NOTTINGHAM BUSINESS SCHOOL

A study of the moral development,

beliefs and relationships of the

criminal entrepreneur

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Doctor of Business Administration

2010

CONTENTS

NOTTINGHAM BUSINESS SCHOOL

The Entrepreneurial Capacity of Offenders

Definition and Mapping of Research Question(s)

Document 1

By

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Document 1 is submitted in part fulfilment of the requirements of the Nottingham Trent University for the degree of Doctorate of Business Administration

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1.   INTRODUCTION

Overview

> *"Prisons are a microcosm of society and if we study them we will learn about ourselves" Norvall Morris (1923-2004)*

Many crimes committed today appear to be entrepreneurial in nature. This study aims to investigate the links between entrepreneurial criminal behaviour and legitimate entrepreneurial behaviour by comparing and contrasting a number of offenders who have committed economic or property crimes with individuals who have set up and managed their own legitimate businesses. The range of offenders will include those who have committed crimes such as armed robbery, commercial burglary, drug dealing and fraud.

The author has worked with offenders who aspire to setting up their own businesses or have run their own illegal business for a period of nine years. This study into the entrepreneurial capacity of offenders derives from the author's desire to develop a greater understanding of the entrepreneurship process and the factors that affect entrepreneurial learning in order to assist individuals serving custodial sentences into legitimate self-employment.

The work has been further inspired by the reference of Bolton and Thompson (2000)[1] to '*Entrepreneurs in the shadows*' where they discuss criminal entrepreneurs and their characteristics and the ethnographic study by Hobbs (1995) on professional criminals.

It is expected that the findings of this study will generate the following benefits:
- Fill a gap in knowledge of the entrepreneurial capacity of offenders.
- Improve understanding of the behavioural patterns of entrepreneurs and the process of entrepreneurship;
- Enable prison educators to produce a curriculum that will give practical experience and confidence to offenders to set-up businesses on release.
- Assist policy makers to implement a more strategic approach to the funding of enterprise activities for the development of offenders before and after release.

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[1] *p231-254 of chapter 9 of Bolton, B. and Thompson, J. (200) Entrepreneurs: Talent, Temperament, Technique*

- Assist in the development of a process model for entrepreneurship education and development in general.

It will differ from previous studies as the author will carry out interpretive interviews in order to take an interpretative approach rather than a deductive one. The significant research workers in the field such as Rieple (1998) and Sonfield et al (2001) have all used a positivist approach concentrating on the so-called entrepreneurial characteristics or traits of offenders. This approach ignored the chance to explore similarities and differences between economic offenders and legitimate entrepreneurs. However, Hobbs (1995) used an ethnographical approach where he studied known criminals in their living environment and endeavoured to make sense of their activities. Hobbs (1995) tended to concentrate on violent criminals and their activities and he had little to say about 'white collar' crime and drug dealing, which are two of the biggest areas of criminal activity. None of the workers mentioned tried to explore the differences and similarities between the two groups i.e. economic offenders and legitimate offenders whereas this work will subdivide the economic offenders into the different types and try to make sense of their activities and beliefs vis-à-vis legitimate entrepreneurs. According to Weik (1995) "*Your beliefs are cause maps that you impose on the world, after which you 'see' what you have already imposed*".

Document 1 delineates how the topic is going to be researched and gives a preliminary introduction to the issues involved. A background introduction is given setting the scene against which the topic is being researched. This is followed by topic identification and then the aims of the study. The results of an initial literature survey are outlined. The rationale behind the methodology is discussed and mapped. The initial proposals for Documents 3, 4 and 5 are set out followed by ethical issues and outcomes. Finally the intended bibliography for Document 2 – The Literature Survey – is included.

Background

According to Home Office (2002) estimates, some five million people in the UK have a criminal conviction and each year over a million are sentenced by the courts; with 100,000 of these receiving a term in prison. In addition another 130,000 individuals in England and Wales are subject to court order supervision by the Probation Service. Many people with criminal convictions, particularly those who have served a custodial sentence, find it difficult to access employment opportunities. In addition many who

have not served a custodial sentence, but have received a criminal conviction, are unable to find employment. Most employers ask potential employees if they have a criminal record and an increasing number of people are now required by the Police Act 2000 to be subject to a criminal record bureau (CRB) check before taking up an appointment. This barrier to employment is preventing a large pool of people with good labour skills from leading a useful and fulfilling role in the community.

There are at present some 138 prisons in the UK, which need to be maintained by the Home Office. Currently over 74,000 people are incarcerated at any one time and the figure is growing, having doubled over the last decade; women account for about 4500 of this figure and male Young Offenders (aged 15 -21) 10,600 (Walmesley, 1999). The total figure is forecast to reach between 76, 000 and 87,500 by 2011 (H.M. Prison Service Report January 2005) and this is of a great concern for the Government as the capital cost of construction of prisons is currently on average £100 million to house 800 inmates and the average yearly cost per prisoner of incarceration to the Chancellor of the Exchequer is £36,500. This figure does not include the additional on-going social benefits costs incurred by supporting the families and the loss of income from taxation revenue that could have been gained from the employment or self-employment of ex-offenders.

This exclusion from the labour market or placement in lowly paid menial work for the majority of others is poor for the self-esteem and rehabilitation of ex-offenders and consequently there is a very high rate of recidivism.
According to the Social Exclusion Unit (2002), for a large number of ex-offenders it is likely the self-employment route would be the most realistic and practical method of entering into the labour market, particularly as it would allow them to circumvent any discrimination that they may face from potential employers.

Fletcher (2004) mentions that very little information is available on the success of getting ex-offenders into the labour market and provision of enterprise support. There is a need to identify ex-offenders who have started up their own businesses on release and a dearth of detailed information on recidivism which would allow comparisons with non-offenders and assist in clarifying apparent barriers to self-employment.

Topic Identification

Fisher (2004: 56) suggested that the 'Watson Box' can be used for structuring the written research proposal:

What?	Why?
Behaviours and characteristics of offenders. Are they similar to those of legal entrepreneurs?	Useful application in my work
Why don't ex-offenders go into self-employment rather than seek poorly paid, often non-existent jobs.	Guide to policy makers
Does the crime, and illegal entrepreneurial processes, committed relate to entrepreneurship?	Contribution to knowledge
Why do offenders choose illegal business activities rather than legitimate business activities?	Reduce recidivism
How – Conceptually?	**How –Practically?**
Could draw on Krueger's intentions model of entrepreneurial potential	Access to prisoners
Sociological approaches	Interviews
Personality theories	Home Office data
Values, beliefs and goals	In-depth interviews to a convenient sample of different prisoners
Economic approaches	
Behavioural theories	Repertory grid analysis
Psychodynamic approaches	Traits tests
Socio-psychological approaches	Repertory grid analysis
Holistic approach to investigating offenders	Interviews

It is considered by some researchers, such as Rieple (1998) and Sonfield et al (2001), that entrepreneurs have particular characteristics or traits. These workers have used entrepreneurial traits tests on either offenders or ex-offenders. Reiple (1998) used Caird's GET test and Sonfield et al (2001) based their work on the 'Miner sentence Completion Scale-Form' test. None of the workers discriminated in terms of crime.

However, some workers, such as Beaver (2002) and Fletcher (2004), consider that there is no general consensus on whether traits are associated with entrepreneurial capacity and success. Indeed, Beaver (2002) makes the criticism that the traits approach 'at best can only offer a partial analysis of behaviour'. In other words the traits approach ignores other factors affecting or motivating an individual to set up business such as the context in which they live, their up-bringing, environment, etc.

This study will use a different approach and will take a holistic view.

It is proposed to look at the holistic picture of offenders who have run their own businesses, whether legally or illegally and those who intend to start up their own businesses and make comparisons with 'legitimate' entrepreneurs.

> *"The creation of wealth is the function of human genius. The country that has the fewest entrepreneurs will be the poorest, and the country with the greatest number of entrepreneurs will be the most profitable ... if it wasn't for entrepreneurship, we would still be living in caves."*
>
> *(Sid Gautum (2004) Centre for Entrepreneurship)*

2   AIMS OF THE STUDY

Rationale

According to Chambliss (1978) in Hobbs (1995), crime is primarily a business activity and Hobbs (1995) considers that contemporary professional criminals can be considered businessmen. This study aims to reveal the raison d'etre of entrepreneurial criminal actors through an investigation into the links between entrepreneurial criminal behaviours and beliefs and those of legitimate entrepreneurs by comparing and contrasting the life stories of both groups. A number of offenders who have committed economic or property crimes will be contrasted with individuals who have set up and managed their own legitimate businesses. The range of offenders will include those who have committed crimes such as armed robbery, commercial burglary, drug dealing and fraud.

The primary purpose of the research is to gain the depth necessary to obtain an interpretive explanation of the entrepreneurial capacity and learning amongst offenders and draw comparisons with legitimate entrepreneurs.

A phenomenological inquiry approach will be used and from this it is hoped will emerge theories or hypotheses which assist in the study of entrepreneurship.

The philosophical context of Phenomenological Inquiry

The origin of phenomenology derives initially from the work of Kant who concluded that all we can ever know with any degree of certainty is the phenomenal world of sense? and experience. Franz Bretano (1838-1917) was the first to propose a 'descriptive or phenomenal psychology'. Wilhem Wundt (1832-1920) proposed that introspection could be an experimental method. Edmund Husserl (1859-1936) adopted Brentano's idea of intentional consciousness and defined Phenomenology as a description of the content of consciousness. Max Weber (1846-1920) advocated the *Verstehen* approach and described Sociology as a 'science which attempts the interpretive understanding of social action in order to arrive at a causal explanation of its course and effects Martin Heideggar (1889-1962) fundamentally extended the work by asking the question what it means *to be*. Influenced by Heideggar, Jean-Paul Satre (1905-80) was the chief developer of extentialism: "existence precedes essence". From this grow the concept of *Lebenswelt* (lived-world) where phenomenology embraced the notion that individuals cannot be studied in isolation from the tangible world. According to Pivcevic (1970), the aim of phenomenology is to draw out 'the essences of

experiences or phenomena appearances". The emotions, thoughts and deeds of an individual define the context in which they are situated but the context of the world in which they live restricts or limits their behaviour. It is a philosophy concerned with how individuals make sense of the world around them and brackets out preconceptions of that world.

This document sets out to define the research topic and to map the research questions of this study to the entrepreneurial capacity of offenders. In identifying what makes some individuals more enterprising than others and whether or not offenders have an entrepreneurial capacity we first need to look at the various theories that have been put forward to explain the entrepreneurial process. Bridge et al (1998) gave a good description of several approaches including personality theories, behaviour theories, and looking at economic and sociological perspectives. Hobbs (1995) investigated ex-offenders back in their local environment after incarceration.

Another major problem which researchers encounter, in addition to access to prisoners, is that of follow-up on release. Most prison educators have a problem keeping track of released ex-offenders and statistics are not available for individuals' level of recidivism. Ethical issues can be raised here; many people, who have received a criminal conviction, particularly including a custodial sentence, do not wish to be reminded of it and any follow up can be psychologically distressing.

Strategic Questions

The main objective of this study into the entrepreneurial aptitude or capacity of offenders is to provide evidence to enable a change in prison service policy towards the education of prisoners. At present most of the educational resources in prisons are aimed at giving offenders the basic skills they need, in order to access an employment market which is not readily available to them when they are released. This study aims to answer the strategic question of how to allocate resources more effectively and improve entrepreneurial learning so that ex-offenders can take the self-employment option and recidivism be potentially reduced.

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Research Questions

The main research questions will centre on an investigation into the entrepreneurial capacity of offenders, with the object of obtaining information that would assist in the implementation of changes in entrepreneurial methods of learning which could reduce the risk of recidivism.

1. To what extent is the entrepreneurial culture spreading to the prison sector and what effect does it have?
   - (a) Is there an entrepreneurial culture?
   - (b) If there is, should we be promoting it in society and in prisons?
   - (c) Should we be spending money on developing the entrepreneurial capacity of offenders?
   - (d) Is the money spent being spent cost effectively?

2. How do 'property' crime offenders and lawful or legitimate entrepreneurs differ?
   - (a) Which crimes are entrepreneurial?
   - (b) Can criminal activities be classed as businesses?
   - (c) How doe criminal activities compare with legal business activities?

3. What drives entrepreneurial offenders to be illegal rather than legal?
   - (a) What are attitudes do prisoners have to business?
   - (b) What influenced them to set-up a business?
   - (c) Why start-up an illegal business rather than a legal one?
   - (d) What were the barriers to setting up?
   - (e) What ethical considerations do the have?
   - (f) What would they do differently now if they were starting up a business?

4. Does the enterprise culture fuel criminal activities?
   - (a) To what extent do we live in an enterprise culture?
   - (b) What affect does unemployment have in fuelling criminal ventures?

3.   Preliminary Literature Review

Review

Harris cited in Williamson (1973) said that scholars of economic development tended to either ignore entrepreneurs or enshrine them as the prime movers of the economic universe. This dichotomy in approach is hardly surprising since conventional economic theory assumes the presence of profit maximising entrepreneurs, calculating profits with lightening speed and unerring precision.

Chambliss (1978) said that crime is primarily a business activity.

Studies on the entrepreneurial activities of offenders are rare. Work on prison populations are scarce, mainly because access to information by outsiders is difficult to obtain, due to the lack of facilities available to them. Also it is unusual for researchers to have access to a wide range of prisoners of different categories consequently reducing the validity of the results as illustrated in Rieple (1998) and Sonfield .(2001). These positivist workers have all used the measurement of traits approach.

Rieple discussed the question of whether or not 'offenders' have the propensity for entrepreneurial activity and examined training and support provision for prisoners on release. Rieple also looked at the Probation Service and the support they gave to ex-offenders wanting to set up in business but did not look in any depth at other support agencies. It is generally well known amongst ex-offenders that the Probation Service is seen more as a policing organisation than a support agency.

Some researchers consider that entrepreneurs possess certain characteristics or traits which other people do not have e.g. Bolton and Thompson (2000), Chell et al (1991) and Gibb (1987). Chell et al (1991) considered that enterprising behaviour is more likely in some contexts than others and classified some behaviours as being 'proto-typically entrepreneurial'. Rieple (1998) was convinced that offenders exhibit similar traits to entrepreneurs; initially I concurred with this view and hoped to confirm and extend Rieple's work. However closer examination of her study reveals that the work is flawed. It is the opinion of the author that the prison environment chosen by her was atypical due to a high proportion of sex offenders and prisoners in custody awaiting trial and the lack of discrimination in terms of crime was a major error in the work.

Thompson (2004) considered that six key entrepreneurial character themes or natural and instinctive behaviours could be used as a framework for identifying entrepreneurs and described how the model was validated. Earlier, Thompson (1999) constructed a model which relates the characteristics of successful strategic leadership with the key issues of risk and crisis management. A different approach was proffered by Gibb (1987) who contrasted the entrepreneurial characteristics of different styles of management and he also discussed the development of entrepreneurial ambitions with life stages.

Kets de Vries (1977) sees entrepreneurs as the product of their upbringing. His entrepreneurial individual emerges as a social misfit or a deviant personality. – with low self-esteem, resents authority, is rebellious, insecure, unable to work in a structured environment. On the face of it these characteristics would seem to typify the average prisoner. Hence, this is an area that it to be investigated as part of the qualitative study in Document 3.

Bolton and Thompson (2000) wrote about 'entrepreneurs in the shadows' where they discuss criminal entrepreneurs real and fictional. According to them: "*The more we consider aspects of criminal behaviour, the more we see evidence of the entrepreneur character themes in some form*". Bridge, O'Neill and Cromie (1998) gave a comprehensive description of personality and behavioural theories but concluded that there is no general consensus.

Deamer and Earle (2004) suggested that only looking for entrepreneurial traits is doomed to fail yet cannot be entirely discounted

Gartner (1988) argued that behaviour should be studied rather than traits. A model containing a mixture of the two may be a more powerful predictor. Utsch and Rausch (2000) suggest a mediation model would work best where personality variables are linked to the work situation and job requirements of an entrepreneur and success is used to explain entrepreneurial behaviour.

In Krueger's[2] model of entrepreneurial potential argues that perception is an important part of the process of entrepreneurship. There is some underpinning of potential and a trigger is required to start and entrepreneurial activity.

Crime and unemployment

Dickinson (1993) found a correlation between unemployment rates of young males and domestic burglary committed by the same age group but Orme (1994) in an analysis of increasing rates of unemployment and recorded crime at police force level found no significant relationship.

This preliminary introduction to the literature survey highlights several areas for research in the field of entrepreneurial offender and legitimate entrepreneurs behaviour.

Conceptual Framework

According to Fisher (2003), theorising gives shape and structure to research and the first step is to clarify the terms or concepts used to describe the topic. The literature review will be the source of the concepts.

> **"Without concepts, mental life would be chaotic."**
>
> **Smith and Medin, 1981**

Studies in entrepreneurship have mainly traditionally come from three dissimilar disciplines namely economics, psychology and sociology but as workers continue to study the role of the entrepreneurs and try to make sense of the entrepreneurial processes new interdisciplinary approaches are being made.

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[2] Krueger in Bridge, S. O'Neill and Cromie, S. (1998) *Understanding Enterprise, Entrepreneurship and Small Business*. London: Macmillan Press.

Some Definitions

Entrepreneur	A person who sets up a business or businesses. (Compact Oxford English Dictionary of Current English, 2003)
Traits	1. A particular characteristic that can produce a particular type of behaviour (Cambridge International Dictionary of English, 2002) **2.** A distinguishing quality or characteristic. **2** a genetically determined characteristic (Compact Oxford English Dictionary of Current English, 2003)
Entrepreneurship	The assumption of <u>risk</u> and responsibility in designing and implementing a business strategy or starting a business. (Investors Words.com)
Offenders	A person who transgresses moral or civil law http://www.rhymezone.com/ A person who is guilty of a crime (Cambridge International Dictionary of English, 2002) *The author is using this word to mean those individuals who have been found guilty and are serving a custodial sentence.*
Ex-offenders	Ergo - an ex-offender is termed one who has been convicted but has stopped offending. *However, the author uses this term to describe someone who has been released from prison.*
Holistic	Emphasizing the importance of the whole and the interdependence of its parts. (Dictionary.com, 2005)
Enterprise culture	A society in which personal achievement, the creation of wealth and the development of private business is encouraged
Entrepreneurial process	Action-orientated way of thinking and behaving by individuals in setting up businesses
Deviance	Unusual and unacceptable behaviour
Dyslexia	A difficulty with reading and writing caused by the brain's inability to see the difference between some letter shapes
ADHD	Attention deficit hyperactivity disorder
Life story	Biographical details
Crime	An offence against the State

Some of the concepts identified include:

- **Enterprise culture** – this is one of those phrases that we think we understand but many find difficult to define. It is rooted in economics, values and morals and has strong political implications. According to Carr in Beaver (2002) the enterprise culture has been in existence for two decades (i.e. since Margaret

Thatcher was Prime Minister.) She says that many writers have difficulty in defining 'enterprise culture' and although the current government is committed to making the UK 'a country of enterprise' there is often conflict between the way it intervenes and the small businesses that it is meant to be encouraging.

However, it is generally considered that entrepreneurs and the process of entrepreneurship are vital for society to flourish and grow. The OECD (1997) reports that small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs) account for up to 99% of businesses in most economies. Hobbs (1995: 28) in his work 'Bad Business' said *"craftsmen are redundant, artisans devalued; it is the entrepreneur who thrives. Parallels with the legitimate world are irresistible."*

- **Entrepreneurship**

In post-Thatcher Britain, entrepreneurship has been adopted as a central ideological stance of post traditional society a central theme of wealth accumulation. This general assumption that entrepreneurship is beneficial to society has been disputed by some workers who have explored the darker side of the 'entrepreneurial process. E.g. Kets de Vries (1977).

- **Deviant behaviour**.

Unusual and unacceptable behaviour is often exhibited by entrepreneurs as well as criminals and are often seen as social misfits. Kets de Vries (1977) developed a psychodynamic model which contained concepts of anger, rebelliousness, rejection and problems with authority. He identified some entrepreneurs as marginal or deviants. i.e. they dislike authority and have suppressed aggressive tendencies towards people in control. These 'deviants' are often the product of a unhappy family life or due to the frustrations caused by problems such as Dyslexia or Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD.) Hobbs (1995:60) considers that criminals are *'entrepreneurial mutants who have evolved from the economic and ideological foundations of late 20th century British Enterprise culture.'*
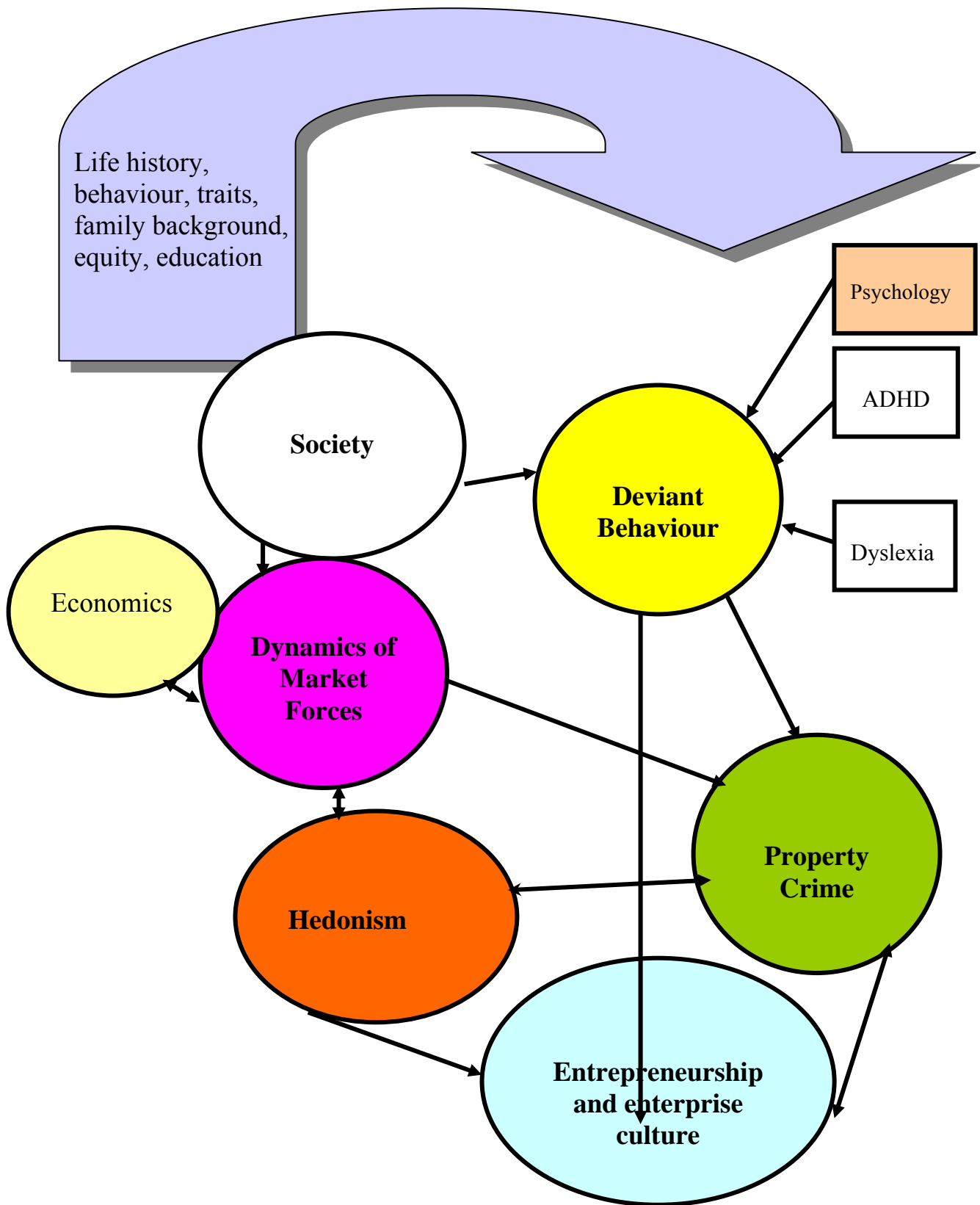
- **Dynamic Market forces**

Marketing is human activity directed at satisfying needs and wants through exchange processes (Kotler, 1983; 6) and market forces are the interaction of supply and demand that shapes a market economy. Serious criminality is linked

very much to dynamic market forces and disequilibrium which creates new business opportunities e.g., the drugs trade, the production and supply of counterfeit goods etc. Changes in markets appear to change criminal business activities; the theft of car radios has diminished because the all new cars contain radios. The commercial theft of computer parts and video recorders has virtually vanished due to low prices being charged whereas the increased use of plastic cards has seen a rise in identity theft and credit card fraud.

- **Hedonism**

   Hedonism is about living and behaving in ways that mean you get as much pleasure out of life as possible, according to the belief that the most important thing in life is to enjoy yourself. This is mentioned several times by Hobbs (1995) as something which motivates professional criminals.

Having identified the concepts, the second step is to develop a conceptual framework which provides a description of the relationships between the concepts. Thirdly theories are developed to explain the findings or patterns of the research. Hopefully, by initially using a structured approach, informed by the literature, some control over the study will gained, representing a shift from confusion to certainty. Using a grounded approach, as coined by Glaser and Strauss (1967), where theory is drawn from the research material by an iterative process of coding and comparison appears appropriate in this instance.

Life history, behaviour, traits, family background, equity, education

Society

Deviant Behaviour

Psychology

ADHD

Dyslexia

Economics

Dynamics of Market Forces

Hedonism

Property Crime

Entrepreneurship and enterprise culture

Conceptual framework

It is the intention in this study to critically challenge a range of theories or approaches for identifying entrepreneurial individuals/ offenders. Some of these could include personality theories, behavioural theories, sociological approaches, psychodynamic approaches and the integrated types such as Krueger's (1995) intentions model of entrepreneurial potential.

4. Methodology

Rationale behind Methodology

By comparing and contrasting the life stories of a number of offenders who have committed economic or property crimes with individuals who have set up and managed their own legitimate businesses and carrying out a repertory grid analysis it should be possible to discern the entrepreneurial processes and entrepreneurial learning that are occurring..

The range of offenders will include those who have committed crimes such as armed robbery, commercial burglary, drug dealing and fraud.

There is a need to decide whether or not a positivist approach or a phenomenological one should be used in the study. According to Fisher (2004) '*the intention of positivism is to produce general laws that can be used to predict behaviour'*.

This study will essentially be positioned within a broad interpretive paradigm. It aims to explicate the entrepreneurial capacity of offenders. The primary research methodology to be used is that of phenomenological or interpretive inquiry.

It was decided that a phenomenological approach should be undertaken, specifically using interpretive inquiry techniques as this is the most likely method to generate data which is free from any of the author's preconceptions and will give an interpretation of the sense-making of entrepreneurial offenders and entrepreneurs.

The philosophical context of Phenomenological Inquiry

According to Burrell and Morgan (1979) phenomenology is firmly located within a broad interpretive paradigm. The origin of phenomenology derives initially from the work of Kant who concluded that all we can ever know with any degree of certainty is the phenomenal world of sense? and experience. Franz Bretano (1838-1917) was the first to propose a 'descriptive or phenomenal psychology'. Wilhem Wundt (1832-1920) proposed that introspection could be an experimental method. Edmund Husserl (1859-1936) adopted Brentano's idea of intentional consciousness and defined phenomenology as a description of the content of consciousness.

Max Weber (1846-1920) advocated the *Verstehen* approach and described Sociology as a 'science which attempts the interpretive understanding of social action in order to arrive at a causal explanation of its course and effects Martin Heideggar (1889-1962) fundamentally extended the work by asking the question what it means *to be*. Influenced by Heideggar, Jean-Paul Satre (1905-80) was the chief developer of extentialism: "existence precedes essence". From this grow the concept of *Lebenswelt* (lived-world) where phenomenology embraced the notion that individuals cannot be studied in isolation from the tangible world. According to Pivcevic (1970), the aim of phenomenology is to draw out 'the essences of experiences or phenomena appearances". The emotions, thoughts and deeds of an individual define the context in which they are situated but the context of the world in which they live restricts or limits their behaviour. It is a philosophy concerned with how individuals make sense of the world around them and brackets out preconceptions of that world.

The primary purpose of the research is to gain the depth necessary to obtain an interpretive explanation of the entrepreneurial capacity and learning amongst offenders.

Phenomenological inquiry is deemed as the most appropriate methodology to achieve the objectives. Selecting appropriate research methodology can be conceptualised as an iterative process where decisions made at an ontological level informs one's epistemological stance and similarly create the context in which the research is actually conducted. By definition, phenomenological inquiry requires that no specific constructs, theories or hypotheses will be outlined prior to interviewing participants as the whole point is that it is hoped that the research will generate an inductive, emergent conceptualisation of entrepreneurial experience amongst offenders. In order to achieve this is it will be necessary to bracket any theoretical suppositions so that the interviews can be free of any ideas or assumptions about the life experiences of offenders and any entrepreneurial culture that they may have encountered.

The major role of the author will be to ensure that participants feel free to describe their experiences in-depth. The interviews forming the interpretive inquiry will be unstructured (except for the opening question) allowing participants to reveal their experiences in detail. This will give a depth understanding of their lives and experiences.

According to Easterby-Smith (2002) the elements of methods for the different epistemologies are:

Social Science Epistemologies

Elements of Methods	Positivism	Relativism	Constructionism
Aims	Discovery	Exposure	Invention
Starting points	Hypothesis	Suppositions	Invention
Designs	Experiment	Triangulation	Reflexivity
Techniques	Measurement	Survey	Conversation
Analysis/ interpretation	Verification/ falsification	Probability	Sense-making
Outcomes	Causality	Correlation	Understanding

Research Design

Qualitative Research

Clearly the constructionist approach will be adopted; it is intended that a multiple case study approach be used involving interpretive inquiry of six offenders and then a comparative research study involving a similar number of entrepreneurs or owner managers of small businesses.

One of the major features of this part of the study is the phenomenological approach which will be qualitative and holistic in nature as it will delve into the background of offenders who have been or are intending to be self-employed on release. This will concentrate on basically unstructured in-depth interviews which will

Easterby-Smith (2002) and Van Maanen (1983:9) defined qualitative techniques as 'an array of interpretive techniques which seek to describe, decode, translate and otherwise come to terms with the meaning, not frequency, of certain more or less natural occurring phenomena in the social world'.

Problems could occur with the phenomenological interviews in that the participant in essence has control because it is unstructured and participants may have a hidden agenda in their responses.

Quantitative Research

This will involve two investigations:

(a) The repertory grid (*rep grid*) technique based on the Personal Construct Theory of George Kelly (1955) will be used for uncovering an offender's view of the world. In other words it is method which will be used to investigate the relationships between the mental constructions of both groups under study in order to map constructs to construct meaning. From this it should be possible to draw a Cartesian plane with co-ordinates resulting from the analysis of the principal components plotted from elements and constructs and the technique should assist in providing diagrammatic representations or concept maps of offenders' and entrepreneurs' conceptual frameworks and allow a systematic comparison to be drawn up. An attempt will be made to analyse the results in relation to the interpretive enquiry and integrated entrepreneurial approaches such as Krueger's (1995) intentions model of entrepreneurial potential and Bridges et al's (1998) attributes-and resources model.

(b) The opportunity will be taken to investigate the validity of the 'traits' approach by testing a large sample of offenders using Caird's GET test and analysing the results.

5. The Plan

1. Literature survey
2. Critically analyse the literature
3. Carry out a **qualitative study**: interpretive interviews with a range of prisoners and entrepreneurs or owner managers.
4. Analysis of information gathered.
5. Carry out **quantitative study**: Repertory grid and traits analysis
6. Analysis of information gathered.
7. Identify entrepreneurial processes.
8. It is hoped that the model derived from the entrepreneurial study can be used in the prison context and in industry at large to identify people who would benefit from entrepreneurial training and the appropriate method of implementing the training.
9. The strategic question to be answered is how to convince the Education Cluster to which HMP The Mount belong and the Prison Service in general to put more resources into assisting ex-offenders with self-employment on release.

6. Outline for Documents 2, 3, 4, 5 and 6.

Document 2   The Critical Literature Review

In line with good practice it is proposed to carry out an extensive critical literature review. Gartner (1989) identified to the lack of familiarity with published literature as a major flaw by researchers who as a result often seem to reinvent the wheel. Gartner said that 'scholarship begins with the activity of learning what others have already found out.'

> *'Good scholarship in entrepreneurship requires that each study be consciously connected to previous work done in the field'.*
>
> Gartner, 1989

Being the basis of all future work, the critical literature review and evaluation of previous studies in the proposed area will form a vital part of the whole study.

Document 3   An Interpretive Report on a Piece of Ethnographic Research

Document 3 will deal with the qualitative aspects of the study by reporting on a piece of ethnographic research. According to Easterby-Smith (2002), Van Maanen (1983) defined qualitative techniques as 'an array of interpretive techniques which seek to describe, decode, translate and otherwise come to terms with the meaning of natural occurring phenomenon in the social world.

It will identify the research focus and include a discussion of the importance of the research questions to be answered.

In-depth interpretive interviews and, possibly, focus groups will be held with a range of prisoners, who have committed economic or property crimes to obtain a pluralist perspective of their life styles, education, behaviour, values and cognitive thinking and entrepreneurial attitudes. Similar interviews will then be held with entrepreneurs or

owner managers of legitimate small businesses in order to discern any common themes or differences. The sensemaking will be about drafting emerging life stories of both groups of individuals. Weick (1995: 15) said that *'To talk about sensemaking is to talk about reality as an ongoing accomplishment that takes form when people make retrospective sense of the situations in which they find themselves. There is a strong reflexive quality to the process. People make sense of things by seeing a world on which they have already imposed what they belief.'* Weick (1995:3) reckoned that sensemaking involves seven properties: identity, retrospect, enactment, social contact, ongoing events, cues and plausibility. Ring and Rands (1989: 342) defined sensemaking as 'a process in which individuals develop cognitive maps of their environment'.

This part of the study will be followed by an interpretation and discussion of the validity of the ethnographic material and conclusions and themes for further research.

Document 4   A Report on a Piece of Structured Research

This survey based research will include a discussion of the research questions chosen and an hypothesis will be generated. Kelly's (1955) construct analysis will be used to give a structured research analysis. The use of repertory grid analysis should help to consolidate information on the values and entrepreneurial characteristics or behaviours of the offenders being studied and comparisons can be drawn with the legitimate entrepreneurs or owner managers of the small business sample. From this it is predicted that themes will emerge which will form topics for discussion and inclusion in Document 4.

In addition a survey using Caird's (1988) general enterprising test will be carried out with a wide range offenders and legitimate entrepreneurs in order to test the validity of the results obtained by Rieple (1998).

Document 5   A Thesis

The thesis will emerge from grounded research which will develop the themes and research questions. Using a constructionist approach, the combined work carried out in Documents 2, 3 and 4 and its subsequent analysis should give a comprehensive picture of the attitudes, values and behaviours of both economic offenders and entrepreneurs and provide the themes and research questions to form the basis of a thesis on the

entrepreneurial capacity of offenders and entrepreneurship in general. Entrepreneurship in both the 'legal' world and the criminal one appears to be about social change where periods of disequilibrium have created new opportunities which are then exploited by the entrepreneur or the economic criminal. In the thesis will include a discussion of all the empirical material will be included along with conclusions. Pittaway (2003) talks about the '*importance of actively constructing and explaining the philosophical and axiological assumptions guiding the theory*' (of entrepreneurship). As the themes will emerge and be identified in Documents 3 and 4 they will be followed up, and the critical literature review in Document 2 will be updated, so it is not possible to anticipate the actual content of Document 5 at this stage.

Document 6   A Reflective Journal

The reflective journal is an on-going document or journal containing reflections on research processes that were undertaken. It will contain thoughts, feelings and opinions on the content and concepts covered during the course of the whole study. It will show how concepts on the area of study have been developed and how the author's values and understanding have changed throughout the research project.

A summary of the learning gain from participating in the doctoral programme will be included.

Timetable of Events

Starting dates and submission dates:

Task Name	Start	Finish	Duration
Document two	14-Feb-05	15-Sep-05	155 days
Document three	13-Jun-05	16-Mar-06	200 days
Document four	16-Mar-06	28-Oct-06	163 days
Document five	30-Oct-06	18-Sep-07	232 days
Document six	27-Sep-04	18-Sep-07	779 days

	2005												2006												2007								
Feb	**Mar**	**Apr**	**May**	**Jun**	**Jul**	**Aug**	**Sep**	**Oct**	**Nov**	**Dec**	**Jan**	**Feb**	**Mar**	**Apr**	**May**	**Jun**	**Jul**	**Aug**	**Sep**	**Oct**	**Nov**	**Dec**	**Jan**	**Feb**	**Mar**	**Apr**	**May**	**Jun**	**Jul**	**Aug**	**Sep**

Document 2 (Feb 2005 – Sep 2005)

Document 3 (Jun 2005 – Mar 2006)

Document 4 (Mar 2006 – Sep 2006)

Document 5 (Oct 2006 – Aug 2007)

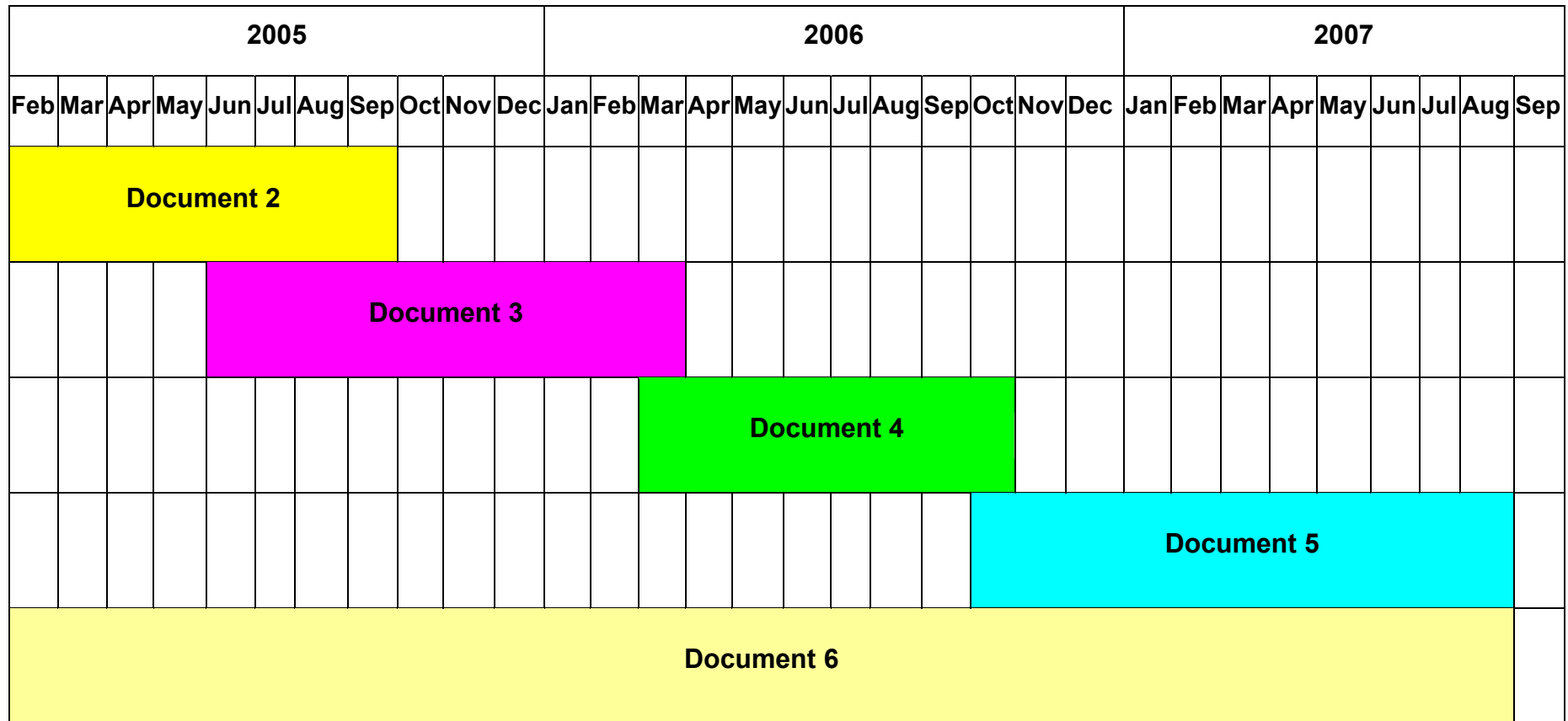**Document 6** (Feb 2005 – Aug 2007)

Figure 2 Gantt Chart of Assessment Schedule

8.   Issues Arising

Ethical

In terms of society at large, is it ethical to spend money from the public purse educating prisoners to become entrepreneurs? Are we simply making them more effective criminals? Neuberger (2005:206) said "spending on prisons is disproportionate and takes money away from education and social supports that might improve the lives of communities in such a way as to reduce crime and the effects of crime." These are some of the considerations which must be addressed.

From a prisoner's perspective, working in a prison environment the confidentiality of the inmates must be of paramount importance. Only by gaining the respect and trust of the prisoners can this study succeed. The author is able to gain this trust because he is used to working closely with prisoners and acting as a tutor; they generally speak quite freely. Unfortunately, there will always be a number of respondents who will seek anonymity in the prison situation and it is proposed that any interviewees be referred to as Participant A, Participant B etc.

Access to a wide range of prisoners should be possible since HMP The Mount, where most of the initial work will be carried out, forms part of a cluster of eleven prisons serviced under one education contractor, namely Milton Keynes College at present. Since no trust will have been built up with offenders outside of HMP The Mount the process will be slower but if necessary some colleagues have offered to gather information.

Political

On a macro scale, public attitudes with regard to prisons in general and prisoners in particular vary according to media coverage and pressure. Demand on money in the public purse is increasing enormously as the public demand better services such as health and education but want to contribute less and less in taxes.

Apart from relying on the goodwill of the ex-offenders, studies of this nature require the permission of the Governor and his team, and Governors come and go. The Prison Service comes under the umbrella of the Home Office which in turn is controlled by

Parliament and so suffers at its behest and vagaries. The employment option, rather than the self-employment option, appears to be favoured by the Home Office judging by the plethora of Home Office reports on the subject. Education programmes are invariably addressed as improving offenders' prospects for employment.[3] The self-employment option rarely gets a mention and few prisons currently provide training facilities for potential entrepreneurs.

Different governments have different policies regarding both prisons and enterprise. Traditionally Conservative governments have tended to take a harder stance with regard to prisons and offenders and similarly they have usually encouraged the setting up of small businesses. Labour governments have more often than not have historically had a softer approach to prisons but both major political parties now appear to succumb to public (hysteria) or media pressure.

The growth in self-employment is a national trend. This has occurred across many sectors but has been particularly prevalent in construction and business services. The Bank of England has put forward three possible explanations for this:

1. the returns to self-employment could have increased;

2. redundant workers may have been attracted to self-employment as an alternative to searching for another job;

3. self-employment may be more feasible than in the past, as sharp rises in house prices have increased the collateral at workers' disposal and so reduced the credit constraints they face. All three factors may play some part but the relative importance of each is significant in determining the extent to which this growth reflects the development of an entrepreneurial culture as opposed to a defensive reaction to difficulties experienced in the labour market. It is important that self-employment support is tailored to meet these differing needs.

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[3] E.g. see *The impact of corrections on re-offending: a review of 'what works'*, (2004) Home Office Research Study 291 p60.

Intended Outcomes

It is expected that the proposed work will have benefits for the following four stakeholders: the author, the Prison Service, society at large and ultimately the ex-offender who has entrepreneurial aspirations of a legal kind.

The author will benefit by:

➢ Improving his research skills;

➢ Enhancing his intellectual abilities;

➢ Gaining practice in a range of skills which will lead to personal development in the workplace;

➢ Gaining a deeper insight into the 'mind' of entrepreneurs and entrepreneurial processes;

➢ Obtaining a worthwhile qualification.

The Prison Service will:

➢ Improve its education facilities;

➢ Improve its resettlement programmes.

Society at large will profit by:

➢ A possible reduction in recidivism.

➢ Moving back the boundaries in respect of knowledge of the entrepreneurial capacity of offenders.

Ex-offenders will benefit by:

➢ Being better equipped to take up the self-employment option on release.

9   CONCLUSION

Use of ethnographic method, repertory grid analysis and measurement of traits in a prison context should give a clearer understanding of entrepreneurial learning of prisoners and the factors that apparently inhibit them from developing the ability to set up legitimate businesses. By comparing and contrasting offenders who have committed economic or property crimes with entrepreneurs or owner managers who run legitimate small businesses a deeper understanding of entrepreneurial processes should possible.

Studying this microcosm of society will hopefully provide a far richer view of the world of entrepreneurship.

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NOTTINGHAM BUSINESS SCHOOL

The Entrepreneurial Capacity of Offenders

Critical Literature Review and

Initial Conceptual Framework

Document 2

By

John Haggerstone

Document 2 is submitted in part fulfilment of the requirements of the Nottingham Trent University for the degree of Doctorate of Business Administration

CONTENTS

1.   Abstract

This study looks at why some entrepreneurs take the legitimate route and why others take the shadowy or criminal route to the creation of wealth. It examines criminal entrepreneurship by drawing on a diversity of ontological constructs via concepts and theories drawn from economics, biology, psychology, sociology, business studies and the relatively new science of criminology. The main purpose of the study is to discern the reasons why some entrepreneurial individuals take the illegal route to create wealth rather than a legitimate one and to understand the sensemaking and learning processes involved.

The motivation of the criminal entrepreneur represents a complex and somewhat ethereal weave of psychological, social and economic factors, thus presenting a research challenge. The literature survey attempts to highlight several areas for research in the field of entrepreneurial offenders and legitimate entrepreneurs. This study looks at entrepreneurship and its interface with criminality and investigates the relevant philosophy behind the entrepreneur and economic criminal behaviour in an attempt to form a unified theory of criminal entrepreneurship. Traditionally most criminal activity was of a local nature and community based but with the increasingly contracting world stage, crime is becoming a more significant feature of the emergent globalised culture of consumerism, requiring more advanced entrepreneurial skills than had previously been thought. Through comparative contextual analysis it is apparent that crime as a product of social dysfunction and marginalisation is changing and the growing importance of organised crime and white collar crime as business activities is indicated.   In addition to providing ontological concepts specifically for entrepreneurial learning the study also has implications for business ethics in general.

2.   Introduction

Entrepreneurship is not about courage or risks its about dreams
Lloyd Shefsky (1994:6)

There is a very thin line between being a legitimate entrepreneur and an illegitimate one. In this work the author is not concerned with punishment per se of the entrepreneur who strays from the straight and narrow but with the sensemaking aspects of criminal entrepreneurship. The study seeks to answer the following questions: what is going on and why is it going on? Do criminal entrepreneurs go through the same entrepreneurial processes as legitimate ones? Is criminal entrepreneurship part of a continuum?

The world of crime is one which runs parallel to normative life. There has been a lack of academic interest in serious crime mainly due to attention being paid more to the criminal justice system and a reluctance to engage with criminal deviant sectors of society.

In order to understand the mind and actions of the criminal entrepreneur firstly an understanding of the legitimate entrepreneur is necessary and then there is a need to examine the nature, practice and perceptions of deviance and criminal behaviour. There have been many studies which have looked at legitimate entrepreneurship but what of the ever growing business of economic or property crime; the world of the professional criminal or organised crime? But how do we define crime? What constitutes commercial, economic or property crime? What drives some people to commit economic crime: is it learned, innate, bred by society, or freely chosen behaviour?

One of the major problems in a study of this type is reaching a consensus of even basic definitions such as what constitutes a crime. The online Internet dictionary, **Akademie de**, defines a crime as an act which violates a law of the State for which there is no successful defence[4]. Findlay (2004: 6) summarises crime as being a

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[4] *According to Western jurisprudence, there must be a simultaneous concurrence of both actus reus ("guilty action") and mens rea ("guilty mind") for a crime to have been committed; except in crimes of strict liability.*

social phenomenon involving people, places and institutions. He said that criminal behaviour can neither exist nor make sense without its particular social context. Many crimes today didn't exist two centuries ago and some that did are not now considered such severe crimes e.g. sheep stealing, horse stealing etc, which used to incur the death penalty or transportation to a far off colony. This study is only concerned with individuals who behave as professional criminals – those who commit crime for a living. Professional crime includes a wide variety of crimes for example: white collar crime, consumer crime (offences against consumer protection laws such as The Weights & Measures Act 1963, The Trade Descriptions Act, 1968), drug dealing, and the theft of property or intellectual knowledge whether it be by burglary, stealing copyright, deception, embezzlement, fraud, shoplifting, robbery etc. Crime generally, and white collar crime in particular, is arguably endemic to capitalism, which produces social and moral inequality (according to Marx in Berlin, 1963: 30). White collar crime is often seen as victimless and merely an attack on profits of companies which nevertheless make excessive amounts of money.

How times are a changing: *according to Samuel Johnson[5], "There are few ways in which a man can be more innocently employed than in getting money."*

Most western countries have economies mainly based on free market capitalism; they want economic growth and prosperity, full employment, stable prices, a healthy environment, social peace and harmony. Capitalism is a socioeconomic system based on the recognition of individual rights. Thus it is only against the political/legal background provided by individual rights that a moral assessment of the activities of creating wealth and exchanging goods and services within a capitalist system can be correctly made. Capitalism can be regarded as a supportive philosophy with a code of ethics serving as a protection for the free market. When the right of free trade, or property, is established, so then is private ownership. That the owner of property has sole rights, therefore full title, implies that another cannot (with right) coercively take it from them and that they didn't coercively obtain the property. So ownership rightfully derives from a ban on the initiation of force against another. A taboo on theft, then, by its very nature is an

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[5] *James Boswell (1979:179) The Life of Samuel Johnson. England: Penguin Books.*

establishment of the right of property. Hence, it would seem that the eighth commandment '*thou shall not steal*' is the basis for capitalism, and for man's improvement in his wellbeing on this planet.

Rand cited in Reisman, (1990:19) posited that capitalism is the economic system that develops insofar as "*people are free to exercise their right to life and choose to exercise it. Its institutions represent, in effect, a self-expanded power of human reason to serve human life. The growing abundance of goods that results is the material means by which people further, fulfil, and enjoy their lives. The philosophical requirements of capitalism are identical with the philosophical requirements of the recognition and implementation of man's right to life.*"

However, according to Marxists, capitalism is (arguably) irrational; it fosters greed, heartlessness, cultural decline, lack of health and safety measures for workers, etc. It is a commonly mistaken belief that capitalism was founded on greed. As one of the founders of Sociology, the positivist Max Weber (1958) wrote "*capitalism evolved when protestant ethic influenced a large number of people to create their own enterprises and engage in trade and gather wealth*". In other words, the protestant ethic was the force behind an unplanned and uncoordinated mass action that led to the development of capitalism. He pointed out (ibid): "*Unlimited greed for gain is not in the least identical with capitalism. . . .*" Indeed, as he insisted, "*it is absolute unscrupulousness in the pursuit of selfish interests*".

3.   Approach and Context

A phenomenological approach is essential for a deeper understanding of the activities of the criminal entrepreneur, but in order to lay the foundations of such a study it is necessary to review the literature on both the entrepreneur and the criminal in order to discern any common themes. The literature will indicate whether any previous research has been carried out and assist us in knowing why someone becomes a criminal entrepreneur. First we shall look at the enterprise culture do determine if criminality is a sub-culture? Then we will review the entrepreneur within the conceptual framework outlined in Figure 1, where it was established that many factors could cause an individual to resort to the criminal route rather than the legitimate one.

In theorising the contextual analysis of the trial process, Findlay and Henham (2005: 25) used comparative contextual analysis to determine what is happening in context – in other words the different pathways of influence that feed into the decision making process were investigated. This methodology could be applied in the current context of the criminal entrepreneur to investigate the influences, thinking and learning processes involved.
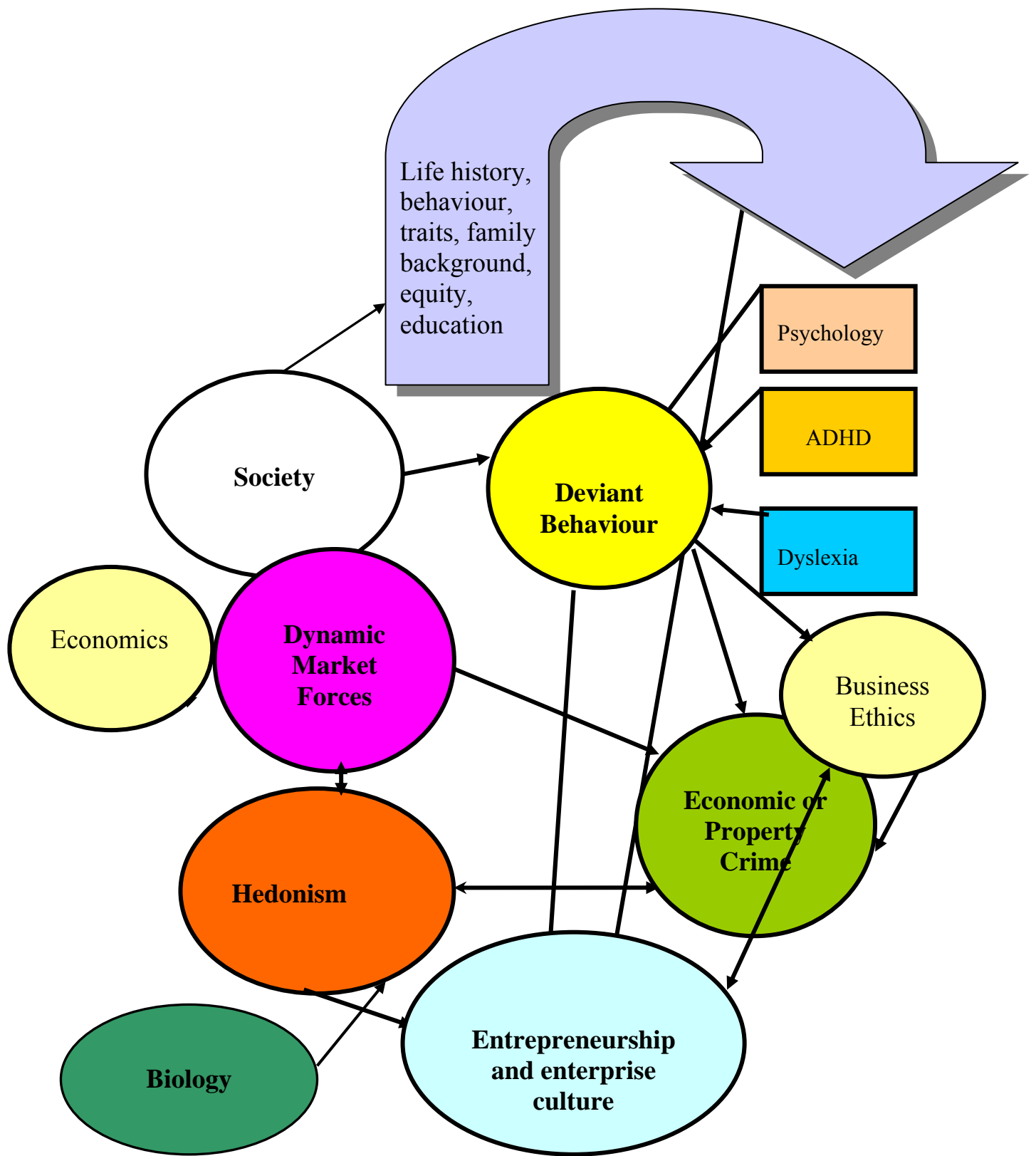
Figure1   The conceptual framework

4.   The Entrepreneur

The fundamental concepts of an entrepreneur are that they are (a) a particular kind of person; (b) the product of a particular environment and (c) they perform a particular role in society. The first concept is primarily used by psychologists, who focus on the distinguishing characteristics of individuals whereas the second and third are primarily used by sociologists, who explain the attitudes and behaviour of individuals by their background, upbringing, and experiences, and their actions as part of a sector of society. Since economics is primarily concerned with the working of systems it tends to play down the significance of differences between individuals, whether or not such differences are innate or socially conditioned.

The entrepreneur as an individual was first described in terms of economics by the Irish-born economist Richard Cantillon (Bridge et al, 1998: 23). A banker and entrepreneur, he first explained the entrepreneur and the role entrepreneurship plays in the economy. In one of the great analytical works of economics of the eighteenth century, Cantillon (1755, in Brewer, 1992:26) showed how to construct a basic model of the macroeconomy and the role of money in such a model. He was the first to introduce the role of the entrepreneur into economic analysis and defined the relationships between producers, suppliers and consumers in the marketplace. Cantilon's entrepreneur or '*undertaker*' was the speculative, middle man who assumed the risk of purchasing goods at one price and selling them at higher prices.

The entrepreneur is the bearer of risks inflicted by changes in market demand and it could be said that a risk taker is a gambler. As a gambler, the entrepreneur must consider three main factors: stake, odds and reward or prize. If the prize is very large, a gambler is usually more prepared to risk a big stake. A gambler who risks his all on a single throw stands to gain or lose a great deal. In comparison, criminal entrepreneurs are often big gamblers. Gambling is centred on the desire to earn more and more money by winning the game with as little effort as possible, in order to satiate one's greed. This desire could also lead to criminality.

Interestingly, for a man describing entrepreneurship and its relationship with economics, Cantillon himself was not without a dark shadowy past. As well as being charged with murder twice, he was accused of financial mischief with his role in the infamous "South Sea Bubble". Cantillon came to a sticky end; he was murdered in his

sleep, burned to death by a servant he had recently fired; violence is often associated with criminal activity.

According to Forget (1999: 3), Say in 1852 produced a narrower definition than Cantillon. He introduces the entrepreneur, that dynamic central figure of his economic analysis, in words seeking to describe an informational network before such an idea became commonplace:

"*He is the intermediary between the capitalist and the rentier, between the scholar and the worker, between all productive classes, and between these and the consumer. He administers the work of production, he is the centre of many connections; he profits from what others know and what they do not know, and from all the accidental advantages of production. It is also among this class of producers, when events favour their skills that are found almost all great fortunes.*" (Say, 1803, III: 228 in Forget, 1999: 3, 154)

He saw the entrepreneur as a person who judges, combines the factors of production and survives crises; by applying knowledge and technical ability the entrepreneur adds value and creates wealth. Knight (1921) viewed the entrepreneur as one who initiates change or innovation by managing risk or uncertainty.

Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau in Devine (2000: 265-308) all accepted that we are free moral agents, able to make decisions, control our own destiny, and engage in a social contract. This notion would later be celebrated in the idea of the entrepreneur, someone that freely decides to pursue a risky venture in the hope of receiving great rewards.

Schumpeter (1934: 93) thought that motivation was strong factor in producing successful entrepreneurs which he summarised as:

- *the dream and the will to found a private kingdom;*
- *the impulse to fight, to prove oneself superior to others, to succeed for the sake, not of the fruits of success, but of success itself;*
- *the joy of creating, of getting things done.*

These motives may be particular manifestations of self-interest - they certainly do not suggest much consideration for others; but they are rather different from the simple desire to make a profit which was sufficient to spur Kirzner's (1973) entrepreneurs to undertake their modest schemes. Self-interest is a strong personality factor amongst criminals. The 'prime motivational ethos of 'economic man' is the acquisition of wealth (1991, Taylor cited in Hobbs, 1995:11). Hobbs (ibid) talks about the professional criminal needing the ability to engage with a 'myriad' of entrepreneurial activities and states that the competencies they develop is increasingly similar to the strategies and modus operandi of legitimate traders, which may introduce them to the possibility of becoming legitimate members of the enterprise culture.

Bolton and Thompson (2004: 16) define the entrepreneur as : A person who habitually creates and innovates to build something of recognised value around perceived opportunities; there is no mention of profit maximising.

For the purposes of this study an entrepreneur is considered to be an individual who sets up and manages their own business.

Hobbs (1995: 28) in his work 'Bad Business' said, *"Craftsmen are redundant, artisans devalued; it is the entrepreneur who thrives. Parallels with the legitimate world are irresistible."*

Bolton and Thompson (2000: 18) suggested that "an entrepreneur's roots and their surrounding influences' have a profound effect on a person's entrepreneurial heritage". In a later edition, Bolton and Thompson (2004: 50, 52) developed the acronym FACETS which they use as an analogy with cut gemstones or crystals to understand the differences in entrepreneurs. Their persuasive argument is based on the entrepreneur having **F**ocus, **A**dvantage, **C**reativity, **E**go, **T**eam and **S**ocial. Ego and social are temperament issues and the others consist of talents. However they still rely on some factors being due to nature rather than nurture and ignore the economic and sociological aspects of entrepreneurship. For entrepreneurs to exist and flourish an enterprise culture needs to exist in order to support them. In an earlier publication,

"The creation of wealth is the function of human genius. The country that has the fewest entrepreneurs will be the poorest, and the [country with] the greatest number of

entrepreneurs will be the most profitable ... if it wasn't for entrepreneurship, we would still be living in caves." Gautum (Larson, 2004: 28)

Enterprise culture

Enterprise culture is one of those phrases that we think we understand but which many find difficult to define. It is rooted in economics, morals and values and has strong political implications. According to Carr in Beaver (2002: 40) the enterprise culture has been in existence for two decades (i.e. since Margaret Thatcher was Prime Minister.) She says that many writers have difficulty in defining '***enterprise culture***' and although the current government is committed to making the UK 'a country of enterprise' there is often conflict between the way it intervenes and the small businesses that it is meant to be encouraging.

But what makes a business a business? We take it for granted that a business is a *profit-making* entity but what fundamentally distinguishes a legitimate business from an illegal one? Can we call such organizations businesses? In other words, a philosopher might reasonably ask, what constitutes the essential characteristics of a business enterprise. Perhaps it can be summed up as something as simply as being one or more persons engaged in (any number of possible) exchanges that satisfies (any number of possible) interests in an intentional, organized, planned manner. These are some of the questions one might ask about the ontology of a business. In the epistemology of business, we ask what are business facts and how do we learn them? What constitutes business *knowledge* versus mere *belief*? As in other aspects of life, in business we acquire our knowledge through empirical study, from which we draw conclusions using inductive or deductive methods. This applies whether the entrepreneur runs a legitimate or illegal business.

Very few philosophers or academics had much to say about business enterprise up until the late 20th century. Throughout history, as far back as Plato, they had a mistrust of any kind of commercial activity, believing that it was a necessary evil and only the worst of people would be involved in it. Most philosophy related to business appears to come from an economic or political point of view. The formative years in the development of the modern philosophy of business and economics were the 17th and 18th century. Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, and Smith (cited in Devine, 2000) created the intellectual foundation upon which modern business and capitalism was built. A basic

principle within business practice and economic theory alike is the notion of free will. It is also at the core of utility theory, a model of consumer behaviour in economics in which consumers freely choose what to purchase.

The general philosophical predilection of the 'Enlightenment' period was that people were fundamentally rational and so rationality became another philosophical principle that formed part of business theory and practice. Descartes and Spinoza built whole systems of thought on this assumption and capitalism was to do the same. For two hundred years economics was founded on the assumption of *Homo economicus*. The link between economics and sociology is summed up admirably by Duesenberry's (1960:233) aphorism: "*economics is all about how people make choices; sociology is about how they don't have any choices to make*".

"*Homo economicus and homo sociologicus reflects two aspects of the social world. Just as there is rational strategic calculation in politics and social practices more generally, so there are rule governed and normative aspects to the economy. We have no theoretical paradigm that adequately links integrates the two – nor are we likely to have one*". (A. Weale, 1992:71)

Another key philosophic assumption is *atomism* where the main ethical unit is the individual. Indifferent to Rousseau's vision of society as an organic collective, Locke's (cited in Devine, 2000) considered society consisted of a cluster of independent, autonomous individuals which would become an integral part of business philosophy; social institutions are seen as merely constructs that individuals use for their own purposes. Friedman (1975: 17) used this assumption in arguing that companies have no moral responsibility because, he contended, they are not individuals capable of responding to moral claims; only the individuals within a business enterprise have any moral responsibility.

