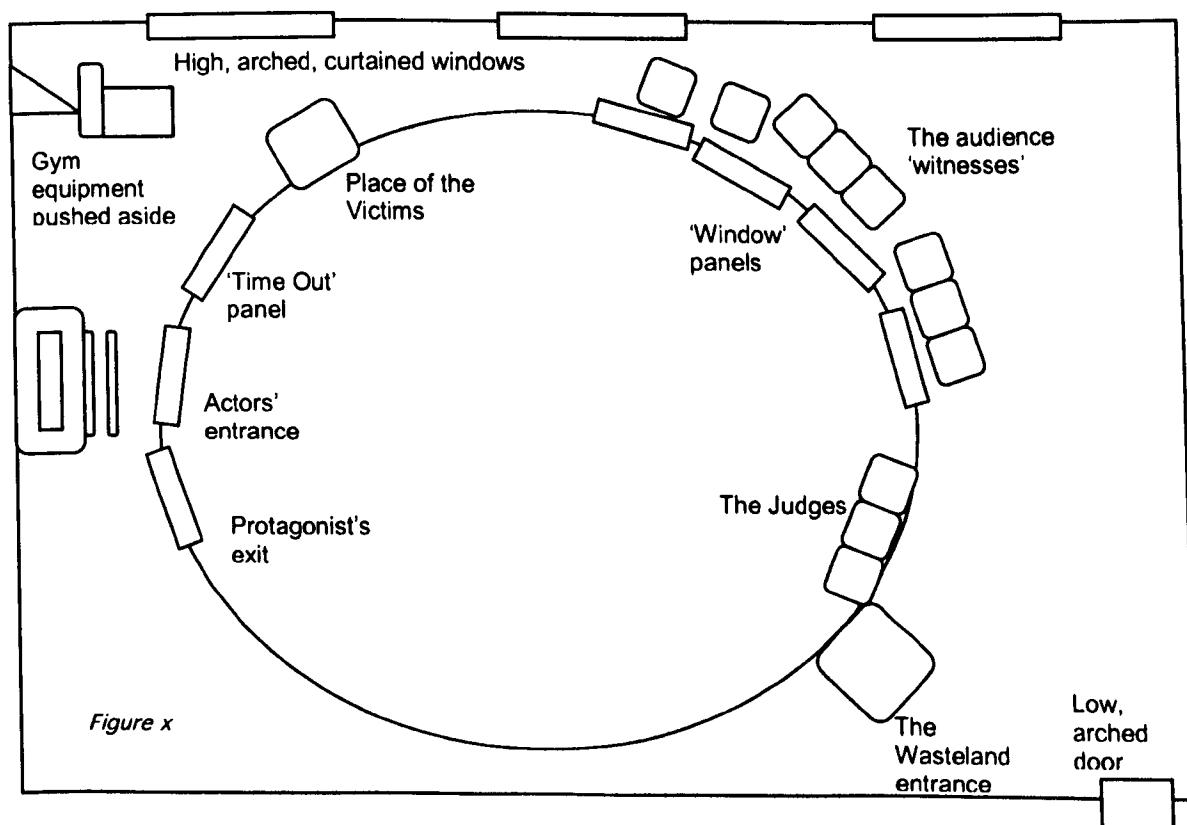
- The Prologue to the Corridas
- Warm-ups
- Declarations in small groups
- Architecture of the Corrida set
- General 'stage management' procedures for the Corridas

The specific way in which the Corridas will be analysed will be made explicit slightly later, as we approach the point at which they feature in the narrative of the day. Readers may also wish to note that a shorter discussion of Corridas from other Residencies predating the HMP Blackwood research and where early observations were made by this author (Farrall 1993) can be found in Bergman & Hewish (1996).

Episode 31

Prologue to the Corridas: Before a Word is Spoken

The set for the Corrida has now appeared, once again transforming the space as V1 and V2 did, but in an even more dominating manner (see figure x). A more detailed consideration of this can be found in Appendix A.



Of interest here however is a little more data concerning the apparent transformation of Davy J.

A little more Davy J.

In the day's proceedings, I am to take the role of 'Corrida Master' and so will take no part in the warm up activities, deliberately separating myself from the men as they enter. This is a specific 'marking' of the role I will take for the day, further underscored by black clothing, (which I will change out of between Corridas) and the large book (almost a tome) I will carry and from which I will read the rules of the Corrida and the logistical details of each man's challenge.

Davy J. defeats this attempt at separation however by making a deliberate effort to seek me out and greet me with a friendly 'Good morning Mark'. He has deliberately used my name all week - as the other Geese say he does of them In addition, Darren C. has taught Davy J. a 'street' handshake of the type prevalent in black culture & he does it to Guy (the only black member of the company) each morning (Field Notes p78). Again, these acts can be seen as continuing evidence of the physical and social embodiment of Davy J.'s new Discourse of connection and his efforts to widen his role repertoire: He continues to seem to genuinely be enjoying the benefits of the reciprocity he has discovered; that a smile will generally beget a smile, when his previous experience has so frequently been of a malevolent 'Fist' mask begetting a 'Fist' mask in response.

Episode 32

Final warm-up games

In Appendix A, episodes 6 and 10 we defined and discussed the various functions of the 'games' and exercises used by Geese, and then considered them in critical episode 26 for possible evidence of engagement and role shift, and change in embodied Discourse. Further discussion of the specific games used at this point can again be found in Appendix A.

Episode 33

The Declarations in small groups

After the exercise it is time to return to small groups for the Declarations of the men who will not be entering the Corrida. In earlier incarnations of the Residency, the practice was for all the men to be asked to write a Declaration, but only the men who entered the Corrida were given the chance – or required – to read out theirs. Now, all the men are given a chance to do so. A wider discussion of the reasoning behind the change can be found in Appendix A.

Episode 34

Prologue to the Corrida: Architecture that builds belief?

In episode 34, Appendix A, the 'prologue' to the Corrida there is further discussion of the following:

- a) Woolland & Lacey's (1992) observation that the conventions at the start of a performance event "...present us with the terms in which we are to understand..." the performance (p7)
- b) Schechner's (1988) theory of theatrical architecture embodying certain values, including those of solidarity
- c) The Corrida set in and of itself suggests a move further along the 'fundamental' performance continuum of efficacy-entertainment from where VI1 and 2 sit, closer to the 'efficacy' end where the performance has functions that are 'fundamentally magical and ritualistic' (Schechner 2003, Mitchell 1998).

It is also recommended that readers acquaint themselves with the description of the 'stage management' of the Corridas in Appendix A, in order to contextualise the following discussion of the Corridas themselves.

Episode 35

Corrida Master's speech: Welcome to the Corrida

As I now enter to make the Corrida Master's introductory speech, the speech is intended to:

- Form another such sign in the 'dance' of Discourse (Gee 1999)
- Support the move along Schechner's suggested continuum
- Constitute a final 'world building task' before/for the Corrida
- Form part of the ritualistic framework that "...both contains anxiety and clarifies boundaries." (Tosey 1992, p 255)

Further discussion can be found in Appendix A.

Analysis of the Corridas

The preceding pages have attempted to convey the dynamic of the Residency and to illustrate how the work of Monday to Friday is generative of the Corridas. Yet this chapter began by stating that the 'weight of analysis' would rest on the material gathered from the Corridas. Therefore, to facilitate this examination and analysis, we will depart from the structure we have so far followed of 'episodes' and instead will work through the following structure:

First pass

A *sequential*, 'vertical' brief description of the contents or 'story' of the individual Corridas for Andy B., Davy J. and Colin S., in order to establish the 'story' or 'narrative' of the specific manifestation.

Second pass

An *asynchronous*, 'horizontal' consideration of suggested 'process' elements (relating to the hypothesis and theory nodes above) where they are best exemplified in any one of the individual manifestations of the Corrida. This will entail consideration in more detail of the dramatic action of the Corridas.

Additionally, in considering the Corridas, readers may wish to bear in mind a structure offered by Turner (1982) concerning ritualised theatre and the 'proper finale of an experience', which the Corridas might be thought to be, where the experience is both a 'living through' and a 'thinking back':

- In the experience "...pleasure or pain, may be felt more intensely than in routinized, repetitive behaviours."
- Images of past experience are evoked with 'unusual clarity', clarity of outline, sense of strength, and energy of projection
- Past events remain 'inert' unless the *feeling originally bound up with them* can be fully revived
- Meaning is generated by 'feelingly' thinking [fethinkeling] about the interconnections between past and present events
- An experience is never truly complete until it is 'expressed', that is, until it is communicated in terms intelligible to others, *linguistic or otherwise*

First Pass: Sequential description of Corrida stories

Corrida 1 with Andy B.: *And the drugs don't work*

Andy B.'s work on Thursday may have served to make solid the importance side of the readiness to change equation: But the other angle of 'confidence' is equally important. If anything, Andy B. has seemed too confident in the sense of 'I must change therefore I will'. The decided Geese task in terms of the Corrida is about providing something that will be a reality check for both the difficulty of change – in order to reduce the demotivating effects of a failure – and simultaneously to equip Andy B. to succeed.

The Judges enter and I hear the bang of the entrance to the Wasteland: Andy B. and his Second, Mountford from Geese are inside, ready to knock on the door. The Corrida is empty of props or furniture. Davy J. knocks on the door and is told to enter. Heywood, as Chief Judge asks, "Why are you here and what do you want to leave behind?" Davy J. reads his Declaration and is questioned on it by the Judges. "Your Corrida is in two parts. Something is about to happen. You are to watch and do nothing". (Field Notes p82).

Scene I: Pukka gear

Brookes, Guy and Nicholas enter and begin to run through a series of drug-themed tableaux taken from *Hooked on Empty*, a Geese show focussing on substance misuse. Represented are:

- The flicking of a syringe
- 'Cooking up' of heroin in a spoon over a lighter flame
- A final silent scene of violence when no money is to be had for a drugs score

Kirkham voices a 'user monologue', redolent with drugs imagery and vivid descriptions of the physical sensations of drug use. Over all of this is a hastily cut-together soundtrack of music by artistes such as *Pink Floyd* and *Leftfield*; music that we know from previous experience is often a soundtrack to actual drug usage. Serendipitously, the sound effects tape fades out within seconds of Kirkham finishing the monologue. Heywood: "The second part of your Corrida is this: You are now going to meet 3 people who you may meet in the future. You must answer their questions" (Farrall 2001o).

Scene II: The Student

Nicholas enters in the role of a future College peer and tries to engage Andy in a conversation on the merits of drug use.

Scene III: The Woman

Kirkham enters in the role of a future partner and engages Andy B. in discussion about the reality of his chances of change.

Scene IV: The Old Mate

Guy enters effusively in the role of an old mate, to try and engage Andy in conversation.

The head Judge (Heywood) announces that the Judges will leave to deliberate, returning to question Andy B on his performance. After some discussion, there is applause and a break.

Corrida 2 with Davy J: *The Chat Show*

If Andy B's Corrida was to face honestly the potential difficulties he may face living a life without drugs, and deal with them appropriately in the heightened 'surplus reality' of the Corrida, Davy J's challenge is to simply to be able to hear positive things about himself and discuss his violence and his intention to change it.

The Corrida is set with two chairs facing one another at a slight angle. Davy J knocks on the door and is told to enter. Mountford, as Chief Judge asks, "Why are you here and what do you want to leave behind?" Davy J. reads his Declaration and is questioned on it by the Judges. Mountford: "You're going to be asked some questions. Answer as honestly as you can." (Field Notes p84).

Scene I: The chat show

Davy is a guest on a chat show hosted by Nicholas from Geese; his task is to talk about himself, and consider quotes given about him by the other inmates. After a period, the improvised drama section ends and the Judges leave to deliberate, returning to question Davy J. on his performance. After some discussion, there is applause and a break.

Corrida 3 with Colin S: *Cough to It*

The Corrida is set with a table and two chairs, interview desk style. Colin S. knocks and is told to enter. Nicholas as Chief Judge asks "Why are you here and what do you want to leave behind?" Colin S reads his Declaration and is questioned on it by the Judges. Nicholas: "Something is about to happen. You must deal with it" (Field Notes p84).

Mountford enters with Nicholas in the role of police officers and they begin to put pressure on Colin, following the previously agreed theme of accusing him of something of which he is not guilty. In a departure from the script, I enter as an 'actor' (rather than as Corrida Master) and join in the verbal pressure before suddenly pushing Colin physically. The head judge announces that the Judges will leave to deliberate, returning to question Colin S. on his performance. After some discussion, there is applause and a break.

The above descriptions are the barest possible bones of the rich interpersonal situation of the improvised drama used in the Corridas. Below, we will try to put more analytical flesh on these bones, but readers should again be reminded that the 'recreation' on these pages is the faintest palimpsest of the rich human situation.

Second pass: Asynchronous consideration of Corrida process

Having established the 'bare bones' narrative of each Corrida, before moving into the final major part of analysis for the Residency, let us remind ourselves of the hypothesis under scrutiny:

The Corrida creates a holistic emotional, physiological and psychological experience which stimulates and activates the individual's persistent physical and behavioural responses and by encouraging resistance to these responses provides a learning experience which enhances reflexivity, challenges conditioning and alters the probability of 'deviant' behaviour occurring.

This hypothesis will be examined with particular reference to the eight 'nodes' of theory and their associated rhizomatic networks of concepts, emerging from the literature review, and to which we have made frequent reference in the preceding analysis of critical moments. These nodes are:

1. Unity of cognition & affect ('fethinkel' and a holistic approach to the human being)
2. Emotion and memory (interrelatedness)
3. Drama and theatre (communality, witnessing, ritual, emotion)
4. Role and the self (self as social, performative, potential, embodied)
5. Meaning/narrative/discourse (construction/performance of, change in)
6. Therapy/catharsis (primary & secondary)
7. Interpersonal style (therapeutic alliance, humanism)
8. Learning & change (behavioural, emotional, personal)

Readers should bear in mind that in the model of this thesis, the rhizomatic network emergent means that any given 'node' can 'fit' under one or more headings, or be connected to other nodes. While I have been able above to break down (atomise) the points (1 – 8), this is a falsely tidy division and in practice the likelihood is that elements will flow into each other, appearing and reappearing at various points, possibly necessitating a certain tolerance for ambiguity in the reader while the analytical process unfolds.

The analysis will not be chronological, but rather, *thematic*; hence data originating from events separated in time but linked conceptually will be considered together as and when appropriate. Also, since the *dramaturgical* element of the Corridas is posited as being so central to the hypothesis, so generative of all other elements of interest, as a primary process rather than an 'appendage' (Mitchell 1992) it is likely to be referred to a number of times. Finally, I will remind readers of terminology used earlier in the thesis and which is of use again here in the analysis:

Protagonist

The protagonist is the person whose 'life material' is under direct focus. They remain the Protagonist, even when placed in other, 'auxiliary' roles.

Auxiliary

This term refers to any role named by the protagonist as being involved in the work or situation under focus. Often it will be other people who were actually present, e.g. 'the policeman' or 'Auntie Val' and the term can then be taken to refer to the person who is *playing* the auxiliary role as well as the *role itself*. The person remains an auxiliary, even if they at some point *play the role* of the protagonist.

...a holistic emotional, physiological and psychological experience

A major strand of the literature review (connected to node 1 above) is an understanding of cognition and affect as a holistic unity. Bolton (1982b) argues that dramatic engagement equals a "...relationship at an affective as well as a cognitive level ...that is both dynamic and rational" as well as arguing that "the most significant change in understanding through drama must be at the subjective level of feeling" (Bolton 1979 p60) an assertion which echoes Heathcote's 'left hand of knowledge'.

This is significant in terms of the specific understanding of *feelings* used in this thesis, i.e. embodied (Damasian) somato-visceral *feelings* linked to unconscious structures, and also in the more common meaning of feelings as in the emotional sense of an experience. This results in a dual drive of a requirement for the protagonists to use rehearsed cognitive interventions amid a heightened emotional and physiological arousal, that is present in all the Corridas.

The first part of the hypothesis states that the Corrida creates a '*holistic emotional, physiological and psychological experience*'. We will try to deconstruct this claim into its constituent parts before a judgement of 'holisticity' can be reached, and so we will begin with *physiological arousal*, moving to *psychological arousal* before concluding with *emotional arousal*.

Physiological arousal: the Wasteland

Other than a level of 'performance anxiety' arousal which may have been generated by the 'atmosphere' and language thus far, and the knowledge of a task to be undertaken, the first opportunity to create physiological arousal comes with the entry to the Corrida, through the Wasteland tunnel. Of this experience, Brookes recalls:

"...in Parkhurst ... the big guy ...the gangster, murderer... Standing in the Wasteland with him, because I was [his] Second... this guy was about 15 stones heavier than me and I was [right up against] his chest and we were waiting and

waiting... and I was looking up to him... and his breathing was just getting shallower and shallower and he said "I'm really nervous, I'm really fucking nervous" and I said "it's okay get your breathing right it's going to be okay, it's fine, this is what's going to happen".

"And I can remember him saying "if anybody said I'd be doing this I'll tell them they were bloody mad, I can't believe it, I can't believe how frightened I am". And it's those little moments when you think God, can you imagine this man saying this... five days ago, being locked in a bit of a set in a hole in the pitch dark, telling a total stranger how incredibly frightened he was about walking into a little theatre set, and making and saying some words, and doing a play act around material in which he has lived his whole life." (Brookes 2003, para 115-118).

Brookes' recounting of this man's words would seem to suggest strongly that there is physiological arousal present and that it is at least in part due to the psychological experience of being in a strange situation "in a hole in the pitch dark".

In interview, Davy J. notes that "You don't know what's going to happen – I was all nervous and that but... I knew what I had to do, keep calm and that" (Farrall 2001q, para 83). This is an interesting observation of relevance to the notion of 'resisting' arousal, which we will consider below – even though Davy J. does not know what the *specific* challenge will be, however it may be operationalised, the 'meta challenge' is clear. His 'knowing what I had to do' is also a precursor of the further element of the hypothesis considered below, about 'encouraging resistance' to the aroused state and usual consequent reactions.

Additionally, Field Notes record that after Colin S. enters the Wasteland, through the thin fabric I hear Colin taking hugely huge deep breaths, with Kirkham's voice (Colin's Second), saying quietly "Put your head back" (Field Notes p86). From this I assume that Colin is experiencing a considerable degree of physiological arousal or warm up, or, alternatively, is using the deep breathing techniques taught on Thursday during his skills training (see critical moment 28) in order to relax himself. Either way the likelihood is that at this point both Davy J. and Colin S. are experiencing physiological arousal and somato-visceral 'feelings' of a type associated with violent behaviour.

In terms of multiple epistemologies, it is of course possible on the ritualistic and psychodynamic levels to see a 'birth re-enactment' in the experience of waiting in a warm (because of the stage lights nearby), dark, quiet constricted space which is a prelude to a public event. I do not

suggest this is a critical or crucial element of the experience, but merely note the possibility of it having an influence.

The Declarations

On entering the Corrida, the protagonists are required to respond to the question "Why are you here and what do you want to leave behind?" by reading their Declarations. They can then be questioned over the contents of their Declaration by the panel of Judges. This too is likely to be a site of physiological arousal for the protagonists, but it is also important to note that this is an early instance of the importance of the public nature of the Corrida and the importance of the witnessing role, which will be returned to below. Kirkham identifies:

"[The Declarations are] very important... because they have to really think about why they want to do what they're doing and *to publicly state* that they want to leave violence behind them and they want to make change it's like somebody standing up and saying I'm going to stop smoking. The next time they have a cigarette they've set themselves up for an awful lot of pressure, ridicule, whatever and I just think that for them to actually articulate and to form those ideas and then *to speak them to an audience and hear themselves doing that*, it's just a real act of commitment, yes an act of commitment to change" [Kirkham 2003, para163 my emphasis].

.... physiological and psychological experience: Action in the Corrida

Readers should again remind themselves that it is only for purposes of analysis that we are examining the Corrida experience atomistically: Although concluding with emotional arousal, within the model of this thesis, physiological, psychological and emotional are all occurring at once through the dramatic medium. Officer Blue suggests that:

"I'm quite sure that although the Corrida is not a real situation, they have permission to make it real because they've spent a whole week looking at the process of becoming angry and see [the process] in the [Thought] Wheel and working through it in the Thinking Report, they're ready cued to go [into an angry response or state]... it's there, and they recognise it and in a sense they want to check it out". (Blue 2001 para 6 – 8).

These comments would suggest support for the metaxic nature of the Corrida and the 'as if' quality of gnoseological aesthetic space, and also link to the idea of 'resistance' to typical responses, through cognitive intervention, which we will consider below.

There is also a link to theory node 3 around ritual and earlier discussions on the need for *belief* on the part of the protagonist to 'make real' the experience. This is an example of the

indeterminate nature of the Corrida in that while in one way it is only real if the protagonist makes it real, it also becomes real whether the protagonist - and more crucially, those witnessing - believe in it or not to start with. Comments considered below, from James M and Darren C, can be argued to support such an interpretation, and attention will be drawn to this later.

Thus, Officer Blue identifies that what might be thought of as the emotional authenticity or verisimilitude of the 'as if' quality of the Corrida may come as a surprise to the protagonist:

"So when they go into the Corrida, well initially as I think we'd all agree, they kind of expect a bunch of actors to come out and shout at them and then it'll be easy peasy. They go in there and as soon as the pressure comes on they go really into that process and they do become angry" (Blue 2001, para 10 my emphasis).

Andy B.: And the drugs don't work

We will consider Andy B's Corrida to illustrate these questions of physiological and psychological arousal through the dramatic Corrida action.

Scene 1: Pukka gear

Readers will recall that Andy B.'s Corrida opens with him being asked to watch various tableaux around drug use. To understand how the scenes may operate as a stimulus, we must venture briefly into dramaturgy.

Dintino & Read Johnson (1997) identify that "...imaginary objects [such as shown in the drug scenes] are not identical to the real objects; in fact they are *both external and internal at the same time*, since they are projections into an imaginative space." (p208, original italics). This analysis echoes Boal's suggestion of the projective qualities of aesthetic space and also links to Bolton (1992) citing Vygotsky (2000) on the idea of using a prop as 'pivot' allowing entry to the make believe, although a 'too-real' prop can block as the constraints of operating with it become apparent.

Intravenous drug users will often state that a visual cue of an object associated with the drug use, such as silver paper or even a spoon, such as are used in the scene, can act as a stimulus to activate physiological cravings, and the 'ritual' of preparing to use can often be as subjectively important as the use itself. The drug scenes here can be seen to function as a pivot, in cognitive terms serving to activate Andy B.'s self-schema of autobiographical memory around drug use; through the Geese 'rough theatre' the verisimilitude is emotional and contextual rather than factual.

Field Notes record Officer Blue stating afterwards that Andy B. 'watched Kirkham steadily' in her role as the narrator and gave the impression that 'he could deal [with that]- but then during the drug tableaux featuring Brookes, Guy and Nicholas, Andy B.'s 'face set' and only at the end of that scene did he 'relax' (Field Notes p83). My observations record that watching the drug-related scenes, Andy B. was repeatedly looking down and shaking his head (Field Notes p83), apparently in a sign of both recognition and denial. Andy B. confirmed immediately after his Corrida that this type of process was occurring:

Andy B.: "When you – when I see'd the drugs an that – cooking up and the syringe –
then there's the violence with the woman – it got me going ..."

