Theoretical Criminology

Los Angeles, London, New Delhi
and Singapore.
www.sagepublications.com
Vol. 11(4): 427–442; 1362–4806
DOI: 10.1177/1362480607081833

N = 1

Criminology and the person

SHADD MARUNA AND AMANDA MATRAVERS
Queen's University Belfast, UK and American University, Washington DC, USA

This is a rather special Special Issue of *Theoretical Criminology*, perhaps even the first of its kind. Unusually, all of the articles in this issue—which emerged out of a two-part panel at the British Society of Criminology Annual Meeting organized by Tony Jefferson and Mechthild Bereswill—involve re-analyses of data from a single criminological study. More unusually still, the study being re-analyzed involves a sample size of one: 'Stanley' from Clifford Shaw's *The Jack-Roller* (1930/1966).

To some, this detailed scrutiny of a single case surely must seem like overkill. After all, if it is true that 'size doesn't matter' in some aspects of life, this is hardly the case in social science research where bigger sample sizes are routinely accorded a privileged place in methodological circles. Comments like, 'Have you seen the size of their sample? It's massive!' are commonplace at academic meetings. Even in qualitative work, journal reviewers and PhD supervisors typically favor sample sizes around $N = 40$ or 50 over smaller samples.

So, why devote this much attention to a study that only managed an $N = 1$? At one level, this Special Issue is intended as a celebration of Clifford Shaw's classic work on the anniversary of the birth of the titular hero, Stanley. Born in 1907, Stanley has already been the subject of an autobiographical sequel of sorts, Jon Snodgrass's (1982) *The Jack-Roller at Seventy*. With this issue, we mark what would have been Stanley's 100th birthday by re-analyzing his story from an entirely new perspective or, rather, five new perspectives.

More generally, the aim of the issue is to revive academic interest in the criminological case study—the individual person—and especially psychosocial approaches to life narrative analysis. Stanley's story is an ideal platform for this sort of revival for a variety of reasons. First, as one of the best-known

works of the Chicago School of Sociology, we assume that Stanley's story is fairly well known among criminologists around the world. Second, Stanley's story is exceptional in the richness of the data collected and the span of time between bouts of academic data collection. Far from the usual life history transcript, produced after a 60- to 90-minute interview, *The Jack-Roller* was the product of years of interaction between Stanley and Shaw, during which the researcher assumed an almost parental role in Stanley's life. Moreover, Stanley's life story has been chronicled not just once, but twice (Shaw, 1930/1966; Snodgrass, 1982), with approximately five decades in between the two tellings.[1]

This sort of longitudinal, qualitative research has been championed as an innovative, new methodological strategy (Holland et al., 2004; Farrall, 2006) that offers a unique opportunity to understand deviance across the life course (see, for example, Laub and Sampson, 2003; Steffensmeier and Ulmer, 2005). As well as supplying an update of Stanley's story (i.e. 'what happened next'), this second telling of his 'own story' provides an opportunity for Stanley to recast his life experiences, and in particular his upbringing and initial involvement in criminality. In fact, the second book contains explicit revisions of the explanatory attributions and detail from the first *Jack-Roller* (there is even a revised perspective on the 'wicked stepmother' who featured so prominently in the original autobiography) that can help us trace Stanley's psychosocial development over time (see McAdams et al., 2006). From the first to the second autobiography, there is a distinct movement from a positivist subject, largely determined by outside forces, to a far more human and complicated figure. Consequently, the second narrative with its various, internal contradictions and complications is both more recognizable and less satisfying than the original classic story.

Developmental and personality theorists suggest that we all engage in these sorts of revisions of our self-understandings over time, and substantial personality change over time is often at the level of self-narrative rather than dispositional traits (McAdams, 1994; Maruna, 2001). Andrews (forthcoming) writes, 'We are forever re-scripting our pasts, making sense of the things that happened in light of subsequent events.' Tracking the changes in Stanley's two published autobiographies in the following contributions is intended to contribute to this fascinating, new area of research enquiry into the development of autobiographical identity narratives over time (see, for example, Thorne et al., 1998; Josselson, 2000; Walkerdine et al., 2001).[2]

This Special Issue also takes up the increasingly popular, if controversial (see Hammersley, 1997; Mauthner et al., 1998), practice of secondary analysis of qualitative data. Clifford Shaw knew Stanley intimately for many years as a social worker, mentor and friend. The two of them worked closely together in writing *The Jack-Roller*. By contrast, none of the contributors to this volume ever met either man. This secondary, outsider's perspective has its own advantages and allows the data to be re-analyzed using different approaches. Clearly, Shaw brings to his interpretation of Stanley's

life a variety of personal and professional biases and expectations that color both what he is looking for and what he finds in Stanley's narrative (see Gelsthorpe, this issue). The contributors to this volume, far from 'objective' themselves, bring different biases, different experiences, insights and expectations to the narratives, and uncover new aspects of Stanley's complex self-story. These new interpretations complement rather than compete with Shaw's original reading. As Andrews (forthcoming) writes: 'Some of the most compelling and reflexive pieces which explore the heart of narrative research have been written as a response to revisiting "old data".'