Modern business practice has a mechanistic orientation as a result of theory developing in an age of scientific discovery. Newton had just discovered classical physics which influenced business and economics in ways that we are just beginning to understand. Early writers, such as Adam Smith, dealing with economic topics borrowed many of their techniques and terminology from classical physics. They would use terms like "equilibrium", "labour force" and "elasticity." Newton's law of inertia has even found its way into marketing where it is claimed that consumers will continue in their current

state unless they are encouraged to act otherwise. Consequently, advertising is claimed to perform the valuable role of helping people experience a more interesting and varied life. More recently, a few theorists such as Dawkins (1989) are starting to question this mechanistic approach and model business on biological principles or chaos theory. [6] Dawkins (ibid) argued that all action is motivated out of selfishness or self-interest. Dawkins would say that it is part of Darwin's survival of the fittest.

The enlightened self-interest philosopher school developed another core concept that underlies modern business i.e. that of self-interest or the moral obligation to oneself known as *psychological egoism*. Although the charge that Hobbes (cited in Gert, 1966) makes '*self-interest*' the main principle of human nature it is now regarded to be overly simplistic.[7] Mandeville, Butler, Shaftesbury, Hutcheson, and Smith developed this into one of the core concepts of modern business theory.

An underlying unifying force that Shaftesbury cited in Grean (1967:143-147) called the "*Will of Nature*" maintains equilibrium, congruency, and harmony. This force, if it is to operate freely, requires the individual pursuit of rational self-interest, and the preservation and advancement of the self. Hutcheson also accepted this convergence between public and private interest, but he attributed the mechanism, not to rational self interest, but to personal intuition which he called a "*moral sense*". Adam Smith (Haakonssen (ed), 2002) developed a version of this general principle in which six psychological motives combine in each individual to produce the common good. He called it the invisible hand. In *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*, (1750) vol II, p316, he says: "*By acting according to the dictates of our moral faculties, we necessarily pursue the most effective means for promoting the happiness of mankind*". Since Smith's time, the principle of the invisible hand has been further incorporated into economic theory.

The Stoics taught that morality is natural to mankind but in contrast the Epicureans saw people as naturally self-interested and suggested that morality was merely designed to regulate self-interest so that it does not become self-defeating.

The neo-classicist economist, Walras (1834-1910) cited in Jolink & Daal (1993) developed a four equation general equilibrium model which concludes that individual

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[6] Dawkins, of course was famous for his book The Selfish Gene first published in 1976.
[7] *Gert, B., 'Hobbes's Psychology,' in The Cambridge Companion to Hobbes (1966: 166) , ed. by T. Sorell (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996), Gert claims that Hobbes observed self-interest held 'for a significant portion of the human population' and 'must be taken into account when constructing a workable political theory.'*

self interest operating in a competitive marketplace produces the unique conditions under which a society's total utility is maximized. He was hailed by Schumpeter as the greatest of all economists.

The Entrepreneurial process

Carson et al (1995: 49) talk about entrepreneurship being *"about change and the roles people play to bring it about"*. *"It is an action-oriented way of thinking and behaving"* (Carson et al, Ibid: 54). Entrepreneurship assumes that an entrepreneur activates (a) entrepreneurial events and (b) processes and (c) these actions have a specific input in the economy. These three economic concepts are used to analyze different issues such as entrepreneurship is an input added to land, labour and capital to extend the theory of production, and to complete the explanation of four kinds of income - rent, wages, interest and profit. As mentioned earlier an entrepreneurial event introduces a particular kind of change: we may be principally interested in either the causes or the effects of that change. Entrepreneurial processes link a sequence of events, either as a path to a desired objective or as a chain of consequences of some action. Gartner (1988) recognised that entrepreneurship involves a learning process particularly in acquiring knowledge and skills relating to the setting up of a business. Ethnographic studies should give some understanding and sensemaking as to why criminal entrepreneurs do what they do and how they learn and develop. As Weick et al (2004: 3) mentioned, *"Sensemaking involves the ongoing retrospective development of plausible images that rationalize what people are doing."*

In addition to being a learning progression, the entrepreneurial process involves having vision. "Here the success of everything depends upon intuition, the capacity of seeing things in a way which afterwards proves to be true, even though it cannot be established at the moment, and of grasping the essential fact, discarding the unessential, even though one can give no account of the principles by which this is done" (Schumpeter, 1934: 85). Surely there are some firm parallels here with our criminal who has entrepreneurial capacity.

Research into (criminal) entrepreneurship should concentrate on what they do rather than who they are in order to discern the entrepreneurial process; this was defined by

Bygrave and Hofer (1991: 14) as "the functions, activities and actions associated with perceiving of opportunities and the creation of organisations to pursue them".

In Krueger's (1995) model of entrepreneurial potential he argues that perception is an important part of the process of entrepreneurship. There is some underpinning of potential and a trigger is required to start entrepreneurial activity.

Entrepreneurship

Entrepreneurship has become a central ideological tenet of postmodern society where the central theme is the creation of wealth and materialism. The idea of creating wealth encompasses both legitimate and illegitimate practices and often the boundaries between the two become blurred. Nelken (1997a: 906) said "*if it is somewhat over-simplified to argue that only a small proportion of businessmen are bad apples, it is not much more convincing to assume that all businesses act as amoral calculators and would choose to offend but for the availability of serious sanctions.*" The enlargement of the European Union and globalisation generally has accelerated this blurring process. New technology has contracted the world of business and opened up new transnational markets.

Economic trends, such as the ongoing integration of the global financial markets and other aspects of the phenomenon often referred to as 'globalisation', and the EU common market, similarly provide good opportunities for organised crime groups. Taking advantage of the free movement of goods, services, money and people, they are successfully becoming ever more present in cross-border smuggling and various types of fraud, especially VAT fraud. They are helped by easier systems of company formation and transnational ownership, and improved employment regulations allowing for the hiring of personnel from many countries. Overall, their illicit activities have become ever more difficult to detect, control and counter efficiently. The general absence of international regulatory powers and more specifically over the control of the Internet has created new opportunities for organised crime.

While Shefsky (1994) pointed out that entrepreneurship is about having a dream it doesn't stop there; entrepreneurship is about having the courage to convert the dream into reality and also managing risk; which may encourage and encompass criminal behaviour. All business whether or not it is legal is about managing or reducing the element of risk while turning a profit. Findley (2004: 137) posits that crime is about

people pursuing their own goals. *"In some respects these involve the concentrated and coercive relationships of violence; in others the struggle is for transcendence of ideology; still others are centralised and territorial or geopolitical they are all social interactions towards the emergence of rival interpretations and the challenging power networks."*

In post-Thatcher Britain, entrepreneurship has become a fundamental ideological stance of the post traditional society central theme of wealth accumulation. The general assumption that entrepreneurship is beneficial to society has been disputed by some workers who have explored the shadowy side of the 'entrepreneurial process' e.g. Kets de Vries (1977) and Scase's and Goffee's social marginality theory.

However, it is generally considered that entrepreneurs and the process of entrepreneurship are vital for society to flourish and grow. Bygrave (1989: 21) referred to entrepreneurship as "a process, of becoming, rather than a state of being, evolving over time." The OECD (1997) reports that small and medium sized enterprises (SMEs) account for up to 99% of businesses in most economies.

Stevenson and Salhlman (1989) conveniently identified three schools of thought regarding entrepreneurship, namely: the functional (or economic) perspective, the personality (or individual) perspective and the behavioural perspective.

5.   The Functional (or Economic) Perspective

This is about the entrepreneur's interaction with the environment or responding to economic or market opportunities. In his critical evaluation of 'business crime' Smith (1980) suggested that the line between legitimate and illegitimate business is deliberately indistinct and transient. Findlay (2004: 75) cited Smith (1980) has having identified several flawed assumptions that maintain an artificial distinction between business and crime:

    (a)   That business and crime are distinct categories;

    (b)   That business is best described by the labels of legal undertakings;

    (c)   That within an industrial classification the principal distinctions are size and ownership;

    (d)   That business equals professionally managed companies;

    (e)   That the corporate model can be projected onto organised crime.

Like it or not criminal business is very big business. The cost of all crime in the UK is estimated at £60 billion of which £21 billion is violent crime. (In this study only commercial, economic or property crimes are of interest.) In 2002/3 commercial and public sector crime was estimated at £19 billion; the average cost to business of crime is estimated at £5000. Matthews and John Pitts (2001) estimate the annual cost of crime control at £8.52 billion projected to increase to £10.6 billion within 3 years.

Dick Hobbs (1995) argued that it is not possible to differentiate between everyday business activities and professional crime in the marketplace; certainly there appears to be some blurring here. Hobbs (1995:10) said that contemporary professional criminals are businessmen. We are living in a world where leaders of failed, mismanaged or downright corrupt businesses, such as Enron, receive astronomical exit rewards. The difficulties faced by the adoption of a more puritanical way of carrying out business are clearly illustrated by this example: in The Times (March 2005) the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) was critical of Britain's none enforcement of the Anti-Bribery Convention, which the UK joined in 1998 and had still not implemented three years later.

The commercial or economic offender as an entrepreneur

Studies on the entrepreneurial activities of offenders are rare. Work on prison populations are scarce, mainly because access to information is difficult to obtain for outside researchers, due to ethical issues and the lack of resources available to them. Also, it is unusual for researchers to have access to a wide range of prisoners of different categories consequently reducing the validity of the results. Rieple (1998) and Sonfield (2001) both seem oblivious to the fact that not all offenders are entrepreneurial. Their quantitative studies allegedly show that all offenders have entrepreneurial traits but these positivist workers are only relying on the measurement of traits to prove their work, which seems rather immature to say the least. The prison that Rieple chose is well known for its large number of 'nonces[8] or sex offenders. There seems no sensible reason why a sex offender, should necessarily have similar traits or behaviour to a drug dealer or armed robber. It could be that all traits that Rieple and Sonfield were measuring would be applicable to the population at large.

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[8] *The slang word **nonce** comes from prison speak: 'Not **O**n **N**ormal **C**ourtyard **E**xercise, for prisoners that were not to be mixed with the general population for their own safety i.e. sex offenders. (en.wikipedia.org)*

Bartol (1999: 2) surmised that criminal behaviour is intentional behaviour that violates a criminal code, intentional in that it did not occur accidentally or without justification or excuse (ibid: 7). He said that criminal behaviour is learned, as is all social behaviour, through social interactions with other people; environment is the principal determinant and cause of criminal behaviour and people have a tendency to be more aggressive, abusive and violent when their identity is hidden (Ibid: 113-132).

6.   Market Forces

Legal enterprises exist for the purpose of profit making from the provision of legal goods or services in the legal market however; criminal organisations seek to make profits by the provision of illegal goods and services in illegal markets. Schloendhardt (1999: 6) looked at organised crime and migrant-trafficking in Australasia. His view is that *"organised crime can be regarded as entrepreneurial operations in an area normally proscribed. The spectrum of economic activity goes beyond the point of legitimacy into illicit fields.* ”The well known Mafia researcher, Arlacchi (1983: 97), refers to the “*see-saw of rags to riches*” of professional organised criminals. Ruggiero’s (1994) notion of organised crime is that the members of the organisation have criminal skills that have been acquired by way of a long-term apprenticeship. Organised crime has long been seen as emanating from ethnic immigrant minorities stemming from visions of the Mafia. Ethnic division of labour influences the opportunities faced by immigrants, relegating them to the margins of the formal, informal and criminal economies.

Market forces have brought about a change from the world of production and consumption to one where the primary labour force has shrunk and become less secure to be replaced by an even less secure secondary labour market where short term contracts and flexibility are the norm forming an unemployed underclass. *Kirzner (1973: 69) said that:*

“A state of market disequilibrium is characterised by widespread ignorance. Market participants are unaware of the real opportunities for beneficial exchange, which are available to them in the market. The result of this state of ignorance is that countless opportunities are passed up. For each product, as well as for each resource, opportunities for mutually beneficial exchange among potential buyers and sellers are missed.”

In terms of market forces in equilibrium, for Kirzner there is nothing for the entrepreneur to do; for Schumpeter, it is when market forces are in a state of equilibrium - and only in equilibrium state - that the entrepreneur can plan his innovation. When equilibrium is disturbed, existing routines are no longer optimal; the economy is full of errors. These errors provide the opportunity for Kirzner's entrepreneurs, who can make profits by arbitraging misaligned prices. But for Schumpeter's entrepreneurs these errors make calculations impossible, and so bring entrepreneurship to an end. Whereas Kirzner's entrepreneurs busily steer the economy to a new equilibrium, after which they have nothing to do, Schumpeter's entrepreneurs can do nothing until a new equilibrium has been achieved without them. Criminal activities in markets emerge and flourish simply because of the dynamics of the illegal markets in which they operate. *Kirzner's* entrepreneurs react to changes in the data conversely Schumpeter's entrepreneurs cause the data to change. For example, instead of adjusting to shifts in consumers' preferences, Schumpeter's entrepreneurs set about inducing such shifts:

> "*It is ... the producer as a rule who initiates economic change, and consumers are educated by him if necessary; they are, as it were, taught to want new things*"

<div align="right">(Schumpeter, 1934: 65).</div>

Schloendhardt (1999: 8) posited that organised crime could be considered the rational response to substantial economic opportunities in areas that are prohibited by State legislation. If consumers desire goods or services, regardless of whether or not they are illegal, then a market will exist. Illegal markets have developed to enormous sizes e.g. according to the BPI bootlegging and piracy of videos, CDs and DVDs is thought to be a market worth £9 billion.

Findlay (2004: 76) said that "*Crime as a commercial enterprise may benefit from the same market potentials as other forms of commerce in developing economies.*" In our society materialism and the profit motive have been seen as acceptable market forces which have emerged from capitalism except where the business is illegitimate.

(a)   Crime and market forces

Marketing is defined by Kotler (1999; 10) as: "a social and managerial process by which individuals and groups obtain what they need and want through creating and exchanging products and values with others." The most basic concept underlying marketing is that of meeting human needs and wants. A human need is feeling of being deprived whereas a want is a need shaped by culture and individual needs. When backed by the ability to pay, wants become demands and this sets up market forces which are the interaction of supply and demand that shape a market economy.

Serious criminality is linked to dynamic market forces and disequilibrium, which creates new business opportunities e.g., the drugs trade, pornography, the production and supply of counterfeit goods etc. Changes in markets appear to change criminal business activities; e.g. the theft of car radios has diminished because new cars contain radios as standard; the commercial theft of computer parts such as chips and video recorders has virtually vanished due to low prices being charged whereas the increased use of plastic cards has seen a steep rise in identity theft and credit card fraud. As technology advances greater technical expertise is needed for some crimes. Credit card fraud sometimes called *identity fraud* is becoming commonplace.

> *"Who steals my purse steals trash; ...*
> *But he that filches from me my good name*
> *Robs me of that which not enriches him,*
> *And makes me poor indeed."*
> *-- Merchant of Venice, Act 3, sc. 3. (W. Shakespeare)*

The marketplace has emerged as the area for serious criminality according to Hobbs (1995: 107). Economic entrepreneurs appear to need to understand the workings of both illegal and legal markets; Chambliss (1978) said that crime is primarily a business activity; if this is true then successful economic offenders need to emulate the behaviour and act similarly to successful entrepreneurs. With the emergence of markets as arenas for economic entrepreneurs it raises the idea that they are merely reacting to disequilibrium in the marketplace.

Israel Kirzner (1997: 62) explained that the entrepreneurial discovery of opportunities gradually and systematically pushes back the boundaries of ignorance, thereby driving down costs and prices while increasing both the quantity and quality of output.

The spin off in a consumer society is the market in lifestyles which is driven by advertising.

Williamson (1978:60) states:

"What the advertisement clearly does is to signify, to represent to us, the object of desire. Since that object is the Self, this means that while ensuring/ creating the subject through the exchange of signs, the advertisement is actually feeding off the subject's own desire for coherence and meaning."

The role of advertising is to create demand for a product or service by selling a solution to a problem or a dream. The excellent, semiological analyst Judith Williamson author of '*Decoding Advertisements*' (1978) says that "*Shopping gives you a sense of choice and power which is often absent from the rest of your life*". A Ferrari advert delivers three dreams: social status or recognition, freedom and heroism. Consumerism makes the '***have nots***' feel that they are missing out and is a driving force for criminal behaviour among the marginalised.

(b)   The value of the UK markets for crime

A NERA (2001) study, 'Sizing the UK market for illicit drugs', commissioned by the Home Office, produced an annual ecstasy consumption estimate of 26 million tablets based upon 1998 statistics, but other assessments have suggested much higher levels of consumption. The value of the UK drugs markets as a whole is also difficult to estimate; the NERA study indicated a total UK expenditure in 1998 of over £6,600 million on six principal drugs (heroin, cocaine powder, crack cocaine, ecstasy, amphetamines, and cannabis) but current estimates of £8 billion in the UK alone have been made. Sandberg (1999) put the world market for drugs at over $75 billion.

Current estimates for the amounts of Class A drugs smuggled annually into the UK are 25 to 35 tonnes for heroin and 35 to 45 tonnes for cocaine. In drugs terms, heroin and cocaine are now commodity markets.

Hobbs (1995: 66) claims that there is a "tendency to underestimate the extent to which a whole range of entrepreneurs were made aware of the commercial possibilities proffered by the new market for recreational drugs." The market was created by

demand and commercially competent individuals. It was a market which was shunned by the typical locally orientated criminal entrepreneur due to their moral stance and lack of access to a network across territories.

Fraud is also now a widespread economic crime. Fraud covers a wide variety of criminal activities, which for the most part look to exploit weaknesses in systems and controls in order to make money.

Because a large amount of fraud goes unreported, it is difficult to estimate the overall scale. Businesses, for example, are often reluctant to report frauds because of concerns about reputation and the impact on customer confidence and share values. With these caveats, the most recent comprehensive study by NERA has estimated the economic cost of fraud to the UK at £14 billion. Armed robbery still occurs but the use of the gun is linked more to drug dealing where it is very much a weapon of protection rather than one of aggression although the gun is sometimes used to settle business arguments or to attempt to eliminate the competition. Violence is still seen as a way to control or regulate criminal business. Theft can be thought of as the violation of the right of ownership, and as such is the violation of property rights. Initially most economic crime was theft of tangible property but with the shift from manufacturing to knowledge based economies theft of intangible property is now as likely. Just as workplace skills and jobs are changing so are those of the criminal. The master craftsmen such as the safecrackers of the fifties and sixties are becoming extinct as are armed robbers as a result of increased security measures and the development of newer technologies such as CCTV, and are making way for criminals of a more sophisticated nature. Economic criminals tend to be either opportunists or very resourceful and with good planning and business skills.

The overall size of criminal proceeds in the UK is not known, nor is the amount that is laundered. However, HM Revenue and Customs (NCIS) recently estimated the annual proceeds from crime in the UK at anywhere between £19 billion and £48 billion, with £25 billion possibly being a realistic figure for the amount actually laundered. Based on the January 2000 International Monetary Fund estimate of undeclared economic activity in the UK representing around 13 percent of Gross Domestic Product, £25 billion would equate to roughly one fifth of all undeclared economic activity.

Dick Hobbs (1995) missed the opportunity to draw parallels between how markets change and investigate how they have changed through the ages and the way crime has changed in response to those changing needs or opportunities. But to be fair he was trying to obtain the essence of the professional criminal. The market for illicit drugs is an enormous one compared with ten years ago and has become big business. The abundance of opportunities and resources in the marketplace leads to specific forms of criminality e.g. drug-dealing, theft.

(c)   White collar crime

An important issue from the work of Hobbs (1995) is public perception, as crimes are viewed as either abhorrent and morally wrong or minor in nature and thought to be generally acceptable and a part of everyday life. Reference here can be made to corporate and white collar crime which ranges from 'minor thefts' and 'fiddles' by employees at all levels of employment to multi-million pound financial frauds. It involves small businesses, corner shops and multi-national corporations, salespersons and senior executives. There is also difficulty in distinguishing legitimate from illegitimate businesses. Sutherland (1949: 9) defined 'white collar crime' as "*a crime committed by a person of respectability and high social status in the course of his occupation.*" Little has changed in the intervening six decades and white-collar crime has grown enormously. In her study 'Understanding White Collar Crime, Croall (2001: 163) redefines it as '*an abuse of a legitimate occupational role that is regulated by law.*'

Much of this crime goes undetected but constitutes a major cost to businesses. Croall (2001:25) mentions that there is marked apathy from corporations, as projected losses are often made or even expected and in-house crimes are often 'covered up' to protect a company's public image. Employees caught with their 'hands in the till' are more often as not let go without any public prosecution. Although this an area rich in research possibilities it is one very much hindered by the attitude of employers who are reluctant to disclose information..

7.   The Personality Perspective

The second of Stevenson and Salhlman's (1989) three schools of thought was the personality (or individual) perspective. This perspective is based on the premise that the individual has a unique group of personality traits that will predispose them to being an

entrepreneurial actor. This has come under much criticism in recent years as this perspective presumes that an individual's traits are static in a dynamic area and as such experiential learning would not alter the entrepreneur's behaviour. By definition, if personality traits changed radically over time, they would not be traits, but rather temporary states or phases, and would lose their theoretical value. The study of traits provides valuable information about individual differences in disposition and personal styles, but the fact that traits are largely stable over time means they tell us very little about how and why people change their behaviour.

Some researchers believe that entrepreneurs possess certain characteristics or traits which other people do not have e.g. Chell et al (1991) and Gibb (1987). Chell et al (1991) considered that enterprising behaviour is more likely in some contexts than others and classified some behaviours as being '*proto-typically entrepreneurial* while Bolton and Thompson (2004: 44, 45) linked talent, temperament and technique.

Rieple (1998) was convinced that offenders exhibit similar traits to entrepreneurs; however closer examination of her study reveals that the work is flawed as the prison environment chosen by her was atypical due to a high proportion of sex offenders and prisoners in custody awaiting trial and the lack of discrimination in terms of the crimes committed was a major error in the work. In addition, Rieple merely took the five traits that Sally Caird (1988) developed at Stirling, and subsequently Durham, and turned them into 54 statements with which the participants had to either agree or disagree. The 'traits' she chose were: the need for achievement (NAch), the need for autonomy, creative potential, locus of control and calculated risk taking. No account was taken of the poor basic literacy skills that the majority of prisoners possess.

Bridge, O'Neill and Cromie (1998: 42-52) gave a comprehensive description of personality and behavioural theories but concluded that there is no general consensus. Gartner (1988) argued that behaviour should be studied rather than traits. A model containing a mixture of the behaviour and traits may be a more powerful predictor. Utsch and Rausch (2000) suggest a mediation model would work best where personality variables are linked to the work situation and job requirements of an entrepreneur and success is used to explain entrepreneurial behaviour.

Fairlie (2002) in his longitudinal study of the relationship between drug dealing and legitimate self-employment found that drug dealing had a significant effect on the probability of self-employment. Fairlie considered that his results showed that drug dealers possess unobserved characteristics that are associated with future self-employment e.g. low levels of risk aversion, high levels of entrepreneurial ability and a preference for autonomy. However as Fletcher (2004) points out this may be flawed for several reasons i.e. definition of a drug dealer; the use of drug dealing as a proxy for entrepreneurial characteristics – the offender might simply be dealing to support their own habit.

Much work has been done on the psychological traits of offenders over the last three decades (e.g. Blackburn, 1975; 1994; Farrington, 1996 and Wilson and Hernnstein, 1985) argue that the primary cause of criminal behaviour is the offenders' weak impulse control and lack of empathy for others. Eysenck (1977, 1989), however, points to a relationship between crime and high levels of extroversion, neurosis, and psychosis. The consensus reached in this psychometric research is that a 'criminal personality' is usually constant for life - even when ex-offender desists from criminal behaviour (Huesmann, *et al.*, 1984 and Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1995). Kruger, R. F., Schmutte, P. S., Caspi, A., A., Moffitt, T. E., Campbell, K., & Silva, P. A. (1994) claimed that personality traits are linked to crime among both men and women.

Within the trait framework, offenders are generally seen as people suffering from an underlying antisocial personality disorder, with little chance of a 'cure'. Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990: 33), for instance, argue that the trait of '*low self-control'* is at the root of criminal behaviour, yet they insist that differences between individuals in this trait remain constant over their life. (*Something that would be the complete antithesis of the entrepreneur*). Apparently "*enhancing levels of self-control is only possible in early childhood"*, somewhat unbelievably, "*successful efforts to change the level later in life are exceedingly rare, if not nonexistent"*.

(Psychological) "*Theories typically rely on the stability of individual differences in traits such as impulsivity, neuroticism, autonomic nervous system reactivity, or low intelligence"*. "*Psychological theories cannot explain the onset of adolescent delinquency, and subsequent desistance, without positing compelling reasons for a sudden and dramatic population shift in criminogenic traits followed by return to baseline a few years later"* Moffitt (1993: 694)

The 'Temperament Theorist', Eysenck (1977), in his book 'Crime and Personality' claimed to have identified a particular group of personality traits or characteristics associated with criminality and principally determined by heredity. This was based on objectively observable and measurable phenomena, but he lays great emphasis on biological and inherited factors. He reported five features which comprise the 'criminal personality'.

(a) *Mesomorphic physique:* stocky and muscular body type.

(b) *Psychomotor style:* in tests of muscular co-ordination delinquents tended to be swift and careless, cutting corners and touching edges, and generally ignored instructions; the number of careless errors was significantly higher among delinquents than among non-delinquents.

(c) *Conditioning:* there was a strong relationship between slow conditioning and a high degree of inhibition; the most non-conforming offenders showed signs of inadequate social conditioning, such as freedom from guilt and anxiety, and social immaturity.

(d) *Extraversion:* this is a personality type comprising an outgoing, sociable, active, irresponsible temperament as opposed to the Introvert personality characterised by thoughtfulness, caution and sensitivity; introversion correlates with quick conditioning, high aspirations and high anxiety to stress, while extraversion is associated with slow conditioning, low aspirations and low stress reaction; extraversion is associated with criminality.

(e) *Neuroticism:* this personality dimension is concerned with emotional instability and stability; neurotic introverts tend to excessive anxiety, being miserable, over-inhibited and self-punishing; neurotic extroverts to attribute difficulties to imaginary ailments or adverse circumstances for which they feel no personal responsibility; criminal behaviour tends to appear in neurotics with a marked degree of extraversion.

An acceptance of this view of criminal behaviour depends upon the approval of Eysenck's five general ideas about the nature of personality. Some more specific criticisms include the inconsistencies of measures of conditioning because of the difficulties of the techniques used; conditioning theory is itself an over-simplification which omits human qualities of thought and feeling; personality typing also leads to a

simplistic view which does not take account of mixed types, e.g. some types of crime such as fraud or embezzlement may be more associated with neurotic introverts.

The PEN model, proposed and advocated by Eysenck as the overarching paradigm of personality psychology, has two main aspects: descriptive and causal. The descriptive aspect of the model is a hierarchical taxonomy based on factor analysis. At the top of the hierarchy are the 'superfactors' of **P**sychoticism, **E**xtraversion, and **N**euroticism (PEN). *Extraversion* is comprised of many different factors, habits, and behaviours, and therefore should have good reliability. At the top level, the superfactors of P, E, and N are traits that are very stable across time and situation.
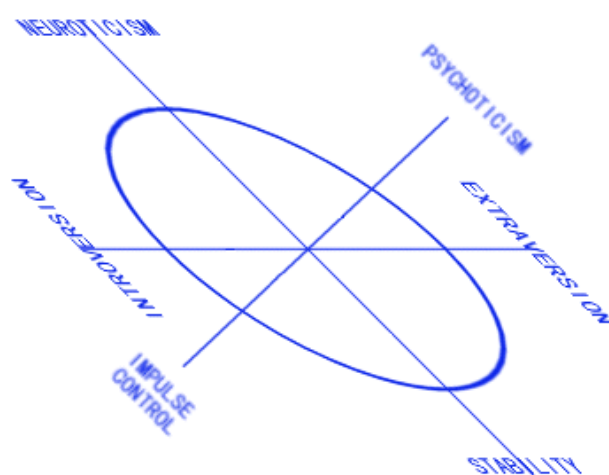
Eysenck's Factor Model of Personality

Siegal (1986) considered that psychological theories are useful as explanations of the behaviour of deeply disturbed, impulsive, or destructive people but they are limited as explanations of criminality in general and entrepreneurship in particular. For one thing, the phenomenon of crime is so extensive that to claim that all criminals are psychologically disturbed is to make that claim against the vast majority of people.

Rieple (1998) discussed the question of whether or not 'offenders' have the propensity for entrepreneurial activity and examined training and support provision for prisoners on release. Rieple also looked at the Probation Service and the support they gave to ex-offenders wanting to set up in business but did not look in any depth at other support agencies. (It is generally well known amongst ex-offenders that the Probation Service is seen more as a policing organisation than a support agency).

8.   The Behavioural Perspective

The third of Stevenson and Salhlman's (1989) three schools of thought was the behavioural perspective. Considerable epistemological diversity exists in the study of entrepreneurial behaviour. Researchers coming from different backgrounds approach the subject differently. Luke Pittaway (2000) questions whether researchers analysing entrepreneurial behaviour have 'sought to explain *what* occurs, *how* it occurs, *who* makes it occur or *why*.' This is a more dynamic and comprehensive approach, which encapsulates the behavioural processes that the entrepreneur goes through from the conception of a business idea to starting the business. Personality traits are a subset to the behaviour.

Bandura (1976) looked at how observation, imitation and identification plays a part in criminal behaviour and sought to clarify in detail how observational learning works, including the role of reinforcement in these processes. Why some individuals are 'modelled', imitated or identified with, rather than others seems to have something to do with factors such as reward and punishment (both of the imitator and the model), envy of the model's status, and the social power of the model. The contexts for modelling can include the family, the prevailing sub-culture, or social group.

Sutherland (1937) came to the following conclusions: [1] when allowance was made for the selection of those arrested, convicted and subsequently imprisoned, the distribution of offender IQs was similar to that of the general population; [2] studies of groups of feeble-minded persons in the community did not show an excess of criminal behaviour amongst them as compared with the normal population; [3] feeble-minded prisoners had similar disciplinary records in prisons as other prisoners and became recidivists with about the same frequency as other offenders; [4] people convicted of sexual offences were more likely to be feebleminded than persons convicted of other crimes. Sutherland's concluded in his analysis that the relationship between crime and feeble - mindedness is comparatively insignificant however this does not mean that intelligence may not be a very important condition in individual cases.

Woodward's survey (1955, cited in Holin, 1989: 110) of intelligence and crime in Britain and the United States, indicated a mere eight-point difference in IQ between criminals and the normal population. Whereas Hirschi (1969) found a significant relationship between IQ and self-reported delinquency in his American study, West and

Farrington (1977), in their longitudinal study of delinquency, discovered a strong correlation between below average IQ and recidivism.

In some crimes there has been shown to be a significant relationship between average intelligence and criminal activity e.g. those of a sexual nature and those involving violence against the person tend to be committed by individuals with a lower than average IQ than those who commit theft and they in turn tend to be of less average intelligent than those who are convicted for fraud.

According to Rutter & Giller (1983), where a link exists between crime and IQ it may simply be due to a more indirect connection for example a low IQ is related to educational failure, which in turn produces low self-esteem, and emotional disturbance that can lead to criminal behaviours. Or as stated by Offord et al (1978) it may be the propensity to certain behaviour pattern share the same origins as intelligence, which could be due to biological, sociological or family influences. Individuals with a below average IQ are probably much more gullible or less capable of predicting the consequences of their actions leading them into criminal behaviour.

 "The criminal action itself is fundamentally an attempt to transcend a moral challenge faced by the criminal in the immediate situation." Vold (1958: 225). Although this is about as watertight as the positivist approach (not everybody confronts a moral challenge by resorting to criminal activity), some existential and phenomenological writers argue that nearly all crime can be seen as a response to a grave threat to the emotions.

The founder of the **Psychoanalytic School** , or '**Freudianism**, 'Sigmund Freud developed a particular set of ideas about human behaviour as a result of his own experiences in treating physical disorders for which there were no apparent physiological causes. This approach is based on a quite distinctive set of ideas about what causes particular kinds of human behaviour, but it also involves specific techniques of identifying these causes from patients. The procedures used include word association, the interpretation of dreams, and hypnosis, although the latter is not essential or always carried out. The well-known term 'Psychoanalysis' is applied to both the theory of human development and the techniques used to deal with abnormalities in that development, including criminal behaviour. Freud's basic concepts are (a) human nature is governed by an instinctual energy source called **Libido**. This

directs human behaviour and is essentially sexual in nature in the sense that it propels individuals consistently in the direction of pleasure-seeking activities. Freud also identified a second basic urging in humans, which he called ***Thanatos***, a kind of death wish, which showed itself primarily in self-destructive aggression. These twin forces of sex and aggression thus form the basis of all human behaviours.

According to Freud, human personality consists of three parts:

(i) the Id. This is the basic pleasure-seeking energy, Libido in its rawest form;

(ii) the EGO. This is that part of the mind concerned with intellectual activities such as thinking, perceiving, remembering, and it acts as a mediator between the Id and the real world, directing the basic urges in ways that are compatible with reality:

(iii) the SUPER-EGO. This represents the social rules and conventions, which individuals acquire from parents and other authority figures in childhood.

There are two main forms of psychoanalytic explanations applicable to criminal behaviour. For example, in the case of an offender who consistently uses a knife to attack his victims the psychoanalytic approach may interpret this in terms of the importance of a phallic-shaped object such as a knife in the offender's development. Behaviour-specific explanations offer a number of causes for crimes. According to Freud, criminal behaviour can be attributed to a traumatic incident of which the memory, or the emotions attached to the memory, has been repressed. The offence can be explained as a symbolic expression of some desire that the offender is not allowed to express more directly. Criminal behaviour can be regarded as a displaced form of an otherwise natural activity. Repeated offences can be attributed to an unconscious desire for punishment arising from guilt over feelings or actions, which the offender regards as wrong.

Weakness of the Ego can explain the absence of normal self-control and a tendency to operate in a fantasy world free from the constraints of real life. An underdeveloped Super-Ego produces a lack of guilt feelings even for the most extreme behaviours towards others. In Holmes (1993: 33), Bowlby's *'affectionless character'*, often associated with psychopathy is where an individual has suffered maternal deprivation but it can be interpreted as arising from a lack of close physical contact in early childhood with adults, particularly parents, producing an inability to relate to other

people. While there is some disagreement as to the generalised validity of this idea, the concept of maternal deprivation has become accepted as a potential cause of lasting personality disorder as a result of Ainsworth & Bowlby's work on, (cited in Hunter,1991: 159-165) the ***Attachment Theory***, although care has to be taken not to overstate the argument. In terms of its application to criminal behaviour there are additional concerns. Most of its evidence comes from case studies of offenders undergoing psychotherapeutic treatment. It tends to consider behaviour post the event and to work back from there to its causes. Not only can this create a distortion in linking cause and effect, but also it has little value in predicting behaviour or identifying potential offenders. It deals mostly with 'abnormal' behaviours and regards criminal action as expressions of some kind of disorder or aberration. Where the motives for an offence are clear and obvious then it has relatively limited value. Freud didn't have much to say about crime, other than it was most likely motivated by guilt, committed by people with overdeveloped superegos, and characterised by unconscious errors (*Freudian slips*) which appeared to represent a desire to get caught and be punished.

Probably one of the best known neo-Freudians in criminology (Holman & Quinn, 1992; 106-107), August Aichorn considered that there were three predisposing traits that had to be present before the emergence of a life of crime i.e. the desire for immediate gratification; placing greater desire on one's personal desires over the ability to have good relationships with other people and having a lack of guilt over one's actions. Aichorn assumed that people with damaged or very weak egos might become so dominated by the id that they cannot conform to social rules and will end up committing crimes. These crimes may provide them with a method of achieving self-esteem and other requirements that cannot by readily met otherwise and the crimes allow failure to be rationalized as having been caused by the acts of the mainstream society.

August Aichorn (ibid) argued that it was not overdeveloped superegos but an underdeveloped superego that primarily caused criminal behaviour. He believed that some criminals, raised as children without loving parents or parents at all, developed unregulated ids. Others were overindulged at the oral stage and required different treatments. Aichorn's ideas popularised the notion that delinquents needed unconditional love rather than a punitive, institutionalised setting. The ideas of maternal deprivation or love deprivation as a cause of crime are still popular.

Redl & Toch (1979) were another group of neo-Freudians who took on the Freudian notion of the Oedipus Complex. According to orthodox Freudian theory, criminals should hate their fathers more than their mothers, but Redl & Wineman (ibid) found that criminals hate both their parents. In fact, they hadn't gone through a genital stage at all. Their egos were therefore undeveloped, and with nothing to mediate between the id and superego.

Research since Bowlby has indicated further possibilities. Circumstances now tend to be widened to include the complete 'family climate' in which a child is reared, including relations between parents, the amount of stress in the home, and the nature of interactions with parents, siblings and other adults.

Most investigations report that delinquents tend to come from large families, although Ferguson (1952) in his Glasgow study identified overcrowding as more important than the actual numbers in the family. In the Gluecks' (1950) study of delinquency 60% of the offenders came from homes '*broken by parental separation, divorce, death or prolonged absence of a parent.*' UK evidence also shows higher rates of delinquency among children from such backgrounds (e.g. West and Farrington, 1977). Nevertheless, as single-parent families become increasingly common, there are many offspring of 'broken homes' who do not become offenders.

Prins (1980) reviewed over twenty studies in terms of specific disorders finding that psychiatric problems are common in offenders, although the level of major disorders may not differ markedly from the general population. This generalisation may not hold for all offender groups as in a study of prisoner serving life sentences, Taylor (1986) concluded that over two-thirds had some sort of psychiatric disorder and 10% were psychotic, almost certainly schizophrenic.

However this overview does not guarantee a causal connection between psychiatric disorder and criminal behaviour. For example, Feldman (1977) has suggested a number of alternative relationships, such as with easier detection or greater likelihood of charge or conviction in the hope of treatment. The generalisation may hide special relationships between particular disorders and crime. Three are worth closer consideration: schizophrenia: depression and psychopathy. Schizophrenia is more likely to be associated with violent crime rather than economic crime.

"Only in rare instances can we find a direct causal link between any given psychiatric disorder and crime; more often than not we may merely find some suspected association."

(H. Prins, Criminal Behaviour. 2nd Edition, 1982)

Depression has also been associated with shoplifting (Lawson, 1984), violence against relatives (Halner & Boker, 1982) and, in its manic form, to arson (Blumberg, 1981). "Psychological and psychiatric theories of criminal behaviour emphasise individual propensities and characteristics in explanations of criminality." Mednick (1982), a socio-biologist, points out that criminals have a lower rate of skin conductance response (SCR), the time it takes the skin to conduct electrical current. He argued that this affects the ability of criminals to benefit from negative reinforcement, and since fear is the most powerful reinforcer known to psychology, criminals experience no fear or anxiety. According to Mednick et al (1983), there is evidence to suggest that frontal lobe dysfunction may characterise violent offenders while temporal lobe dysfunction may characterise sex offenders. Research involving newer imaging techniques e.g. MRI and CT is ongoing. However, the relationship between mental disorder and crime is at best ambiguous.

"It is clear that mental disorder and criminal behaviour do, at times, co-exist. The nature of this relationship is, however, altogether less clear... Cases will have to be considered on their individual merits to determine... the nature of the relationship between the mental disorder and criminal behaviour. This is not only a theoretical point, but is also one of some practical significance when the courts have to decide on mental state in order to determine whether the offender can be held accountable and therefore punishable for their actions." (Clive R. Hollin, Criminal Behaviour, 1992)

Conditioning theories stress the role of reinforcement in learning criminal behaviour. By rewarding actions which are anti-social, delinquent or illegal, or by failing to extinguish such responses, children learn certain behaviours which, when carried out in certain circumstances, come into conflict with the law.

To understand criminal behaviour it is crucial to understand the consequences of an action. Material and economic gain, for example, positively reinforce theft and being part of a delinquent gang can provide social rewards in the form of approval and status.

Conditioning emphasises external behaviours, but the overt actions that individuals physically carry out are governed by the internal mental activities that are required in learning, such as perception and thinking. Factors contributing to ethical learning include: (a) the values, beliefs and expectations of the individual i.e. what they consider

important, what they believe about things, and what they expect to happen in given circumstances; (b) the actual needs of the individual which will motivate them into taking certain actions in order reach the goal of satisfying the need whether they the needs are deficiencies, biological or psychological; (c) the individual's perception of situations i.e. the mental pictures of the world around us which we construct in order to understand and make sense of reality;

Looking at ethical learning, Trasler (1962) argued that the strength of the ethical reactions a child acquires depends upon the strength of anxiety aroused when they misbehave or think about misbehaving. This arousal is particularly strong when related to the withdrawal of parental approval so consequently people with weak ethical reactions are more likely to become criminal and their reactions will be weak because of five possible situations involving how the parent behaves towards the child.[9] Trasler's theory thus places great importance on the part played by parents in the learning process in childhood and its effect in creating delinquent behaviour and other evidence supports the crucial role of parents in what children learn (Wilson, 1980).

So traditional learning theories have concentrated upon the acquisition of criminal behaviour through reinforcement and modelling and cognitive theories have followed this trend, but more recently they have considered the alternative of explaining why offending does occur even when the opportunity arises. Hollin (1989) considers that this notion of offending views crime as '*a failure to learn to control behaviour.*'

Sutherland (1947) attempted to explain crime in terms of social learning. In his ***Differential Association Theory***, he posited that all criminal behaviour is learned and that this occurs by association with other people; the main part of the learning coming from being within close personal groups. He assumed that the learning of criminal behaviour is no different from learning other behaviours. This learning includes the techniques to execute particular crimes and also specific attitudes, drives, and motives

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[9] *(a) If both parents are inconsistent in how they discipline a child for misbehaviour; (b) If children are deprived of a close emotional relationship with parents at a critical age: (c). if children are brought up by parents that do not foster strong emotional dependence upon themselves; (d) if ethical conditioning by their parents causes them to react differently to the expected norm; (e) if a child, though subjected to ethical learning, is abnormally unresponsive to it.*

conducive toward crime; the "direction of these drives and motives is learned from perception of the law as either favourable or unfavourable". An individual becomes a criminal when their definitions favourable to breaking the law outweigh their definitions favourable to non-violation; differential associations or learning experiences vary in intensity, frequency, and importance for each individual. While criminal behaviour is an expression of needs and values, crime cannot be explained in terms of those needs and values. (*For example, it is not the need for money which causes crime, rather the method used to acquire the money; the method is learned.*)

Deviant personality or social misfits

Kets de Vries (1977: 34-57) had a sociological view of entrepreneurs. He saw them as the product of their upbringing; creative rebels with a cause (Birley and Muzyka, 2000: 5) Unusual and unacceptable behaviour is often exhibited by entrepreneurs as well as criminals and both groups are often seen as social misfits. His entrepreneurial individual emerges as a social misfit or a deviant personality, who has low self-esteem, is angry, resents authority, and is rebellious, insecure and unable to work in a structured environment. These 'deviants' are often the product of an unhappy family life or due to the frustrations caused by problems such as Dyslexia or Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD.)

Kets de Vries identified some entrepreneurs as marginal or deviants. On the face of it these characteristics would seem to very much typify the average offender. A survey in 1998 at the Feltham Young Offenders Institution carried out by the Dyslexia Institute (DI) which involved a random sample of 97 inmates over a ten-week period showed that 17.½% of those tested proved to be dyslexic and most of those who took part generally performed below average for their age on both reading (87.6%) and spelling (84.5%) tests. The high trend of dyslexic delinquency has been attributed to the emotional mis-development caused by the continual failure of children, whose dyslexia is ignored. Petty crime can be the only accessible means of boosting their image in the eyes of their peers and this often leads to major crime. Wall (1998) produced evidence that allegedly substantiates the causal relationship between ADHD and the substance abuse and criminality. Hobbs (1995:60) considers that criminals are *'entrepreneurial mutants'* who have evolved from the economic and ideological foundations of late 20th century British Enterprise culture.

"Deviance is not a quality of the act the person commits, but rather a consequence of the application by others of rules and sanctions to an offender. The deviant is one to whom that label has successfully been applied; deviant behaviour is behaviour that people so label." Howard S. Becker (1963: 6)

Sociologists of deviance focused more on processes through which behaviour comes to be labelled crime, or persons labelled criminals. The traditional explanations of crime assume Society is based on a consensus of values and criminal law reflects that consensus whereas.

Katz (2002: 25) argues that "inquiry should start with the foreground of crime, i.e. with a commitment to describe what always and exclusively occurs in the construction of different forms of deviant conduct." His theory is that these foreground factors, the instinctive aspects of committing crime, can be used to provide a rational, alternative explanation for deviant acts, by showing that an appeal to emotional needs exerts a stronger force than the restraint of social laws. The need to reinforce one's ontological security exceeds the issue of whether an act is criminal or not.

9.   Biology

Closely linked to the behavioural perspectives are the biological approaches, which take as implicit the idea of the *'born criminal'*, but is there such an individual? (*There are parallel approaches with the idea that entrepreneur's are born!*)

Advances in the biological sciences have helped to provide the means to test this by investigating a range of genetic, biochemical and neurological factors in relation to criminal and other behaviours. It can be argued that there are two fundamental possible explanations for various aspects of human behaviour in general. One is that our behaviour comes from nature; we all possess hereditary characteristics transmitted in our genes from our parents and so it is instinctive. The other argument is that our behaviour comes from nurture, that we learn how to behave in particular ways as a result of experiences we have had in the environment into which we have been born and raised. Three possibilities therefore exist:

I. ***Genetic factors*** are of primary importance and the environment has little or no effect. Studies of this proposition have concentrated on three main areas i.e. the family, twins and adoption. The idea of family studies is usually to discern whether criminal behaviour exists through generations. (*As a contrast there certainly there seems to be a relationship between successful entrepreneurs and their family.*)   The most famous study of recurring criminality is that of the Jukes family in the USA by Richard Dugdale (1910). He found that of 1200 family members, there were 57 murders, 60 thieves, 50 prostitutes and 140 'general criminals.' Except for the fact that families with a criminal record tend to spawn offenders, such studies have been unable to identify any specific inherited features. However, restricting their study to two generations, Osborn and West (1979) found that about 40% of sons having fathers with criminal records became convicted criminals as against only 13% for sons of non-criminal fathers. The main argument against this view is that socialisation (i.e. the process of social learning as a child) is just as likely to account for these statistical relationships as are genetic factors. Some studies have concentrated on identifying the extent of concordance in criminality between twins; Lange (1929) looked at 30 sets of adult male twins both identical and fraternal where 77% of the former were concordant and only 12% fraternal. The sample was too small to be of any significance.

II. ***Environmen***t determines all behaviour and our genetic factors are of no relevance. Social factors like poverty, unemployment and antisocial behaviour have usually been thought to be key factors. However, studies fail to adequately distinguish effectively between environmental factors and those that are inherited from parents.

III. ***A balance of both genetic factors and environmental*** influences decides our behaviour. This is the mostly likely proposition but the difficulty is in trying to quantify the proportion that each contributes.

The evidence from these different types of studies strongly suggests that genetic factors have some part to play in creating criminal behaviour but there is general agreement that the interaction of genetic and environmental factors is even more crucial. The precise balance between these two sets of variables is unclear and probably cannot be determined with any degree of precision. Similarly, what exactly it is that is inherited

remains uncertain. It is unlikely to be criminality as such, but is more likely to be certain predisposing conditions, like low intelligence or alcoholism.

While biological evidence can contribute to an understanding of criminal behaviour, it cannot be concluded that criminality has solely a biological basis to it so in a sense it is unlikely that anyone is born a criminal, although it has not stopped researchers trying to prove it has.

10.   Society

Findlay's (2004: 18) view that crime and social integration (or its converse marginalization) is not generally understood further than the typical stereotyping and State reaction to criminal behaviour is useful in this study as it highlights the fact that public opinion, as transmitted by the media and subsequently adopted by politicians, blurs our awareness of the real issues.

In sociology, the view that cultures are simply different and not better or worse than each other led to questioning the existence of a universal set of values. The unique social changes following World War I and the Great Depression, included immigration, urbanization, and industrialization into the U.S. The crowding of large cities and the cultural diversity within them led to a huge urban development, which was conducive to deviance. An explanation was needed to sort out and understand this new phenomenon. The concept of *Social Disorganization* is largely associated with the "**Chicago School**" of sociology i.e. people such as Thomas, Znaniecki, Shaw and McKay. Hence, the term social disorganization refers to both an explanation of deviance and the state of society that produced it. It was the result of intellectual development that had taken place since 1910 in Sociology. It entrenched its explanation of deviance in social norms and community activities. Crime was seen as a product of uneven development in society, with change and conflict affecting the behaviour of those within it. This theory emphasized that society social organization, or social order, existed when there was a high measure of internal bonding to individuals and institutions due to them having an agreement about fundamental values and norms. This cohesion consists largely of agreement about goals that are worth striving for and how to behave and how to not behave. Or in other words social disorganization is social disorder.

It was believed that social organization involved an integration of customs, teamwork, high morale, and bonding leading to harmonious social relationships where solidarity, homogeneous and traditional behaviour was the accepted way of life. Social disorganization theorists believe social disorganization existed in much of city life. They made such a relationship almost unmistakable. They used the city as their laboratory in which they studied deviance and crime. They concentrated their research on disorganized local areas, slums or inner-city areas of high crime, prostitution, suicide and other deviant forms of behaviour. Thus, in their theoretical framework, social patterns of the urban environment produced social disorganization, which led to crime and deviance.

Social changes also had a large effect on criminal market opportunities. It is clear that the increased mobility of people and ongoing urbanisation have led to the potential for greater levels of anonymity in society, which could be conducive to crime. In addition, increased mobility facilitates new contacts between people (and organised crime groups), enabling cooperation over large distances between many countries. For example, international criminals present in the Member States includes nationals not only from the EU including the former Eastern Europe, Africa, the Middle East, South America and Asia which is a strong facilitating factor for international organised crime. In addition, the presence of large diasporas in the EU Member States is a useful asset to non-indigenous organised crime groups. These can provide anything from cover, manpower, and local knowledge to criminal services. This is particularly true concerning traditionally insular groups such as ethnic Albanian criminal groups Turkish or but also an asset to other non-indigenous organised crime groups active in the EU, for instance Iraqi or Iranian groups.

The rights to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" come from the laissez-faire view of rights - that is, the view that rights are a moral sanction on one's freedom to live and act without unwanted interference from others. On the other hand, the "right to be treated as one would wish to be treated" implies an obligation on the part of others not only to refrain from interfering, but also to engage in positive action as required by the claimant of the right. This formulation stems from what might well be called the devez-faire ("must do") view of rights in contrast with the laissez-faire or "let do" view.

Sometimes the devez-faire theory of rights serves as an explicit justification for committing crimes; politically motivated groups that take over laboratories, buildings

and offices in order to press their demands on the owners of the property are an obvious example. The more typical way in which it encourages crime, though, is simply through giving a stamp of legitimacy to a person's desire to attain his goals by illegitimate means.

At issue here is not the psychology of criminals but the logical consequences of certain moral premises, which are widely accepted today. The argument that these premises promote crime relies on the observation that they offer encouragement and vindication to people who are inclined to crime, and that they make the victims of crime feel less sure that they can really regard themselves as victims. Other factors also contribute to the decision to resort to crime; but anyone who has any capacity for self-esteem on the one hand, or guilt on the other, has to be affected by their view of the moral rightness of their actions. A typical robber or burglar is not a philosopher; but for exactly the reason that he is not, he passively absorbs the influences around him and lets other people's beliefs mould his own moral values. When a person with no convictions of their own hears that people better off than them are robbing them of what is rightfully theirs, their will see little reason to refrain from recovering it.

Anyone with any commonsense knows that they have to follow certain principles to exist, whether in isolation or in a society. An individual who realizes that people cannot live together without property rights may still decide to steal, but they are likely to be discouraged by the knowledge that everyone else in society will legitimately regard them as an enemy. If, on the other hand, an individual believes that people who own property are already the enemy because they have what they doesn't have, then they may as well take their property as not; he may even think he increases his self-respect by righting the "injustice" they are doing to him.

The right to property is a laissez-faire right; the obligation it imposes is the obligation not to take or damage another person's property. Under a devez-faire theory, the right to property is a conditional one at best, since a person's right to his property may be overridden by another person's "right" to be provided for. The devez-faire view of rights undercuts the principle of property rights and thereby lends an air of legitimacy to crime. Many self-proclaimed defenders of capitalism avoid the issue of property rights, preferring to talk about secondary social issues rather than to upset people. Attacks on property are often based on the egalitarian variation of the devez-faire view of rights - on the notion that everyone is entitled to the same degree of well-being, whether he has

earned it or not. By this criterion, a person who is more successful than the average, and who keeps what he earns, is depriving others of their rightful share of the products of his effort. In granting him the right to keep his property, the government is helping him to oppress those who want it.

Hedonism

A link can be made between utilitarianism and the fundamental principles of the philosophy of business, however this is more theoretical that practical. Economists use utility theory to model human actions; Bentham assumed that people are hedonists. In other words they prefer more satisfaction to less satisfaction. The amount of satisfaction can be expressed in terms of the utility a person derives from the satisfaction. Dawkins (1989:2) argues that "*a predominant quality to be expected in a successful gene is* ***ruthless selfishness***."

Obviously the pursuit of pleasure is closely linked with that of self-interest which has been covered earlier in this literature review.

11.   Crime

As stated earlier (p1), crime is defined as an offence against the State and it encompasses a wide range of activities. The boundaries of crime are not static but subject to change, due to alterations in the law, socially constructed beliefs, public perceptions and consequent political agendas.

Crime and philosophy

Durkheim (1893) in his *The Division of Labour in Society* cited in Thompson (2002:77), provides his sociological definition of crime: "*crime is ... an act which offends strong and defined states of the collective conscience*". He proposed that the frequency of crime increases in relation to social differentiation as a process of socio-cultural revolution.

Nietzsche's (Berkowitz, 1996: 8, 11) doctrine '***The will to power***' has its basis in certain psychological and physiological presuppositions, namely: the principal presupposition claims that human beings (and life in general) seek out ways of expanding their power

and influence over themselves and their environment. The environment would, of course, take account of other individuals, this means power over others too. As it is not just limited to just human beings, the *will to power* can be manifest itself in every person and everything. According to Nietzsche, growth, self-preservation, domination, and upward mobility are all elements of these wills that are exhibited by all living creatures.

Nietzsche's *will to power* was heavily influenced by Schopenhauer's '*will*,' which didn't have concern with power, but instead constitutes an obtuse blind determination. Schopenhauer's (Janaway, 1998) '*will*' never reaches fulfilment, it takes the form of desires, cravings and aspirations in human beings, but its insatiable nature means that it makes a burden out of one's existence. For example, a particular desire may be satisfied, but for Schopenhauer, this simply gives rise to another desire, then another etc and hence Schopenhauer regarded the '*will*' as the source of suffering and evil in the world. This explains his pessimistic and life-denying view of the world. Will to power implies that will is more fundamental than reason. Knowledge is not discovered by the mind but imposed or projected by the will on the world. Nietzsche felt we should turn our backs on the state, questions of policy, and the trappings of rule, and take up instead the task of cultivating our own potentials - our own individual 'wills-to-power'. In this sense, Nietzsche would seem incomparably anti-political and indeed provides a very functional precursor of Promethean anti-politics. Surely this is what a professional criminal does?

In comparison with this view, Nietzsche's '*will to power'* doctrine asserts a very life-affirming outlook. Living creatures affirm their instincts and life through it. In the case of human beings when they are able to live according to their instincts pleasure results because they are to exert one's '*will to power'*.

Life itself, through the '*will to power'*, becomes a spontaneous activity and this drives individuals to act spontaneously instead of to dominate. The greatest of all the emotional drives is probably revenge which .is the principal actor in the theatre of punishment. Anger and vengeance have a high degree of social acceptance when they are channelled into procedures such as the criminal justice system.

Symbolic interactionism looks at the self-image of the criminal, and how they perceive their relationship between themselves and the rest of society. Labelling theorists also

concern themselves with image, but in the context of how society will apply it within the formal and informal processes of social control.

The existentialist perspective of self-affirmation provides an understanding of, but not an explanation for, criminal behaviour. Taking a phenomenological perspective, one can look behind the arbitrary legal definitions of 'crime' to see positive qualities of imaginativeness, sensuality, self-esteem, and creativity being exercised in certain behaviours. The matrix of licit and illicit behaviour becomes more complex as one moves the framework across time or space. Activities that were once were criminal are now legitimate; behaviour that is prohibited in one society is accepted in another. Environmental and social factors might shape choices.

The work of Katz and other existentialist and phenomenologist writers suggests that crime is at its most seductive for individuals who generate their self-esteem from quick fixes, short-term projects with a rapid turnaround where stimulation and instant gratification are the priorities; the clue is present in the language we use - 'taking control of the moment'. (*Sounds familiar with entrepreneurs.*)

"*The emotions of modernism anxiety, alienation, self-destruction, radical isolation, anomie, private revolt, madness, hysteria, and neurosis are not able to be subsumed into self-control.*" (Morrison, 1997: 380). Morrison talks of '*moral emotions*' being at the centre of the 'crime experience'.

According to Jean-Paul Sartre (1963: Barnes p xix) *"The most fundamental characteristic of man and consciousness is his ability to go beyond his situation. He is never identical with it, but rather exists as a relation to it. Thus he determines how he will live it and what its meaning is to be; he is not determined by it."* Could this be an existential commentary on how pointless it is to try and contain the self within the artificial boundaries of a social construct like crime?

Criminological theories

Unlike theories in the sciences, criminological theories are not a unilinear set of theories each superseding the previous one but rather they are adapted, developed and re-invented over time. Beginning with enlightenment Classicism: criminology developed into Positivism ('correctionalism' or 'establishment criminology: the Italian 'Positivist School' introduced the scientific basis for criminology) and then Sociological

Criminology (the Chicago School, labelling.) Since the 1970s a new Radical Criminology was developed, where any explanation of deviant behaviour needs to cover two tenets, namely (a) it should give an understanding of how laws are produced by powerful social groups or classes in Marxist terminology and (b) give an understanding of people in different economic positions in society have different *life experiences* or as the non-Marxist Conflict theorist Max Weber put it - how individuals have different life chances. New or 'critical' criminology considered that the core values of socialisation were competitiveness, acquisitiveness; individualism and hedonism. These are so close to the criminal motivation that a socialised individual is more likely to commit an offence than the under socialised one. Early criminologists sought to identify the causes of crime with the activities of the lower classes linking it with poverty and deprivation. Rather surprisingly Findlay (2004: 137) suggested that the "original driving crime choice is marginalisation" but this does not adequately explain Sutherland's (1949: 9) white-collar' crime which is committed by 'persons of the upper socio-economic class who engage in much criminal behaviour'.

Garland (2001) views the history of criminology, as having emerged from the institutions or criminal justice control agencies. Until the 1960s this was correctionalism - the stress being on individual positivism, and then subsequently what he terms the *'crime control complex'* with its emphasis on rational choice and situational control. That is a transition from modern to late modern criminology, the first located in the penal-welfare institutions, the second positioned in the institutions and practices of private sector crime prevention. According to Young (2005) it is the latter which is the predominant theory of today – *'the criminology of everyday life'*, but there are two other streams - a residuum of correctionalism and a neo-conservative, anti-modernism. While the criminology of everyday life sees offenders as being normal, rational consumers *'just like us'*, the criminology of the other sees the offender as *'the other'*. The former is seen by Garland as being more naturalistically true to reality.

Social bond theory suggests that varying informal ties to family, employment or educational programs in early adulthood explain changes in criminality during the life course. Those lacking these bonds are the most likely to stay involved in criminal and delinquent behaviour because they have the least to lose from social sanctions and ostracism. Furthermore, the stronger the ties to society (i.e. the higher one's legal income), the more likely a person is to cease from criminal behaviour (e.g. Pezzin, 1995).

Some of the main appropriate tenets of Taylor, Walton, and Young's (1973) claim that classical criminological theory can be summarised:

1) Everyone is, by nature, self-seeking and this means everyone is liable to commit crime;

2) There is a consensus in society that it is desirable to protect private property and personal welfare;

3) People freely enter into a contract with the State to preserve peace within the terms of this consensus.

4) There should be as little law as possible, and its implementation should be closely delineated by due process.

5) The individual is responsible for his actions and is equal, no matter what his rank, in the eyes of the law. Mitigating circumstances or excesses are therefore inadmissible.

Quite what this summary summarises is not entirely clear, but Taylor, Walton and Young indicate their broad concept of classical theory when they speak of "classical social contract theory - or utilitarianism". - The utilitarian Bentham considered social contract theory "*nonsense upon stilts.* The Taylor, Walton and Young list appears to be a construct taking elements from different eighteenth and early nineteenth century theories, and possibly combining them with elements from 20th century theories. The argument central to Engels' theory of crime is that it is a result of the disintegration of society as it moves from a State of togetherness (e.g. a traditional or mechanical society) to a state of disorganisation (e.g. organic or market society).

Traditional criminology assumed crime was a social problem for society as a whole and didn't question how it formed a basic prelude to the construction of a deviance theory. *Radical Criminology* developed by, Taylor, Walton and Young (1973) was focused on two basic ideas (a) Criminal behaviour has some *structural origin.* In other words such behaviour is connected to the way in which society is organised at an institutional level. The economic organisation of capitalist social systems and inequalities of wealth, influence and power are related to criminal behaviour; (b) *integrationist theories* which concerned people having a choice in how they behaved; they could choose to be deviant or non-deviant. Their approach was not without problems. Although they claimed that

power was a significant variable they failed to give an adequate explanation of the origin of power in a capitalist society. Also they had an over-identification with the 'deviant' making them a victim of the labelling process.

Katz (1988: 6-8) directs us to look at "*sensual dynamics*", "*the ontological validity of passion*" and the "*genuine experiential creativity of crime*". He talks about the "*sneaky thrills*" experienced by the opportunistic shoplifter where the purpose of the action is not the acquisition of an item, but the taking of it and the way society responds to it gives it significance. Every phase of the enterprise poses a challenge: the anticipation of the deviant act, the art of not drawing attention to oneself, the mastery of the technical wherewithal to acquire the object, the skill involved in getting out of the store unnoticed. The many ordinary interactions are made extraordinary by the omission of the one; payment. Sometimes the object itself comes to life, acquiring an almost magical and magnetic power, pulling the shoplifter towards it; "a *conventional object...becomes fascinating, seductively drawing the would-be shoplifter to it, only and just because she is playing with imposing a deviant project on the world.*" (Katz, 1988: 58) Katz makes a number of interpretations. Firstly, those committing a criminal act like shoplifting or vandalism "tests one's ability to bound the authentic morality of the self from other's perceptions" (Katz, 1988: 66.)

The criminal learns that he can cross the boundaries into someone else's world, take what he wants and get away with it. In some ways, it can be seen as a game; there are two sides, there is always a winner and a loser. The **ludic** metaphor, as Katz terms it, is familiar from accounts of white-collar financial fraud, where offenders refer to their monetary gains as being unimportant except as a means of keeping score. There's a strong sexual theme to the commission of the crime: "*an element of seduction turning into irrational compulsion*" (Katz, 1988: 71) heightened by the rush of excitement at the moment of the act and the climax of getting away with it. Finally there is the powerful and liberating knowledge that one has successfully violated and transcended moral constraint.

Katz's phenomenological analysis is portable across a wide range of deviant behaviours, across gender, social class and race.