Farrall: "Say a bit more"

Andy B. : "In my stomach was away and – my head - it - reminded me of it all"

(Farrall 2001o)

We will return to Andy B's comments below, when considering the manner in which the Corrida action is calibrated, but here will note his comment that:

"It just keeps going on - just when you think – I've done that bit – something else happens and your heads gone again. But it was so real – I got angry talking to Jon and when Ken come in I just thought Fuck! I've got to get out of here! I know who he was [the role represented] and I just thought – get to fuck!" (Farrall 2001o)

Clearly, there is a degree of physiological arousal being described here, but what of the *psychological*? Andy B. notes on seeing the role of 'drug user' enacted in front of him:

Andy B: "I thought that was me – what I was – what I don't – [want to be]"

Farrall " And how did you feel when you saw all that?"

Andy B " Just – gutted and – not all that again" (Farrall 2001o)

Andy's words would seem to indicate that there is not just physiological craving being aroused potentially, but a much more complex mesh of meaning involving self image and Andy B.'s plans for the future. Overall of Andy B.'s Corrida Officer Blue notes:

".... Andy B was under very heavy pressure and he took time, he was breathing deeply and although his [real life] situation wasn't as a result of him being violent, it was liable to result in him switching off or running away or not facing [the situation] ... I think he was really affected by the [Kirkham] character [as narrator in Scene 1 Pukka Gear] the kind of voice that wandered away and was not focused on anything; it took him a lot of time to actually cope with that. And then when he had to address the three characters {The Student; The Woman; the Old Mate} and he's really had to work at keeping it together" (Blue 2001 para 22).

Davy J.: *The Chat Show*

In interview, Davy J too identifies that the Corrida experience stimulates physiological arousal:

Davy J.: "Yesterday when I was doing my Corrida I was doing an interview with Jon who was the interviewer I could feel myself getting really, really angry inside"

Farrall: "You didn't look it because I was trying to keep an eye on you and your face was quite calm"

Davy J.: "It was calm on my face but it was just inside my person I wanted to scream out go away, but not in those words in nasty words..." (Farrall 2001q)

Again, a note on dramaturgy may be appropriate here, since the reaction Davy J. is describing is being activated by seemingly innocuous interchanges within the context of a seated verbal discussion where he is the 'special guest', such as the following:

Stanza 45

Nicholas: "So do you think you use violence as a front to scare people away?"

Davy J: "I don't know, sometimes I think it's easier that way, some people just seem to expect it of you" (Farrall 2001q)

Colin S.: Cough to It

By contrast, Colin S's Corrida places him specifically in a situation where he is being falsely accused by hostile characters, i.e. Geese in role as the police. This stark difference to Davy J and Andy B's Corrida will be returned to in the discussion below under calibration, but for now we will return to evidence of physiological arousal:

Farrall: "How did you feel when you were in there then?"

Colin S.: "Scared. I knew I had to control myself I knew I had to deal with these things. I didn't have a clue what was happening, I was getting it from all directions"

Farrall: "I know it's obviously not exactly the same as you actually being in the police station, but were the same kind of feelings there?"

Colin S.: "Yeah, it's when things go beyond a joke, you've got to calm yourself"

(Farrall 2001r)

The above comments would suggest support for the terms of the hypothesis relating to the complex of physiological and psychological arousal stimulated by the Corrida. The third associated term of the hypothesis deals with *emotional* arousal, but for the moment we will hop over this, returning to it below as part of a wider discussion of the emotionality of the Corrida as a whole. For now, readers should consider what the above comments by protagonists on the physiological and psychological stimulation of the Corrida may be suggesting about the presence or absence of emotional arousal, as conceptualised in the literature review: Certainly the emotion of 'anger' seems to be present.

The above comments would seem to suggest support for the hypothesis that the Corrida does stimulate the range of psychological and psychological responses to a significant degree; but 'significant' here must mean not too much and not too little. As part of considering the stimulation of such responses therefore, we will consider how the Corrida is 'pitched'.

Problem solving & challenge: Calibrating the Corrida

Again, although the challenge posed, the solution to the problem posed by it and the actions of Geese within the Corrida are all intimately interconnected, we will again attempt to deconstruct the issues in order to consider them one by one, beginning with problem solving.

In Chapter 2 I suggested that:

"Problem solving is relevant to this thesis since in many ways the violent behaviour of the men concerned can be seen as an intentional or purposive attempt to solve some sort of perceived problem, although the degree of consciousness of the intent may vary".

The question of 'idealised specifications' of problems was considered and the conclusion drawn that in contrast to the theoretical 'problem space' of research, in the experiential life world where interpersonal problem solving actually occurs, such clarity does not exist, and 'people' problems are thus almost always 'ill defined': The 'initial state' may be uncertain, operators & operator restrictions must be worked out, and the goal state may need definition (see Eysenck & Keane 1995, Simon 1978, Greeno 1976).

The Corrida sets its problems in a *deliberately ill-defined way*. Thus, for Andy B. the 'problem instruction' is: "The second part of your Corrida is this: You are now going to meet 3 people who you may meet in the future. You must answer their questions". Davy J. receives the following information: "You're going to be asked some questions. Answer as honestly as you can." Colin S., whose Corrida will be the closest to a 'normal' situation of interpersonal tension where 'persistent responses' or 'fixed action patterns' might be activated is given the completely ambiguous instruction: "Something is about to happen. You must deal with it".

As suggested in the literature review, "*problem solving is an interaction between the (problem) task environment and the solver where the problem structure itself contains both considerable information as to solving, and constraints as to what methods may be used.*" Clearly, in the Corrida the protagonist is being asked to deal with problems with 'indefinite goals': Even where the task is set as specifically as 'answer their questions' this does not seem to contain 'considerable information as to [the] solving'; simply answering questions will not be enough – the way in which questions are answered is crucial, and we return to issues of indeterminacy and an essentially heuristic process since. Colin S's injunction to 'deal with it' seems to offer very little to go on other than knowing that the 'constraints' on solving the problem include not behaving violently.

This ill-definedness also links to other epistemologies of relevance – firstly of ritual. Watts (1992) uses the word 'presential' to describe a posited ancient or ancestral experience of the world where things are always 'about to become' ("something is about to happen"). Secondly, the potentiality of a phrase such as "something is about to happen" is clearly linked to earlier discussions on Chaos and the inherent unpredictability of humans and human life. To explore these issues a little further we will turn to events in the Corrida.

Andy B: And the drugs don't work

Scene 2 the student

Readers will recall that in the second scene of His Corrida, after seeing the drug images, Andy B was faced with Jon in the role of a future college contemporary, attempting to talk to him (Andy B.) about drug use in a rather 'hero worshipping' way.

Stanza 46

Nicolas: "Yeah, Andy, look mate, I was wondering, you've been in prison and all that and I know you used to do drugs – I was wondering what that was like, y'know, the hard stuff, if it was any good?"

Andy B: (uncertainly) "It's shite?"

Nicholas: "Oh come on, you did it, it can't be that bad" (Farrall 2001o).

Nicholas pursues the subject, treading the delicate line between maintaining a role that is desirable to Andy B. – college friend – and making his character such a pain that Andy would be justified in the context to simply tell him to fuck off. Field Notes (p83) record that Andy B. is becoming visibly angry as Nicholas pursues a discourse that attempts inexorably to place Andy B. in the position of having either to

- Acquiesce or collude in a way that will defeat his stated aim of staying clear of drug usage
- Risk losing the interaction with the high status role representing his desired future

As a problem solving task, this choice is interesting as, if, the Corrida is 'just make believe', what would it matter if Andy B. colluded with Nicholas on the subject? Yet he does not, growing more and more angry but clearly containing it until he states forcefully "It's fucking bollocks!" (Farrall 2001o) and actually leaves the Corrida. This counts as exercising the 'walk away' option, although he has not told the Judges he is going to do so.

In interview immediately afterwards Andy B. stated:

Andy B.: "That student guy [Jon played] I didn't know what to do. Y'know he was saying drugs was good and could I get him some and I didn't just want to say 'get to fuck'. I didn't know what was the right answer"

Farrall: "Is there a right answer?"

Andy B.: "I – that might happen – I suppose – if I'd gone along with him that would be wrong – y'know, just keeping in for the crack [joke] of it" (Farrall 2001o).

Davy J: The Chat Show

So what is the 'problem' set by the chat show format in the Corrida for Davy J.? In interview, Davy remarked "When [Nicholas] was asking me all those questions... I just wanted to punch him..." (Farrall 2001q), thus Davy finds *something* existentially problematic and arousing about the Corrida. Officer Blue deduces the 'problem' for Davy:

"...he was instantly there, I mean ... he recognised the chat show, he recognised it as the kind of chat show come 'this is your life', that was clear to him. And he clicked on straight away to what it was about, *it was about talking to the new Davy J...*" (Blue 2001, para 35). Thus, for Davy, the problem is to behave in the 'here and now' in a manner befitting the 'new' Davy even though ".... everyone knows that's not in place yet" (Blue 2001 para 35).

Colin S: Cough to It

In Colin S's Corrida there is a seemingly better-defined problem in that he is clearly told he must deal with what is about to happen. The opening seconds of the scene show that he is in a police station (the Corrida, readers will remember, is set up as a police interview room with desk and chairs). Given Colin's previous work on Thursday and his previous criminal offences it is likely that he will quickly work out he must control his temper, as indeed he confirms:

Farrall: "How did you feel when you were in there then?"

Colin S.: "Scared. I knew I had to control myself I knew I had to deal with these things. I didn't have a clue what was happening, I was getting it from all directions" (Farrall 2001r)

However, the situation is yet more complex because there is a reciprocal process going on: Geese set the initial stimulus but it is then affected by the actions and responses of the protagonist, which affect what Geese do and do in a dynamic process. This is similar to the process described by Kahney (1993), where the information gathering process itself can result in an initially unclear problem becoming well defined (at least to the problem solver). An extreme example of this is given further below in considering an unscripted action taken by myself as part of Colin S's Corrida.

So, if the 'problem statement' as given to the protagonists is deliberatively vague and ambiguous, a 'fuzzy' problem situation to parallel the difficulties of interpersonal situations, the next question is, how do Geese go about 'specifying' the 'problem space' through which the protagonist must navigate?

Calibration: The 'stretch zone'

Apart from successfully establishing an ill-defined problem that is still (flexibly) soluble, the Corrida requires that the problem also be made more or less challenging as it goes along, in response to the 'solver'.

In episode 20 on the *Pub Scene* skills teaching (see Appendix A) and 28 on the Thursday Skills practise Colin S. (see *critical moment* 28) the need for accurate 'pitch' or calibration of the learning experience and level of challenge has been considered: Neither too hard nor too easy, but 'Baby Bear's porridge'. The Vygotskyean model of zones of proximal development and the concept of scaffolding have been suggested as appropriate analogues for the process with the inmate participants over the week, as Kirkham accepts:

"...I think as we work with the individuals what we're doing, and certainly when we get into the skills training... we're just taking it up a little notch and it's an achievable notch for them, it's a stretch that they probably wouldn't have gone to themselves... And it is very much like helping them to build blocks, like you can put the fourth block on". (Kirkham 2003 para 175-176).

However, by the time the Corridas are reached an additional element has entered the calculation: "...it's really, really important to see they succeed in doing what they do, because otherwise it just compounds their sense of failure in general" (Kirkham 2003 para 176). This insight concurs with the concept of self-efficacy and the model of Motivational Interviewing where, if an issue assumes huge importance, without sufficient sense of self-efficacy to deal with the problem, trying can actually demotivate the individual. Thus, having worked with the men over the week to raise the importance of the issue of change, the Corrida must do something to increase their confidence also, but without being too easy.

This conundrum illustrates the essential determinacy and aesthetic nature of the Residency:

- The ensuring (as far as possible) of an experience of success for the protagonists (because, as will be discussed below, there is an involved group of witnesses too who may draw their own conclusions from their participation)
- The creation of a framework of genuine challenge and the possibility of failure

Watson adds the distinction that "...there has to be an element where they know that they can succeed, or that if they're failing they know why they're failing or what it is that's making them fail" (Watson 2003 para 68). With reference to a Residency in another prison, Kirkham recalls an instance where a protagonist *did* fail his Corrida:

"...he knew he'd failed, he didn't deal with the situation at all and ... he stopped in the middle of the action and said 'I've failed haven't I?' and... he walked back out of the Corrida through the door, back into the Wasteland... which was absolutely right, symbolically...." (Kirkham 2003 para 117).

What is relevant from this incident is that Kirkham recalls even the experience of failure for this protagonist was "...really useful to him... with the Judges' feedback... it was clear he just wasn't ready for release and I think he found that out" (Kirkham 2003, para 119). Given that this was a man who had served ten years for the murder of a female partner and was currently serving a second sentence for the murder of a second partner, the relevance of discovering for himself that 'he just wasn't ready for release' can be imagined.

Calibration: Feeling the line

The question remains of how, having established a 'fuzzy' problem with no clear problem statement and no clear goals, Geese calibrate the Corrida *in action*; remembering that the Corrida is a 'live' situation dependent on the use of improvisational drama. Geese member Robinson identifies the complexity of the task from the Geese perspective:

"If I'm in the Corrida doing an impro[visation] with a man, his physical cues and emotions are absolutely what I'm working on. Where is he now, can I take him any higher, is it possible or will he break with that increase? I don't see that as effective if he breaks. If he loses his control I think I've failed as a performer in that space because *I've got to take him as high as I can without him failing*. Now obviously that's a balancing act that is an art not a science." (Robinson 2003, my emphasis).

There are clear links here to the comments made above by Kirkham on the need for the protagonist to remain in 'stretch' constantly, with the Auxiliary in the form of Geese members finely judging the learning experience and what will be just enough, but not too much. All of this must of course be judged 'in the moment' and with the Auxiliary remaining 'in character' so as to not breach the 'as if' verisimilitude of the scene which must be 'real enough'.

The dramaturgical analysis of this task will be considered below, but for now readers may wish to note that there are links to

- The synthesis of Stansilavskian and Brechtian acting modalities
- The modernist nature of the Corrida in the sense of constantly 'problematising' reality, as Boalian Forum theatre does.

We will again turn to examples from the Corrida that may serve to illustrate this.

Andy B: Calibrating *And the drugs don't work*

Because Andy B's Corrida consists of a number of sequential scenes, it lends itself to the analysis of calibration, and so we consider it at some length. Readers will remember that the initial scene of this Corrida involved the presentation of tableaux of drug use and that Andy B. confirmed the scene was arousing. In terms of pitch however, Andy B. has been simply requested to 'watch' – there was no interaction between him and the tableaux images. While the following scenes may also be considered to be physiologically and psychologically arousing for Andy, it is the 'pitch' of the scene that is our main focus here.

Scene 2: The Student

Nicholas enters wearing a college scarf – a signifier of role as student – and greets Andy B. Andy immediately looks more relaxed (Field Notes p83). One of Andy's stated intentions has been to 'go to college' and gain some qualifications as part of his leaving behind offending and drugs. Andy B. seems to enjoy this potential role in which he has been placed, bantering with Nicholas around 'college' concerns before, as described above under problem solving, Nicholas manoeuvres the scene to present Andy B. with the dilemma of colluding and acquiescing or risking lose a relationship with a desired figure.

Officer Blue's observation was that in this scene Andy B. 'bounced forward' to the student, 'the old [Andy B] was back', followed by a realisation that '[he'd been] too eager when [the] conversation went didgy' (Field Notes p89) as Nicholas begins to apply the stressors, relating to Andy's former role as a drug user and his about-to-be-actualised role of ex-inmate (Andy is literally to be released at lunchtime, after the Corrida). As noted above, Andy B eventually states forcefully "It's fucking bollocks!" (Farrall 2001o) and actually walks out of the Corrida. As Corrida Master I guide him back in and see that he is clearly aroused, frowning, breathing heavily and sweating (Field Notes p83).

So where does the Corrida go from here? Readers may remember that Andy has definitively stated that he is going to find a new girlfriend, who is not involved with drugs, and that this will be his passport to a changed life (Field Notes p6). As discussed under episode 29 (see Appendix A) this is seen as a problematic intent because it risks the responsibility for success or failure of change being placed with someone else and In Officer Blue's opinion, Andy B is "hanging on by his fingernails" and is "totally unrealistic about how easily he's going to change" (Field Notes p6). Just as this 'idée fixee' seemed a clear place to start for Andy B's skills practice on then Thursday, so some element of it should enter the Corrida.

Scene 3: The Woman

Brookes enters the Corrida in the role of a partner for Andy. It should be pointed out to readers that there is no formal introduction of who a character is, before the scenes start: They simply enter and begin speaking, and from the dialogue Andy must 'problem solve' role and relationship. This is part of the ill-defined nature of the problem.

Field Notes record that as he did with the previous one, Andy B initially calms at the beginning of the scene. As Brookes, in the role of future partner begins to probe Andy's commitment to change he responds in a calm tone, speaking fluently and keeping his hands in his pockets. The conversation is slow, with pauses for thought, but the men watching seem spellbound (Field Notes p83). Andy's work is likely to be representing an archetypal conversation around change, one which many of the men will have had some form or another, and in which they are likely to be investing emotionally, as with the Mum character in *The Violent illusion Part II*.

Stanza 47

Brookes: How can I trust you// You know what it's like .. how do I know you won't
get back on it.. just cos you say you won't//
Andy B.: If that's the way you feel.. can I do anything to change that//
Brookes: Do you think you'll go back on the gear//
(Pause)
Andy B.: Take things one day at a time// Let tomorrow take care of itself//
(Farrall 2001o)

Officer Blue identifies the above interaction as crucial: "The woman nearly broke Andy – he couldn't answer [her questions or concerns], [there was] a big click – "I'm clean today" - that was the realisation [that he was] still too eager" (Field Notes p89). This will be returned to in the discussion of the 'learning experience' that the Corrida may represent.

Scene 4: The Old Mate

The next and final scene brings a surprising response from Andy B. Guy, who is playing the role of 'old mate' describes the moment: "I came in and said 'hello' - touched him – in the tum – he stopped - and he just bolted" (Field Notes p84). Andy B. literally pushes Guy out of the way and throws himself out of Corrida, through the actor's entry, crashing out to where I am waiting off-stage and his impetus carrying him 'half way up the altar steps' (Field Notes p83) which lie behind the set.

He is tearful, says "Ahh fuck" and waves back towards the interior of the Corrida, making a gesture of pushing away (Field Notes p83). Officer Blue, who is Andy's Second, arrives and we take him back into the Corrida, to sit and await the deliberations of the Judges; he is wiping his eyes and seems dazed. Through the windows, Billy R, Darren C and James M all stare hard at him; Colin S & Davy J are staring up at the ceiling (Field Notes p83).

The Judges return from deliberating and then share their thinking with Andy. The consensus is that the Corrida was hard but he coped well, and the Judges feel he is realistic about the difficulties of going straight or staying off drugs (Farrall 2001o).

Readers will note that Andy has 'walked away' from the situation twice: Firstly actually walking out on Nicholas's student character, the second time literally running away. Officer Blue's interpretation is that Andy B realised that in the previous scenes he'd been too eager, too confident he could 'handle it' but on seeing Guy enter – and, more importantly deducing and realising what he represented simply from the manner of Guy's greeting - had realised he couldn't see "the same old faces & places" (Field Notes p89).

Andy B. himself identifies the increasing challenge:

"It just keeps going on - just when you think – I've done that bit – something else happens and your heads gone again. But it was so real – I got angry talking to [Nicholas] and when [Guy] come in I just thought Fuck! I've got to get out of here! I know who he was [the role represented] and I just thought – get to fuck!" (Farrall 2001o)

Davy J: Calibrating *The Chat Show*

Readers will remember that a central plank of the analysis of violence in this thesis is that violent behaviour is commonly a response to an 'insult', considered a '*demeaning offence against me or mine*' (Lazarus 1991), and (in the model here) arousing of somato-visceral Damasian 'feelings' which link to traumatic experience, guilt and shame on both a conscious and unconscious level, resulting in 'action' to ameliorate those unbearable feelings.

Readers will also remember that Davy J's instructions have been as follows: "You're going to be asked some questions. Answer as honestly as you can." Nicholas from Geese then enters in role and contextualises the setting as a chat show on which Davy is 'tonight's special guest'. The question might be asked: What has this to do with the serious violence that Davy J. frequently enacts and in what way is it a 'challenge'? Davy J. himself notes in interview that a more obvious challenge might have been expected:

Farrall: "So were you expecting in your Corrida then that there was going to be some sort of shoving you around and see if [you] can keep [your] temper?"

Davy J.: "I expected that a little bit. The person who did the Corrida yesterday the one with the police officers [Colin S.].... when I saw that I thought well that could have been mine"

Farrall 2001q para53-54)

However, an answer as to 'why the chat show format?' might be indicated by Brookes' recollection of a similar challenge in another prison Residency:

"[Do you remember] the drug dealer, who'd had his head beaten in with baseball bats? The one in for killing his baby? It was so painful to see him standing there [in the Corrida], shaking, trying to [fulfil the task to] find five good things to say about himself. We had to let him go with three... He just couldn't do it" (Brookes 2003 para 13)

Leaving aside the question of how the model of violence in this thesis might link to an act as violent as the non-accidental killing of a victim as unthreatening as a baby, the relevant point is why this man found his challenge so difficult and what similarities there may be to Davy J.'s challenge? I will again refer to Nagel (1986) in the context of the dramaturgical self: "If we are required to do certain things, then we are required to be the kinds of people who will do these things" (p191).

The challenge for Davy J. (as for the 'baby killer cited by Brookes, 2003) seems to be related to accepting for *himself* that he is the 'kind of person' who can be seen positively, for as he later stated in interview:

Davy J.: "When I was doing the Corrida yesterday I was getting all that personal words [Jon] was giving me a lot of encouragement, saying I believe you can do it, in fact I know you can do it, believe in yourself and that's one thing I've never done before is believe in myself" (Farrall 2001q)

Nicholas, in role as the chat show host, noted:

"I didn't need to try and wind him up, I think after all the work we've done that's kind of besides the point... he can control himself if he wants to... this is much more about him facing who he can be and dealing with positive things about himself and that's much harder for him funny... I could see him going so I deliberately kept it light – it was still tough [for him] - so he was struggling with himself and not me..." (Farrall 2001t)

In addition, over the course of this thesis there have been frequent mentions of Davy J's apparent discovery of reciprocity and the importance of his embodiment as a major determinant in social interactions, in addition to his attempts over the week to 'do different' and actualise 'another Davy' who is not the 'arsehole' that Officer Blue describes is commonly experienced within the prison. This has been discussed in terms of the 'trying out' or development of fragmentary roles and will be discussed further under the nature of the learning experience that the Corrida might be considered to promote, and under dramaturgy when we return to the public nature of the Corrida and the witnessing function.

Lastly, as a final comment on the pitching of the Corrida, and the question of whether the chat show Corrida, being the 'special guest' and being asked to speak positively about himself was a challenge, I will remind readers that Davy J. described his responses in the following terms:

"When [Nicholas] was asking me all those questions... I just wanted to punch him..." "Yesterday when I was doing my Corrida I was doing an interview with [Nicholas] who was the interviewer I could feel myself getting really, really angry inside ..." (Farrall 2001q)

Despite Andy B. and Davy J.'s reactions, readers will probably agree that the first two Corridas have been far from 'red rag' experiences of attempting to 'wind up' a violent man by administering some direct kind of interpersonal 'insult' (although the activities involved could still act as a '*demeaning offence against me or mine*', (Lazarus 1991); as we turn to Colin S's Corrida and the calibration of it, these considerations come much more to the fore.

Colin S.: Calibrating Cough to It

To remind readers, Colin's 'problem statement' has been the almost completely unspecified: "Something is about to happen. You must deal with it". Male Geese members then enter in role as police officers to accuse him directly of something he has not done.