Finally, this issue is intended as a showcase for a particular strategy of narrative research: namely, psychoanalytically informed psychosocial analysis (see Hollway and Jefferson, 2000). The data of particular interest to researchers using this perspective are not so much the spoken, but the unspoken, the latent rather than manifest meanings underlying the text of *The Jack-Roller*. Although 50 years ago, criminological researchers (and indeed corrections practitioners) would have 'felt at home' (Smith, 2006: 363) with this sort of analysis of unconscious meanings and internal, emotional conflicts involved in criminality (see, for example, Alexander and Staub, 1928/1956; Redl and Wineman, 1951; Jones, 1959), many contemporary criminology readers may find much of this talk of unconscious motivations hard going and unfamiliar.

The complexity of human subjectivity, we are sometimes told, is best left to poets, playwrights and novelists and is not the proper subject matter of scientists. Yet, how can a field of study lay claim to being a 'human science' if such an essential aspect of what it is to be human is somehow left out of our social enquiry (see Katz, 1988; Nagin, 2007)? It may be that the social scientist has much to learn from the creative artist in terms of appreciating and engaging with human subjectivity. After all, can any work of criminology really come close to matching the insights into crime and justice provided by works such as *A Clockwork Orange*, *Crime and Punishment*, *In Cold Blood* or *Les Miserables*? Indeed, it cannot be denied that, in some of the analyses that follow, the authors use precisely the sorts of empathetic 'tools' that such writers employ in order to get 'inside the head' of Stanley and imagine the hidden or unconscious origins of the conflicts and ambivalences in his self-account. That is, psychosocial interpretation involves an element of creative conjecture and this creativity is unabashedly on display in the contributions to this issue.

Some readers may see in this glimpses of a future for criminology that merges the rigor and transparency of social scientific methods with the insight and empathetic imagination of the great works of fiction.[3] For others, of course, (perhaps 'in denial' over the involvement of conjecture in standard criminological analysis), this empathetic creativity will be enough to immediately invalidate the analyses that follow. Of such readers, we ask only that they apply an experimental perspective on this issue, approaching it as a sort of test of the value of deep psychosocial analysis of a single case.

The contributors were not chosen for their expertise on Chicago School Sociology; indeed, some of them had never read *The Jack-Roller* previous to participating in this project. They were chosen because of their experience and expertise in psychosocial, narrative methodology. Each was presented with the same challenge: to re-analyze Stanley using only the autobiographical work available in the public domain, and drawing on their own experience in psychosocial theory and research. Each of the following contributions rises to this challenge in a unique and interesting way, producing what we think is a rich display of the value of psychoanalytically informed analysis. Readers will of course judge this for themselves.

Looking again at the life story

Although a few well-known case studies have appeared in criminology over the past few decades (e.g. King and Chambliss, 1972; Steffensmeier, 1986), *The Jack-Roller* remains by far the best known. Considering the fact that Shaw's study (fascinating though it is) is over 75 years old, this does not speak well of the fate of single life case studies in criminology (see Bennett, 1981, for a remarkable historical review). As Gadd and Jefferson (forthcoming) argue, 'The individual criminal offender has long ceased to be of much interest to criminologists.' Where she or he has appeared, 'it has been in a depleted and unrecognizable form: a travesty of a human subject' (Jefferson, 2002: 145). Gone are the complexities, the conflicts, the contradictions, the insecurities and confusions that all of us struggle with as vulnerable, sensitive, emotional beings, replaced by a sort of 'stick figure' of the over-socialized individual or the rational actor.

At the same time, of course, public interest in the stories of people (fictional or otherwise) involved in crime and justice has not waned in the slightest. 'True crime' journalism and crime-related fiction are enormously popular, and crime and justice-related storylines dominate even non-crime genres of popular media from romance novels to 'family comedies'. This media consumption transcends mere entertainment; crime stories have a dramatic impact on how the public thinks about crime and justice (Sparks, 1992). As Gelsthorpe (this issue, p. 518) writes:

> Despite some resistance to individual stories within criminology, in favour of a more scientized conception of its subject matter, individual stories have held and can hold huge sway in criminal justice policy, seemingly much more so than traditional scientific endeavours at times.

It is rather ironic that although we live in a society in which a large proportion of average citizens appear to be deeply interested in the lives of serious offenders, be they mafia leaders or serial killers, academic criminology generally has little to say about what goes on 'inside the criminal mind'.