"The excitement, you know, that's the part I like: I'm not the sort goes round shooting at random anyone I see. All of my killings they've all had a purpose... Firstly, I don't have to justify myself, there's no need. I guess the way I'd put it would be to say it's like we are at war, me and society I mean. I see myself as a law enforcement officer: only my laws, not yours...I've chosen [a way] which I thoroughly enjoy; it's plotting and scheming and working out a strategy, then putting it into action and seeing if it works...I've been successful a hundred times more often than I've ever been caught for, that's certainly a fact. We're cleverer than we're given credit for, people like me, we certainly are." (Parker 1999: 90)

Another of Tony Parker's interview subjects describes the search for artistic creativity in a more sedate and conventional setting, which hints at the likely script in high-stakes white-collar crime.

"It must be a job with a certain amount of standing and prestige... in addition it must provide me with the opportunity to exercise my brains and ingenuity so that I can consistently fiddle for myself another two or three pounds a week on top of my salary...I want to be able to give expression to this little bent I have, this little quirk or twist that gives me the satisfaction of knowing that just in a minor and unimportant way I'm being cleverer than the accountants or the auditors. This is what gives spice to life as far as I'm concerned." (Parker, 1999)

According to Jock Young (1989) modern criminology changed from the early classical view to a positivism one in the mid 19th century when there was a shift of thinking from 'free will'. So crime was considered a voluntary action based upon rational calculation. Individuals commit crime when they see that the benefits far out weigh the costs or potential costs. Positivism is where individuals commit crimes due to factors beyond their control. It is often said that unemployment, which is beyond many peoples capabilities, is the cause of crime.

Crime and unemployment

Many studies have sought to link crime with unemployment. Farrington et al (1986: 335-336) found that property crime was more likely during periods of unemployment and Dickinson (1993) established a correlation between unemployment rates of young

males and domestic burglary committed by the same age group but Orme (1994) in an analysis of increasing rates of unemployment and recorded crime at police force level found no significant relationship. Will Hutton (1995) reckoned that 40% of the population is in secure employment, 30% in insecure employment and 30% are marginalized, idle or working for poverty wages.

12.   ETHICS

Carsons et al (1995: 44) define ethics as a branch of moral philosophy that deals with moral judgments, standards and rules of conduct. It is essentially based on an individual's perception of what is right or wrong. There are several areas of ethics, which need to be considered; personal ethics and business ethics. Timmons (1999: 312) mentions in a Harvard Business School survey there was a general consensus that "*ethical behaviour is at the core of long-term business success, because it provides the glue that binds enduring successful business and personal relationships together.*"

In the business arena it is an area where the boundaries for one reason or another, such as anomie, have become fuzzy for the entrepreneur who has become desperate due to previous erroneous decisions. Many entrepreneurs such as Carnegie regret their unethical stance when they have accumulated considerable wealth (Timmons, 1999: 309). For others it's when they start to lose their fortunes that their unethical character reveals itself. Robert Maxwell made the decision to defraud £500 million from Maxwell Communications Pension Fund to stave of a potential £2 billion bankruptcy caused by errors of judgement he made with the Mirror Group Newspapers.

"Human reason is by its nature architectonic."

(Kant, *Critique of Pure Reason*, p.502 in Heidegger (1962:161)

13.   DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSION

A broad range of literatures have been researched in order conceptualise the nature of the criminal entrepreneur. This journey into the murky areas of entrepreneurship has been one which looked at the thoughts of philosophers in regard to entrepreneurs and criminals. Initially the author was convinced that all we needed to do was to find common traits in both the legitimate entrepreneur and in the criminal entrepreneur (or

some congruence between the two) but the literature has thrown up many interesting areas for future research. Not least is the one of ethics. Philosophers of old would have no truck with business. Modern business is finding it difficult to tread a straight path and many of the leaders of business are causing a blurring of what is morally right or wrong. Gartner (1985: 700) asserted that entrepreneurs "*do not operate in a vacuum*" so it is with legitimate entrepreneurs and criminal entrepreneurs. They both respond to their environments, and they are a result of them, only they behave differently in the way that they carryout their business activities. Criminal entrepreneurs take short cuts but so do our lawful entrepreneurs; both are only reacting to market demand.

"Within serious-crime groups violence replaces the bureaucracy of normative capitalist market economics" surmises Hobbs (1995:121). But that was ten years ago. Criminal entrepreneurship has moved on a pace. During the last ten years criminal entrepreneurs have had the benefit of new technologies and being able to work in the global village (an expression first coined by the Canadian, Marshall McLuhan (1962) his book *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man.*) McLuhan argued that electronic technology was shrinking the planet and that "*Time has ceased and space has vanished*". Regardless of all this new technology, street crime still exists, of course, but this is mainly unplanned and opportunistic or it's the sharp end where the drug dealers transact their business with their customers. Professional criminal entrepreneurs are generally much shrewder than the criminals on the street and have more highly developed business skills which if unchecked threaten the very foundations of our banking infrastructure and economy.

This study has been about looking at the entrepreneur in the shadows. Bolton and Thompson (2004: 231-254) looked at entrepreneurs in the shadows, devoting almost 5 pages to the topic but the commentary doesn't even scratch the surface. However they say that "*the more we consider aspects of criminal behaviour, the more we see evidence of the entrepreneur character themes in some for*m" (ibid: 250). Unfortunately their study concentrates on entrepreneurs who turn bad rather than criminals who mend their ways except for George Reynolds who built up a £250 million chip board manufacturing company from nothing (ibid: 253), bought a football club and finished up (three decades later) back in prison for income tax evasion. They talk about serious criminals often being fearless, representing the extreme form of courage, part of their '*ego facet*' (ibid: 250).

Entrepreneurial imagination or vision produces a calculable opportunity - but it is calculable only in a stable environment. Without a stable environment, legitimate entrepreneurs will not act. The state of equilibrium which is the end-result of Kirzner's process is the starting-point for Schumpeter's. However criminal entrepreneurs step in and seize the opportunity regardless.

Schumpeter's attitude was that if we want progress the creative entrepreneurs are needed by Society. As a consequence of the entrepreneur's activities some people will be worse off while many more people gain. Entrepreneurs can be thought of as the 'heroes' of Schumpeter's economic scenario and it is well known that heroes are more often than not allowed much greater latitude than ordinary folk.

Hobbs (1995: 09), in his admirable ethnographical study, *Bad Business*, makes the point that, after becoming established, criminal entrepreneurs often seek to invest in legitimate businesses or take on a more socially acceptable occupation. Ironically, from working within an illegal framework, having no formal regulations, the successful criminal entrepreneur after he has created his ill-gotten wealth now seeks to work within a rigid regulatory framework, where presumably they will have the respect of Society.

The skills of the criminal entrepreneur need to be harnessed and put to better use in Society; offenders serving custodial sentences should be given greater access to facilities for learning the skills necessary for running a legitimate business.

This literature review has thrown up many interesting areas for research and it is proposed that the next stage is to investigate the 'sensemaking' of criminal entrepreneurs in the ethnographic study required in Document 3.

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NOTTINGHAM BUSINESS SCHOOL

Research Methodology

&

Non-Survey Based Research

The Entrepreneurial Capacity of Offenders

Document 3

By

John Haggerstone

CONTENTS

1. ABSTRACT

Crime is big business. In the UK the total cost of crime in 2003-04 was over £56 billion. The boundaries between legitimate and illegal activities are becoming blurred. Although some criminal activities will never be considered legal the actions of some criminals are entrepreneurial and persistent offenders often behave as career criminals.

This initial interpretivist piece of research or ethnographic study is based on a selection of interviews of criminal entrepreneurs, who were at the time of the interview serving time in a category C all male prison, HMP The Mount, and two legitimate entrepreneurs of a similar age. The study attempts to make sense of the reasons why some take the illegal route rather than the legal one.

The offenders who were chosen as case studies were all willing participants who had expressed an interest in participating in this study after pursuing or whilst attending an OCR accredited twelve week full-time self-employment business skills course in the prison. They all completed the course and achieved NVQ Level 3. Those selected considered themselves to have some entrepreneurial spirit and aspired to become legitimate entrepreneurs.

This study looks at ten case studies including a fraudster, an opportunistic thief, an armed robber/burglar, a burglar turned arsonist, two drug dealers, a shoplifter/ robber, an entrepreneur turned drugs courier and two legitimate entrepreneurs. It attempts to find commonality and identify and compare the entrepreneurial cognition of career criminals and two legitimate entrepreneurs who have both developed web based companies.

Some interesting features were discerned which have wider implications for the study of business ethics and risk taking.

2. INTRODUCTION

Why do some people commit crimes in order to create wealth or income whereas other set up legitimate businesses? What sense do they make of their world? Are they entrepreneurial? If so how can this entrepreneurial spirit be put to good use? Can a drug dealer or VAT 'carousel[10]' fraudster be regarded as a business man? Can their skills be channelled into different but legitimate activities and how? These are some of the many questions that need answering if we are to educate incarcerated offenders and release them back into to community as useful citizens.

This study has been stimulated by Katz's (1988) pioneering effort to apply a phenomenological perspective to the study of criminal conduct. Katz focused his attention on the experiential "foreground" of crime, where criminals are embedded in the sensual immediacy of the criminal act. In contrast to earlier criminological theories, which assume a criminal disposition, rooted in assessments of material gain or other forms of goal attainment, Katz posits that the attraction of crime has more to do with the intrinsic rewards of the experience. Many criminal acts involve "sensual dynamics" that give the experience a deeply passionate, magical character. Katz's qualitative data indicates that criminal events are often experienced as transcendent realities that contrast markedly with the experiential patterns of everyday social life; in a similar way to extreme sports which are greatly increasing in popularity.

To investigate the entrepreneurial capacity of offenders it is necessary to understand their behaviour and decision making processes and make comparisons with those of legitimate entrepreneurs. Why do some entrepreneurial people take the criminal route rather than the legitimate one? Indeed why are some people and not others able to discover and exploit

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[10] *VAT Missing Trader Fraud or 'Carousel' fraud involves importing goods into the UK from the EU that are correctly zero-rated for VAT. The goods are then sold on through a series of companies in the UK, all liable to VAT at the standard rate, before being exported back to the EU. In this particular fraud the goods were exported back to the original supplier. The company importing the goods incurs a considerable VAT debt as it has to account for VAT charged on the sales. It has no VAT repayment claim as the goods were zero-rated on import. In a fraud of this type this initial 'link' in the chain 'goes missing' and never accounts for the VAT due.*

entrepreneurial opportunities. What is the mechanism that causes potential legitimate entrepreneurs to take one route and not another? This is the start of an exploratory journey in the search for the entrepreneurial spirit among those who have strayed from the straight and narrow.

Entrepreneurs are not born. . . they become through the experiences of their lives. (Albert Shapero, 1982)

Some scholars find the term entrepreneurship a contentious and problematic one but the author prefers to view it as a process which identifies a new business opportunity and then creates and manages the business based on it. (*So an entrepreneur in this context is an individual who has set up and managed their own business.*)

As figure 1 shows, Bolton and Thomson (2004: 87) perceive the entrepreneur as one who sees and activates an opportunity. They spot a gap in the market and grasping the opportunity they fill it by project championing it. If this process is the same regardless of whether the business is legitimate or illegal, and there is no reason to suppose otherwise then one of the ways in which we could investigate the offenders is to see if this is a pattern which they follow.
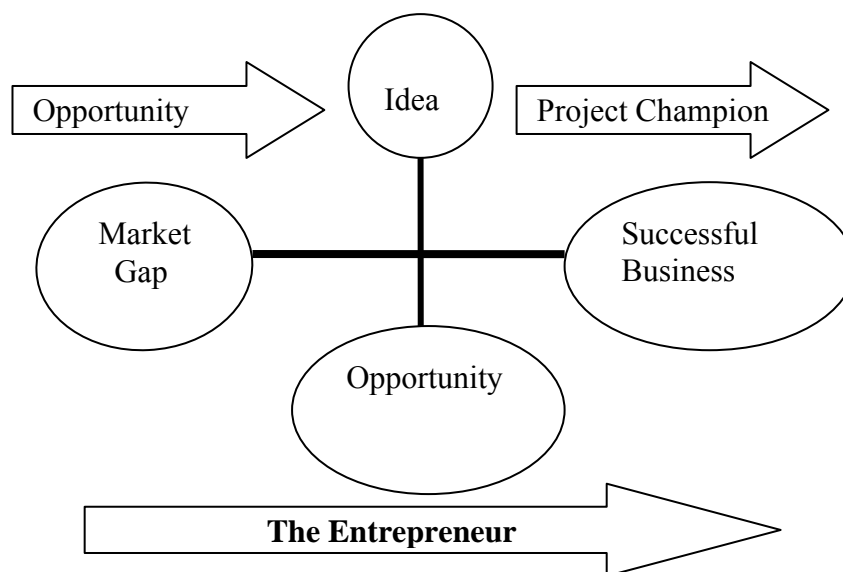
Figure 1 The entrepreneur; the opportunity spotter and the project champion

There are three dominant theoretical perspectives to entrepreneurship, namely those focusing on economic, personality and behavioural aspects which were identified by Stevenson and Sahlman (1989). Most researchers investigating entrepreneurs and entrepreneurship choose to look at only one perspective however this piece of interpretive research takes a more holistic view. This study attempts to investigate how career criminals see the world and then compares them with a small sample of legitimate entrepreneurs.

The relationship between human behaviour and society has philosophical implications for both entrepreneurship and criminology and this preliminary work is aimed at teasing out those implications.

"As unattractive morally as crime may be, we must appreciate that there is genuine experiential creativity in it as well. We should then be able to see what the authentic attractions of crime are, for the subject, and we should be able to explain variations in criminality beyond what can be accounted for by background factors". Jack Katz (1988 : 8)

It could be realistically expected that those offenders with the most entrepreneurial spirit would take the lead in organised crime. In the UK, the main sectors of organized crime usually cover serious fraud, drug dealing and people smuggling. Examples of the first two are covered but not the latter.

At HMP The Mount, a category C all male prison, which holds about 700 prisoners, a selection of offenders who considered themselves to have been career criminals[11] or criminal entrepreneurs were interviewed and asked to tell their life story. This study includes a fraudster, an opportunistic thief, an armed robber/burglar, a burglar turned arsonist, two drug dealers and a shoplifter turned robber. Apart from the fraudster, who was a graduate, all of the other offenders had received a less than satisfactory education and none of them had a legitimate skilled occupation.

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[11] *As they were persistent offenders in their chosen field they could appropriately be referred to as career criminals.*

> *Crime, in many ways, is a Coney Island mirror, caricaturing the morals and manners of a society. Johnston et al* (1962:214)

The research questions

The main research question asks why some people make crime their business while others develop their own legitimate business. It sets out to discover why some entrepreneurs take the illegal route to increased wealth or income rather than the legitimate one and attempts to make sense of it.

- How do persistent property crime or economic offenders[12] see themselves and the world around them?
- How do they learn their 'art' or 'skills'?
- Are there any lessons to be learned for amending the education of offenders in prison? Might courses on entrepreneurship be particularly appropriate?
- How do the entrepreneurial qualities of offenders match up with those of the legitimate entrepreneur?
- What are the causal links?

The key concepts identified in Document 2 are set out in Figure 1.

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[12] *An economic offender in this context is considered to be a perpetrator of fraud or white collar crime.*

Conceptual framework

Life history,
behaviour,
traits, family
background,
equity,
education

Society

**Deviant
Behaviour**

Psychology

ADHD

Dyslexia

Economics

**Dynamic
Market
Forces**

Business
Ethics

Hedonism

**Economic or
Property
Crime**

Biology

**Entrepreneurship
and enterprise
culture**
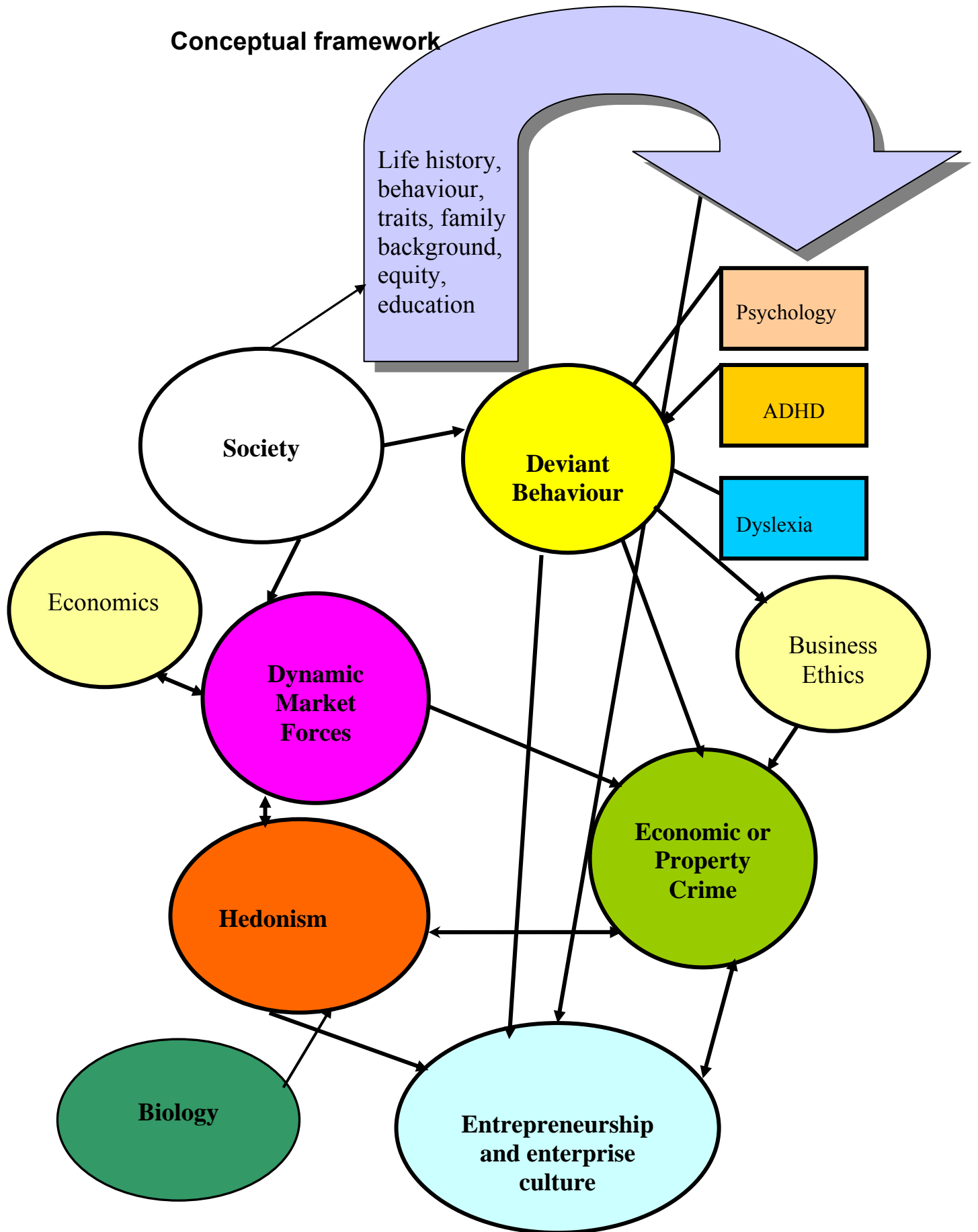
Figure 2   The initial conceptual framework

3.   METHODOLOGY

Qualitative research is neither prescriptive nor crystal-clear. While it provides significant data about groups or cultures and prompts new research questions, narrative studies do not attempt to answer questions, nor are they predictive of future behaviours.   Ideally, theory should emerge from study rather than function as a starting point and ethnographic or other qualitative methods can be used to develop "grounded theory". Glaser and Strauss (1967: 17-18) in their landmark grounding theory commented on the "*purposes and capacities of qualitative and quantitative methods*" as follows: "*We believe that each form of data is useful for both verification and generation of theory, whatever the primacy of emphasis. Primacy depends only on the circumstances of research, on the interests and training of the researcher, and on the kinds of material he needs for his theory.*" They also said: "*In many instances, both forms of data are necessary - not quantitative used to test qualitative, but both used as supplements, as mutual verification, and, most important for us, as different forms of data on the same subject, which, when compared, will each generate different theory*"

The main methodology used in this qualitative study is ethnography which, according to Potter (1996:51), is focused on exploring 'how communities are created and held together with human interactions'. Ethnographers seek to document the knowledge and belief systems that contribute to coherence of the group. Our group is composed of the career criminals (persistent property crime or economic offenders).   Van Maanen (1988: 3) defined ethnography as the search for culture where "culture refers to the knowledge that members ('natives') of a given group are thought to more or less share; knowledge of the sort that is said to inform, embed, shape, and account for the routine activities of the members of the culture".

Ethnographic research

Ethnography is composed of two different words: 'ethno' which means 'folk' and 'graph' which derives from 'writing'. So ethnography refers to social scientific writing about particular folks Silverman (2001: 45).

As a strategy, qualitative inquiry can generate theory and should place emphasis on understanding the world from the perspective of its participants. Social life is viewed as being the result of interaction and interpretations.

According to Bryman (1988) cited in Silverman (2001: 47) the qualitative researcher seeks to see things in context. This preliminary study began with some very general questions. In the words of Wolcott (1990: 32) to figure out:

"What is going on here? What do people in this setting have to know in order to do what they are doing? How are skills and attitudes transmitted and acquired, particularly in the absence of intentional efforts at instruction?"

Qualitative research is an empirical, socially located phenomenon, defined by its own history, not simply a residual grab-bag comprising all things that are 'not quantitative'. (Kirk and Miller, 1986: 10)

A data collector's first impressions can bias the collection. Too little data can lead to false assumptions about behaviour patterns and conversely, a large quantity of data may not be effectively processed.

Narrative inquiries do not lend themselves well to replication and may not be suitable for generalisation. Silverman (2001:248) suggested that generalizability is a 'standard aim in quantitative research and is normally achieved by statistical sampling procedures' which are unavailable in qualitative research." It is for this reason purposive sampling was used i.e. because the population for study was highly unique the interviewees were handpicked.

However, a major problem here could be one of reliability. Although ethnographies can be evaluated and variables compared to give reproducible explanations, this is the nearest that ethnographic research can be to being empirical in nature.

Ethnography lends itself to this study as it will involve collecting the life histories and thoughts of a range of criminal entrepreneurs. According to Atkinson and Hammersley (1994), ethnography has four core features: firstly, it is inductive, being based more on experience, rather than deductive (where it would be developed from logical reasoning) and secondly the data are open to many interpretations and are not collected in a closed set of analytical categories. Thirdly, the investigation is concentrated on a relatively small number of cases. And fourthly, the analysis is a lucid interpretation of meanings of language and human actions.

Van Maanen (1988:4) asserted that ethnographies "posed questions at the margins between two cultures. They essentially decode one culture while recoding it for another" and Vidich and Lyman (1994:25) placed ethnography within a "sub discipline of descriptive anthropology; the science devoted to describing ways of life of humankind" and Wolcott (1982) defined ethnography simply as a 'cultural interpretation'. So it would seem that defining the term has been controversial: for some scholars. Some consider it is a philosophical paradigm to which one makes a total commitment, but to others it merely refers to a particular method of gathering data that is useful in certain situations (Atkinson & Hammersley, 1994).

Within ethnography the main approach to be tackled here is that of the interview. Interviewing male prisoners is not always easy to do as one might imagine. Essential to the process of interviewing is the need by the interviewer to establish a rapport with the interviewee to gain their confidence and respect. This is particularly crucial in the context of interviewing prisoners as incarcerated people are generally suspicious and often dwell on conspiracy theories. They may still have something to hide or think that any information that they reveal may be used or held against them particularly related to crimes for which they have not previously 'held there hands up' to. Some prisoners dislike leaving a 'footprint' i.e. they want to leave the prison system with as little evidence as possible of their incarceration. Often the crime for which they are imprisoned is not the one from which they earned their living, a point made succinctly by Hobbs (1995:3). So gaining the prisoners confidence and respect was of paramount before and during the interviewing process.

Silverman (2001:87) describes three views of qualitative interview data:

	Status of data	Methodology
Positivism	Facts about behaviour and attitudes	Random samples Standard questions Tabulations
Emotionalism	Authentic experiences	Unstructured open ended interviews
Constructionism	Mutually constructed	Any interview treated as a topic

The methodology used in this study can best be described as the use of unstructured open ended interviews although occasionally as discussed later there was a need to vary this.

According to Guba and Lincoln (1998:201): the inquiry paradigm can be identified by answering the following three interrelated questions:

♦ the ontological question - what is the form and nature of reality, and what can be known about reality?

♦ the epistemological question - what is the nature of the relationship between the researcher and what can be known?

♦ the methodological question - how can the researcher find out what she/he believes can be known?

The first is difficult to answer what can be known about reality? The records of the offenders were checked to establish that they were telling the truth about the crime for which they were serving a custodial sentence and the length of the sentence. Obtaining details of their crimes was not possible from the database accessible to prison education department staff.

It was originally intended that this interpretive study would research criminal entrepreneurship through phenomenological interviews. Synonymous with

qualitative methods, phenomenology, which means the study of a phenomenon, is situated within a broader paradigm. Phenomenological interviews are intended to tease out the essence of human life experiences. Such phenomenological interviews should be open-ended so that they are free from any presupposition but this proved a difficult method to elicit information. Pawson and Tilley (1997: 157-159) posit that in an unstructured interview the subject's ideas and the subject matter of the investigation are one and the same thing and the subsequent analysis will consist of a descriptive narrative of the "key world-views". However the researcher will tend to be selective and attempt to fit fragments from the information into their own preferred explanatory framework.

During the pilot interview with Darren, an armed robber, it became apparent that in order to get the essence of the guy and his criminal activities it was necessary to intervene with some questions in order to keep on track with the underlying research questions and consequently a semi-structured interviewing approach was adopted for remainder of the interviews. Pawson and Tilley (1997: 156) considered "*that structured interviews impose the researcher's conceptual framework 'wholesale' upon the information flow and the subject's response is limited entirely to a set of operational fragments*". One of the interviewees chose to write his life story.

It was difficult for the interviewer to be a 'detached observer' (Sokolowski, 1999: 48) and consequently non-judgmental when compiling the findings. Since complete impartiality is impossible, this characteristic is a controversial aspect of qualitative research. Ideally, phenomenological inquiry requires that researchers go through a series of steps in which they try to eliminate their own assumptions and biases, examine the phenomenon without presuppositions, and describe the "deep structure" of the phenomenon based on internal themes that are discovered (Marshall & Rossman, 1995). Phenomenology overlaps with ethnography, but, as Bruyn (1970: 286), pointed out, some phenomenologists assert that they "*study symbolic meanings as they constitute themselves in human consciousness*".

Burrell and Morgan (1979: 22) highlighted the role of philosophies in research and formulated their four paradigms (1979: 322-324): functionalist, interpretive, radical humanist, and radical structuralist. Although these paradigms essentially informed researchers about the complexities of organisational enquiry, it also raised an awareness of the influence of research paradigms on the construction of knowledge. In their interpretive paradigm the approach to decision making emphasises the view that *"one can only understand the social world by obtaining firsthand knowledge of the subject under investigation"* (1979: 6). Similarly their radical humanistic paradigm approach believes in an individualistic view of reality while it transcends the conservative sociological status quo by identifying social patterns which limit individual expression and demonstration of full potential (1979: 32). From a radical structuralist point of view, society is characterised by fundamental conflicts which generate radical change through political and economic crises. It acknowledges the structured social world and it is through structural interrelationships that individual fulfilment and potential is achieved.

As we are essentially trying to make sense of the criminal entrepreneur, it seems appropriate to consider Weick's work (2001) albeit that his work was directed at organisational behaviour. Weick (2001: 7) explained that:
"Sensemaking is about such things as placement of items into frameworks, comprehending, redressing surprise, constructing meaning, interacting in pursuit of mutual understanding and patterning. It is not synonymous with interpretation or decision-making."
"People make sense of things by seeing a world in which they have already imposed what they believe" (ibid: 15).

According to Weick, the making of sense is a process that can be determined by seven characteristics of sensemaking (2001: 461-3):
1. Social context where sensemaking is influenced by the presence of others.
2. Personal identity: an individual's sense of who they are in a setting.
3. Retrospect: the perceived world is actually a "past world in the sense that they are visualised and seen before they are conceptualised."

4. Salient cues: sensemaking is about resourcefulness with which people elaborate tiny indicators into full-blown stories.

5. Ongoing projects: sensemaking is constrained by past events and the speed of the experience flow. When someone is thrown into a situation and forced to act without the benefit of a 'stable sense of what is happening'.

6. Plausibility: to make sense is to answer the question "What's the story here?"

7. Enactment: action is "the means to gain some sense of what one is up against."

Three simple questions will structure the discussion. They are: (1) who commits serial property or economic crime; (2) why do they? (the etiological question) and (3) why do they reoffend? This study of career criminals constitutes part of an investigation into deviance[13] and it utilizes an ethnographic, phenomenological, and case study methodology.

The opportunity was taken to try several methods of enquiry i.e. recorded phenomenological interview, structured interview and written autobiography. Additional information was added from conversations which occurred over the course of the period of the interviews.

Sampling frame

A stratified purposeful sampling procedure was adopted. In the limited time available, this was felt to be the most effective way to get a spread of offenders who had persistently committed a range of property or economic crime type offences. Those who mainly committed violent or sex crimes were ignored for the purposes of this study as these are not crimes which could be considered entrepreneurial.

In criminological research, females appear to be the neglected gender. They were not included in this study as they account for a mere 6% of those individuals in custody countrywide and although they would have added an

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[13] *Behaviour which is considered to be unacceptable.*

interesting perspective they were excluded due to the logistical difficulty of gaining access to a female prison and not for any deliberate discriminatory reason. Very few females commit property or economic crimes; men are twenty times[14] more likely than women to commit burglary and seventeen times more likely to commit robbery. The majority of female offenders have been abused and are unemployed, mothers with alcohol and drug misuse problems[15]. They usually come from chaotic and unsupported conditions. Nonetheless, shoplifting is one of the few crimes where women almost equal men in number of convictions.

The male offenders interviewed had been incarcerated for the following offences:

Armed Robbery
Fraud or deception
Shoplifting
Drug dealing
Burglary
Opportunistic theft

Due to time constraints only eight offenders were interviewed. Time limits also impacted on the size of the sample of legitimate entrepreneurs; only two legitimate entrepreneurs were interviewed. They were matched in age with the offenders i.e. in their thirties and very enthusiastic over the businesses which they had set up. Both entrepreneurs could easily have secured positions in the corporate world but had chosen self-employment. The small sample is justified by the fact that there has been considerable literature on entrepreneurs over the last two decades and out token entrepreneurs were chosen to confirm some of the main points of the literature which are discussed elsewhere in this study.

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[14] *Lesley McMillan (2006)*
[15] *Scottish Home Office Report August 2006*

Some disadvantages of qualitative observational research

Given the nature of the study participant observation was not possible and ethically it is very unlikely that anyone could (realistically) study offenders going about their criminal activities. Although (Hobbs, 1995) spent some time researching a crime-rich community he didn't participate in criminal activity which would be the ultimate step.

In any qualitative enquiry, researcher bias can affect the design of the study and enter into the data collection. In the context of this particular study the following points are worthy of mention:

- In the natural sciences, according to the Heisenberg Uncertainty or Indeterminacy Principle, anything being studied cannot be accurately measured and is thus altered to some degree by the very presence of the researcher so consequently, any data collected is to some extent skewed.

- All offenders may not all be equally credible.
- The offenders may not give sufficient background information.
- The offenders may not be representative of the criminal population of at large and of the same type.
- The way in which the questions are formulated and the research was carried out are naturally based on the ontological view of the author so will have an affect on the data collected and its subsequent analysis.
- Considerable time was taken to build up trust with the participants in order to facilitate full and honest self-representation.

With such a relatively small sample a hard-core scientific approach to sampling discourse excerpts was not possible. However, according to Mitchell (1984), by using the alternative qualitative approach much can be learned about discourse from a detailed analysis of a single case, a small representative sample of cases, or a small non-representative sample of cases. A small representative sample of cases may be particularly illuminating when it has patterns of discourse that challenge existing discourse theories or unveil the intricacies of complex discourse mechanisms. In presenting these illustrative cases, the

author considers that these cases are truly illuminating from the standpoint of existing theory and research. The main difficulty the author found was to resist the temptation to oversimplify and assume that the conclusions apply to other discourse excerpts, genres, and registers. The ethnographic study undertaken here reveals a range of activities rooted in a common attraction to exploring the limits of human cognition and capacity in search of new possibilities of entrepreneurs. Criminal behaviour from the phenomenological and cultural studies perspectives throws up a substantive area where the themes of transcendence and resistance in risk taking are particularly prominent.

Analysis methods

Robson (2002: 459) considers that the 'central requirement in qualitative analysis is clear thinking on the part of the analyst'.

A range of methods for analysing the case studies and interviews was considered including the use of discourse analysis, Labov Method, QSR NU*DIST, NVIVO etc but due to the small sample size it was decided that content analysis was an appropriate method using coding and marginal notes.

This method would of course focus on the actual content of the words spoken at the interview and includes some facts gathered from within the prison database. It was expected that this (basically) phenomenological approach would place the author in a position to reflect on what the interviewee said and put it in an emotional context.

4.   ANALYSIS OF CASE STUDIES

MATRIX OF THE CASE STUDIES

Name	Offence	Ethnicity	GET Score	Why Crime?	Parents	Education	Became Homeless	Gambler	Drugs
Shafik	Fraud	Asian	39	To furnish lavish life style Adrenaline*	Own business	2.1 degree in BIS	X		
Victor	Opportunistic Thief	Asian	33	Want the good life Adrenaline	Accountant and nurse	Private school	X		
Darren	Armed Robber	White Br	39	To feed gambling, drug habit Adrenaline	Dysfunctional Violent step fathers	Left school early	√	√	√
Sean	Burglar	White Br	39	To survive To feed habits Adrenaline	Dysfunctional	Left school early	√	√	√
Oliver	Drug Dealer	Greek Cypriot	36	Loss of job		Little schooling		√	
Len	Shoplifter	White Br	39	To survive	Dysfunctional	Left school early	√		√
Robert	Drug Dealer	White Br	41	Instinctive Adrenaline	Dysfunctional	Left school early			√
Vaughn	Drug Courier	Nigerian		Duped?		Secondary school			
Mark	Entrepreneur	White Br	42	N/a		2:1 in English		√	
Jason	Entrepreneur	White Br	40	N/a	Own businesses	2:1 degree in Econ, MSc in IT			

* Refers to adrenaline rush or where offender gets a buzz committing a crime.

Analysing the narratives

The matrix summarises some of the important points derived from the narratives.

Anastas (1999: 413) used the term "narrative" "*not on the linguistic structure of the materials themselves but rather on their conten*t". The term narrative analysis generally refers to interpreting a story "historically and culturally … and/or examining how they are composed structurally" (Reissman 1994:69 cited in Anastas, 1999: 413). However, most analyses of narrative data in social work and human service research is aimed at summarizing and describing the meanings, the substantive content, of the text in question (Boyatzis 1998 cited in Anastas (ibid).

All of the offenders interviewed completed Caird's (1988) 'General Enterprise Tendency Test'. The results of these will be analysed in comparison with over three hundred additional individuals, in depth in Document 4. The test looks at five entrepreneurial traits with a maximum score of 54 and all of interviewees scored higher than the mean. (*This will be discussed in greater detail in Document 4*).

The fraudster

Shafik had a high GET score of 39 showing strong entrepreneurial qualities. He had a settled life in a good hard-working family until he took up his criminal activities which centred mainly on credit card fraud. An intelligent, confident 24 year old with a degree in Business Information Systems, he is driven by money and could quite easily have set up his own business but he wanted to make a lot of money in a short time to help him sustain a good quality lifestyle and to start a legitimate business venture.

Shafik considers his crime to be a white collar one and seemed to be relieved that he managed to get away with some of his crimes. Shafik spent several months as a classroom assistant in the prison after completing the self-employed business skills course at NVQ Level 3. His people skills and information technology skills were very much in evidence. He talked with some

pride about his offences and how he drove up and down the motorways of the south-east in prestige cars considering himself very much the business man. He was extremely lucky in that some earlier felonies had gone undetected. Although he liked to talk about his fraud as a business he was reluctant to give away too much information on his methods.

There is no doubt Shafik has strong entrepreneurial skills. He spotted opportunities, looked for gaps in an illegal market (credit card fraud), project championed them and turned them into successful businesses albeit illegal ones.

The opportunistic thief

Aged 35 years, Victor was brought up by his parents who had immigrated to the UK from Uganda in 1972 when Idi Amin practiced ethnic cleansing by expelling Uganda's 50,000 Asians (mainly of Indian origin) giving them 90 days to leave the country. His parents were professional people who wanted the best for him and had worked hard to send him to a private school and although he had a good childhood he faced expulsion at the age of 16 but nevertheless he completed his exams.

Victor seems to have bypassed the usual route of starting a criminal career in petty crime and jumped straight into serious crime. He has never had gainful employment his life. Victor had the lowest GET score of our sample and by his own admission he didn't consider himself to be entrepreneurial. Very little planning went into his criminal activities – mainly be spur of the moment events. Victor seemed to just want a quick fix to the good life without working for it.

Like our fraudster, who was also of Asian origin, he had high expectations, which seemed unrealistic given his lack of workplace skills. .He was good at spotting opportunities but developing them and turning them into a business is more doubtful.

The armed robber/burglar

From a dysfunctional family where violence to his mother by several step fathers was very common, Darren was poorly educated due to his disruptive schooling. Darren appears to have suffered from sibling rivalry – this may be due to his poor school record although he did achieve a handful of GCSEs albeit at relatively low grades. Certainly Darren took full advantage of the education facilities during his current custodial sentence at HMP The Mount. His GET score of 39 would indicate some entrepreneurial potential. Darren did not have high expectations, no real desire for a large amount of wealth but he had turned to crime in order to feed his alcohol and drug abuse and his fruit machine addiction. Basically Darren was a desperate man who turned to crime because he had little option if he was to feed his gambling and drugs habit.

The burglar

The second most persistent of our offenders, Sean had a relatively high GET score of 39. He suffered from sibling rivalry as a child and considered his childhood to be a disadvantaged one.

Having a father with an occupation as a dustman caused him problems as a schoolchild and he probably played up to this by behaving as the classroom prankster as instanced by the episode of messing about with mercury and iron filings in the school laboratory. This was an example of how he probably 'played to the crowds' in order to (he thought, wisely or not) be accepted by his school chums. Again Darren is another example of our offenders leaving school early but still wanting to achieve as they went back to take their GCSEs. (This need for achievement is a strong thread running through the lives of our offenders).

Darren's criminal career started early in his life showing his entrepreneurial qualities at an early age – from ten years of age. He began by shoplifting and then sold the stolen goods to other schoolchildren and when he was 15 years old he started up his own car valeting business. Darren got a buzz out of

stealing cars and shoplifting. (The buzz is another strong theme with our offenders). Klemke (1992: 12) considered that shoplifting was a significant factor in the deviant repertoires of many adolescents, mostly delinquents, some adults, and certain deviant subcultures.

Progressing from shoplifting, Darren's crimes and gambling escalated when he got hooked on drugs and needed money to feed his new found habit. Darren appears to have been easily led, which is not a characteristic one would expect of an entrepreneur who is supposed to be an activator and to demonstrate some leadership skills rather than be a follower. Bolton & Thompson (2004:289) in their comparison of twelve 'life themes' for the entrepreneur and twenty for the leader found seven common to both i.e:

- activator
- profit orientation
- courage
- team
- individualised perception
- ego drive
- focus

Clearly Darren had some of these according to how some of them were defined. Unquestionably there is evidence of focus, ego drive and arguably courage.

The drug dealer (1)

Oliver was from a hard working but illiterate immigrant family. The first wave of immigrants into the USA, the home of entrepreneurship, consisted mainly of such immigrants. Due to labour-market disadvantages, such as discrimination, language barriers and job-information deprivation, immigrants both in the UK and the USA have historically had a greater tendency to turn to entrepreneurship. Oliver had been part of an organised crime group and was reluctant to give much away. His criminal record kept getting in the way of his progress in gainful employment so he eventually took to crime. First it was laundering dud travellers' cheques then Oliver got started in drugs by first purchasing Viagra tablets. When he realised that there was money to be made from selling these tablets he moved onto to selling 'E's and eventually to the

hard stuff hash, crack cocaine etc. Without doubt he has demonstrated some entrepreneurial skills. Oliver got involved with the 'big boys' and then lived the high life by going to night clubs and the best restaurants. His hobby was collecting good quality cigars and champagne.

The shoplifter/ robber

Len is our most persistent offender with 22 previous convictions of which 8 were custodial. Len started his criminal career as a burglar in a gang of youngsters. He has been in and out of prison most of his adult life and accepts prison as a necessary evil due to the lifestyle he leads. Most of his offences relate to shoplifting which tends to be predominately a largely female pseudo crime of compulsion. In Europe a different attitude is taken towards shoplifting. Like exceeding the speed limit, it is considered a 'technical offence' whereas in Anglophone cultures shoplifting is generally regarded as a 'moral' crime against society and as such is punished.

A father of four, he leads a totally irresponsible lifestyle but it's difficult to know whether or not he is like our entrepreneurial immigrant in that the latter turns to entrepreneurship because of social barriers. Len faces similar barriers albeit that he is not an immigrant. His barriers are a result of his long criminal record. Although during his times in custody he has made good use of the educational facilities achieving A Level Psychology and Mathematics it has not reduced his recidivism and he doesn't seem to have sought employment on release. In his own words, Len considers himself to be a 'smackhead' and sadly it is very difficult to see how he is ever going to get out of the loop that he is in.

The drug dealer (2)

This offender appears to be the dangerous one. Robert is a foxy character who comes from a very entrepreneurial family background. Certainly Robert has been moulded by the environment in which he lived and is a very shrewd guy. There is much evidence of the entrepreneurial spirit with Robert. He is the type of guy who could turn his hand to anything or talk his way into or out of a

situation. As Robert is serving a term of imprisonment for manslaughter and causing actual bodily harm I believe that he could easily turn violent. His childhood was a dysfunctional one in that there was a rift between him and his mother which lasted well into adulthood. However to his credit, during his time in prison, Robert has made some admirable academic achievements. (*Again we see that need for achievement which is allegedly a characteristic of entrepreneurs*). A creative individual, Robert has a distinctive need for independence and has a high internal locus of control - traits considered important in a successful entrepreneur (Caird, 1988).

The entrepreneur turned criminal (drugs courier)

Sometimes for one reason or another, successful entrepreneurs find the need to take a route which is not a legitimate one or in order to help them get through a cash flow problem. Vaughn is such a man.

Vaughn chose to write this autobiography rather than be interviewed. Some details have been omitted in order to maintain his anonymity.

Unlike the other offenders, Vaughn does not admit his guilt – a fairly common situation in prison. Coming from a poor African background Vaughn had a very strong need for academic achievement and also built up a relatively substantial business. He is very focused and task oriented. Vaughn claims that he was duped into carrying a package, which was found to contain drugs Customs.

A legitimate entrepreneur (I)

Mark had a difficult and disadvantaged childhood. He didn't enjoy school as he was bullied. He had a very strong need for achievement and for autonomy. After leaving school and working in several jobs Mark went back to college and university full-time subsequently obtaining a degree in English. He has a very strong need for independence and his internal locus of control shows that he needs to be in control of his own destiny. A creative individual, Mark is an avid reader and writer. He previously worked for a publishing company at the same

time as he was building up his own company. His strong need for achievement is demonstrated by the way in which he obtained his degree after leaving school and working until he could go to university. He gave up a well paid job in the publishing world in order to concentrate on his business. There is some demonstration of the calculated risk taker in this action, another attribute of a successful entrepreneur. During his teenage years he had a period when he gambled on fruit machines but unlike the offenders interviewed he didn't let this take control of his life. His childhood was dysfunctional to a certain extent but he won through.

Mark has the outlook of a social entrepreneur. He feels that his business should benefit society. (Ironically, in conversations with numerous entrepreneurial offenders over the years many have mentioned the need to put something back into society.)

A legitimate entrepreneur (II)

Another well educated entrepreneur, Jason comes from a very strong entrepreneurial family. His mother and father have both run their own businesses for many years i.e. since Jason was a child. Jason started his own internet business on a shoestring and claims he is not a risk taker. His previous business experience was an IT manager where he got used to working long and unsociable hours.

5.   FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

Interviewing the offenders was not an easy process. It was difficult to find a room where there were no interruptions or external noise and the interviews had to take place during normal education sessions. Locating suitable candidates was also difficult and ultimately the offenders who accepted the invitation to be a case study were all known to the author. This had the added benefit that there was no need to build up trust as it was already there. However, there could be

hint that the interviewees were trying to impress albeit they were not fully familiar with the purpose of the project.

Methodological constraints necessarily impacted on the data. A chance combination of opportunities or choices rather than commonality appears to be the mechanism. Events are triggered to give the opportunities for choice but with a lack of moral reasoning the offender appears to behave impetuously or irrationally for quick gain.

Earlier in this document, the difficulty with generalising was mentioned but some of the similarities between the entrepreneur and the property crime offender are not easy to ignore.

Entrepreneur v property crime or economic offender

Entrepreneurs are people who initiate and manage enterprising new ventures; they recognise opportunities and take risks. In initiating business opportunities they need to be creative and the outcome is that they seek monetary rewards. Thus there are obvious parallels with our property crime offenders.

In the '*Dark side of Entrepreneurship*', Kets de Vries (1985) developed his '*psychodynamic forces*' paradigm which mirrors these findings of the offender. The expulsion of several of our offenders from school reinforces the feeling of rejection by society. The entrepreneur is often guilt ridden, suffers from identity confusion, and feels angry, hostile, with problems related to authority. This non-acceptance of social behaviour sounds very like our property crime offenders.

Apart from fraudsters (and presumably white collar criminals) our offenders have all suffered from some form of social exclusion which is generally linked with poverty, where they have labelled and stuck in an underclass cut off from mainstream society. The common theme with our offenders is that of membership, during the formative childhood years, of the dysfunctional family and the occurrence of violence. Another trend is that of the youth being expelled from school and then the family home at the age of around fifteen with consequent homelessness. Then the shift into petty crime, car crime, drugs and gambling and ultimately into more serious crime involving the use of weapons occurs. A recent document by the Government sponsored organisation,

Drugscope[16], claims that there is no persuasive evidence of any causal linkage between drug use and property crime for the vast majority of this group.

The gambling on fruit machines shows that there is now the germination of the focus on acquiring money and the need for instant gratification. Certainly there was some indication of hedonism from both Victor and Shafik. Hedonism is about meeting one's own needs regardless of the needs of others and fits in with stage 2 of level one of Kohlberg's (1984) six phases of the development of moral reasoning i.e. the self-interest orientation of the Pre-Conventional level. It could be reasonably argued that most criminals should be at this stage in their moral development albeit that their moral reasoning may operate at a higher level. Without doubt most people who work with offenders in prison education recognise that they commonly display a 'me first' attitude.

Palmer and Hilling (1998) compared moral reasoning between male delinquents and male and female non-delinquents. 126 convicted offenders in a Young Offenders Institution, 122 male and 210 female non-offenders. They were aged 13-22 years old. All participants were given a Socio-Moral Reflection Measure test, which contained 11 moral dilemma related questions. The delinquent group showed less mature moral reasoning than the non-delinquent group. Another factor which is evident is that of egocentricity and the possession of distorted values or cognitive reasoning. Certainly entrepreneurs have long been associated with being egotistical, which the offenders studied also seemed to be, but with the latter thinking tends to be rather rigid (or narrow minded) and unlike the entrepreneur the property offender is unable to see the bigger picture. It would be good to think that prison education like any other education might rectify this. The underlying concern brought about by the words of Sutherland and Cressy, in their Principles of Criminology (1970: 68), that there is a real danger that the study of inmates may simply produce studies of inmates has been discounted in this study as it does not involve observing the prisoners but rather gauges their thoughts.

Burkitt (1991: 152-5) posited that the foundations of social self are formed long before children develop linguistic competence, their fundamental dispositions

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[16] See Appendix 3 Document by Drugscope, 2002.

and inclinations being formed by the child through non-verbal interactions with their parents or others who cared for them. So this has a subconscious influence on the individual's future behaviour. However, Hogg and Abraham (1988: 152-5) claim that the social identity of an individual is due in great part to the social category to which they belong. Since "individuals belong to many different social categories" this gives them a range of repertoires of many different identities that makes them "unique".

Economists and others encourage the immigration of people from other cultures because they usually bring with them good work ethics and fresh innovation. Our fraudster and one of the drug dealers belong to this category. This is the breeding ground of risk takers, the disadvantaged and the entrepreneur. An entrepreneurial spirit seems to flourish among these people.

The entrepreneurial parent was evident in the case of some of our individuals. Bolton & Thompson (2004:24-25) considered that although family factors can be important, they are not deciding factors. The family can be a powerful factor in that it can help to mould the entrepreneur, providing some of the attitudes and perceptions required to become successful. Presumably the same can be said for the criminal entrepreneur.

Moral reasoning

One of the factors that seemed to be missing with our offenders during the execution of their crimes is that of moral reasoning. It is a basic proposition that all human behaviour - in contrast with the behaviour of other living things - can be evaluated from a moral perspective, but this statement can not be validated, and modern economists, whatever they believed in other areas, do not generally accept this as true. Richards, Berk and Forster (1979) developed a theoretical framework that looked at delinquency from micro-economic principles of decision making and as a meaningful type of leisure activity,

In Wilson's (1978) view, moral reasoning is mainly the territory of the scholar or the "intellectual" rather than the "ordinary" person, whose natural, commonsense moral views are based, to a much greater extent, on emotions.

This contrast between scholars and ordinary persons is revealing of Wilson's general position. He states that "science has challenged common sense" [viii], resulting in some people "talking" themselves out of the moral sense most of us possess. Argumentation, justification, and intellectual analyses, for the most part, do not stand us well in the moral realm. Instead, it is our feelings that matter.

In fact, when people act fairly or sympathetically it is rarely because they have engaged in much systematic reasoning. Much of the time our inclinations are towards fair play or our world. How this decision-making process sometimes facilitates approval of cultural and social norms, and at other times it leads to their transcendence is sometimes difficult to figure out.

Morality is a genuinely human, social and cultural fact according to Wilson (1978) and Dawkins (1983) who put forward the socio-biological argument that some moral 'tendencies' or altruistic feelings may be advantageous to the survival of the species but (Etzioni, 1988) suggested that on a more complex level morality is probably culturally induced.

Unfortunately this study did not get to the depths to fully understand the ambiguous decision making process of the offenders. According to Maddi (1997) in Prem (1998: 4) to fully understand the pivotal meaning-creating role of decision making requires grounding this process in a complete theory of personality.

6. CONCLUSIONS AND THEMES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

Since the interviewees were known to the interviewer over a period of three months it was relatively easy to have a relaxed discussion with them and they were keen to help with the study, although using life histories as a source of data may be rather doubtful as offenders by their very character are not always truthful and will probably tend to present themselves in a slightly better light. Ideally ethnography is used to attempt to understand the culture from a 'native' perspective but given the topic being investigated, which was essentially criminal entrepreneurship, this proved difficult due to the unconscious ethnocentric prejudices of the author. It proved exceptionally hard not to impose these on the analysis of the case studies being reviewed. Looking 'beyond the '*ethnographic dazzle*[17]' of superficial differences in this initial qualitative study was complicated and is an area that needs to be developed. It can be likened to geomorphology where one can look in awe at the surface features of the landscape but determining the underlying infrastructures and mechanisms which caused the land forms to be how they are needs deeper exploration.

So it is with our offenders and entrepreneurs. As reported in Document 2, Kets de Vries (1977: 34-57) had a sociological view of entrepreneurs. He saw them as the product of their upbringing; creative rebels with a cause (Birley and Muzyka, 2000: 5). Unusual and unacceptable behaviour is often exhibited by entrepreneurs as well as criminals and both groups are often seen as social misfits. His entrepreneur emerges as a social misfit or a deviant personality, who has low self-esteem, is angry, resents authority, and is rebellious, insecure and unable to work in a structured environment. These 'deviants' are often the product of an unhappy family life or due to the frustrations caused by problems such as Dyslexia or Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD.) There was little evidence of dyslexia or ADHD in the case studies but may be these were problems encountered in their early childhood. Certainly the offenders researched here had been marginalised by society and could be branded as deviants but it is very doubtful that our two token legitimate entrepreneurs would be happy with this label!

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[17] *Ethnographic dazzle was an expression first coined by Robin Fox, the Anthropologist. It means blindness to underlying similarities between human groups and cultures because one is dazzled by superficial features.*

Sutherland and Cressey (1970) cited in the ethnographic study of professional criminals by Hobbs (1995: 3) suggested that if criminals are studied when they are no longer active, there is a real danger that the study of, for instance, the inmates of prisons may merely produce studies of prison inmates. Within the time constraints of this study it was not possible to investigate the personal and social situations of professional criminals in their normal environmental contexts. As Hobbs (1995: 3) mentions often the most serious criminals are not incarcerated for their principal occupation but for some other criminal activity. This happened in the case of both Robert and Sean. The first was a drug dealer who was imprisoned for manslaughter and the latter who was a burglar foolishly tried to cover his tracks by committing arson and then there was Len who was an habitual shoplifter but he was incarcerated for robbery, which is theft involving force, violence or the threat of violence. Robbery is the only crime that is both property crime and a crime of violence.

Katz (1988), in his seminal work *Seductions of Crime*, built on Matza (1961) and indicated the seductive qualities of engaging in deviance. He argued for the "foreground factors" (as opposed to "background factors") to crime - the moral, sensual, and emotional. In his explanation of the "badass, " "street elites, " and "righteous slaughterer, " it is escalating humiliation that leads to a state of "moral transcendence" whereby momentarily the subject becomes object, driven by a morality that seemingly provides an understandable explanation for his act. For righteous slaughter, this humiliation leads to rage, the very state in which the subject acts out in a violent episode.

What appears to draw individuals to dangerous criminal risk taking activities seems to be the intensely seductive character of the experience itself, the buzz; the adrenaline rush. Several interviewees mentioned this. No doubt spurred on by the current craze for extreme sports, Lyng (2004) produced a landmark study on the sociology of risk taking. According to Lyng (2004: 3) the gonzo[18] journalist Hunter S. Thompson first coined the word *'edgework'* to mean the

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[18] *According to the encyclopedia Wikipedia, **Gonzo** is a style of reportage, film making, or any form of multimedia production in which the reporter, filmmaker or creator is intrinsically enmeshed with the subject action (rather than being a passive observer).*

sociology of risk taking. Lyng (ibid: 5) posits that empirical studies of risk taking activities support the view that '*edgework'* serves as a vehicle of escape from social conditions that produce stunted identities and offer few opportunities for personal transformation and character development. It could be that for some offenders their criminal activities are merely their cheap, but sometimes violent, substitute for 'extreme sports' activities rather than a presupposed desperate need for cash in order to satisfy Maslow's (1954) well known humanistic basic physiological needs.
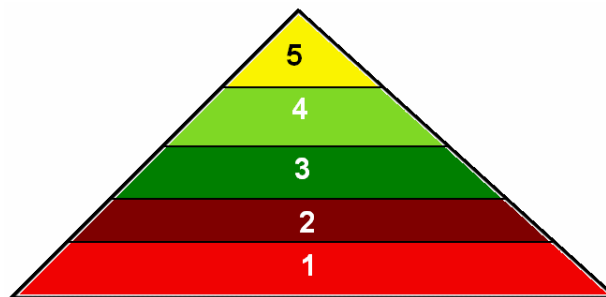
Figure 1   *Maslow's hierarchy of needs:*

1. Physiological (biological needs)
2. Safety
3. Love/Belonging
4. Status (Esteem)
5. Self-actualization

Maslow's model is useful in identifying individuals stuck on the lower levels of motivation; because of insecurity or traumas in their early life they are unable to focus on higher levels and the inhibited motivation leads to problems which may cause them to take to a life of crime. The '*physiological needs*' cover the desperate actions required to get the money to live on and '*safety*' the need to feel secure from prosecution. The need for '*love or to belong*' is probably the reason why they usually belong to 'tribes' or groups of people who commit crime – none of the offenders interviewed operated alone. The '*status*' level comes in when the career criminal 'graduates' to organised or more violent crime.

Committing property crime, fraud or drug dealing seems to be centred on achieving a balance of risk and perceived reward. Ask almost anyone and they will say that greed motivates this type of criminal. Katz (1988) would say that petty thieves like Victor (the opportunist thief) or Len (the shoplifter) carry out their criminal acts for sneaky thrills and it is the possible humiliation of being discovered that becomes a seductive force in challenging the rationally constructed world of legitimacy. The everyday world provides the boundaries that are approached and it is this very approach to the edge that provides a heightened state of excitement and adrenaline rush. The thrill is in being able to come as close as possible to the edge without detection or apprehension, and the very avoidance of possible humiliation. Therefore for Katz, some cross over the edge into chaos, while others attempt only to approach it as close as possible. For both, however, the edge, the boundary, is seductive.

A disadvantaged childhood was a theme running through most of case studies and a dysfunctional infancy and violence featured in the early lives of some of our entrepreneurial offenders such as Darren and Sean - both men .came from broken homes.

Violence seems to play a part as the criminal entrepreneur develops his 'skills' and starts to assert himself in more serious, planned crime, but it didn't feature in the, albeit small, sample of legitimate entrepreneurs.

Several of the participants appeared to be motivated by a hedonistic drive. As Shover and Honaker (1991: 276-93) put it, they want to live '*life as a party*'. They are self-obsessed, self-indulgent and have large egos; features often ascribed to successful entrepreneurs. The two entrepreneurs that were interviewed were self-obsessed with their businesses but there was no evidence that they were self-indulgent or had particularly large egos.

Hisrich and Peters (1998) cited in Beaver (2002: 145) give the personality characteristics of male entrepreneurs as: opinionated and persuasive; goal orientated innovative and idealistic; high level of self confidence; enthusiastic and energetic; must be own boss. This certainly seems to apply to the fraudster (Shafik), drug dealers (Oliver and Robert) and entrepreneur turned criminal or drugs courier (Vaughn). Of the legitimate entrepreneurs, who both had high

levels of self-confidence, were goal oriented, enthusiastic and energetic, Mark came across as being opinionated but Jason did not. They were both innovative judging by the products they were selling. The robbers and burglars had less self-esteem than the fraudsters and drug dealers.

Property and economic crime is a complex phenomenon and must be considered in terms of the sociocultural context and the creative role that is played by individuals. Crime is most likely to occur when people experience social pressures and conditions making them vulnerable to resort to crime. Deviance vulnerability increases when anomie strain increases at the societal level particularly when it is manifested by economic motivations and also when the bonds of social control are weakened such as family ties and school. This was adequately illustrated by our offenders.

A basic tenet of existential psychology is that an individual's personal sense of meaning is a major factor in influencing their actions (e.g., Binswanger, 1963). Another fundamental assumption of existential psychology is that personal meaning derives from the individual decisions people make every day (Kierkegaard, 1954: 26,). One role of this decision-making assumption is to identify the mechanism whereby cultural, social, and familial norms come to influence personal meaning   More important, however, is the implication that through daily decision making, individuals may actually rise above the limitations of norms, thus achieving more individualistic or subjective meaning (Kierkegaard, 1954; 26).

Binswanger's (1955:264) applied concepts such as the "world" and Heidegger's "Dasein" (*being and time*) to clinical case material in order to provide a more satisfactory method of interpreting human behaviour. His notion of being-in-the-world indicated that people are not isolated, encapsulated egos, but rather, beings who are always in relation to other humans and the world around us. Hence he enlarged Heidegger's ontological conception of world to include the horizon in which human beings live and through which they understand themselves. At the same time, Binswanger recognized three simultaneous modes of being-in-the-world: the *Umwelt*, constituting the environment within which a person exists; the *Mitwelt*, or world of social relations; and the *Eigenwelt*, the private world of self. According to Binswanger, the three modes

together constitute a person's world-design - the general context of meaning within which a person exists.

It is one thing to say that daily decisions determine personal meaning, but it is quite another to conceptualize specifically how concrete, everyday thoughts, feelings, and actions actually lead to particular views of self and world. In this, it is particularly difficult to understand how the decision-making process sometimes facilitates support of cultural and social norms, and other times lead to their transcendence. To fully understand the pivotal meaning-creating role of decision making requires grounding this process in a complete theory of personality (Maddi, 1997). In considering decision making in the context of existential personality theory, the first step is to explicate core assumptions, or views concerning directions and characteristics inherent in individuals.

It would appear that certain events occur which drive the offender:

♦ Disruption in childhood at a very early age. Children at a young age begin to develop understandings of conventional uniformities and rules, and think in relativistic terms. A child's behaviour or actions associated with such social conventions and customs are dependent on existing rules, the expectations of others, and the dictates of those in positions authority. Children understand these actions as conventions constituted by rules and people in roles of authority and, therefore, consider them to be relevant to their particular social context. They are judged in "relativistic" terms and, therefore, are legitimately variable from one group, society, or culture to another.

♦ All of our offenders went through a period of juvenile delinquency which is thought by some to be a predictor of their potential criminal career according to Treadwell (2006:85). The peak age of offending for males is 18 years and 15 for females. In comparison, entrepreneurs in the UK tend to have had work experience before they establish themselves in setting up a business so they are more likely to be aged 35 to 45 years old when they are at the peak of their career or facing redundancy.

♦ Cressey (1953) first identified that several low-frequency offenders appear to have become involved in crime because of gambling problems.

In some ways this group resembles the low self-control individuals who engage in a range of risky behaviours.

♦ Refusing to succumb to the negative emotions of shame, guilt, or fear, offenders in the grip of the adrenaline rush and other edgework sensations appear to resent those authorities or social control agents who they believe seek to introduce such negative emotions as a way to achieve their goals. Like other forms of anarchism, the offenders invert the touching plane of normative transgression to express a type of visceral revolt (Ferrell 1993: 172).

♦ The offenders demonstrate a lack of fundamental experiential learning.

Some mechanisms and triggers

In their work on *realistic evaluation* by drawing an analogy with kinetic theory (i.e. the gas laws, Pawson and Tilley (2005: 58-59) demonstrated the ingredients of a realist causal proposition which gave a framework which can be imitated:
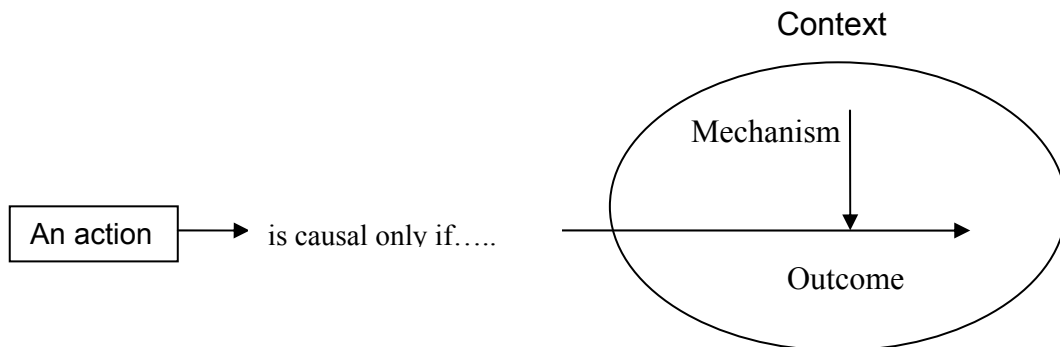
……………its outcome is triggered by a mechanism acting in context

Figure 3   *Generative causation*

Outcomes are thus explained by the action of particular mechanisms within particular contexts. In the context of this work social mechanisms are all about individual's choices and capacities they derive from group membership.