I am observing from outside the Corrida. After some minutes, of the police pressuring Colin and him calmly restating "I didn't do it, it wasn't me" I realise that the level of challenge is not high enough. In the analysis of this thesis, because he really did *not* do whatever he was accused of, in Boalian terms, there is insufficient metaxis and too little sense of two places at once; Colin is calm because he knows he is in a role-played situation in a theatrical set and there is not enough 'surplus reality', i.e. a psychological and emotional reality which surpasses the existential reality. He has too great a reflexive distance, and I observe (Field Notes p87) that he has the same small grin, which signified in the skills practice on Thursday that – as Colin noted – "I'm getting used to it, and it's funny. Y'know' it's like a play. But if it was real I'd have to hit him" (Farrall 2001j).

Unscripted action

Normally the Corrida Master does not play any acting roles in the Corridas themselves, but I make an in the moment artistic and clinical decision that if the level of challenge is going to be high enough to actually be a test for Colin, with any chance of meaningful subsequent learning, I must raise the stakes. Removing my Corrida Master jacket, I step unscheduled into the Corrida and for the first time, with my spontaneous and unrehearsed actions, have some idea of what the Corrida is like for the inmates! It is indeed very bright and feels very enclosed and I am very aware of the watching presence of the audience and of the quiet.

Colin's grin widens when he sees me and I try to ignore him, instead improvising some dialogue with the other police roles about his refusal to confess. I try a few verbal challenges to Colin, using language more confrontational than the others have used, but Colin remains very calm, smiling and making eye contact: The aesthetic space remains insufficiently dichotomous, not because Colin has 'penetrated too far' into his projections, but for the opposite reason.

I decide that I must increase the level of challenge, and begin to use my physicality: I am 6' 3" and Colin is about 5' 8". I 'front' him by getting very close indeed, not touching, but way, way within the typical comfortable distance established earlier in the week in the *Two Man* exercise. Colin stops grinning but still is coping.

I turn away as if ending the conversation, my body relaxing as if realising that he will not 'bite' and then, turning back, I launch a push at Colin with all my strength, 'fronting' in full fighting

mode as he reels back across the Corrida. I am looking directly at him as, for a split second, his eyes flare, his jaw grits, he takes a step forward in fighting stance with fists clenched – and then catches himself.

We lock eyes for second and then I turn away, saying something dismissive and leave the Corrida. Outside, as the actors exit, I quickly resume my Corrida Master role, asking Colin to wait while the Judges confer. My heart is going; I am extremely sweaty and have a roaring in my ears (Field Notes p85). In interview Colin S. confirms that this intervention was a crucial moment in establishing a higher level of challenge:

Farrall: "How did you feel when you were in there then?"

Colin S: "Scared. I knew I had to control myself I knew I had to deal with these things. I didn't have a clue what was happening, I was getting it from all directions"

Farrall: "I know it's obviously not exactly the same as you actually being in the police station, but were the same kind of feelings there?"

Colin S: "Yeah, it's when things go beyond a joke, you've got to calm yourself"

Farrall: "When did it go beyond a joke for you then, when did it start getting real?"

Colin S: "Before I was pushed"

Farrall: "Before you were pushed?"

Colin S: "Yeah, not too long before, just before I was pushed, aye. When I saw that you were not giving up in any way, playing the little mind games..."

Farrall: "Yeah, well as everybody said it's obvious you were really working hard. When I actually pushed you then, what did you think, be honest, because I saw the look on your face?"

Colin S: "I was shocked, I couldn't believe it. Obviously I was annoyed because it was real. I knew what I had to do though"

Farrall: "Yeah, you did it very well, just for a second there it looked like the old stuff, the old way that you used to react clicked in, just for an instant"

Colin S: "Ayw, it didn't come to the surface though, I kept it in. It thought it was brilliant though..."

(Farrall 2001r)

Holmes (1998) notes that in Psychodrama when touch is involved "...it is essential that the magical 'as if' aspect of the dramatic process remains in place" (p142) in order to protect protagonists from touch that may be too intimate or violent. Colin S.'s comments above would indicate that in this instance it is the touch which creates the 'as if', rather than puncturing it, although Bolton's (1981) observation of a need for 'protective devices' (such as the skills training and the ritualism of the Corrida setting) to avoid 'first order' 'raw' emotion restimulated by the drama taking over, is still relevant.

Corrida as Problem Solving: A summary

The 'counter intuitive' nature of the intervention described above can be seen to illustrate the core indeterminacy of the Corrida: It is indeed a potential space where 'anything can happen', even counter to the central notion of not just 'winding up' violent men, and where 'live' decision making is an integral element of the co-constructed experience. Thus, the Corrida can be seen as a 'special' problem space where the heuristic 'impossibilistic creativity' of generating novel ideas that were somehow 'impossible' before can occur (Boden 1991):

"Some forms of creativity are linked to exploring new parts of the [problem] space... Other forms of creativity emerge when the fundamental rules of the space itself are violated or modified. When the space itself changes, ideas that could not have been generated before emerge." (p393).

This notion is similar to the suggestion by Lamberts & Pfieffer (1992) that *adaptive expertise* works on 'non-standard, unfamiliar problems' to generate effective *ad hoc* solutions; the Corrida can be seen as an arena for developing such adaptive expertise in the participants (see also Green & Gilhooly 1992, Hatano & Inagaki 1986, Holyoak 1991), in order that they can move beyond the 'novice' status of seeing all interpersonal problems in terms of surface features (Lazarus's 'demeaning insult to me and mine') rather than specifics of the situation and the 'deep structure' – the latter being a feature of expertise (Chi, Glaser & Rees 1983).

We have considered the calibration of the Corridas in terms of problem setting and solving as part of assessing how they may provide a physiological and psychological stimulus overall, and hopefully have demonstrated that they do achieve such stimulation of 'persistent responses' in the protagonists. We must now move on to another term of the hypothesis and consider how, once stimulated, these responses are resisted.

...by encouraging resistance to these responses....

Returning directly to the hypothesis, it is suggested that after first stimulating physiological and psychological responses, in a holistic manner, the Corrida then somehow encourages 'resistance' to these responses. Again, the question arises, how does it do this? Readers should recall the strong Geese opinion that the Corrida, while representing a culmination of the week is not a 'stand alone' item and that the activities undertaken on the previous four days of the Residency are crucial precursors, not least of which is the establishment of the 'therapeutic alliance': "... we are asking a huge amount of trust and respect from the men and if we have not attempted any kind of process that will generate that [beforehand] then I think it would be a shambles" (Raynsford 2003, para 32).

Cognitive framework

However, apart from the trust and belief that may have been established over the week, the models and skills taught are also seen as crucial in generating resistance to the persistent response. Officer Blue suggests that:

".... because there's the part of the person that is in the Corrida being tested and they have permission for it to be real and they become really absorbed in it and they just start to react as though it was a real situation *but at the back of their head at another level there's a bit going through the check list of what we've seen during the week and of what they've thought during the week and it's as though they're going through a tick board and ticking off -'yeah that's right, yeah that's right.'*"
(Blue 2001 para 14-15 my emphasis).

This would seem to suggest support for the notion that the Residency helps create a cognitive 'theoretical framework' around the men's behaviour that in turn creates a reflexive intellectual distance, so that they are able to act as rational 'observers of themselves'. This idea was discussed earlier under performance of the dramaturgical self where "The actions of the person himself (sic) become the object of his own attention" (Kirby 1969, p155). This is different to the cognitive framework proposed by Ney (2004) where victims of traumatic or abusive experience 'need to understand what has happened to them' in order to prevent re-enactment of past experience.

The analysis of Officer Blue also appears to support such an understanding: he states explicitly "In a sense *there's two people*, there's the person in the Corrida as a participant and there's the person in the Corrida *who is his own audience*, checking off what's going on there" (Blue 2001 my emphasis); this is an echo of Boal's interpretation that the work in aesthetic space offers an 'imaginary mirror' for a person to observe their self and "...imagine variations of his (sic) action, to study alternatives" (Boal 1995 p13). We will consider this concept further, below under dramaturgy, in terms of links to or parallels with Brecht and Stanislavski.

Readers may remember earlier references to the Inner Man and the way in which men were requested to 'fill in' the victims on one arm, the skills they have developed at the next and so on. The Inner Man figure forms part of the cognitive framework, standing in the Corrida for each protagonist, with his specific information attached, as a mnemonic device. Heywood identifies that:

"...I think for those people who have done skills and have little bits of paper or what have you on their Inner Man at Corrida, I think for those men.... the Inner Man thing is pretty useful. Also I think when it's full when it's got lots of stuff on

it [in combination with the Corrida] I think that's quite powerful... " (Heywood 2003 para 74).

Officer Blue also suggests that, in line with many discussions within this thesis, the nature of the experience for the men remains provisional and experimental:

Farrall: "Right, so they're testing out the whole way that we've broken down [correctly] the process of them getting angry and violent?"

Blue: "That's right... [In the Corrida they have] checked that off the checklist and confirmed that to be correct maybe for the first time in their lives"

Farrall: "It's like a practical test of what we've said is the theory of it"
(Farrall 2001s)

This links to concepts around theory node 5 and arguments presented by Bruner and others on the construction of meaning and socially constructed nature of subjective reality: As they undergo the experience, the protagonists are 'seeing if it works'. Data from the protagonists also supports the idea of such a process in operation but also notes the crucial importance of their having *practised previously*, as Andy B. notes

"You get all wound up – I can get wound up talking but it's not the same. An' what we did with the chairs and that [a reference to the empty chair work on Thursday, see episode 29, Appendix A] was practising it like. You don't know what you've got to do, but you know what to do... Your head's going but *you just keep thinking about what to do, what you practiced*" (Farrall 2001o)

Practising the skills

As Andy B.'s comment above indicates, a purely cognitive framework is not all that is involved in the protagonist attempting to deal with the Corrida. Part of the 'encouraging resistance' to 'persistent responses' is the teaching of skills for use within the Corrida. Again, within the frame of this thesis it is crucial to remember that the reflexive distance discussed above is not operating in a purely abstract fashion but has arisen out of previous experiential work in 'aesthetic space' and (as Boal points out) is now being tested *in action*.

Having noted the theme of protagonists testing out and constructing the experience, Officer Blue continues the theme:

"[The men say to themselves] 'I feel my pulse increasing, I feel my hands getting sweaty, I feel my head getting tight', so as they're checking off the reality with the anger building it actually allows them to say 'well so the interventions may be real, so that deep breathing, the count to ten' whatever strategy they're going to use for intervention...[might actually work]" (Blue 2001 para 16)

Above, Andy B. appears to confirm that 'in the moment' practice of the skills previously taught is a crucial component of the Corrida experience, and is supported in this by Davy J.:

Davy J.: "Yesterday when I was doing my Corrida I was doing an interview with Jon who was the interviewer I could feel myself getting really, really angry inside ...but / managed to control my breathing and kept myself calm enough"

Farrall: "So you were actually doing the skills that we've looked at to keep calm, to talk to [Nicholas]?"

Davy J. "Well [on the Thursday] there was one scene where I was walking towards [Mountford] and he just kept shoving me backwards, forcibly but not violently and he just kept saying 'remain calm, remain calm', getting the voices in my head and I just said 'keep calm it's not worth it'. One voice would say 'keep calm' and the other voice was saying 'you'll end up in jail you'll be going down' and I actually managed to keep calm and [Mountford and Nicholas] were quite surprised"

Farrall: "And you used what you'd practised, in the Corrida?"

Davy J. "And I was being honest I wasn't bullshitting around nothing like that"

(Farrall 2001q)

In another link to preceding work and to subsequent usefulness or reinforcement, Bandura (1977b) notes that "...performance desensitisation eliminates autonomic responses to both imagined and actual threats" (p196). This is a two way flow: The work done on Thursday may prepare protagonists for the higher demand task of the Corrida, which itself might prepare them for still-later 'real life' demands that are in turn more highly stimulating than the Corrida. Thus, the above data can be seen as support for the suggestion of the hypothesis the Corrida is indeed 'encouraging resistance' to habitual responses, and that it is the experiential practise element within the drama-based 'surplus reality' which is essential for the effect.

.... persistent ... behavioural responses....

If the above analysis suggests evidence for the stimulation of persistent physical (and psychological) responses, the question rises of what of the *behavioural* responses? Clearly, the specific behavioural responses of interest here is violence. Is it fair to suggest this as a 'persistent response' by these men to stimulus of the type under discussion? The mere fact that the men involved are all men serving repeat sentences for violent offences would seem to indicate yes, and Davy J.'s comments suggest further:

Farrall "...So in the past when you've got angry and been in situations where you're wound up, do you find yourself... is it almost automatically you react in a particular way?

Davy J.: "Yes, just like a switch [I get violent]" (Farrall 2001q)

Also, the earlier reference to a member of Geese stationed ready to press the alarm bell was not made simply for dramatic effect: However much the Corrida Master's speech states that "In the Corrida, violence is not an option", in the existential life world the reality is that such behaviour is a possibility. A major point to note however, is that if the behavioural response of violence is too accurately stimulated, the Corrida has failed: Therefore, we are to judge success by a negative quality of *absence* of violence – where the potential is 'there but not quite' – Schrödinger's cat remains in the box rather than being definitively alive or definitely dead.

Summary so far

At this point, let us remind ourselves once more of the hypothesis: *The Corrida creates a holistic emotional, physiological and psychological experience which stimulates and activates the individual's persistent physical and behavioural responses and by encouraging resistance to these responses provides a learning experience which enhances reflexivity, challenges conditioning and alters the probability of 'deviant' behaviour occurring.*

We have not yet considered explicitly the emotional aspect, although the sense of emotional arousal (certainly at least of anger, tension, anxiety) has been implicit in the analysis of data so far. More attention will be paid to emotional aspects of the Corrida experience, below. We have considered data which suggests that the Corrida is stimulating psychologically and physiologically, and that this stimulus does activate the 'action tendencies' of persistent physical and behavioural responses on the part of the protagonists specifically, and that they are able, through application in the moment of previously rehearsed skills and techniques, to apply a reflexive distance between themselves and the arousing experience, which enables them to control their persistent responses and 'do different'.

This analysis has been slightly complicated by the nature of the Corridas providing the data because of the subtler aspects and intentions in Andy B. and Davy J.'s Corridas. The latter part of the hypothesis proposes that the Corrida ...*provides a learning experience which enhances reflexivity, challenges conditioning and alters the probability of 'deviant' behaviour occurring.* It is to aspects of the proposed 'learning experience' that we will now turn.

The learning experience: Catharsis; the 'left hand of knowing'?

Reference has been made previously to what Heathcote describes as the 'left hand of knowing'; the transformational *emotional* knowledge that is intimately bound up with the *cognitive* to create the unity I have previously referred to as 'fethinkel'. As mentioned briefly above, there does appear to be 'in the moment' emotional arousal of the protagonists in the Corrida in terms of anger, anxiety and so on. What I would like to do now is consider emotional arousal in the issue of *catharsis*, both in the protagonist and the 'audience', and consider how this may link to the proposed Corrida effects.

We will therefore briefly remind ourselves of what was said in the literature review concerning catharsis. Firstly, it was suggested that there is an association with ancient ritual (see Schechner 1988), thus implying a public dimension; this notion links to earlier references under critical moment 33 to the architecture of the Corrida set sharing conceptual similarities with the ancient Athenian 'public theatre' as a symbolic 'nest of solidarity', which will be explored further below, under the examination of 'witnessing'.

Secondly, there was a discussion of where catharsis is located, whether in the 'active' protagonists or the 'passive' spectator, resulting in a conclusion that these boundaries are fluid (linking to Boalian theories of the 'spect-actor') and that the work done by the protagonist in a group setting is seen as being work of relevance to the group as a whole and an expression of group concerns and issues (Karp 1998). Thus, there is *primary catharsis* experienced by the 'actor' and *secondary catharsis of integration* occurring in the audience through a process of identification (Langley 1988).

Thirdly, we considered what catharsis 'does', noting that in some cases the aim may be the expression of hitherto repressed emotions (including anger) but that in the Corrida catharsis is likely to function as a means to an end "...[clarifying] the here-and-now feelings in order for the protagonist to move forward" (Langley 1998 p264), which links to 'fethinkel' in that Brecht suggests a catharsis of "...exhilaration we experience when we enlarge our understanding" (Esslin 1959, p117). Finally, we also noted the concerns implied by Davis (1983) of catharsis as social control ('drama for deference') in accommodating to social reality, rather than changing it.

Embodiment

The comments and observations below, of and by the protagonists are of particular interest given the importance placed in this thesis on embodied sensation. If, as speculated, early traumatic, shameful experience can result in Damasian somato-visceral 'feelings' being constantly available to re-activation, which when activated are 'unbearable' and act as 'fixed action patterns' drivers to violence, then any change in the physicality of the body must reduce

(at least temporarily) the likelihood of reactivation. This is linked to Chaos theory in that, given a small perturbation in what has hitherto been a *stable* 'complex system', the system may well 'spin off' and settle around another point. This may be seen as support for the 'challenge to conditioning' hypothesised for the Corrida.

All three protagonists who went into the Corrida expressed some sort of experience that may be considered 'cathartic' immediately post Corrida: "Aye it was like – I don't know – a weight was lifted – in my body and how I feel" (Farrall 2001o). Davy J. did not refer specifically to this aspect, yet Geese member Guy noted: 'Did you see what he (Davy J.) did at the end? He walked over to me (mimes big muscles, does big sigh, relaxed face) phwoo!' (Field Notes p85). Colin S. too notes some experience that may be considered cathartic, having the following conversation (observed by myself) immediately post-Corrida:

Stanza 48

Anne (staff member): "How are you feeling?"

Colin S.: "I feel strange"

Anne: "Strange?:

Colin S.: "Elated"

Colin S.: "A barrier has fallen down"

(Farrall 2001p)

In interview the next day, Colin referred again to this 'change in state':

Colin S.: "I've never been able to talk you know like this, this has helped me, I feel a lot better, I haven't felt like this for years"

Farrall: "How do you feel now then?"

Colin S.: "I feel good I feel great, I feel like..." (smiles and shrugs shoulders in a light way)

Farrall: "Shoulders still loose are they?"

Colin S.: "Yeah, relaxed"

(Farrall 2001r)

Readers will note that the protagonists do not seem to be referring to a 'disembodied' emotional experience, but something that has very definite physical correlates (in a positive way). Embodiment may be of particular import for Davy J as his physicality has altered over the week, progressing from a taut, tense way of holding himself and moving to a much more open, relaxed physical style which parallels or complements (is a function of?) his altering social 'way of being' in a reciprocal process.

Langley (1998) notes that catharsis can be expressed by "...an altered facial or bodily expression..." (P264), and readers may recall previous observations cited by Geese about

changes in embodiment of participants over the week: "...I do think *most of them go through quite an emotional process which quite often...reflected physically* in the way they are with us, *they [get] a bit softer and fluffy round the edges...*" (Heywood 2003). It should be noted in conclusion that Geese personnel are not unanimous on the subject of catharsis:

"It's not about catharsis, it's about control I think....[for the Corrida men] ...there could be [catharsis]. My understanding of catharsis is something like an affective explosion and a draining away of something. I think potentially it does do that" (Robinson 2003)

while Brookes notes: "... definitely there is [catharsis] for some men, I think there's not for others" (2003). Officer Blue too notes the importance of the cathartic experience of success:

"In some of the role plays during the week people get a buzz, they get a lift, it's not sufficient to confirm that this is the way to do it, it becomes it as right, it confirms that it is good. But to walk out as Colin put it – I feel as if I'm floating, I feel as though I'm lighter and feeling good about it, that's the magic of the Corrida" (Blue 2001, para 35).

Catharsis and ritual

We have not yet directly considered the issue of ritual, other than opening the analysis of the Friday Corridas with Turner's (1982) five point structure of 'ritualised theatre' concerning the 'proper finale of an experience', and describing some of the ritualistic elements that are involved in the Corridas. The hope is that by now readers will be accepting the understanding of the Corrida as a ritual(ised) space fitting Mitchell's (1992) definition of 'therapeutic theatre' where "At later phases in the group process, very specific rites of passage may be devised, where the group witnesses a particular client move through a very individual experience" (p66). These ideas link to another epistemological perspective on the catharsis experienced in the Corrida; that of theatre anthropology and shamanic ecstatic experience.

While I am not suggesting that the Corrida functions as a shamanic initiation, Schechner (2003) notes that 'ecstatic' experience consists partially of "...dreams, visions trances..." (p32) and has a distinct embodied aspect: The former point can be seen as linking to the experience within the Corrida as aesthetic space, which Boal denotes as possessing oneiric qualities (of dreams) and plasticity in that 'anything can happen'. The idea of shamanic experience is also echoed in the idea of metaxis and 'two worlds in one' and links to ritual in that Schechner identifies shamanic status can be achieved "... by personal ambition or the will of the tribe" (see Elide 1965), the latter point also links to the witnessing role, to be discussed further, below.

Summary overall

We began this analysis with a consideration of the ways in which the Corrida might provide a physiological and psychological stimulus to activate the persistent responses of the protagonists, and suggested that the evidence does indeed support such arousal occurring. We then considered the ways in which the Corrida might encourage resistance to these responses, examining the role of work on previous days of the Residency and that the cognitive model established in the week of anger and violence as a process which can be controlled, helped establish a reflexive critical distance, placing the protagonist in the role of 'observer of themselves' rather than being overwhelmed in the existential flow. Finally the use of behavioural interventions allied to the cognitive framework appears to help protagonists literally 'do different'.

We then considered the issue of catharsis and explored data that would seem to support the Corrida as facilitative of some sort of cathartic experience at least for the individual protagonists within it, and that this catharsis has an embodied quality to it, a 'feeling different' which is of relevance to the concept of relatively fixed and repetitive Damasian somato-visceral 'feelings' as a driver for violent behaviour. Implicit within this consideration has been the *emotional* quality of the experience, an in-depth consideration of which is also still required. Finally, we have also touched briefly on the role that the ritualistic quality of the Corrida proceedings may play, as an element of the dramaturgy, which in itself we have still not considered in any depth other to examine the ways in which Geese personnel calibrate the Corrida experience.

To return once more to the hypothesis, we have reached the terms that suggest that the Corrida *provides a learning experience which enhances reflexivity, challenges conditioning and alters the probability of 'deviant' behaviour occurring*. To some degree, we have already examined the question of enhanced reflexivity in that the Corrida appears to facilitate this at least in the moment of initial testing, and equally that it challenges condition. Thus, there appears to be some sort of learning experience, but this bears more examination, as follows:

- We will follow Heathcote's dictum of 'from the universal to the particular' and begin with a consideration of the possible 'universals' of the experience across individuals before moving to the person-specific learning experience for the protagonists
- We will then pay some attention to what might be the learning *for the group*, including cognitive and emotional, and a specific focus on aspects of *witnessing*
- Following this we will consider some questions around *emotion and memory* for the learning experience.

Again, while the above elements are described atomistically, the likelihood is that they will be interconnected and we might approach the same piece of data from several different perspectives.

'Universals' of the individual learning

This thesis has suggested a model of violent behaviour where 'here and now' environmental events serve to activate somato-visceral 'feelings' which re-stimulate and remind of (consciously or otherwise) early traumatic experience; these feelings are existentially and emotionally 'unbearable' and, through 'magical thinking', in order to 'put things right' the individual is motivated to behave violently, temporarily vanquishing the activated 'action tendencies'.