There are, however, definite signs that the life history method is making a comeback (see, for example, Gadd and Farrall, 2004; Presser, 2004;

Maruna and Copes, 2005; Steffensmeier and Ulmer, 2005). Describing what he calls the 'revival of complex subjectivity' in criminology, David Smith writes: 'One of the most striking developments in recent criminology is the revival of attention to the individual biographies of people who offend, to their inner, sometimes unconscious, experiences, and to the importance of emotion as a source of action' (2006: 361).

Reflecting a paradigm shift in the thinking about self-narratives outside the discipline (e.g. McAdams, 1985, 2006; Bruner, 1987; Giddens, 1991; Ricœur, 1992), the recent criminological interest in life narratives is substantially different from those of Shaw and the other Chicago School sociologists. Whereas, at the time of the publication of *The Jack-Roller*, autobiographical data were valued for the retrospective facts they contained (e.g. evidence regarding parental neglect, peer pressure or the transfer of criminal skills and connections), the contemporary interest in narratives is less about the stories themselves than the way they are told. Self-narratives are increasingly understood as representing personal outlooks and *theories* of reality, not reality itself. While based on historical fact, the self-narrative is seen to be an imaginative rendering, a sort of mythmaking through which the past is reconstructed, edited and embellished in order to create a coherent plot and themes.

Even if they do not (and cannot) represent perfect factual representations of history, these stories 'hold psychological truth' (McAdams, 1999: 496). They provide a sense of meaning and purpose to human lives and can actively shape future actions as we seek to behave in ways that correspond to our self-myths. Far from being created in a vacuum, our self-narratives are very much shaped within the constraints and opportunity structure of the social world in which we live. Rather than stripping individuals of community and macro-historical context, narrative analysis can inform our understandings of cultural influence and the underlying sociostructural dynamics of a society (see Bertaux, 1981).

A new generation of case study research in criminology has begun to apply a psychosocial approach to the interpretation of life narratives (see Jefferson, 2002; Gadd and Farrall, 2004; Gadd, 2006; Halsey, 2006; Froggett et al., 2007; Vaughan, forthcoming). The most thorough and detailed outline of this approach can be found in Gadd and Jefferson's (forthcoming) important, new book *Psychosocial Criminology*. Drawing on the work of Frosh (2003), Gadd and Jefferson explain the psychosocial approach as one that understands human subjects as 'simultaneously, the products of their own unique psychic worlds *and* a shared social world' (emphasis in original). This requires taking 'the complexities of both the inner and the outer world' seriously:

> Taking the social world seriously means thinking about questions to do with structure, power and discourse in such a way that 'the socially constructed subject can be theorized as more than just a "dupe" of ideology; that is, …[as] more than the social conditions which give rise to them' (Frosh, 2003,

> p. 1552). Taking the inner world seriously involves an engagement with contemporary psychoanalytic theorising because only there, in our view, are unconscious as well as conscious processes, and the resulting conflicts and contradictions among reason, anxiety and desire, subjected to any sustained, critical attention.
>
> (Gadd and Jefferson, forthcoming)

The psychosocial approach to narrative analysis, then, pays particular attention to the 'latent or unconscious meanings embedded in offenders' narratives' (Gadd and Farrall, 2004: 148).

Behind Stanley's story

In introducing Stanley's story in *The Jack-Roller*, Shaw (1930/1966) implies that he too will be assuming a psychosocial position of sorts in his treatment of the narrative.[4] Quoting Thomas and Thomas's symbolic interactionist mantra from 1927, 'If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences,' Shaw writes:

> The validity and value of the personal document are not dependent upon its objectivity or veracity. … On the contrary, it is desired that his story will reflect his own personal attitudes and interpretations, for it is just these personal factors which are so important in the study and treatment of the case. Thus, rationalizations, fabrications, prejudices, exaggerations are quite as valuable as objective descriptions, provided, of course, that these reactions be properly identified and classified.
>
> (1930/1966: 2–3)

None the less, Shaw has often been criticized for making 'no attempt to pursue the implications of the Jack-Roller's idiosyncratic point of view for an understanding of his involvement in delinquent conduct' (Finestone, 1976: 101). Gadd and Jefferson (this issue) argue that he is far too willing to accept the young man's story 'as told' without probing for meanings beneath the surface, and too readily accepts Stanley as a 'social type' or a product of social and cultural factors. In fact, Bennett argues that what little psychosocial analysis that was included in the book was merely 'inserted to placate the psychologists who headed the Institute for Juvenile Research' (1981: 190).[5]

To many, this was a significant missed opportunity. Stanley's story—what he says and how he tells it—is on the surface far more interesting and compelling than the sociological theories regarding the cultural transmission of delinquency that the story was intended to illustrate. Geis (1982) argues that the continuing fascination with *The Jack-Roller*[6] has more to do with Stanley than Shaw's theories, which have not stood the test of time as well as Stanley's tale.