The following triggers and mechanisms are identified:

Triggers	Mechanisms
Loss of paternal or maternal bond	Lowering of self-esteem and labelling
Expulsion from school	Drug and or alcohol abuse
Push into becoming homeless	Need to find solace in gambling
Depression	Social marginalisation
Difficult relationships	Delinquency
Debt worries	Push or pull into petty crime
	Gaining self confidence
	Spotting opportunities
	Exploiting the opportunity
	Move into serious crime

Once motivated offenders commit a crime successfully i.e. without being apprehended and by encountering a suitable victim they:

Context	+	Mechanism	=	Regularity
Offender motivated and finds a suitable victim	+	Offender considers risks low enough, rewards available sufficient and crime easy.	=	High rate of repeat offences, with short term heightened victim vulnerability

A realistic theory of offending (adapted from Pawson and Tilley, 2005: 139)

Context	+	Mechanism	=	Regularity
Motivated offender and suitable victims in absence of capable guardians	+	Offender routinely estimates relative risks, rewards and difficulty and offends accordingly.	=	High rate of repeat offences, with chronic heightened victim vulnerability.

Adapted from Pawson and Tilley's (2005: 140) 'alternative realistic risk heterogeneity theory of widespread repeat victimisation regularities'.

> *"Thus, in recognizing the seductive and enchanting qualities of criminal edgework, we face one of the great paradoxes of the late modern era. In a powerful expression of Emile Durkheim's insight about the nature of deviance, many crimes of the modern age can be understood as the inevitable flip-side of a rationalized, desacralized culture, one that produces by its own structural logic radical extremes of wealth and poverty, power and powerlessness-and the emotional contradiction of arrogance and humiliation that accompanies these extremes".*
>
> Lyng (2004: 7)

Without exception all of the offenders interviewed expressed a strong desire to set up their own legitimate businesses but virtually all except Shafik (*Case Study 1*) considered that their main hurdle would be that of obtaining the start up capital to enter the legitimate business arena. None of the interviewees seemed aggressive which one might expect with offenders who are serving custodial sentences for crimes which involved an element of violence.

All of the offenders had a strong need for achievement and the general consensus was they did not like authority figures or working for someone else. The two Asian gentlemen and the Greek Cypriot seemed to be seeking the high life whereas the rest were part of an underclass and appeared to be committing crime in order to feed a drug habit or to fulfil physiological needs in order to survive; these outcasts of society were unable to command jobs having compensation levels above that of the minimum wage. They have become entangled in a situation which is difficult to break free from without appropriate support systems in place.

The main themes that have evolved from the work (and in the case of the entrepreneurs mainly from previous literature surveys) are:

The entrepreneur	The offender
Need for achievement	Impatience, need for quick fix
Has integrity	Dishonest
The adrenaline rush	Need to bend the rules
Egoism	Necessity of addiction
The good lifestyle	Unrealistic expectations
Independence from others	Hurting others
Spotting opportunities	Opportunistic?
Creativity	Improvising
Socialisation	Reciprocity
Considerate	Self-interested, egocentric
Internal locus of control	External locus of control
High self-esteem	Low self-esteem, distorted self image
Dependable, guarded, responsible	Spontaneous, impulsive, brash, reckless
Confident, positive, constructive	Self-doubting, unconfident, apprehensive
Deals with ambiguity	Seeks stability, can't cope with ambiguity
Has vision	Lacks vision

How this knowledge can be integrated into an educational programme remains to be explored.

Review of the research questions

- Persistent property crime offenders do not seem to see themselves any different to anyone else other than they have been unlucky.
- They learn their 'art' or 'skills' as they go along or on the 'job'. The fraudster planned his crime in advance and in a professional manner.
- The lessons to be learned in the education of offenders in prison are difficult to elucidate and requires more research. (*This will form part of another document*).
- The entrepreneurial qualities of offenders match those of the legitimate entrepreneur in some respects, as mentioned previously, but again the area requires more research.
- The probable causal links have already been discussed.

There is need to develop techniques to teach them a different way of thinking and approaches to problem solving. They have a tendency to interpret emotions wrongly which causes isolation or loneliness and make wrong assumptions or conclusions.

The environment that they are living in has an affect. Behaviour breeds behaviour e.g. Jason is following his parents into the world of self-employment and entrepreneurial activity.

Bolton and Thompson (2004: 250) discussed criminal entrepreneurs. They mentioned that many minor criminals are impulsive which implies a lack of self-discipline and focus. Certainly our more professional offenders, came across as being very focused whereas the opportunistic thief and shoplifter were much less focused and the others were somewhere in between. Bolton and Thompson (ibid p50) posited that successful (property crime) criminals should have focus, be good at spotting lucrative business opportunities and .have an ego. They need to be creative with an appreciation how to achieve desired outcomes without detection. In addition successful criminals need to be resourceful and able to manage their team.

Summary

It is clear that our offenders have many of the attributes of legitimate entrepreneurs but with the exception of fraudsters they tend to lack planning skills, are inclined to be impetuous and often lack focus. Several areas overlap which will form part of the next study i.e. Document 4. In terms of the original outcome required for the study as a whole this part of the study can be considered an introduction into the investigation of using qualitative techniques. The ultimate goal is to assist in developing a well organised learning journey for the education of enterprising offenders.

Limitations and future research

The small size of the sample studied restricted the amount of data it was possible to obtain both in terms of offenders and entrepreneurs. In the next stage of the ethnographic study it is envisaged that the range of criminal entrepreneurs be more closely identified and be extended and that the experience gained here will lead to a greater penetration of questioning making the study richer and giving it depth beyond the **_ethnographic dazzle_**. Ideally the study will be widened to include female offenders and to obtain views of the offenders on the usefulness of entrepreneurship courses in prisons.

Female offenders were omitted in this preliminary qualitative study as it was found to be logistically too difficult to include them. Apart from which, men disproportionally commit more crime so it is questionable whether or not the Inclusion of women would have made any significant difference. However given the increasing number of female entrepreneurs it would be interesting to make a comparison of the two.

In the literature criminology neglects women to a large extent and any explanation tends to centre on biological explanations which have long since been discredited in work examining male criminal behaviour. Treadwell (2006: 45) claims that 'there _is not a single feminist theory of crime_' and that feminist

criminology focuses on inequality and discrimination against women, male violence and oppression.

One of the major problems with this kind of study is that is difficult to obtain a true picture of the background and environment from which the offender hails from interviewing them in the context of a prison. For instance the study did not highlight whether or not the offender came from an area with a high crime rate or a large number of motivated offenders, is there easy access to attractive targets? Why are they persistent offenders? Criminal actions, of course, are not merely a result of the individual's beliefs other factors have acted to cause the criminal actions e.g. social conditions, peer groups and volitions.

Hence the next step is to continue the study with Document 4 which is initial survey based and statistical research.

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8.   APPENDICES

CASE STUDIES

All participants have been given a fictitious name in order to protect their identity.

(**IV** = Interviewer is the author of this Document 3, the interviewee is indicated by the first letter of his fictitious name.)

Case Study (1)   The Fraudster

Shafik

Aged 24, Shafik is serving a custodial sentence of 3½ years for deception[19]. He likes reading and is currently reading fictional works by Tom Clancy. Shafik had a total GET score of 39, which indicated that he had a high need for achievement and was a calculated risk taker.

IV.   Tell me about yourself

S.   I have a degree in Business Information Systems. I'm of Asian descent. (*He started to speak about banking methods but I couldn't follow him very easily as he was talking fast and not very clearly*).

My speciality was plastic card fraud/ identity stealing. I also used to make counterfeit DVLA driving licences. I had templates for all the major credit cards and clearing bank statements, and invoices of the major utilities.

I used to buy the plastic card from companies in Norway and Ireland.

The operation was run in a very business like manner. I used to spend a lot of time driving up and down the country in good quality cars.

IV.   Was your crime a victimless one?

S.   I consider my crime to be a victimless one as most people were not affected by it but some may be. I used to take over accounts, getting the details from someone I knew on the inside in the bank. (*Shafik spoke knowledgeably about PDQ machines.*) I gained access to Code 10 full

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[19] *According to Collins Dictionary & Thesaurus (2000), Fraud is deliberate deception, trickery, or cheating intended to gain advantage.*

account details and someone in the security firm that sent out new credit cards used to let me see them before they were distributed. I couldn't have worked the scams without someone on the inside.

When I was arrested, 112 pages with 80 bank account details per page were recovered from my computer. I have 16 lever arch files of case notes which include details of how the evidence was collected from deleted files on my computer. (*He is a bit of an authority on law and during the trial gained further knowledge of the forensic methods used to detect information that had been eradicated from computer hard drives*).

IV.   *Why did you commit crime?*
S.   I carried out fraud to fund my lavish life style not in desperation for money. I worked very hard and did a lot of travelling. I considered myself a businessman travelling up and down the country, mainly from London to Birmingham. It gave me an adrenalin rush and I liked the challenge. I undertook several entrepreneurial activities: defrauded an Italian business of £250,000; defrauded HM Customs & Excise out of £100,000 in a VAT fraud. I transferred £80,000 for a fabric manufacturer on a PDQ machine at a wholesaler; he got £50,000 and I got the rest.

I.V.   *Do you have any role models?*
S.   Yes, a couple of fraudsters.

Fraudsters like to call themselves businessmen not fraudsters.

(*He wouldn't reveal who they were.*)

I used to run a mobile phone shop with two partners

I had a happy childhood; I was spoilt and didn't feel at all disadvantaged compared to other kids I knew. I have two brothers and a sister; all older i.e. 30, 37 and 33 respectively. School was enjoyable – a laugh. It was a mixed state school and I left school at the age of 16 in 1997 after gaining 8 GCSEs which were all C + grades. At college, I got a BTEC National in Computer Studies, achieving a merit. After achieving an HND I topped it up by getting a 2:1 degree in Business Information Systems. I've never had a problem getting a job. While at college and university I was always employed in part-time work. My first job was as a sales assistant in well-

known computer retail outlet where he worked part-time for 3 years. Before coming to prison I worked in five different jobs but only stayed in any of them for 6 months at the most.

My parents ran four small supermarket shops and they lived above one of them. As a child I always got what I wanted; my parents owned four shops and I spent a lot of my childhood in the shops labelling items etc.

IV. ***What was the first crime that you committed?***

S. The first crime I committed was stealing and using a credit card. This "kick started" my criminal career and everything just "spiralled" out of control. I got a buzz out of getting stuff without paying for it.
The trouble with fraud is that you leave a paper trail which can be followed. I'm convinced that white collar crime is on the increase.

I was the 'quartermaster' of a gang which hit all the major clearing banks. All 'fraudsters' like to consider themselves as entrepreneurs – "after all we are business men."

IV. ***What makes you happy?***

S. Making lots of money; family life.

IV. ***How much money?***

S. I would be comfortable with £60,000 pa. Prison has shown me real respect for money. It has brought me down a few steps.

Information derived from previous conversations with Shafik

Having made a significant amount of money over the seven years that he committed fraud he now intends concentrating on his own business and his family. Only four years of fraud could be detected and he didn't lose a lot of money due to confiscation orders. They took his fast cars but none of his housing property.

He has told me that he is driven by money and the need for the finer things in life. He is always talking about expensive things like houses, cars etc.

Shafik doesn't believe in being in debt or owing money.

Case Study (2)   The Opportunistic Thief

Victor

Aged 35 years, Victor is of Asian descent. He has received three custodial sentences for his offences. Victor thinks that most crime is money motivated. He doesn't consider himself to be an entrepreneur although he makes a living out of crime.

His total GET score of 33 was only an average score and indicated a very low creative potential.

IV. *Tell me about yourself*

V. I had a 'normal' childhood. I was born in India and came from there India with his family in 1975. At first my parents lived in one room. My father trained as an accountant and my mother was a nurse. They bought their own house and then a second one. I attended a private school where I worked hard. "From 16-21 were the best years of my life." I left school at 16 when they wanted to expel me because of fighting but I completed my exams.

IV. *Do you drink or do drugs?*

V. No, I don't touch either.

IV. *What crimes have you committed?*

V. I've sold drugs, committed credit card fraud, robbed post offices and a bank.

My first 'job' was a post office when I was 18; it didn't work as me and my partner had to abort it because of the reaction of the owner even though I had a gun. He just went to pieces – shouting and screaming. My partner held a knife against the owner's wife; she was ok and didn't overreact at all.

The bank job was a bag snatch as the person was putting money into the night safe box. It was planned. We watched them putting stuff in the night safe a couple of times before we did the job.

IV.   ***Why do you commit crime?***

V.   I want the good things in life. I'm in prison because of money. Aren't most people in prison because of money?

IV.   ***Isn't your main problem that you need to lower your expectations?***

V.   Yes, I need to lower my expectations but "it is seeing others driving around in a Bentley etc that causes the problem."

I'm a bit of a dreamer by nature. Ideas develop from dreams don't they?

Case Study (3)   The Armed Robber/Burglar

Darren

Darren is currently serving a sentence of 5 years and 3 months for armed robbery. He has 4 previous convictions; two of which were custodial. His longest previous sentence was 30 months. Darren is white British. At the age of 24 years Darren has spent a fifth of his life in prison. His literacy skills are Entry Level 3 and his numeracy skills Level 1.

Darren had a relatively high total GET score of 39.

(This is a transcription of an audio recorded interview).

IV.   *Tell me about yourself*

D.   I managed to achieve 4 GCSEs at school.

I've worked for short periods of time in gardening, roofing and assisting an electrician.

First of all, my dad he died when I was one due to an overdose of insulin. He was diabetic.

So, in a way I am lucky because I didn't know him, you know. I aint got the memory there so it's a bit easier. Ehmm, I think I lived in S…… then or it might have been S…… Do you know S……? (**No, but it doesn't really matter**). So, I have two other bruvvers two older brothers; there is about a two year gap between each one and two sisters. I also have two adopted brothers and two adopted sisters.

Ummmhh, I don't know yet. My mum's been, her first marriage when I was young I was only about six. Well her second marriage if you don't include my dad. He ehhmm.

IV.   *So your Mum married again when you were about six?*

D.   Yeah I think when I was about six. But that didn't work out. He beat her up. Many a time I see that as well. I see a lot of that. And then the same again with my next, with the next one that was about three years later. Exactly the same old problem. I walked into the room other times when he had beaten her up. Ummhh later on, well she is married nowadays. That's all been good though. It's been great for the last what….

IV.   *So this is the third marriage?*

D.   No fourth including my dad. Yeah the middle two didn't work but out this last one. They have been married for that last eleven years. Everything has been good there.

Going back to school, I got, I never did get on get on with school. The whole… from being an infant …. All the way through. Getting expelled and suspended.

IV.   *When was the first time you were expelled?*

D.   I had to change junior schools so I must have been about 9 or 10 and again at when I was 13. Senior school and then I stayed at my last school for the rest of the time. I got suspended for stupid fighting things like that.

IV   *Was it always fighting?*

D.   Yeah mucking about and mainly fighting.

Did you have any favourite subjects at school?

Yes, sports and maths. I don't know why I liked maths. It's one of the one's that every one hates.

IV.   *Was it the teachers?*

D.   Yes, I think it was the teachers. In maths it was. Anyway at sports I've always been good at sports. I love sports.

What about holidays?

IV.   *Did you go on holiday as a kid?*

D.   No, only down the coast (in the UK) like Bournemouth and places but never abroad.

IV.   *What about your aunts and uncles?*

D.   Pardon?

IV.   *Did you have any aunts and uncles?*

D.   Yes, I got hmm; it's a bit weird this one. Because my dad's side of the family I don't really see I never see my dad's side of the family. I probably did up until I was about twelve. I didn't because of the way they treated my mum. On my mum's side there are three sisters but two of them had been adopted by my Nan and there's four brothers. Again two of them have been adopted. My Nan, she used to foster kids and stuff like that. So two uncles and two aunties had been adopted.

Oh yeah another thing about school. When I was fifteen, I had to go to an education support centre for just lessons that I got kicked out of. It was only about two minutes from my school so for the lessons I got kicked out of I went to the place. Mainly for one-to-one teaching pretty much or give or take a couple of people. Yeah, I liked it there though. I enjoyed it more than the real school. It was easier to learn. In a whole classroom full of kids, I just got distracted too easy.

IV. **What made you happy as a kid?**

D. Good question. Not too sure. I don't think I was really. Only playing sports or out with my mates. I was never excited all the time.

IV. **When did you first turn to crime?**

D. My first crime that was an ABH (*actual bodily harm*) at a school holiday place. It was in the school holidays actually. (*Darren cleared his throat*). It was err you know when you get six weeks holidays a fete in my town. I used to work with the fair every time it came to town. I was working on the waltzers at the time as it goes. I can't remember what it was about now. It was just an argument that happened and I got into a fight. It could have gone either way but I won the fight and got arrested for it. I got a conditional discharge for that when I must have been about 14. There's a few other little minor things. I didn't get caught.

IV. **What do you mean by minor things?**

D. Oh things I got arrested for. Just for things like criminal damage and things like that but I was also up to all sorts then like nicking cars. Why? I suppose we nicked cars for fun. Something to do there was nothing else to do round our area. There was literally nothing to do. I suppose that's not an excuse though is it?

I first got into burgling houses when I was about I was 17, 16. I was sixteen and I got kicked out of my house. My own fault, I suppose, I can admit it now. I started sleeping around at different mates' houses. It was just a quick way of making getting money. I couldn't get a job whilst I was living round these different houses all the time.

IV. *Did you start burgling before or after you were made homeless?*

D. After I was made homeless. It was hard getting a job. I did burglary because "it's a quick way to make money." After I did it for a few months I got arrested and served 6 months for burglary of dwellings.

IV. *What did you think about when you were rummaging through people's stuff?*

D. At the time? I didn't really care at the time. I didn't look at it in that sort of light. Now if I look back, when I look back on it phew I would hate it. I hated what I have done.

I deeply regret it. I wouldn't like it done to me or my family. I got the lowest I've ever been.

IV. *You say you were sixteen and couldn't get a job. Why?*

D. If I had a place to stay at; a full-time place. It's easier to hold a job down. Do you see where I am coming from?

IV. *Yes.*

D. But where I was flitting around I would be at one mate's house one night in one town and then the next night in another mates house a couple of towns away. for an amount of time it was a matter of just finding somewhere to live. To sleep for the night. That went on for quite a while, a few months. Then I got arrested come to jail.

IV. *Why did you get arrested?*

D. For the burglaries.

IV. *What, did they catch you?*

D. Well I had urmm, I had urmm, they caught me on a phone actually, the mobile phone that someone grassed me up that I had and they connected me with it. They caught me with it. Mmhh, I got out and I was homeless straight away as soon as I got out. I was only inside six months. Then I got out from that.

IV. **So what was the crime then?**

D. Burglary of dwellings. Then as soon as I got out it was the same story.

IV. *So you got the money, what did you do with the money?*

D. Spent it! Pretty much. Pasted it up the wall. Alright, alright I bought my food and anything else I need(ed).

IV.   ***Flash trainers and stuff?***

D.   Yeah, yeah. I bought clothes and everything I needed. I supposed if I'd saved everything up I could have got myself a flat. but that's not the way; it wouldn't have worked out like that. Do you understand what I am saying?

IV.   ***Yes.***

D.   I didn't really think of it like that. I suppose at the same time as well I was just parting all the time.

I had an old mate who had a flat. She's got two daughters and she used to get everything paid for so we used to be around there a lot of time, partying and doing drugs. We used to party a lot and tried drugs of every kind apart from 'crack' and heroin. Ecstasy, cocaine, speed and cannabis; a mixture. Sometimes all in one night! (*Laughter from participant and author*) (He clears his throat). Plenty of drink.

IV.   ***So how long were you living around your mates houses?***

D.   For about four months. For about four months and then I went to jail for six months. Then I got out and it was pretty much the same story. Exactly the same story all over again for three months and then I come to jail again.

IV.   ***You were out of jail for three months?***

D.   Yeah, I was out of jail for three months and then back in again for exactly the same thing but in that same time I done the crime I'm in for now. That's when I got into armed robberies and stuff. Along with four others I robbed a bank up north but we didn't get caught.

There are other crimes as well. Armed robberies – post offices, commercials and shops. We used to do them at night times.

On this sentence for armed robbery I robbed a supermarket which contained a sub post office at 9 pm just before it closed. It was only planned a couple hours before.

IV.   ***Weren't you afraid?***

D. Afraid? No, I got a buzz out of it. I wouldn't do it again that's all you get is a buzz. I don't know it's just the rush at the time. It's just the rush at the time; I'm not proud of it. Money on its own was not enough to give me the buzz.

IV.   ***So what do you think of your life so far?***

D.   To be blunt up until now, I suppose I could have made more of it.

IV.   ***Have you ever worked?***

D.   Yes, when I was out last time that first month I came out I was working. I was roofing. I loved it. The money was good.

IV.   ***Have you ever been abroad?***

D.   I've been to France. As soon as I get out, if my Probation lets me, I'm going to Tenerife where my mother's mate has a villa there. I've got a passport.

IV.   ***Do you think about the victims of your crime?***

D.   Crime is not good for victims. Some crimes hurt people some just hurt insurance companies. My brother and mum are the people I loves (sic) the most. They have always been there for me no matter what I've done or need. I also have a best mate who is always there for me and had somewhere for me to stay. We have known each other since I was 4 years old. My best mate has never been in bother although he sells small amounts of cannabis when he is not doing some casual work. He does casual bricklaying work.

The last job I did was a post office which was opportunistic and as such with very little planning. I have done some banks up north in a gang of three. Five jobs altogether. The highest amount the three of us got was £48,000. Some jobs involved a team of four. Bank jobs were usually well planned and could take up to three weeks to plan.

When we carried a robbery of shops they were usually stealing to order. The only time I can remember carrying out a job without finding a buyer first was when we stole a truck full of sports gear which proved to be difficult to offload and we had to sell at ridiculously low prices. The three of us came across a small lorry with the keys left in the ignition while the driver had stopped to buy something from a shop.

I always got a brilliant buzz. It is difficult to find it from other places". It's much better than working but I still used to sign on. I often turned up at the Job Centre in brand spanking clothes and nobody said anything!"

A few jobs have gone wrong. Some superhero wanabe would get involved or once we were doing a bank and armed police were there. We

always planned an exit route. It was our way of reducing the risk. With the last job my gloves were discovered with the axe I carried to the job. I had instructed my co-de to set fire to a bag which I put them in and even gave him a lighter to do it with but for some reason he didn't bother. Some old lady walking her dog found the bag thirteen days after the robbery and they got me on a DNA test. It was twelve months later before it came to court. I always had legal aid.

Prison is like a criminal college. It doesn't stop crime it only keeps them off the street for a while.

You can buy pills like 'e' and cannabis easily at local clubs but that's not my game – its too much hassle particularly getting paid and there is a lot of competition.

IV. ***There is something that you have mentioned to me before but haven't now***

D. What do you mean?

IV. ***The gambling.***

D. Oh yeah! Well that was again when I was partying at the same time. That was **another** (*he stressed*) reason as well but that was when I got out the second time.

IV. ***Do you remember the first time you gambled?***

D. The first time I gambled?

IV. ***I can remember the first time I gambled. It was about the last!***

D. It depends what you call gambling. Having a go on a 'fruitie' or gambling on a 'fruitie'. Fruit machine. I reckon there is a big difference there.

IV. ***Do you, why?***

D. Well I've been, I've had, my mum's always been a barmaid and I've been brought up in pubs. Not brought up in pubs but I have around pubs for pretty much all my life. She has always managed pubs.

IV. ***So did you live in pubs?***

D. We have done, yeah. That's another thing yeah I have lived all over the gaff. All over ……….shire. I've had about ten different houses. This were at now that's the longest. They have had it for the last twelve years. But the first twelve years all over the gaff.

IV. ***What kind of accommodation?***

D. Just council houses. Council houses and pubs.

IV. *Back to your gambling, what kind of gambling did you?*

D. Horses and fruit machines. Mainly fruit machines. Dogs as well only once or twice. I find fruit machines addictive. I used to play them for hours on end. That was during the day time. They should be banned. I used to play machines with a £250 jackpot. Often I went in with £50 and came out with a grand (£1000) but equally I could go in there another night with a £1000 and come out with nothing. The horses they weren't so bad though. It's just like one here and there. I've got a theory about horses.

IV. *Who is the most important person in your life?*

D. My mum. My mum and my brothers.

IV. *Have you got any people you don't like?*

D. Plenty. Old friends. I've got about four or five mates who have actually stayed in contact with me the whole way through. Then there's loads who didn't. I know that if I hadn't stayed around with them I wouldn't of done half what I did do though I'm not blaming them. They are a big part of it.

IV. *If you had your life over what would you do?*

D. School probably. I'd go back and do it all again. I'd learn everything I could. Go to college and everything. That's the biggest regret. Missing out on school.

IV. *It's still not too late.*

D. That's true but it's not the same though is it? I wish that I had never mucked around at school. I really do. I was always bunking off school all the time. I hardly ever went. (*Darren then discussed the school that he went to*). I don't know why; I don't know how it all started really. *(Darren is concerned that attending college would cost him money. It was suggested that he could do it part-time.)*

IV. *What are your future plans?*

D. Get a job. I can't afford to commit any more crimes.

IV, *What about the money then?*

D. What do you mean?

IV. *I thought that you like to have a lot of money in your pocket.*

D. I think those days have gone now. To be honest. I've grown up a lot more since.

Case Study (4)   The Burglar

Sean

Sean is white British and aged 29. He has Level 1 numeracy at Entry Level 3. With sixteen previous convictions and six previous custodial sentences, Sean is currently serving a 2 year and 8 months sentence for arson. Sean practices magic in his cell or reads. He doesn't normally watch much television but he is currently captivated by reality TV shows like Big Brother. His longest previous sentence is 3 years. He completed a one year 4 months custodial sentence in September 2001 so this current sentence was a doubling up on the previous one.

GET Score: 39 with a high internal locus of control.

IV.   *Tell me about yourself*

S.   I have a younger brother and sister who used to get me into trouble. My sister is married but she is a Chav and I don't get on with her.

I had a disadvantaged childhood. Other kids had decent bikes and toys which I didn't have and this started me off thieving.

My father was a long distance lorry driver and then he became a dustman so that he could be at home more. I hated him being a dustman because the other kids used to take the 'Mickey' out of me and sing the song 'My Old Man's a Dustman'.

School was hectic. I was always late. I got suspended for stealing mercury and iron filings and I got one of the kids to swallow some iron filings. The school was convinced that I had got the kid to swallow mercury so he was whisked to the poisons unit.

I left school at 15 but still took my exams at 16 year old and managed to gain some GCSEs but only D and Es. The subjects were Art, English, Maths, Design & Realisation, Graphic Communications, English Literature and Science.

My first crime was when I was in nursery school – I stole a toy car. I started shoplifting for sweets at the age of ten. We used to nick cases of boxes of chocolates. With a pal, I nicked these cases of chocolates using diversion tactics.

On a school visit to Chessington Zoo I first heard of the expression 'racking' meaning stealing. We often stole from shops – usually gadgets.

I left school at 15. I did a car valeting job at 15 earning £2.50 an hour and I started up my own business cleaning cars at offices but decided that stealing was a quicker way of making money. I stole boxes of batteries from a shop and sold them to the kids in the school for use with their Walkmans. It was an easy way of making money. I was made homeless after another row at home. I was always being blamed for things and at 16 I was told that my father was my Step Dad not my real Dad. I was so devastated that I left home because of it, for the third or fourth time. After living rough for a time I met up with a known criminal and car thief who took me under his wing and became my role model. My mother had warned against associating with the man who was four to five years older than me but I ignored her. He started nicking cars and I got a real buzz out of it. The cars were used to transport stolen goods from one place to another. We used to steal at night and shoplift and sell the goods by day. I enjoyed the life and was so busy that I didn't have to sign on for dole money.

Nothing that I did was confrontational except that I once stole an expensive ring to order from a market stallholder. I snatched the ring and did a runner along past the other stalls and although I was chased I escaped. My friend gave me £200 for the ring. Which I thought was wonderful.

Old school friends left school and had normal jobs while I went around selling things such as base ball caps. I used to roll up in different cars while they didn't yet have one. I was a real Jack-the-Lad. I used to get nicked virtually every week but they couldn't send me to prison because I

was too young. My mate got nicked and was sent to prison so I had to graft on my own. My friend had always been the driver but now I had to drive. I was never caught driving even though I couldn't drive properly, didn't have a licence and looked too young to drive.

My first prison sentence was when I was seventeen. When I look back, my friend was a bad influence on me. We went on an eight month crime spree. At the age of 17 I got an eight month sentence for burglary and car theft. On the 1st of January I was sleeping in a stolen car in a lay-by on a council estate. Because I was so cold I left the engine running to keep warm and then I fell asleep. When I woke up I was surrounded by police. Someone on the estate had reported me to the police.

I got an eight month sentence. At seventeen I was the youngest in my area to go to prison. When I got out I had no intention of going straight. I tried to hone in on my mistakes so that I wouldn't get caught in future. While I was inside I didn't mix much and was a bit of a loner because I was sometimes bullied. I was out again for four months and then I got caught again and given another eight months for burglary and car theft. I used to steal so that I could buy clothes etc but I wasn't into drugs at that stage. On release I went to a hostel at the age of eighteen. People there were the same level as me. They had similar backgrounds. This is when drugs came in. a whole week was a weekend. I was now doing crime only for drugs and was using puff, acid, pills ('e'), speed. In other words, party drugs.

I became addicted to LSD. After a two week binge I ended up in jail for breaking into some offices. "The lookouts failed." I used to get flash backs and saw ghosts in my cell. It was a blur during the whole of the thirteen month sentence. I was off key during that sentence. I used to make explosive from matches and push it through the cell door. I was always getting nicked. I often got nicked for wiring. That's connecting radios to the lights. There was no other access to electricity in your cell in those days. After being released I went back to my parents but things didn't go too well. In court for something, my mate was back in touch. After splitting from his missus my mate suggested that we move to Southend to start afresh. We got a place to rent but didn't have any

money so we went back to crime – shoplifting and burglary of shops. My mate got a job as a dustman but I didn't want to join him as it was an early morning start. My mate tried to convince me to work and got me a nightshift job in a plastic moulding factory. I was enjoying it even though it was a shit job with only a one hour break during the long nightshift. It gave me the satisfaction that I was doing the right thing and could pay the rent but I was on gas (*lighter fuel*). My friend had introduced me to gas. On a New Year's Eve we didn't have much money so I broke into the meter at the lodgings and me, my friend, girlfriend and sister went up to London. I made out that there had been a break-in but the landlord was a friend of the local pizza takeaway where I had changed all the £ coins I had stolen. When I realised that the landlord knew it was me I did a runner. Having got stranded in London, I hitched a lift to Watford and walked the rest of the way home to xxxxxxxxx where I got a job at a wine bar. However, I had a pending court case over me. It was a good job. I started off as a glass washer but was promoted to barman and cellar man and then to a supervisory position. It was the best job so far but going to prison for six months put a stop to it. The manager offered me a job when I was to be released but it was a different manager when I got back although most of the staff were the same and vouched for me so I got the job back.

However, I wanted independent accommodation so I went back to a hostel knowing that I could get put on the housing list and eventually get a flat. The hostel would be a stepping stone. At the hostel I got in with the wrong crowd. They smoked and drank. When I got through from the wine Lodge in the early hours of the morning they were all well away. I received about twenty warnings for being late. Eventually the manager said that they would have to let me go and I got a job in BHS but I didn't like it and was always late again. The rent went up while you are working and you paid less if you were on the dole so I went on the dole and back to a life of crime. Burglary of shops without alarms was my speciality as I was usually caught in shops which had alarms. I was smoking a lot and my gambling now kicked off. I was making £200-600 per night and spending it on fruit machines during the day. I spent

several thousands of pounds on gambling and lived on 'value' food from Tescos. Fruit machines, lottery tickets and scratch cards were where my money went. My criminal activities now involved armed robbery of garages which I did alone. It all ended up with me getting a three year sentence which made me go bald due to the stress. On this sentence I learned how to fiddle alarms on buildings. I still intended doing the job properly when I got out. There was no rehabilitation at all.

My mother wrote to me while I was on my sentence and told me that my step dad had gone off with another woman.

Homeless and on drugs again I took to crime. I was nicked after breaking into a telephone box at 2.00 am for money and received a caution. My mother (who is very religious) was called in by the police at 5.00 am and she was not very happy with me. She used to have a small cleaning job at the church.

Once I stole a lot of toys and without thinking left them on my bed. My mother came home saw the stolen goods and threatened that she would take them all back to the shops from which they were stolen or report me to the police. After several days of holding this threat over me she didn't go on at me anymore and the toys had all vanished. I suspect that this woman who I considered honest and upright had sold them at a car boot sale.

I lost all his faith in her from that time and later found that she had 'grassed' me up for other stolen goods that I had in my possession.

I am currently serving a prison sentence for arson but about to be released on HDC. I broke into a fabric shop with the intention of breaking into the till but cut myself profusely. Blood dripped all over the floor of the shop. Knowing that the police could get my DNA from the blood I foolishly decided to torch the place to cover my tracks. A fatal mistake; I feel deeply sorry for doing it.

IV. **Do you consider yourself an entrepreneur?**

D. I consider myself entrepreneurial and have always strived for something better. I don't like working for others.

IV. **Do you have any role models?**

D. No, I don't have any role models.

IV. **Do you yearn for designer clothes?**

D. I don't have any need for designer clothes.

IV. **What do you feel about the victims of your crime?**

D. I never used to think about the victims but I now believe that all crimes have victims. When I was committing crimes I blotted out any thoughts of the victims but since I was burgled it has made me think about it. I'm conscious of it now and I'm sorry that I put a business out of action for a while due to my foolishness.

IV. **What would make you happy?**

S. I'm not unhappy. "Happiness is a state of mind not a state of affairs". The two things that make me happy are getting out of prison and seeing my two kids doing well. I met my partner when she was 18, she is now 23.

Case Study (5)   The Drug Dealer

Oliver

An accomplished drug dealer aged 32 who traded for several years before being convicted.

With a GET Score: 36 Oliver is working very hard in prison on a business plan for a legitimate business.

IV.   *Tell me about yourself*

O.   I'm a Greek Cypriot who had a disadvantaged childhood. Neither of my parents could speak English when they arrived in England and to this day speak very little. They emigrated to the UK for a better life having previously owned a small plot of land in Cyprus where they farmed fruit. They made a living doing this but their income was not enough to have more than a bare living. They came to England to live in London where they found kitchen work being employed by Greek or Greek Cypriot restaurant owners who exploited them. (*He was quite emotional about this and said I wished I could turn back the clock and rectify the situation*). As a child I didn't realise what was going on. My parents didn't speak English. They never really needed to know English because they were employed by people who spoke Greek.

I went to a normal school where I learned some English. However it was only during this current eight year sentence that my literacy and numeracy improved. (*He has taken courses in Key skills, OCR Firm Start literacy skills, OCR CLAIT and worked on a Business Plan for a seafood business*).

After school I worked in MacDonalds for three years and was going to be trained as a manager but they found out about my criminal record and I was sacked. I got a job in Waitrose and a similar thing happened. My boss knew about my record but choose to ignore it until I was offered a trainee management job when I was fired again.

Now I started on the road to real crime and became a fraudster travelling to Cyprus to convert dud travellers' cheques into hard cash. Eventually I moved into the very lucrative drugs market. (*He is currently serving an*

eight year sentence for supplying drugs). I had a kilo of 'Charlie' on me when I was caught. I also sold hash and crack. I used to live the high life. Clubs and fancy restaurants and got invited to some posh parties. My hobbies were collecting different champagnes and cigars.

IV. ***Why did you get such a long sentence? Were you mister big?***

O. Because I refused to cooperate when I was arrested and during the time I was awaiting trial and sentencing.) Unlike a lot of people in this situation I've managed to keep my reputation and I will be respected for it. No, I wasn't Mr Big but I was a fair way up the chain.

Case Study (6)   The Shoplifter/Robber

Len

Aged 34. Len is serving 4 years for robbery. He is white British and has 22 previous convictions of which 8 were custodial sentences.

IV.   ***Tell me about yourself***

L.   My life of crime started at a very young age with burglary. As part of a gang of youngsters I used to burgle schools and warehouses; all 'commercial stuff'. From there I graduated to stealing from cars, cars, shoplifting etc. I did it for the fun of it. Then in my teens I turned to crime for profit. I did shoplifting. Up until then I didn't worry about the money side of thieving but it became a way of life. It was easier than working and was very profitable. I wouldn't describe myself as professional criminal because I'm always getting caught. What I am is a career criminal. Coming to prison is not a way of life but rather an occupational hazard. I'm due out in November but I expect to manage staying out until the New Year. My last crime, robbery, was a mistake.

Shoplifting usually consists of stealing toiletries or clothes.   I'm banned from the local stores near where I live as most of them know me.
I used to do a lot of pinching from Marks & Spencer and then I would take them back for a cash refund. Sometimes I would have the wife in the car (she has divorced me twice, we have two kids). I would go in steal something and she would go and get the cash refund. If stores gave vouchers instead I would try to sell them at half price outside of the shop or get someone in the queue to buy them.
The favourite items are Mach 3's (razor blades) we would thieve loads of them and sell to a market stallholder. He was always willing to buy our stuff. You can carry 12 packs of Duracell batteries in each pocket and 4 up each sleeve.

Other popular items were packs of bacon, cheese, Lynx. Lynx was very popular we could get a £1 for each bottle.
On my last robbery when I held up a Spar grocery shop with three others for £1200, I threatened a shopkeeper with a knife. I went into the shop to

do some shoplifting and filled my bag with cheese, ham and bacon. I hadn't intended robbery until I went to buy 10 fags and saw the till was full of notes. My share was £700 which I blew, except for £6, on drugs in one night. I woke up with £6 in my pocket. I was out of it by mixing drugs with alcohol. We only got caught because they kept the getaway car which was spotted. I wanted to torch the car because of fingerprints but my friend who had bought the car for £20 wanted to keep it. This was to be our downfall; we drove into a dead-end and went back past the shop. One of them went to a police station two days later and gave them all the information the police needed including where they bought drugs and how much. Subsequently twelve people were charged with various offences. (*Curiously he didn't see it as being caught as one of the four had grassed on them*). The sole witness who picked me out in an identity parade was one of the gang.

Other information gained from discussions after the phenomenological interview.

Len considers himself to be a 'smackhead' which I challenged and told him that 'he shouldn't label himself in that way'. He said 'I'm being realistic'. 'At least I'm not a 'bagrat' he said. (*He explained that a bagrat was low life scum that will steal off anyone to feed their habit – they will even mug old ladies!*) Why a bagrat, I said? "It's because the stuff (drugs) comes in bags doesn't it? There are also 'smackrats'. My ex-wife calls me a smackrat."

Case Study (7)   The Drug Dealer

Robert

Aged 30, Robert is serving 5 years for manslaughter and 2 years for ABH (causing Actual Bodily Harm)

He has no previous custodial sentences but does have three previous convictions for possessing an offensive weapon or firearm, two convictions for possession of drugs and one conviction for assaulting a policeman in the execution of his duty i.e. whilst resisting arrest.

IV.   Tell me about yourself

R.   I had a happy childhood up until when my mum and dad split up when I was 12 years old; it certainly wasn't a disadvantaged one. I didn't speak to my mum for 15 years afterwards because she had an affair with another man.

I have one younger brother which my mum took with her because he was so young but I stayed with my father. He is eight years younger than me. My father is a licensee and café owner; he has always been entrepreneurial. When I was young my dad had a security firm, a tool hire shop and a golf club all at the same time. I got everything that I wanted and was spoilt as a child. I wasn't close to the rest of my family i.e. grandparents, etc.

My school days were eventful. At the age of eleven I was suspended from school and then after going on to a grant maintained secondary school secondary school. I was suspended 4 or 5 times and was sent to a special school for 'maladjusted children' at the age of 15 years. I was expelled from there and I had a private tutor who was brilliant but not qualified to put me in for my exams. She wanted me to go to NESCOT but I didn't want to go. I started working. I used to wash cars with pals at the age of 13/14. At school my favourite subjects were French, Biology and English. We used to go to Spain or Portugal on holiday when I was a child. "I was spoilt rotten. I had a privileged childhood. We lived in a big house and my dad had a Rolls Royce.

IV. *What qualifications have you got?*

R. Since coming to prison, I have completed OCR Levels 1, 2 and 3 in English Literature, OCR Numeracy Levels 1 and 2 and OCR Firm Start business skills course at level 3.

My first job was working as a catering assistant at Chessington World of Adventures: I had no problem getting a job. I've had four altogether. The shortest job was for eight months and the longest for eight years. I was once self-employed as party organiser.

IV. *Would you like to talk about your criminal convictions?*

R. I don't mind.

IV. *What was the first crime that you ever committed?*

R. Theft from a motor vehicle.

IV. *Why? What made you commit the crime?*

R. My mates were making loads of money and I decided that it was easy enough to do!

IV. *Why are you in prison?*

R. Manslaughter and ABH.

IV. *Why did you get into crime?*

R. I just grew into it!

IV. *Do you consider your crime was a victimless one?*

R. No.

IV. *What are your future plans?*

R. To behave myself and look after my wife and children. To start my own business, I intend being self-employed when I am released.

IV. *Are you entrepreneurial?*

R. Yes.

IV. *How did you learn to be entrepreneurial?*

R. Through my father.

IV. ***How did you learn your 'craft' or trade?***

R. From watching others.

IV. ***Give me an example of some enterprising activities you have undertaken.***

R. Everybody went through a stage of buying candles so I contacted my brother who worked in a candle factory and arranged with his boss to buy any excess stock. I then got some girls to organise candle parties (think Ann Summers) and those went very well.

IV. ***Do you have any role models?***

R. Yes, my father and father-in-law.

IV. ***Do you think it is possible to be happy without: designer clothes, a top of the range car, an exclusive house, a lot of material possessions, lots of money.***

R. I'd say yes to all of these.

IV. ***What would make you happy?***

R. My children growing into well educated men and living a life free from crime and dugs.

IV. ***What kind of income would make you happy?***

R. A big one.

IV. ***What are you main goals in life?***

R. To care for and provide for my family. To make money.

IV. ***What is the purpose of life?***

R. To get rich or die trying!! Life's a game isn't it? You play the rules to suit yourself.

Case Study (8)   The Entrepreneur turned Criminal

Vaughn

Aged 38, Vaughn chose to write this essay about himself rather than partake in an interview.

On a warm, moist morning in 1968, towards the end of winter season, at the peak of the Nigerian / Biafran civil war, I was born into the family of C, literally known as O family in Ezialayi Alayi. Alayi is a small town, with about 8,000 to 10,000 inhabitants. It is one of the oldest towns in Bende Local Government Area, situated 60 miles east of Aba and 100 miles north of Calabar. Basically, it is in the centre of Igbo Land. Because of the nature of the climate, it is always covered with green vegetation. It is divided into 5 villages with a traditional ruler in each village.

My mother, Gladys, was married to my late father, Mr P. She married him when he came back from the Second World War (WWII). As tradition demanded, he was unwilling to marry, but his family persuaded him, as he was old enough to take a wife. My mother was spotted by a family friend who conveyed the information to my father's family about her. After seeing her, his family went and negotiated the 'Ugwo Isi' (bride price), which is the priority and privilege of marriage in Igbo Land. They performed other traditional marriage rites that followed after the bride price. They were then officially declared husband and wife. The marriage later brought them 4 children before I was born.

Names played a very important role in Igbo's culture. Igbo is a dialect spoken by the eastern region of Nigeria, basically known as Igbo Land. When a child is born, a name is given to him or her, which must symbolize precisely a particular event. It may sometimes have special effect on that child's development. I remembered a story my father told me about a lad called O who was brave and strong and was a hero in his village. 'He fought and won wars, he was the highest wrestler and he was recommended by his industrious achievements!' he said. I was given the name O because I am a lad born on Nkwo Market Day. In ancient days, obviously lads born on that market days were said to have significant potential. They were believed to be peculiar people, able warriors,

strong and capable of defending the entire village in times of conflict, wars and important messages to other villages.

My childhood is not an easy thing to talk about because I was not born with a silver spoon in my mouth. I came from a poor family and grew up in a poor society where children walk around bare footed and some are half clothed. As a child, I experienced many horrible things because my parents added to our number four more children, making us a total number of nine children. My father was actually well-to-do before the civil war broke out. It ripped my family apart and destroyed my father's properties, i.e. housing, business and savings, rendering him penniless and powerless; however, we managed and survived.

I can remember the first day I went to school. It was astonishing! None of my family expected me to be there as I was under age. Seeing my brothers and sisters going to school everyday made me feel left out because I felt ignored. My parents reacted positively by allowing me to follow my kinfolk to school. The mistress was overwhelmed by my enthusiasm towards education thereby registering me to primary one. I started school and achieved impressive results at the end of the term. It took me six years to finish primary school. At the end of sixth year, I took General School Certificate Examination (GSCE), passed it and had my certificate.

Higher education was always my dream when I was in Elementary School. In Nigeria, pupils are not compelled to further their education after passing GSCE. It is a choice anyone can make. Before a pupil can attend a higher institution, like secondary school, he or she must have passed the Common Entrance Examination. I passed it with, 'flying colours,' and was posted to Alayi Secondary Commercial School. This school teaches both secondary and commercial subjects.

 My first experience there was absolutely compulsive. It was a place of discipline like army camps or college. Priority and power are given to the senior students by the school authority. A senior student can punish a junior one if he refuses to greet him or give a minor respect to him. The punishment could be to kneel down for five minutes or the junior could be given a menial job to do. Our

'tail' was cut prior to our first attendance to the school, which is the ritual for every new comer, living in boarding houses or dormitories. We were subjected only once to a general punishment by the prefects. The nature of the punishment was to summon the new comers together in an open hall at mid night and ask them to strip off their shirts and lie down on the floor. Collectively, the prefects would pour contaminated water, i.e. water used in the kitchen for washing beans, on the new comers. After lying there for some minutes, the general prefect would then announce that the new comers are welcome in the school. Every new student witnessed this ritual. It was a dream comes true, to have survived the first test of faith, as I was then proud to become a student.

Class one and two are designed to cover all subjects being taught in the school, but from class three, you are allowed to select seven subjects, plus two compulsory subjects (English and Maths). I chose Commerce, Economics, Business Method, Accounts, Agriculture, Biology and Chemistry. It was my dream to study Accounts at University, but that dream did not come true because my family were not capable of financing my education further. At the end of Class five, I took preliminary or mock exam and West African Examination Council or General Certificate Exam (WAEC or GCE) ordinary level. I did well in our zone and was awarded with a certificate and a gift, for the best accountancy student.

The dream of furthering my education was shattered and I left to go to Togo in 1987 to assist my father's friend in his business. He was an importer of textiles, shoes and bags from America and some European countries. During my stay with him, I acquired lots of practical experience in business. After serving him for three years, I was able to establish my own business. This business required lots of travelling because all the goods I dealt with were imported. For an importer to get exactly the quality of goods he needed, he has to be there to inspect them before shipment, unless it is on a trust basis.

On one occasion, I travelled to Germany to inspect my goods; I met a lady with whom I fell in love. She was elegant, charming, spontaneous, humorous and pretty. We were so much in love that we decided to dedicate our lives to each other. We got married in 1996 in Togo. Due to the nature of her work, she was

not able to live with me in Togo; rather we decided to live in Germany together. It was not easy for me because of the language and culture. The marriage was shattered after two and half years. Therefore we separated and divorced. Since then, I accepted and made Germany my first home, and decided to naturalize as a German. All those years I was in Germany I was working and paying my taxes, until the day that I was arrested in Dover for drug importation into England.

I have now known that life is a mixture of sorrow and happiness. At the moment, this is the time of sorrow.

Case Study (9)   A Legitimate Entrepreneur (I)

Mark

D.O.B.   18/08/67

Mark is aged 38 and is going through a separation from his partner of seventeen years. He has been working on developing his own business, **Shadowcat Systems Ltd**, along with a partner, whilst being employed full-time in the publishing industry. The company is a software and consultancy provider based in the UK but operating worldwide via electronic communications. It offers expertise in the development of networked systems and automating manual processes from business workflow to systems and network management. Mark offers a website design system for free and then charges for consultancy fees; a good example of social enterprise in a contemporary context.

Since his separation from his partner, Mark has decided to concentrate full-time on the business.

(This is a transcription of an audio recorded interview).

IV.   *Tell me about yourself*

M.   My mother and father divorced when I was three years old. She bought her own house.

With my stepfather after they were married, there was a disagreement with my mum and dad who I saw very infrequently.

IV.   *Did you have a happy childhood?*

M.   I had a disadvantaged childhood.

I have one brother and two sisters. One works in admin and one in packaging for a diesel firm. My brother is a haulage driver.

One sister is six years older than me and is quite bright; she used to read to me when I was young. My mother had two jobs so my elder sister used to nurse me a lot when I was 2 or 3. My mum worked mainly in cleaning jobs.

IV. ***What was school like?***

M. (He laughed) I didn't enjoy school as I was bullied quite a lot. I became more sociable when I left school.

IV. ***Have you ever been told that you were dyslexic?***

M. No.

IV. ***At what age did you leave school and did you obtain any qualifications?***

M. I left school at sixteen with some qualifications although they weren't as good as they should have been because my mother and father were going through a divorce at the time. Grade 1 at CSE

IV. ***Did you have problems getting a job?***

M. No, I used to work in a chippy part-time on Saturdays from the age of fourteen. I did conservation work. Three and a half days a week.

IV. ***How many jobs have you had?***

M. Not many about six or seven.

IV. ***How long did you stay in your jobs?***

M. I did two years of voluntary work and worked in a nursing home for three and a half years. I worked in a 'chippy' for two years: in publishing for almost ten years. I was seven in my last job.

IV. ***What kind of job did your parents have?***

M. My mum did mainly cleaning. My stepdad worked in a haulage business and then became a self-employed taxi driver.

IV. ***Have you ever received a criminal conviction?***

M. No, but I was arrested for shoplifting batteries at the age of fifteen but I was never convicted.

IV. **What are your future plans?**

To try and make my company work. The settle down and buy my own house.

IV. **Do you have any role models?**

M. I am widely read and I am inspired by lots of people in history e.g. Bessie Braddock. I like to see the underdogs overcome adversity and come out top. I admire people who overcome adversity.

IV. **Do you think it is possible to be happy without designer clothes, a top of the range car, an exclusive house or lots of money?**

M. Yes. I am not sure about material possessions. I have not been in a position where I haven't had them so I'm not sure.

IV. **What kind of income would make you happy?**

M. Enough to pay all my bills.

IV. **What would make you happy?**

M. Achievement. I have a bit of an ego.

IV. **What are your main goals in life?**

M. To be happy and make my company successful. I would like to make it big enough to have employees.

IV. **Do you consider yourself to be entrepreneurial?**

M. Yes, I consider myself entrepreneurial.

IV. **Why did you set a company?**

M. I worked in my spare time with a partner four years ago and it just developed from there. I feel that business should be benefiting the society that you are in. I have a need to be my own person. I like security.

Case Study (10)   A Legitimate Entrepreneur (II)
Jason

Jason is aged 33 and lives with his partner Amy. He set up his own website based electronic goods retail business about a year ago. The private limited company is called **3 Wise Monkeys Services Ltd** and was incorporated in September 2004. Jason has recently moved into property development.
GET Score: 40.

IV.   ***Tell me about yourself***

J.   I live in my own house with my partner Amy. I have a sister who is aged 37 years old. She is an administrator doing a PA type job organising events. My mother and father both run their own businesses.

IV.   ***Did you have a happy childhood?***

J.   Yes.

IV.   ***Was it a disadvantaged childhood?***

J.   No; middle of the road. OK; balanced.

IV.   ***What was school like?***

J.   School was pretty good.

IV.   ***Have you ever been told that you were dyslexic?***

J.   No.

IV.   ***At what age did you leave school and did you obtain any qualifications?***

J.   I went to a public school, Berkhamsted School, and left with 'A' Levels in Mathematics, Biology and Economics. I then did a degree in Economics. Later I did an MSc in Computing.

IV.   ***Did you have problems getting a job?***

J.   No.

IV. *How many jobs have you had?*

J. A couple.

IV. *How long did you stay in your jobs?*

J. My first job was working as a general dogsbody in a tax collectors office i.e. I worked for the Inland Revenue. I then worked for eight years as an IT manager.

IV. *What kind of jobs do your parents have?*

J. My mum runs her own horticultural nursery and my dad runs his own coach business. The work ethic is bred into you when your parents are busy running businesses. They seemed to work hard and always succeed. I got my motivation from them.

IV. *Have you ever received a criminal conviction?*

J. No,

IV. *What are your future plans?*

J. To build up the business.

IV. *Do you have any role models?*

J. I had a friend, Dave, who got me started by linking me with his network of contacts but I wouldn't say he was a role model.

IV. *Do you think it is possible to be happy without designer clothes, a top of the range car, an exclusive house or lots of money?*

J. Yes.

IV. *What kind of income would make you happy?*

J. About £50,000+ per annum.

IV. *What would make you happy?*

J. Having a good home relationship and a successful business.

IV. **What are your main goals in life?**

J. To have a good quality of life; not too much stress and a good relationship with my partner.

IV. **Do you consider yourself to be entrepreneurial?**

J. Yes, I consider myself entrepreneurial. I want to be seen as successful in the community. I need to be doing something; I'm not good at sitting around and relaxing. I need to achieve something. I'm a risk taker but I wouldn't say that I was a calculated risk taker.

IV. **Why did you start a company?**

J. I was motivated by seeing my parents running a business and seeing their success but didn't realise how much was involved. They have both ran their own businesses for as long as I can remember. It's hard. I don't like the paperwork such as completing quarterly VAT returns which I need to work on in the next few days.

IV. **What do you think is the purpose of life?**

J. To enjoy it and do whatever makes you happy.

STRUCTURED INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. What kind of childhood did you have?

2. Was it a happy one?

3. Was it a disadvantaged one?

4. Do you have any brothers or sisters?

5. What are their ages?

6. What do they do for a living?

7. What was school like?

8. What kind of schools did you go to?

9. Have you ever been told that you are dyslexic?

10. At what age did you leave?

11. Did you get any qualifications?

12. Have you gained any qualifications since leaving school?

13. Did you have a problem getting a job?

14. What was your first job?

15. How many jobs have you had? Have you ever been self-employed?

16. Do you intend becoming self-employed after you release?

17. How long did you stay in your jobs?

18. What kind of job did your parents have?

19. Would you like to talk about your criminal convictions?

20. What was the first crime that you ever committed? (Regardless of whether or not you received a conviction.)

21. What made you commit the crime?

22. Why are you in prison?

23. Why did you get into crime?

24. Was your crime a victimless one?

25. What are your future plans?

26. If you are thinking of starting up a business, when do you think you might start it?

27. Would you say that you were enterprising/entrepreneurial?

<div align="center">Yes ☐   No ☐</div>

28. If your answer was yes. How did you learn to be entrepreneurial?

29. How did you learn your 'craft' or 'trade'?

30. Give me an example of some enterprising activities you have undertaken.

31. Do you have any role models?

32. Do you think it is possible to be happy without:

    (a)   Designer clothes
    (b)   A top of the range car
    (c)   An exclusive house
    (d)   A lot of material possessions?
    (e)   Lots of money?

33. What would make you happy?

34. What kind of income would make you happy?

35. What are your main goals in life?

36. What do you think is the purpose of life?

NOTTINGHAM BUSINESS SCHOOL

A Report on a Piece
of Structured Research

The Entrepreneurial Capacity of Offenders

Document 4

By

John Haggerstone

Document 4 is submitted in part fulfilment of the requirements of the Nottingham Trent University for the degree of Doctorate of Business Administration

CONTENTS

Tables

1. ABSTRACT

This piece of structured and survey based research reported as Document 4 is related to Documents 2 and 3. As part of a holistic and integrated study, it attempts to find common characteristics between legitimate entrepreneurs and property offenders. New data has been collected and is used which builds upon previous research. This study compares prisoners with various other entrepreneurial or non-entrepreneurial groups with regard to entrepreneurial traits as measured by a predictive instrument (Caird's General Enterprise Tendency[20] test) and an attempt was also made to investigate the preferred learning styles of the persistent property crime offenders to draw further comparisons with legitimate entrepreneurs.

It is inevitable that this kind of positivist research lends itself to being used as a predictor of entrepreneurial intentions. Whereas confirmation of this would be a useful instructive tool, it was not the purpose of this structured survey that it should stand alone from other work by the researcher but that it should form a part of a pluralistic study into the entrepreneurial capacity of offenders.

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[20] *General Enterprise Test devised by Sally P Caird (1980)*

2   INTRODUCTION

This report on a piece of structured research forms part of a wider study looking at the career criminal or persistent property offender and draws comparisons with the legitimate or normative entrepreneur.[21]

This document is of interest to the researcher who has worked closely with over 1000 offenders incarcerated in prison over a period of ten years and forms part of a range of investigations into the behaviour, moral reasoning and learning styles of offenders.

It will be of benefit to:

♦ The researcher as a prison educator interested in reducing re-offending

♦ The Prison Service and the National Offender Management Service (NOMS)[22]

♦ Milton Keynes College – the current provider of education to a cluster of eleven prisons for male offenders in the south east of England. The College employs 450 lecturers looking after over 5000 offenders.

♦ Those interested in developing potential entrepreneurs

♦ Policy makers

This study will ascertain whether or not there is a relationship between entrepreneurial traits in persistent property offenders and legitimate entrepreneurs using a General Enterprise Tendency Test and compares the learning styles of both. The GET test was distributed to 470 individuals but only 414 completed it for various reasons. Additionally, as part of obtaining a larger holistic picture, the preferred learning styles of persistent property

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[21] *The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines an entrepreneur as: 'a person who undertakes an enterprise or business with the chance of profit or loss; a contractor acting as an intermediary; the person taking effective control of a commercial undertaking ... from the French entreprende, to undertake'. This set of definitions points towards an entrepreneur as someone looking for rewards but taking some risk (potentially suffering a profit or loss), someone who links different people and resources for commercial reasons (a contractor), or someone in control of a business.*

[22] *In the Queen's Speech, (15/11/06) which set out the Government's plans, it was stated that: "Legislation will be introduced to improve the way that offenders are managed and supervised." However, remarkably, the NOMS Model (1/5/06) which sets out the key ideas which make up the National Offender Management Service (NOMS) concept of Offender Management gives a mere two passing references to education and both of those in relation to drugs education. In the NOMS Business Plan 2006 – 2007 there is no mention of getting offenders into self-employment.*

offenders were also investigated but this was with a much smaller sample (n = 45).

The Importance of the Research Question

The research question is: do persistent property offenders[23] or career criminals have similar traits or characteristics and learning styles to entrepreneurs? The question forms an important part of a study into the entrepreneurial capacity of offenders with the main aim of the study being to help formulate education policy with regard to prisoners in order to reduce re-offending.

Overview

According to the Home Office, 1.48 million people were sentenced by the courts in England and Wales in 2005[24] of which 102,200 offenders received an immediate custodial sentence with an average length of 12.6 months. For the purposes of this study persistent offenders or convicted career criminals are of most interest as potentially they are more likely to display entrepreneurial behaviour than say offenders who commit offences of criminal damage or of a violent or sexual nature. The offenders under study were mainly incarcerated in a category C all male prison, HMP The Mount.

Prison education was introduced after the Goal Act of 1823, which required that "*schoolmasters*" were appointed by prison authorities. Prison education, which has always been optional, is aimed at reducing recidivism by offenders on release and for 2005-06 the Department for Education and Skills had a budget of £152.5 million. Although this is a threefold increase on funding levels of 2000-01 it represents a mere 1% of the Prison Service budget. In 2006-07, the responsibility for prison education was been passed over to the Local Learning and Skills Councils. Based on the findings of the Social Exclusion Unit[25] that half of all prisoners were excluded from 96% of jobs because they didn't have the required basic skills, most prison education

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[23] *For the purposes of this study, **property crime** covers those offences contained in the Home Office Crime in England and Wales Survey 2004/5 namely robbery, vehicle-related theft, theft and handling stolen goods, criminal damage, arson, fraud and forgery and drug crime.*
[24] *Sentencing Statistics 2005, Home Office Statistical Bulletin, January 2007*
[25] *House of Commons Education and Skills Committee (2005)*

programmes are aimed at teaching the basic skills of literacy and numeracy but a small number like HMP The Mount run courses aimed at self-employment business skills.

Foreign National Prisoners[26]

Due to the close proximity of HMP The Mount to London, foreign national prisoners account for an unusually large portion of the residents therein i.e. almost a third of the prison population, whereas nationally they account for 13% of the total estate or 10,289[27] people in England and Wales; in over ten years the number has trebled. According to the study 41% have language difficulties. A disproportionate number of foreign nationals (25% compared to 12% of British prisoners) are imprisoned for drug importation offences (customs evasion of drugs in our classification of offences) and some 20% for fraud and forgery offences typically for possession of false documents. So we have a high proportion of individuals showing some entrepreneurial activity.

Offender Literacy

Literacy levels among adults in England and Wales in 2003

Level	%	Number	HMP The Mount* Inductees %
Entry level 1 or below	4.2	1,172,000	4.3
Entry level 2	2.3	654,000	10.1
Entry level 3	13.6	3,824,000	23.0
(All entry level or below)	20.1	5,650,000	37.4
Level 1	6.9	1,940,000	29.6
Level 2 or above	52.8	14,800,000	N/A
Total	100.0	28,040,000	N/A

(*Skills for Life national needs and impact survey, DfES, 2003, HMP The Mount Needs Analysis 2006 Report*)

The general level of literacy of prisoners entering HMP The Mount is lower

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[26] Foreign national prisoners: a thematic review (July 2006), HM Inspectorate of Prisons
[27] In April 2006

than that of the population at large.   Literacy levels below Level 1 amounted to 70.3% (compared with 64.7% last year) of the prison population. For numeracy, 72.8% of offenders were below Level 1 (compared with 77.2% last year).

Due to lack of access, female prisoners were not tested but as shown in the pie chart in terms of offenders they represent a very small portion of the prison population.

Prison Population by Gender

6%

94%

☐ Male
☐ Female
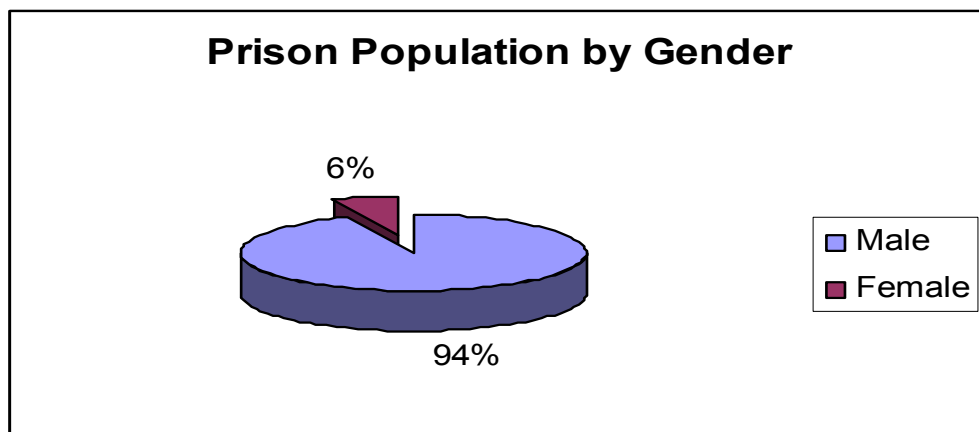
Chart 1 The Gender split in Prisons in England & Wales

That offenders are entrepreneurial is acknowledged by some of the leaders of the Prison Service but very little has been done to develop the notion that these offenders should be steered towards self-employment in order to give them more meaningful lives and empower them to make a positive contribution to Society.

> *"Very often we in prisons are dealing with people who have become involved in crime because there is a little bit of the entrepreneur about them – it's just that their entrepreneurial skills are not the kind anyone would want to reward.   In a different world with a different background, they might well have been a captain of industry, but they have ended up using their*

energies in all the wrong ways". Phil Wheatley, Director-General of the Prison Service. (2006)[28]

So the notion of criminals or offenders being entrepreneurial is not unusual among those who have to deal with them. Indeed many offenders continue their entrepreneurial activities within the walls of the prison e.g. many prisons have high levels of drug culture. Before we investigate the offender as an entrepreneur we need to look at the process of entrepreneurship.