Thus, if we also take into account

- The holistic model of the person that has been proposed
- The concept of 'fethinkel'
- Issues around role and personality

there are wide possibilities for individual learning from the Corrida experience as a summation and extension of the work of the Residency. We will attempt to work through the domains of the affective, cognitive and behavioural aspects, before turning to some thoughts on psychodynamic aspects and questions concerning dramaturgy and role, bearing in mind that we have touched on many of these already.

Affective learning: Coping with emotional arousal

As proposed in this thesis, the emotional arousal associated with restimulation of early traumatic experience is extremely aversive for the individual. In psychodynamic terms, the fear may be that the feelings are so unbearable they will lead to annihilation of the self: Thus, a key element of the learning may be that such feelings can be 'felt' and *it is possible to survive the experience* without recourse to the habitual or usual violent solution.

Readers will remember that we have considered the need for a sense of self as a prerequisite for attempting change: Bandura (1977) points out that emotional arousal is another source of information to gauge and support one's sense of such personal competency. Desensitisation to the emotional stimulus allows the teaching of effective coping skills by demonstrating proficient ways to handle threat. In turn, this affects perception: Stressful situations are seen as less stressful & threatening and "... such cognitive appraisals further reduce anticipatory emotional arousal" (p199).

A useful metaphor may be to think of the striking of a note in music: The aim of the Corrida is to sound the note of arousal to which men will usually react with violence, but rather than curtailing the note, it is sustained and men kept at that pitch for far longer than they would normally endure, without initiating the violent response. Thus, by extending the exposure to the note, the men have time to experience being able to 'hear' it, resonate with it and withstand it, creating the kind of emotional change in 'psycho-physical state' referred to by Bolton (1981).

This is a fundamental possible level of individual learning: That the 'feelings' can be survived. Such experience is then reinforced by the considerations above on catharsis: Having survived the aversive experience, men then experience and thus learn that doing so can make them feel good physically and emotionally, which can act as another reinforcer for changed behaviour.

Cognitive learning

We have considered above at some length the cognitive framework that might be involved in 'encouraging resistance' to habitual responses and how this might form part of the learning. From the comments of the participants in the stanzas above, this is a major part of the learning for the individuals, particularly the 'self-talk' and rehearsing of calming strategies. In the framework of this thesis, it is the holistic experience of putting these into practice, and the resultant emotional experience, which creates the finished product.

An important element that should not be forgotten is that the experience has taken place in a public arena: Thus the comments and reactions of others play a part in the individualised leaning, and we will consider this below when we turn to the 'witnessing' function.

Behavioural learning

Again, we have considered at length how the *experiential* nature of the preparations during Thursday's skills training and the Friday Corrida is central. Only in *action* are the possibilities of 'surplus reality' and 'aesthetic space' actualised, providing the 'imaginary mirror' for a person to observe their self and "...imagine variations of his (sic) action, to study alternatives" (Boal 1995 p13). It is only in the personal, behavioural realm that propositions can be 'reality tested': However much an individual might *believe* something will work (and we have considered the central nature of *belief* to the efficacy of the Corrida) it is only the *actual experience* which will confirm a hypothesis.

In the context of Post Traumatic Stress, van der Kolk, McFarlane, & Weisath (1996) write that Post Traumatic Stress *Disorder* (where everyday functioning is persistently and adversely affected by the trauma, such as flashbacks, nightmares, loss of concentration) occurs because of a persons "...inability to process a traumatic experience adequately" (px). Treatment should

therefore aim at "...activation of the fear memory and provision of new information including elements that are incompatible with existing pathological elements in the structure so that a new memory can be formed" (pxxi). As mentioned above van der Kolk (1987b) also cites the importance of the group in resolution of such a 'trauma response' – this relates to the discussion below on the 'co-constructed' nature of the Corrida experience.

This idea has been mentioned in analysis of *critical episode 28* with Colin S. on the Thursday skills training, but it can also be seen to apply to the Corrida in that (in the model of the thesis) the 'fear memory' is indeed sufficiently activated, but *recontextualised* so a new memory can be formed: Hence Davy J. becomes angry during his chat show interview, but has a memory of receiving great positive affirmation from the experience through 'participation mystique' and his being someone 'worth attending to' (Latane 1981).

Role learning

From the perspective of the 'dramaturgical self', an individual can learn through their Residency and Corrida experiences, that they can be 'someone else': In psychodramatic terms this is about extending the 'role repertoire', but we have considered role thus far in more Chaotic terms, considering multiplicity and 'fragmentary' roles. Certainly, much of Davy J.'s learning seems to be in the realm of discovering a 'new Davy', which as Officer Blue describes below, remains provisional but at least has been seen to be in existence rather than just an unsuspected potential.

Linking to the suggested ritualistic and/or magical aspects of the Corrida, Cassirer (1946) argues "Whoever has brought part of a whole into his power has thereby acquired power, in the magical sense, over the whole itself..." (p92). This can be seen to apply to the action of the Corrida in that actualisation of a fragmentary role, or an initial 'testing' of an innovative behavioural response, even though only partial in themselves, hold the key to an alteration of the whole and who a man 'is'.

The Corrida men can also be suggested to gain a new *psychodramatic* role as 'man who has been through the Corrida': Such roles exist only in relationships with other roles, and so while there is an obvious element of individual learning to be had for the man holding such a role, it is intimately linked to the learning of the group, which is to be considered below. At the very least, through the Corrida, *possible* roles become *actualised* to some degree, in the same sense as discussed immediately above when cognitive learning only becomes 'reality' when tested by its behavioural correlate.

We will now turn to consider what might be the possible learning shared between individual protagonist and the witnesses to the Corrida.

Learning experience for the group, including the protagonists: Witnessing

There has been considerable discussion and emphasis in this thesis on the notion of the 'spectator-actor' and the permeability of boundary between individual and group, observer and participant, as considered in previous analyses of critical moments focussing on the group nature of the Residency. The Corrida can be seen as the ultimate incarnation of this theme. As Ball (1993) notes theatre, which lies at the heart of the Residency and the Corrida experience, is inherently about the collective and the community: "Drama is not an individual, solitary experience but a social one; it is not about individual self expression but about group experiences" (p43).

Each of the Corridas is played out before an 'audience' who have crossed and re-crossed the spectator-actor boundary all week, and Casson (1997) and Corti (1993) argues that in such a setting the 'witness' function (as opposed to spectator) is not a passive role. Additionally, each Corrida provides what Bolton (1983) describes as the 'basic polarities' (and I would describe as a duality) of being/experiencing and of giving an experience to others, within a ritualised framework to "[challenge] individuals within an easily followed structure" (Neelands 1990 p40).

Thus, although we have been considering the *individual* learning of the protagonists to this point, it should not be forgotten that in this thesis group and individual learning and experience are seen as intimately interconnected in a reciprocal relationship, each *co-constructing* the other. Geese members emphasise the importance for the protagonist of their actions in the Corrida being *witnessed*:

"... I think that the public nature of it is very, very important... The having a public presence is actually essential ... You need to be able to keep that public ... it's doing it publicly, which they find very difficult. So I think that ... everyone seeing you go through [the Corrida] is very important" (Watson 2003).

Kirkham argues that with this 'public nature' "... other people will applaud or not, your work, it's very visible and I think that just strengthens the whole experience and gives it that intensity and sharpens people's commitment as well" (Kirkham 2003). Beyond this however, Feldhendler (1994) notes that in Boalian Forum theatre

"All the participants ... learn something, become more aware of some problems that they did not consider before, because a standard model is challenged and the idea that there are alternatives is clearly demonstrated." (p28, my emphasis).

While the Corrida itself does not conform to the classical Forum Theatre model of multiple people taking the protagonist role to play out possible alternative responses to a recurring situation (see Boal 1979), there are obvious similarities between its setting and the Forum to which Feldhandler refers, and thus it is possible to argue that a similar kind of learning occurs for "...all the participants" in the Corrida. In classic Forum, it is not necessary for each audience member to step up on stage, provided that some do: This is the same notion as in the psychodramatic idea of the protagonist 'doing the work of the group'; the same process can be argued to apply to the Corrida.

Komparu (1983) pushes this idea a little further, stating that

"...the shared dramatic experience... is not the viewer's adjusting of himself to the protagonist on stage but rather his creation of a separate personal drama by sharing the play with the performer. *Indeed he becomes that protagonist*" (p18, my emphasis).

This is an echo of the ideas of projective identification which have been considered frequently above, and might also suggest that for the group there literally *is some of the same learning* as occurs for the protagonist; this might extend to 'at one remove' reality testing of the theoretical ideas covered in the Residency, or, if the proposed identification is strong enough, a cathartic experience, linking to earlier analysis on *secondary catharsis* as experienced by those witnessing the work of the primary protagonist.

In the above analysis the Corrida is also different in kind and very similar to the type of 'theatre therapy' which provides "... a theatrical world which [harmonises] with the perceptions of the protagonist" and validates that world. It is different in that it does not seek harmony, but instead follows the Boalian modernist thrust to consistently *problematis*e the protagonist's reality, seeking always to make the 'problem space' 'ill defined' in order to generate solutions, and yet it is similar in that, if this is successfully undertaken and pitched correctly, the overall effect is to 'validate' the *changed* world of the protagonist, and by extension, the (potentially) changed world of the group.

This is a return of the idea of the 'Brechtian shaman' and the collective de-mythologising and de-ossifying, in a group interactive therapy concerning the individual and the 'socialised category' of all such individuals. Grauman (1986) argues that the emphasis of cognitive psychology on the individual has led to 'the individualisation of the social' and 'the desocialisation of the individual', whereas the Corrida shares the thrust of work such as Moscovici's Social Representation Theory (e.g. 1984) to 're-socialise' schema theory and the like by emphasising the collective nature of 'individual' cognitive phenomena.

Return to the Borderland

Bolton (1982a) notes some of the paradox possible in this (to echo an earlier phrase used in the context of Discourse) *borderland* space where 'spectator' and 'actor' cross over or (in an echo of earlier thinking on contamination) each contain aspects of the other: Bolton notes that "...drama is more than a performing art, dependent upon a final interaction with an audience. Drama can be a group celebration to which there are no witnesses." (p79).

Schechner (2003) identifies that there is another dimension to the kind of performance that the Corrida represents, where the 'spect-actor' line is blurred. In the context of the 'audience' and 'performers' at a classical Carnatic music concert in India he notes:

"...only *this audience* can do what it can do: IMMEDIATELY REWARD THE PERFORMER. No amount of delayed praise or end of the show applause can approach the *now-support of an audience that is really with it*, and not jealous, not "let me do that too", not worshipful – but *genuinely appreciative*. The lights stay on here so the audience can see each other, and feel together, and so the musicians can see the audience" (p224, my italics, capitals original).

Officer Blue, too, is certain that this *group, communal, shared* aspect of the Corrida is vital:

"...there's something about the Corrida day that puts in that extra bit of magic that *makes that group into a real group* and it's very emotional, it's very much *people being party to success* and the good feeling that comes out of somebody walking out of that Corrida having achieved something and the *whole group* gets a positive from that and that's the magic factor" (Blue 2001 para 35, my emphasis)

What Officer Blue is describing can be seen to bear some resemblance to the activities referred to by a number of authors (see Read 1965, Shirokogoroff 1935 and Hoffmann 1969) who describe a 'unification' of audience/actors described as the "concept of "we"". Schechner (2003) says that such events as the Corrida may represent "...require not 'spectators' but "participants" or even "congregations", assemblies of believers who co-create the performance" (p256). Officer Blue further observes that:

.... the group's feeling that [the protagonist] has achieved something because they have witnessed it, they have been his audience. Now when they come out, even [someone as previously isolated as] Davy J. is part of a group. I think at the end of the Corrida an awful lot of people are sitting there saying 'I wish I'd put my name forward because I would have loved that feeling" (Blue 2001 para 33).

Courtney (1968) identifies four types of catharsis:

- 1) Somatic, bodily release
- 2) Mental, with author, actor and audience
- 3) Through the individual 'self'
- 4) Through the group

Points 3) and 4) are of particular relevance here as the 'self' is seen as the totality of the social and private roles played *in inter-action with others* (a position entirely compatible with notions of the dramaturgical self), and the final point links to the idea of the shared learning experience in the 'borderland' between the protagonists and the witnesses. Certainly, it seems that the publicity is a reciprocal effect in that, if the protagonists in the Corrida benefit in the ways suggested by Kirkham and Andy, above, then the men watching – who, as has been emphasised, are not just passive spectators – also benefit from the events being watched. Colin S. notes:

Colin S.: "...it was good to see other folk in the Corrida as well though"

Farrall What was good about that?"

Colin S.: "It's quite hard hitting, seeing that especially, Andy B..... *seeing other folk doing it in situations because it just makes you realise how hard it is*"

(Farrall 2001r my emphasis).

The final part of the hypothesis that we are considering states that by stimulating the persistent responses and stimulating resistance to them, the Corrida "...alters the probability of 'deviant' behaviour occurring". We will now consider this final clause.

Memory and learning:alters the probability of 'deviant' behaviour occurring

Memory and learning are crucial to the success of the *Violent Illusion Trilogy* Residency, since there can be no sophisticated learning without some sort of memory or recall. Learning is not necessarily instantaneous (though it can take the form of powerful 'light bulb moments') and in Kolb's (1984) cycle, of experiential learning, time is necessary for the elements of cognitive reflection or review of experience. The model of this thesis would also suggest that 'memory' is operating on several levels, which might be affected by the Residency and/or Corrida experience. We will consider

- 'Conscious' memory, especially the role that emotion plays
- 'Unconscious' memory, or the psychodynamic realm
- Physiological possibilities for such memory

Conscious memory

Readers will recall from the literature review that a key issue in memory is that of *retrieval of information*. In the associative and reconstructive process of memory, if Multiple Trace Theory (Bower 1967) holds true, the holistic experience of the Corrida will have provided many 'retrieval cues' in many sensory modalities and of psychological, affective and physiological nature; a multiplicity of cues which should aid recall, given the possibility of point is *sensory memory* - each sense modality having its own sensory memory system (Searleman & Herrmann 1994).

The arousal experienced in the Corrida, which we have considered above, should also, under the Encoding Specificity Hypothesis (Tulving & Thomson 1973) facilitate access to the encoded material when the learning context is reinstated - i.e. similar conditions of arousal are next encountered – such as when environmental stimuli activate the Damasian 'feelings' that are a precursor to violence. This suggestion is supported by Gilligan and Bower's (1984) theory that recall will be best when the mood at recall matches that at encoding (*mood state dependent recall*).

Further, the *auto-biographical* nature of the encoded material (for protagonists and, given the considerations on the co-constructed nature of the Corrida, for the witnesses) means that the Corrida should be vividly remembered (Rubin & Kozin 1984), although, as discussed in the literature review the 'memory for detail' of an emotional event fades over time, leaving a memory of the emotional 'tone' of an event (Searleman & Herrmann 1994). This is of interest in the light of the comments immediately preceding, which suggest that it is the collective, positive emotional experience of the Corrida that lends it its 'power'.

Since memory is reconstructive, the protagonists and witnesses may not remember the specific procedural details, but do consciously remember the 'feeling of success' from 'doing different': This may be the root of any change in probability of behaviour.

Unconscious 'memory': Changes to the 'inner world'?

The suggested analysis of violent behaviour put forward in this thesis cannot operate if there is no mechanism for 'memory' to be stored on a non-conscious level. Searleman & Herrmann (1994) may point towards this possibility with the idea of *sensory memory* while Hudgins (2002) and van der Kolk & van der Hart (1989) suggest that traumatic experience may somehow be 'shut off' from cognitive processing and resolution by being 'stored' in a kind of 'trauma bubble'.

In the model of this thesis, the actions of the men are affected by their 'inner worlds', which as we considered in the literature review, are not *distorted* versions of reality as proposed by Freud, but *actual* incorporations of the interpersonal and social milieu, as proposed by the objects

relations theorists. Thus, experience of abuse, intimidation and victimisation produce an inner world that reflects such relationships, and thus affects external relationships and actions in the 'life world'.

If such internal 'object relations' are a result of negative real-world experience, then theoretically they can be affected by *positive* or *ameliorative* life world experiences: This is a central proposal of therapeutic endeavour. Such change is *not* likely to occur over a very short time period, but arguably the individual learning from the Corrida might be suggested to extend to an initial potential 'rearrangement' or realignment of the object relationships in the men's internal worlds. From the perspective of Chaos theory, such an experience could be the 'butterfly's wings': A tiny perturbation, which has, down the line, far reaching and far larger-scale consequences.

The making of memory, revisited

In suggesting the above possibilities, we must return briefly to the conclusion of the section on memory in the literature review, where it was suggested that "... it is now taken for granted that the basis of all learning and memory must involve some anatomical changes in neurons or in the synaptic connections" (Searleman & Herrmann 1994) and the concepts of consolidation and Long Term Potentiation (LTP) were discussed.

Consolidation is the process by which memory moves from 'short term' to 'long term' storage (and thus availability for recall). Consolidation can take years to occur, and the arousal hypothesis of memory consolidation suggests that the amount of consolidation is directly linked to the degree of neural activity in the brain; the hormones which facilitates consolidation are also associated with higher levels of arousal or stress. Given the evidence presented for the arousal experienced by protagonists in the Corrida, it seems likely that the experience might well 'facilitate consolidation' of the memory, making it available as a positive motivator for changed behaviour.

Long-term potentiation (LTP) is the 'leading candidate' to account for the biologically based synaptic changes which underlie learning in mammals such as humans. There are several types of Long Term Potentiation and, as noted in the literature review, the brain structure of the hippocampus plays a 'major role' in the formation of most human long-term memories: It is possible that LTP may be facilitated by the kind of hormonal activity which was described above as being associated with the physiological arousal or stress specifics of the Corrida experience.

A final summary of the evidence considered

As a final reminder, the hypothesis under consideration runs in its entirety as follows:

The Corrida creates a holistic emotional, physiological and psychological experience which stimulates and activates the individual's persistent physical and behavioural responses and by encouraging resistance to these responses provides a learning experience which enhances reflexivity, challenges conditioning and alters the probability of 'deviant' behaviour occurring.

Evidence has been presented that the Corrida experience does indeed create such a holistic experience, stimulating protagonists in a 'real enough' way that they are aroused in a familiar manner, but through the application of previously rehearsed skills and strategies which aid their reflexivity 'in the moment' are able to resist the 'violent imperative' and 'do different'; finding 'new solutions to old problems'.

It has been suggested that through some degree of catharsis, and the establishment of a positively toned emotional memory, the probability of their enacting 'deviant' violent behaviour is thus consequently reduced, and that the 'co-constructed' nature of the Corrida means that the men 'witnessing' are also likely to experience some of the benefits of the direct protagonists. The size of this probability is impossible to gauge without longer term follow up of the type outside the scope of this thesis, but I will quote Officer Blue points at length:

"...even if you don't achieve a blinding light with somebody in the course of the week, even if somebody doesn't say "I want to change, I've seen the light, give me more of this stuff, I'm a new man".... such as [non case study man]... he has not had a wasted week, he's committed still to violence mainly in terms of business and mainly in terms of self image but we've left him with the means of avoiding trouble that he didn't want"

"An awful lot of these guys... because of the way they conduct themselves they often end up in violent confrontations that they hadn't predicted, that they didn't anticipate, that they didn't want, but are unable to get out of that. What this week does for them...I've seen it, I've witnessed it in [names several men] I saw them although still essentially violent.... I saw them able to extract themselves from confrontation because they understood how it worked, they understood the process." (Blue 2001 paras 86-88)

Again, it is impossible to estimate the longitude or persistence of such changes, but they would seem to support the hypothesis, particularly when considered in the light of Officer Blue's comments above.

Critical episode 36

The Closure process: Final data on Discourse

Following the Corridas, the closure of the day and the Residency involves all members of the group entering the Corrida for a final sharing. In Psychodrama psychotherapy, sharing can be described as

"...love-back' rather than a feedback....meant to capture ... [a] learning process
...normalising the protagonist's experience by hearing how others are similarly involved at different levels of the same process...[it is also] a way of re-entering our individual realities after the group enactment" (Karp 1998 p9).

Although referring to a classical psychodrama session where there has been one main 'protagonist' rather than the multiple protagonists of the Corridas, the same functions apply to the post-Corrida sharing. Neeland (1990) notes that 'ceremony' is comprised of 'reflective attitude combined with celebratory experience' (p47) and this can also describe the gathering, in a circle, within the Corrida space, given suggestions by Schechner and others above on the ritual functions of theatre architecture.

We have considered the discourse of the inmate participants, and possible changes in it, throughout this thesis, as a primary data source: I will quote only one comment from this final gathering, from James M., whom we have seen remain in the Borderland throughout the week, described by The Geese members working with him as 'not quite believing' that the Geese Discourse can be possible, and seeming to be unable to make the quantum leap from his 'old lag' role to a new role. On his turn to comment, Field Notes record that James M states, literally with tears in his eyes: "There must be more to life than battering folk, boozing and going to jail" (Field Notes p89).

In motivational terms, this is 'change talk' – an expression of dissatisfaction of some kind with current circumstances, or an awareness or wish that things could be different. It is arguably different from the discourse previously voiced by James, which, as we have seen, was more about stasis and the status quo. To return to a core theme of the thesis, it is a statement of *potentiality*, which even if not actualised, now can at least be seen to exist rather than being pre-emptively 'collapsed' into one actuality, one role.

Other evidence arising

Only three men in this particular Residency went into the Corrida and the main source of evidence for any potential change and thus support for the hypothesis of this thesis has come from direct observation during the working day and direct interview with these three men under focus, and to a wider extent, the other four men in the sample: Darren C. and James M., who did

not engage totally with the process, and Gerry G. and Deek T., who withdrew.

After the end of the Corridas, when the men returned to their wings, a Social Work staff member on the week reported seeing Darren C being 'taunted' by Billy D., another group member, accusing Darren C. that 'You didn't work as hard as the other two did' [in his small group, Andy B & Colin S., both of whom went into the Corrida]. Darren was reported as turning and saying defensively 'I did' and 'seemed quite upset' at the accusation (Field Notes p91). This may be wild speculation, but Darren clearly cared enough to bother defending himself rather than dismissing the enterprise.

There are other men in the week, men not particularly mentioned up to this point, whose experience or behaviour also may offer support for the thrusts of the hypothesis. Bruce F., in conversation over lunch, claimed 'I've seen a change in guys on the week. They've opened up' (Field Notes p72) and his own behaviour appeared to have altered radically, evidenced by two instances.

Firstly, as reported by Anne, another Social Work staff member of the week, on the Thursday of the week Bruce F. was taken to an outside GP for a medical consultation. Brought in handcuffed the Doctor apparently asked the escorting Officer what Bruce's offence was and on being told assault, said 'Leave the cuffs on'. Within the terms of this thesis, such an event is a 'demeaning insult to me or mine' and potentially the kind of activating event leading to violence. Anne reported that Bruce reported to her that 'he would have blown' but thought to try a technique Geese had covered, that of deep breathing – and "was amazed to find that it worked"! (Field Notes p92)

In a second incident on the Friday morning, Anne reported a conversation while waiting for Bruce. He was writing his Declaration because he was away from the Residency on the Thursday, for court appearances. He refused a legal visit that would have interrupted the Corrida morning but thus needed to speak to his solicitor. The point of change is that Bruce F. reportedly went into detail to the Officer with power over the possibility of a phone call, really explained his need and told the Officer 'how he's dealing with his anger this week' (Field Notes p92).

And finally...

The preceding chapter has considered data on the general Residency process, derived mainly from the selected seven men whose experiences have been suggested as representative of participants in general. A closer focus then followed three of these men into the Corrida on the basis that their individual experiences could further be seen as representative of Residency

processes and are of general relevance and applicability in showing how the Geese way of working is exemplified.