Who was Stanley? In the book, we are told that Stanley's story was just one of a much larger collection of life histories collected by the Chicago

team. Yet, it seems obvious that Shaw and others were far closer to Stanley than any of the other participants in that sample. Discovered by Clifford Shaw when he was only 15, Stanley was in quite intimate contact with Shaw and a team from the Institute for Juvenile Research for at least six years and kept in touch sporadically thereafter. Shaw acted as his social worker and actively sought to turn his life around by involving him in a rehabilitation program at the Institute. The moniker 'The Jack-Roller' resulted from Stanley's involvement in the, then fairly common, crime of 'jack-rolling' or targeting individuals, often homosexual, who were too drunk to resist being robbed.

For readers who either have never read this classic work (shame on you) or else last read it many years ago, we provide an outline of Stanley's life below, modified and abridged from the timeline helpfully prepared by Waters (1999). In their contribution to this issue, Gadd and Jefferson provide a fuller and extremely useful 'pen portrait' of Stanley's story as well.

A timeline for the life of Stanley, the Jack-Roller

1907 Born in Chicago

1911 Mother dies of tuberculosis

1912 Father remarries a woman with 8 children of her own. Stanley now has 15 brothers and sisters living in a four-room apartment in the 'Back of the Yards' area of Chicago

1913 First arrest for running away

1916–22 Lived in institutions of various sorts, arrested 38 times

1919 Begins jack-rolling

1922 Meets Clifford Shaw and begins to write *The Jack-Roller* while living at Institute for Juvenile Research

1923 Arrested for burglary and jack-rolling, one-year sentence to the House of Corrections

1924–5 Begins Shaw's five-year program for rehabilitation based on the idea of changing personality through changing one's environment

1928 Marries for the first time, begins career in door-to-door sales

1930 *The Jack-Roller* is published; Shaw pronounces treatment intervention successful as Stanley avoids arrests or trouble with the law for previous five years

1931 Loses apartment and involved in a botched robbery. Receives one-year sentence in House of Corrections

1932 Released and gets family on relief with Shaw's help; finds work

1939–40 Becomes a Young Republican organizer, but quits after getting into fights with others in the Party

1940–2 Becomes taxi driver, but is eventually fired for having lied about a criminal record

1943 Committed to a state mental institution after a fight with wife, picked up by police wandering on streets with no shoes

1946–7 Escapes from mental hospital, and makes way to Omaha

1950–5 Finds work selling music lessons in Chicago

1966 New edition of *The Jack-Roller* published with introduction by Howard Becker, becomes an important criminology text

1975 Marries again, and makes contact with criminologist Jon Snodgrass through Shaw's son

1979 Gets 'rolled' after a poker game

1977–82 Divorces and then remarries. Dictates further memories to Snodgrass

1982 Dies

(Waters, 1999)

This timeline represents only the roughest outlines of Stanley's life story. What is important to many narrative theorists (e.g. McAdams, 1985, 2006), is not so much the content of his story, but 'how he tells it'. And, Stanley typically tells it well and is highly entertaining in his interpretations and explanations.[7]

Overview of the Special Issue

The following contributions approach Stanley's life from unique but complementary perspectives. For their contribution, Gadd and Jefferson set themselves the task of producing a psychosocial midpoint between Shaw's social reductionism and an equally problematic psychological reductionism (e.g. that Stanley was simply psychopathic or suffered from low self-control). Drawing, like Alison Brown (this issue), on the Kleinian concepts of defensive splitting and the paranoid-schizoid position, Gadd and Jefferson show how Stanley's complex and sometimes contradictory behaviors are best understood from a psychosocial perspective that regards them as responses to the interacting demands of unconscious needs and social circumstances. This analysis is also in keeping with Brown's advocacy of the constructive use of psychodynamic interpretations. Stanley's reformation, with all its frustrations and reversals, is a complex product of his changing social circumstances and the intervention of his father–mentor Clifford Shaw.