Entrepreneurship

Theories of entrepreneurship and of crime are determined, to a greater or lesser extent, by the discipline of the theorist concerned. Three of the main disciplines associated with both entrepreneurship, and coincidently with crime, are economics, sociology and psychology, so it is not surprising that economists draw upon economic concepts to explain and understand both entrepreneurship and crime, whilst sociologists will consider sociological concepts and psychologists will base their investigations upon psychological concepts.

Sociologists are not concerned with the economic function of entrepreneurs or criminals but with the identification of the defining features of these social groups, which undertake criminal or entrepreneurial activities, and the way in which they will interact within society in terms of their attitudes and beliefs.

However, this doesn't mean that, for example, all sociologists will agree with all of their sociological explanations or economists with those evolving from economics but generally speaking it is natural to assume that the importance of a concept that an individual chooses will be largely determined by their particular theoretical stance within their discipline. Sociological approaches look at the environmental influences on the offender or entrepreneur. Accordingly within sociology for instance there are theories of crime which emphasise social structure and draw on concepts such as anomie and subcultures; other theories stress the importance of social processes, using concepts such as control and labelling; while yet other theories draw on

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[28] *"Teaching offenders new skills is only one part of the solution", Talisman Issue 55 Oct 2006 p9*

social conflict, evolving from concepts such as class structure and class struggle and then there are others who will say that it is 'nature not nurture' that makes someone turn to crime. Often these varieties of explanations have some congruence but equally in some cases they may stand diametrically opposed.

Psychologists tend to place greater importance on the predictive accuracy of their methodologies than sociologists, who in this context would be mainly interested in explaining who entrepreneurs are rather than predicting who will become entrepreneurs. Thus sociology and psychology are both concerned with determinants of human behaviour, albeit from different perspectives.

The researcher who is not an economist, sociologist nor psychologist, does not apologise for choosing to look at the psychological aspects of the property offender; in other words the internal influences on the behaviour of the offender, traits[29], seemingly in isolation, because although this part of the study in a sense stands alone it is intended that it will form part of a much wider holistic picture of the world of the entrepreneurial criminal.

In looking at the internal influences on the behaviour of entrepreneurs, researchers have attempted to discover personality characteristics and behaviours to distinguish entrepreneurs from others, most typically managers, since the early 1960s when McClelland (1961) identified 'the need for achievement' and 'the propensity to take risks' as personality traits.

According to Timmons (1999: 216) David McClelland of Harvard University and John Atkinson of the University of Michigan and their colleagues' theory of psychological motivation is now a "generally accepted part of the literature on entrepreneurial behaviour". As such it has been widely used in research, training and evaluation work. The theory states that individuals are motivated by three main needs: (1) the need for achievement, (2) the need for power and (3) the need for affiliation.

Entrepreneurs are usually identified only by their actions i.e. through their entrepreneurial behaviour which leaves educators in a dilemma. They need

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[29] *A trait, according to the Concise Oxford Dictionary, is a distinguishing feature or quality, especially of a person's character.*

a method of identifying the potential entrepreneur who can then be cost effectively trained to become a legitimate entrepreneur. For various reasons, society at large would like to see a reduction in re-offending. Apart from a reduction in expenditure from the public purse communities in general feel much safer when there is less criminal activity about. Education in prisons is considered one of the ways of giving offenders the means to reduce their offending. In 2005-06 the Prison Service budget for education was £151 million or 1% of the total budget for prisons0. It is reckoned that offenders who have received education in prison are 66%[30] less likely to re-offend than those who have not. It is the researcher's view that one of the main aims of education in prisons should be to give offenders who are able the tools and confidence to take up self-employment. Then by what means do we attempt to ensure that offenders with entrepreneurial skills or traits will emerge in the future to fulfil meaningful and rewarding economic roles?

It is not the researcher's approach at this stage to explore the trait approach versus the situation debate. This study is based on the nomothetic approach rather than the idiographic one i.e. it is about comparing individuals in terms of a specific number of traits. The non-economic perspective pays greater attention to entrepreneurs as people, with personal attributes, needs and ambitions, or to entrepreneurship as a form of behaviour which is associated with successful businesses, rather than entrepreneurship as an economic function. In essence it is an investigation into the internal influences on the behaviour of individuals. Document 3 took the phenomenological approach looking at persistent offenders and entrepreneurs as people in society with all the social and environmental pressures that entails, this study now looks at the psychodynamic model that was partly revealed in *Document 3* which tends to suggest that, like criminal behaviour, entrepreneurial behaviour arises from deviant personalities which are developed through abnormal childhood experiences such as deprivation.

Current actions and behaviour are the result of early life experiences. It can be argued that the experience of deprivation in childhood results in psychological problems in adulthood, such as low self-esteem and the inability to accept authority or work with others. This leads to individuals

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[30] *Reducing Re-Offending Through Skills and Employment (December 2005)*

creating their own business opportunities, where there are no authority figures to contend with and their self-esteem and self-confidence is bolstered when the have the satisfaction of running their own business be it legitimate or not.

It is accepted that an individual's behaviour can be shaped to some extent by their social environment but this study will take the psychological approach and focus on analysing the internal cognitive development in individuals who display entrepreneurial[31] behaviour. Two main approaches that have been developed by psychologists in the study of entrepreneurship are the psychodynamic model proposed by Kets de Vries (1977) and personality trait models; the landmark work in this field being by McClelland (1961).

Much of the early work on entrepreneurial traits was involved with the comparison of entrepreneurs with managers. However, some recent work by Reiple (1998) Sonfield et al (2001) compared offenders with entrepreneurs but without due regard to the nature of offenders offence. The interest here is not so much to come up with the universal personality but rather to obtain a suitable method of measurement to get a score which can be used in conjunction with other factors such as age, education, background etc to determine the suitability of offenders for entrepreneurial training within the criminal justice system.

There are several psychometric approaches that could have been used such as the Eysenck's (1977) multi-trait theories which look at personality dimensions such as extroversion (E), neuroticism (N) or psychoticism (P). Eyesenck considers the criminal to be a neurotic extrovert i.e. N is linked to crime through anxiety. He posits that high anxiety functions are very much like drives, which multiply with habit, so hence according to Eyesenck a delinquent is likely to become a persistent offender if they are high N scorers.

Cattell's (1963) multi-trait theory looked at 'affectia' versus 'sizia', intelligence, ego strength versus emotionality etc. (*Cattell was pro-Hitler in the 1930s!*)

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[31] *Since entrepreneurial is the adjective of entrepreneur then it describes what an entrepreneur does i.e., the process. An entrepreneur undertakes entrepreneurial activities. I*

Through his empirical research, Goldberg (1993) came up with the **Big Five personality traits** which are five broad factors or dimensions of personality; these factors are Neuroticism, Extraversion, Agreeableness, Conscientiousness, and Openness to Experience and each factor consisted of a number of more specific traits. For example, extraversion includes such related qualities as sociability, excitement seeking, and positive emotions. However these were discounted by the researcher as being inappropriate for this study.

Entrepreneurial traits or behaviours

Entrepreneurial traits can be described as factors that purport to influence individuals to behave in an enterprising or entrepreneurial fashion. The idea that entrepreneurial success could be predicted before a new business has been started has been fascinating for both economists and psychologists alike. If governments genuinely want economic development and at the same time reduce recidivism it seems rational to identify potential entrepreneurs among offenders and set up support systems to nurture them through the vulnerable start-up stages. Although offenders will have different goals, experiences and skills, it seems sensible to assume that enterprising offenders will have some similar traits and attributes which disposes them to behave in an enterprising fashion.

Chell et al (1991) pointed out the importance of identifying the characteristics of people who act in an entrepreneurial manner. However, there is a distinct lack of agreement among workers in the field as to which traits are essential to an entrepreneur. Chell and her co-workers suggested that entrepreneurs are opportunistic, ideas-people, innovative, creative, restless, adventurous and agents of change.

Though, Deamer and Earle (2004) suggested that merely looking for entrepreneurial traits is doomed to fail yet cannot be entirely discounted and Gartner (1988) argued that behaviour should be studied rather than traits. A model containing a mixture of the two may be a more powerful predictor, which is what the researcher is hoping to develop. Utsch and Rausch (2000) suggested that a mediation model would work best where personality variables are linked to the work situation and job requirements of an

entrepreneur and success is used to explain entrepreneurial behaviour. A similar model could hopefully be developed with our offenders.

Gartner (1990) developed the notion that entrepreneurship involves people with unique personality characteristics and abilities. However, research into entrepreneurial traits has to some extent been discredited during the last decade or so.

Chell, Haworth, and Brearley (1991) suggested that disagreement on the meaning of "entrepreneurship" has led to some impediment of research progress in this sphere; moreover, these authors advocate using trait terms which describe natural categories accessible to lay persons. Gartner (1988) noted that theoretical models seeking to explain the broad phenomenon of entrepreneurship would benefit by including variables beyond traits alone.

Robinson et al. (1991) argued for more dynamic models of the entrepreneurship process. Shaver and Scott (1991) identified the methodological weaknesses of much entrepreneurial trait research arguing for consistency between the specificity of the measures and underlying constructs.

As a result of such criticisms very little research has been published exploring the relationship between entrepreneurship and personality traits. Considerable attention has been devoted to creating models of an assortment of entrepreneurial processes, such as entrepreneurial potential (Krueger and Brazeal 1994), new venture start-up (Herron and Sapienza 1992), and entrepreneurial motivation (Naffziger, Hornsby, and Kuratko 1994). Although these theoretical frameworks have significantly improved theories surrounding the entrepreneurship process, they also appear to have sounded the premature death knell for the study of personality and entrepreneurship.

Following Caird's summary of entrepreneurial traits testing it was decided to look at a small range of personality questionnaires and analyse the results using factor analysis. The two main types of questionnaires used were

based on Caird's General Enterprise Tendency (GET) test and Honey and Mumford's Learning Styles Preference test.

Over the course of three years, offenders serving time at HMP The Mount have been assessed for these five 'entrepreneurial traits to establish whether or not they have an entrepreneurial spirit. This was used by the researcher as a measure of an offender's suitability for an intensive OCR[32] accredited twelve week full-time self-employment business skills business skills course aimed at preparing them for self-employment on release. Those selected considered themselves to have some entrepreneurial spirit and aspired to become legitimate entrepreneurs. All of those chosen completed the course and achieved NVQ Level 2 or 3; most completing the higher level. In order to check the validity and reliability of the results members of the 'general public' and entrepreneurs were tested.

An attempt was made to match the offence with entrepreneurial traits and to link with these with their learning style preferences.

3.   PRIOR RESEARCH

Although much research has been carried out in the fields of criminology and entrepreneurship there has been minimal analysis of the entrepreneurial aptitude of offenders.

In the USA, Sonfield et al are the main researchers who have looked at the entrepreneurial aptitude of offenders using a predictive motivational instrument. In 2001 they published a study of relatively small sample i.e. 59 male prisoners from three different prisons, 30 of which were taking a self-employment or small business course, which they compared with a group of 135 'normative' entrepreneurs. Sonfield et al based their work on **The Minor Sentence Completion Scale – Form T** which is a projective testing instrument which is claimed to have been a valid measure of motivation in several different fields.

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[32] *OCR stands for Oxford and Cambridge and Royal Society of Arts; it is an examination body.*

In the UK, also looking at the offender as a potential entrepreneur, using Caird's GET test, Alison Rieple (1998) was convinced that offenders exhibit similar traits to entrepreneurs and score the same regardless of types of crime. The researcher originally concurred with her view and hoped to confirm and extend Rieple's work. Reiple (*ibid*) discussed the question of whether or not 'offenders' have the potential for entrepreneurial activity and examined the provision for training and support for prisoners after they are released. It is the opinion of the researcher, however, that the prison environment chosen by her was atypical due to the high proportion of sex offenders and prisoners in custody awaiting trial so the study was invalid. This study will concentrate on an 'average' prison environment where all the respondents have been sentenced. Rieple's work also looked at the Probation Service and the support they would give to ex-offenders wanting to set up in business but did not look in any depth at other support agencies. Studies on prison populations generally are scarce mainly because of the very nature of the individuals concerned and the environment they find themselves in.

The purpose of this study is not to create a set of psychological constructs leading to a group of universal personality traits which match both offender and entrepreneur but to examine the scores of these people in five traits as part of a holistic perspective. For this study those attributes used by Caird have been used.

Measures

Caird's General Enterprise Tendency (GET) test is the instrument which has been shown in several studies to validly measure five attributes that have consistently been found to be linked with entrepreneurship: the need for achievement (NAch), need for autonomy, internal locus of control, creative potential, and calculated risk taking propensity. However, as mentioned in document 2, a number of researchers have expressed dissatisfaction with extant knowledge of the personality-entrepreneurship relationship.

Document 2 highlighted the work of people like Rieple who looked at offenders and concluded that they had similar personality traits to entrepreneurs. However, what Rieple actually showed was that the traits of

the offenders were merely reflecting those of society at large. In Document 3 one of the outcomes was that as well as sociological and environmental influences it was clear that there were some similarities between entrepreneurs and career or property criminals which merited further investigation. This quantitative survey looks at five entrepreneurial traits of offenders and compares them with known legitimate entrepreneurs and also members of the public which act as a benchmark. There is apparently some congruency with entrepreneurs and offenders. Kets de Vries (1977) considers entrepreneurs are social misfits and offenders have widely been regarded as social misfits.

The positivist approach of this study has been used by Caird (1988) to investigate entrepreneurs and others. Rieple (1998) used the test and concluded that *all offenders* exhibited entrepreneurial traits which rather invalidated the test. This work aims to show that the test is a valid one but only for offenders who have some history or interest in matters of a business-like nature whether legitimate or not and not for all offenders regardless of offence which was presumed in Rieple's work, which also dealt with a much smaller sample. At HMP The Mount, Caird's General Enterprise Tendency test (GET test) was introduced by the researcher and has been used successfully for some four years as a means of identifying suitable applicants for a self-employment business skills course (OCR Firm Start[33]) in a male prison and has been adopted by some other prisons running the Firm Start self-employment programme. Most offenders successfully complete the course and some are rehabilitated into self-employment or other employment.

This work has been further inspired by the reference of Bolton and Thompson (2000)[34] to '*Entrepreneurs in the shadows*' where they discuss criminal entrepreneurs and their characteristics and by the ethnographic study by Hobbs (1995) on professional criminals.

It is expected that the findings of this study will help to generate the following benefits:

- Fill a gap in knowledge of the entrepreneurial capacity of offenders.

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[33] An accredited course, **OCR Firm Start** is offered at NVQ Level 1, 2 and 3.
[34]*p231-254 of chapter 9 of Bolton, B. and Thompson, J. (2000) Entrepreneurs: Talent, Temperament, Technique*

- Improve understanding of the behavioural patterns of entrepreneurs and the process of entrepreneurship;

- Enable prison educators to produce a curriculum that will give practical experience and confidence to offenders to set-up businesses on release.

- Assist policy makers to implement a more strategic approach to the funding of enterprise activities for the development of offenders before and after release.

- Assist in the development of a process model for entrepreneurship education and entrepreneurial development in general.

Document 3 looked at qualitative aspects and identified that property crime offenders had a high GET score. The significant research workers in the field such as Rieple (1998) and Sonfield et al (2001) used a positivist approach concentrating on the so-called entrepreneurial characteristics or traits of offenders. This study aims to explore in more detail the five 'entrepreneurial traits' used in Caird's GET test. The main difference being that in both Rieple (1998) and Sonfield (2001) the study was aimed at offenders per se whereas this study will look more deeply at offenders whose crime appeared to have some elements of entrepreneurism about them. The area is a very complex one but common traits may be evident.

Studies of the learning style preferences of offenders are very poorly covered in the literature and the author considered that it was a facet that merited further research which is the reason why it was chosen as an area of investigation as part of this study.

4. Methodology

Two approaches were used:

(1)   Caird's GET test.

(2)   Honey & Mumford's LSI.

Design and Sample Size

The main instrument used was Caird's GET Test. The total population of all individuals tested was n = 470 accumulated over a three year period; this consisted of 311 offenders from HMP The Mount and 8 from HMP Wayland and 100 'general public' of which 19 were entrepreneurs[35]. In the prison, 26 papers were incomplete and five deliberately spoilt – all by people not interested in doing the self-employment course. Several preferred to do the test anonymously so it was not possible to link them up with their crime. It is difficult to obtain results totally unbiased in the prison as the researcher is very much at the mercy of the willing prisoners. In prison, the number of potential entrepreneurs, inmates who followed a Firm Start business start up course, who attempted the GET test was 174. The mean age of the offenders on the course who had undergone the GET test was 28 which reflects the prison system at large where the mean is males aged 27 years.

The total sample of all offenders, which included people who did not follow the Firm Start course, consisted of 315 male prisoners from 2 different prisons HMP The Mount (n = 312) and HMP Wayland (n = 12). So it was possible to get a measure of prisoners in general as well as those who clearly showed some interest in enterprising activities. The offenders were from a wide spectrum of ages, ethnic origins, linguistic and educational backgrounds.

All Firm Start class members completed the survey instrument designed by Caird (1980) prior to starting the self-employment business skills course. Other ex-offenders were either taking other education courses or none at all.

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[35] *An entrepreneur in this context is considered to be an individual who has set up and managed their own business.*

The mean age of the total sample was 28 with a standard deviation of 4.4 years.

The prison sample was compared with a group of 19 'normative' entrepreneurs (a sample of people who had set up and were running their own business ventures), a group of people from all walks of life represented the 'general public' sample (n = 80). The general public sample was necessary to validate the instrument but of course it is implicit that participants are not offenders. Most of the data was collected over a period of three years.

Hypotheses

Based on earlier research in this area by both Sonfield and Rieple several hypotheses were tested.

H1: Entrepreneurs will score higher than the general public.

H2: Offenders will score lower than the general public.

H3: Offenders with a background of persistent property crime have the same entrepreneurial traits as 'normative' entrepreneurs both in total GET scores and sub scores.

H4: Offenders who aspire to join a self-employed business skills courses will have higher entrepreneurial traits scores than those who are disinterested in joining such courses.

H5: Offenders from illegal 'businesses backgrounds' will score the same as entrepreneurs.

H6 Offenders will have the same learning style preference to entrepreneurs.

The null hypothesis is tested by:

H7 Ex-offenders have a high entrepreneurial traits score regardless of type of crime committed.

ANOVA in Microsoft Excel was used to obtain descriptive statistics. It was decided that the best method to test the hypotheses to determine the existence of any significant differences on all five factors within the different chosen populations would be to use the t test.

The Test Instruments

Sally Caird (1993) looked at what psychological tests were in use with regard to entrepreneurs. She described the majority of tests used with entrepreneurs as personality tests rather than '*tests of ability, attainment or aptitude*'. Tests described by Caird included:

- ◆ The Thematic Apperception Test (TAT).
- ◆ Edwards Personal Reference Schedule. (EPPS)
- ◆ Jackson's Personality Inventory (JPI).
- ◆ Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI)
- ◆ Honey and Mumford's Measure of Learning Styles.

The Thematic Apperception Test (TAT)

McClelland used TAT to measure the need for achievement, power and affiliation by presenting pictures which suggested stories about problems to be solved with boss-subordinate, family and friendship relationships respectively. Research showed that entrepreneurs had a high need for achievement, high need for power but a low need for affiliation .i.e. to relate to or be approved by others. However technological entrepreneurs were more focused on independence and challenges rather than financial rewards.

Edwards Personal Reference Schedule

This objective personality test required participants to rank in order of importance according to their needs and personal priorities. Entrrpreneurs had a high need for achievement, autonomy, dominance and change but low needs for deference and affiliation. The need for autonomy was the strongest motive for starting up a business.

Jackson's Personality Inventory

These tests were mainly comparative studies of managers and entrepreneurs which showed that the latter had high measures of energy, risk-taking, and autonomy, reaction to changes and social adroitness but scored lower than managers on conformity and interpersonal effectiveness.

Myers-Briggs Type Indicator (MBTI)

MBTI's attempt to identify the style in which individuals are disposed to operate based on a range of preferred styles of perception and judgment along four dimensions.

Continuums of:

Introversion – extroversion

Thinking – feeling

Intuition – sensation

Judging - perception

Entrepreneurs were found to be more intuitive, thinking and perceptive than managers who tended to be more sensing, feeling and judging. Wiggins (1989: 538) discredited the MBTI to some extent when he stated "*the principal stumbling block to more widespread acceptance of the MBTI lies in the bipolar, discontinuous types to which the test authors are firmly committed*".

Caird rationalised these tests and clearly this formed the basis for the instrument which has been used in this study, namely the General Enterprise Tendency Test (GET Test). The instrument was designed by Sally Caird when she was at Stirling University.

The GET Test

Caird's 54 questions cover the following 5 traits are summarised by Stanworth and Gray (1991) cited in Beaver (2002: 39) as the most commonly discussed and with the greatest level of agreement as:

- Need for achievement (NAch) after McClelland, 1961)
- Need for independence (Bolton,1971; Collins and Moore, 1970; Kets de Vries, 1977)
- Internal locus of control (Brochaus. 1982); Caird, 1990; Chell et al, 1991)
- Innovative and creative behaviour (Moss Kanter, 1983, 1989; West and Farr, 1990)
- Risk-taking propensity (Quinn, 1980; Carland et al, 1984; Chell et al, 1991)

Honey and Mumford's Measure of Learning Styles

These tests identified the preferred learning styles of individuals based on reflection, theorising, experimentation or action.

Learning styles

Learning Style Inventories (LSIs) were developed to provide a research tool for investigating experiential learning and to help individuals increase their awareness of how they learn in order that they can use it as a starting point on how best to learn.

So the point of looking at the LSI is that it is a way of discovering how an offender learns and how they deal with ideas and day-to-day situations and as such it should help to give a better picture of the offender's mind and resultant actions. How an individual learns sculptures the course of their personal development. We all learn in different ways. This inventory can serve as a stimulus for to interpret and reflect on the ways individuals prefer to learn in specific settings. Kolb said that learning can be described as a cycle made up of four basic processes: concrete experience, observation and reflection, the formation of abstract concepts and testing in new situations. Houle (1980: 221) considered that experiential learning is *'education that occurs as a direct participation in the events of life'* In other words learning is by individuals themselves; it is achieved through reflecting on everyday experiences and is the way that most of people do their learning.

The Honey and Mumford Learning Style Inventory measures whether or not an individual has a preference for learning through reflection, theorizing, experimentation or action. It seemed to the researcher that this was an area that needed developing as there was very little published in regard to offenders and their learning styles.

Using Kolb's LSI, Bailey (1986; 199-210) investigated 67 successful company founders and found that the overall dominant learning style was that of concrete experience and reflective observer; Wright (2000) in Maskrey (2002:22) found most successful entrepreneurs have activist and pragmatist learning styles. i.e. they prefer to learn through action and experimentation rather than through theory and reflection.

WHAT ARE ENTREPRENEURIAL TRAITS?

A trait, according to the Concise Oxford Dictionary, is a distinguishing feature or quality, especially of a person's character. Since entrepreneurial is the adjective of entrepreneur then it describes what an entrepreneur does i.e., the process. An entrepreneur undertakes entrepreneurial activities.

Gross (2005: 731) defines personality as:

"Those relatively stable and enduring aspects of individuals which distinguish them from other people, making them unique, but at the same time allow people to be compared with each other".

But this begs the questions:

Does personality consist of permanent traits? (*Nomothetic approach*).

Is the study of personality the study of unique individuals or is it aimed at comparing them and discovering personality in general? (*Idiographic approach*).

The five traits in Caird's GET Tests were evolved as follows:

NEED FOR ACHIEVEMENT (NAch)

The need for achievement (NAch) is a personality trait which is regarded by many (e.g. McClelland, 1961, Johnson, 1990) as a key attribute associated with people from a wide spectrum of life. It reflects an individuals need to strive hard to achieve success self-esteem. Enterprising individuals have a strong desire for achievement which stimulates them into action according to Bridge et al (1998). This makes them proactive and continually looking for fresh challenges in order to meet targets.

This need for achievement was most probably learnt during childhood according to Bridge et al (1998) where parents make their children aware of their expectations and give support and feedback so that they become high achievers. However, McCelland (1965) argued that nAch can be developed in adults. Chell et al (1991) raised doubts about nAch in that she and her colleagues proposed that there is a link between culture and the need to achieve. Different attitudes exist in different cultures as to the occupations or careers that high achievers should pursue.

NEED FOR AUTONOMY (N Autonomy)

The need for autonomy is about being independent from others. Cromie (1987) found that it was a strong motive for entrepreneurs to set up their own businesses and Caird (1991) showed that entrepreneurs have a stronger need for autonomy than a lot of other occupations. It follows that entrepreneurs are very unlikely to enjoy working in an environment that restricts creative processes and reduces the possibility of achieving great rewards.

INTERNAL LOCUS OF CONTROL

Rotter's (1966) definition of '***internal locus of control***' characterizes individuals who think that they can have a direct effect on events whereas an *'external locus of control'* refers to the idea that events are not dependant on one's actions but rather luck or fate determines their path in life. When Rotter developed the original instrument as a unidimensional measure of control over personal environment he did not envisage it being used in entrepreneurial situations and it was not until nine years later (ibid, 1975) when he suggested that an *'internal locus of control'* is associated with entrepreneurial activity where a person believes their destiny is of their own making and is not predetermined by fate. Such people are driven by a need for autonomy over strategic decisions that will affect the course of their lives and crave independence from external influences.

People can be classified along a continuum from very internal to very external. An extension of the need for autonomy locus of control is a cognitive trait. People with a high internal locus of control want to be in control of their world and need to be in charge of their own destiny. These people make things happen and do not believe in luck or fate. Shaw & Scott (1991) found a correlation between external locus of control and self-esteem in delinquents.

Blatier (2000) carried out some work looking at locus of control, causal attributions and self-esteem by issuing questionnaires to inmates in a French prison although this was not linked by the author with enterprising behaviour it sheds some light on future areas of possible research.

Blatier looked at locus of control and attribution in order to explore the sociocognitive state of mind of prisoners. She found that prisoners who were employed on building sites controlled by the penitentiary system, but outside of the prison, had a higher internal LOC than those who were confined.

Chell et al (1991) considered that feelings of control will vary according to the circumstances and recent experience of the participant. Clearly, in a prison situation the individuals may have a strong sense of failure and sense of lack of control.

POTENTIAL FOR CREATIVITY

The potential for starting something new like a business or bringing a new product to the market can be seen as being creative. Enterprising people need to be able to devise new ideas or solve problems using original thought processes. They are flexible and willing to consider new approaches and often challenge the 'status quo.''

According to Cromie (2000) the process of creativity involves stages such as accumulating knowledge, reflection, developing and evaluation of ideas.

Drucker (1985) argued that innovation was systematic work and not a personality trait but Koh (1996) disagreed as he found entrepreneurs are more innovative than other sectors of society.

CALCULATED RISK-TAKING PROPENSITY

Entrepreneurs often need to ask themselves the question 'are the potential rewards commensurate with the risks?' Brockhaus (1980) defined the propensity for risk-taking as 'the perceived probability of receiving the rewards associated with success of a proposed situation, which is required by an individual before he will subject himself to the consequences associated with failure, the alternative situation providing less rewards as well as less severe consequences than the proposed situation.' It is the pursuance of an action about which the outcome is uncertain.

Masters (2001) found no difference in risk-taking propensity between entrepreneurs and managers but Saraswathy et al (1998) confirmed that success is linked to the way that entrepreneurs perceive and manage risk.

OTHER TRAITS

Malhi (2003) in an article on how to become a peak performer considered that peak performers, such as successful entrepreneurs, have high self-esteem which triggers enthusiasm and optimism that motivates people to pursue goals and persevere in the face of obstacles. People with high self-esteem are likely to have internal LOC.

Personality theories such as **NAch** or **Locus of Control** have been extensively researched in psychological studies of entrepreneurial behaviour (Borland, 1975; Venkaktapathy, 1984; Zheng and Stimpson, 1990). According to Epstein (1984) personality theories measure general individual tendencies that are stable across a spectrum of different situations.

Timmons (1999) summarised the personality characteristics of successful entrepreneurs by categorising traits that can be acquired and those that are innate, i.e. some traits can be learned and some not. Both the need for achievement and locus of control can be acquired along with leadership competencies. A high Locus of Control (LOC) means an individual needs to be in control of their own environment .i.e. be their own boss. Timmons reckons this latter trait can be acquired.

Achievement, of course, is not an innate need but can be learned and McClelland believes it can be developed in adults. It is considered by others that **NAch** is a weak predictor of an individual's tendency to start up a business. Also, McClelland's research did not connect this need for achievement with the decision to own and run a business.

The capacity to deal with failure can be an important attribute of entrepreneurs and it is interesting that certain cultures are less tolerant of failure than others e.g. the UK compared with the USA where failure is seen more positively. In this country often highly talented people are unable to recover from failure.

In practice most of the entrepreneurial characteristics are those associated with any successful manager or individual. The measures of locus of control are no different from managers or leaders, according to Brockhaus & Nord (1979.) However, they found that successful entrepreneurs generally had a higher internal locus of control than failed entrepreneurs.

The researcher makes no excuses for women not featuring as a main part of this study. Although it could be considered androcentric the main reasons are that male prisoners account for 94% of the total prison population of 79000 and the researcher only had immediate access to an all male category C prison. Also women are much less likely to be imprisoned for property related crimes. 70% have mental health problems (compared with 50% for men).Two-thirds are believed to have drug problems and 41% are in prison for drugs related offences. It was suggested by Shaver and Scott (1991:39) that 'personalogical' differences between entrepreneurs and non-entrepreneurs be abandoned in favour of the 'truly psychological perspective on new venture creation'. that considers 'person, process, and choice' thus focusing on the person rather than their personality, which is what was the intention in Document 3.

Gartner (1990) identified eight themes characterising the major issues of entrepreneurship. One of these themes focused on the entrepreneur as an individual, and the notion that entrepreneurship involves individuals with unique personality characteristics and abilities. Within this domain of research, five attributes have consistently been found too co-vary with entrepreneurship: the need for achievement, locus of control, risk-taking propensity, tolerance for ambiguity, and Type-A behaviour (Brockhaus 1982; Brockhaus and Horwitz 1986; Furnham 1992). Regardless of these results, a number of researchers have expressed dissatisfaction with extant knowledge of the personality-entrepreneurship relationship. Robinson et al (1991) argued for more dynamic models of the entrepreneurship process while Shaver and Scott (1991) identified the methodological weaknesses of a great deal of entrepreneurial trait research arguing for more consistency between the specificity of measures and underlying constructs.

5. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS OF FINDINGS

Evaluation of the GET and LSI Instruments

Using any kind of instrument is a worry to any researcher whether or not the researcher constructed the instrument. Questions need to be asked as to:

a) Does the participant really understand what needs to be done? As mentioned on p4 a substantial number of offenders in this research are foreign nationals and 41% are generally thought to have language difficulties. At HMP The Mount 37.4% of offenders have literacy levels below Entry Level 3.

b) For the same reasons as in (a) are the questions easily understood? Are the questions written with participants who have poor literacy skills in mind?

c) Are the questions relevant? This is a difficult question to answer. There is an assumption that the questions or statements are from a reliable source written by competent psychologists. Is this a valid assumption?

d) Do the questions truly reflect the essence of what is being determined?

e) Is the participant trying to give the researcher the answer that they think that they are looking for rather than the truth? In other words are the participants able to judge what they deem to be the 'correct' answers?

Traits

Does personality consist of permanent traits or characteristics? This has long been the basis of controversy. Gartner (1988) said that theoretical models seeking to explain the broad phenomenon of entrepreneurship would benefit by including variables beyond entrepreneurial traits alone.

The preferred learning styles of 45 property offenders were also measured overwhelmingly a pragmatist style was identified.
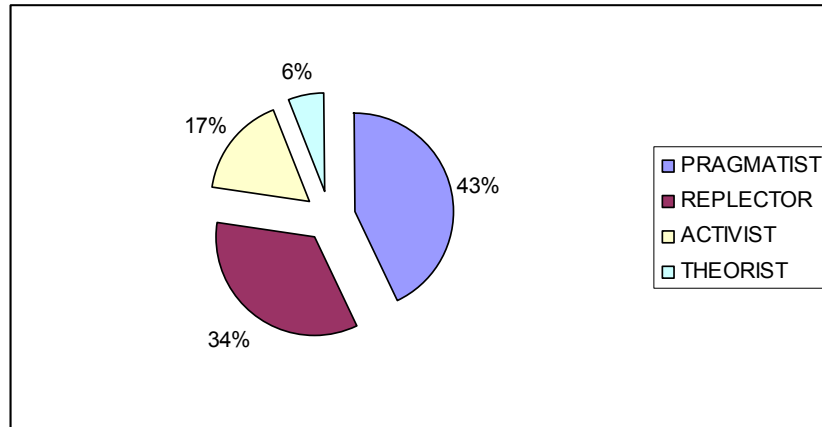
Learning Styles of Firm Starters
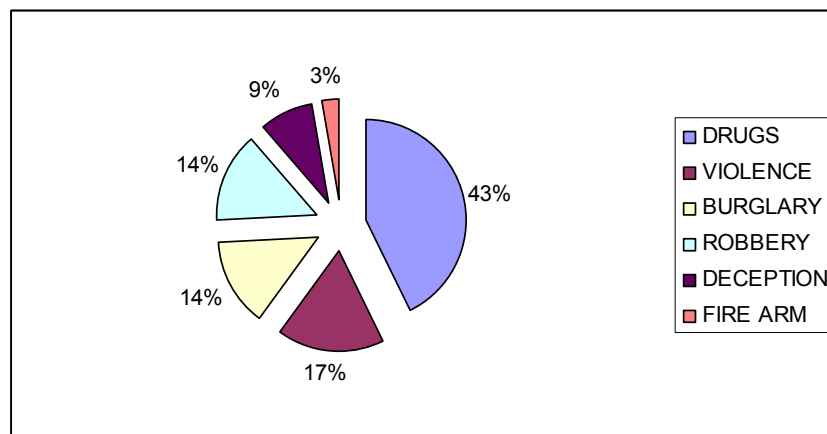
Firm Starters by offence

As the chart shows the property offenders were mainly pragmatist or reflector. A further sample of 12 people who were interviewed for a recent Firm Start course and had all been involved in drug dealing showed a very strong reflector style; all 12 having scored highest on reflector followed closely by pragmatist style.

The Learning Style Preference Testing (LSI)

The property offenders tended to be mainly pragmatist or reflectors compared with activists or pragmatists for legitimate entrepreneurs. In another learning test property offenders had a mainly visual or kinaesthetic preference. NLP LSI tests at HMP The Mount have frequently shown that offenders have a

preference for a visual style of learning which would be expected amongst poor achievers.

Research consistently illustrates that poor academic achievement is a major factor in criminal activity and delinquency. Farnworth and Leiber (1989) noted that: ". . . *the gap between economic goals and educational expectations was more effective in predicting the prevalence of serious utilitarian than serious nonutilitarian delinquency*."

GET Test Results

Sample Construction and Size

The total number of offenders was 315 with an average age of 28 years and a standard deviation of 4.20. The number of Firm Start participants was 174 with an average age of 28.5 years and a standard deviation of 4.475. The age range was 21 to 65 years of age.

The 'legitimate' entrepreneurs ranged from 32 – 82 years of age with a mean of 48.4 years and a standard deviation of 9.46. Unfortunately it wasn't possible to obtain the ages of the 'general public' or non Firm Start offenders.

Offenders with a persistent property crime background on average scored higher than the general public and offenders in general but substantially lower than 'normative' entrepreneurs. However, by comparison the need for autonomy was particularly low for all offenders except drugs offenders. This latter group (n = 53) scored the highest of any group other than entrepreneurs. Clearly entrepreneurial traits, not unexpectedly, are strongest in individuals who indulge in drug dealing. The mean need for achievement for those identified as drug dealers was exceptionally high (9.36) compared with the whole offender sample (8.39) followed by robbers/ burglars (8.61).

Those offenders admitted to an accredited business skills for self-employment course (n = 170) had a higher need for achievement (8.90) than offenders in general (n = 316) and also in the other three traits except the need for autonomy (2.65 compared with 2.72).

Results show that 'normative' or legitimate entrepreneurs score considerably higher than the 'general public' or offenders in general for all five personality

traits measured i.e. need for achievement (9.70), need for autonomy (4.20), locus of control (9.40), creative potential (9.80) and calculated risk-taking (9.60). Offenders with a persistent property crime background (mainly drug dealers, robbers, shoplifters or fraudsters) on average scored higher than the general public and offenders in general (except for the need for autonomy) but substantially lower than 'normative' entrepreneurs. The need for autonomy was particularly low for all offenders; this would seem to be linked with the length of sentence served. Prisoners who had served more than two years tended to have a lower need more autonomy which would tend to indicate a degree of institutionalisation.

As mentioned earlier in the report a high number of foreign nationals reside at The Mount; if a large proportion of these have language difficulties then this would have had a significant influence on the GET results and to an extent on the Learning Styles Inventory investigation. Some of the statements in the tests may be considered ambiguous to participants with only a reasonable level of literacy; however, offenders on the Firm Start programme usually have a minimum of entry level 3 which may explain why generally they score higher than the average offender.

t test

The dependent-samples t test was used to determine whether the mean difference between paired means of the five traits was significantly different. Two groups of each of the participants were matched (paired) on each trait and tested on one measure.

Null Hypothesis: *Ho: µ1 = µ2 = 0*   *where µ1 is the mean for the first variable and µ2 is the mean of the second variable.*

The assumptions underlying the dependent-samples test are that the dependent variable (difference scores) is normally distributed in the two traits and the independent variable is dichotomous and groups are paired.

Cohen's d was used to evaluate the degree in standard deviation units that the mean difference scores is equal to zero.

d   =   Mean

S.D.

Using Graphpad Software, unpaired t tests were carried out comparing the means of the population groups chosen. i.e. NAch versus N Autonomy; NAch versus LoC; NAch versus Creativity; NAch versus Calculated Risk Taking. N Autonomy was compared with Calculated Risk Taking and LoC. LoC was compared with Creativity and finally Creativity with Calculated Risk Taking.

(a)   NACh and N Autonomy

Group	NAch	N Autonomy
Mean	72.867	51.117
SD	6.074	9.470
SEM	2.480	3.866
N	6	6

Mean of NAch – N Autonomy = 21.750.

95% confidence interval of this difference from 11.516 – 31.984.

t = 4.7354

df= 10

Standard error of difference = 4.593

The two-tailed P value = 0.0008. By conventional criteria this difference is extremely statistically significant.

(b)   NACh and LoC

Group	NAch	LoC
Mean	72.867	74.100
SD	6.074	4.885
SEM	2.480	1.994
N	6	6

Mean of NAch – LoC = - 1.233

95% confidence interval of this difference from -8.324 to 5.857

t = 0.3876

df= 10

Standard error of difference = 3.182

The two-tailed P value = 0.7065 This difference is not significant.

(c)   NACh and Creativity

Group	NAch	Creativity
Mean	72.867	66.700
SD	6.074	8.237
SEM	2.480	3.363
N	6	6

Mean of NAch – Creativity = 6.167

95% confidence interval of this difference from -3.143 to 15.476

t = 1.4759

df= 10

Standard error of difference = 4.178

The two-tailed P value = 0.1708. This difference is not significant.

(d)   NACh and Calculated Risk Taking

Group	NAch	Calc Risk Taking
Mean	72.867	68.200
SD	6.074	7.983
SEM	2.480	3.259
N	6	6

Mean of NAch – Calculated Risk Taking = 4.667

95% confidence interval of this difference from -4.458 to 13.792.

t = 1.1395

df= 10

Standard error of difference = 4.095

The two-tailed P value = 0.2811. This difference is not significant.

(e)   NAutonomy and Calculated Risk Taking

Group	NAutonomy	Calc Risk Taking
Mean	51.117	68.200
SD	9.470	7.983
SEM	3.866	3.259
N	6	6

Mean of N Autonomy – Calculated Risk Taking = - 17083

95% confidence interval of this difference from -28.35 to -5.816

t = 3.3784

df= 10

Standard error of difference = 5.057

The two-tailed P value = 0.0070 This difference is statistically significant.

(f)   N Autonomy and Locus of Control

Group	N Autonomy	LoC
Mean	51.117	74.100
SD	9.470	4.885
SEM	3.866	1.994
N	6	6

Mean of N Autonomy – LoC = - 22.983

95% confidence interval of this difference from -32.676 to – 13.290

t = 5.2832

df= 10

Standard error of difference = 4.350

The two-tailed P value = 0.0004 This difference is extremely statistically significant.

(g)   Creativity and Locus of Control

Group	Creativity	LoC
Mean	66.700	74.100
SD	8.237	4.885
SEM	3.363	1.994
N	6	6

Mean of Creativity – LoC = - 7.400

95% confidence interval of this difference from – 16.112 to 1.312

t = 1.8927

df= 10

Standard error of difference = 3.910

The two-tailed P value = 0.0877. This difference is not strongly statistically significant.

(h)   Creativity and Calculated Risk Taking

Group	Creativity	Calc Risk Taking
Mean	66.700	68.200
SD	8.237	7.983
SEM	3.363	3.259
N	6	6

Mean of Creativity – Calculated Risk Taking = - 1.500

95% confidence interval of this difference from – 11.935 to 8.935.

t = 0.3203

df= 10

Standard error of difference = 4.683

The two-tailed P value = 0.7533. This difference is not statistically significant.

Conclusion

The t test was used to compare the means of the traits to see what the chances are that they come from the same population. The result show that three pairs of traits showed a statistical significance:

Need for Achievement (NAch) and Need for Autonomy;

Need for Autonomy and Locus of Control;

Need for Autonomy and Calculated Risk Taking.

Learning Style Preferences

A sample of 45 offenders attending the Firm Start course were tested for learning style preference using the Honey and Mumford method of measurement. The pragmatist was overwhelmingly the style preferred followed by reflectors. Previous work has shown that entrepreneurs tend to be activists or pragmatists.

LEARNING STYLE

6%

17%

43%

34%

- PRAGMATIST
- REPLECTOR
- ACTIVIST
- THEORIST
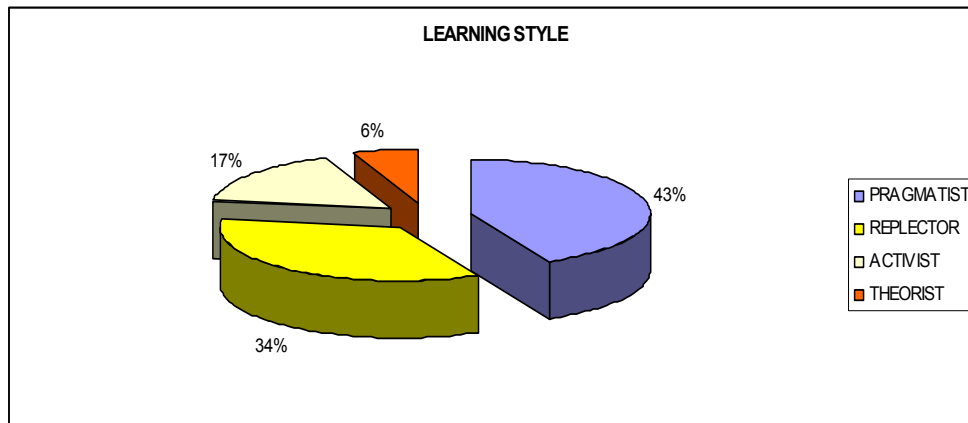
Chart 1 Learning Preference of Firm Starters

Activists

Activists will try anything once and are fond of being involved in any new experience. They enjoy living for the present and are happy to be dominated by immediate experiences. Activists like to lead discussions and chair meetings. Being open minded rather than sceptical they tend to be enthusiastic about anything new but they will soon become bored with implementing it. They enjoy doing things and tend to act first and consider the implications afterwards. They like working with others but tend to hog the limelight. So activists do not like listening to lectures or long explanations, reading, writing or thinking on their own or trying to absorb and understand information.

Reflectors

Reflectors do not like to be rushed. They tend to stand back and take a look at a situation from different perspectives. They like to prepare, collect data and think about it carefully before coming to any conclusions. They enjoy observing others and will listen to their views before offering their own. They do not like acting as a leader or carrying out role-playing in front of others

Theorists

Something of a perfectionist, theorists tend to think through problems step by step, adapting and integrating observations into complex and logically sound theories. They like to fit things into a rational structure being detached and analytical rather than subjective or emotive in their thinking.

Pragmatists

Pragmatists need to be able to recognise the obvious benefits of what they are doing; they tend to be impatient and practical. Being down to earth. pragmatists are keen to try out things but they need to see that concepts are linked or can be applied to their activities. Most of the pragmatists were imprisoned due to drugs related offences such as 'customs evasion of drugs' where they are merely couriers and some were convicted of 'carrying drugs with intent to supply'.

OFFENCE

- DRUGS
- VIOLENCE
- BURGLARY
- ROBBERY
- DECEPTION
- FIRE ARM

3%
9%
14%
43%
14%
17%
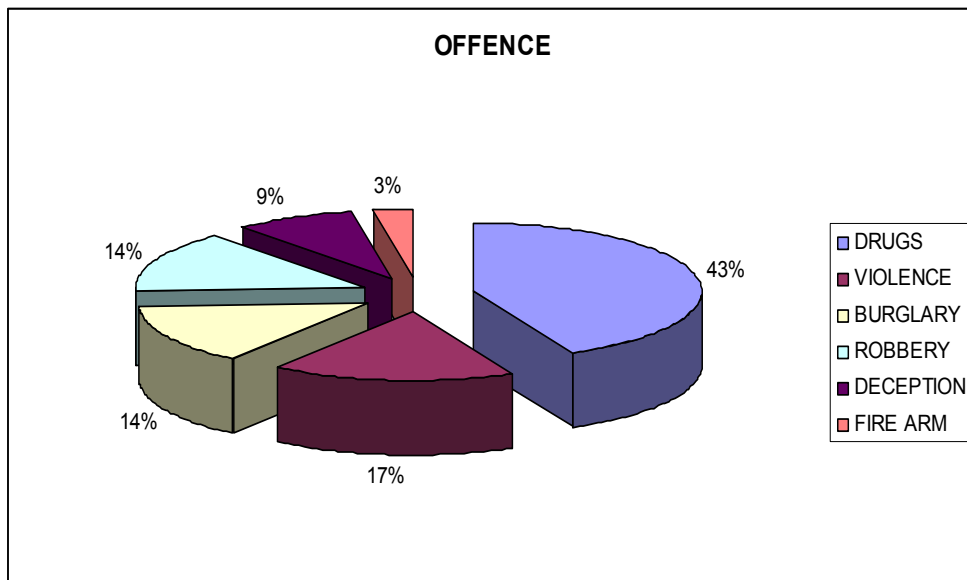
Chart 2   Offences of Tested Offenders

Looking at the offences of the tested offenders clearly the illegal drugs market is one where many of the offenders have practiced (and some probably continue to exercise) their entrepreneurial skills.

6.   CONCLUSION

The Hypothesis Testing

In the GET Test the maximum score achievable was 54 composed of: NAch 12; Autonomy 6; Locus of Control 12; Creative potential 12 and Calculated risk taking 12. The total scores are expressed as a percentage.

H1:   *Entrepreneurs will score higher than the general public.*

This was substantiated. A sample of entrepreneurs (n= 20) had a total score for all five traits of 78.9% versus 62.6% for the general public (n= 79) showing significantly more strength in all five traits measured.

H2:   *Offenders will score lower than the general public.*

This was not substantiated. Offenders (n= 316) has a whole scored a total of 64.5% as opposed to 62.6% for the general public (n= 70). However calculated risk taking at 65.1% for offenders was significantly higher than the general public at large 57.5%. The NAch (69.9%) and LoC (71.8%) was higher for offenders but they were slightly less creative (61.0% compared with 63.3%)

H3:   *Offenders with a background of persistent property crime have the same entrepreneurial traits as 'normative' entrepreneurs both in total GET scores and sub scores.*

These offenders scored less than the 'normative' entrepreneurs. i.e. 71.4% drug dealers, 68.7% for robbers/burglars versus 78.8% for legitimate entrepreneurs.

H4:   *Offenders who aspire to join a self-employed business skills courses will have higher entrepreneurial traits scores than those who are disinterested in joining such courses.*

The total score for the Firm Starters (n= 174) was 67.25% versus 65.54% for all offenders (n= 316) where the Firm Starters scored higher in all the traits except in the need for autonomy. This latter trait appeared to have a close correlation with the length of sentence served.

H5:   *Offenders from illegal 'businesses backgrounds' will score the same as entrepreneurs.*

The drug dealers and others convicted of 'recreational' drugs related offences tended to score lower than the entrepreneurs.

H6   *Offenders will have the same learning style preference to entrepreneurs.*

Offenders generally had a visual preference style and were mainly 43% pragmatists or reflectors (43%). Entrepreneurs tend to have activist or pragmatist styles. Having an activist style means that entrepreneurs tend to adopt more unconventional attitudes, assume people have related interests, are emotionally inhibited, and innovative. Offenders being mainly pragmatists should hold conventional attitudes, require a practical application for their ideas and use conventional logic; they are also emotionally inhibited. So although there are some similarities between the two groups this hypothesis was not proven.

The null hypothesis is tested by:

H7 Ex-offenders have a high entrepreneurial traits score regardless of type of crime committed. The null hypothesis was not proved as different classes of offenders scored differently. Those who were convicted of drugs related offences and were interested in the Firm Start course, however, scored higher than the other offenders and the general public.

Summary

As Hypothesis 1 was substantiated then the GET test is validated since entrepreneurs score higher than the general public. However, Hypothesis 2 was not substantiated; offenders in general did not score lower than the general public. Nevertheless a strong risk taking element was identified. Hypothesis 3 was also unsubstantiated, property offenders were slightly below legitimate entrepreneurs in their scores but interestingly drug dealers were the closest to the entrepreneurs. Why shouldn't they be? They operate businesses in a similar way to entrepreneurs but their activities are considered unlawful because of the laws of the day. In the USA alcohol was outlawed during the 'prohibition' and then because it was difficult to contain the business of distributing alcoholic beverages was legalised but business methods remained similar.

Hypothesis 4 was substantiated, those property offenders who have already got an interest in business matters or are have a wish to start their own business have stronger entrepreneurial traits or spirit than those who do not and the general public at large. Hypothesis 5. The

hypothesis was unsubstantiated. This was a surprising result as it showed that illegal entrepreneurs do not necessarily have a similar entrepreneurial spirit to legitimate entrepreneurs. This result means that further work is needed. Hypothesis 6 was not substantiated; property offenders do not necessarily have the same learning preference styles to legitimate entrepreneurs. Nor was Hypothesis 7 proved; offenders who have committed non-economic or property crimes scored higher than those that were convicted of other offences.

Overall the results show that the five traits measured have some relevance in predicting that property criminals have some of the traits that exist in legitimate entrepreneurs but they can not stand alone, these results can only be viewed as part of a holistic picture of our criminal entrepreneur.

Knowledge of the learning styles of property offenders will assist in adapting educational course material so that it is more effective in developing their legitimate business skills and underlying knowledge base.

Suitability of the Study for Structured, Survey Based Research

Structured, survey based research is useful in that it reduces information into an empirical form which makes comparison of data much easier and more reproducible. In common with the social marginality paradigm the psychodynamic model does not explain why entrepreneurship is the likely choice for all such individuals, their behaviour or traits. One weakness of this study of traits is that it ignores the 'differences' between people, in terms of sociological traits and knowledge or information) differences, cognitive differences and behavioural differences.

Also, the approach used ignores the work of scholars such as Casson (1982) who coming from an economics bias developed a fist of "qualities" that one must possess in order to fulfil the functional definition of an entrepreneur. These are: self-knowledge, imagination, practical knowledge, analytical

knowledge, research skills, foresight, computational skills, communications skills and organisational skills.

The researcher attempted to address the cognitive differences to some extent by including a brief study of learning styles. However more work needs to be undertaken to give a more confident picture.

This study aimed to validate these 'entrepreneurial characteristics' as a sensitive discriminating measure.

Discussion on Research Method Used

The main problem with the research method used is that like ethnographic research there is room for observer bias. Whereas with the former (Document 3) Schrodinger's cat[36] comes into play and observers see the world through their own eyes and have a tendency to relate or interpret observations according to their own experiences using this research method reduces the likelihood of such bias. However the framework of the questions or statements which the respondent is asked to disagree or agree with could be ambiguous and easily misinterpreted by them. The implementation of a Likert scale may improve the instrument i.e. where respondents are asked to say whether or not they agree with the statement on a scale of say 1-5 where 1 is disagree strongly and 5 is agree strongly.

Design and Implementation of The Test Instruments

Looking at the GET Test, one of the main problems with the instrument is the rather clumsy English in some statements which can lead to misinterpretation particularly by participants who have relatively poor literacy skills.

The work of McClelland (1961) triggered much research into personality traits and entrepreneurial behaviour. He elucidated three personality traits which he

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[36] *The observer's paradox: the observation or measurement itself affects an outcome, so that it can never be known what the outcome would have been if it were not observed comes into play. (Schrödinger's cat is an illustration of the principle in quantum theory of superposition, proposed by Erwin Schrödinger in 1935. Schrödinger's cat serves to demonstrate the apparent conflict about what quantum theory tells us is true about the nature and behaviour of matter on the microscopic level and what we observe to be true about the nature and behaviour of matter on the macroscopic level).*

believed explained social, political and economic change in societies. These are: (1) the need for power — able to influence people; (2) the need for belonging — able to develop friendships; (3) and the need for achievement (**NAch**). He predicted that the NAch was related to individuals involved in entrepreneurial activity. Brockhuaus (1980) suggested the 'high risk taking propensity' even when there was a low probability of success. (Something one would expect of prolific property offenders).

One of the key features of the trait approach is that they must be independent of their environment or social situation.

One of the main problems is that it is considered that whereas it's possible to change attitudes and behaviour traits are due to nature and cannot be changed and that the supply of entrepreneurs is due to demand caused by social factors.

Psychological perspectives place emphasis on the internal cognitive development of personalities and attitudes, and in doing so place less emphasis on the society's influence on the decision to undertake entrepreneurial activity.

Validity and Reliability of the Research

The purpose of this research was to evaluate tests which could be used to predict the entrepreneurial capacity and learning style of property offenders and to consolidate existing knowledge in this area.

Consideration of the validity and reliability of the results is essential for determining the quality of the tests. Checking out the validity will ensure that the test measures what it is supposed to measure and it implies a level of consistency or reliability i.e. validity refers to obtaining results that accurately reflect the concept being measured. One goal is to establish predictive validity. **Classical test theory** predicts outcomes of psychological tests such as the difficulty of items or the ability of test-takers. *Classical test theory* may be regarded as roughly synonymous with *true score theory*. The term "classical" refers not only to the chronology of these models but also contrasts with the more recent psychometric theories, generally referred to collectively as item response theory.

Going back to basics of course we have a problem with 'what is a legitimate entrepreneur?'   Do we know whether or not our entrepreneurs have no convictions?

The statements or questions used in both instruments are very much open to interpretation. How were they decided in the first place? Why those particular words?

The statements in each instrument only required bipolar answers. A five-point Likert Scale would no doubt give a more accurate score. People generally appear to prefer a choice and dislike being made to choose one answer or the other and many offenders commented that they would answer the questions differently if the were not incarcerated.

7.   THEMES FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

It was intended that this empirical work would form a part of a holistic picture of the entrepreneurial capacity of offenders and lead to other areas that could be explored. The GET test could be revised and expanded to include a five-point Likert scale to give a more accurate analysis of the offenders' traits.

Other work that could be carried out is check out the Chi^2 test to see for instance do people who score high on autonomy score high in terms of say pragmatist or reflector learning style?

Research in the Documents produced so far has given some indication as to how the property offender views the world but so far it is hazy one. Document 4, by its very nature, is an empirical study which clearly shows that the offenders and entrepreneurs have traits or characteristics in common.
As often happens research can raise more questions than answers so it is proposed to extend this work in Document 5 by carrying out a repertory grid as developed by Kelly to survey a sample of criminal entrepreneurs and to investigate moral reasoning. This will hopefully help to give a clearer vision of how the entrepreneurial offenders view the world.

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8. APPENDICES

THE INSTRUMENT - THE GET QUESTIONNAIRE

Name: _____ M/F

Please tick whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.
(Leave the score column empty.)

		Agree	Disagree	Score
1	I wouldn't mind routine unchallenging work if the pay was very good			
2	I defend my point of view if someone disagrees with me			
3	I would rather stretch my abilities than do what can be done easily			
4	If I am having problems with a task, I leave it and move on to something else			
5	I think more of the present and past than the future			
6	It is more important to do a job well than to please people			
7	I get annoyed if people are not on time			
8	I would rather work with a person I like even if they were not good at the job			
9	I would rather work as a member of a team than take responsibility			
10	When faced with a challenge I think more about the results of succeeding than the effects of failure			
11	I get up early, skip meals and stay late in order to get special tasks done			
12	I find it easy to relax from work at the weekends or on holiday			
13	I do what is expected of me and follow the instructions of my supervisor			
14	When I am in a group I am happy if someone else takes the lead			
15	I do not like to get involved with novel or unconventional activities			
16	I like to do things my own way without worrying about what others think			
17	When tackling a task I rarely need or want help			
18	Most people think I am stubborn			
19	I will get what I want from life if I please my superiors			
20	Being successful is a result of working hard, luck has nothing to do with it			
21	You are either naturally good at something or you are not, effort makes little difference			
22	When I make plans to do something, I nearly always carry it out			
23	Success depends on being in the right place at the right time			
24	I get what I want from life because I work hard and make life happen			
25	People's failures are rarely the result of their poor judgement			
26	Luck has little to do with getting what I want			
27	Many of the bad times people experience are due to bad luck			
28	I believe what happens to me in life is mostly determined by other people			
29	Capable people who fail to become successful have not taken opportunities when they occurred			
30	People generally get what they deserve			

		Agree	Disagree	Score
31	I rarely day dream			
32	I like to find out about things even if it involves some problem			
33	Other people think I ask a lot of questions			
34	I prefer to be quite good in several areas than a specialist in one			
35	I do not like sudden changes in my life			
36	I prefer to do the things the usual way rather than trying out alternatives			
37	I prefer to have too much rather than too little to do			
38	It is harder for me to adapt to change than to keep to routines			
39	I like to have my life organised so that it runs smoothly to plan			
40	People find my ideas unusual			
41	I do like guessing			
42	Sometimes I have so many ideas I do not know which to pick			
43	If I had to gamble I would rather buy a raffle ticket than play cards			
44	I am happy to take a risk if the chances of success are 50/50			
45	I would rather do something which will lead to better things than have an experience I would be sure to enjoy			
46	I would prefer to have a reasonable income with a secure job rather than high income in a job which depended on my performance			
47	Before making a decision I prefer to weigh the pros and cons quickly rather than spend a long time thinking about them			
48	If I had a good idea to make money, I would be willing to borrow money to enable me to do it			
49	I avoid decisions which could work out badly no matter how much I might want something			
50	I enjoy starting new projects even if there is some risk involved			
51	If there is a chance of failure I would rather not do it			
52	Before I make a decision I have to have all the facts, no matter how long it takes			
53	Change is better than what we are used to			
54	When I set my targets I set difficult rather than easy ones. I prefer difficult rather than easy challenges.			

Statements 1-12 are a measure of NAch.

Statements 13-18 are a measure of need for autonomy.

Statements 19-30 are a measure of locus of control

Statements 31-42 are a measure of creative potential.

Statements 43-54 are a measure of calculated risk taking.

INSTRUMENT 2   - THE LEARNING STYLES QUESTIONNAIRE

1   I have strong beliefs about what is right and wrong, good and bad.   ☐

2   I often 'throw caution to the winds'.   ☐

3   I tend to solve problems using a step-by-step approach, avoiding any 'flights of
     fancy'.   ☐

4   I believe that formal procedures and policies cramp people's style.   ☐

5   I have a reputation for having a no-nonsense, 'call a spade a spade' style.   ☐

6   I often find that actions based on 'gut feel' are as sound as those based on careful
     thought and analysis.   ☐

7   I like to do the sort of work where I have time to 'leave no stone unturned'.   ☐

8   I regularly question people about their basic assumptions.   ☐

9   What matters most is whether something works in practice.   ☐

10   I actively seek out new experiences   ☐

11   When I hear about a new idea or approach I immediately start working out how to
     apply it in practice.   ☐

12   I am keen on self discipline such as watching my diet, taking regular exercise,
     sticking to a fixed routine, etc.   ☐

13   I take pride in doing a thorough job.   ☐

14   I get on best with logical, analytical people and less well with spontaneous,
     'irrational' people.   ☐

15   I take care over the interpretation of data available to me and avoid jumping to
     conclusions.   ☐

16   I like to reach decisions carefully after weighing up many alternatives.   ☐

17   I am attracted more to novel, unusual ideas than to practical ones.   ☐

18   I don't like 'loose ends' and prefer to fit things into a coherent pattern.   ☐

19   I accept and stick to laid down procedures and policies so long as I regard them as an
     efficient way of getting the job done.   ☐

20   I like to relate my actions to a general principle.   ☐

21   In discussions I like to get straight to the point.   ☐

22   I tend to have distant, rather formal relationships with people at work.   ☐

23   I thrive on the challenge of tackling something new and different.   ☐

24   I enjoy fun-loving, spontaneous people.   ☐

25   I pay meticulous attention to detail before coming to a conclusion.   ☐

26   I find it difficult to come up with wild, off-the-top-of-the-head ideas.   ☐

27   I don't believe in wasting time by 'beating around the bush'. ☐

28   I am careful not to jump to conclusions too quickly. ☐

29   I prefer to have as many sources of information as possible – the more date to mull over the better. ☐

30   Flippant people who don't take things seriously enough usually irritate me. ☐

31   I listen to other people's point of view before putting my own forward. ☐

32   I tend to be open about how I'm feeling. ☐

33   In discussions I enjoy watching the manoeuvrings of the other participants. ☐

34   I prefer to respond to events on a spontaneous, flexible basis rather than plan things out in advance. ☐

35   I tend to be attracted to techniques such as network analysis, flow charts, branching programmes, contingency planning, etc... ☐

36   It worries me if I have to rush out a piece of work to meet a tight deadline. ☐

37   I tend to judge people's ideas on their practical merits. ☐

38   Quiet, thoughtful people tend to make me feel uneasy. ☐

39   I often get irritated by people who want to rush headlong into things. ☐

40   It is more important to enjoy the present moment than to think about the past or future. ☐

41   I think decisions based on a thorough analysis of all the information are sounder than those based on intuition. ☐

42   I tend to be a perfectionist. ☐

43   In discussions I usually pitch in with lots of off-the-top-of-the-head ideas. ☐

44   In meetings I put forward practical realistic ideas. ☐

45   More often than not, rules are there to be broken. ☐

46   I prefer to stand back from a situation and consider all the perspectives. ☐

47   I can often see inconsistencies and weaknesses in other people's arguments. ☐

48   On balance I talk more than I listen. ☐

49   I can often see better, more practical ways to get things done. ☐

50   I think written reports should be short, punchy and to the point. ☐

51   I believe that rational, logical thinking should win the day. ☐

52   I tend to discuss specific things with people rather than engaging in 'small talk'. ☐

53   I like people who have both feet firmly on the ground. ☐

54   In discussions I get impatient with irrelevances and 'red herrings' ☐

55   If I have a report to write I tend to produce lots of drafts before settling on the final version. ☐

56	I am keen to try things out to see if they work in practice.	☐
57	I am keen to reach answers via a logical approach.	☐
58	I enjoy being the one that talks a lot.	☐
59	In discussions I often find I am the realist, keeping people to the point and avoiding 'cloud nine' speculation.	☐
60	I like to ponder many alternatives before making up my mind.	☐
61	In discussions with people I often find I am the most dispassionate and objective	☐
62	In discussions I am more like to adopt a 'low profile' than to take the lead and do most of the talking	☐
63	I like to be able to relate current actions to a longer term, bigger picture.	☐
64	When things go wrong I am happy to shrug it off and 'put it down to experience'.	☐
65	I tend to reject wild, off-the-top-of-the-head ideas as being impractical.	☐
66	It is best to 'look before you leap'.	☐
67	On balance I do the listening rather than the talking.	☐
68	I tend to be tough on people who find it difficult to adopt a logical approach.	☐
69	Most times I believe the end justifies the means.	☐
70	I don't mind hurting people's feelings so long as the job gets done.	☐
71	I find the formality of having specific objectives and plans stifling.	☐
72	I am usually the 'life and soul' of the party.	☐
73	I do whatever is expedient to get the job done.	☐
74	I quickly get bored with methodical, detailed work.	☐
75	I am keen on exploring the basic assumptions, principles and theories underpinning things and events.	☐
76	I am always interested to find out what other people think.	☐
77	I like meetings to be run on methodical lines, sticking to laid down agenda, etc.	☐
78	I steer clear of subjective or ambiguous topics.	☐
79	I enjoy the drama and excitement of a crisis situation.	☐
80	People often find me insensitive to their feelings.	☐

LEARNING STYLES QUESTIONNAIRE – SCORING YOUR ANSWERS

	Activist	Reflector	Theorist	Pragmatist
	2	7	1	5
	4	13	3	9
	6	15	8	11
	10	16	12	19
	17	25	14	21
	23	28	18	27
	24	29	20	35
	32	31	22	37
	34	33	26	44
	38	36	30	49
	40	39	42	50
	43	41	47	53
	45	46	51	54
	48	52	57	56
	58	55	61	59
	64	60	63	65
	71	62	68	69
	72	66	75	70
	74	67	77	73
	79	76	78	80
Total				

Table 1　　Literacy and Numeracy at HMP The Mount

In The Mount the following literacy levels and numeracy levels were recorded on induction of prisoners on entry to the prison 2006.