In Chapter 7 we will consider the conclusions to be drawn, linking to our eight theoretical nodes emergent from the literature review, showing how these have been embodied in the work

Chapter 7: Conclusions

Introduction

In the previous chapters we have seen the attempt to explore and interrelate the '8 points' of theory emergent from the literature review (p89):

1. Unity of cognition & affect ('fethinkel' and a holistic approach to the human being)
2. Emotion and memory (interrelatedness)
3. Drama and theatre (communality, witnessing, ritual, emotion)
4. Role and the self (self as social, performative, potential, embodied)
5. Meaning/narrative/discourse (construction/performance of, change in)
6. Therapy/catharsis (primary & secondary)
7. Interpersonal style (therapeutic alliance, humanism)
8. Learning & change (behavioural, emotional, personal)

Yet, as suggested in Chapter 1 Introduction, the diversity of the levels of theorisation present in this thesis leaves it open to the charge of incoherence: is the 'one ontology' obscured by the exploration of multiple epistemologies?

This chapter will therefore have two aims:

- a) As an attempt to engage with and bring together coherently what has been ascertained about the 'through-line' questions which the thesis has sought to investigate
- b) An attempt to provide a degree of focus in articulating what has been discovered about the key processes of the *Violent Illusion Trilogy* (VI3) Geese Theatre prison residency for violent offenders, and how they contribute to the efficacy of the programme, by linking each collusion to examples found in the thesis

A limited comparison with other current interventions (in the form of accredited offending behaviour programmes) for violent offenders will be included in this effort.

The 'key processes' of the Residency will be considered to coagulate around four 'attractors':

1. Holism
2. The unconscious
3. Social construction

4. Theatre and drama

Again, we will have to consider these areas atomistically (or at least sequentially) but they should be understood as forming part of the interconnected rhizomatic network discussed in the Literature Review (see page 13) a "...multiplicity, which has diverse forms ramifying in all directions...[where] any point on it can be connected to any other" (Heaton & Groves 1994, p128) and their degree of inter-connectedness is extreme.

1) Holism

We will begin with the issue of holism, as all else tends to 'fall out' from an acceptance of this concept.

To recap briefly, it was argued in the literature review (p18) that the current dominant paradigm within forensic psychology is cognitive-behavioural, with more of an emphasis on the abstract 'cognitive' than the behavioural 'doing', as the following examples indicate:

The *Cognitive Self Change Programme* (CSCP) for serious violent offenders in prison claims to work with the 'thoughts, feelings, attitudes and beliefs' that support violent behaviour, and to identify the 'connections' between thoughts and (violent) behaviour, before practising alternative behaviours (Atrill 1999, p58).

The *Controlling and Learning to Manage Anger* programme (CALM) aims to reduce aggressive behaviour "...which is related to poor emotional management skills..." by "...teaching social skills [and] anger management" (Home Office 2006, p19).

The *Aggression Replacement Training* (ART) programme aims to reduce aggressive behaviour through "...teaching social skills, anger management techniques and improved moral reasoning" (Home Office 2006, p19).

The new *Life Minus Violence* (LMV) programme is described as "...long-term cognitive behavioural group work package" (Ireland 2007, p50).

The overriding aim of such programmes is to provide a kind of cognitive "environment" that 'protects the individual from behaving irrationally' (www.insideprison.com/Violent-Offenders.asp) or to "address the individual's underlying thinking pattern which leads to violence..." (*Offending Behaviour Programmes [Prison Service accredited]* www.prisonmentalhealth.org/downloads). In the context of domestic abuse interventions, Babcock & LaTaillade (2000) argue that many group interventions 'leave out' emotion, and the same charge can be levelled at the current generation of programmes for men who are also violent outside of intimate relationships, even though CALM and ART allegedly are targeted at 'hostile' violence.

Finally, the programmes above are atomistic in their approach, drawing a categorical distinction between instrumental & hostile violence (e.g. CALM is "said not to be suitable for perpetrators of

instrumental violence", Canton & Hancock 2007); this dichotomy is likely to be "oversimplified", with 'instrumental' and 'hostile' actually representing ends of a continuum (Canton & Hancock 2007).

In opposition to this atomism, the Residency is holistic in three interrelated ways, with related benefits:

1i) Its theory (conscious or otherwise)

1ii) Its sense of the person

1iii) In its methodology or approach

We will address these points in order

1i) Theory

It is important to note that Geese Theatre practice does not always reflect a fully 'worked out' theoretical structure: Instead some of the theoretical base is explicit – e.g. a clear cognitive-behavioural stance (see comments by Heywood, Brookes and Raynsford p154) – but some is implicit and originates in the experience and embodied practice of the Geese company as theatre practitioners who 'know' at an emotional and experiential level what theatre and drama 'does' (see for example Morris p162, Robinson p284 this thesis, p28 Appendix A).

Certainly the Residency deliberately attempts to at least take account of all dimensions of human experience (and cannot do otherwise if drama/theatre is a central driver), incorporating not only the 'ABC' - Affect (limited), Behaviour (limited) and Cognition (prioritised) - of accredited programmes, but also taking into account linked elements which do not neatly fit into a mnemonic. These include an aesthetic component (see comments by Officer Blue and staff member Ann, p174, on reactions of the audience to certain scenes in V1/1) or the influence of 'internal worlds' or the unconscious. Following Ursano & Hales (1986) Meakes too cites a rapprochement between the psychodynamic and the social learning roots of violent behaviour (p175), as is suggested also by Officer Blue's comments on Deek T.'s 'connection' to V1/1 (p174).

No other accredited violent offender programme has such a wide theoretical stance, and arguably, only experiential theatre-based therapeutic modalities such as psychodrama would come close, although (unless in the specific context of HMP Grendon Under Wood, the 'therapeutic prison') such purely psychotherapeutic modalities could lack the specifics that a forensic psychological perspective (however reductionist) can offer.

1ii) Sense of the person

Emergent from the holistic theoretical basis, is a holistic sense of the person. The Residency understands that in front of the worker stands not just a 'here and now' 'violent offender' but a person who is also existentially linked to 'there and then' and to other roles or identities or 'ways of being' – a summation of all their life experiences and a nexus of potentiality. Consequent to this is a more

sophisticated 'theory of mind' or of 'how people work' (see for example comments by Brookes p222 on the 'all pervading' victim stance in Colin S.'s Thinking Report), and a more humanistic stance than is found in the current generation of violent offender programmes.

Thus, the task for the Residency is not limited to 'fixing' 'faulty cognition' or 'inadequate anger management strategies' through an essentially didactic approach, but is a far wider (but achievable) task of facilitating the growth of the person as a *whole*. This is illustrated by comments from Andy B. in Appendix A, p95 ("I wasn't happy cos I didn't like myself") and is particularly illustrated by the nature of the change in Davy J. This thesis would suggest that his behaviour leading to him being perceived as 'the prison arsehole' is more than just a result of his faulty social cognition, and that the changes observed in him over the week of the Residency were directly related not to enhancing his logical thinking skills (in fact this might have been entirely irrelevant) but from a change in who Davy 'is', both in his own eyes and (crucially) *the eyes of others*.

His change in embodied self, in way of *being*, from a man who "...usually....just sulks in his cell or bites your head off" (p206), who "... most of the time ... *is* an arsehole" (p219), to a man who can make a clumsy but friendly joke ('a kick in the gonads', critical episode 22 *Games After Dinner*, p237) and give a non-aggressive response to rebuff or 'insult' (*Interlude II*, pp261-262), relating how he said 'sorry' for burning the toast (critical episode 26, p248), and about whom is said by a prison officer "I don't know what you've done to him but it's bloody brilliant" (p262), is striking.

There is something here about a broader *therapeutic* aim, relating to 'deeper' existential issues than 'improving thinking skills'; as Officer Blue concludes, Davy J.'s Corrida is not just about Davy rehearsing 'positive self talk' (though this is an element) but is about "*talking to the new Davy J...*" (see comments p282). Thus, the Residency truly understands what education as a Freirean 'process of enquiry' means, in the sense of promoting 'conscientisation' as a means to change violent behaviour. A parallel can be drawn with the concepts of the 'Good Lives' model (Ward & Brown 2004) now being more widely used in work with sexual offending, where this richer understanding of 'dealing with offending behaviour' is shared with the Residency, against the impoverished cognitive emphasis of current programmes.

Consequently, springing from this more developed sense of the person, the Residency is aware of and embodies a far more subtle understanding of a) motivation and b) therapeutic alliance. In terms of the first, the Residency operates essentially by *developing* motivation through the process of dialogue (and Discourse) where meaning is *constructed* (as exemplified by Davy J.'s comment in Appendix A, p82 "... you're not telling us what to think..") There is no *a priori* assumption of men seeing any need to change or accepting there is 'a problem' (see Brookes' comments on Deek T., p235). Following Motivational Interviewing, the approach is a balance of the *directive* ('We're here to talk about violence', see stanza 3, p167, also comments by Raynsford p229) with the *invitational*, understanding the primary task as engagement and facilitation, not 'teaching' (see critical episode 4 *Group feedback*

of reactions to VI1, p169 onwards). Arguably this avoids the pitfalls of 'deficit focussed' programmes where relevance is assumed but not necessarily established.

Secondly, in most if not all current programmes the importance of the relationship and the therapeutic or 'working' alliance is insufficiently understood and not prioritised: There is a clear cross over with motivation but the Residency operates to an empathic understanding of the difficulty of change which is arguably absent from other programmes, focussed as they are on a 'risk management' approach of 'protecting the victim' rather than a therapeutic 'healing the abuser'. This understanding is demonstrated by the nature of the Residency 'challenges' devised, which are experienced by the participants as extremely demanding while not necessarily apparently being directly focussed on 'offending behaviour'; see Brookes' comment concerning the struggles of a Corrida man on another Residency to "find five good things to say about himself" (p288), plus Andy B.'s (p287) Davy J.'s (p289) and Colin S.'s (p282) comments on their Corridas.

This is another link to the holism of the approach rather than just 'correcting thinking', where the danger is that facilitating change in the person is subordinated to achieving the programme 'outcomes' or 'delivering the manual'.

1iii) Methodology or approach

The methods of the Residency are also holistic: Accessing and drawing on abstract cognition (though with greater attention to 'human sense' than current programmes) but also aiming to engage with and stimulate the person at all levels of experience and existence – (conscious) cognition, concrete behaviour, experienced emotion, physiological embodiment and unconscious process, as an individual and as part of a social grouping.

To do this, the Residency utilises verbal discussion as other programmes do, but from the truly constructivist perspective of establishing and constructing meaning through dialogue (and action – see the examples given immediately below) rather than a dishonest or misunderstood notion of a supposedly 'Socratic' approach where the 'facilitator' is actually a teacher 'guiding' the participants towards a pre-prepared 'right answer'.

This matters because most violent men in prison will be able to guess that their offending behaviour programme tutors do not think the men should behave violently; the 'demand characteristics' of the group programme (social) situation risk generating either resistance to the obvious end point, or acquiescence, a 'going along'. The Residency attempts to avoid this (and as suggested above, establish real relevance and enjoyment and motivation) by its continually iterated process of literally *involving* men in exploration and *genuinely* allowing them to construct their own answers.

The following examples demonstrate the construction of meaning through dialogue (but also the wider Discourse): In critical episode 1 (p153) when the men encounter the VI1 set and the *world building* tasks begin, Geese identify that the Chapel becomes a space where inmates can think differently or

different things can happen (p156), or even physically change their embodiment (p159); the exact type of 'different' is not specified. In critical episode 2, even though 'we're here to talk about violence' (p167) the demand characteristics of the setting remain so open that laughter is a 'legitimate' response (p167) (versus the unspoken demand of an offending behaviour group to take it 'seriously').

This openness, as well as the establishment of relevance, is further demonstrated in critical episode 4 (*Group feedback of reactions to VI1*, p169 onwards) where the men's comments show a high degree of emotional connection or recognition (e.g. Alan A. & Davy J's comments pp170-171), there is clearly no 'right' response to the performance, wrong' responses (in terms of violent offending) are accepted and explored (Deek T.'s '...he needs a good kicking' p172), and the beginnings of motivation may be discerned (Stanza 7, p175).

The same openness is obvious in episode 5 *Accessing the mask of Boyfriend 1* (see Appendix A) and in critical episode 7, the replay of the *Mirror Scene* (pg180) where in the constructed Thinking Report for Boyfriend 1 the construction of *meaning* for the behaviour is fore grounded (e.g. stanza 11 pp183-184 stanza 12 pp184-185). This is also the case in critical episode 11 the *Mimed Offence*, stanzas 29 and 30 (pp210-212) and in critical episode 12 *Darren C.'s Thinking Report*, (pp210 onwards).

Finding one's own answers is continued through the Residency in the Thinking Reports, offence walk-through, and skills training, and ultimately in the Corrida where the responses of Andy B. (*And the Drugs Don't Work*, pp277 onwards) and Davy J. (*The Chat Show*, p282) to the particularly 'ill-defined' problem presented to them (see p280) demonstrates the absolute need to construct their own answers, literally and metaphorically.

This is again related to efficacy outside of the narrow cognitivist paradigm because this approach truly reflects the humanistic (Rogerian) notion of the 'drive to healthy functioning' so that, if facilitated, men will make the choices which are 'healthiest', i.e. ceasing violent behaviour, *because they choose to or come to a place where they can*, rather than (as suggested above) feeling there is a 'hidden agenda' of what their answers 'should be', and consequently resisting that.

The largest plank in the ship of holism however is the core approach of concrete or active performance to a degree unknown in other interventions, placing the participants in role as spectator, actor and spect-actor, depending on context. This in turn allows multiple points of access to the person, through conscious cognition, embodied behaviour, emotional experience and stimulation of unconscious experience in a seamless blend, with all playing a part at any one time, though some more likely than others to be the focus. This offers multiple benefits including:

- a. Greater 'reality' of the learning or change task
- b. Thus greater relevance and engagement or chance of increased motivation
- c. A more individualised problem specification (see pp34-35 Chapter 2)

- d. Consequent development of 'bottom up' skills based interventions
- e. Creation of test conditions for 'rehearsal' of new skills that more nearly match the actual conditions of test that will be faced in the 'life world' afterwards.

Thus, to illustrate point a) the Residency does not just 'talk' about 'thinking and feeling', but to a far greater degree than any contemporary programme *recreates or restimulates* the existential embodied conditions within which the 'thinking and feeling' is constructed. This occurs in the walk throughs of the offence reconstructions, the skills training sessions and in the Corridas, as demonstrated by the difficulty experienced by Colin S. in his skills training exercise (*Turn Out your Pockets Please*) (p248-260); Heywood's comments on a participant's reaction to apparently innocuous skills training work around visiting the Social Security office (p253); Watson's comments on skills training in another Residency (p260); Brookes on how participants are taken by surprise at the degree of their own arousal (pp273-274); Andy B.'s comments in interview on his Corrida ("You get all wound up" p294, see also p276) and Officer Blue's analysis of the reality of the 'as if' situation (p294).

Point b), enhanced relevance or engagement proceeds from this greater 'reality' and is illustrated by James M.'s comment that '...this is something we've needed a long time" and Davy J.'s claim that he can "see the benefit" (Appendix A p82). Any such engagement is not automatic however - see Heywood's comments on Darren C., p235, and also the withdrawal of Deek T. (episode 25, Appendix A, p85) and Gary G. (Appendix A, p65).

Point c) concerning a more individualised problem specification is obviously illustrated by the general processes of the walk throughs associated with the Thinking Reports (see critical episode 12 *Darren C.'s Thinking Report* pp210-214, critical episode 14 *Return to the Thinking Reports* for Colin S. and Davy J., pp215-223). The emphasis here is very clearly on arriving at a phenomenological understanding of events (Davy J.'s 'not telling people what to think' (Appendix A p82), rather than imposition of a pre-determined model of what the problem 'is'.

Points d), the bottom up development of behavioural skills interventions, and point e), creation of realistic test conditions, are interrelated and follow on from the previous point. In Colin S.'s skills training in critical episode 28 *Turn Out your Pockets Please*, (p248-260), the skills he practises are derived from analysis of his TR and are entirely specific to the situation. This is then tested with a very context-specific Corrida focussing on the police as the particular *bête noir*, and more than this, an understanding of what exactly is required to calibrate the test to make it meaningful for Colin (see p289-290 for comments on 'unscripted action' and Colin's comments in interview).

Readers should not forget that, although we have focussed on Colin S. here, the same processes operate in all of the Residency small groups facilitated by Geese. Thus, the problem specification and testing arrived at for Davy J. has nothing (seemingly) to do with him keeping his temper, (see comments by Nicholas on not needing to 'wind up' Davy, p289) yet is experienced by Davy J. as

extremely arousing (p289). Similarly, Andy B.'s Corrida is not aimed at 'keeping one's temper' directly yet 'nearly broke' him in the estimation of Officer Blue (p286, see also Field Notes p286).

This kind of holistic restimulation is much harder to evoke purely through 'talk' and abstract discussion precisely because of the lack of *embodied three dimensional re-experiencing*; see below under the key theme of drama and theatre for further discussion of this question.

2) The Unconscious

Another key theme to the Residency is the inclusion of a psychodynamic perspective. This is concerned not *just* with the 'unknowable' unconscious, but with the *interplay* between unconscious and conscious motivation, and the realm of the functional and its behavioural correlates. It is this *interrelationship* that is emphasised in psychodynamic work, which understands the importance of *past experience* and of its effects on the unconscious in determining *current behaviour* (in a far wider sense than simply [socially] 'learnt behaviour').

For example, in critical episode 14 *Another Turn of the Wheel*, Colin S.'s Thinking Report (pg220) demonstrates that not all violent offending is preceded by some sort of triggering cognition perceived consciously as an 'insult' (see Davy J.s' TR p217 for contrast) and suggests strongly (as Brookes states) that the feeling of victimhood is: "...sort of there all the time... The insult is sort of all-pervading, rather than being a specific thing..." (p222). Colin's embodied presentation in discussing the incident suggests some sort of identification with the woman (Field Notes p223) and himself states that on seeing the police officer arresting the woman, he (Colin) thought simply "*there was no way I could let him do that*" (p222 my emphasis), feeling that the police officer was 'bullying' the woman (p222).

While Colin never specifically makes a link between childhood experience and his current behaviour (and this is not a focus of the Residency) this entire epistemology of 'magical thinking', of attempts to 'remaster' early trauma which is of such importance to the target behaviour of violence if the conclusions drawn in this thesis are accepted, is by definition excluded, not from a cognitive approach *per se* (see p12 of this thesis and comments concerning 'cognitive psychotherapy', Ursano & Hales 1986), but from the current violent offender programmes; this gives a subsequent likelihood of failing to optimise all avenues of approach to the changing of violent behaviour.

By contrast, following on from (and interlinked with) the overarching concern for holism, the Residency – through its wider theoretical basis and inherently dramaturgical nature – takes account much more of the *influence* of the unconscious. We must be clear here: Geese Theatre practice as exemplified in the Residency is still predominately cognitive-behavioural in orientation; it is not a 'psychodynamic Residency' (although one such could be devised) and it does not *privilege* unconscious process, which would be to repeat the atomistic mistake of the cognitively-based programmes from another angle; instead it strives to be *holistic*.

In current programmes, cognition is treated solely at the level of a conscious phenomenon and remains essentially 'in a box', a 'cold cognition', neutered of emotion; yet as has been shown, cognition and emotion are one: 'Fe-think-el'. There are strong arguments for pre conscious processing of emotional or affective responses which are of direct relevance to violent behaviour, and if the suggestions of this thesis about the role of early trauma, shame and humiliation are accepted, no amount of purely 'here and now' cognitive work *delivered only in the disembodied abstract* will break the cycle of re-humiliation and attempt at mastery, because the attempt is 'magical', driven at an unconscious level and embodied in 'unbearable' physiological sensations (Damasian 'feelings'), succeeding only in a temporary amelioration.

Therefore, to paraphrase Freud, another 'royal road' to this unconscious emotional experience is offered by the artistic or aesthetic media used in the Residency such as imagery (the reverse of the wallpaper in the sets of VI1 and VI2, the Corrida set, masks (see Appendix H, I ,J, K), and through the encouraging of projective identification through performance. This occurs particularly via the intensive restimulation of physiological Damasian feelings through experiential work, such as is shown in critical episode 28 *Turn Out Your Pockets Please*, Colin S.s' skills training (248-260).

Arguably, the effect is to provide a 'remastery' experience which, rather than being just short term and cyclical as this thesis would suggest occurs in the enactment of the 'violent imperative', is sufficiently attached to these emotional drivers to affect them and thus have corrective power in the longer term or broader scale, and not just about 'violent behaviour'. This is suggested by the comments of all three Corrida men on the cathartic aspect of their experience and the sense of a 'weight lifting' (p298) across their varied Corridas, and Officer Blue's interpretation of the 'buzz' of the Corrida (see Blue's comments, p299).

While these changes are (of course) also related to the socially constructed nature of the Residency and the core process of drama, theatre and performance, the evidence suggests that it is possible to propose that some change at an unconscious level is also involved: A 're-arranging' of object relations. Certainly, it is difficult to see how Davy J.'s change can be reduced down to the rehearsing of conscious cognitive strategies relating only to a 'here and now' behavioural stimulus that is the focus of current programmes.

The lack of attention to therapeutic alliance in other offending behaviour programmes has been mentioned above; another aspect here is that therapeutic alliance is at least a partially unconscious process relating to attachment. While the Residency cannot hope in five days to 'correct' dysfunctional attachment styles (which are very likely to exist in the men given their likely history of abuse or trauma), the importance of the characteristics of the worker and of the relationship as a vehicle for change is embodied in practice and at least does not *hinder* the formation of useful attachment bonds; see Guy's challenge in stanza 21 (p194) and Davy J.s behaviour shaking hands, described on page 239.

Finally, if the argument of this thesis is accepted about the influence of unconscious processes or structures (i.e. object relations) on violent offending, then an approach which works in a way to affect these 'internal worlds' (as it suggested the dramaturgical nature of the Residency does, see above) must be more efficacious than one which confines itself only to conscious thought.

3) Social construction

The 'social' nature of the Residency and Vygotskyan sense of 'processes in motion and change' is crucial to a discussion of its efficacy and a great point of difference to other current interventions. There are two aspects to this 'social' nature: Social constructionism and social constructivism,

3i) Social constructionism

Firstly, the social *constructionism* of the Residency means that it is a collaborative construction through social interaction; a 'small culture' in itself that creates shared activities ('we're here to look at violence') with shared meanings, even if these meanings are deliberately left 'open' and provisional through the 'Conversation' of Discourse (see discussion above under point 1, Holism). This constructed nature is demonstrated throughout the Residency, beginning with the observable change in the inmate participants' embodiment as soon as they encounter the transformed Chapel space (p158 of critical episode 1,) and continues through critical episode 2, *Introductions and Contracts*, particularly stanza 1, p164 and the analysis in stanza 2, p166-167.

Clearly, the performances and exercises constitute a shared activity, and shared meanings are elicited as shown by critical episode 4, *Group feedback of reactions to VI1* (p169 onwards), particularly Stanzas 5, 6, 7 and 8, and also responses in critical episode 7, the replay of the *Mirror Scene* and construction of the group Thinking Report for Boyfriend 1 (pg180 onwards). Critical episode 17 *Feedback of reactions to The Violent Illusion Part II* (p230 onwards), particularly for example stanzas 38 and 39, pp230-231 continues the construction of shared meaning, as does critical episode 18, *Replay of Silent Rage Scene*, and construction of the second group Thinking Report (p232).