Gadd and Jefferson's psychosocial re-analysis of Stanley's 'own story' focuses as no other interpreter—not even Shaw himself—has done on Stanley's own words, and the sense he makes or tries to make of his experiences. A focal point of their discussion is the disarmingly simple and oddly neglected question of why Stanley was 'the Jack-Roller'. Given his much-avowed preference for girls and the distaste he evinces for homosexuality, Stanley's engagement in a criminal act that involves making himself available to homosexual men seems unusual. Their concentration on Stanley's narrative and on the gaps or 'black holes' (Norum, 2000) in his story enable Gadd and Jefferson to offer an account of the jack-rolling that views it not as a social inevitability for a boy who grew up 'Back of the Yards', but rather as Stanley's unconscious attempt to resolve the contradictions of his sexual history. By dissecting an extraordinary passage in which Stanley describes an early jack-rolling episode, Gadd and Jefferson show how this activity enabled Stanley, albeit briefly, to reconcile the conflicting feelings of longing and repulsion that were the legacy of his childhood experiences of sexual exploitation at the hands of older males.

Mechthild Bereswill's contribution develops this striking theme of homosexual longing, linking it into Stanley's turbulent family relations. Notably, Stanley's surface-level story of his upbringing dwells almost entirely in somewhat unbelievable clichés (even Shaw, in his footnotes, calls some of Stanley's claims into question in this regard). Stanley blames most of his problems in life on a wicked step-mother, and speaks of his violent father as if he too were a passive victim of this evil woman's wrath. Bereswill probes deeper into this sad tale, uncovering numerous discrepancies and slips, and concluding that there is more going on beneath this surface narrative in regards to Stanley and his father. Unable to give voice to this pain, Bereswill writes, the 'unfulfilled desire for being loved by this father' becomes 'reduced to the repeated overlapping of violence, sexuality and masculinity, which is represented most clearly in his jack-rolling' (p. 48). In doing so, Bereswill locates Stanley's struggle for social recognition '*as a man*' within his longing for love and care '*as a child*'.

Bereswill also demonstrates the power of close reading by catching a subtle, but fascinating slip whereby Stanley uses the same metaphor—'a hell-cat full of venom'—to describe his step-mother's first hitting him as a child, that he later uses to describe his own jealous fury in fighting a rival for a girlfriend's attention in young adulthood. This evocation of an earlier metaphor from the narrative suggests to Bereswill a hidden, underlying context for his inability to form lasting relationships with females in young adulthood: 'Looked at in this way, the passage in which Stanley writes about Ruth, his fighting for her and his leaving her, points to past experiences that he is unable to express or can only express indirectly in words' (p. 480).

Bereswill's contribution also provides a fascinating insight into innovative methodological strategies in conducting this sort of psychosocial analysis. In addition to her own deep reading of the texts, Bereswill enlisted

members of the International Research Group of Psychosocietal Research to join her in interpretation of selected passages from *The Jack-Roller* at a seminar at the Interuniversity Centre in Dubrovnik. Bereswill is able to gain insights both from the consensus but more importantly from the more heated discussions and debates in interpretation among participants in the seminar.

Alison Brown's analysis (this issue) takes up the theme of relationship in *The Jack-Roller*. Drawing on a post-Kleinian object relations (or 'relational') perspective, Brown's interpretation of Stanley's 'own story' focuses on his search for meaningful relationship in the aftermath of the multiple losses of his troubled childhood. Noting that psychodynamic processes tend to be regarded as negative and destructive, Brown argues for a psychosocial criminology that explores the positive and constructive potential of a psychodynamically informed approach to interpretation. Using this relational approach, *The Jack-Roller* becomes a study of the schizoid state in which we can see Stanley's alternating retreat from, and need for, healthy relationships.

Koesling and Neuber (this issue) focus in on Stanley's frequent use of the terms 'home' and in particular 'home sickness' in his self-narrative. Probably without consciously intending to do so, Stanley uses the terms in distinctly different ways in rather telling slips throughout his story. The entire idea of feeling (or usually not feeling) 'at home' becomes something of an obsession for Stanley as a young adult, both as an ideal he longs for (on the street, at foster placements, with his own family, even with Clifford Shaw) and as a contaminated space he must escape. The repetition is subtle enough that the casual reader of *The Jack-Roller* likely missed this entirely, yet the underlying motivation is made unmistakably clear in Koesling and Neuber's close reading of the text. The authors trace Stanley's anxious ambivalence toward 'home' to a basic conflict of recognition, stemming from his early experiences of disrupted attachment and autonomy. They argue that Stanley's experience of withheld recognition has wounded his core self-concept and trace some of his more puzzling actions and perspectives to this damage.

Finally, although Clifford Shaw oversaw the construction of many life histories, his own story is often overlooked. Loraine Gelsthorpe's contribution to this volume explores the extent to which Shaw's 'own story' is written into Stanley's. Shaw, we are told, was an 'emotional practitioner', with a facility for persuading juvenile delinquents to turn over their life stories to him (Snodgrass, 1982: 3). In taking a reflexive approach to *The Jack-Roller,* Gelsthorpe sets out to discover the extent to which Shaw unconsciously returned the compliment by weaving elements of his own biography into the stories he told about others. In doing so, she identifies some intriguing parallels in the lives of Shaw and his subject. As boys, both were adventurous, intelligent and irregular school attenders. Shaw, like Stanley, found himself in the middle of a family of 10, and had his own brush with delinquency—albeit a brief and unusually restorative one. We

are told, in fact, that Shaw might have missed his calling as a con man by becoming an academic. Shaw's colleague, McKay, observed that 'with delinquents I have never been sure whether he joined them or they joined him' (Snodgrass, 1982: 8).