	Pre entry	Entry 1	Entry 2	Entry 3	Level 1
Literacy	21 4.3%	49 10.1%	111 23.0%	159 32.9%	143 29.6%
Numeracy	13 2.6%	35 7.0%	136 27.3%	179 35.9%	136 27.3%
Totals	**34** **3.5%**	**84** **8.6%**	**247** **25.2%**	**338** **35.9%**	**279** **28.4%**

(HMP The Mount Needs Analysis 2006, JR Haggerstone)

Table 2   Summary of GET results

Mean Readings for n = 315 Offenders						
NAch	**NAutonomy**	**LoC**	**Creativity**	**Calc Risk Taking**	**Total Score**	**As a %**
8.39	2.72	8.62	7.32	7.81	34.86	64.54

Mean Readings for n = 174 Firm Start Offenders						
NAch	**NAutonomy**	**LoC**	**Creativity**	**Calc Risk Taking**	**Total Score**	**As a %**
8.90	2.65	8.88	7.67	8.22	36.31	67.25

Mean Readings for n = 53 Firm Start Offenders – Drugs Offenders						
NAch	**NAutonomy**	**LoC**	**Creativity**	**Calc Risk Taking**	**Total Score**	**As a %**
9.36	2.94	9.25	8.32	8.55	38.42	71.14

Mean Readings for n = 33 Firm Start Offenders – Robbery/ Burglary						
NAch	**NAutonomy**	**LoC**	**Creativity**	**Calc Risk Taking**	**Total Score**	**As a %**
8.61	2.82	9.45	7.73	8.48	37.09	69.04

Mean Readings for n = 145 None Firm Start Offenders						
NAch	**NAutonomy**	**LoC**	**Creativity**	**Calc Risk Taking**	**Total Score**	**As a %**
7.79	2.79	8.27	6.91	7.34	33.10	61.29

Mean Readings for n = 20 Entrepreneurs						
NAch	**NAutonomy**	**LoC**	**Creativity**	**Calc Risk Taking**	**Total Score**	**As a %**
9.70	4.20	9.40	9.80	9.60	42.60	78.90

Mean Readings for n = 79 General Public						
NAch	**NAutonomy**	**LoC**	**Creativity**	**Calc Risk Taking**	**Total Score**	**As a %**
8.10	3.00	8.10	7.60	6.90	33.80	62.60

Mean Readings for n = 414 Whole Sample						
NAch	**NAutonomy**	**LoC**	**Creativity**	**Calc Risk Taking**	**Total Score**	**As a %**
8.39	2.83	8.57	7.49	7.73	35.02	64.68

Table 3 Summary of GET Means (as %'s)

	NAch	NAutonomy	LoC	Creativity	Calc Risk Taking	Total Score
None Firm Starter Offenders	64.9	46.5	68.9	57.6	61.2	61.3
Firm Starter Offenders	74.2	44.2	74.0	63.9	68.5	67.2
Entrepreneurs	80.8	70.0	78.3	81.7	80.0	78.9
General Public	67.5	50.0	67.5	63.3	57.5	62.6
Drugs Offenders	78.0	49.0	77.1	69.3	71.3	71.4
Robbery/ Burglary	71.8	47.0	78.8	64.4	70.7	69.0

Table 4	DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS - GENERAL PUBLIC					
	NAch	*N Autonomy*	*LoC*	*Creativity*	*Calc Risk Taking*	*Total Score*
Mean	8.11	2.98	8.14	7.63	6.94	33.79
Standard Error	0.21	0.17	0.22	0.25	0.27	0.76
Median	9	3	8	7.5	7	33
Mode	9	3	8	7	8	37
Standard Deviation	1.916	1.501	1.992	2.269	2.410	6.761
Sample Variance	3.671	2.253	3.968	5.149	5.806	45.714
Kurtosis	-0.298	-0.865	-0.319	-0.346	-0.468	-0.447
Skewness	-0.364	-0.026	-0.273	-0.220	-0.420	-0.061
Range	9	6	9	10	10	32
Minimum	3	0	3	2	1	18
Maximum	12	6	12	12	11	50
Sum	649	238	651	610	555	2703
Count	80	80	80	80	80	80
Largest (1)	12	6	12	12	11	50
Smallest (1)	3	0	3	2	1	18
Confidence Level (95.0%)	0.4264	0.3340	0.4433	0.5050	0.5362	1.5046

Table 5	DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS - GENERAL PUBLIC - Females					
	NAch	*N Autonomy*	*LoC*	*Creativity*	*Calc Risk Taking*	*Total Score*
Mean	8.07	3.14	8.50	7.86	7.16	34.73
Standard Error	0.27	0.24	0.25	0.34	0.37	1.04
Median	8	3	9	7.5	7	35
Mode	9	4	9	7	9	37
Standard Deviation	1.8223	1.5935	1.6775	2.2884	2.4490	6.9160
Sample Variance	3.3208	2.5391	2.8140	5.2368	5.9974	47.8309
Kurtosis	-0.4650	-0.8637	0.4723	-0.8883	-1.1229	-0.8636
Skewness	-0.2022	-0.1612	-0.6039	0.1631	-0.1530	0.0648
Range	8	6	8	8	9	27
Minimum	4	0	4	4	2	23
Maximum	12	6	12	12	11	50
Sum	355	138	374	346	315	1528
Count	44	44	44	44	44	44
Largest (1)	12	6	12	12	11	50
Smallest (1)	4	0	4	4	2	23
Confidence Level (95.0%)	0.5540	0.4845	0.5100	0.6957	0.7445	2.1027

Table 6	DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS - GENERAL PUBLIC - Males					
	NAch	*N Autonomy*	*LoC*	*Creativity*	*Calc Risk Taking*	*Total Score*
Mean	8.21	2.88	7.74	7.62	6.94	33.38
Standard Error	0.36	0.23	0.40	0.34	0.36	1.00
Median	9	3	7.5	8	7	33
Mode	9	3	6	10	8	38
Standard Deviation	2.0711	1.3431	2.3134	1.9542	2.1169	5.8466
Sample Variance	4.2897	1.8039	5.3520	3.8191	4.4813	34.1827
Kurtosis	-0.0029	-0.6726	-0.6525	0.1216	0.7665	0.2743
Skewness	-0.5752	-0.0124	0.1089	-0.6926	-0.8957	-0.2357
Range	9	5	9	7	9	26
Minimum	3	0	3	3	1	18
Maximum	12	5	12	10	10	44
Sum	279	98	263	259	236	1135
Count	34	34	34	34	34	34
Largest (1)	12	5	12	10	10	44
Smallest (1)	3	0	3	3	1	18
Confidence Level (95.0%)	0.7227	0.4686	0.8072	0.6819	0.7386	2.0400

Table 7	DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS - ALL OFFENDERS					
	NAch	*NAutonomy*	*LoC*	*Creativity*	*Calc Risk Taking*	*Total Score*
Mean	8.39	2.72	8.62	7.32	7.81	34.86
Standard Error	0.11	0.07	0.11	0.12	0.11	0.34
Median	8	3	9	7	8	35
Mode	8	2	9	8	8	37
Standard Deviation	1.9230	1.2698	1.9764	2.1448	1.9936	6.1017
Sample Variance	3.6981	1.6125	3.9061	4.6002	3.9746	37.2313
Kurtosis	-0.5508	-0.2177	0.2263	-0.5776	0.2219	-0.4507
Skewness	-0.2172	0.2516	-0.6766	-0.1120	-0.5627	-0.1260
Range	9	6	9	11	11	31
Minimum	3	0	3	1	1	19
Maximum	12	6	12	12	12	50
Sum	2650	859	2724	2314	2469	11016
Count	316	316	316	316	316	316
Largest (1)	12	6	12	12	12	50
Smallest (1)	3	0	3	1	1	19
Confidence Level (95.0%)	0.2128	0.1405	0.2188	0.2374	0.2207	0.6754

Table 8	DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS - OFFENDERS NON FIRM STARTERS					
	NAch	*NAutonomy*	*LoC*	*Creativity*	*Calc Risk Taking*	*Total Score*
Mean	7.79	2.79	8.27	6.91	7.34	33.10
Standard Error	0.16	0.11	0.17	0.19	0.18	0.54
Median	8	3	9	7	8	33
Mode	8	2	9	6	8	28
Standard Deviation	1.916	1.281	2.046	2.301	2.157	6.523
Sample Variance	3.672	1.640	4.186	5.295	4.652	42.548
Kurtosis	-0.370	-0.405	0.246	-0.880	-0.089	-0.787
Skewness	0.057	0.273	-0.686	0.207	-0.397	0.093
Range	9	6	9	10	11	29
Minimum	3	0	3	2	1	19
Maximum	12	6	12	12	12	48
Sum	1137	408	1208	1009	1071	4833
Count	146	146	146	146	146	146
Largest (1)	12	6	12	12	12	48
Smallest (1)	3	0	3	2	1	19
Confidence Level (95.0%)	0.3134	0.2095	0.3347	0.3764	0.3528	1.0670

	NAch	*NAutonomy*	*LoC*	*Creativity*	*Calc Risk Taking*	*Total Score*
Table 9			**DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS - FIRM STARTERS**			
Mean	8.90	2.65	8.92	7.68	8.22	36.37
Standard Error	0.14	0.10	0.14	0.15	0.13	0.41
Median	9	3	9	8	8	36
Mode	10	3	9	8	9	38
Standard Deviation	1.780	1.261	1.870	1.939	1.747	5.285
Sample Variance	3.167	1.589	3.496	3.759	3.050	27.927
Kurtosis	-0.387	-0.032	0.048	0.179	0.356	-0.038
Skewness	-0.427	0.232	-0.632	-0.352	-0.550	-0.052
Range	8	6	8	11	9	29
Minimum	4	0	4	1	2	21
Maximum	12	6	12	12	11	50
Sum	1513	451	1516	1305	1398	6183
Count	170	170	170	170	170	170
Largest (1)	12	6	12	12	11	50
Smallest (1)	4	0	4	1	2	21
Confidence Level (95.0%)	0.2695	0.1909	0.2831	0.2935	0.2644	0.8001

Table 10	DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS - ENTREPRENEURS					
	NAch	*NAutonomy*	*LoC*	*Creativity*	*Calc Risk Taking*	*Total Score*
Mean	9.68	4.16	9.37	9.84	9.58	42.63
Standard Error	0.45	0.32	0.42	0.42	0.31	1.03
Median	10	4	10	10	10	43
Mode	10	5	10	12	10	50
Standard Deviation	1.945	1.385	1.832	1.834	1.346	4.475
Sample Variance	3.784	1.918	3.357	3.363	1.813	20.023
Kurtosis	7.772	-0.074	-1.102	-0.894	-0.867	-0.017
Skewness	-2.488	-0.594	-0.310	-0.345	0.271	-0.127
Range	9	5	6	6	4	17
Minimum	3	1	6	6	8	33
Maximum	12	6	12	12	12	50
Sum	184	79	178	187	182	810
Count	19	19	19	19	19	19
Largest (1)	12	6	12	12	12	50
Smallest (1)	3	1	6	6	8	33
Confidence Level (95.0%)	0.9375	0.6675	0.8831	0.8838	0.6490	2.1568

Table 11	DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS - COMBINED POPULATION ALL GET TESTED					
	NAch	NAutonomy	LoC	Creativity	Calc Risk Taking	Total Score
Mean	8.39	2.83	8.57	7.49	7.73	35.02
Standard Error	0.10	0.07	0.10	0.11	0.10	0.31
Median	9	3	9	8	8	35
Mode	9	2	9	8	8	37
Standard Deviation	1.9439	1.3549	1.9802	2.2168	2.1183	6.4008
Sample Variance	3.7787	1.8357	3.9212	4.9140	4.4873	40.9707
Kurtosis	-0.4540	-0.4465	0.0532	-0.5311	0.1795	-0.4425
Skewness	-0.3090	0.2099	-0.5829	-0.1089	-0.6001	-0.1197
Range	9	6	9	11	11	32
Minimum	3	0	3	1	1	18
Maximum	12	6	12	12	12	50
Sum	3474	1172	3548	3102	3201	14497
Count	414	414	414	414	414	414
Largest (1)	12	6	12	12	12	50
Smallest (1)	3	0	3	1	1	18
Confidence Level (95.0%)	0.1878	0.1309	0.1913	0.2142	0.2047	0.6184

NOTTINGHAM BUSINESS SCHOOL

A study of the moral development, beliefs

and relationships of the Criminal Entrepreneur

Document 5

The Thesis

By

John Haggerstone

"Believing in people before they have proved themselves is the key to motivating people to reach their potential."

John C Maxwell

(As an educator one must hold the belief that people can achieve as this is the foundation stone of education. People should not need to prove themselves but it would be foolish to hold this hope if it had no basis in reality. To believe that they would not achieve is arguably both ethically and morally unsound.)

ABSTRACT

The thesis focuses on 'criminal entrepreneurs,' i.e. those individuals who behave in an entrepreneurial manner who have chosen a life of crime to obtain an income or create wealth rather than setting up and running their own legitimate businesses. The research is based on male prisoners, predominantly fraudsters and drug dealers, and was motivated by the assertion that by understanding why they have chosen this way of life it may be possible to encourage such people to use their entrepreneurial skills in a legitimate context thereby reducing recidivism.

Based on an epistemological constructivist approach, the methodology used was a phenomenological one and included a moral dilemma, an ethics questionnaire and personal construct psychology linked with case studies. This is a novel approach in that it uses Kelly's (1955) personal construct theories and repertory grid techniques in order to identify the criminal entrepreneurs' constructs and the moral stances that they adopt when making sense of their world.

The findings showed that moral reasoning theories with respect to offenders do not offer a reliable guide to moral or ethical behaviour and ignore relationships which were an important feature of the criminal entrepreneur's life. For instance a strong bond was found to exist between some of the respondents and their parents, particularly the mother, and role models were important in their lives. Some cultural differences were detected: West African participants became drugs traffickers because they were seizing an opportunity to be able to provide for their families, whereas those from UK origins tended to come from socially or economically deprived families. It was anticipated that most criminals would reason at the lower levels of Kohlberg's progressive stages of moral development (Palmer, 2003:100-101) where offending may be justified if punishment can be avoided, but most achieved higher levels (Stages 2 and 3). (At Stage 2 offending is justified if the rewards outweigh the risks and Stage 3 implies that offending is justified if it maintains relationships.) Caring and ambition were important key constructs in making sense of their world, but circumstances such as migrant status, dysfunctional family backgrounds and

discrimination meant that they had to apply these constructs in a limited criminal world, rather the broader legitimate one. To use Fisher's (2006: 205) idea they work in a narrow ethical horizon rather than a broad one. The findings suggest that criminal entrepreneurs have constructs that would be applicable to a legitimate activity and emphasise the need for counselling and seamless mentoring which is currently absent from most prison educational programmes.

This thesis contributes to an increased knowledge of entrepreneurial offenders, their beliefs and relationships and offers prison education providers with an enhanced understanding of how to meet their clients' needs.

Key words: ethics, personal construct psychology, repertory grids, self characterisation sketches, moral reasoning, and criminal entrepreneurship.

CONTENTS

CHARTS AND FIGURES

TABLES

1.   INTRODUCTION

1.1   Introduction

The main topic of this thesis is the criminal entrepreneur or persistent entrepreneurial offender. Building on previous work undertaken (in Documents 1-4 of the DBA) it investigates the moral development, beliefs and relationships of a group of criminal entrepreneurs in order to understand why they have chosen a life of crime, and attempts to confirm that moral development occurs through social interactions rather than in stages as argued by Kohlberg (1969). The intention also is to be able to create effective strategies for educational, training, mentoring or coaching programmes.

Three themes of behaviour of those working in the "darker" side of business are explored, namely, (1) their moral reasoning/development and how this affects their choice of acting entrepreneurially in a legitimate or criminal context, (2) their ethical stances and (3) their significant personal relationships.   An emergent, exploratory, inductive qualitative approach is used.

It will be of benefit to:

♦ The researcher as a prison educator interested in reducing re-offending
♦ The Prison Service and the National Offender Management Service (NOMS)
♦ Prison education providers
♦ Those interested in developing potential entrepreneurs
♦ Policy makers
♦ The public at large.

1.2   Why this research is important

This area of research is important since it is only by discovering the cognitive processes of these individuals that effective educational, training, mentoring or coaching programmes can be established. Previous research has shown that positive attitudes held by prison staff, particularly prison officers, has been shown to be critical in facilitating behavioural change prior to successful release from prison (Glaser, 1969). The ultimate goal of educating persistent offenders

is to reduce recidivism in order to provide opportunities for offenders to live a crime -free and drug-free lifestyle, leading to safer communities.

Experience of working in the prison sector has shown that entrepreneurial people who have committed offences are being incarcerated and the opportunity is being missed to attempt to lead them down a legitimate route that allows them to make a contribution to the economy and their communities instead of becoming a burden on society; many individuals with seemingly innate entrepreneurial gifts need help in building the lives they want and in breaking the cycle of recidivism. There is often resistance by prison staff to the educating and training of by prisoners. Just as facilities and resources exist outside of prisons to encourage potential entrepreneurs then there should be more widespread support within prisons but this may mean a change in prison culture. Entrepreneurship in legitimate markets is a viable economic improvement option for many offenders given that their entrepreneurial behaviour is what led many of them to prison in the first place.

The reduction of ex-prisoner re-offending rates is increasingly identified as a policy priority by the UK Government due to the estimated £11 billion cost to the economy according to the Social Exclusion Unit (2002). Two-thirds of prisoners arrive in prison from unemployment and three-quarters leave with no job to go to (Fletcher, 2004: 1). For some prisoners self-employment may be the most practical method of entering the labour market because they can circumvent any discrimination they may meet on release (Social Exclusion, 2002).

The research was originally based around the two questions: "How can I help people with criminal entrepreneurial aptitudes become more useful members of society?" and "What drives them to go along the illegal route rather than the legitimate one?" Only by finding answers to the second question is it possible to formulate an answer to the first question. It is perhaps not an 'academic' question, but one that reflects the realities of prison education experience.

1.3   Background to the research

DBA Document 2 (p8) highlighted that Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau in Devine (2000: 265-308) all accepted that we are free moral agents, able to make decisions, control our own destiny, and engage in a social contract. This notion would later be celebrated in the idea of the entrepreneur, someone who freely decides to pursue a risky venture in the hope of receiving great rewards.

Hobbes (cited in Gross, 2005: 494) considered that people are naturally competitive and hostile, being interested only in their own self promotion. The empiricist, Locke, believed that at birth the human mind was a 'tabula rasa' or 'blank slate' that was gradually filled in by learning and experience.

Earlier documents (DBA Documents 3 and 4) attempted to find commonality and identify the entrepreneurial cognition of prolific property offenders and compare them with legitimate entrepreneurs.

DBA Document 3 was a qualitative study which found triggers and mechanisms for the criminal entrepreneur, for example triggers such as the loss of a paternal or maternal bond; exclusion from school; being pushed into being homeless; difficult relationships and mechanisms such as lowered self esteem; labelling; drug or alcohol abuse; finding solace in gambling and being socially marginalized.

The Document looked at ten case studies including a fraudster, a persistent opportunistic thief, an armed robber/burglar, a burglar turned arsonist, two drug dealers, a shoplifter/robber, an entrepreneur turned drugs courier and two legitimate entrepreneurs. It was shown that offenders are products of their own culture and environment. Kroeber and Parsons (1958: 583) defined culture as "patterns of values, ideas and other symbolic-meaningful systems as factors in the shaping of human behaviour. Offenders' first step into enterprising activities often occurs when they become involved in youth crime. They have talents which they do not fully appreciate and find difficult to develop in a legitimate way and a lack of guidance from appropriate role models may push them towards a life of crime.

DBA Document 4 investigated the traits of a wide spectrum of criminal entrepreneurs, legitimate entrepreneurs and the public. This piece of structured and survey-based research was part of a holistic and integrated study that attempted to find common characteristics between legitimate entrepreneurs and criminals who appeared to act entrepreneurially. The study was an attempt to address the cognitive differences and included a study of learning styles. In Document 4 (p48), as part of the holistic study, learning styles were investigated using a Honey and Munford LSI, which indicated that the main learning styles of criminal entrepreneurs (n=45) was pragmatist followed by reflector. Pragmatists need to be able to see how to put learning into practice in the real world and abstract concepts and games are of limited use, whereas the reflector learns by observing and thinking about what had happened. Wright (2000) in Maskrey (2002:22) found that most successful entrepreneurs have activist and pragmatist learning styles. The activist learns by doing, often without thinking things through.

As Deakins (1996: 21-22) remarked: "We do not understand how entrepreneurs learn" and so it is with economic criminals. Without doubt many of the ways in which the latter act seem to mirror legitimate entrepreneurs. In themes for further research on page 42, it was said: "*As often happens research can raise more questions than answers.*" Beaver (2002: 39) concluded that the traits approach 'at best can only offer a partial analysis of behaviour'. In other words the traits approach ignores other factors affecting or motivating an individual to set up business such as the context in which they live, their relationships, up-bringing and environment, etc.

DBA Document 5

The purpose of DBA Document 5 was to extend the work covered in the previous DBA Documents in order to obtain a more holistic picture of the criminal entrepreneur. Three studies were completed involving them: firstly their moral development using Kohlberg's (1984) Heinz moral dilemma, and secondly their ethics using an 'ethics' questionnaire and their constructs by employing Kelly's (1956) personal construct psychology (PCP) using self-characterisation sketches and repertory grids.

The moral dilemma ascertained levels or stages of moral development according to Kohlberg (1984) and the 'ethics' questionnaire was used to discern moral values; whereas Kelly's PCP, which is based on a phenomenological and idiographic approach, stresses the uniqueness of an individual – it is a view of the world through a person's own eyes and not an observer's interpretation or analysis. Self-characterisation sketches and repertory grids were used to determine their moral values, relationships and reasoning. Then the grids were analysed using principal component analysis and formal concept analysis to obtain a clearer vision of how entrepreneurial offenders "*view the world*".

From the studies in DBA Documents 3 and 4, the following characteristics were discerned:

The legitimate entrepreneur	The criminal entrepreneur
High need for achievement	High need for achievement
Has integrity	Dishonest
The adrenaline rush	Experiences the adrenaline rush but also a need to bend the rules
Egoism	Necessity of addiction
The good lifestyle	Unrealistic expectations
Independence from others	Hurting others
Spotting opportunities	Opportunistic
Creativity	Improvising
Socialisation	Reciprocity
Tends to be considerate	Self-interested, egocentric
Internal locus of control	Internal locus of control
High self-esteem	Low self-esteem, distorted self image
Dependable, guarded, responsible	Spontaneous, impulsive, brash, reckless
Confident, positive, constructive	Self-doubting, unconfident, apprehensive
Tolerates ambiguity	Seeks stability, can't cope with ambiguity
Has vision	Lacks vision

Table 1   Entrepreneurial characteristics

(*Adapted from DBA Document 3, p 38*)

In comparison with legitimate entrepreneurs, several characteristics of the criminal entrepreneur are similar but many are not.

The central theme of this thesis focuses on 'criminal entrepreneurs' i.e. those individuals who behave in an entrepreneurial manner but in a criminal rather than a legitimate context, predominantly fraudsters and drug dealers; this study

looks 'beyond Fox's *ethnographic dazzle[37]* of the superficial differences discovered in the initial qualitative study, DBA Document 3. Colvin (2000) posited his *differential coercion theory* which integrates a number of existing criminological perspectives, but locates the root cause of chronic offending in the fact that such offenders grew up in homes where parents applied erratic and inconsistent control. Appendix 2 contains a summary of the characteristics of typical offenders. Homelessness, lack of contact with families and truancy when they were children figure quite largely; 27% went into care as children and 47% ran away from home as a child.

1.4   The size of the problem

According to Dubourg and Hamed (2005), business crime (including fraud) is estimated to cost the UK economy £19 billion per annum and the total cost of crime against industry and households in 2003-04 was £36.2 billion. Due to its size and clandestine nature, the illegal psychoactive or recreational drugs market is arguably one of the most intriguing topics of the social history of humankind.   Worldwide, the United Nations Office in Drugs and Crime (UNODC) estimated the number of illicit drug users aged 15 – 64 at 208 million (World Drug Report, 2008: 30), and the Home Office (2006) estimated the UK market at £4.65 billion in 2003/4. The illicit drugs production regions of the world, such as Afghanistan, are out of control of central government, and drugs trafficking undermines the national security of countries such as Bolivia, Colombia and Mexico. "Money laundering is the world's third largest industry by value"; according to Booth (2002), who quotes figures from the EU's Financial Task Force, it represents 2-5% of world economic output i.e. it totals more than $590 billion (£360 billion based on £1=$1.63) annually worldwide and could be as high as $1.5 trillion (£0.92 trillion). Criminal markets have developed which have features in common with other clandestine markets such as pirated DVDs, human trafficking and smuggling tobacco and alcohol.

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[37] *Ethnographic dazzle was an expression first coined by Robin Fox, the anthropologist. It means blindness to underlying similarities between human groups and cultures because one is dazzled by superficial features.*

It currently costs an average of £36,500 per annum to keep a person in prison and this is projected to reach £41,000 in 2011. The National Offender Management Service (NOMS) had a budget of £4.0 billion in 2008-09, equivalent to 2.5% of GDP (House of Commons Justice Committee, 2010). The Social Exclusion Unit (2002) has concluded that re-offending by ex-prisoners costs society at least £11 billion per year.

The Social Exclusion Unit (2002) estimated that ex-prisoners were responsible for about one in five of all recorded crimes. Clearly, society needs to address the problem of recidivism otherwise an underclass will emerge which will become increasingly more difficult to manage and burdensome on resources.

Reduction in recidivism can only occur if successful intervention strategies are developed and offenders feel that they are contributing members of the community. In order to develop intervention strategies for entrepreneurial offenders we must first distinguish between the different types of offenders.

This study concentrates on only those offenders who have committed property crimes (defined in the Home Office Crime in England and Wales Survey 2004/5 as other than damage to property, namely robbery, theft, fraud, forgery and drug crime) and not those who have been prosecuted for offences of a violent or sexual nature, albeit that violence is often linked with other crimes.

1.5   The criminal journey

Some triggers for individuals entering into crime were highlighted in DBA Document 3. How have these triggers and subsequent mechanisms helped to form the criminal entrepreneur?

Triggers	Mechanisms
Loss of paternal or maternal bond	Lowering of self-esteem and labelling
Expulsion from school	Drug and or alcohol abuse
Push into becoming homeless	Need to find solace in gambling
Depression	Social marginalisation
Difficult relationships	Delinquency
Debt worries	Push or pull into petty crime
	Gaining self confidence
	Spotting opportunities
	Exploiting the opportunity
	Move into serious crime

Table 2   Triggers and mechanisms for crime

(J Haggerstone DBA Document 3; page 36)

However, given a set of particular environmental circumstances, these triggers are not necessarily activated. Arthur (2007: 9) summarised the risks or indicators likely to lead to youth crime as: inadequate parenting, child abuse, family problems, poor parental supervision, parental or sibling criminality, having teenage parents, unstable living conditions and the effects of economic disadvantage.

1.6   Overview of the thesis

This thesis is presented in six chapters. The first part of the thesis contains three chapters (Chapters 1, 2, and 3) that address the question '*What is this thesis about*?' The second part discusses the methodology used (Chapter 4); the findings and analysis (Chapter 5) to the original research objective, i.e. to investigate the reasoning and relationships - why some individuals who are entrepreneurial should take an unlawful route rather than a legitimate one to creating an income or wealth; and '*What has this research found*?' The final part of the thesis offers answers addressing the question 'W*hat do these findings mean*?' and the conclusions and implications are reported in Chapter 6 with suggestions for further research.

Chapter 2 sets the context of theories of offending behaviour and entrepreneurship in the light of further literature surveys. Entrepreneurship is the outcome of the complex interaction of internal and external variables of an individual. The sociological view of entrepreneurs and the use of morality in the explanation of criminal entrepreneurship are tackled. It provides an update and review of the recent literature covering developmental concepts including psychodynamic, social learning, cognitive and control theories related to offending. Theories related to moral reasoning including those of Piaget, Kohlberg, Gilligan, Eisenberg and Erikson. Bowlby and Ainsworth's acceptance theories and rational choice are also discussed.

Chapter 3 discusses the research questions founded on earlier work in Documents, 2, 3 and 4.

Chapter 4 discusses the methodology used in this study, which adopts a methodological triangulation approach, involving the convergence of data from multiple data collection sources: a moral dilemma, a questionnaire on ethics, Kelly's (1955) Personal Construct Psychology (PCP) using self-characterisation sketches and repertory grids.

Chapter 5 gives the findings and an analysis of the results. Kelly's (1956) PCP is used in the thesis to provide a method of exploring the criminal entrepreneur's construct system by using self-characterisation sketches and repertory grids which form the basis for a conceptual framework for empirical work; the repertory grids are analysed in two novel ways – using formal concept analysis and principal component analysis. The findings from this work outlining some of the constructs influencing entrepreneurial behaviour are reported in Chapter 5.

Chapter 6 summarises the conclusions drawn from the study.

1.7   Summary of key findings

The detailed research findings are included in the Findings and Analysis section (Section 5). However, the key findings are summarised here in order to provide an overall perspective.

The first study, Kohlberg's (1984) 'Heinz Dilemma', revealed that the group of criminal entrepreneurs are mainly at the pre-conventional or conventional morality levels which encompass: Stage 1 - punishment–obedience orientation Stage 2 - instrumental relativist orientation; Stage 3 - good boy-nice girl orientation; Stage 4 - law and order orientation on Kohlberg's stages of moral development. All thought it was reasonable to steal a drug to save their wife's life and gave valid reasons.

The second study, the ethics questionnaire, completed by twenty-six participants, demonstrated that in general this group of criminal entrepreneur considered honesty and trust important in relationships and the work place and that it was important for others to trust them. Being a 'good person' was more important than being rich. The majority had a role model and were satisfied with their own ethics and character. However most thought that successful people will do what they have to do to win, even if it means lying or cheating.

The third study involved participants carrying out self-characterisation sketches and repertory grid interviews. The results are discussed in detail under Findings and Analysis (Chapter 5). Although the sample was too small to generalise, the overall constructs from the group of participants showed that they were very ambitious and family ties and role models featured prominently in their lives. Most resented, or had a strong dislike of, authority.

2.   LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1   Introduction

This chapter reviews, expands and updates the literature review in DBA Document 2. The meaning of entrepreneurship is explored in further depth and related to a criminal context. This is expanded into a discussion on criminal entrepreneurs and the origins of criminal behaviour including the nature or nurture argument for such behaviours. Education and the criminal entrepreneur and a review of the cognitive developmental theories related to moral reasoning follows including those of Piaget, Kohlberg, Gilligan, Eisenberg and Erikson. Bowlby and Ainsworth's acceptance theories, and rational choice are also discussed.

2.2   Entrepreneurship

"Entrepreneurship involves the study of sources of opportunities; the processes of discovery, evaluation, and exploitation of opportunities: and the set of individuals who discover, evaluate, and exploit them". (Shane & Venkataraman, 2000).   Scott *et al* (1997:6) described entrepreneurship as 'the creative extraction of value from environments' while Shaver and Scott (1991: 24) consider that entrepreneurship is like obscenity in that '*nobody quite agrees what it is but we all know it when we see it*'. Entrepreneurial behaviour centres on alertness to opportunity according to Shane (2003). Whereas Brockhaus and Horowitz (1986: 42) conclude '*there is no generic definition of the entrepreneur*' and Hull et al (1980) likened the search for the definition of the entrepreneur as akin to '*hunting the heffalump'*.   The entrepreneur was defined by Kirzner (1973: 39) as '*a decision-maker whose entire role arises out of his alertness to hitherto unnoticed opportunities'.* Traditionally, entrepreneurship has been associated with the discovery and processing of new ideas or new information by perspicacious individuals. The entrepreneur sees, or imagines, new possibilities for what were previously unrealised and beneficial trades between individuals. The author supports the view held by Heap (1992:81) who asserted that the entrepreneur helps to propel the economy from one equilibrium position toward another, and all economies where there is change must have entrepreneurship in some form or another (whether legal or not).

Within the field of economics, Kirzner (1997: 69) developed a theory that gave a better understanding of the entrepreneurial role operating within the market process, which he subsequently labelled '*the modern Austrian entrepreneurial discovery theory of the market process*'. The core of this theory is that alertness to opportunity defines entrepreneurial behaviour, while the entrepreneur is always '*scanning the horizon*', about to make these discoveries. However Kirzner (1996: 72) fails to explain how or why an entrepreneur suddenly notices an opportunity.

Cunningham and Lischeron (1991: 47) argue that there is an inextricable bond between risk and entrepreneurship. To be entrepreneurial is to take the initiative and attempt to make a profit by taking risks, so it usually involves setting up or establishing some kind of business activity. Two of the central cores of entrepreneurship are dealing with risk and having a vision of the future. Brockhaus (1980) suggested that high risk-taking propensity, even when there was a low probability of success, was a feature of successful entrepreneurs. Cited in Seldon (1991:67), Lord Young stated that calculated risk-taking is at the heart of the entrepreneur. Most people seem to be risk averse; in other words, the strategy that they have when dealing with risk is straight avoidance, i.e. they take the attitude that 'if I don't change, then risk doesn't exist'. Parallels can be drawn with physics: once the initial inertia or resistance is overcome or triggered the individual becomes more and more entrepreneurial. However, some would argue that risk has become one of the defining cultural characteristics of Western society (Beck, 1992). Another core of entrepreneurship is the ability to identify and capitalise opportunities. (Kirzner 1997b: 39) said that 'boldness, impulse, hunch are the raw materials of entrepreneurial success' (and failure).

Timmons (1999: 4) referred to entrepreneurship as being America's secret weapon. Recognized as the lifeblood of any economy, enterprise and entrepreneurship have increasingly become the preferred prime force for economic development by developed and underdeveloped nations throughout the world. This is reinforced by the European Union in its Enterprise and Industry website where its policy on entrepreneurship was "encouraging more people to become entrepreneurs": "The spirit of enterprise is the lifeblood of a modern market economy. Creating a positive climate in which entrepreneurs

and businesses can flourish is key to generating the growth and jobs that Europe needs."

Entrepreneurship is increasingly recognized as the prime vehicle for economic development in both developed and underdeveloped nations (Zacharakis *et al*, 2002). Entrepreneurship re-emerged as a key agenda item of economic policy makers across Europe, both for specific nations as well as for the European Union as a whole (Brock and Evans, 1986; OECD, 1998; European Commission, 1999). Traditional and not-for-profit entrepreneurship became the central pillar of economic development, job creation and social inclusion, and a catalyst for urban regeneration in deprived areas.

Ever since entrepreneurship was identified as a driver for a thriving economy in the last quarter of the 20th century (Timmons, 1999: 4), it has helped to fuel the notion that life is all about the creation of wealth and materialism. Uhlaner *et al* (2002) confirmed a relationship between post-materialism and levels of nation-wide entrepreneurship. Their findings clearly confirmed a negative relationship between post-materialism and self-employment: countries marked by less materialistic values tended to have lower levels of self-employment as a proportion of the overall labour force. So materialistic societies tend to be more entrepreneurial and there is frequently a crossing over of boundaries from legitimate to illegal business and vice versa; professional crime has evolved in tandem with, and on the back of, legitimate business. Those who produce and sell goods and services that are not registered for tax, social security or compliant with labour laws are part of Williams' (2006: 4, 5) 'underground economy'. Interestingly, he includes evasion of income tax and benefits fraud but is disdainful of drug dealers, handlers of stolen goods and those who flout intellectual property laws, such as sellers of counterfeit merchandise; he does not include these in his 'underground' economy. Williams' 'underground economy' is in essence, the 'grey economy'. The informal (or 'underground' or 'parallel' economy) is often taken to mean something broader, including illegal activities such as prostitution and drug dealing as well, although there is no agreed strict definition. Hence, confusion exists among economists over these terms. De Soto (1989: xiv-xv) suggested that 'underground' enterprise and

entrepreneurship is 'thus the people's spontaneous and creative response to the State's incapacity to satisfy the basic needs of the impoverished masses'.

This study is about those individuals who work in the 'shadows'. As mentioned in DBA Document 2 (p 53), Bolton and Thompson (2004: 231-254) looked at entrepreneurs in the shadows but concentrated on legitimate entrepreneurs who had transgressed. However, they say, "*the more we consider aspects of criminal behaviour, the more we see evidence of the entrepreneur character themes in some form*". There have always been those that depended on crime for a living – 'career criminals', and the marketplace has emerged as the area for serious criminality according to Hobbs (1995: 107). Prison has often been described as the 'University of Criminality' and it is difficult to disagree with this as anecdotal comments are often made by prisoners about how they are learning the art of being a criminal and the drug culture in prisons. Evidence suggested that use of drugs for the first time only after entering prison was not uncommon and was a legacy of having been in prison (Cheney, 1995). She reported that drugs have become a widespread commodity behind prison walls and their entry into prisons is the cause of many inmates and their families living in fear.

DiIulio (1987) identified two separate but interrelated dimensions that constitute the culture of a prison: the formal organisation of prison regimes centred on security and offering a range of programmes, and the more sinister informal community of prison inmates. Inmate culture organises life among prisoners, providing 'rules' around such things as trading property, interracial relationships and what constitutes respectful behaviour. It also governs the rules of an internal inmate hierarchy which reflects the criminal world outside where patterns of affiliation and influence are far more important than any formal structure. This is an area which is exceptionally difficult to penetrate and make sense of. Potter (1993) suggested that organized crime in the United States can best be understood in fluid network terms rather than traditional hierarchies.

Criminal entrepreneurs fit the description of 'promoters' as mentioned by Beaver (2002: 41): the business owners whose main motive is the achievement of personal wealth and financial rewards. If we consider the underlying reasons

why they have chosen a life of crime it should be possible to encourage and guide such people to use their entrepreneurial skills in a legitimate context, thereby reducing recidivism. Fundamental questions such as 'what is a crime?' have been answered in previous DBA Document .2, page 44).

Fisher (1983) argued that entrepreneurs work at the edges of society, not the mainstream, where they bend the rules and act unethically, but empirical studies by Hoss, Christensen and Schwartz (2005) disputed this. Kets de Vries (1977: 34-57) took a sociological view of entrepreneurs. He saw them as the product of their upbringing: creative rebels with a cause. Whereas Birley and Muzyka (2000: 5) stated that entrepreneurs, as well as criminals, often exhibit behaviour that could make both groups seem social misfits. Kets de Vries' (1977) entrepreneur emerges as a social misfit or a deviant personality, who has low self-esteem, is angry, resents authority, and is rebellious, insecure and unable to work in a structured environment. These 'deviants' are often the product of an unhappy family life or due to the frustrations caused by problems such as dyslexia or attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD). Experiences such as those where the father is a controller, and a manipulator, who is remote and seen as a deserter, breed this dislike for authority and suppressed aggressive behaviour leading to the setting up of business. However, Kets de Vries is discredited to some extent by the simple fact that not all 'deviants' become entrepreneurs. Armstrong (2005: 11) asserts *"The few academic attempts to draw ethical borders around the concept of entrepreneurship so as to exclude the unethical and or illegal are unconvincing to say the least"*.

DBA Document 3 showed that entrepreneurial offenders have many of the attributes of legitimate entrepreneurs but, with the exception of fraudsters, they tend to lack planning skills, are inclined to be impetuous and often lack focus.

Knowledge and learning (Piaget, 1965, Kohlberg 1984) contribute to an individual's moral development and values and so an actor's view of people and their social perspective levels is an important feature of this development. Russell (1959) indicated that knowledge and morals are two inseparable entities. The social learning theory approach (Bandura 1986, Crittenden, 1990) claims that humans develop morality by learning the rules of acceptable

behaviour from their external environment. This study concentrates on those individuals working in the shadows who have, evidenced by their incarceration, exhibited unacceptable behaviour in their methods of obtaining an income or gaining wealth. In doing so these entrepreneurial offenders demonstrate that they 'discover, evaluate and exploit' business opportunities, i.e. they practise criminal entrepreneurship.

Criminal entrepreneurship is defined by the Social Intelligence and Investigation Service (SIOD) in the Netherlands as: "*Obtaining financial-economic gains through facilitating (others) committing criminal offences by delivering goods or services. This not only concerns the criminal entrepreneur who specializes in illegal activities (organized criminality) but also the entrepreneur who combines his role of bona fide entrepreneur with that of criminal entrepreneurship (forms of organization criminality). The social disturbance resulting from criminal entrepreneurship may take the form of financial damage, but also other forms of damage for society may result from it, such as false competition or human exploitation.*"

This statement says what actions the criminal entrepreneur causes but it does not give any clues as to what drives the entrepreneur to carry out these actions.

2.3   Criminal entrepreneurs

Brewer (1992) cites Cantillon (1755): "*The entrepreneur is the bearer of risks inflicted by the changes in market demand*". This is what the criminal entrepreneur does but his activities and markets are deemed illegal.

In Chart 1, the types of persistent offender of significance from an entrepreneurial point of view are burglars, thieves, fraudsters, people traffickers and drug dealers. Those individuals who operate in the illegal drugs markets such as cocaine, ecstasy, heroin, amphetamines, LSD and cannabis are of particular interest in this study because of their entrepreneurial nature. These products are now so widely available that it is not so unusual to see published surveys covering current street prices of these drugs.

Apart from those serving sentences for violent offences, drug offenders represent the largest percentage of offenders in custody and will be the most represented in this study.
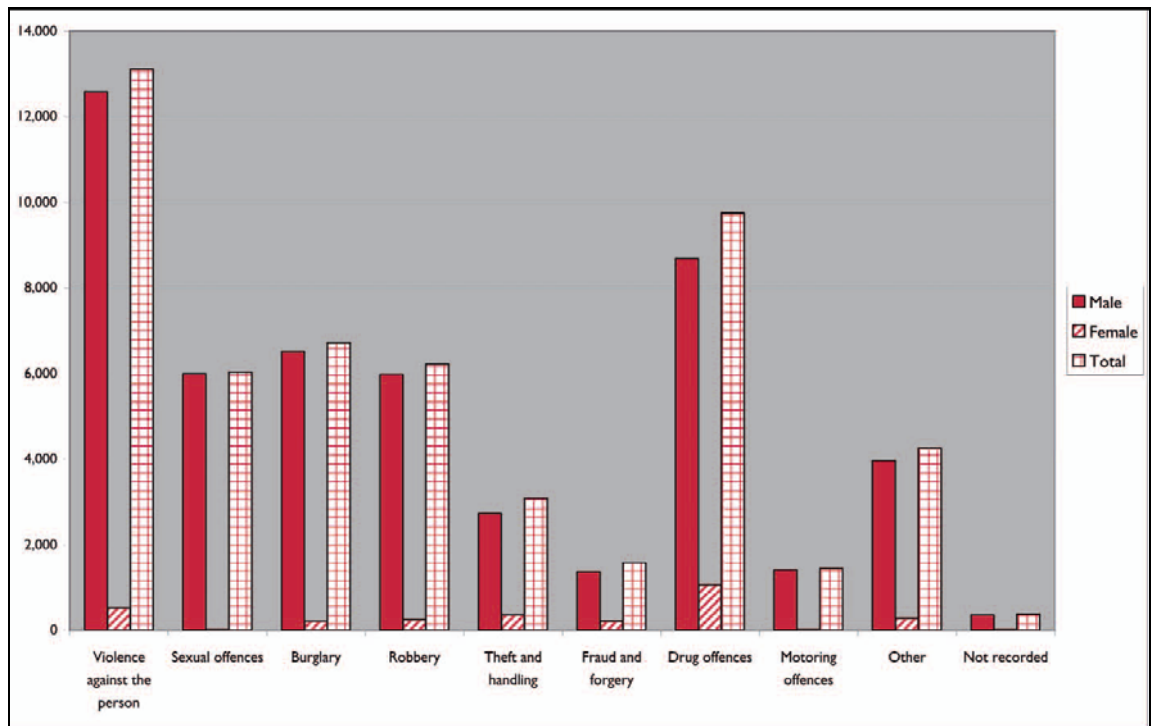
Chart 1   Sentenced population by offence
(Population in Custody, December, 2005, London: Home Office).

Jansyn *et al* (1969) found that ex-offenders cited three main reasons for going into business: independence, a desire to keep all the profit from one's labour and to have a high income.

2.3.1 Origins of criminal behaviour

Kolvin *et al* (1988), in a longitudinal epidemiology study: 'Newcastle Thousand Family Survey (1947-1980)' that investigated social and parenting factors affecting criminal offence rate, found that the deprived family and poor parenting were major factors in whether or not individuals participated in criminal activities. The key findings are the dramatic increase in rates of delinquency and criminality in relation to the severity of deprivation in the family of origin. Some 60% of males from high risk deprived family background eventually end up with a criminal record (Kolvin et al, 1988: 87). They found that parental

criminality, alcoholism and/or drug abuse in the father could be contributory factors. In agreement with attachment theories, children who are separated from a biological parent are more likely to offend than those from intact families are.

The Newcastle study showed that the attitude of the mother, before a child's fifth birthday, could affect the behaviour and future of the child, and boys who experienced parental divorce or separation in their first five years of life had a doubled risk of conviction up to the age of thirty-two (53 percent compared to 28 percent with the population as a whole).

Farrington (2005) claims that the major early risk factors for antisocial behaviour include impulsiveness, low intelligence and low school achievement, poor parental supervision, child physical abuse, punitive or erratic parental discipline, cold parental attitude, parental conflict, disrupted families, antisocial parents, large family size, low family income, antisocial peers, high delinquency-rate schools, and high crime neighbourhoods. The causal mechanisms linking these risk factors with antisocial outcomes are less well established, and the Integrated Cognitive Antisocial Potential (ICAP) theory is proposed to explain these.

Karstedt and Farrall (2007) consider that there is an area of criminal activity at the very core of contemporary society. "*These are the crimes and unfair practices committed at the kitchen table, on the settee and from home computers, from desks and call centres, at cash points, in supermarkets and restaurants, and in interactions with builders and other trades-people. They are committed by people who think of themselves as respectable citizens and who would certainly reject the label of 'criminal' for themselves. Politicians refer to them as the 'law-abiding majority', ignoring the fact that the majority do not abide by the law, or at least are highly selective about when to and when not to comply.*"

White collar crime tends to be carried out by the middle and upper classes whilst robbery and street crime is committed by different people, i.e. the lower classes. (Croall, 2001: 2). This is an area of crime which, although is increasing significantly, continues to receive little attention (Croal, 2001: 50). Typical

white-collar crime involves a type of 'moral free-loading': for example, stealing from someone is wrong but stealing from your employer is acceptable because it does no harm, being considered a victimless crime. However, white-collar crime most likely does more to undermine morality in society than regular property crimes (Cullen *et al*, 1983).

Gottfredson and Hirsch (1990) argue that prevalent academic criminology - whether sociological, psychological, biological or economic - has been unable to provide credible explanations of criminal behaviour. They further posit that criminal behaviours are the result of a stable individual psychological trait referred to as "low self-control."

Social influences may affect moral reasoning in several ways. For example, societal and cultural norms impact on moral standards by delineating roles and moral responsibilities which in turn affect behaviour (Turiel, 1994). A second social influence is parents, who promote internal moral standards in children by modelling acceptable practices and by disciplining children in optimally informative ways (Hoffman, 1987). Maccoby and Martin, (1983) thought that parenting styles, such as "authoritative, authoritarian, indulgent and neglectful" might play a role in shaping constructs. Kelly (1955) said that some of our constructs may derive from those of our parents' constructs, especially our self-construct based on our evaluation of how well we have met or are meeting our parents' expectations, and the amount of love and support they give us. Boyes and Allen (1993) found that parenting style was related to principled moral reasoning scores among college students on the Rest's (1979) Defining Issues Test, although others have argued against this view, suggesting that the impact of parent-child disciplinary interactions depends more on situational constraints than on parents' disciplinary style *per se* (Grusec and Goodnow, 1994). A third social influence is our other relationships; people such as relatives, friends, peers, teachers and those in the media may also play a role.

Both Piaget (1965) and Kohlberg (1984) postulated that children learn to adopt others' perspectives through reciprocal play. In turn, the ability to adopt alternative perspectives and to empathize with these perspectives enables children to construct new standards for logic and reasoning (Flavell, 1992).

Motivational models base on expectancy-value theories are also useful in looking at behaviour. They embrace the notion that consideration of the individual person is essential in understanding and predicting human actions. In expectancy-value theory, what actions people are motivated to undertake depends upon a rational analysis of expected outcomes and the attractiveness or value of those outcomes to the individual. However, as Bandura (1986: 16) observes; "*There are countless attractive options that people do not pursue because they judge they lack what it takes to succeed. They exclude entire classes of options rapidly, on efficacy grounds, without bothering to analyze costs and benefits. Behaviour such as this can only be explained by adding perceived efficacy to the decision making model.*"
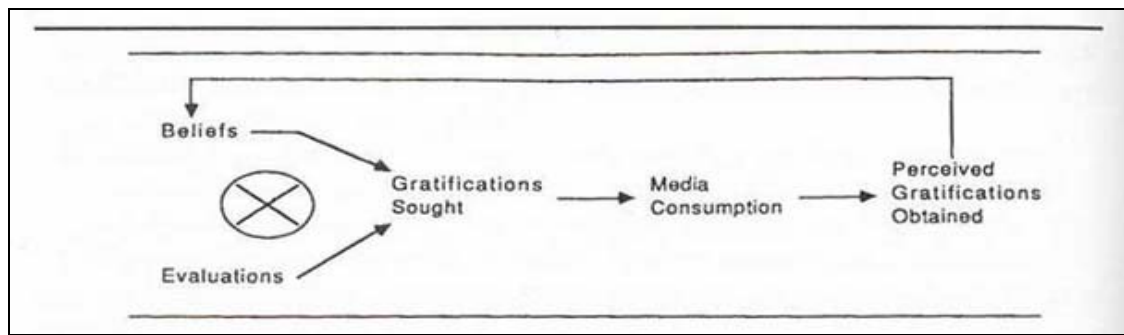
Figure 1   Expectancy value model (Palmgreen, 1984)

Vroom (1964) developed the 'Expectancy Theory of Motivation' which presented the idea that people are motivated by the expected outcomes of their actions rather than their 'needs'. People will respond to new information about an action or item by developing a belief about it or modifying the belief if it is a pre-existing one. Someone's behaviour results from their personal values or beliefs and how they view the world (Scheibe, 1970). Just as these values and beliefs differ from one person to another, the relative importance which people attach to these factors varies and will be instrumental in determining what specific actions will or will not be taken by one individual under any particular set of circumstances. Indeed, the same person may, in essentially identical situations, choose to perform different behaviours.

People are goal oriented according to Expectancy-value theories and the response to their own beliefs and values will be determined by what they want to achieve. This teleological perspective on human actions has a long

philosophical history dating back to Aristotle (Jones, 1952). Individuals assign a value to each piece of information that a belief is based on and an expectation is created or modified based on the result of a calculation comprised of the beliefs and values. EVT also states that the result of the calculation, often called the "attitude", stems from equations containing many belief/values pairs. Fishbein and Azjen (1975: 234) represented their *'Theory of reasoned action'* in the scientific perspective with the following equation where attitudes (A) are a factorial function of beliefs (b) and values (v).

$$A = \sum_{i=1}^{n} b_i v_i$$

The theory is based on the premise that in social behaviour, people are generally rational and will use the information that is available to them in a systematic way. Thus they claim that it is possible to predict with a high degree of accuracy an individual's behaviour when knowledge of their beliefs and expected values or perceived social norms are known. From an epistemological point of view, they claim that this theory is comprised of mainly one truth because it applies to most all individuals. Ontologically it relies mainly on determinism because the reactions and behaviours involved are decided by situations, and in axiological terms, this theory is value-conscious because beliefs and values play an important role within this framework. However with even the best intentions people often fail to result in predicted behaviour because other events such as family commitments, peer pressure, distractions, crises etc, may intervene preventing it from being carried out!

2.3.2 The nature or nurture argument for criminal behaviour

Lombroso, the nineteenth-century Italian 'criminal anthropologist' was the first to popularise the notion of a 'born criminal'. According to Gibson (2002, cited in Walsh, 2003), Lombroso was one of so-called 'holy three of criminology' (*Lombroso, Garofalo and Ferri*), and he developed a positivist perspective (which implies that criminology is an exact science) of the theory of crime based solely upon genetic transmission and embraced the idea that crime is a direct

product of heredity. In other words he suggested that criminals are born not made: criminals being a product of genes not found in the non-criminal population. Lombroso also developed the strange notion of 'indirect heredity', suggesting that criminality could be somehow be acquired through direct contact with people who are alcoholics or mentally unstable.

This biological deterministic theory of criminality is based on the concept of *atavism: a* condition that apparently renders the recipient incapable of living within the social norms of society. Lombroso extended his views still further and suggested that environmental conditions such as poor education could also be numbered among the causes of crime. However, later he concluded that about one-third of offenders were born criminals: the remainder had to be accounted for by some other means of explanation. This is a view that is not seriously entertained by later theorists such as Merton (1938), Bowlby (1951, 1979), Sutherland and Cressy (1970), Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990) and Clarke (1992) *et al* who all generally favour the nurture argument (interactionist theories).

Grappling with this study, which tries to understand criminal entrepreneurs and their everyday lives, the introspectionist method of enquiring into the mental processes through discourse was first investigated. This is concerned with the process of categorizing the 'self as doing' so can be perceived as a building block of identity. When an individual considers themselves as belonging to a particular category or group they adopt that part of their self into their identity which according to Phoenix (2007: 47) can be understood as part of our individual supposition of ourselves, which is created from a range of sources.

If criminal entrepreneurs were considered communities or social groups, one method of comparing them could be to use moral-pragmatism in a reality testing adaptation of England's (1975) scale which he used with managers in different companies. He found that different cultures tend to be either pragmatic or moralistic. Americans tended to be pragmatic, seeking validation from their own experiences, whilst Europeans were more likely to be moralistic and sought validation from a generally traditional, philosophical or moral system. Whilst the findings may have some elements of truth it is impossible to generalise. Schein (2004: 146) adequately illustrates this with his table of criteria for determining

the truth. Morris and Schindehutte (2005) explored six subcultures in Hawaii and found that whereas there were some differences due to cultural backgrounds, most shared some core values regardless of their cultural origin. Cultural values were generally held and sustained through pressures from the unit or group. Hence, the existence of a norm implies a value that is shared by a collective. In an entrepreneurial context, where a value associated with economic innovation or individual success is inconsistent with the conventional traditions of a culture, the entrepreneur is likely to be frowned upon or even hated by others belonging to the cultural group (Lipset, 2000). Presumably it holds that criminal gangs, groups or communities will behave in a similar fashion.

The following table compares the social characteristics of offenders with those of the general public:

Characteristics	General population	Prison population
Ran away from home as a child	11%	47% males and 50% females
Taken into care	2%	27%
Regularly truanted from school	3%	30%
Excluded from school	2%	49% males and 33% females
Numeracy at or < Level 1 (Level expected of an 11 year old.)	23%	65%
Reading ability at or below Level 1	21-23%	48%
Unemployed before prison	5%	67%
Homeless	0.9%	32%
Drug use in previous year	13% males and 8% females	66% males and 55% females
Hazardous drinking	38% men and 15% women	63% males and 39% females

Table 3   Social characteristics of prisoners *(Social Exclusion Unit, 2002)*

As a child, the average offender is four times more likely to have runaway from home compared to the 'average' child and is ten times more likely to have been 'in care'. The offender is twelve times more likely to have been unemployed.

However some criminal entrepreneurs continue to enjoy some form of success; we seem to live in a rather confused society where people who commit tax fraud are significantly less likely to be prosecuted than those who commit benefit fraud yet, the monies involved are much greater as demonstrated in Table 4. According to Croal (2001: 30), tax fraud illustrates the narrow borderline between legal and illegal, citing McBarnet (1988) who points to many practices that comply with the letter of the law that clearly contravene the spirit of it, accountants, lawyers and financial advisors being employed to find ways of reducing tax liabilities. Table 4 shows that HMRC prosecute only a small number of detected offenders; this is due to their concern with recovering lost income so they tend to prosecute only in cases where large sums of money are involved. So not all criminal entrepreneurs finish up in prison.

Benefits fraud	Tax fraud
£900m	£5000m
Number of prosecutions	**Number of prosecutions**
14000	20

Table 4   Fraud convictions

(Reducing Fraud in the Benefit System, www.dwp.gov.uk, October 2005).

Whereas tax fraud is usually an evasion of payments into the public purse, benefits fraud is a much clearer criminal offence which occurs where false claims are made for public money and so is more easily detectable and more prosecutions result.
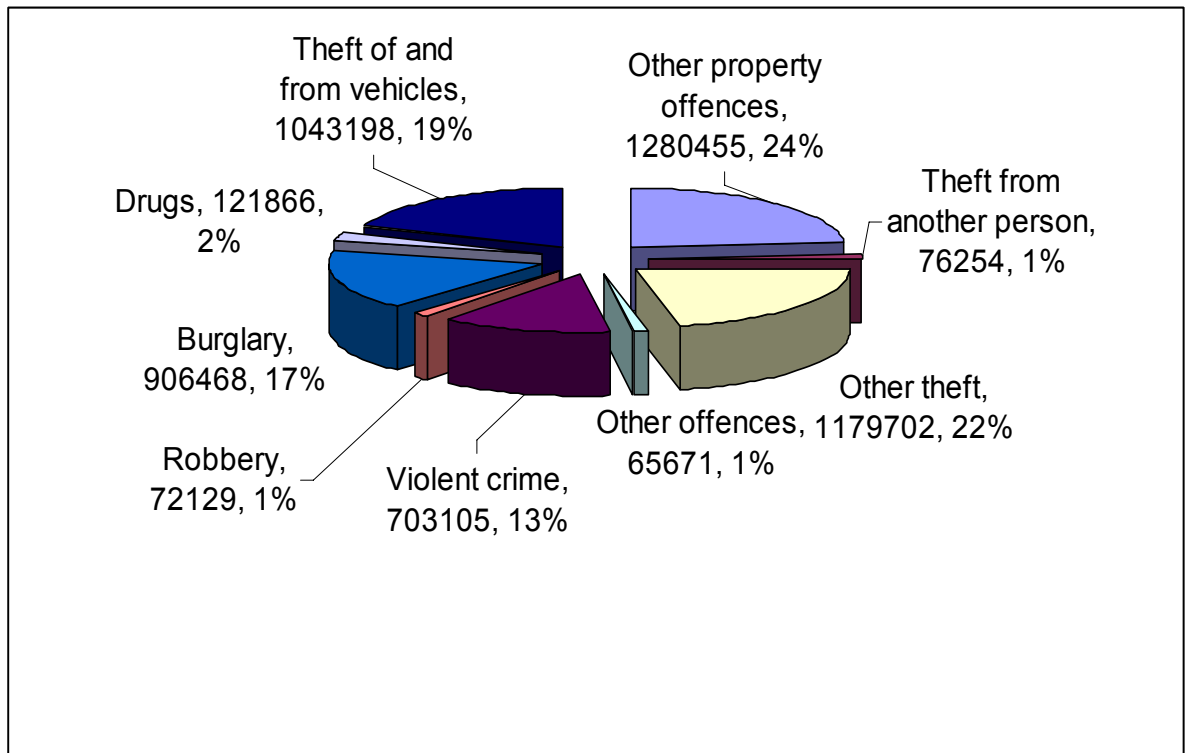
Chart 2   Types of offences, derived from Home Office statistics (2005)

Young (1994) posits that crime is mostly of a minor nature, sporadic and amateurish. He also considers that it is intra-class in that most crime is committed by working class offenders on working class victims. Rejecting the positivist view that unemployment or poverty causes crime, he prefers Merton's (1938) theory of anomie and subculture theory, which focuses on the lack of opportunity to achieve social status and economic expectations commonly felt by the most disadvantaged sections of society. He believes that most criminals hold conventional social values, reflecting the need to achieve material success or social status in a competitive society where sexism, racism, machismo and other ideological forms affect outcomes. Indeed, criminal behaviour could be characterised as merely the operation of capitalist principles, i.e. the investment of labour for a return, but in an illegal form.

2.3.3 Entrepreneurship and crime

Entrepreneurship has been generally regarded as the catalyst for economic development. However, criminal activities decrease the legitimate entrepreneurial incentive and the long-term consequences of crime are far greater than just the direct value of stolen goods. Rice (1956) considered that

"Crime is a logical extension of the sort of behaviour that is often considered perfectly respectable in legitimate business".

All individuals have a learning history and this is their base line for any additional learning: it sets their horizons and shapes their goals and dreams. Successful entrepreneurs need to be able to look forward and visualise the future for their business venture. However it is a matter of ethics as to whether or not they are visualising a legitimate business or one in the 'shadows'. Many entrepreneurs start out visualising a legitimate business but something happens which triggers an event leading them into 'darkness', whereas criminal entrepreneurs often start out in an illegal way but wanting to have a legitimate business.

In DBA Document 3, criminal entrepreneurs appeared to be money motivated whereas studies show that legitimate entrepreneurs are mostly driven by a strong desire to create something new, or for autonomy, in addition to creating wealth and financial independence (Bhat and McCline, 2005, Kotite, 2008). However, like the criminal entrepreneur, they are often motivated by an inherent rebel element, but the legitimate entrepreneur wants to prove that they can create a business, and attach their name to it so that they are able to say, "I built that."

Turning to the offenders it is possible to draw an analogy with the 'Routine Activities Theory' (RAT) developed by Clarke (1992, cited in Pawson and Tilley, 2005) to show the factors involved with starting their business. According to RAT, three conditions need to be met for a predatory offence to occur:
  (1) a motivated offender
  (2) a suitable target
  (3) the absence of a capable guardian.
Contemporary scholars believe that criminal motivation is the product of one or more of a complex set of factors.