Thus, in the Residency, *the group* is understood as a major vehicle for change to a far greater degree than in current interventions, which, while described as 'group work' have implicit within them an understanding that a collection of individuals who are in the same room at the same time constitutes a 'group', rather than any real understanding of the *collective* identity of the group, how it can be used, or attempts to foster it.

By contrast, the Residency explicitly attempts to *construct a group*:

- a) Through the use of performance where the participants are 'collectivised' into the audience role and the 'terms' of the group are set (critical episodes 1 and 2 and other group exercises, and Officer Blue's comments, p160) on the Geese ability to 'relate and particularise' the Residency to a group

b) Through the skilful use of emotionally stimulating material such as VI1 and VI2 and the Corrida itself to create something which is an *experience* rather than simply a 'group session', and hence more significant, personally relevant, engaging and memorable, as suggested by the reactions to the announcement of who will enter the Corrida (see episode 30 in Appendix A), and Kirkham's comments on the significance of the Declarations (p275).

The success of these efforts is attested to by critical episode 24 *Not Rushing Off to Tea* (p239), Heywood's analysis on change in inmate Discourse as they 'take on the ideas and the language' of the Residency (p245), plus Davy J.'s comment in interview concerning the 'sticking together' of the Residency group 'after hours' (p240).

3ii) Social constructivism

Following on from the above, at the heart of the Residency is the conception that we are not 'individuals' in the sense of being fundamentally psychologically 'separate' from others, but rather are 'relational', composed of the 'sum and swarm' of social interactions.

Thus, the social *constructivism* of the Residency means that there is also a focus on an *individual's* learning which takes place *because of* their interactions in a group, when group members *construct* 'knowledge' for one another, learning how to be 'part of the culture, with the activities within the Residency *shaping* how each person *behaves* within the Residency, incorporating the role of other actors and culture into development. This leads to Officer Blue's comments on *the group* being party to the success and emotion of the individual men in the Corrida (p306), and comments by Watson (p304) on the centrality of the public nature of the Corrida, an opinion backed up by Colin S. in interview (p307). Even where no clear 'answer' is found, at least the question is demonstrably raised: "There must be more to life than battering folk, boozing and going to jail" (James M. p311).

These constructionist and constructivist aspects are particularly demonstrated by the nature of change in Davy J. (see discussion above under point 3, The unconscious): His change is relational and reciprocal, embodied and generated with the Residency group but also embodied with the wider group of the prison, fostered by the chance to try a different 'way of being'. As Davy J. states himself, in the Residency "... I don't know what [his] name was but [he's] got a tendency to be violent, I'm talking really violent. I could actually speak to him a lot more openly and [the others] were being open back to me" (p240, my emphasis).

By contrast, current interventions (related of course to their model of individual cognition taking place inside an individual head and for which the 'outside' world exists only as a source of stimulus input) locate the nexus of change purely *within* an individual, limiting the role of the group to a source of 'alternative perspectives' (the 'looking glass self') garnered through dialogue.

This links to the principles of Social Learning Theory (SLT, see Chapter 2 p22) which allegedly are incorporated in accredited cognitive-behavioural programmes in that the 'behavioural skills role play'

elements of such programmes is intended to enable people to "learn by watching before they perform" (Bandura 1977a p36). However, as argued, these 'skills role plays', while accepted as essential components of successful attempts at rehabilitation (Antonowicz & Ross 1994) are, by comparison to the Residency, truncated, decontextualised, 'cold cognition' activities which are essentially a 'top down' response to a problem specification generated by the programme, not the participant.

As well as meaningfully incorporating the 'observational learning' principles of SLT the Residency develops and extends them by stressing *interaction over observation*, returning us to the group context as crucible of change.

4) Theatre and drama

If, amongst these four key processes, one could be regarded as more 'fundamental' or 'essentialist' than another, it must be the constellation of activities involved with drama and theatre: It – or they – can be regarded as primary phenomena – 'core human processes' – and the nexus, of which everything else described (certainly at least in the degree to which it is achieved) can be regarded as epiphenomena. Thus, much of the evidence cited will have been touched upon in consideration of the preceding points, 'rhizomatically'.

To expand points made above under point 1, Holism, which touched on the dramaturgy, the performance of *VI1* encourages projective identification through the 'internal world' actually being 'out there' and walking around (see episode 3, description of *Performance of VI1*, pp5-16 Appendix A). If the arguments of this thesis are accepted, and as demonstrated by the points made immediately below, this triggers strong affective experiences, and these reactions are inevitably (holistically) linked to cognition and memory (see Alan A. & Davy J's comments pp170-171 and Deek T.'s "...he needs a good kicking' p172) and to the physiological aspect of embodied experience (Damasian 'feelings').

This degree of arousal serves to 'short cut' the process of engagement and develop credibility and relevance of the Residency far more quickly than the more staid cognitively orientated programme alternatives; only performance allows such an 'affect bomb'. This is demonstrated by observations made by Officer Blue and staff member Ann concerning the degree to which men appear to be disturbed by or recognise the victimisation of the Child (p174), and by responses in a number of stanzas. In stanza 4, pp170-171, Alan A. voices both that the events of *VI1* are 'sick' and that they remind him of 'home', while in stanza 6, p174 Andy B. seems to offer an identification with the victimised Child. In stanza 9, pp177-178, James M. and Deek T. acknowledge recognition of alcohol misuse and victimisation of women.

Moving further down the spectator-actor continuum, all programmes of cognitive orientation will feature some sort of analysis of the cognitions associated with offending. However, rather than a verbal 'recalling of events in tranquillity' with which other programmes inevitably must work, it is only the active 'walk throughs' or offence reconstructions of the Residency, based on the Thinking Reports, which can generate a holistic analogue that inevitably restimulates the affect and cognition

(the fethinkel) of the behavioural events sufficiently to bring the events 'into the room' in a 'real enough' fashion to be meaningful and testing.

As discussed at length above, this is demonstrated by critical episode 28 *Turn Out Your Pockets Please* (248-260) where Colin S. struggles extremely with the simple task of walking past Darren C. who is in role as a police officer. Colin's own observations support that the active nature of the work means "It's like being back there" (pp252-253) and Watson further describes the difficulty in 'simply' walking away from a dramatic reconstruction of violence with his participant being "drenched in sweat" by the effort (p260).

Beyond these usages, which are all recognisably more at the 'efficacy' and 'theatre' ends of Schechner's (2003) continuums ('efficacy – entertainment' and 'theatre – ritual') and which can be argued as simply extensions of role play (though this would be to simplify them grossly) lies the core dramaturgy of the Residency.

If drama and theatre are indeed primary human processes of developing, changing and *becoming*, necessary to healthy human functioning (see Jones 1996, Schechner 2003, Leakey & Lewin 1992) then *per se* any offending behaviour intervention which does not make use of them in a fundamental way, is failing to use one of the most powerful tools available.

This includes the use of games and exercises that constitute not just the 'rational' group gelling or forming function for which positive effects are claimed (see critical episodes 21 *Not Rushing Off to Dinner* and 24 *Not Rushing Off to Tea*) but also the possibility of elaborated cognitive processing enabling men to explore links between such 'games' and their offending behaviour (such as James M. identifying that he likes being able to simply block things, see stanza 40 p238), or for games to act as a diagnostic of behavioural tendencies (see Deek T. subverting *Blind Trios* so as to make others nervous, p239). In addition, these games add a level of metaphor which can be very meaningful for men, such as Davy J. identifying that – as in the game of *Equidistant* – he has been 'going round in circles' all his life (p30 Appendix A).

More than this, the games offer the potential space to rehearse and experience *doing and being 'different'* in the significant ways discussed in this thesis, such as the 'pleased' reaction of Davy J. to being picked to lead the game as 'Grandmother' (critical moment 26 *More Fun and Games In The Morning*, p246-248). The inability to understand this simple point and the consequent virtually absolute exclusion of such activities is one of the most egregious failures of the accredited programmes initiative.

Beyond this, and potentially moving more towards Schechner's 'ritual', theatre and performance in the Residency offer the 'royal road' to the unconscious mentioned above, creating the 'fluid transitional space' between the object relational 'inner world' and the existential life world of 'objective' reality, where 'change' becomes about a fundamental existential question, and not merely 'changing cognitions'.

This aesthetic space or surplus reality does not need the Corrida set to occur, but exists wherever the core process of performance exists; hence in the games described above, and in the small group walk throughs and skills training sessions detailed already, as the holistic organism is stimulated holistically and not atomistically. Colin S. notes of other less active 'anger management' methodologies that "It was just talk really, it was nothing. There was no breaking the ice and that, it just didn't work" (Appendix A, p63). The same point linking to holism is supported by staff member Kate: "[The Residency] is....everything at once. It's not flat, it's...three dimensional ... it's got all the senses there together..." (Appendix A, p63).

It is the claim of this thesis, supported by the evidence above that *only* theatre and drama can offer the realm of 'surplus reality' or oneiric 'aesthetic space' (concretised in its ultimate form for the Residency in the Corrida set) possessing both *physical* dimensions and *subjective* dimensions: It is this capacity which allows the potential re-arrangement of intractable unconscious structures related to violent offending, and the literal possibility to re-experience defeat or insult or trauma in such a way as to allow for symbolic resolution. The very notion of 'symbolism' is alien to cognitively orientated interventions, while the addressing of the realm of the unconscious is an inevitable by-product of the core drama/theatre modality and holistic approach that accesses all aspects of the human experience.

And finally...

Geese Theatre has developed a new format for a residential intervention with violent offenders, *Insult to Injury*, which shares some of the characteristics of the V/3 Residency. Using the same STAXI psychometric instrument as in this research, Blacker, Watson & Beech (2008) found "significant" reductions in anger among *Insult to Injury* participants pre- and post intervention, and note that "Drama has a number of significant advantages over the discussion based or instructional approaches used by most anger management programmes" as these methods are "...more personal and practical, less reliant on literacy and verbal expression and help address thoughts feelings and behaviours" (p131).

While supportive of the methodology they still describe the intervention as placing "particular emphasis" on cognitive processes and distorted attitudes, while recognising (in a pale echo of the conclusions and arguments of this thesis) that the *Insult to Injury* drama-based form provides a "safe and supportive environment in which to practice and evaluate control strategies" (p130). The final conclusion is that "a drama-based approach may be a promising adjunct to traditional anger management programmes for violent offenders" (p129).

Hughes (2004) notes that "Drama, theatre and performance in the criminal justice sector contains perhaps the most developed and differentiated theory base of all the art forms" (p66), and that the 'evidence base' suggests some main 'areas of impact' which to a lesser extent parallel the conclusions drawn by this thesis. Contrapuntally, Miles & Clarke (2006) point out there has been

increasing acknowledgement that "....cognitive behavioural programmes themselves lack substantial evidence of success..." (p14-15), even while the 'official response' to this lack of evidence has been to "reassert the primacy of the positivist experimental research model" (p15).

As argued previously, such an approach does not gel well with arts based methodologies and their outputs, particularly one attempting to be as holistic and far-reaching as the *Violent Illusion Trilogy* Residency. The paucity of the conclusion drawn by Blacker, Watson and Beech, even though one of the authors is actually at the present time Director of Geese Theatre Company, must be taken as demonstrating the continuing difficulty of supporting 'Geese style' work within the current cognitive – behavioural orthodoxy.

To end at last where this thesis began, I call again on Coyote to bring a final burst of 'regenerative disorder' and challenge currently accepted boundaries, by suggesting in the transformative spirit of 'world turned upside down' that the conclusion formulated by Blacker, Watson & Beech should in fact be reworked to suggest that: "Cognitive-behavioural elements may be a useful adjunct to drama and theatre based work".

Appendices

Appendix A

Supplementary data

**Please see the separately bound volume forming
Appendix A**

Appendix B

Brief History of the Accredited Offending Behaviour Programmes Initiative

The following information is taken from: *Interventions: A Guide to Interventions in the National Probation Service*

(<http://www.probation.homeoffice.gov.uk/files/pdf/A%20Guide%20to%20Interventions%20in%20the%20NPS.pdf>)

The information presented here focuses more on the offending behaviour programmes associated with violence, than with other programmes tackling other issues.

Introduction

One of the main aims of the National Offender Management Service (NOMS) is to reduce re-offending. The Correctional Services Review by Patrick Carter recognised that there is an important role for targeted rehabilitative work to reduce re-offending. He proposed that all serious, dangerous and highly persistent offenders should receive a custodial place but that less serious offenders would be more effectively managed through intensive community supervision that would include interventions to help reduce re-offending, reparation and the use of modern technology such as electronic curfew.

This document sets out the range of interventions available to the NPS and outlines some of the factors that are important in ensuring that they are delivered to a high quality so that they have the maximum impact on offenders and help them to avoid crime. It also touches on the history of the current range of interventions and future developments. A list of nationally available interventions is at Annex A.

Evidence-based practice in working with offenders in probation (and prisons) is founded upon the 'what works' principles. These are set out at Annex B.

A Guide to Interventions in the National Probation Service

Roger Hill, Director of Probation

Interventions and offender management

What is an intervention and how does an intervention differ from offender management?

Interventions are often conceived of as structured and planned pieces of work whose purpose may be punishment, rehabilitation or public protection. They include, for example, the delivery

of accredited offending behaviour programmes (including sex offender programmes and domestic violence programmes), curfews with electronic monitoring and unpaid work. Interventions are delivered by trained, qualified staff in a way that models good behaviour and positive relationships and that is sensitive to the way in which offenders learn.

The work done to assess offenders and plan their sentences is part of offender management. The National Offender Management Model explains offender management in detail. The boundary between offender management and interventions is not clear-cut and different probation areas may draw the boundaries in different ways. The 'grey' area arises because good offender management arrangements are not purely administrative but help integrate and extend the learning of the various interventions. Some work, such as helping offenders to access housing or employment, motivational work, or specialist assessments may be delivered as an intervention or as offender management.

A single intervention on its own is unlikely to bring about a reduction in re-offending; a holistic approach that integrates interventions and offender management is more likely to do so.

History and purpose of interventions

Interventions have been designed to meet the needs of the court for punishment (unpaid work and curfew) and in response to the range of needs displayed by offenders which evidence suggests are linked to offending. They are central to the overall aim of reducing re-offending and protecting the public.

The current range of interventions was developed as part of the 'what works' initiative launched in 1998 (Probation Circular 35/1998). In 1998 Her Majesty's Inspectorate of Probation produced a report written by Andrew Underdown, *Strategies for Effective Offender Supervision*, on the delivery of interventions and ways of increasing their effectiveness.

The report was the springboard for the implementation of evidence-based practice across all probation work. The National Probation Directorate (NPD) with Her Majesty's Prison Service led the development of an offender assessment system (OASys) and a range of offending behaviour programmes. An accreditation panel of independent experts was set up to ensure that new programmes were designed and delivered in accordance with the evidence base.

The Prison Service accreditation panel was re-launched as a Joint Accreditation Panel (JAP) (later to become the Correctional Services Accreditation Panel). Parallel developments took place in the context of community reintegration where the focus was on education and employment. The portfolio of interventions is closely linked to factors identified in the offender assessment system, OASys.

OASys considers a range of risk factors that research has demonstrated are closely linked to risk of reconviction. They fall into two broad groups. The first are needs associated with the wider environment, such as housing and employability, where the offender's prospects are influenced by local and national trends. The second includes aspects of the offender's personality, attitudes and behaviours, such as thoughtless or impulsive behaviour, that are linked to offending. These factors not only contribute to offending but are often the underlying reasons for difficulties in many other areas of life.

Intervention [programmes] are designed to provide tools and techniques with which to address these factors and, together with offender managers, to ensure that offenders can access mainstream services in the community.

Benefits of interventions

Evidence suggests that interventions that target a range of offending-related needs and are well designed and delivered can bring about reductions in re-offending.

Interventions contribute to delivering several of the Home Office strategic objectives. For example, substance abuse programmes and related work under the Drug Rehabilitation Requirement and the Alcohol Treatment Requirement support the objective that 'fewer people's lives are ruined by drugs and alcohol'. The domestic violence programmes, sex offender programmes and programmes for violent offenders support the objective that 'people are...more secure'.

Analyses of the psychometric tests undertaken before and after an accredited programme have shown positive gains for those who complete the programme. Completers of Think First, Enhanced Thinking Skills, Aggression Replacement Training, Controlling Anger and Learning to Manage it and Drink Impaired Drivers (see annex A) have all shown improvements in key skills and behaviours.

The successful delivery of interventions rests on the foundation of careful and accurate assessment by the offender manager who must have collected as much relevant information as possible about the offender including full details of the offender's criminal history. It is the task of the offender manager to use the initial assessment to produce a sentence plan that is matched to the offender's needs and identifies appropriate priorities.

Quality of staff

The NPD is the current source of expertise that enables the NPS to maintain sufficient staff to deliver interventions. The training strategy has equipped over 580 trainers to train staff to deliver accredited programmes. It continues to support ongoing training. The Correctional Services Accreditation Panel approves the training programmes.

Trainers and tutors are carefully selected using a process that includes an assessment centre and they are assessed as they deliver interventions and helped to increase their expertise.

Quality of delivery

Experience in other jurisdictions has shown that quality of delivery degrades unless quality and performance management regimes are in place.

Integrating work inside and outside prisons

For many years now the prison and probation services have shared some interventions, such as Enhanced Thinking Skills or the substance abuse programme ASRO, which were developed by one of the services and are now accredited for either community or custodial settings. Other programmes, for example the anger management programme CALM, have been jointly purchased or, as in the case of the cognitive booster, designed jointly.

There is a commitment from both services that where possible any new development of accredited programmes will be a joint undertaking. This has been an important link but it is also necessary for the offender manager to ensure that interventions delivered in prison are followed up in the community.

The NPD is leading work to review the training material for accredited programmes and (with prisons) to develop a core training module for programme tutors which will be supplemented by modules that are appropriate to particular programmes. This will shorten the time taken to train tutors and eliminate wasteful repetition.

Conclusion

Thanks to the major developments of the past few years the NPS now has a broad range of evidence-based interventions available to it that are internationally respected. They have been implemented in a way that focuses on links with other stakeholders and on quality and which encourages a process of continuous improvement that has been reflected in rising performance. Together with developments in offender management this provides the means by which the probation service can make a positive difference to the lives of offenders.

Annex A

Motivational work

The NPD has promoted motivational work (that may be delivered by offender managers or interventions staff) through publication of the Toolkit of Motivational Skills and has supported delivery of the toolkit through training and quality assurance.

Offending behaviour programmes

Offending behaviour programmes are evidence based, cognitive behavioural programmes that are accredited by the Correctional Services Accreditation Panel. They are designed to reduce re-offending by helping offenders to learn new skills that improve the way in which they think and solve problems and which help them cope with pressure, to consider the consequences of their actions, to see things from the perspective of others and to act less impulsively.

Problems with attitudes and behaviour are amongst the most common characteristics of offenders and accredited programmes are a good way of tackling them.

Enhanced Thinking Skills

ETS is a group-based programme for male and female offenders. It is based on the idea that teaching thinking skills will enhance a person's ability to achieve worthwhile goals. The programme uses carefully constructed exercises to target six aspects of thinking skills that are linked with offending:

- Interpersonal Problem Solving: introduces a logical approach to solving problems and aims to help offenders reduce mistakes in thinking and develop social ways of resolving problems.
- Cognitive Style: develops flexible thinking and helps reduce rigid responses and improve an offender's ability to think in the abstract. It uses exercises that encourage creative ideas and lateral thinking.
- Self-control: reduces impulsive thinking and behaviour by encouraging a reflective thinking style, awareness of factors that affect thinking, consideration of consequences, use of long-term planning skills and practical application of strategies that improve self-control.
- Social Perspective Taking: enhances awareness, understanding and consideration of different points of view to reduce egocentricity.
- Moral Reasoning: practises and develops moral reasoning by exploring values and considering issues of fairness, equity and concern for others and their welfare.
- Critical Reasoning: encourages self-critical and reflective thinking. It helps offenders to recognise irrational beliefs and understand how thinking is affected by emotions, past experience and other factors.

The programme consists of 20 sessions of two to two-and-a-half hours, over 40 to 50 weeks.

Aggression Replacement Training

ART is based on the assumption that violent offending has multiple causes: violent offenders tend to lack personal, interpersonal and cognitive skills. Specifically, they tend to be impulsive, to be over-reliant on aggressive means for achieving goals, to have poor self-control, and to have poorly developed moral reasoning. The programme is designed to address the following targets:

- Pro-violence attitudes and beliefs – attitudes supportive of criminal behaviour generally, hostile and suspicious attitudes to others.
- Social perspective taking – ability to consider others' views, an appreciation of why this is important.
- Interpersonal skills – ability to handle social situations.
- Anger control – impulsive, loses temper easily, poor conflict resolution skills, poor emotional control.

ART contains 18 group-based two-hour sessions, spread over six to 12 weeks, for male and female offenders. There are also five individual sessions before and after the group sessions, delivered by offender managers. The programme is targeted at offenders whose current offence includes aggressive behaviour or who have an established pattern of aggressive behaviour and who are at medium to high risk of reconviction and/or medium or above risk of causing harm.

Controlling Anger and Learning to Manage it

CALM is a group programme for male offenders, based on the premise that anger, while a natural emotion, becomes problematic when its frequency, duration and intensity are excessive and lead to aggressive behaviour. Based on social learning theory and using cognitive behavioural techniques, the programme addresses the following criminogenic needs:

- Anger/emotional control – impulsive, loses temper easily, poor emotional control, poor conflict resolution skills.
- Perspective taking – does not understand others' views, misinterprets social situations, holds rigid dogmatic views.
- Social problem solving – lacks interpersonal skills, uses inappropriate strategies, unaware of consequences.
- Pro-violence/pro-offending attitudes and beliefs – holds attitudes supportive of criminal behaviour generally, has hostile and suspicious attitudes to others, lacks recognition of link between offending and own attitudes, emotions, beliefs and needs.

Offenders learn to recognise the factors that trigger their anger and aggression and challenge the thinking that creates, sustains and escalates emotional arousal. They learn how to reduce their levels of emotional arousal, resolve conflict, manage other negative emotions related to offending, and plan how to deal with relapse.

The programme is targeted at offenders whose current offence includes, or who have an established pattern of aggressive behaviour or loss of emotional control, and who are at medium to high risk of reconviction and/or medium or above risk of causing harm. CALM consists of 24 sessions of two to two-and-a-half hours, spread over eight to 24 weeks.

Cognitive Self Change Block 6

Block 6 is an integral part of a programme which starts in prisons and continues in the community and targets high-risk seriously violent male offenders. It reinforces learning from the prison-based blocks 1 to 5 of the programme, applies it to the community setting and maintains an up-to-date relapse prevention plan.

The programme aims to reduce violent recidivism by changing offenders' distorted thinking processes and individual patterns of antisocial thinking which lead them to violence and criminal conduct, and by reducing the impact of contributory violence risk factors specific to each individual. The dynamic risk factors the programme seeks to change are:

- The individual's thinking patterns which lead him to violence and other anti-social acts
- Lack of insight into violent behaviour
- Violent fantasy
- Poor management of increased arousal or anger
- Socio-cognitive skills deficits

Block 6 is delivered on a one-to-one basis by the offender manager through the medium of licence appointments. Its implementation supports a multiagency approach to risk management. The decision to end Block 6 delivery in an individual case is taken as part of the risk management plan.