In the case of Stanley, the answer seems to be both. Shaw had the unusual privilege, as a biographer, of shaping and being shaped by, his subject. The first version of Stanley's story was produced when he was 16, in the middle of what Erikson (1962) calls 'the identity crisis' of adolescence. From a psychodynamic perspective, adolescence functions as a sort of 'second birth', a period in which individuals embark on the process of reviewing their lives, often becoming 'creative historians' (McAdams, 1993).

Shaw was in his late 20s at this time, and his own attempts to make sense of identity would likely have been beyond this stage of creative experimentation. Gelsthorpe draws attention to some of Shaw's footnotes, particularly those that seem to undermine Stanley's account of the penal institutions in which he spent much of his youth. These are perhaps some of the more visible manifestations of Shaw's tempering of adolescent excess. Gelsthorpe's emphasis on the symbiotic relationship between the two men invites us to look for other, less conscious signs of this relationship. Shaw may have been young for a father, but he was perfect for a mentor; an experienced older person on whom a younger man might pattern his life. To what extent did the mature Stanley endeavor to 'grow into' the life history he and Shaw had created for him? Did Shaw encourage his subject to develop aspects of his history that resonated with his own experience? And how far did Shaw unconsciously entwine his own preoccupations (for example, the role of community in the creation of social problems) with Stanley's?

In addressing these and additional issues in each of the five contributions to this issue, it becomes apparent that the deep exploration into the life narrative(s) of a single individual can generate at least as much insight into offending as getting to know a little bit about 200 or 2000 human beings in a large-scale survey.

Notes

1. Even more information on his life is now available from Salerno (2007).
2. McAdams et al. (2006) have probably come closest to demonstrating the full potential of a psychosocial approach to tracking both continuity and change in longitudinal qualitative data. The study involved collecting life story narratives from a large group of young adults three times over a span of three years. Although there was considerable stability in the telling of one's autobiography over time, as the sample members matured into young adulthood they (1) constructed more emotionally positive stories and showed (2) greater levels of emotional nuance and self-differentiation and (3) greater understanding of their own personal development.

3. Interestingly, if Lombroso is to be accepted as a 'parent' of our discipline, the origins of criminology clearly mixed an appreciation for the insights of art and literature with a desire for the rigor of hard science. As Gibson and Rafter argue:

   > While Lombroso's reputation rests on his scientific work, he had a humanistic side as well, one that was fascinated by criminals' arts and crafts, their handwriting, tattoos, and graffiti, their jargon, songs, sculpture, poetry and folklore. Lombroso went to great lengths to collect, preserve and interpret the creative work of offenders; he seems to have been the first person to value such material and collect it systematically.
   >
   > (2006: 21)

   Moreover, Lombroso had no qualms about interspersing his pseudo-scientific tables and statistical analyses with qualitative evidence taken from 'proverbs, historical anecdotes, and examples drawn from painting and literature' (Gibson and Rafter, 2006: 8).
4. Likewise, in his well-known introduction to the 1966 edition of *The Jack-Roller*, Howard Becker also stresses the psychosocial possibilities of the case study:

   > To understand why someone behaves as he does you must understand how it looked to him, what he thought he had to contend with, what alternatives he saw open to him; you can only understand the effects of opportunity structures, delinquent subcultures, social norms, etc …by seeing them from the actor's point of view.
   >
   > (Becker, 1966: vii)

5. Indeed, in his Afterword to the text, the Institute of Juvenile Research's Ernest W. Burgess definitely emphasizes the importance of subjectivity in interpreting Stanley's self-narrative: 'Stanley, in telling the truth as it appears to him, unwittingly reveals what we want most to know, namely, his personality reactions and his own interpretations of his experiences' (Shaw, 1930/1966: 188).
6. The book is still cited with some frequency (see, for example, Kyvsgaard, 2003; Massoglia, 2006), and has even been the subject of a new, in-depth examination (Salerno, 2007).
7. Interestingly, how much of this wit and insight emerged out of dialogue with Shaw is not known. Snodgrass (1982), for one, reports being disappointed upon meeting Stanley that he did not appear at age 70 to be as natural a storyteller as he appears to be in the text of the original text.

References

Alexander, Franz and Hugo Staub (1928/1956) *The Criminal, the Judge, and the Public*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.