Becker (cited in Sullivan, 1973) suggested the notion that as one can consider that a market exists for commodities, then there is a market for crime where the traders are the criminals who by committing crimes enter into transactions by

making cost-benefit analysis. If they get away with it crime pays; if they don't, crime costs either financially or by curtailment of freedom. In Becker's model, criminals make a rational assessment of the pros and cons and decide accordingly whether or not to commit the crime. If this Hobbesian (Hobbes cited in Devine, 2000) outlook is correct then by increasing the 'cost' there would be a reduction in crime. However not all criminals consider the consequences nor act rationally, being unlikely to weigh up the advantages and disadvantages of their actions, particularly in the case of impulsive, violent crimes, but the bulk of criminal offences are committed by habitual criminals, who carry out theft, burglaries, selling drugs etc.

Campbell and Ormerod (cited in Ball, 2004: 199) proposed a model of criminal activity based on Schelling's (1973) approach: they assume there is a cost to crime which depends how much it deviates from the social norms. Consequently someone living in an area where criminal activity is considered normal activity will probably be better off joining them rather than being socially excluded. However living in an area where everyone is a pillar of society the pressure to conform and abide by the law is much greater.

Current research into criminal behaviour is based on the model that criminals are rational decision makers – no different in their thinking than non-criminals but rather that such individuals are faced by certain environmental situations and triggers. This will lead to a rational choice to engage in criminal behaviour. The actions of our entrepreneur can be described in similar terms when they embark on setting up their own business. As it is virtually impossible to manage (2) and (3) in the RAT conditions then the only effective way is to change the motivation of the offender by educating them.

2.3.4 Education and the criminal entrepreneur

One of the core themes of Government policy since 1997 has been to bring people marginalized by society into the fold and equip them with the means to gain meaningful and rewarding employment opportunities, so that they have better control of their lives and contribute to the economy. Offenders are the most marginalised sector of society and recidivism is a major problem.

Taillandier (1828) cited in *Critical Mass (*Ball, 2005*)* found that 67% of prisoners were illiterate. "*What stronger proof could there be that ignorance, like idleness,*

is the mother of all vices?" However he failed to compare it with the illiteracy rate of the whole population.

As Deakins (1999: 21-22) remarked, "*We do not understand how entrepreneurs learn*", and we understand even less criminal entrepreneurs.   Education programmes in prisons are mainly geared to providing offenders with the basic literacy and numeracy skills aimed at getting them into employment and reducing re-offending, but prisons are also full of people who have entrepreneurial skills, which could be harnessed and put to good use with some training and support. Strangely, self-employment is an option, which few seem to consider, and some prisons do not actively encourage.

Education is considered important in the development of the individual and the community and in prisons it offers a way of facilitating the return of the prisoner back into the community (Council of Europe, Education in Prison, 1990). Prison education was introduced after Peel's Gaol Act of 1823, which required that "schoolmasters" were appointed by prison authorities. Prison education, which has always been optional, is aimed at reducing recidivism by offenders on release and for 2005-06, the Department for Education and Skills had a budget of £152.5 million, which represents 3% of the Prison Service budget. For 2006-07, the responsibility for prison education has been passed over to the Local Learning and Skills Councils; most educational programmes are aimed at teaching the basic skills of literacy, numeracy and information technology but a small number of prisons, like HMP The Mount, run courses aimed at small business start-up or self-employment business skills.

The provision of prison education, which has always been the poor relation due to the fact that offenders are usually paid less to attend classes than other activities like workshops or kitchens, has often been haphazard with a lack of uniformity between prisons in terms of both courses provided and the coordination of them. To put the Prison Service education budget into perspective, the Prison Service spends virtually the same amount on education as a whole that it does on transporting prisoners from one jail to another (£150 million), and at any one time 5% of prisoners are on the move.

Prisoners who do not receive education are three times more likely to be convicted again than those that do *(FE Focus, 2006: 3)* but prison education continues to be non-compulsory.

Wheatley (2006), Director-General of the Prison Service, said*, "Very often we in prisons are dealing with people who have become involved in crime because there is a little bit of the entrepreneur about them – it's just that their entrepreneurial skills are not the kind anyone would want to reward. In a different world with a different background, they might well have been a captain of industry, but they have ended up using their energies in all the wrong ways"..*

Therefore, although the Director-General is fully aware that entrepreneurial people are housed in our prisons, he does not do any more than to pay lip service to the problem, or it may be that he is unable to do much because of potential antagonistic pressure from the media at large. Prisons are noted for their drugs problems: entrepreneurial individuals continue to be very active servicing and fulfilling captive market needs for drugs.

Anyone working with offenders in an educational setting in prison will notice that they have a need to present perfect work. They want to succeed. One cannot help but wonder that, if they had exercised this passion prior to coming to prison, then they would not have made the mistakes that brought them to prison in the first place. In other words, delinquents are seen as 'stuck' in the Identity Stage, in a semi-permanent state of identity crisis where male delinquents experience identity without intimacy, and female delinquents experience intimacy without identity. Self-worth and fidelity are virtues that have not yet developed.

A "latent trait" approach (*differential coercion theory)* that integrates several existing criminological perspectives was suggested by Colvin (2000) who argued that career criminals emerge from a developmental process characterized by recurring, erratic episodes of coercion. There are two types of coercion: interpersonal (which is direct, involving the use or threat of force from parents, peers, and significant others); and impersonal (which involves pressures beyond individual control). Colvin attempted to locate the root cause of persistent offending in the fact that such offenders grew up in homes where

parents used erratic control and applied it in an erratic and inconsistent fashion. The term 'career criminal' is difficult to support as the concept assumes extensive involvement in deviant behaviour which allows entry into a social role that can develop over time and is comparable to a conventional career ladder which is governed by social rules. Luckenbill and Best (1994) question the analogy with conventional careers since criminal careers are often short lived and not always central to working life. The term is used as a euphemism for a prolific or habitual property offender.

Often it is the case that drug selling is a complement to, rather than a substitute for, legitimate employment, which explains the rudimentary skills of many users and small distributors (Reuter *et al*, 1990).

Individuals categorise and evaluate their own experiences through a matrix of schema, which are structures consisting of their fundamental beliefs and assumptions, analogous to Kelly's (1955) personal constructs; in other words they are personal cognitive notions. Kelly said that "a person is not the victim of his (sic) biography but that he may be enslaved by his interpretation of it."

This study investigates the notion that entrepreneurial criminals have different morals to legitimate entrepreneurs and looks at reasons why entrepreneurial offenders consider committing crime, and whether there is something distinctive about their thinking patterns that cause them to suspend the social controls that most people have to limit their behaviour.

The idea that the criminal (entrepreneur) lacks morals has been around a long time. Kinberg (1935, cited in Reckless, 1944) makes the statement that "*where there is no society there are no morals, no rules of conduct, and consequently no crimes*". This belief in some way is a part of the basic and fundamental explanation of criminal behaviour according to Bidinotto (1997).

2.4. Review of moral development theories

Criminal behaviour is a breach of the moral code as defined by laws. Since nearly half of all crimes are committed by less than a tenth of all criminals, it is vital to understand what leads certain individuals to offend and some to become persistent criminals. One of the keys to preventing crime is to identify what motivates individuals to break the rules that define right and wrong.

According to the *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (2008), the term 'morality' can refer to a code of conduct expected by rational people in the community. Therefore, the assumption is that when human beings are born they are amoral, lacking any system of personal values and judgments about what is right or wrong, but most possess morality by the time they reach adulthood. Wikström (2009: 254) considers that morality is about values and emotions and is important is important because it has to do with what kind of action-alternatives a person perceives as potential responses to a particular circumstance. Along with the capability to exercise self-control this influences their propensity to commit crime.

2.4.1 Moral values

Moral values tend to be founded on the fundamental moral principle, which is found in virtually all major religions and cultures, of the 'Golden Rule' or 'Ethic of Reciprocity' where it is usually interpreted as "treat others as you would like to be treated." It is arguably the most essential basis for the modern concept of human rights and normally encompasses the notions of care and responsibility for other people, fairness and equality, freedom and courage, fulfilment in life, opportunity and community, cooperation and trust, honesty, openness and respect.

Hume, Kant and Rawls contributed to Western philosophy dealing with moral values. Salwen (2003) says that "*Hume's law is a thesis about moral reasoning*". Hume claims that moral conclusions cannot be validly inferred from non-moral premises. According to Hume (1978, 1888, 1739) our feelings of approval or disapproval are caused by our ability to *sympathise* or to share

feelings with other human beings. The Humean model explains the moral evaluation as driven by emotion.

Kant (2008, 1785) argues morality does not derive merely from human nature, but from the mind. The Kantian (2008, 1785: 425-426) model sees moral evaluation as driven by rational judgment where the agent compares the proposed action to a moral principle and then acts according to whether it would be ethical.   Borrowing from Aristotle's Nicomachean Ethics and Kant's moral reasoning, Rawls (1971:136-142) provides the rationale, based on a state of mind in which individuals choose principles from behind a "*veil of ignorance*", to explain why an individual who knows what morally correct conduct in a given situation is and makes the knowledge the source of his action. As the individual lacks knowledge of the conditions of their life and is unaware of potential opportunities, they choose a conduct that will appear to give them the most benefit. In the Rawlsian model, the innate moral faculty is used to make a moral judgment, and then emotions are brought into play to motivate the agent to carry out the act called for by the judgment. Hauser (2006) thinks the Rawlsian model is how the moral faculty works whereas James (1987; 185) considers the mind as a system of ideas which included emotional feelings, thoughts and perception, each with the excitement it arouses linked with impulsive or inhibitive tendencies which naturally reinforce or check each other.

Musek (1993) conducted work with 54 values and identified four underlying categories: hedonistic, moral, achievement, and fulfilment. However, in their study of the psychology of values, Seligman *et al* (1996:210) commented that it is difficult to separate the moral force from within, versus the moral force of one's social context. Kristiansen and Hotte in Seligman *et al* (1996: 77) considered that the nature of both the self and the moral issue affect the moral reasoning process and consequently any value-attitude-behaviour relations.

Historically it is generally believed by many that rational criminals lack some of these values and choose a life of crime because the rewards are better than regular paid employment. A wider approach has rejected the idea that virtues and vices are the basis of moral behaviour or that moral character is comprised of a "bag of virtues", such as honesty, kindness, patience and strength etc and has concentrated on cognitive moral reasoning and its development. Moral

development involves the formation of a system of values on which to base decisions concerning *"right"* and *"wrong,"* or *"good"* and *"bad".* (Daeg de Mott, 2001). She considers that values are underlying assumptions about standards that govern moral decisions.

2.4.2 Moral reasoning

Following the phenomenological study in DBA Document 3 and the survey-based one in DBA Document 4, looking at entrepreneurial traits in order to ascertain how a criminal entrepreneur sees the world, it became clear that there was a need to understand their core values; hence, the reason for choosing to investigate moral reasoning. Moral reasoning is a thinking process with the objective of determining whether an idea is right or wrong; our actions stem from our thoughts, and such actions influence the lives of others.

The two main approaches to the study of moral development are:

(a) The behaviourist approach.
Moral development is based on social learning theory founded on the premise that individuals develop morality by learning the rules of acceptable behaviour from their external environment.

(b) Psychoanalytic theory proposes that morality develops through an individual's conflict between their instinctual drives and the demands of society. .

Those who believe infants are born with no moral sense tend towards social learning or behaviourist theories (as all morality must therefore be learned from the external environment). Others who believe humans are innately aggressive and completely self-oriented are more likely to accept psychoanalytical theories (where morality is the learned management of socially destructive internal drivers).

What constitutes "mature morality" is a subject of controversy. All societies develop their own set of norms and standards for acceptable behaviour, leading many to say that morality is entirely culturally conditioned.

Werhane (2004) discussed five main theories to moral reasoning – utilitarianism, rule-based morality, a rights approach, a contemporary Aristotelian approach to virtuous character, and social justice – that set out minimum standards for acceptable moral decisions that can serve as criteria for moral business judgments.

Research into moral reasoning has its foundations with Rotter (1966), Piaget (1959), Kohlberg (cited in Crain, 1985), and Gilligan (1982).

Rotter (1966) developed the concept of 'locus of control' which refers to individual differences in the way people believe about what controls everyday events in their lives. Locus of control was one of the traits evaluated in DBA Document 4 and found to feature strongly in both legitimate and criminal entrepreneurs.

However, Mischel (1968: 6) challenged the conventional view that individual traits were relatively stable underlying characteristics with causal influences on behaviour. In their "cognitive-affective system theory of personality," Mischel and Shoda (1995) assert that what is stable about an individual's approach to the world is not a set of global traits that predispose behaviour across time and situations, but rather particular patterns of behaviour-situation contingencies. Their theory focuses on "if-then" statements about the individual that clearly relate that person's behaviour to particular environmental circumstances.

Piaget's Cognitive - Development Theory

Piaget (1932) was one of the first to examine the structures and processes of how children understood the world around them and proposed that their reasoning passed through four stages:

		Age range
Stage 1	Sensorimotor	0-2
Stage 2	Preoperational	2-7
Stage 3	Concrete	7-14
Stage 4	Formal	14-adult

Table 5   Piaget's stages of cognitive development

In Stage 1 the way children make sense of the world is through their five senses: seeing, hearing, smell, taste and touch. They recognize themselves as an agent of action and begin acting intentionally, for example shaking a rattle to make a noise.

In the next stage the child learns to classify objects into mental categories through making comparisons and to use language and to represent objects by images and words. Thinking is still egocentric: they have difficulty taking the viewpoint of others.

In Stage 3 children make use of general and abstract rules. They can think logically about objects and events.

In Stage 4 children can use more complex cognitive skills such as thinking logically about abstract propositions and become concerned with the hypothetical, the future, and ideological problems. Piaget (1952) considered that not all adults will fully attain Stage 4 or use it all the time.

So offenders could be viewed as having a dualistic morality. In other words they are seen as "stuck" in the Concrete stage, only seeing things as black or white, right or wrong. They are only concerned with classifying things, and use no other reasoning about them.

Kohlberg's stages of moral development
Kohlberg (1969) was very much influenced by Piaget's stage theory of cognitive development and consequently the two theories share common characteristics. One of these characteristics being the notion that reasoning about social-moral matters can be described by a series of increasingly more progressive and powerful stages. Kohlberg's theory of moral development expands upon Piaget's work but differs in some respects. Whereas Piaget proposed four *phases* of cognitive development through which people pass in a loose order, by contrast, Kohlberg posited six *stages* (in three levels, with two stages each) of moral development, based on cognitive reasoning, through which each person passes in unvarying and irreversible order.

Building on this theory, Kohlberg (1984) conducted detailed interviews about hypothetical situations involving complex moral choices: for example in his 'Heinz Dilemma', children, adolescents, and adults were asked to decide if a man who cannot afford to pay for some overpriced medicine to save his dying wife should break into the pharmacy to steal the drug. Is the man justified in stealing the medicine from the pharmacy when he does not have enough money to pay for it? Why or why not? (Appendix 4).

Kohlberg's interest was not so much in the actual choices selected by a person, but rather in the ways in which the person reasoned about the dilemma. He argued that at early stages of moral development there is a focus on punishment and rewards (e.g. 'you shouldn't steal because you'll be caught and sent to prison', or 'if you let your wife die, you'll get in trouble'). But as children grow older, they enter stages where they emphasize social harmony and law and order (e.g. 'no one will think you're bad if you steal the drug', or 'even if his wife is dying, you still have to obey the law'). Some individuals, according to Kohlberg, reach the highest levels of moral reasoning and consider universal, ethical principles that transcend law. However, changes in children's thinking about moral dilemmas cannot be simply in terms of increased reasoning skills as the children get older, and it could be argued that males and females are brought up to have different moral values. Also caution must be taken about making generalizations about cultural or gender differences. Making sense of a child's moral development is made difficult because there are many different factors involved. Their actions do not always fit in neatly with their thoughts, because their ability to regulate their own behaviour is limited, particularly at a very young age. Children need to develop the self-control necessary to stop themselves from doing something forbidden by adults, as well as understanding the reasons why. Feelings such as guilt and shame play a part where moral choices must be made and these undoubtedly develop as children get older. Thus a range of social, cognitive, and emotional factors are part of a child's moral development.

Although Piagetian epistemology has paradigmatic status the notion of the stages is rather problematic. The concept of preconventional, conventional and postconventional reasoning is useful but "types" may be more appropriate than

"stages" as the notion of stage is complex and Kohlberg's theory may be more elegant than one which can be supported with typical data.

Level and stage	Governed by	Description
Level 1- Pre-morality		
Stage 1	Punishment and obedience	Moral behaviour concerned with obeying authority and avoiding punishment. The consequences of actions are more important than intentions.
Stage 2	Hedonism	Moral reasoning is egocentric and concerned with meeting one's own needs regardless of the needs of others, except when a favour might be expected to be returned.
Level 2 - Conventional conformity		
Stage 3	Interpersonal concordance	Concerned with general conformity to stereotypes of what is good and gaining the approval of others. Intentions become relevant. Personal relationships become important; moral reasoning is determined by other people's needs.
Stage 4	Law and order	Committed to social order for its own sake with deference to social and religious authorities, e.g. 'Doing your duty to God and the Queen'.
Level 3 - Autonomous principles		
Stage 5	Social contract	Individual rights acknowledged along with democratically derived laws, which are approved of by the whole of society.
Stage 6	Universal ethical principles	Justice, respect and trust may override legal dictates in making moral judgments. Abstract reasoning of the highest level, which few people achieve.

Table 6   Kohlberg's stages of cognitive development

According to Kohlberg, every person begins at Stage 1 moral reasoning and develops progressively to Stage 2, then Stage 3, etc. Not everyone makes it through all six stages and people who use Stage 5 or 6 moral reasoning are quite rare. Kohlberg claimed that his stages of moral development are universal, applying equally to all human beings across cultural divisions.

The main problem with Kohlberg's theory is the emphasis on justice to the exclusion of the other values. Gilligan's (1982) theory shows that moral development theories do not have to focus on the justice values. In addition, there is a basic assumption that some form of moral reasoning takes place before moral actions. Can moral actions just be intuitive actions?

Kohlberg's theory of moral development presents three levels: the preconventional, conventional, and postconventional. Each level contains two stages. Stages 1 and 2 in the preconventional level involve an "egocentric point of view" and a "concrete individualistic perspective" in which the person makes choices based on the fear of punishment and the desire for rewards. In Stages 3 and 4 of the conventional level, persons make choices from a "member-of-society" perspective, considering the good of others, the maintenance of positive relations, and the rules of society. Persons in the final stages of the postconventional level, Stages 5 and 6, reason from a "prior-to-society" perspective in which abstract ideals take precedence over particular societal laws.

Kohlberg's Moral Development Theory can be summarised as follows:

1. Punishment Concern stage - obedience to power and avoiding punishment
2. Individualistic Concern stage - meeting one's own needs, me first
3. Interpersonal Concern stage - having good motives, some concern for others
4. Conscience Concern stage - serving welfare of the group or society
5. Social Contract Concern stage - agreed-upon individual rights in society
6. Universal Ethics Concern stage - principles of justice for all humankind.

Offenders are seen as "trapped" in a state of moral immaturity. It doesn't depend on age, and any of the first three stages may be where they are stuck.

Most hardcore offenders would be at the Punishment Concern stage, if they only believe something is right or wrong because it hurts if you do what society thinks is wrong while some are predicted to be in the Individualistic stage, where they decide what is right or wrong by reference to an egoistic sense of whether they can be blamed or not for doing wrong. A few may be in the Interpersonal stage, where they determine right or wrong by a sense of group honour.

Gilligan's Moral Development Theory

Gilligan (1982) posits that the difference between males and females is seen as the difference between an ethics of justice and an ethics of caring. Boys game (for winners and losers) while girls play (for enjoyment of the game). The theory is a feminist critique of justice, as traditional justice conceptions are seen as not allowing room for an ethics of caring.

Although she worked alongside Kohlberg, Gilligan (1982) was at odds with him because his work was androcentric. Most of the early research was with males whereas Gilligan developed her own theory of moral development for women, which was different to that of Kohlberg's. Kohlberg (1969) defined moral maturity in terms of justice and autonomy while ignoring a women's concern with relationships and caring. Gilligan considers caring to be a major element in moral development; generally women are believed to have a greater concern for others and so a woman concerned with caring for others would be placed at Stage 3 in Kohlberg's system. Further she suggested that men generally lack caring. More recently, Palmer (2003) looked at moral reasoning alongside criminal conduct and the rehabilitation of offenders but did not differentiate between different categories. No work has been found which looked at offenders who were entrepreneurs, albeit criminal ones. Indeed most research involving moral reasoning with offenders has involved young or violent offenders without due regard to their entrepreneurial nature. Hence the focus of this thesis on persistent entrepreneurial offenders is an original one.

Kohlberg used applied moral dilemmas to determine which stage of moral reasoning an individual uses. These dilemmas were short stories that described situations in which a person had to make a moral decision, yet they

provide no solution. Participants were asked what the right course of action was, as well as an explanation why. Moral development involves the formation of a system of values on which to base decisions concerning "right" and "wrong," or "good" and "bad." Values are the underlying assumptions about standards that direct moral decisions.

In a sample of n = 789 boys aged 12-15, Tarry and Emler (2007) identified attitudes to institutional authority, strength of support for moral values and maturity of socio-moral reasoning as potential predictors of adolescent delinquency. After checking for effects of age, IQ, social background and ethnicity, self-reported delinquency was significantly and independently predicted by attitudes to authority ($r = -0.47$) and moral values ($r = -0.27$), but not by a structural measure of moral reasoning level ($r = -0.04$). The lack of any confirmed link between levels of moral reasoning and delinquent conduct leaves unanswered questions about the consequences of this kind of moral competence.

Bendixen et al (1998: 187) claim that multiple epistemic assumptions play an important role in young adults' moral reasoning over and above other social and personal variables. Social influences may affect moral reasoning in several ways. For example, societal and cultural norms exert a direct impact on moral standards by delineating roles and moral responsibilities that, in turn, affect behaviour (Turiel, 1994). A second social influence is parents, who promote internal moral standards in children by modelling acceptable moral practices and by disciplining children in optimally informative ways (Hoffman, 1987). He argued that the ability to empathize affects moral reasoning as it allows individuals to adopt the perspectives of others and provide the motivation to act in a morally responsible fashion.

Kristainsen and Hotte cited in Seligman *et al* (1996: 84) claim that "*having knowledge of a person's stage of moral reasoning no more allows them to predict their behaviour than having the knowledge of someone's values*". Indeed Blasi's (1980) review found that less than 1% of the variance in moral behaviours such as honesty was accounted for by stages of moral reasoning.

Rest (1979) recognised the potential role of non- justice paths to morality and in (Rest, 1986) using his Defining Issues Test (DIT) he found only a modest relationship between Kohlberg's postconventional moral reasoning and moral behaviour. Thoma et al (1991: 659) endorsed Rest stating that: "*the existence of justice reasoning in an individual's decision-making repertoire does not preclude the existence of other interpretive systems or [indicate] that justice reasoning is the preferred system used in solving moral dilemmas.*" Using the DIT, Teal and Carroll (1999) investigated moral reasoning skills in entrepreneurs and, in their limited sized study, rather unconvincingly concluded that they may exhibit moral reasoning skills at a slightly higher level than middle managers or the general adult population.

Although Kohlberg's model accounts for the development and process of moral reasoning, it does not consider the content of the reasoning. Likewise, although value research considers the content of people's moral standards, it does not consider the fact that individuals may use different processes of moral reasoning. Kohlberg (1969) considered that values and stages of moral development may affect moral attitudes and behaviour. Although Kohlberg believes that people progress in their moral reasoning through stages, it is through social interaction that moral development occurs which is what this thesis attempts to ascertain. Although both Kohlberg (1971a: 55) and Rest (1979) argue, and present evidence, that the process of moral reasoning is independent of its content, the support for this distinction appears mixed. The distinction between the process of moral reasoning and its content is fundamental to the suggestion that moral reasoning moderates value attitude-behaviour relations. One criticism of Kohlberg's theory is that moral reasoning does not necessarily lead to moral behaviour. There is a large difference between knowing what should be done and carrying out an actual action. It seems unlikely that justice and punishment are the only aspect of moral reasoning. Compassion, caring and other personal feelings are ignored by Kohlberg which is the reason other avenues are explored in addition to Kohlberg's dilemma in this study.

Kohlberg's six stages of moral development strongly over-emphasises Western philosophy including urban and intellectual (upper class) understanding of morality, while discrediting rural, tribal, working class, or individual Eastern

moral understandings. Individual cultures have different moral outlooks. West African communities emphasise interdependence and the self as an extension of others. Gilligan (1982) pointed out potential sexist elements in moral development theories devised by male researchers using male subjects only (such as Kohlberg's early work). Since women's experience in the world is different from men's (in every culture), it would stand to reason that women's moral development might differ from men's, perhaps in significant ways.

Eisenberg's Model of Moral Development

Level	Stage	Governed by	Age group
1	Self-centred reasoning.	Concern for self rather than others. Expectation of reciprocity.	Pre-school age children.
2	Needs-oriented reasoning.	Concern for the needs is expressed without role-taking or empathy, even though there may be conflict with own needs.	Pre-school age and many school-age children use this mode of reasoning.
3	Stereotyped and/or approval-oriented reasoning.	Stereotyped ideas of good/bad people and good/bad behaviour and the desire to win approval.	Some school-aged children and adolescents.
4	Empathetic reasoning.	Role-taking, empathy, and recognition of the other's humanity. Awareness of emotional consequences of helping (feeling good) or not helping (feeling guilty).	Older school-age children and many adolescents.
5	Partly internalized principles.	Justifications for actions involve internalized values (e.g., concern for others' rights). The ideas are not clearly thought out or strongly stated	Some adolescents and adults.
6	Strongly internalized principles.	Justifications for actions based on strongly-felt internalized values (e.g., wanting to improve society, belief in equality of all). Emotional consequences.	Rarely found.

Table 7   Eisenberg's stages of cognitive development

Like Kohlberg, Eisenberg (1989) also believed that ideas about right and wrong develop in children in six stages, but she thought that Kohlberg's model was too rigid and a child's moral reasoning is not very predictable because they can reason from several different levels rather than using one level and are only able to advance. Unlike Kohlberg she was interested in pro-social reasoning or altruism and did not focus on what was punishable or not but on situations where one individual's needs conflicted with another's. In Eisenberg's model, the higher stages are found only in older children, but children can use any of the levels for which they are capable and a child who can use high-level abstract reasoning doesn't have to use it.

Eisenberg's model gives equal value to justice-oriented and caring-oriented moral reasoning.

Erikson's Model of Moral Development

Erikson (1963) developed a psychosocial crisis life cycle model based on Freud's (1949) theory, by placing emphasis on social influences and the development of ego identity. The main aspects to human morality are the affective side as dealt with in Freud's theory (relating to guilt, shame, pride) and the behaviourist approach - the behavioural side that relates to moral conduct i.e. behaving right or wrongly. Moral development involves forming a system of values upon which decisions pertaining to "right" and "wrong", or "good" and "bad" can be made. Like Freud, Erikson believed that personality develops in a series of stages.

Stage		Age range (years)
1	Trust/Mistrust	0-1
2	Autonomy/Doubt	2-3
3	Initiative/Guilt	3-6
4	Industry/Inferiority	7-12
5	Identity/Identity diffusion	12-18
6	Intimacy/Isolation	Twenty-somethings
7	Generativity/Stagnation	20s-50s
8	Integrity/Despair stage	60s

Table 8 Erikson's eight stages of moral development

However, unlike Freud with his theory of psychosexual stages, Erikson focuses on the impact of social experience over a lifetime. His major contribution was to bridge the gap between psychoanalysis and the problems of human development. He argued that healthy ego development was needed throughout eight psychosocial stages; life is a series of lessons and challenges, which help individuals to grow. White (1959) believes that his theory of "*competence motivation,*" can account for the phenomena of ego development much more economically than Erikson's stages: competence motivation being described as a general desire to engage in achievement tasks, succeed in them and recognize one's own successes. He postulated an innate need that he called "*effectance motivation*": a need to use one's own capacities in an effective and competent way. White proposed that certain motives, such as curiosity, autonomy, and play (called intrinsic motives) have common features that distinguish them from drives, and he hypothesised that mastery is the aim of important ego motives such as autonomy and manipulation. Unfortunately his evidence appears to be purely anecdotal.

2.4.3 Moral reasoning in criminal entrepreneurs

One of the main focuses of this thesis is moral reasoning in criminal entrepreneurs. Palmer (2003: 124-152) attempts to place moral reasoning into a wider explanation of offending, concluding that moral reasoning cannot provide a full explanation of offending and it needed to be integrated with other social and psychological variables to provide a fuller picture. A considerable amount of evidence supports the effect that parent-child relationships have on children's behaviour and subsequent psychopathology. Although Kohlberg (1984) never claimed that his moral reasoning theory provided an explanation for offending he placed an emphasis on the role of social interactions in facilitating the development of his stages of moral reasoning. Kelly's (1955) Personal Construct Psychology (PCP) was chosen in this study as a tool to identify the strength of these social interactions on the criminal entrepreneurs' reasoning as the importance of relationships, and particularly the impact of role models, is understated in theories on moral development.

The author concurs with Adshead (2003) who considered that much of the early work on moral reasoning in offenders is flawed because it assumes that "*moral reasoning was a capacity like 'serum bilirubin': normally distributed out there in the population and able to be measured by an objective observer*".

The need for role models

Plato's moral philosophy (Tredennick, 1995) encompassed the notion that moral thinking must be integrated with emotions, and that the preparation for adulthood should begin with childhood education. Like Plato, Aristotle regarded ethical virtues such as justice, courage, temperance etc., as complex rational, emotional and social skills needed in order to live a good life. They are a fitting appreciation of the way in which such characteristics as friendship, pleasure, virtue, honour and wealth fit together as a whole. In order to apply that general understanding, we must acquire, through proper upbringing and habits, the ability to see, on each occasion, which course of action is best supported by reasons. Aristotle's idea of virtue ethics relied substantially on the effect that role models had on people. He believed that people learn to be ethical by modelling their behaviour on 'moral' people and through frequent modelling they become virtuous out of habit. Unfortunately, people can learn bad habits as well as good ones, depending on the role models they have. Aristotle believed that it was the moral duty of every citizen to act as a good role model. Children build their emotional resources from the role models that they observe and often they need to guess at what is "normal" or appropriate because role-model responses are not appropriate. Role models can be a powerful force for individuals to learn and realise their full potential; being important in all stages of life as people develop cognitively from being dependent on others to independence – to being interdependent. They can take the form of mentor or coach.

Often, someone operating in a socially deprived or dysfunctional setting, such as many criminal entrepreneurs, was forced as a child to take on an adult role early in life, and they are trapped somewhere working between dependence and independence. This was evidenced by Table 3 on page 23 where 47% of male prisoners and 50% of female prisoners had run away from home as a child. Emotional responses dictate behaviour and, eventually, determine

achievement. In order for the criminal entrepreneur to morph and succeed as a successful legitimate entrepreneur they need to have an appropriate role model in the form of a mentor or coach both within and outside of the prison system.

Although not a proven intervention, mentoring is usually viewed as a method of both reducing re-offending and increasing positive life outcomes through increasing education and training leading to employment (Jollife and Farrington, 2007). A major issue in prisons scheme would be how costly such schemes would be in terms of manpower so reliance on volunteers may be necessary. Mentoring on release from prison could be based around web-based mentoring resources including Skype for communication with mentors.

Self-interest

Another area of concern with criminal entrepreneurs is that of self-interest. As mentioned in DBA Document 2, Dawkins (1989:2) argued that all action is motivated out of selfishness or self-interest. Dawkins (1982) argues, "*A predominant quality to be expected in a successful gene is ruthless selfishness*". Dawkins would say that it is part of Darwin's "survival of the fittest". Holbach (1973, as cited in Force (2003:7) maintained that self-interest is the only motive of human actions. Holbach's argument is diminished by the fact that there are six million carers in the modern day UK (*www.carers.org.uk*) and twenty million people do voluntary work (Home Office, 2005). However carer's themselves may be benefitting from their own self-interest since, according to the theory of universal egoism, people are fundamentally selfish and acts of altruism are carried out for self-interested motives (Dovidio, 1995). Acts of apparent altruism are acts of selfishness in disguise (Gross et al, 2000: 420).

Self-interest or egocentricity tends to be in conflict with morality in economic relations and social and political life. Robertson (2001: 52-53) said that the acceptability of self-interest in economics was the result of scholarly attempts by early modern economists to free economics from morality: "greed" was transformed into forgiving notions of "self-interest" or "rational choice" not as a technicality but as a "moral deed" (2001 8-9). Economic success and advancement was only possible when people behaved in a self-interested way.

Smith (1759, 2002) showed that by giving themselves to such highly rewarding economic activities in their own self interest, people would also be maximising the economic well-being of society. In his *Theory of Moral Sentiments,* Smith (1759, 2002) saw people as economic agents guided by an "invisible hand". This outlined the social and institutional backdrop for a "society of perfect liberty" within which (*Wealth of Nations*) the "self-interested" person makes economic decisions. Within this social framework, excessive greed is seen as socially undesirable.

Bowlby (in Holmes, 1993) drew on concepts from ethology, cybernetics, information processing, developmental psychology and psychoanalysis, to formulate the basic tenets of his 'Attachment Theory', which changed our thinking about a child's tie to the mother and its disruption through separation, deprivation, and bereavement. Ainsworth's innovative methodology made it possible to test some of Bowlby's ideas empirically and to help expand the theory. She also contributed the concept of the attachment figure as a secure base from which an infant can explore the world and formulated the concept of maternal sensitivity to infant signals and its role in the development of infant-mother attachment patterns. However, one critique to the theory is that it cannot explain why some children exhibit attachment behaviours even though their parents or caregivers may regularly mistreat or abuse them. This phenomenon has been supported by studies with rhesus monkeys, which showed that babies who were treated violently by their mothers continued to seek physical contact (Seay, Alexander, & Harlow, 1964). Whereas, Crittenden (1988) found that children from homes in which there is neglect and/or abuse and violence are less obviously problematic if they have learned to cope with their experiences through compulsive compliance or parentification, because they may behave in similar ways to securely attached children. Though on closer observation they may show that they differ by being hyper-alert, strongly attuned to non-verbal cues and that they suppress negative emotions.

Some theorists see criminal behaviour as being a failure of appropriate moral development and retarded moral reasoning; conforming to the rules of society is brought about by the process of socialization. This is where people internalize the rules because of conditioning, modelling and identification. Parents, teachers, family and friends are the main actors giving direction. Freud's view

would be that no one naturally wants to follow rules because they are instinctively asocial. Individuals look forward to receiving rewards for good behaviour and learn to distinguish between right and wrong. In other words, *we* develop a conscience or 'superego' (DBA Document 2, page 33). Both Piaget (1959) and Kohlberg (1976) challenged this view, arguing that moral development is guided by cognitive needs and a wish to understand the reality of the world (one in which most people do conform). They advocate that children engage in social interactions and then actively construct moral beliefs, rather than simply accepting moral rules handed down by others. This process occurs within the normal sequential process of cognitive development outlined by Piaget (1959). Consequently, in the early stages of development, children view rules made by adults as being rigid and unalterable, and then as they develop they will increasingly begin to see rules as the product of group discussion and agreement.

Generally moral dilemmas are used to measure moral development but an insight into the construct systems of individuals such as criminal entrepreneurs can be gained by using Kelly's (1955) Personal Construct Psychology (PCP) which provides an integrated overview of the nature of the person and is based on the premise that people endeavour to anticipate the future, "*reaching out and beating the world to the punch*" (Bannister & Fransella, 1980: 17). Kelly (1955) considered that "ordinary" people behave like scientists. They have constructions of their reality, like scientists have theories. They have anticipations or expectations, like scientists have hypotheses and they engage in behaviours that test those expectations, like scientists carry out experiments. They improve their understanding of reality on the basis of their experiences and analogous to scientists, they adjust their theories to fit the facts. From this allegory comes Kelly's entire theory.

2.4.3 Measuring moral development

Several researchers have used moral dilemmas in order to study and measure moral reasoning and this appears to have been the preferred method. The dilemmas are short stories that describe situations in which a person has to make a moral decision, yet they provide no solution. They are usually centred on life vs. property: conscience vs. punishment or contract vs. authority

scenarios. Respondents are required to make moral decisions about what an individual in a situation should do and to evaluate the moral values. Kohlberg, 1976, cited in Palmer (2003: 77) outlined eleven moral values which he proposed were universal across all societies and cultures: laws and rules, conscience, personal roles of affection, authority, civil rights, contract, trust and justice in exchange, punishment and justice, value of life, property rights and values, truths and sex.

Kohlberg used moral dilemmas to determine which stage of moral reasoning a person uses. In order to assess the level of moral judgment, the participant is asked what the right course of action is, as well as an explanation why. These early tests were subjective but now both the method and scoring are standardized, by using by a moral judgment interview (MJI). This presents the participants with hypothetical dilemmas, which offer a choice between acting on the basis of sanctioned authority or human welfare needs. Responses are scored to determine reasoning on issues such as conscience, punishment or personal relationships.

It is unfeasible to understand morality without considering the connection between moral duty and the desire for happiness. The distinction between the two is crucial to a clear conception of morality. However, understanding the connection is essential to appreciating moral experience. With Kohlberg's Moral Judgment Interview, an individual is assigned the highest out of the six stages if they consistently prefer the moral orientations typical for that stage rather than another.

The work in DBA Document 4 showed that there was some link between traits and entrepreneurial capacity but it did not quite get to the essence of the criminal entrepreneurs. The use of hermeneutics was required as there was a need to develop the ability to understand things from somebody else's point of view, and to appreciate the cultural and social forces that may have influenced their outlook. Personal Construct Psychology (PCP) appeared to be the solution as it provides an integrated overview of the nature of the person and is based on the premise that people endeavour to anticipate the future, "reaching out and beating the world to the punch" (Bannister & Fransella, 1980: 17). It is a theory that has only already been used to a very limited extent within

economics and in research into entrepreneurial behaviour (Hisrich and Jankowicz, 1990).

Much research has been carried out on moral development since Kohlberg (1981) carried out his 20-year longitudinal study, which culminated in an empirical and theoretical cognitive-developmental approach to morality, where he viewed his philosophy of moral development as a progression through standard, sequential stages (Colby, Kohlberg, Gibbs, & Lieberman, 1983). After participating in Kohlberg's longitudinal research team at the Harvard University Centre for Studies in Moral Development, John Gibbs worked on moral judgment assessment at the Centre and a method for scoring Kohlberg's Moral Judgment Interview (MJI) data was developed.

Use of the MJI was demanding and it required painstaking individual interviewing which involved moral dilemmas to extract reasoning that was then inferentially scored. Standard Issue scoring is intricate and practitioners needed long training sessions in order to use it and achieve reliable, valid scoring. Rest (1979) developed the Defining Issues Test (DIT), which used moral dilemmas but eliminated the need for inferential moral judgment assessment. The DIT required participants to assess their moral reasoning. However, this instrument sacrificed an important characteristic of moral judgment assessment: it eliminated the opportunity for subjects to spontaneously produce their own moral justifications.

Another problem with the DIT is that it only measures preferences *for* post-conventional moral reasoning. The 'P' score of the DIT provides a percentage score indicating the amount of post-conventional thinking but doesn't allow assessment of the lower stages.

Gibbs, Arnold, Morgan, *et al* (1984) developed an objective measure based on the SRM: the Sociomoral Reflection Objective Measure (SROM). The SROM asks participants to select stage-significant reasons that are "close" and "closest" to the ones they would give to justify the importance of moral values, and thereby provides an indirect index of sociomoral reflection or justification. This measure differs from the DIT. Whereas the DIT asks respondents what they "appreciate" (Rest, 1979) or rate as important among moral considerations

or values, this test asks respondents what reasoning they would use to justify that which they evaluate as important.

Palmer and Hollin (1998) compared moral reasoning between male delinquents, and male and female non-delinquents: 126 convicted offenders in a Young Offenders Institution, 122 male and 210 female non-offenders. All were from the Midlands region and were aged 13-22 years old. The participants were given the SRM-SF and the delinquent group showed less mature moral reasoning than the non-delinquent group. Palmer (2003: 73-97) reviewed the various methods of measuring moral reasoning in depth and looked at the reliability and validity of the tests.

Thornton and Reid (1982), cited in Palmer (2003), reported that convicted criminals who had offended for no financial gain (i.e. assault, murder, sex offences) showed more mature moral judgment than those who committed property crimes (i.e. burglary, fraud, robbery and theft). Drug dealing was ignored as an offence; Thornton and Reid preferred classifying offenders into two groups: those who have committed prudent offences i.e. where offenders were perceived to be at low risk of being caught compared with the benefits, and imprudent offences, where there was a high risk of being caught compared with the potential rewards.

In DBA Document 3 (p27-28), it was mentioned that one of the factors that seemed to be missing with entrepreneurial offenders during the execution of their crimes is that of moral reasoning. It is a basic proposition that all human behaviour – in contrast with the behaviour of other living things – can be evaluated from a moral perspective,

When people act fairly or sympathetically it is rarely because they have engaged in a great deal of systematic reasoning. Much of the time, our inclinations are towards fair play or our world. How this decision-making process sometimes facilitates approval of cultural and social norms, and at other times leads to their transcendence, is sometimes difficult to figure out.

Morality is a genuinely human, social and cultural fact according to Wilson (1978) and Dawkins (1983) who put forward the socio-biological argument that some moral 'tendencies' or altruistic feelings may be advantageous to the

survival of the species, but Etzion (1988) suggested that on a more complex level morality is probably culturally induced. Unfortunately, this study did not improve our understanding of the ambiguous decision making process of the offenders. According to Maddi (1997) cited in Prem (1998: 4), to fully understand the pivotal meaning-creating role of decision making requires grounding this process in a complete theory of personality.

2.4.4 Moral behaviour

As previously stated, there is disagreement as to the exact motivations involved in moral behaviour. The 'Moral Balance' model proposes that most humans operate with a limited or flexible morality. Rather than expecting moral perfection from others, or ourselves, we set certain limits beyond which we cannot go. Within those limits, however, there is some flexibility in moral decision-making. Moral development involves the formation of a system of values on which to base decisions concerning "right" and "wrong", or "good" and "bad."

In one context, a person may respond out of empathy and place care for one person over concern for social rules. In a different context, that same person might instead insist on following social rules for the good of society, even though someone may suffer because of it. Often people show a lack of consistent morality by choosing to act in a way that they know is not moral, while continuing to consider themselves as "moral" people. This discrepancy between moral judgment (perceiving an act as morally right or wrong) and moral choice (deciding whether to act in the morally "right" way) can be explained in a number of ways, any one of which may be true in a given situation, for instance weakness of will (where the person is overwhelmed by desire); weakness of conscience (guilty feelings are not strong enough to overcome temptation): flexible morality (where some latitude in moral behaviour is allowed while still maintaining a "moral" identity).

Another discrepancy between moral judgment and moral choice is moral hypocrisy which abounds through all walks of life. Work by Nixon *et al* (2008) suggests that we are intuitively moral human beings but "*when we are given*

time to think about it, we construct arguments about why what we did wasn't that bad". Research by Galinsky (2009) showed that power and influence can cause a severe disconnect between public judgment and private behaviour, and as a result, the powerful are stricter in their moral judgment of others while being less strict of their own behaviour. Those who do not feel personally entitled to their power are actually harder on themselves than they are on others ("hypercrisy").Galinsky (2009) considers that "*u*ltimately, patterns of hypocrisy and hypercrisy perpetuate social inequality".

Nisan and Horenezyk (1990) examined the 'moral balance' model, according to which moral decisions are affected by evaluation of the actor's moral status based on his/her recent moral history. A deviant act by someone who has a history of behaving morally is evaluated less severely than the same act performed by one who has recently behaved immorally. This trend for normative judgments is contrary to that found for descriptive judgments: a person who has recently behaved immorally is perceived as more likely to choose to act improperly and to feel less guilty.

The 'Moral Balance' model proposes that most humans operate out of a limited or flexible morality. Rather than expecting moral perfection from others, or ourselves, we set certain limits beyond which we cannot go. Within those limits, however, there is some flexibility in moral decision-making. Actions such as taking coins left in the change-box of a public telephone may be deemed acceptable (though not perfectly moral), while stealing money from an open, unattended shop till is not. Many factors are involved in the determination of moral acceptability from situation to situation, and the limits on moral behaviour are often slippery. If given proper encouragement and the opportunity to practise a coherent inner sense of morality, however, most people will develop a balanced morality to guide their day-to-day interactions with their world.

The cognitive aspect is that which relates to our beliefs – knowing what is right and what is wrong. As children grow up it is expected that they will develop an understanding of the difference between 'right' and 'wrong'. What are the factors involved in children's development of a sense of morality? What

changes do children go through in their behaviour and thinking when faced with moral dilemmas?

It is naturally tempting to see parents as the main influence on a child's moral development but are their beliefs about what is 'right' and what is 'wrong' really dependent on how they are nurtured? The idea that children learn moral values simply through being punished for misbehaviour is certainly problematic. Of course, children's misbehaviour sometimes does have to be disciplined especially when the safety of the children themselves, or that of others is threatened.

However, relying on frequent punishments (e.g., shouting, smacking) to encourage the long-term development of positive moral behaviour is unlikely to be effective. Children are more likely to learn positive moral values from their parents if they are helped to understand those values through explanations.

Some researchers have focused on how children's behaviour is shaped by their observations of role-models in the world around them, including peers, parents, figures in the media, and other people besides their parents. Other people's positive and negative behaviours can be imitated by children. A child's prosocial behaviour such as sharing, helping, and caring can be increased by observing models that show such behaviours themselves. Drawing from both a behavioural and cognitive view of learning in his work on social learning, Bandura (1965) demonstrated that children (aged 3 to 6 years old) who observed an adult behaving aggressively towards an inflatable toy doll (the "Bobo doll" studies) were more likely to reproduce that aggressive behaviour themselves; he believes that the mind, behaviour and the environment are all essential to the learning process.

Through a variety of experiments, Bandura and his colleagues, demonstrated that the application of consequences was not essential for the process of learning to take place but by observing someone else's activity. This work provided the foundation for Bandura's later work in social cognition.
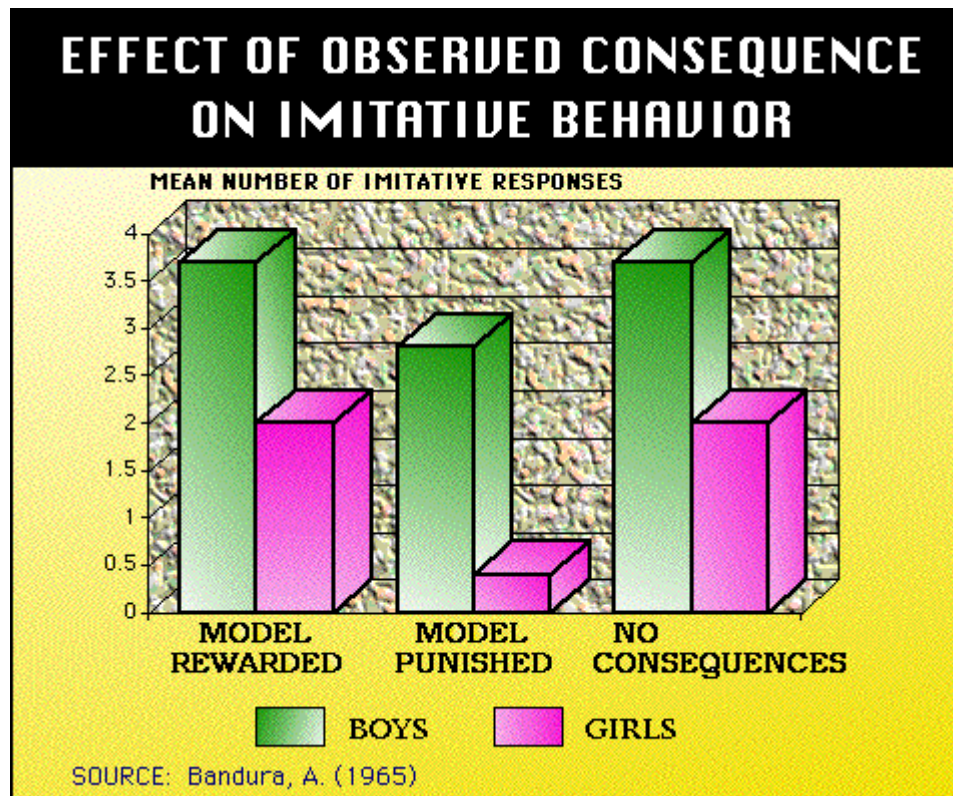
Figure 2   Effect of observed consequence on imitative behaviour

Bandura formulated his findings in a four-step pattern which combines a cognitive view and an operant view of learning:

♦ Attention. The individual notices something in the environment

♦ Retention. The individual remembers what was noticed

♦ Reproduction. The individual imitates what was noticed

♦ Motivation. The environment delivers a consequence that changes the probability that the behaviour will be repeated again (reinforcement and punishment).

Thus if children learn their patterns of moral behaviour from others, is it rational to assume that the way they think about moral situations is also influenced by social factors?

Bandura (1986) postulated that a person's behaviour both influences and is influenced by personal factors and the social environment, asserting that a person's behaviour (and personal factors, such as cognitive skills or attitudes) can affect the environment.

Overt behaviour

Environment

Personal factors
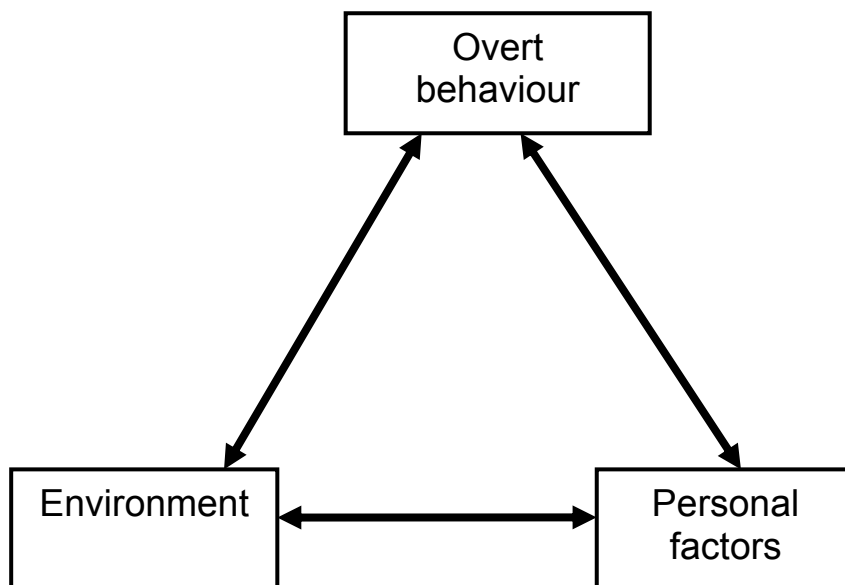
Figure 3   Reciprocal determinism (Bandura, 1986)

Most of the work on moral cognition in offenders does not look at the offence. This study is interested only in property offenders who are criminal entrepreneurs or persistent offenders. Most of these within the prison, where the study was carried out, are involved in drug dealing. The 'leisure' drugs market is a global market worth over $300 billion, according to the United Nations World Drug Report (2006) and a real business with customers and suppliers but, nevertheless, one which is considered by Western society to be illegal. Some cultures, like the Nigerians, have great difficulty in seeing drugs as part of an illegal market when to them any means to make money is business. Business is any trading which can help them survive and provide for their families. 35% of offenders in HMP The Mount are imprisoned because of drugs offences. The majority (over half) having been convicted of being in possession with intent to supply or for supplying drugs; most of the remainder (37%) had been convicted of customs evasion of drugs or importation of drugs.

'Radical Constructivism' (von Glaserfeld, 1989, 162) is an unconventional approach to the problem of knowledge and knowing. Glasersfeld claimed:

> "*Knowledge is not passively received but actively built up by the cognizing subject; the function of cognition is adaptive and serves the organization of the experiential world, not the discovery of ontological reality.*"

All experiences are essentially subjective, and though we may find reasons to believe that our experiences may not be unlike someone else's, we have no way of knowing that it is the same.

Social learning theorists suggest that children learn their parents' moral code and willingness to act in accordance with the rules. This means children's beliefs about morality are at least, in part, shaped by the value systems of the society in which they are brought up and by watching the behaviour of others and "internalizing" the values and norms they perceive in the world around them. Piaget suggested that between the ages of 5 and 10 years, children see rules as rigid and unalterable and set by adults. Also, he argued that young children's difficulties with understanding other people's intentions and perspectives meant that they would focus more on objective outcomes than on subjective motives. Older children were seen by Piaget to develop towards an "autonomous" stage of moral reasoning, characterized by the ability to consider rules critically, and selectively apply these rules based on a goal of mutual respect and cooperation so they are better able to appreciate how people have different perspectives on the world. Piaget believed that they could see how cooperation and negotiation are important in setting and changing rules. This shift in a child's cognitive structure from egocentrism to perspective taking gave them the ability to act from a sense of reciprocity and mutual respect. Thus, Piaget viewed moral development as the result of interpersonal interactions through which individuals work out resolutions.

Vygotsky (1978) had a rather different approach to Piaget (1969) who, as outlined on page 32, believed cognitive development consists of four main stages of cognitive growth: (sensorimotor, preoperational, concrete operations and formal operations) which suggested development has an endpoint in aim. In contrast, Vygotsky thought that development is a life long process based on social interaction and is too complex to be defined by stages (Driscoll, 1994; Hausfather, 1996). Social learning leads to cognitive development. Vygotsky (1978) labelled this phenomenon the 'Zone of Proximal Development' which he described as "*the distance between the actual development level as determined by independent problem solving and the level of potential development as determined through problem solving under adult guidance or in collaboration with more capable peers*".

In other words, a student can perform a task under adult guidance or with peer collaboration that could not be achieved alone. The 'Zone of Proximal Development' bridges that gap between what is known and what can be known. Vygotsky claimed that learning occurred in this zone. According to Crawford (1996), Vygotsky focused on the associations between people and the cultural context in which they interact in shared experiences (Crawford, 1996). Vygotsky thought that humans use tools that develop from a culture, such as speech and writing, to mediate their social environments. Initially children develop these tools to serve solely as social functions, ways to communicate needs. Vygotsky believed that the internalization of these tools led to higher thinking skills. When Piaget observed young children participating in egocentric speech in their preoperational stage, he believed it was a phase that disappeared once the child reached the stage of concrete operations. In contrast, Vygotsky viewed this egocentric speech as a transition from social speech to internalized thoughts (Driscoll, 1994). Thus, Vygotsky believed that thought and language could not exist without each other.

Theories on moral development tend be weak on the relevance of social learning and there is a lack of focus on the relationships between people, their environments and their cultural backgrounds. For example, the mechanisms and effects of relationships such as family and role models in moral development are neglected. Moral development theories do not give a clear idea how an individual views the world so other methods such as constructivism need to be investigated. The way an individual views or construes his, or her, own world is central to constructivism. Kelly (1955/1991) coined the philosophy of Constructive Alternativism, where clients were encouraged to develop alternative constructs systems (constructs being attributes which an individual uses to make sense of their experiences) through which to construe life events; constructivist theories emphasis personal meaning, language and experience. Constructivist psychologies are used to investigate and theorize about how people create systems for a meaningful understanding of their world and experiences; the major tool of PCP is the repertory grid which is an idiographic device enabling the researcher to investigate these views of the world while minimising observer bias. This was based on the main assumption that reality, and what we make of it, is made up of contrasts rather than absolutes.

Repertory grids were developed by him as a means of eliciting and analysing personal constructs. Fransella (2004: 6) says "*it is an attempt to stand in others' shoes, to see their world as they see it, and to understand their situation and their concerns.*"

PCP theory was included because it was a novel method of answering the research question: "What level of moral development is exhibited by the group of criminal entrepreneurs?" PCP provides a means of gaining an integrated overview of an individual. The individual not only responds to whatever is going on in their world but they are also a representative of their own environment formulating their own construction of events that occur in their lives. Canter (2006) said that "*the greatest achievement of PCP is to have a rich theoretical framework closely tied into a fertile methodology*". Most workers use the moral dilemma approach and much of the early work by Kohlberg and Gilligan was with children. It was adopted in order that the author was to be detached from the observations. However, he facilitated the studies.

In essence a case study approach was used; according to Yin (2003a) this study allows the researcher to ask the questions 'how' and 'why'. Although with inherent smaller numbers, management of the study was probably easier, the case study approach may not be as generalisable.

The interviewer 'suspends' their own construing system and 'subsumes' the construing system of the client. Fransella and Dalton (2000: 20) saw subsuming as more than seeing the other person's point of view and having some experience of what the interviewee is experiencing and it is more than empathy. The interviewer strives to move along those inner pathways of the interviewee's experience for short periods of time and attempts to look at the world as they are doing. These skills are intimately connected with the Sociality Corollary. However, people do not always 'speak their minds', and it is suspected that people do not always 'know their own minds'. Understanding such divergences is important to establish how an individual views the world but looking at a sample of a person's construing of the world cannot be considered a representation of the 'whole' person (Fransella et al, 2004: 155), which is why the multiple studies approach was adopted.

In a paradigm shift, after identifying personal construct theory in general and more specifically repertory grids, as a means of discovering how individuals

view the world, it was decided to use this technique to investigate criminal entrepreneurs as very little work has been carried out using this method with them, albeit that it has been used with violent offenders (Horley cited in Fransella, 2003: 163) where it has been in the domain of psychotherapy. A feature of the repertory grid technique is that it combines both an idiographic assessment, which attempts to expose a unique insight into a participant's view of the world, and nomothetic research, which seeks general patterns in groups of people. By eliciting the individual's own constructs and relevant elements, the repertory grid format guides the participant in constructing their own questionnaire, while allowing comparisons across the different groups of people.

Unlike hermeneutic constructivists, who do not believe in the existence of an observer-independent reality and consider knowledge to be a product of the linguistic activities of a community of observers, the author takes an epistemological constructivism stance. Thus the author considers that epistemological constructivists are not idealists because they believe in the existence of an external reality independent of the observer but they consider that it is not possible for observers to identify that reality, except through their constructions of it. For that reason, knowledge can be deemed to be a collection of human-made constructions, which are heuristic fictions, useful for understanding the world. Individuals cannot be definite if their constructions correspond to independent reality, but they can know if their constructions work for them. Using personal construct theory, it should be possible to build profiles independent of observer bias to identify likely characteristics of serial property offenders or criminal entrepreneurs.

Kelly's Personal Construct Theory

Kelly (1955) urged personal construct psychologists to take a "credulous approach" to their clients, attempting to see the world through the client's eyes and thereby, as Kelly described in his Sociality Corollary, being able to play a constructive role in relation to the clients. In describing the credulous approach, he stated that "*From a phenomenological point of view the client - like the proverbial customer - is always right. This is to say that his words and his symbolic behaviour possess an intrinsic truth which the clinician should not ignore*" (Kelly, 1955: 322).
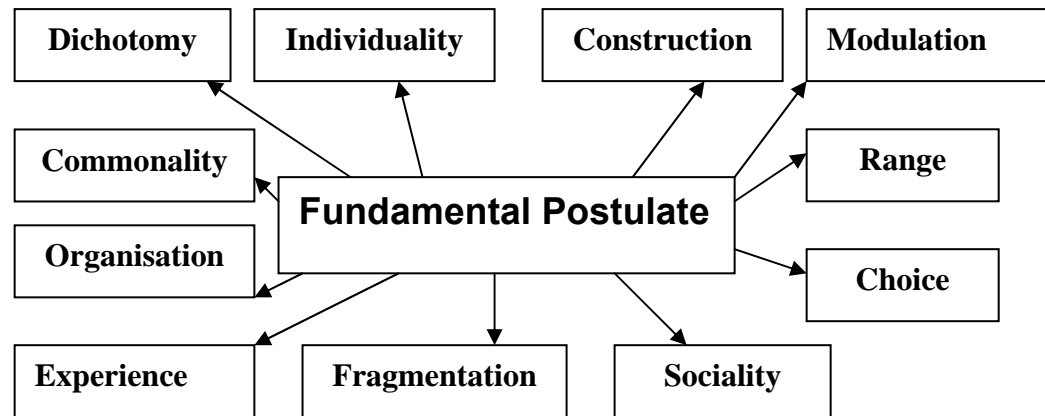
Kelly's Fundamental Postulate for personal construct psychology is: "*A person's processes are psychologically channelized by the ways in which he anticipates events*" (Kelly, 1955: 46). "*A person's processes, psychologically speaking, slip into the grooves which are cut out by the mechanisms he adopts for realizing his objectives*" (Kelly, 1955: 49). These 'grooves' provide templates for construing events which he termed personal constructs: "*Man looks at his world through transparent templates which he creates and then attempts to fit over the realities of which the world is composed*" (Kelly, 1955: 8-9). Constructs are used for predictions of things to come, and the world keeps on rolling on and revealing these predictions to be either correct or misleading; this provides the basis for the revision of constructs and, eventually, of whole construct systems (Kelly, 1955: 14). He saw all people as 'personal scientists' engaged in anticipating the world. His first corollary, the Construction Corollary, states: "*A person anticipates events by construing their replications*" (Kelly, 1955: 50).

This emphasis on the role of behaviour with a view to the future is what distinguishes Kelly's approach to psychology: he saw anticipatory processes as the source of all psychological phenomena. Kelly's Individuality Corollary suggests that people differ in the way they perceive the world around them, while his Commonality Corollary allows for the possibility of similarity between certain groups of people in the way they perceive certain events. The Sociality Corollary discusses the possibility that group members may have similarities with each other, but also the ability to reinforce and/or change other group member's existing constructs in order to build a consensus. The latter two corollaries are particularly important when considering using the repertory grid technique in researching different cultures.

The Dichotomy Corollary states that "*a person's construction system is composed of a finite number of dichotomous constructs*". This is the foundation for the bipolar nature of the repertory grid and links with the Choice Corollary: "*A person chooses for himself those alternatives in a dichotomized construct through which he anticipates the greater possibility for extension and definition of his system*".

The Organisation Corollary asserts that *each person characteristically evolves, for his convenience in anticipating events, a construction system embracing ordinal relationships between constructs.* This forms the basis for employing Formal Concept Analysis to examine the joint representations of constructs and elements in repertory grids and represent any possible ordinal relationships.

The Sociality Corollary specifies that '*to the extent that one person construes the construction processes of another, he may play a role in a social process involving the other person*' which implies that effective interpersonal communication and understanding require our making accurate inferences about how other individual's understanding use their personal constructs to interpret their own experiences.

Kelly (1955), therefore, saw freedom as being a relative concept. We are not "free" or "unfree". Some of us are free-er than others; we are free-er in some situations than in others; we are free-er from some forces than from others; and we are free-er under some constructions than under others.

Some constructs are "springy," they "modulate," they are permeable, which means that they are open to an increased range. Other constructs are relatively impermeable, for example: good – bad, is generally quite permeable for most people. This is illustrated by the Modulation Corollary, "*The variation in a person's construction system is limited by the permeability of the constructs within whose ranges of convenience the variants lay*" *and* provides a basis for solving problems in the sociological paradigm of critical theory.

The Fragmentation Corollary states that "*A person may successively employ a variety of construction subsystems, which are inferentially incompatible with each other*" (Kelly, 1955: 83). Here Kelly implies that subsystems of constructs exist and the analysis of repertory grids should give some form of measure of their number in an individual as well as the cognitive complexity. This is the reason for employing formal concept analysis and principal component analysis.