All the publications listed in the reports can be downloaded from the NPS website:

www.probation.homeoffice.gov.uk

Hard copies, where available, can be requested from:

NPSpublications@homeoffice.gsi.gov.uk

NPD/010/2005

Annex B

The principles that underpin evidence-based practice

Evidence-based practice in working with offenders in probation (and prisons) is founded upon the 'what works' principles. These are as follows:

Risk principle – the degree of intervention required in each case should be related to an assessment of the risk of re-offending and the risk of serious harm.

Needs principle – intervention in each case should be targeted on those personal and social factors which are assessed as being likely to cause re-offending.

Responsivity principle – intervention should be based on methods which are demonstrably

effective in reducing offending, and which are responsive to the culture, gender and learning styles of individual offenders.

Rehabilitation should include work on accommodation, employment, basic skills, attitudes, cognitive skills, mental health, and drugs and alcohol which is intended to reintegrate the offender into the community.

Equality of opportunity requires provision of a full range of interventions designed to meet the risk/needs profile of each region throughout England and Wales, with each intervention delivered to a consistent high standard.

Interventions should be **accessible** to all offenders regardless of factors such as gender, race, sexual orientation and disability and as a minimum should meet legislative expectations: Race Relations (amendment) Act 2000, Sex Discrimination Act 1975, Disability Discrimination Act 1995 (including the reasonable adjustment element which came into force in October 2004), Welsh Language Act 1993, and the new regulations on sexual orientation and religion or faith.

This will include compliance with the duties under the Race Equality Schemes (RES) i.e. conducting and publishing the results of impact assessment. Interventions should be subject to **evaluation**, including using data from audits and OASys assessments, to demonstrate effectiveness in relation to stated objectives; this in turn will ensure confidence in the interventions provided to protect the public, reduce re-offending and support rehabilitation of offenders.

All the publications listed in the reports can be downloaded from the NPS website:

www.probation.homeoffice.gov.uk

Hard copies, where available, can be requested from:

NPSpublications@homeoffice.gsi.gov.uk

Appendix C

General Observation Schedule

NAME	EXERCISE	START	END	GENERAL OBSERVATION SCHEDULE					
				1	2	3	4	5	6
AGREES, CONCURS	SUPPORTS OTHERS, RAISES STATUS, GIVES HELP	ASKS FOR SUGGESTION, DIRECTION, POSSIBLE ACTION	DISAGREES, ARGUES	ANTAGONISTIC DEFLATES OTHER	SABOTAGES, MINIMISES, COLLUDES				
+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-	+/-				
John									
Sam									
Andy									
B									
Deek									
Jones									
Karen									
B									
Deek									

NOTES

E?
Z?

+/-

DISAGREES, ARGUES
+/-

POSSIBLE ACTION
+/-

ASKS FOR
SUGGESTION,
DIRECTION,
+/-

SUPPORTS OTHERS,
RAISES STATUS,
GIVES HELP
+/-

AGREES, CONCURS
+/-

Appendix D

Officer's Questionnaire

Officer's Questionnaire

This questionnaire is intended to help Geese Theatre improve the effectiveness of their Residency for violent offenders

1	Since the conclusion of the Geese Theatre Residency, have you noticed any changes in any of the men attending?	(please circle) YES/NO
2	If so, could you briefly describe the change?	
3	Would you say that the men or man you are thinking of seems less angry generally?	YES/NO
4	Is he or they less likely to 'fly off the handle'?	YES/NO
5	Would you say he or they seem better abler to keep his temper?	YES/NO
6	Can you describe a specific incident of his keeping his temper or similar when he would previously have lost it?	
7	Has he seemed able to use any skills to keep calm, e.g. counting to 10, deep breathing, attempting to discuss things?	YES/NO
8	If so, what have you seen him do?	
9	Have any other officers commented on any changes in the men they have seen?	YES/NO
10	If so, what have they said?	
11	Is there anything else you would like to add?	

Thank you for your help.

Appendix E

Blank Thinking Report

Thinking Report

Situation _____

THOUGHT

FEELING

Appendix F

Example of Inner Man form

GESE THEATRE COMPANY

INNER SELF MODEL

Thought Wheel

Thought Wheel

Cycle:

Perceived insult (can be anything, even simply being present)

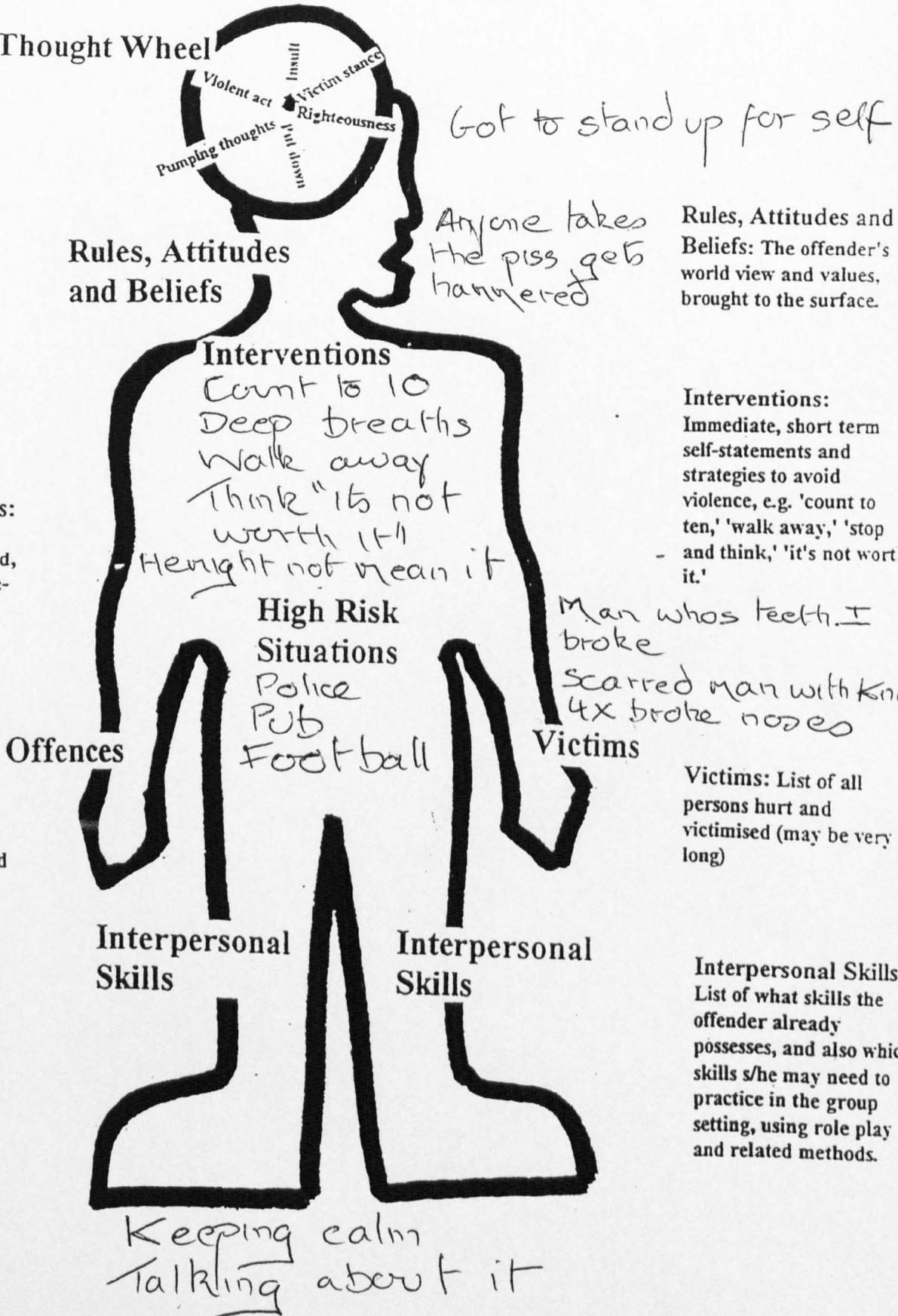
Victim stance ('Why me?')

Righteousness ('What gives him the right?')

Put down ('That wanker!')

Pumping thoughts ('I'll kill you!')

Violent act



Appendix G

Information for Participants

Contract for Participants

Consent form

The Violent Illusion

a five day residency to be conducted by
Geese Theatre Company

Information for Participants

What is it?

The Violent Illusion is a week long programme of performances and workshops. The purpose of the week is to explore and examine some of the reasons why people become violent. Throughout the week you will be asked to participate in a variety of drama workshops which will help you to look at your own behaviour. As part of this work it is hoped that you will be able to learn new skills to help you deal with difficult situations.

On the final day there will be a test. This test, open to five participants only, will be unlike any test you have ever taken. It will challenge you to use your new skills in a special 'performance' open only to the other participants involved in the week.

The Violent Illusion is unique.

It will be hard.

It may be uncomfortable.

It is an experience you will not forget.

continued....

Who is it for?

This week is designed for those who have problems with violence. Ideally you should be involved in some kind of anger management or violence group. It may be that you have done one of these in the past or are about to start one. If you have not, you may still be eligible to join this programme if you are willing to do the following:

- *Attend all sessions Monday - Friday (This may require you to rearrange routine commitments for example visits, canteen etc)
 - *Participate in discussion and drama exercises
 - *Recognise that you have a problem with violence
 - *Talk openly and honestly about your violent behaviour
 - *Undertake work outside sessions
- *Above all it is important that you are a volunteer**

The nature of the material is sensitive and powerful. The workshops will help you explore your own behaviour in detail and you will be encouraged to find new ways to deal with old problems. This week will not be easy.

Are you prepared to take the challenge?

"What's in it for me?"

The chance to take a new look at some of the problems you have had in the past. An opportunity to look at yourself from a different perspective. A way of making the first step to a life without violence.

The Violent Illusion – A Contract

This contract is for the benefit of yourself and other participants in “The Violent Illusion”. It is a statement of your intent to take part in the week. It is designed as a safeguard for yourselves and others.

1. Information disclosed during the week is confidential.
2. I agree to attend all ten sessions.
3. I recognise that I am responsible for my violence.
4. I will take full responsibility for all my behaviour during the week.
5. I will not be violent towards anyone.
6. I understand that I will be expected to undertake work outside of the sessions.
7. I am free to drop out of the week at any time.

Signed

Date

CONSENT FORM (1.4)

I UNDERSTAND THAT

- This study is intended to try and improve Geese Theatres THE VIOLENT ILLUSION week by looking at what works best and why.
- FOR THIS PURPOSE ONLY it may be necessary to tape and/or take notes on some sessions.
- Any notes, tapes or other information given for the study are CONFIDENTIAL.
- Results may be published. If so, ALL NAMES WILL BE CHANGED
- I can decide NOT to take part. I will not then be written about specifically.
- If I do take part, I can withdraw any time

I AGREE THAT

- I understand the above.
- I am willing/not willing* to take part

DATE _____

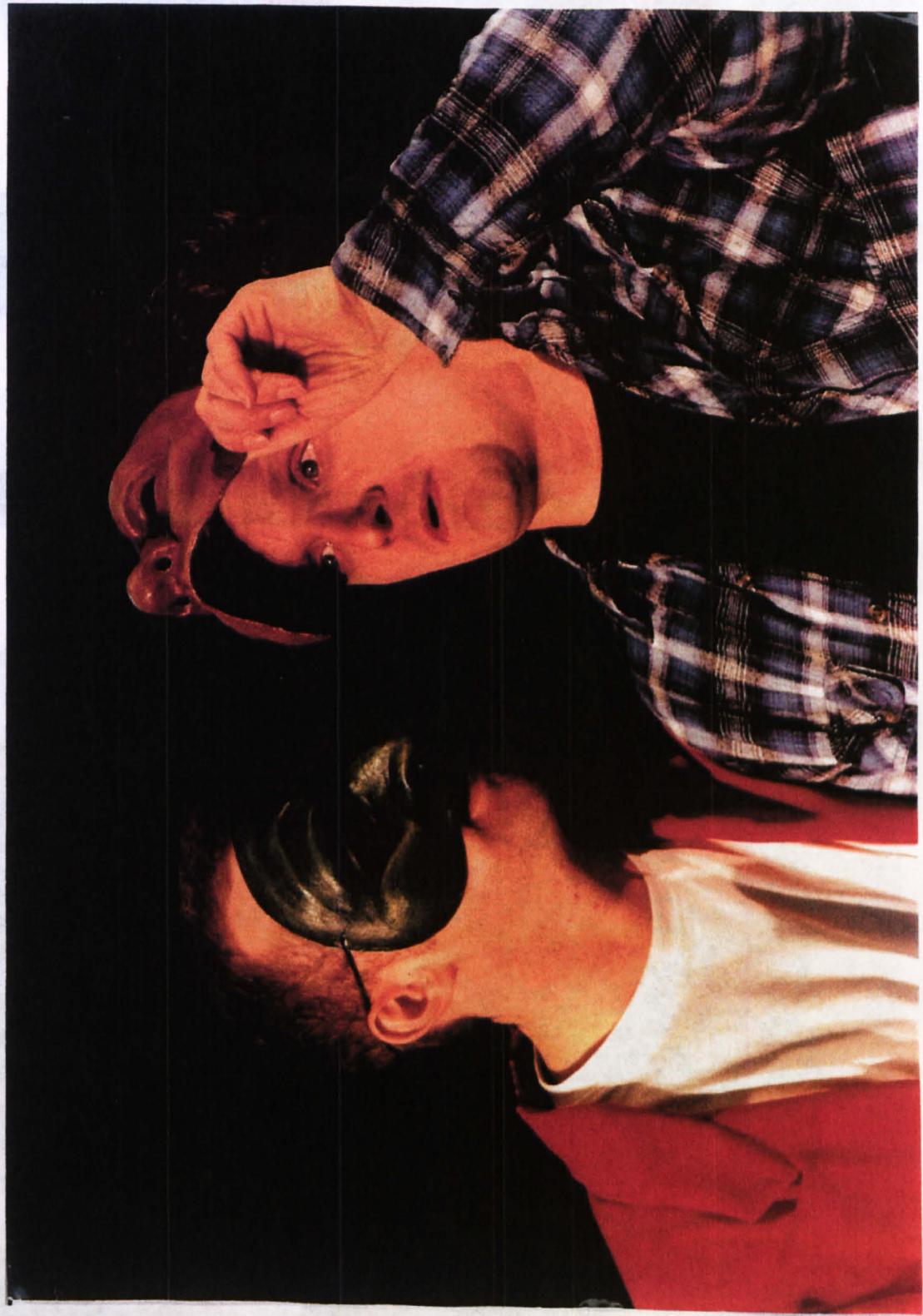
SIGNED _____

* Cross out as applies.

Appendix H

Example half masks, and the Fragment masks

Copyright: Geese Theatre UK's versions of 'The Fist', 'Mr Cool' and 'The Brickwall' are based on original concepts and designs by John Bergman and Geese Theatre USA. All other masks are original concepts by Geese Theatre UK. All pictured masks were designed and constructed by Sally Brookes. All mask and design concepts are copyright with all rights reserved and not to be reproduced in any manner.



Lifting the mask in *Lifting the Weight* improv show

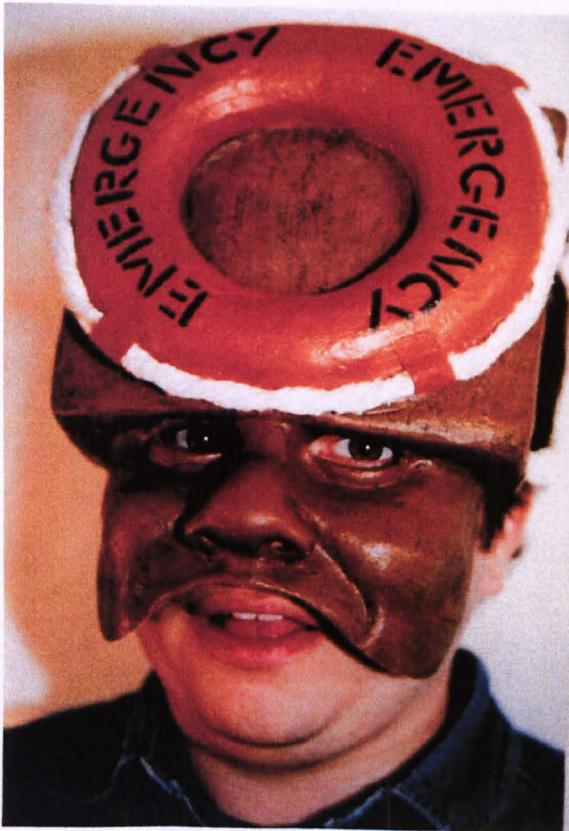


The Joker

Brickwall



Poor Me (Victim)



The Rescuer



The Good Guy (Angel)



The Fist



Bullshit (The Mouth)

Appendix I

**Example Full masks and backdrop images from
*The Violent Illusion Part 1***

Boyfriend 1 and Daughter in the final scene



Daughter, Boyfriend 1 and Grandfather



Boyfriend 1 and Daughter in the Mirror Scene



The Child



Backdrop images from VI1

Appendix J

**Example Full masks and backdrop images from
*The Violent Illusion Part 2***



Dad, Mum and Teacher with some of the backdrop images

Appendix K

The Corrida set



The Corrida set, clearly showing the 'Man in a Can' image



Corrida set, 'Judges' and Time Out panel

Appendix L

Script for the Victim Lazzi

Victim Lazzi

Two people are standing at a bus stop. They wear masks signifying a young man and an old man (fifties to sixties). The old man has a walking stick. An unnamed third character who will play the Voices also wears a mask but stands with his back to the audience.

YM What time's the bus?

OM What?

YM What time's the bus?

OM I don't know why don't you look at the timetable?

YM You miserable old git

OM Don't you talk to me like that you young thug!

Old Man hits Young Man with stick, Young Man trips and falls, as Old Man raises stick over him. Freeze as Voices 1 and 2 speak.

Voice 1 (school bully)

Give us your dinner money. What's the matter? You scared? Look at me. Don't look at me, who said you could look at me? What's the matter? You scared? You gonna cry? Aw, baby gonna cry, you shitting yourself? You scared, is it running down your legs, you pissing yourself?

Immediate switch at end of first monologue into second, with change of voice.

Voice 2 (abusive father)

Look at you, you little shit! Bloody crying! Stand up for yourself like a man. Youponce - you're no son of mine – I'll bloody give you something to cry about in a minute! Stand up for yourself!

Voices character turns his back to audience again and freezes as before. Young Man leaps up with a shout, grabs stick from Old Man, beating him to floor before kicking him several times, hitting with stick and finally throwing stick on top of Old Man, before walking away.

Appendix M

Stanzas from Chapter 6

Stanza 1

- 1 : On the final day
1b: there will be a test..
2a: We will talk
2b: more of this
2c : later in the week// (Farrall 2001a)

Stanza 2

- 1: There is a Contract
2: which you must sign
3: if you are to take part
(Farrall 2001a)

Stanza 3

- 1: Yes it does say I will not hit anyone..
2: that's because this week is about violence
3: that's what we're here to look at
(Farrall 2001a)

Stanza 4

- 1 Kirkham First off-reactions? Anything anybody has to say about what they've just seen//
(pause)
2 Alan A.: It was sick//
3 Kirkham It was sick// Say a bit more about that//
4 Alan A.: ..Well .. it reminds me .. about .. it minds .. it remembers me of me .. why I'm in
here//
5 Kirkham It reminds you of why you're in here//
6 Alan A.: Aye//
7 Kirkham OK//
8 Alan A.: Sheer ..sheer TORTURE in the family and stuff// It was WELL OUT OF
ORDER// And er .. ABUSE towards the kid//
9 Kirkham: Uh huh//
10 Alan A.: and towards the woman// Way OUT OF ORDER // That's why I'm in here//
11 Kirkham: And the and the feelings around that//
12 Alan A.: huh//
13 Kirkham: The feelings are sick//
14 Alan A.: Aye.. Cos I grew up with that kind of shit //
(Farrall 2001a)

Stanza 5

- 19 Kirkham: Anything else//
20 Deek T.: Aye I'd say the one with the long hair [my character, Granddad] needs a fucking
GOOD KICKING//
21 Kirkham: He needs a good kicking//
22 Deek T.: Aye//
23 Kirkham: Why//
24 Deek T.: That.. ABUSE against (gestures to Heywood, who played Daughter) Lots of
violence, you can't have that//
25 Kirkham: OK just..so if something like that happens you have to take action// (pause)
26 Kirkham: Does anybody else agree with that statement// (Field Note p17: body language
of nodding, facial gestures of 'agreement')
27 Kirkham: ..or does anyone else disagree with it// (pause. Field Note p17: no one shakes
heads etcetera to signify disagreement)
28 Kirkham: Most people agree with it//
29 Kirkham: Anybody disagree with that// (pause)

(Farrall 2001a)

Stanza 6

- 42 Kirkham: What..what effect does it [the events and environment of VI1] have on the
child//
43 Andy B.: The child kind of goes into himself ..he's confused .. he seemed to look for
love.. didn't get any//

(Farrall 2001a)

Stanza 7

- 52 Kirkham: OK.. question.. is it inevitable that .. does that have to happen//
53 James M.: No//
54 Kirkham: Anybody think it does have to happen//
55 Bruce F.: No//
56 Kirkham: It happens//
57 James M.: It happens but ..
58 Kirkham: ..but it doesn't have to//
59 Kirkham: ..doesn't have to//
60 Kirkham: That's encouraging//
61 James M.: Things can change//

(Farrall 2001a)

Stanza 8

- 95 Kirkham: Whose responsibility...was his [Boyfriend 1's] violence//..Who was responsible//
96 James M.: For his violence//
97 Deek T.: Him//
98 Alan A.: Himself//
99 Kirkham: He was//
100 Alan A.: Yes//
101 James M.: Aye he's responsible//
102 Andy B.: He's responsible for his own actions//
103 Kirkham: He's responsible for his own actions//
(Farrall 2001)

Stanza 9

- 171 Kirkham: Anybody look at that character [Boyfriend 1] and say yeah that's been me//
172 Deek T.: Aye//
173 Heywood: What was it about him//
174 Deek T.: Drinking//
175 James M.: Aye// (nodding in recognition)
176 Deek T.: Making the woman scared//
177 Kirkham: Making the woman scared//
178 Deek T.: You know you can make her scared//
179 Kirkham: You know.. What does that do for him//
180 Deek T.: Turns him on// (low tone overall)
(Farrall 2001a)

Stanza 10

- 247 Kirkham: Are hard man on the street ever hard men in their own homes as well//
248 Alan A. and Billy R: (very quickly) No//
249 Bruce F.: No//
250 Kirkham: Never//
251 James M.: Not usually//
252 Billy D: Not in front of their wives and that//
(Farrall 2001a)

Stanza 11

- 435 (unattributed) What's she doing// She's gonna do something I don't like//
436 Brookes: She's getting ready for something..
437: Davy J: Aye, that he doesn't like//
438 Brookes: ..there is this real sense that 'She's getting this stuff on who's she doing it for//
What's she doing//

- 439 Andy B: She's doing it for herself//
440 Deek T.: She's got a fancy man//
441 Brookes: Could be. If he thought there was a fancy man what would the thought be//
442 Deek T.: KILL her//
443 Alan A.: Whore//
444 Brookes: Whore// Maybe, yeah we've got whore and we've got.. and I know we've got bitch//

(Farrall 2001a)

Stanza 12

- 452 James M.: Frightened, he's frightened//
453 Brookes: He's frightened so there might be a feeling of fear here// What else// Are there any other..could there be ..any other feelings at this point//
454 Davy J.: Resentment//
455 Brookes: Resentment// OK//
456 Guy: What what is the fear// What is it he's scared of//
457 Alan A.: Other guys looking at her//
458 Davy J.: In case she's away with somebody else//