Andrews, M. (forthcoming) 'Never the Last Word: Narrative Research and Secondary Analysis', in M. Andrews, C. Squire and M. Tamboukou (eds) *Doing Narrative Research*. London: Sage Publications.

Becker, H. (1966) 'Introduction', in C. Shaw *The Jack-Roller*, pp. v–xvii. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
Bennett, James (1981) *Oral History and Delinquency*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
Bereswill, Mechthild (2007) 'Fighting Like a Wildcat: A Deep Hermeneutic Interpretation of *The Jack-Roller*,' *Theoretical Criminology* 11(4): 469–84.
Bertaux, Daniel (1981) *Biography and Society: The Life History Approach in the Social Sciences*. London: Sage Publications.
Brown, Alison P. (2007) 'Interpretation and the Case Study: The Challenge of a Relational Approach, *Theoretical Criminology* 11(4): 485–500.
Bruner, Jerome S. (1987) 'Life as Narrative', *Social Research* 54: 11–32.
Erikson, E. (1962) *Young Man Luther: A Study in Psychoanalysis and History*. New York: Norton.
Farrall, Stephen (2006) 'What Is Qualitative Longitudinal Research?', *LSE Methodology Institute's Discussion Paper No. 11*. London: London School of Economics.
Finestone, Harold (1976) *Victims of Change: Juvenile Delinquents in American Society*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press.
Froggett, Lynn, Alan Farrier and Dina Poursanidou (2007) 'Making Sense of Tom: Seeing the Reparative in Restorative Justice', *Journal of Social Work Practice* 21(1): 103–17.
Frosh, S. (2003) 'Psychosocial Studies and Psychology: Is a Critical Approach Emerging?', *Human Relations* 56(12): 1545–67.
Gadd, David (2006) 'The Role of Recognition in the Desistance Process: A Case Study of a Far-Right Activist', *Theoretical Criminology* 10(2): 179–202.
Gadd, David and Stephen Farrall (2004) 'Criminal Careers, Desistance and Subjectivity: Interpreting Men's Narratives of Change' *Theoretical Criminology* 8(2): 123–56.
Gadd, David and Tony Jefferson (2007) 'On the Defensive: A Psychoanalytically Informed Psychosocial Reading of *The Jack-Roller*', *Theoretical Criminology* 11(4): 443–67.
Gadd, David and Tony Jefferson (forthcoming) *Psychosocial Criminology*. London: Sage Publications.
Geis, Gilbert (1982) '*The Jack-Roller*: The Appeal, the Person, and the Impact', in J. Snodgrass (ed.) *The Jack-Roller at Seventy: A Fifty-Year Follow-Up*, pp. 121–34. Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath & Company.
Gelsthorpe, Loraine (2007) '*The Jack-Roller*: Telling a Story?', *Theoretical Criminology* 11(4): 515–42.
Gibson, Mary and Nicole Hahn Rafter (2006) 'Editor's Introduction', in M. Gibson and N. H. Rafter (eds) *Criminal Man*, pp. 1–41. Durham, NC: Duke.
Giddens, Anthony (1991) *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
Halsey, Mark J. (2006) 'Negotiating Conditional Release: Juvenile Narratives of Repeat Incarceration', *Punishment & Society* 8(2): 147–81.
Hammersley, M. (1997) 'Qualitative Data Archiving: Some Reflections on Its Prospects and Problems', *Sociology* 31(1): 131–42.

Holland, Janet, Rachel Thompson and Sheila Henderson (2004) *Feasibility Study for a Possible Qualitative Longitudinal Study: Discussion Paper*. London: ESRC.

Hollway, Wendy and Tony Jefferson (2000) *Doing Qualitative Research Differently: Free Association, Narrative, and the Interview Method*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Jefferson, Tony (2002) 'For a Psychosocial Criminology', in K. Carrington and R. Hogg (eds) *Critical Criminology: Issues, Debates Challenges*, pp. 145–67. Cullompton, Devon: Willan.

Jones, Howard (1959) *Reluctant Rebels: Re-Education and Group Process in a Residential Community*. London: Tavistock.

Josselson, R. (2000) 'Stability and Change in Early Memories over 22 Years: Themes, Variations, and Cadenzas', *Bulletin of the Menninger Clinic* 64(4): 462–81.

Katz, Jack (1988) *Seductions of Crime*. New York: Basic Books.

King, Harry and William J. Chambliss (1972) *Box Man: A Professional Thief's Journey*. New York: Harper & Row.

Koesling, Almut and Anke Neuber (2007) 'The "Home-sickness" of *The Jack-Roller*', *Theoretical Criminology* 11(4): 501–13.