(Farrall 2001a)

Stanza 13

- 482 Davy J.: I'm gonna teach this bitch a lesson//
483 Brookes: I'm gonna teach this bitch a lesson//
484 Brookes: Feeling// Give us a feeling// (pause)
485 Davy J.: Bad tempered//
486: (unattributed) Annoyed//
487: (unattributed) Angry//
488 Brookes: Annoyed, angry//
489 Davy J.: Bad tempered//
490 Brookes: Bad tempered// Feeling of annoyance and bad temper//

(Farrall 2003b)

Stanza 14

- 502 James M.: He's looking for an excuse//
503 Brookes: Waiting for an excuse, looking for the excuse..
504 James M.: That was his excuse.. Yeah, he went ..he went for it//

(Farrall 2003b)

Stanza 15

- 547 Davy J.: Well..she's got her hands on him..
548 Guy: Right//
549 Davy J: ..and then he kind of reacts//
550 (unattributed) He wants to get even//
551 Guy: She's got her hands on him so..that's enough to ..that would push it up for you//
(Davy J nods)
552 Davy J: That would provoke him into hitting back//
553 Guy : Uh huh. That's all he would need to..
554 Davy J: That kind of provocation// (Farrall 2001b)

Stanza 16

- 582 Davy J.: I'd say he [Boyfriend 1] was a bit shocked as well//
583 Brookes: And a bit shocked..
584 Davy J.: Aye, for the slap on the face//
585 (unattributed) By a whore//
586 Davy J.: Mmm aye//
587 Brookes: On a scale of 1 to 10, in terms of his anger.. where is where is he now//
588 (unattributed): Nine//
589 (unattributed): Nine//
590 Brookes: Nine//
591 Davy J.: Ten//
592 Brookes: Nine or ten// Very high anyway//
Farrall 2001b)

Stanza 17

- 610 Kirkham: What's he taking into account when he's thinking these things like where shall I punch her//
611 Davy J.: She SLAPPED him//
612 Kirkham: How hard shall I punch her//
613 Davy J.: She SLAPPED him//
616 Kirkham: What decision does he make about how hard to punch her then//
617 (unattributed) Enough to teach her a lesson//
618 Kirkham: Hard enough to teach her a lesson but..
619 Davy J.. Not hard enough to kill her//
620 Ian H: Hard enough to hurt her//
621 Kirkham: Hard enough to hurt her but not hard enough to kill her//

Stanza 18

- 649: (unattributed) She's getting back up again//
650: (unattributed) You've not had enough you're still shouting//
651 Alan A.: She's probably said sorry, and he's said I'll give you something to be sorry about//
655 (unattributed) He's put her down she should stay down// (Farrall 2001b)

Stanza 19

- 661 Davy J.: [She is] Probably laughing//
662 Brookes: She could be laughing// What do other people think// Do people think she's going to be laughing at this point//
663 Alan A.: She's probably said sorry, and he's said I'll give you something to be sorry about//
664 Brookes: She could be apologising, she might be saying sorry//
665 Davy J.: She could be swearing at him//
(Farrall 2001b)

Stanza 20

- 938 Davy J.: It's a bent bar [gay bar] they're in// (laughter)
939 Deek T.: You get a lot of them about// (laughter)
940 Guy: Is that the only time that men look at one another.. in a gay bar//
941 Darren C: Yes.. in Blackwood yes//
942 Guy: Pardon// Hold on - Wait a minute wait a minute
943 Mountford: Answer the question..answer the question//
(Farrall 2001b)

Stanza 21

- 944 Guy: That's the only time that men look at each other, men eyeball each other, is in a gay bar//
945 (Deek T.): Nah//
946 (unattributed): Nah nah nah//
947 Guy: I don't think so//
948 (unattributed): No.. it's not//
949 Guy: No no no no no//
(Farrall 2001b)

Stanza 22

- 1024 Davy J.: That thing you were saying about the.. the reactions..
1028 Davy J.: If a guy [man A] does that in a pub [looks at someone].. the guy he's staring at [man B] thinks what am I gonna do .. go back off.. so he (man B) might go then

and push him (man A) away.. and that's him (man B) intimidating him (man A)
threatening him [when it was originally man A's actions which initiated the sequence]

(Farrall 2001b)

Stanza 23

79 Blue: I can't disclose something about Andy..but about 5 or 6 weeks ago.. something major happened to him that that really frightened him.. and it partly explains his violent behaviour.. in this sentence.. but it was .. this event ..was earth shattering for him?? And caused him to re-visit his life.. and he didn't like what he saw//

80 Nicholas: I think of all the ones in our group he was the one most sort of .. jarred by .. by the storytelling thing of his own situation//

81 Kirkham: But he also got very emotional feeding back after [V/1]// He identified with the woman didn't he.. he said// And what she was surrounded by//
(Farrall 2001c)

Stanza 24

'Tony' nods at someone at the bar

32 Farrall: So what is this nod about// Is this a friendly All right mate how are you doing..or is it not// What could it be//

33 Ian H.: Ahh .. it's maybe ..what the fuck are you looking at//

34 Deek T.: Might speak to somebody as well//

35 Farrall: So he could be coming in and just wanting to speak to somebody..

36 James M.: How you doing sort of thing.. caught the other feller's eyes an 'how you doing'//

37 Ian H: He could be maybe.. like.. 'what are you looking at'//

38 Farrall: So it could be how you doing mate// or it could be what are you looking at.. already//

39 Ian H: Yeah//

40 Farrall: What were you saying Deek T.//

41 Deek T.: Well basically that's what Tony says .. what's that prick looking at//

(Farrall 2001d)

Stanza 25

82 Farrall: There's a game of pool and somebody's got on[the table] in front of [the Tony character] .. how does he react to that//

83 James M.: Violent//

84 Farrall: What does he do specifically//

85: James M.: Attack//

(Farrall 2001d)

Stanza 26

- 133 FIST: You don't know who I am. You don't know ANYTHING about me//
134 Davy J.: Don't you think there's anything better you can do//
135 FIST: What//
136 Davy J.: Don't you think there's anything you can do.. something better than resorting to violence// (Farrall 2001d)

Stanza 27

- 149 Poor Me: Well [the violence is] not my fault is it//
150 Davy J.: Don't you think you're better just walking away//
151 Poor Me: If you walk away somebody's gonna have you aren't they with a ..
152 Davy J.: Not necessarily//
153 Poor Me: Well they do where I come from anyway// I don't know about you, maybe YOU can walk away from somebody pal.. you know.. but where I came from you can't do that// Not and be safe.. I mean there's fucking guns out there//
154 Davy J.: Still got the option to walk away.. 'stead of stabbing or shit//
(Farrall 2001d)

Stanza 28

- 167 FIST: Look..I TOLD YOU.. you don't fucking listen to what I'm saying// I'm in the pub right – I'm in the pub .. you know .. I'm minding my own business having a drink .. and these three wankers over here..- my fifty pees on the fucking table they're taking the piss .. what am I supposed to do//
169 Davy J.: There you go .. you're getting angry and violent .. you don't want .. the truth //
171 FIST: (shouting) I DON'T GET ANGRY//
171 SJ: You just did// (laughter) The truth hurts huh//
(Farrall 2001d)

Stanza 29

- 1 There was these three guys in a bar//
 - 2 I was playing pool.. an a fight started//
 - 3 I bottled one of them and the others run//
 - 4 ..this guy says don't fucking call me mate you prick//
- (Farrall 2001d)

Stanza 30

- 114 Farrall: If he was alone, would you have hit him//
115 Darren C.: (pause) Aye probably//
(Farrall 2001d)

However, Darren describes that on *initially* entering the bar:

123 I walked in with my bird.. and they all looked at me.. I thought 'have I got horns on my head'// I felt...you know..intimidated//

(Farrall 2001d)

Stanza 31

- 124 Guy: Ian H. and Bruce F. were both into it. When Ian was down on the ground when his hands were down, he was *right there* and Gerry was coming up and stepping on his... I just saw [Gerry's] foot moving out the corner of my eye ..
- 125 Kirkham: Hes a sly one that //
- 129 Farrall: Hang on you mean Gerry was doing a sneaky and standing on [Ian's] hands, it wasn't part of the walk through//
- 130 Guy: No no, everyone's standing and he was going like this (makes crushing rocking motion with foot) on his foot – on [Ian's] hand with his foot//

(Farrall 2001f)

Stanza 32

- 149 Kate: ... both Ian H. and Bruce F. were.. were struggling [to name how they felt about what they had done] .. and it was Gerry who said "shame" and that was right.. that's what it was//
- 153 Blue: I think he [Gerry G.] was really embarrassed about.. I think he felt that he was the only one who was going to have to sit here and say that he'd killed somebody//
- 155/157 Ann: What I noticed was .. cos I was at next to him .. remember when James M. was saying about how he had .. stabbed his best mate.. and .. Gerry's head went down a bit - remember// Cos [James M.] was really struggling with the feelings bit cos it was a friend and the family sort of forgave him afterwards.. Gerry's head was going down a bit.. so I did speak to him at coffeee time to see if he .. to say are you alright// And he just .. this sort of grin came up and I thought .. now that didn't seem to go alongside how he was.. so it was obvious his front had come straight back in// But he dropped it momentarily// (Farrall 2001f).

Stanza 33

- 144 Kirkham: Yeah - I just - I'm not convinced - that he's ready for this ...
- 146 Brookes: If he doesn't give a bit it's just going to become more and more and more uncomfortable for him isn't it? (Farrall 2001f).

Stanza 34

- 27 Heywood: Again very quiet.. not really doing anything.. he didn't do his homework.. he didn't tell us about his girlfriend ringing up and taking an overdose [information supplied by Officer Blue] he obviously chose not to do that ..
- 28 Farrall: He also didn't say anything when we asked very specifically do you use violence inside for gains// He just said Oh no I wouldn't tax.. I wouldn't do any of that//
- 29 Heywood: That's what Colin S. said.. they both specifically denied doing that. (Farrall 2001f).

Stanza 35

- 11 Heywood: Perfect TR - loads of Rules - very clear – beats the shit out of coppers
- 14 Farrall: Policemen - 'no way could I ever let them say turn out your pockets' - so he's going to have to do it [commit another offence] again, soon as he gets out.
- 16 Heywood: Really really enjoys [the violence] actually -
- 18 Heywood: Very clear, he's got to make a choice. Oh he's thinking, yeah. He understood the wheel and he saw how this lot fitted in so - good, good to work with.
(Farrall 2001f).

Stanza 36

- 304 Mountford: At the moment, last two days, I think I'm getting quite optimistic about him. He's working very hard, he's contributing very well, and out of our group if I was going to think of someone I'd like to do the Corrida at the moment it would be him. I think he would be prime Corrida material.
- 305 Kirkham: He seems to be making a lot of clicks [moments of understanding or comprehension] he was very clear when I was talking through the Wheel and Inner Man... (Farrall 2001f)

Stanza 37

- 52 Heywood: ...well he's just come into the group.. he's quite quiet.. so we haven't done the TR with him.. but he did talk about his masks and he did say that he used the Joker mask but he said he doesn't use it any more//
- 53 Blue: That's true..aye//
- 54 Heywood: And he said he used you know.. Brickwall, Fist - and a bit of Cool.
- 55 Officer Blue: Aye he does use a bit of Cool//
- 63 Farrall: With Colin on [self created rules about] the police.. Andy B. said very clearly .. Yes I thought that too.. all coppers are bastards.. I'd never turn my pockets out .. I've moved on from that, [now I understand] it's his job, he's got the law on his side, I have to do it and then I'm on my way//.
- 64 Heywood: So he did challenge Colin// (Farrall 2001f)

Stanza 38

- 737 James M. He's wanting to.. they're [the family] making him feel like that and he's wanting to lash out.. to.. to make himself feel better//
- 738 Brookes What did he say to himself//
- 739 James M. He was winding himself up..then he says no, it's not like that and he kept calm//
(Farrall 2001g)

Stanza 39

- 1005 Brookes: What do you.. d'you think this is about.. when he kind of moves backward to here// (Indicating the panel).
- 1006 Billy D: He's under pressure//
- 1007 Brookes: Right//
- 1008 James M.: He's trying to not.. blow up. He's controlling himself//
- 1009 Howard S: He feels trapped//
(Farrall 2001g)

Stanza 40

- 278 Kirkham: What did you like about the Bop//
- 279 (unattributed) You just give it away not interested//
- 280 James M.: Aye it was good – away you go//
(Farrall 2001h)

Stanza 41

- Brookes: More of the same really – he's not disruptive but he's not really getting it.
He can sort of see the point, and be sensible for a bit, but then it all gets too much for him..
- Blue: I think he does know what we're saying.. but it's [the violence] too much fun and Deek T.. I think we'll see him back here [in prison] again//
- Brookes: Yes – I certainly agree he doesn't want to stop just yet// (Farrall 2001i)

Stanza 42

- Mountford: Listening.. definitely listening// We've had less of the it's just a jungle out there bit but I'm not sure he believes it can be different..
- Nicholas: I think he'd like to//
- Mountford: Yes because there's an awful lot of sadness and guilt, with blinding his brother and so on, and the alcohol related violence.. some of it is horrific ..but he can't quite make the leap... (Farrall 2001i)

Stanza 43

147 Heywood: Right, there, when you first see that copper.. coming down the street towards you ..what are you thinking//
148 Colin S.: He's gonna have a go at me.. he's gonna pick on me//
(Farrall 2001j)

Stanza 44

149 Heywood So what thought can help to keep that voice down, that thought that says he's going to pick on you//
150 Colin S.: I.. they always does//
151 Andy B.: Are you carrying//
152 Colin (to Geese) Am I//
(Farrall 2001j)

Stanza 45

Nicholas: "So do you think you use violence as a front to scare people away?"
Davy J: "I don't know, sometimes I think it's easier that way, some people just seem to expect it of you" (Farrall 2001q)

Stanza 46

Nicolas: "Yeah, Andy, look mate, I was wondering, you've been in prison and all that and I know you used to do drugs – I was wondering what that was like, y'know, the hard stuff, if it was any good?"
Andy B: (uncertainly) "It's shite?"
Nicholas: "Oh come on, you did it, it can't be that bad" (Farrall 2001o).

Stanza 47

Brookes: How can I trust you// You know what it's like .. how do I know you won't get back on it.. just cos you say you won't//
Andy B.: If that's the way you feel.. can I do anything to change that//
Brookes: Do you think you'll go back on the gear//
(Pause)
Andy B.: Take things one day at a time// Let tomorrow take care of itself//
(Farrall 2001o)

Stanza 48

Anne (staff member): "How are you feeling?"
Colin S.: "I feel strange"
Anne: "Strange?"
Colin S.: "Elated"

Colin S.: "A barrier has fallen down"

(Farrall 2001p)

Appendix N

List of data

Observational Data

- Farrall, M. (1993) *Observations of VI3 Residencies: Aberdeen, Broadmoor, Gracewell, Full Sutton, Parkhurst, Peterhead, Rampton, Woodhill*. Handwritten notes. Unpublished.
- Farrall (2001aa) *Sunday on the Segregation Unit, prior to Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency commencing*. Recorded by M Farrall. HMP Blackwood
- Farrall, M. (2001a) *Tape 1, recording of Monday morning, Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency*. Recorded by M Farrall, HMP Blackwood.
- Farrall, M. (2001b) *Tape 2, recording of Monday afternoon, Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency*. Recorded by M Farrall, HMP Blackwood.
- Farrall, M. (2001c) *Tape 3, recording of Monday debrief, Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency*. Recorded by M Farrall, HMP Blackwood.
- Farrall, M. (2001d) *Tape 4, recording of Tuesday morning, Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency*. Recorded by M Farrall, HMP Blackwood.
- Farrall, M. (2001e) *Tape 5, recording of Tuesday afternoon, Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency*. Recorded by M Farrall, HMP Blackwood.
- Farrall, M. (2001f) *Tape 6, recording of Tuesday evening debrief, Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency*. Recorded by M Farrall, HMP Blackwood.
- Farrall, M. (2001g) *Tape 7, recording of Wednesday morning, Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency*. Recorded by M Farrall, HMP Blackwood.
- Farrall, M. (2001h) *Tape 8, recording of Wednesday afternoon, Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency*. Recorded by M Farrall, HMP Blackwood.
- Farrall, M. (2001i) *Tape 9, recording of Wednesday evening debrief, Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency*. Recorded by M Farrall, HMP Blackwood.
- Farrall, M. (2001j) *Tape 10, recording of Thursday morning, Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency*. Recorded by M Farrall, HMP Blackwood.
- Farrall, M. (2001k) *Tape 11, recording of Thursday afternoon, Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency*. Recorded by M Farrall, HMP Blackwood.
- Farrall, M. (2001l) *Tape 12, recording of Thursday debrief, Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency*. Recorded by M Farrall, HMP Blackwood.
- Farrall, M. (2001o) *Tape 15 recording of Friday morning, Andy B. Corrida and after, Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency*. Recorded by M Farrall, HMP Blackwood.
- Farrall, M. (2001p) *Tape 16 recording of Friday afternoon, Davy J. Corrida and after, Colin S. Corrida and after, Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency*. Recorded by M Farrall, HMP Blackwood.
- Farrall, M. (2001t) *Tape 20, Miscellaneous recordings, Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency*. Recorded by M Farrall, HMP Blackwood.

General Observation Schedules Monday – Wednesday

These forms were filled out by myself for this period before being abandoned due to the requirements of my role as a Geese facilitator.

Field Notes

Contemporaneous field notes were written by hand whenever possible during the Residency working day and then written up to laptop computer in the evening

Documentary data

- Farrall, M. (1996) *Corrida Master's Speech, Revised*. Personal materials.
Original Thinking Reports for Davy J., Colin S. and Darren C.
Original copy of the Thought Wheel for Colin S.
Original copy of group thinking report from the *Mirror Scene* replay in VI1
Original copy of group thinking report from the *Silent Rage* scene replay in VI2

Interview data

- Farrall, M. (1995) Personal interview with John Bergman.
Farrall, M. (2001q) *Tape 17, Davy J. interview, Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency. Recorded by M Farrall, HMP Blackwood.*
Farrall, M. (2001r) *Tape 18, Colin S. interview, Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency. Recorded by M Farrall, HMP Blackwood.*
Farrall, M. (2001s) *Tape 19, Officer Blue interview, Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency. Recorded by M Farrall, HMP Blackwood.*
Some follow up interviews were conducted by Social Work staff at the request of researcher.
This data was mainly comprised of 'factual' information on previous convictions etcetera.
Brookes, S. (2003) *Interview on Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency*. Conducted by Farrall, M., Geese Theatre Company, Birmingham.
Heywood, L. (2003) *Interview on Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency*. Conducted by Farrall, M., Geese Theatre Company, Birmingham
Kirkham, H. (2003) *Interview on Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency*. Conducted by Farrall, M., Geese Theatre Company, Birmingham.
Meakes, W. (2003) *Interview on Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency*. Conducted by Farrall, M., Geese Theatre Company, Birmingham.
Morris, S. (2003) *Interview on Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency*. Conducted by Farrall, M., Geese Theatre Company, Birmingham.
Raynsford, J. (2003) *Interview on Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency*. Conducted by Farrall, M., Geese Theatre Company, Birmingham.
Robinson, M. (2003) *Interview on Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency*. Conducted by Farrall, M., Geese Theatre Company, Birmingham.
Watson, A. (2003) *Interview on Violent Illusion Trilogy Residency*. Conducted by Farrall, M., Geese Theatre Company, Birmingham

Psychometric data

The State-Trait Anger Expression Inventory (STAXI) was administered to as many men as possible before and after the Residency. No control group was possible and the total number of men who both completed the Residency and filled in pre and post questionnaires was 9.

Appendix O

Recommendations for Geese Theatre Company

Introduction

The following comments are intended as practice notes for the consideration of Geese Theatre in future Residencies.

1) Pre preparation

The HMP Blackwood Residency suffered from a lack of pre-preparation so that men were still being 'selected' to attend immediately prior to the V11 performance (and I was conducting the STAXI with them). This is clearly disadvantageous and thus recommendations include:

- The prison staff involved in a Residency have an important supportive function; while modern prison staff with experience of and training in current accredited programmes can be assumed to have some level of knowledge or skills, there is likely to be value in at least a brief input informing staff of specific Geese techniques, the vocabulary used, the central metaphors and possibly an explanation on a more theoretical level as to the 'how' of the Residency, such as this thesis has attempted

- Geese undertaking a limited number of 'warm up' inputs to accustom men to the methods and the focus, prior to a Residency. Officer Blue identifies that:

59 Blue: Because it's a prison and there's a high stress environment, you have to bring the group together and make the group comfortable, it doesn't matter how comfortable you are with each individual prisoner, the prisoners have to be comfortable ...

60 Farrall: With each other.

61 Blue: With the idea of being part of a group

(Blue 2001)

- That such warm up include selection, so there is some element of competition and 'specialness' to the Residency

- That places be limited to a maximum number of 16 men

2) Conduct in the Residency

- This research suggests that a greater degree of psychodynamic awareness should be integrated into the primarily cognitive-behavioural model of Geese, as a way to inform practice

- Perhaps the Contract to Participate should be held until after the performance of V11, to give men a further chance or choice to stay and participate or leave, in a fully informed manner

- Geese should beware of dropping games due to time pressures – even if not overtly appreciated by participants, they appear to serve important functions

- The central Geese metaphor of 'lifting the mask' is under-utilised in the Residency; consideration should be given to as to how to extend this usage
- The Inner Man is introduced to the whole group, but might not be a focus in a sub group, leading to possible under utilisation in the Corrida. Standardisation of practice around this might be of use
- For continuity, when introducing the Thought Wheel, it should be possible to use the group constructed Thinking Report for Boyfriend 1, to illustrate the Wheel
- The Pub Scene might also feature Boyfriend 1
- Little use is made of the images on the reverse of the wallpaper in both VI1 and Vi2 – could this be improved?
- The Corrida Master's introduction is meant to include a 'fire drill' procedure for if it is necessary to press the alarm bell – this element was forgotten at Blackwood and is frequently forgotten. Is it therefore necessary?
- Advance warning to the inmate Judges in a Corrida might be of use, rather than simply naming them immediately prior to the Corrida
- There is a lack of conceptual and procedural clarity over whether the Second in a Corrida stays, or leaves, and whether they leave by the door back to the Wasteland or the actors' exit. Clarification is recommended
- Would the Declaration be better made (or more meaningful) if addressed to the audience rather than the Judges?
- While in the Corrida, a video taping of each Corrida would form a useful resource in the event of failure or of follow up work (see below)

Should there be a specific area of the Corrida close to the door, where a Protagonist should be located to answer questions from the Judges? Such as taping an area in front of the 'Man in a Can' panel?

- A video monitor to enable the Protagonist to see themselves in the period while waiting for the Judges to return might be of use

- While not featuring in Blackwood, given the apparent importance of the ritualistic elements of the Corrida, a structure should be introduced to Corridas which do feature victim-inmate interaction, via the Place of the Victims, such as a ritual phrase of "I have nothing more to say to you", to signify the end of an improvised section
- The Residency begins with a Contract – it might be symbolically appropriate to end with a Contract about what the men will undertake to do from now on

3) Follow up work

If the Residency is a catalyst, then clearly follow up is of great importance. Reiss, Quayle, Brett & Meux (1998) mention follow-up work after a Residency in Broadmoor Special Hospital, though do not describe specifics. Geese may wish to prepare some sort of follow-up material for use by interested staff, or even specific follow-up training and a follow-up package.