Kyvsgaard, Britta (2003) *The Criminal Career: The Danish Longitudinal Study*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Laub, John and Robert Sampson (2003) *Shared Beginnings, Divergent Lives: Delinquent Boys to Age 70*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

McAdams, Dan (1985) *Power, Intimacy and the Life Story: Personological Inquiries into Identity*. New York: Guilford.

McAdams, Dan (1993) *Stories We Live By: Personal Myths and the Making of the Self*. New York: Morrow.

McAdams, Dan (1994) 'Can Personality Change? Levels of Stability and Growth in Personality across the Life Span', in T.F. Heatherton and J.L. Weinberger (eds) *Can Personality Change?*, pp. 299–313. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association.

McAdams, Dan (1999) 'Personal Narratives and the Life Story', in L. Pervin and O. John (eds) *Handbook of Personality: Theory and Research*, 2nd edn, pp. 478–500. New York: Guilford Press.

McAdams, Dan (2006) *The Redemptive Self: Stories Americans Live By*. New York: Oxford University Press.

McAdams, Dan, Jack J. Bauer, April R. Sakaeda, Nana Akua Anyidoho, Mary Anne Machado, Katie Magrino-Failla, Katie W. White and Jennifer L. Pals (2006) 'Continuity and Change in the Life Story: A Longitudinal Study of Autobiographical Memories in Emerging Adulthood', *Journal of Personality* 74(5): 1371–400.

Maruna, Shadd (2001) *Making Good: How Ex-Convicts Reform and Rebuild Their Lives*. Washington, DC: American Psychological Association Books.

Maruna, Shadd and Heith Copes (2005) 'What Have We Learned in Five Decades of Neutralization Research?', *Crime and Justice: A Review of Research* 32: 221–320.

Massoglia, Michael (2006) 'Desistance or Displacement? The Changing Patterns of Offending from Adolescence to Young Adulthood', *Journal of Quantitative Criminology* 22: 215–39.
Mauthner, N.S., O. Parry and K. Backett-Milburn (1998) 'The Data Are Out There, Or Are They? Implications for Archiving and Revisiting Qualitative Data', *Sociology* 32(4): 733–45.
Nagin, D. (2007) 'Moving Choice to Center Stage in Criminological Research and Theory: The American Society of Criminology 2006 Sutherland Address', *Criminology* 45(2): 259–72.
Norum, K.E. (2000) 'Black (w)Holes: A Researcher's Place in Her Research', *Qualitative Sociology* 23(3): 319–40.
Presser, Lois (2004) 'Violent Offenders, Moral Selves: Constructing Identities and Accounts in the Research Interview', *Social Problems* 51(1): 82–101.
Redl, Fritz and David Wineman (1951) *Children Who Hate: The Disorganization and Breakdown of Behavior Controls*. Glencoe, IL: Free Press.
Ricœur, Paul (1992) *Oneself as Another*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
Salerno, R.A. (2007) *Sociology Noir*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland Press.
Shaw, Clifford (1930/1966) *The Jack-Roller: A Delinquent Boy's Own Story*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.
Smith, David (2006) 'Making Sense of Psychoanalysis in Criminological Theory and Probation Practice', *Probation Journal* 53(4): 361–76.
Snodgrass, J. (ed.) (1982) *The Jack-Roller at Seventy: A Fifty-Year Follow-Up*. Lexington, MA: D. C. Heath & Company.
Sparks, R. (1992) *Television and the Drama of Crime*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
Steffensmeier, D.J. (1986) *The Fence: In the Shadow of Two Worlds*. Tioga, NJ: Rowman & Littlefield.
Steffensmeier, Darrell J. and Jeffrey Ulmer (2005) *Confessions of a Dying Thief: Understanding Criminal Careers and Illegal Enterprises*. New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction-Aldine.
Thorne, A., L. Cutting and D. Skaw (1998) 'Young Adults' Relationship Memories and the Life Story: Examples or Essential Landmarks?', *Narrative Inquiry* 8: 1–32.
Vaughan, Barry (forthcoming) 'The Internal Narrative of Desistance', *British Journal of Criminology*.
Walkerdine, V., H. Lucey and J. Melody (2001) *Growing Up Girl: Psychosocial Explorations of Gender and Class*. Houndmills: Palgrave.
Waters, Tony (1999) 'The Life of Stanley the Jack-Roller', available at http://www.csuchico.edu/~twaters/syllabi/284Stanely.html (accessed 1 June 2007).

SHADD MARUNA is a Reader in Criminology at Queen's University Belfast. His book *Making Good: How Ex-Convicts Reform and Rebuild Their Lives* was named the Outstanding Contribution to Criminology in 2001.

AMANDA MATRAVERS is Associate Professor in the Department of Justice, Law & Society, American University, Washington DC.