An alternative view of how individuals connect with their environment

Cook-Cottone (2006) took a different position on development, that it was not a process that occurred in stages, in her attuned representational model which consists of two interactive systems - the self system and the cultural system. The self system is made up the physiological self, emotional self (i.e. feelings), and cognitive self (i.e. thoughts, ethics). The external system is modelled after Bronfenbrenner's (1979) ecological model and the two systems are interconnected by a reciprocal process (attunement) of mutual influence and co-regulation based on Siegel's (1999) theoretical work. The internal system and external system attunement is facilitated by the *Representational Self* which is the constructed self that is presented to the external system.
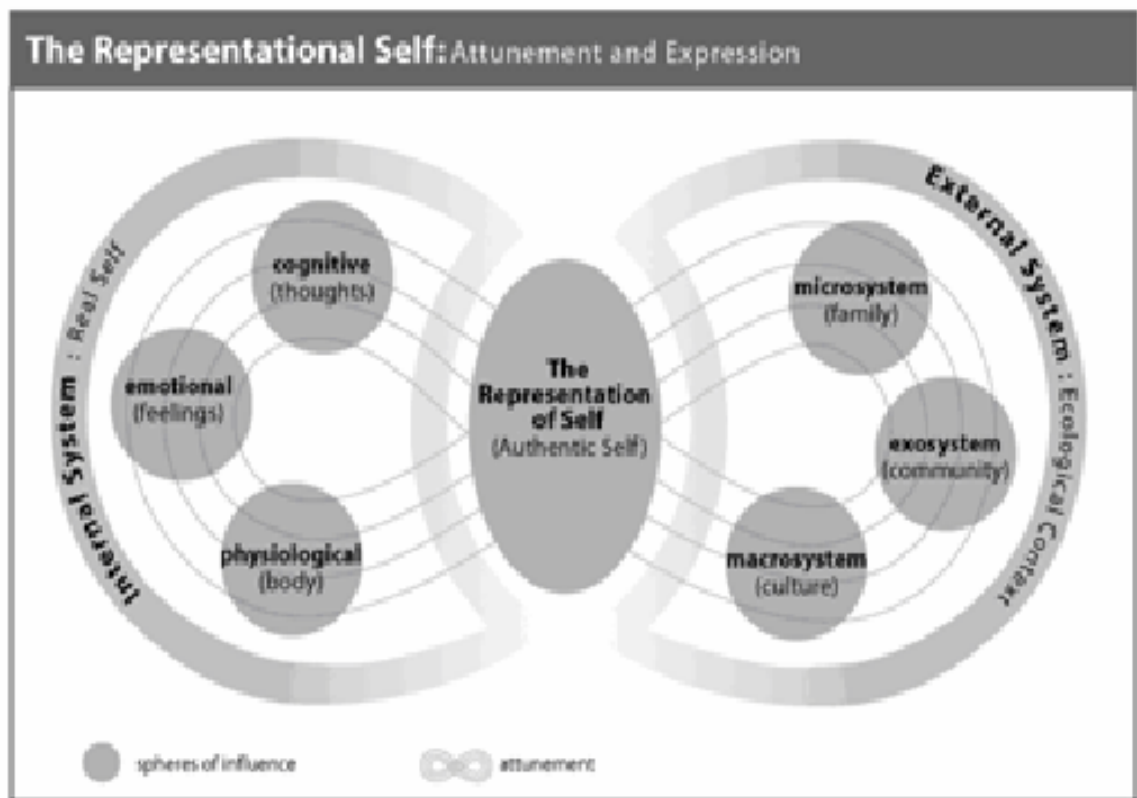
Figure 4   The attuned representation model (Cook-Cottone, 2006)

Cook-Cottone posited that this was how individuals engage with their environment; how they interact with their families, people at work, and individuals in their communities.

2.5   Summary

This section gives an overview of criminal entrepreneurship, moral development and social theories underlying the thesis. It begins with a discussion on entrepreneurship and criminological theories. The accepted definition of entrepreneurship continues to be a confused one but criminal entrepreneurship defined by SIOD in the Netherlands is clear and fits the group of offenders in the study. The 'nature or nurture' arguments for criminal behaviour are discussed and the former is dismissed in favour of interactionist theories. However, current thinking on criminal entrepreneurs does not provide credible explanations for their behaviour and causal mechanisms are not established.

The need for offenders to receive education is discussed and seen as the best method for improving employment opportunities and thus reducing recidivism.

An examination of theories on moral reasoning and development followed because it forms the basis for ethical behaviour. Following Piaget et al, most researchers work on the premise that moral development is a process that occurs in stages measured by using moral dilemmas. Moral reasoning in real life situations involves decisions whereas dilemmas such as Kohlberg's Heinz dilemma usually ask the question "what should he do?" This is different to "what should I do?" Also the moral orientation portrayed in the Kohlbergian stages is much too rigid, prescribed or calculated and legalistic. It places too much emphasise on moral thought and not enough on behaviour or actions which are influenced by the community group in which they develop and where they observe behaviour of others and hence 'internalize' the values and norms they perceive in the world around them. According to Kohlberg, individuals in the lower stages of moral development were more likely to adopt criminal behaviours. Taking a moral relativist's view that no universal standard exists by which to assess an ethical proposition's truth, it is unlikely that moral dilemmas give truly accurate measures of an individual's level of moral reasoning. Moral values are only applicable within cultural boundaries. Bandura (1965) confirmed the view that not all behaviour is shaped by reward or punishment. Theories on moral development tend be weak on the relevance of social learning and there is a lack of focus on the relationships between people, their families and their cultural backgrounds. For example, the mechanisms and affects of role models and relationships in moral development are neglected.

Kelly's (1955) Personal Construct Psychology is discussed in detail as a novel method for investigating the constructs of the criminal entrepreneur.

Farrington (2005) provided a strong case for the importance of social factors such as low school achievement, poor parental supervision and antisocial peers in criminals. Relationships are often from where role models originate and adopt inappropriate behaviour. A high percentage of male prisoners suffered traumas as children – 47% ran away from home as a child, 49 % were excluded from school and 32% have been homeless – which are just a few of the factors that may lead to unacceptable behaviour.

3. RESEARCH QUESTIONS

3.1 Introduction

Palmer (203:182) said that moral reasoning within offenders is "*one worthy of attention*" by researchers. "*Beyond the simple bivariate link between moral reasoning and offending, research should aim at establishing the role of reasoning in a wider model of offending.*" In order to identify the criminal entrepreneur as a holistic individual this thesis adopts a phenomenological approach (Husserl, cited in Craig, 1998: 335) and forms the basis of my methodology. A progressive and linked four-stage or mini-project research process has been adopted where each stage has informed and shaped the subsequent ones. The first stage focused on the exploration of a moral dilemma followed by an ethics questionnaire, characterisation sketches and repertory grid interviews. The first three influenced the design and implementation of the group repertory grid investigation.

The main research questions are based on the broad concern that by understanding why they have chosen a life of crime it may be possible to encourage such people to use their entrepreneurial skills in a legitimate context thereby reducing recidivism. We need to investigate their moral development, beliefs and relationships in order to understand why they have chosen a life of crime to be able to create effective educational, training, mentoring or coaching programmes that will assist in reducing recidivism.

Research questions

Q1   What level of moral development is exhibited by a group of criminal entrepreneurs?

Q2   How does their level of moral development affect their choice of acting entrepreneurial in a legitimate or criminal context?

Q3   What are the important personal relationships, ethical stances and beliefs of the criminal entrepreneurs?

4. METHODOLOGY

4.1 Introduction

The research paradigm chosen for the study was an epistemological social constructivist one. Von Glaserfeld's (1995) radical constructivism clearly exemplifies epistemological constructivism and Kelly's (1955) personal construct psychology supports it. Kelly developed the notions of personal constructivism and radical constructivism. Constructivism is a research paradigm that denies the existence of an objective reality, "*asserting instead that realities are social constructions of the mind, and that there exist as many such constructions as there are individuals (although clearly many constructions will be shared)*" (Guba and Lincoln, 1989: 43). This paradigm creates the mindset of the researcher (what the reality is and how it can be accessed) and helps to formulate research methodologies, research methods, and apply the research findings.

The main methodology used in this qualitative study is based on a phenomenological ethnographic approach, which is intended to tease out "*the essence of lived experience*" according to Van Maanen (1988: 3). Pawson and Tilley (1997: 157-159) posit that in an unstructured interview the participant's ideas and the subject matter of the investigation are one and the same thing and any subsequent analysis will consist of a descriptive narrative of of how they view the world. Such phenomenological interviews should be open-ended so that they are free from any presupposition. Phenomenological inquiry requires that researchers 'bracket' (or suspend belief) making it possible to focus on the respondents' experience, while "*allowing informants to construct and give meaning to their own reality*" (Crotty, 1996, 19). In phenomenology, bracketing is a means of ensuring that the researcher presents faithful descriptions of the experience, undergo a series of steps in which they attempt to eradicate their own preconceived assumptions and biases, examine the phenomenon without reference to their own beliefs, and describe the "deep structure" of the phenomenon based on internal themes that are discovered (Marshall & Rossman, 1995). Phenomenology overlaps with ethnography, but, as Bruyn (1970: 286), pointed out, some phenomenologists assert that they "*study symbolic meanings as they constitute themselves in human*

consciousness" whereas ethnographers seek to document the knowledge and belief systems that contribute to coherence of a group. Another characteristic is that an ethnographic approach does not formulate the hypothesis prior to the research (Tuckman, 1999); the hypothesis emerges as the data collection occurs. As a strategy, qualitative inquiry can generate theory and should place emphasis on understanding the world from the perspective of its participants; social life is viewed as being the result of interaction and interpretations.

In physics the closer something is analysed the less it appears as a 'thing' and the more it appears as a dynamic process (Capra, 1975), which in turn is found to be based on relationships. Consequently relationships become a primary source of our knowledge of the world. This can be taken to the ontological extreme that things do not exist as they are ultimately relationships (Cottone, 1988: 360 cited in Clarkson, 1995). The research methodology has been developed to explore moral development and uses Cook-Cottone's (2006) attuned representational model.

The research strategy employed was based around individual case studies and the methods used were Heinz moral dilemma, an ethics questionnaire, self characterisation sketches and repertory grid interviews.

Generalisability

Narrative inquiries do not lend themselves well to replication and may not be suitable for generalisation. Silverman (2001: 248) suggested that generalisability is a "standard aim in quantitative research and is normally achieved by statistical sampling procedures' which are unavailable in qualitative research." It is for this reason purposive sampling was used in this study as it allows one to choose a group where a feature or process can be illustrated. However, according to Bryman and Bell (2003:300) "*the findings of qualitative analysis are to generalise to theory rather than to populations*". It is the quality of any theoretical inferences that are made out the qualitative data that is crucial to the assessment of generalisation (Mitchell, 1983, cited in Bryman and Bell, 2003). Another major problem could be one of reliability. Although ethnographies can be evaluated and variables compared, to give reproducible

explanations, this is the nearest that social psychology methods with an ethnographic approach can be to being empirical in nature.

4.1.1 Engaging participants

The group was composed of people who had demonstrated strong entrepreneurial skills and professed to aspire to running a legitimate business. Interviews were structured around the prison regime and took place during spare periods during education classes. Interviews typically lasted an hour.

4.2 Area of research

In qualitative research, exploring the range and nature of views, experiences and behaviours is important, more than the extent to which they occur in the population of interest, which is the realm of quantitative inquiry. The traditional technique of the social sciences has been to build theories by testing pre-existing hypotheses. The methodology used was essentially a grounded theory (Glaser and Strauss, 1967: 17-18) development approach: the process of data collection and conceptualisation where data is used to stimulate, and then to shape, the inductive thought processes of the researcher. It is a systematic approach to hypothesis building and theory testing. However, in this study, because of resource constraints it is was more practical to sample respondents for qualitative data capture purposively; participants were chosen because they had particular features or characteristics which will enable detailed exploration of the research objectives. It is not possible to draw statistical inferences from this kind of sampling method since, with a purposive non-random sample, the number of people interviewed is less important than the criteria used to select them.

*The research strategy was effectively based on social psychology methods linked with ethnographic individual case studies. Chell and Tracey (2005: 608) suggested that researchers who take a broader view of qualitative research see it as "*an approach to the social world rather than a specific set of techniques for data collection and analysis*".* The methods used were the completion of Kohlberg's 'Heinz' moral dilemma; a questionnaire on ethics, self-characterisation sketches and individual repertory grid interviews.

Ethical Issues

An informed consent approach was used to engage the all-male volunteer offenders in the project. Participants, who were all volunteers, were chosen at random from prisoners who had a history of convictions for persistent property crime, fraud or drug dealing and had scored above the norm in Caird's GET test, which was discussed in detail in DBA Document 4. When the work was carried out, clearance from the College Research Ethics Committee (CREC) did not apply but there was some concern with ethical issues. All volunteers were given the opportunity to complete an 'informed consent' form but they all declined when they were assured of anonymity and confidentiality. In earlier work two offenders mentioned being involved in unreported crimes. The volunteers in the current study were assured that their crimes would not be discussed. No incentives were offered to encourage participation.

Validity issues

"Validity is the best available approximation to the truth of a given proposition, inference or conclusion" (Trochim, 1999; 29).

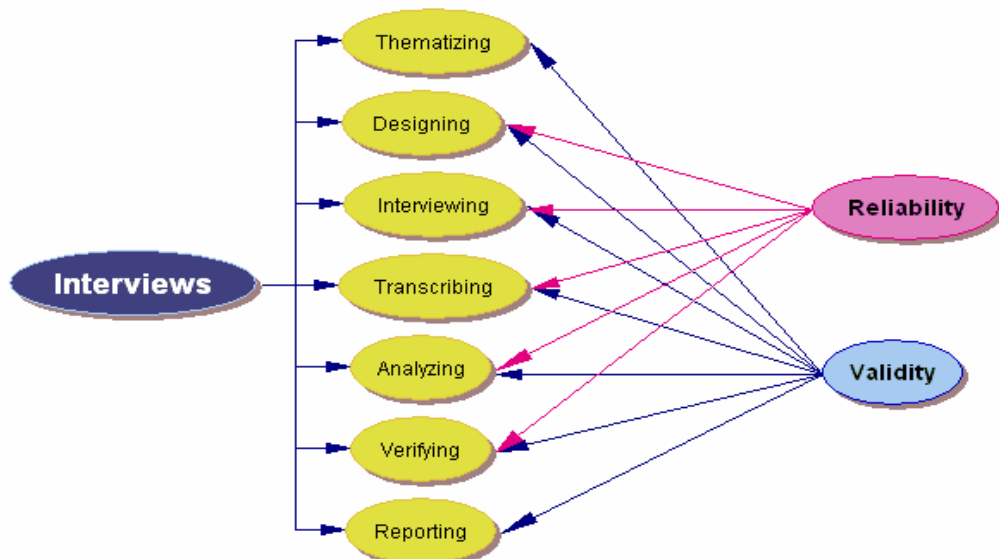Based on Kvale's (1996) work the strategy in Figure 6 was employed for PCP interviewing.

Figure 5   Reliability and validity of interviews

(Adapted from Kvale's (1996) Seven Stages of an Interview Investigation).

With offenders or any other clients, Kelly's (1955/1991) credulous listening approach is a person-centred one which is fundamental to all client-centred therapies (Rogers, 1951) including PCP, so a stance of openness and acceptance must be adopted by the researcher/clinician in order to understand how the client is presently experiencing the world. From a phenomenological point of view the participant is always right. Since no reward was offered and the work of education is generally seen by offenders as very supportive and helps to humanise prisons and to improve the conditions of detention, rather than the rest of the more oppressive prison regime, there was no reason for participants to be manipulative or untruthful in this context. Using phenomenological methods, the main emphasis was to minimise researcher assumptions and biases (Marshall and Rossman, 1995). Cohen, Manion and Morrison (2000, 121) specify possible sources of bias as: the attitudes, opinions, and expectations of the interviewers; a tendency for the interviewer to see the respondent in their own image; and a tendency for the interviewer to seek answers that support their preconceived notions. Phenomenological methods aim to investigate the way the world appears to the criminal entrepreneur and can be thought of as ranging along a continuum from descriptive to interpretive (Langdridge, 2007). At the descriptive end, participants would be interviewed about a particular experience and the interviews taped, transcribed and analysed. The other end of the spectrum was used which involved semi-structured interviewing.

4.2.1 Sample size

In order to explore the ways in which 'entrepreneurial offenders' view the world, a purposive sampling of respondents was chosen at random from male prisoners who had shown a history of persistent offending involving entrepreneurial activities, such as selling recreational drugs or committing fraud, and had attended a Firm Start self-employment skills course in the prison. They were approached directly and invited to take part in the project. All participants had scored higher than average (> 32) on Card's GET test and ranged from 23 years to 50 years; the mean age of all participants was 29 years. The group was not meant to be a representative sample of all criminals from which could

be drawn population generalisations but one which would help to identify mechanisms and dynamics.

The number of participants in each study varied: in all there were n = 14 participants who completed the Repertory grid exercise of which only twelve answered moral dilemma questions; 26 completed the ethics quiz. In view of the high proportion of foreign nationals in custody, in the prison where the work was carried out, it was inevitable that there would be some crossing of cultural boundaries.

4.3   Methods – The mini studies

Using plain English and a triangular approach (Kohlberg's Heinz moral dilemma, ethics questionnaire and PCP repertory grids) the interview process was simplified and problems such as misunderstanding by the participant of what was being asked of them was reduced. After the interviews feedback was obtained by playing the devil's advocate when checking the findings.

4.3.1   Study 1   Kohlberg's Heinz dilemma

Participants read and completed questions on Kohlberg's Heinz dilemma which is based on the scenario of a woman dying of cancer but her husband could not afford or raise the money to buy an expensive drug that may save her life. (See Appendix 4.) They were rated on the highest level achieved. This study helped to inform Study 2. Given the educational background of most of the participants it is unlikely that they had done or seen this test before. None of the participants were aware of the dilemma or had studied psychology.

4.3.2   Study 2   Ethics questionnaire

Participants completed an ethics questionnaire based on ten questions which were informed by previous discussions and interviews held with participants during the compilation of DBA Documents 2, 3 and 4. The reason behind the questionnaire was to add depth to the other studies undertaken and to ensure attitudes towards ethics and moral values were included in the overall study.

The results of this study were fed into study 3, in order to compile some of the constructs for the group repertory grid.

4.3.3 Study 3 Using Kelly's Personal Construct Theory

4.3.3.1 Self-characterisation sketches

Jankowicz (2004:58) suggested it is possible to capture meaning by getting the participant to tell their own story. Respondents were asked to complete a self-characterisation exercise where they wrote a character sketch of themselves as though written by a friend and were encouraged to describe their relationships with important persons in their everyday lives using their own words. *"Listen credulously to what her client has to say"*. Kelly (1955/1991) says this involves the interviewer in *"taking what he sees and hears at face value*." Self characterisation was used as a method of "listening" to an individual's construing – as Kelly (1955) suggested in his Fundamental Postulate. *"If you don't know what is wrong with a person, ask them they may tell you"*. Combining an alternative procedure such as self-characterisation sketches with repertory grids (Kelly, 1955/1991: 323) can 'round out the picture'.

4.3.3.2 Repertory grids

The repertory grid test, initially developed by Kelly (1955), is an ideographic test, used where data reduction can condense results into a form easily understood by both the participant and the observer. Grids are based on a constructivist view of how people learn and constructivists believe that each individual constructs their own unique view of the world. People appear to use a shared language, but it cannot be assumed all individuals construe or interpret any given situation in the same way. Repertory grids have been used in a wide range of disciplines (Fransella et al, 2004: 168-229) including educational settings (Procter, 1985), corporate business organisations (Bruce, 1987), psychotherapy (Winter, 2003c) and forensic work (Horley, 2003b cited in Fransella et al, 2004) with violent or sex offenders. In forensic work, repertory grids are normally used by clinicians as part of psychotherapeutic treatment of

offenders. This study is original since the use of repertory grids specifically with entrepreneurial offenders was a unique approach.

A repertory grid (Jankowicz, 2004: 10) is composed of four basic components: namely the topic, elements, constructs and ratings.

Constructs were elicited through interviews and conversations with the offenders. Some fourteen offenders who had entrepreneurial backgrounds and or scored highly on the GET test were subject to a standardised Repertory Grid interview (see Appendix 6). Starting with the elicited construct, the researcher used a laddering procedure by deciding which way they would like to move along the ladder. "Why" questions move the researcher and participant up the ladder toward superordinate and core constructs. Core constructs are central to an individual's behaviour and may include such things as nationality or religion. "How" questions move them down the ladder to more subordinate constructs.

During the second interview constructs were elicited using triadic elicitation. The main strengths of triad elicitation are: researcher bias is reduced to an absolute minimum and it provides quantitative measures of the size and structure of the construct set. Because this method stands out from all others as lacking observer bias, it helps us to hear what we cannot normally hear.

However, as triadic elicitation was found to be cumbersome in trial runs, it was only used with three participants to compile 'standard grid' constructs. Individual grids rather than a standard one may have revealed a greater richness of the individual moral values and relationships of the participants, but there was insufficient time and facilities to use this method.

The constructs were then laddered and discussed with each participant.

Although a mixture of constructs from the interviewee's and the researcher's repertoire were used to provide the supplied constructs this is a legitimate technique according to Jankowicvz (2004: 56) since participants are drawing from their own life experiences and will provide different ratings based on their personal construct systems.

Elements can be described as objects of people's thoughts whereas constructs are qualities that people attribute to these objects. The names of people who occupy roles in their lives could be chosen as elements e.g. mother, father, etc. Constructs are our unconscious assumptions of the world through which we

understand reality and are unique to each person due to their differing experiences of life e.g. generous versus mean. They can change depending on an individual's mood, mental development and perceptions of the world.

To elicit the elements for the grid, participants were asked "to write a list of the people most important in your life".   They were then asked to choose three elements and to say which two were similar. Then asked "in what way are they similar?" Using a laddering technique (Jankowicz, 2004: 288) bipolar constructs were derived: a construct is expressed as two contrasting poles and is one of the four components of a repertory grid, therefore constructs are bipolar. Initially, three participants were used to obtain the twelve constructs used in the group grid.

The names of the "important persons" together with the name of the participant and the name "admired person" for the "me as I would like to be" were written on cards, one name on each card. The observer then chose n-1 times - three cards (a triad) by chance and asked the participant to decide on a construct which is characteristic for two persons of the triad and to name a construct of opposite meaning which fitted the third person of the given triad. Finally for each person (element) and each pair of bipolar constructs the participant was asked to rate each person from 1 to 7 (Likert scale) concerning the given pair of constructs such that "1" meant that the construct is "very characteristic" for the person, "7" meant that the opposite construct is "very characteristic" for the person. "2, 3, 4, 5, and 6" describes the ratings between the extreme values. The matrix of these ratings formed a repertory grid. The grid data was run through a GridSuite program.

Repertory grids (Jankowizc, 2004) are well-established as a general and powerful knowledge elicitation and acquisition technique to support classification. Their strengths are they form a solid foundation in human psychological theory and demonstrate utility in eliciting and acquiring knowledge from people. Also repertory grids have a general applicability in diverse domains and give freedom from specific paradigms or observer bias, and the opportunity to acquire knowledge of a non-discrete nature (i.e., poles possessing a continuous set of values).

However, repertory grids have some limitations in that they suffer from a lack of support for formal or automatic inferencing, and also there is a lack of general reasoning capabilities beyond heuristic classification. However, repertory grids provide a way of collecting data which is idiographic or qualitative in nature and quantitative in its method of analysis. Analysis of repertory grids yields up additional information on the participants. Figure 6 is an example of one of the repertory grids. Two analytical techniques that can be employed with repertory grids are principal component analysis (PCA) and formal concept analysis (FCA).

Rating = 1	Admired person	Not liked person	Me now	Mother	Father	Person in authority	Me as I would like to be	Person I don't quite understand	Person who is unlike me	Somebody who influences me	Rating = 7
	E1	E2	E3	E4	E5	E6	E7	E8	E9	E10	
C1 *Caring*	5	6	3	2	6	6	1	6	6	1	*Uncaring*
C2 *Dislike*	6	1	6	7	6	3	7	2	6	7	*Like*
C3 *Look up to*	2	7	4	5	7	7	1	3	2	2	*Avoid*
C4 *Horrible and sneaky*	6	1	7	7	7	1	7	7	2	7	*Pleasant & Open*
C5 *Doesn't understand*	7	6	7	2	4	4	7	1	4	4	*Understanding*
C6 *Doesn't listen*	2	2	2	1	1	2	7	3	1	6	*Listens*
C7 *Warm*	5	3	2	3	5	6	1	4	5	1	*Cold*
C8 *Generous*	2	2	3	1	7	7	1	7	7	3	*Mean*
C9 *Intelligent*	2	2	2	2	1	6	1	1	1	3	*Stupid*
C10 *Happy*	2	3	5	1	2	6	1	6	3	2	*Sad*
C11 *Respected*	3	6	3	6	1	4	1	2	1	2	*Not respected*
C12 *Ambitious*	1	2	1	1	6	6	1	5	2	6	*No ambition*

Figure 7

Figure

6   Example of repertory grid (Participant A)

The ratings are based on 1 being very characteristic of the left hand construct and 7 being very characteristic of its bipolar construct on the right hand side. A ranking of 4 would be indifferent.

4.4.1 Principal Component Analysis (PCA)

PCA analyses the variances in the arrangement of figures within the repertory grid matrix and identifies any distinct patterns of variability by looking for correlations between each row and the other rows. It then represents it graphically by reducing the number of dimensions without a great deal of information loss. It determines the extent to which elements and constructs are related. Variables that are correlated with one another which are also largely independent of other subsets of variables are combined into *components* and these are representative of the underlying processes that have created the correlations among variables. In the extreme case of two perfectly correlated variables (*x and y*) one of them is redundant since, if we know the value of the *x* variable the value of the *y* variable has no freedom and vice versa. Principal Component Analysis (PCA) exploits the redundancy in multivariate data, enabling the reduction of the data set without a significant loss of information and the identification of patterns (relationships) in the variables; the pattern showing the largest variability is identified and removed until all patterns have been accounted for. The patterns of variability are 'components'.

The *first principal component* is the component retaining the most information of the original dataset. The extraction of principal components amounts to a *variance maximizing (varimax) rotation* of the original variable space. In the resulting scatter plots the regression line represents the original *X* axis, rotated so that it approximates the regression line. The rotation maximizes the variance or variability of the 'new' variable, while minimizing the variance around the new variable.

Using the software package GridSuite, designed for the elicitation, processing, and evaluation of repertory grid interviews, the mean was subtracted from each of the ten elements and twelve constructs producing a data set whose mean is zero. The program then generated a scatter plot for each of the fourteen participants' grids showing components 1 and 2. Copies of the completed Grids are to be found in Appendix 6 while the PCA charts are integrated in the findings.

Interpreting the quadrants

These charts show constructs which differentiate into sheaves or fans or appear similar to spokes on a bicycle wheel. The numbered diamond shapes are constructs and the filled red circles are elements. Interpreting them is inferential. The horizontal components split the elements and constructs into what is 'good' or 'bad'. The quadrant which contains a positive element such as: 'me as I would like to be' or 'my admired person' would be expected to be seen on the 'good' pole of the component. If constructs are close to an element then it helps to map how the participant views the world. Larger distances show the negative construing by the participant. Elements or constructs close to where the horizontal and vertical components intersect are considered too vague to be included in any interpretation.

PCA does not capture the hierarchical relationships assumed among constructs and their associated elements so formal concept analysis was included.

4.4.2 Formal Concept Analysis (FCA)

The data obtained from the repertory grids was additionally analysed by using formal concept analysis (Wille, 1982); the aim being to extract natural clusters from object-attribute data tables to provide an idiographic analysis of the data from the repertory grid interviews. The data were transformed from element-construct using 1, 2 and 6, 7 from the grids into attribute-object tables by replacing the scores with an x and then processed through Yevtushenko's (2000) Concept Explorer (ConExp1.3) program. Introduced by Wille (1982), Formal Concept Analysis (FCA) was built on applied lattice theory and order theory developed by Birkhoff *et al* in the 1930s and is based on concepts and concept hierarchy using the premise that a line diagram (Hesse diagram) can represent every finite ordered set.

The entries in the table indicated by a cross (x) show that the object, the name of which precedes the corresponding row, has the attribute, the name of which is at the top of the corresponding column (of the entry). An empty space (blank) is left where a corresponding object does not have that attribute.

Kelly's (1955) 'Organisation Corollary' assumes that constructs are hierarchically related, that is, there is an ordinal relation among constructs, so that some constructs are subordinate to other constructs, at the same time as some are superordinate. It is possible to describe the relationships among attributes in terms of implications. The notion of context, namely, the triple of objects, attributes and the relation defined among members of these sets, is an appropriate representation of Kelly's (1955) view that the interpretation of a grid analysis should be made with its context, namely, the set of elements that define the grid. It would appear, then, that on some levels the mathematical framework behind FCA is theoretically consistent with Kelly's theory. In other words, FCA is an appropriate method of analysing repertory grid data (Bell, 1988).

The resultant Hesse diagram of a concept lattice identifies the concepts hidden in the underlying data showing a generalization relation among the objects which in this work represent the 'elements' and the attributes which correspond to the 'constructs' of the original repertory grid. The diagram displays clusters or formal concepts. Interpreted as human-perceived concepts in a traditional sense, the clusters are partially ordered by a subconcept-superconcept hierarchy. Elimination of the non-relevant concepts leads to a reduced set of extracted concepts making the discovered structure of hidden concepts more comprehensible.

Interpreting the concept lattice

A concept lattice consists of circles (nodes), lines and names of objects (elements) and all attributes (constructs) of the given context. Each node on the lattice corresponds to a formal concept – a pair O, A where O is a set of objects and A is a set of attributes that it has in common. An object 'o' would only have the attribute 'a' if there is an upward line from node (o) to node (a). Nodes with blue–filled semicircles represent an attribute (construct) attached to the concept and where there is a node which has a black lower-filled semicircle there is an object (element) attached to the concept. A red coloured node or line means they are located close to or overlap with another node.

		Admired	Not liked person	Me now	Mother	Father	Person in authority	Me as I would like to be	Person I don't quite understand	Person who is unlike me	Somebody who influences me
1	*Caring*				X			X			X
2	*Uncaring*		X			X	X		X	X	
3	*Dislike*		X		X	X			X		
4	*Like*	X		X				X		X	X
5	*Look up to*	X						X		X	X
6	*Avoid*		X			X	X				
7	*Horrible and sneaky*		X				X			X	
8	*Pleasant & Open*	X		X	X	X		X	X		X
9	*Doesn't understand*	X	X	X					X		
10	*Understanding*				X			X			
11	*Doesn't listen*	X	X	X	X	X	X				X
12	*Listens*							X		X	
13	*Warm*			X				X			X
14	*Cold*						X				
15	*Generous*	X	X		X			X			
16	*Mean*					X	X		X	X	
17	*Intelligent*	X	X	X	X	X		X	X	X	
18	*Stupid*						X				
19	*Happy*	X			X	X		X			X
20	*Sad*						X		X		
21	*Respected*					X		X	X	X	X
22	*Not respected*		X		X						
23	*Ambitious*	X	X	X	X			X		X	
24	*Unambitious*					X	X				X

Figure 7   **Example of transformed grid (Participant A) for FCA**   (Values >2 and < 6 eliminated)

5.   FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

5.1   Introduction

The results of the three mini studies are discussed participant by participant. Not all participants took part in all three studies.

5.2   Study 1   Moral Dilemma – Heinz Dilemma

When Kohlberg asked his moral dilemma questions he was not so much interested in the answers "yes" or "no" to the questions but the reasons behind the responses. Unlike in his findings which resulted from asking questions to children, inviting reactions to moral dilemmas from adult offenders did not give a crucial understanding of how they make sense of the world.

From this sample it can be seen that responses were relatively simplistic and tended to fit in with Kohlberg's second and third stages of moral development and some at stage one. It could be reasonably argued that most criminals should be at this latter stage in their moral development albeit that their moral reasoning may operate at a higher level. Stage 2 fits the scenario: "you scratch my back and I will scratch yours" i.e. something is right as long as it benefits you, wrong if it does not benefit you. Without doubt most people who work with offenders in prison education recognise that they commonly display a 'me first' attitude but this study went beyond that and revealed a caring attitude. Stage 3 fits the "good boy, good girl morality" i.e. the attitude something is right if it meets the expectations of friends, family and teachers.

The evidence of the study supports Gilligan's (1982) view that care is an integral component of moral reasoning particularly if it is linked with mini studies 2 and 3.

Kohlberg's landmark moral dilemma, the Heinz Moral Dilemma, did not give a comprehensive view of the criminal entrepreneur's view of the world.   Weick (2005: 460) said that "*sensemaking is about sizing up a situation, about trying to discover what you have while you simultaneously act and have some effect on what you discover. Sensemaking, in other words, is seldom an occasion for*

passive diagnosis". Stage theories are directional and contain an element of structure or content.

5.3   Study 2   Ethics survey

The purpose of this questionnaire was to obtain some idea of the offenders' central core values. Using the questionnaire in Appendix 3 the following results were obtained:
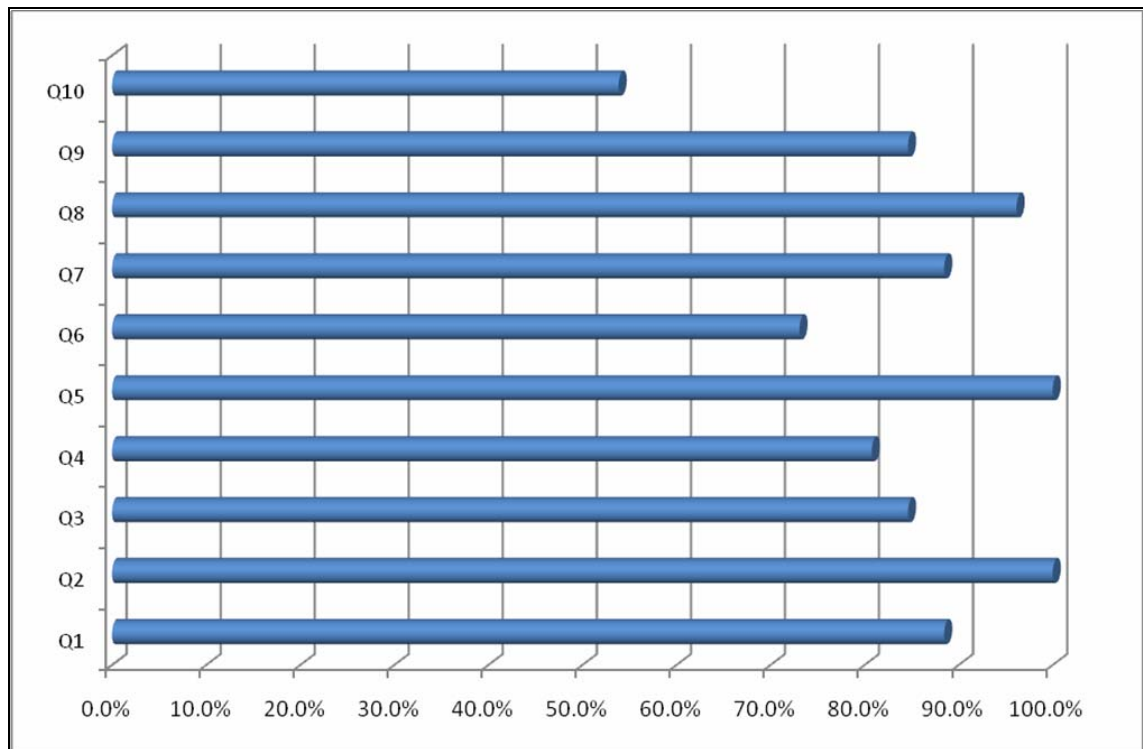
Out of 25 participants:

Q1.   23 thought that honesty and trust were essential in personal relationship (88.5%)

Q2   All thought that it was 'important that people trust you' (100%)

Q3   22 thought that trust and honesty were essential in the workplace. (84.6%)

Q4   21 thought that it was more important to be a good person than to be rich (80.8%)

Q5   All thought that you can be successful and not be rich (100%)

Q6   19 had a role model or someone to look up to. 4 were identified as celebrities and 5 as relatives (73.1%)

Q7   23 were satisfied with their own ethics and character (88.5%)

Q8   All thought that successful people do what they have to do to win even if others consider it cheating (96.2%)

Q9   22 thought that a person has to lie or cheat sometimes in order to succeed (84.6%)

Q10   14 thought that people who are willing to lie, cheat or break the rules are more likely to succeed than those who don't (53.8%).

Summary

In the study, honesty and trust were important in both personal relationships (88.5%) in the workplace (84.6%). Being rich was found to be less important than being a 'good' person and success did not necessarily mean having money. Despite being generally happy with their own ethics and character, a high proportion believed unethically that it may be necessary at times to lie, cheat or break the rules in order to succeed. Having a role model appears to be an important part of most of the criminal entrepreneurs' lives.

The survey reinforced with the characterisation sketches and repertory grids in Study 3 found that the participants had a high self image which is contrary to the typical image of an offender (according to Bennett, Sorensen, and Forshay, 1971) and unlike Kets de Vries' (1977: 34-57) view of entrepreneurs which, as discussed in DBA Document 3 (page 28), he saw as the product of their upbringing: creative rebels with a cause (Birley and Muzyka, 2000: 5). However in DBA Document 3 (page 32) criminal entrepreneurs who were drug dealers or fraudsters tended to have a higher self-esteem than persistent robbers or burglars.

5.3   Study 3   Kelly's Personal Construct Psychology

The overall purpose of using Kelly's Personal Construct Psychology is that it provides a phenomenological description of an individual at a particular point in time; however it lacks a developmental orientation (Crockett, 1982: 62-95).

Overview of self-characterisation sketches

Eight Characterisation Sketches are included in **Appendix 5**. They match up with the Repertory Grid case studies although two participants did not complete a Repertory Grid.

Even though they have all served time in prison before, and are therefore recidivists, all of the participants seem to have a very rosy view of life and a relatively high level of self-worth. According to Bennett *et al* (1971), this does not fit in with the usual image of an offender which typically had low self-esteem and this is often thought as the reason for offending. Barring one they all profess to be caring. The results showed that most of the offenders thought that they were good people with a sense of humour. Family life featured prominently and the only remorse was that they missed their families. Based on their descriptions of themselves, most had high self-esteem or a distorted self image. For instance participant O said of himself that he was a "magnanimous human being" and "he had great purpose in life and that he will be a beacon of light for the world to see. High self-esteem or self-assurance is an attribute associated with successful entrepreneurs (Bolton and Thompson, 2004: 61) but for offenders it is contrary to the findings of Bennett *et al*, 1971) who found low levels of self-esteem in a study of offenders in general.

Analysis of repertory grids

A 'standard' form of repertory grid, having the same elements and the same constructs, was administered to all fourteen participants.

Three methods were used to interpret the grids. Firstly, 'eyeballing' (Jankowicz, 2004:118, 282) the grids, then employing 'GridSuite' to reduce data to

idiographic form, Principal Components Analysis (Fransella, Bell and Bannister, 2004, Jankowicz, 2004: 285), and carrying out Formal Concept Analysis (Wille, 1982) was carried out to analyse the repertory grids.

Participant A

Mr A is a 40 year old divorced drug dealer. He is white British and has been fighting a confiscation order of over £100,000 and was relieved to get it down to a peppercorn amount. A builder by trade he is interested in property development. He took the Heinz moral dilemma reasoning test which demonstrates stage 3 reasoning on Kohlberg's scale of moral development.

Q1	yes	*To save his wife*
Q2	no	*Not worth the risk*
Q3	no	*Not worth the risk*
Q4	yes	*Life is the most precious gift to the human race*
Q5	no	*Sometimes the law doesn't take into consideration all the facts*
Q6	yes	*For the good of society*

This ambitious person admires someone who is not very caring but he likes him quite a lot and he looks up to him. His admired person is someone ambitious, he looks up to and understands although he does not listen and is quite a cold person. His 'disliked person' is also ambitious but 'horrible and sneaky.'

PCA1

A considers himself to be fairly caring and likeable. He is also easily understood, ambitious and reasonably well respected.

He is someone who dislikes his father but is close to his mother who is a fairly warm and very caring person. This suggests his construing of the world is influenced more by his mother while his father is strangely very respected by him even though he is quite cold person and does not listen to him. Also he sees his father as a mean man and those people in authority as lacking ambition and generosity. Strangely, someone who is not ambitious, caring and likeable influences him.

PCA (Varimax) ::Grid 1 E
Range of axes: -1.11 to +1.11
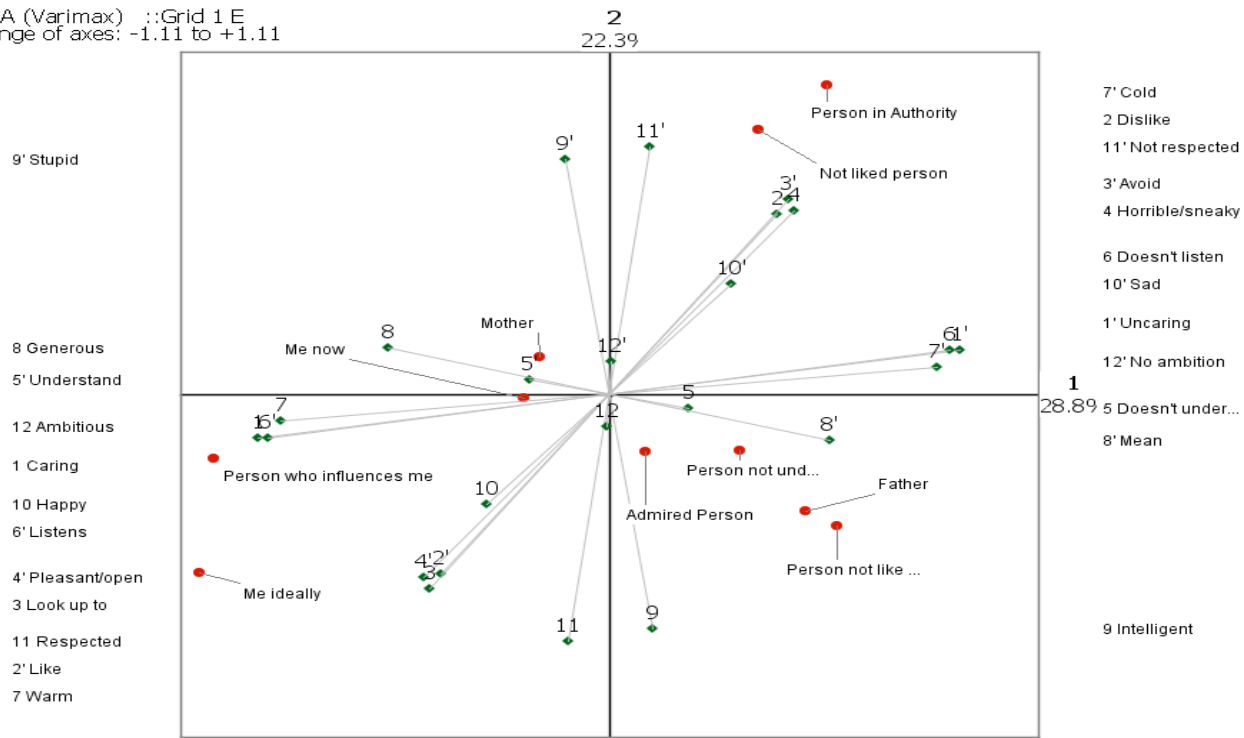
FCA
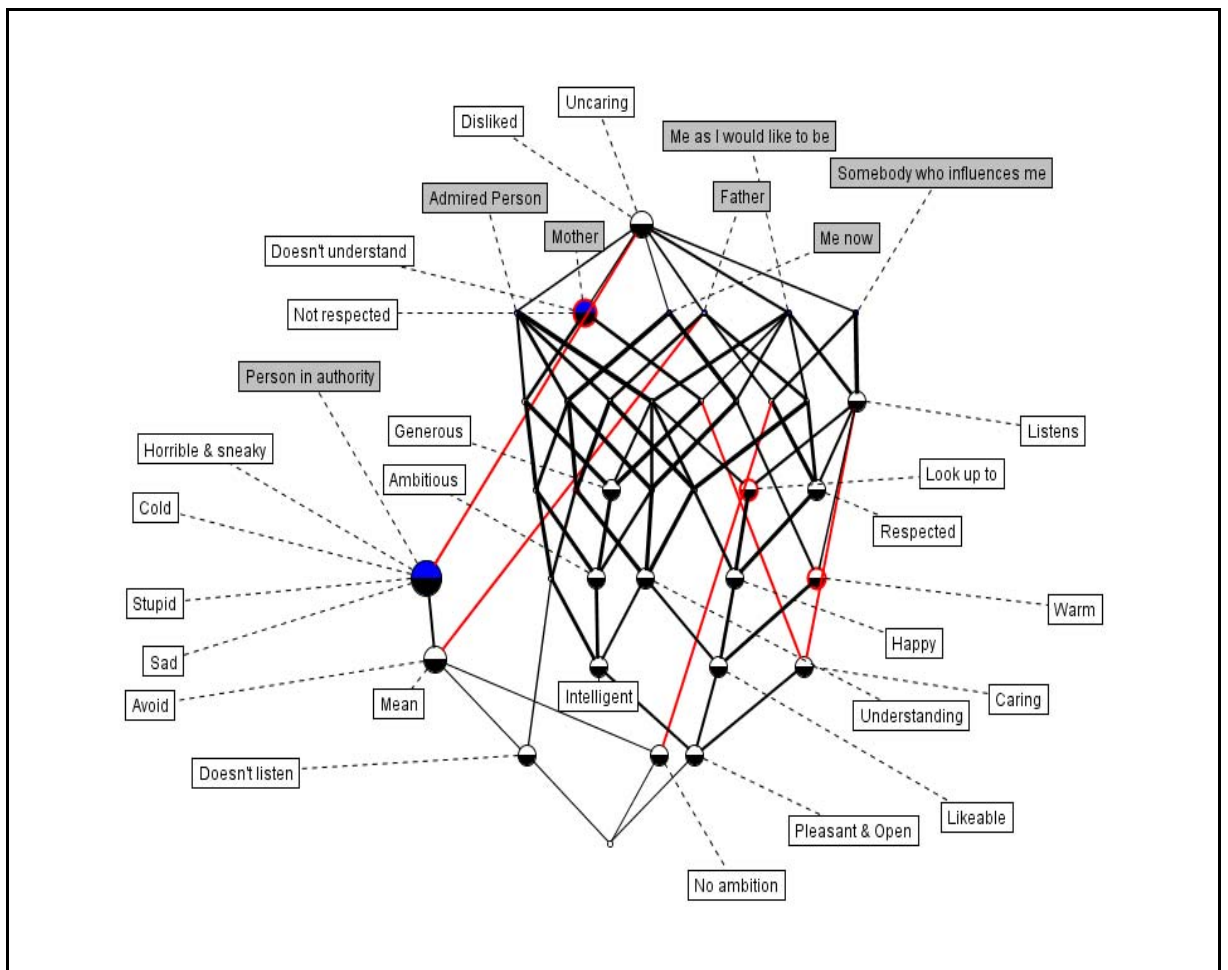
He admires his mother but he thinks she doesn't understand him and she is not respected. The lattice shows a distinct disliking of authority and all the negative constructs such as mean, sad, stupid, cold, avoid, does not listen – are associated by him with the element 'person in authority'. Although counter to his moral dilemma of stage 3, this fits in very much with the perceived entrepreneur's sociological view of the world according to Kets de Vries (1977: 34-57) and such an oppositional stance can lead to unusual and unacceptable behaviour.

Participant B

Serving a four year sentence for fraud, participant **B** is aged 23 years is a foreign national and was educated to second year degree level in business information technology. He maintained that his offence was necessary for him to fulfil his kinship obligations. In his self-characterisation sketch he portrays himself as a 'nice guy' who is supportive and people can trust. He claims he does not speak ill of anyone and is very caring for his family which one would expect if he committed an offence to help them.

He took the Heinz moral dilemma reasoning test:

Q1	yes	*Any good husband would do it to save their wife*
Q2	yes	*Because without it she will die*
Q3	no	*Stranger must have family or friends who could help*
Q4	yes	*Saving a life is the most humane thing you can do.*
Q5	yes	*Morally OK because not gaining anything for self*
Q6	yes	*The law is laid out for the general good of all.*

This shows Stage 3 reasoning.

PCA1

PCA (Varimax) :::Grid 1 BC
Range of axes: -1.53 to +1.53

3
16.69

8' Mean
7' Cold
4 Horrible/sneaky
3' Avoid
5 Doesn't understand
2 Dislike
1' Uncaring

6 Doesn't listen

12' No ambition
10' Sad

1
37.39

9' Stupid
11' Not respected

5
Person not like me
Person not understood
2 Not liked person
6
7' 1' 4 9'
12' 8'
10'
3'
3
10
8
12
11 4' 1
6' 7
6
2'
Me ideally
Admired Person Me now
Person who influences me
Person in Authority
Father
Mother
5'

10 Happy
12 Ambitious

6' Listens

1 Caring
2' Like
5' Understand
3 Look up to
4' Pleasant/open
7 Warm
8 Generous
9 Intelligent
11 Respected

B tends to think of most people as being caring except for someone who influences him and is unlike him. Like him, he believes that most people are happy. A fraudster of West African origin, **B** is obviously close to his family and having been brought up in a culture were there is a strong work ethic and communal family responsibility it is not surprising that he thinks highly of them; they continue to be a major element through which he construes the world. He does not like people he cannot understand and he is ambitious.

FCA

B's FCA displays 43 concepts.
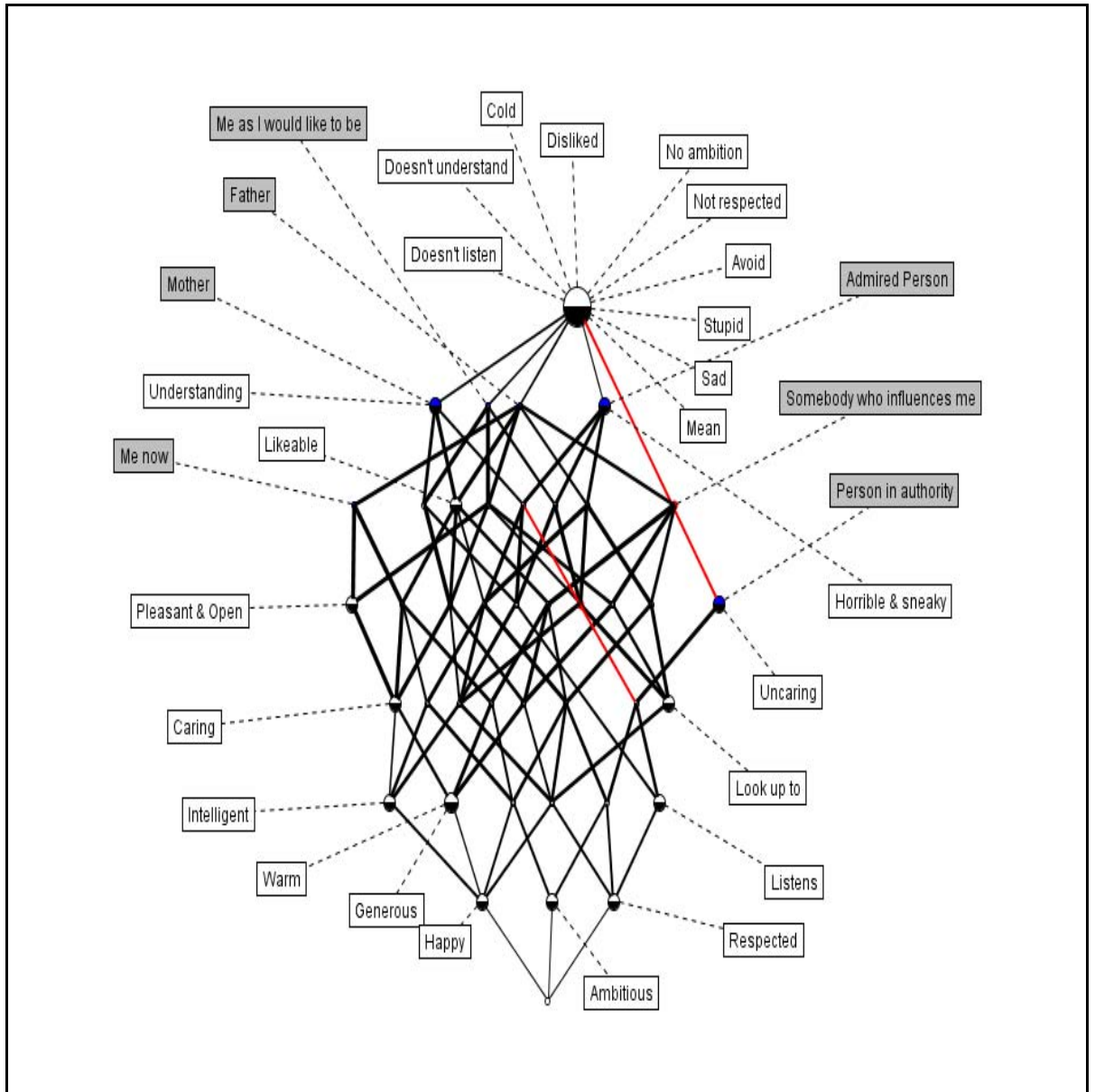
Unlike his ambitious parents, who he is very close to and he considers are very caring, he sees people in authority as uncaring even though they do listen to him and are ambitious like him. He doesn't particularly want to be liked, so it may be he sees that being too well liked would be an obstacle to his success.

Participant C

A 39 year-old former crack-cocaine dealer of British Jamaican origin, this mature participant is ambitious as are those people he strongly likes.

He completed the Heinz moral dilemma reasoning test:

Q1	yes	*It's the husband's duty to do what he can to save his wife.*
Q2	no	*Why risk it for someone you don't know?*
Q3	yes	*It would save a life.*
Q4	yes	*Life is precious.*
Q5	yes	*Morally OK as not getting any thing out of it*
Q6	yes	*The law exists for all to obey.*

Tends to be Stage 3 reasoning.

PCA1.
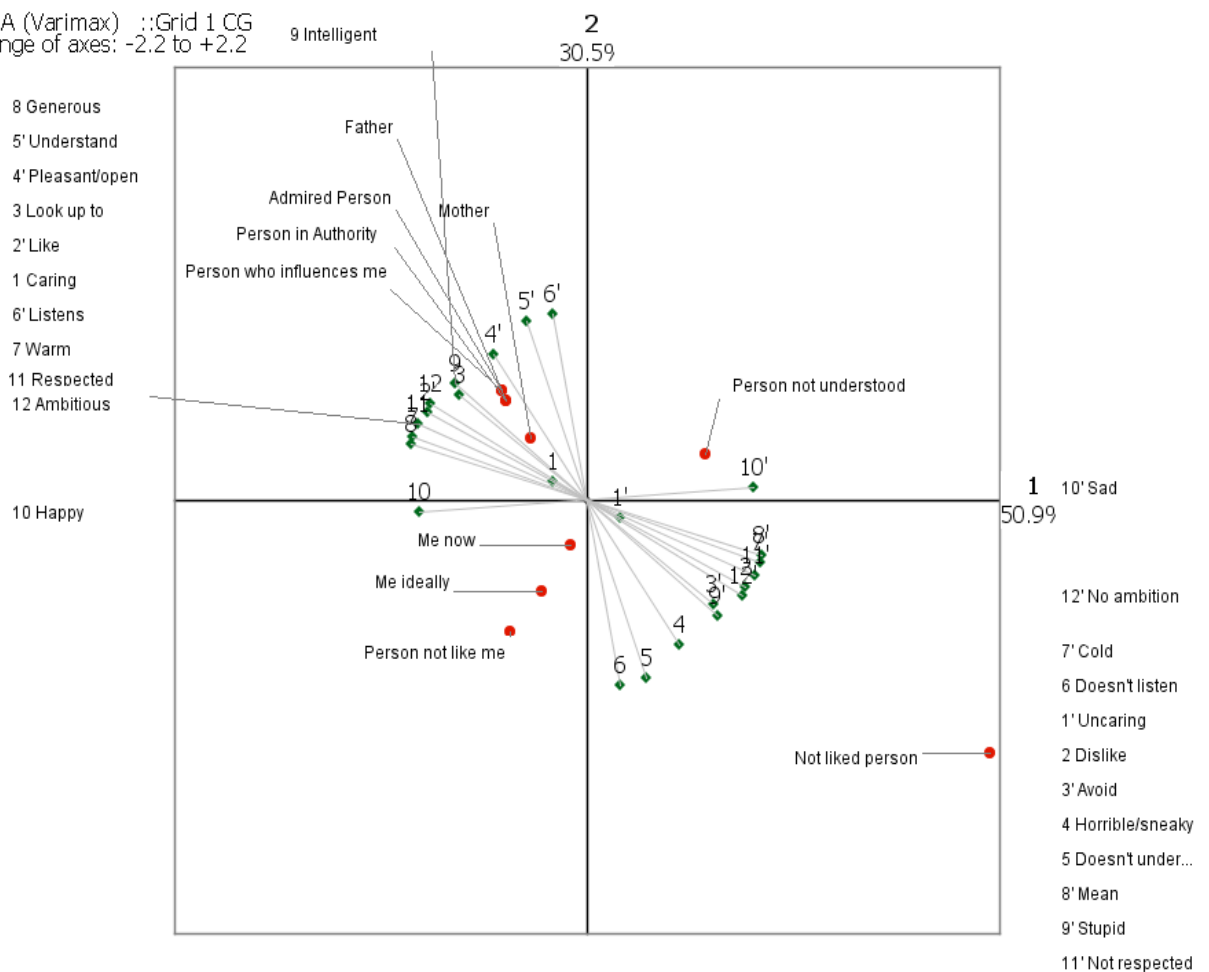
With only one cluster there is only one independent set of constructs. i.e. respected, ambitious, warm and generous. The closeness of his mother and father implies that they are important elements in his life and he construes the world through them. His mother runs a small supermarket in Jamaica; along with his father she is very ambitious and very caring although he sees them of only of medium intelligence. His father is less generous than his mother. Unusually, he does not have any negative views towards his 'person in authority'.

FCA

Number of concepts 47.
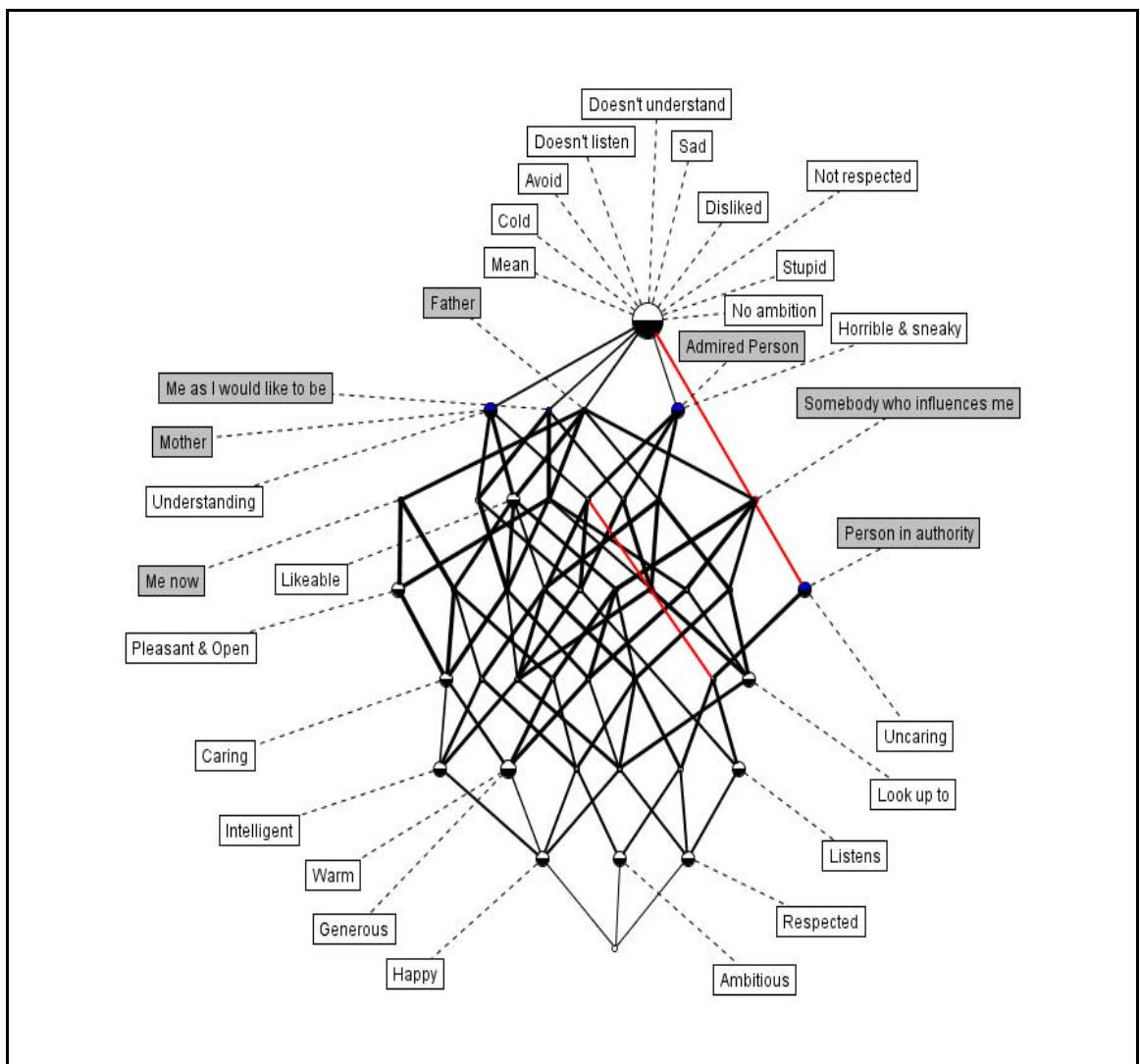
He is influenced by someone who he looks up to that is very caring and likeable particularly his parents, those he admires and influence him.

Participant D

Participant **D** aged 24 was serving his sixth sentence mainly for drugs related offences. He left school early due to problems at home – a feature typical of someone who started their criminal life as a young offender which is mentioned in his self-characterisation sketch. He was easily led by his friends and got involved with drug taking at an early age.

He took the Heinz moral dilemma reasoning test:

Q1	yes	*To save his wife*
Q2	yes	*She will die if she doesn't get it.*
Q3	no	*Too risky.*
Q4	yes	*Because you could find you or your family in the same situation.*
Q5	yes	*But sometimes the law is an ass! Not morally wrong.*
Q6	yes	*The law is for the general good of society*

Stage 2 reasoning.

PCA1.

PCA (Varimax) ::Grid 1C
Range of axes: -1.05 to +1.05

3 Look up to
4' Pleasant/open
2' Like
1 Caring
11 Respected
7 Warm
8 Generous
5' Understand
10 Happy
9 Intelligent
12 Ambitious

6' Listens
Mother
Admired Person
Person who influenc...
Father
Me now
Person not understood

Me ideally

2
33.59

1
37.59

12' No ambition
10' Sad
8' Mean
7' Cold
11' Not respected
1' Uncaring
2 Dislike
4 Horrible/sneaky
3' Avoid
5 Doesn't under...
6 Doesn't listen
9' Stupid

Person not like me
Person in Authority
Not liked person

This chart shows three sheaves with three independent sets of constructs. The closeness of the mother and father elements shows that he is influenced by them. **D** is an ambitious and caring individual who listens. He is warm, generous, intelligent and happy (in prison!). He thinks that people look up to him as he is liked, understanding and respected. This offender has a strong admiration for warm, generous, respected ambitious people. He looks up to his mother more than his father (it turned out that he had not seen his father for four years until very recently). He does not believe that people in authority can be ambitious and, respected and has a general loathing for them. (This may be because he has served a relatively long sentence and equates authority with prison staff).

FCA

Number of concepts 20.
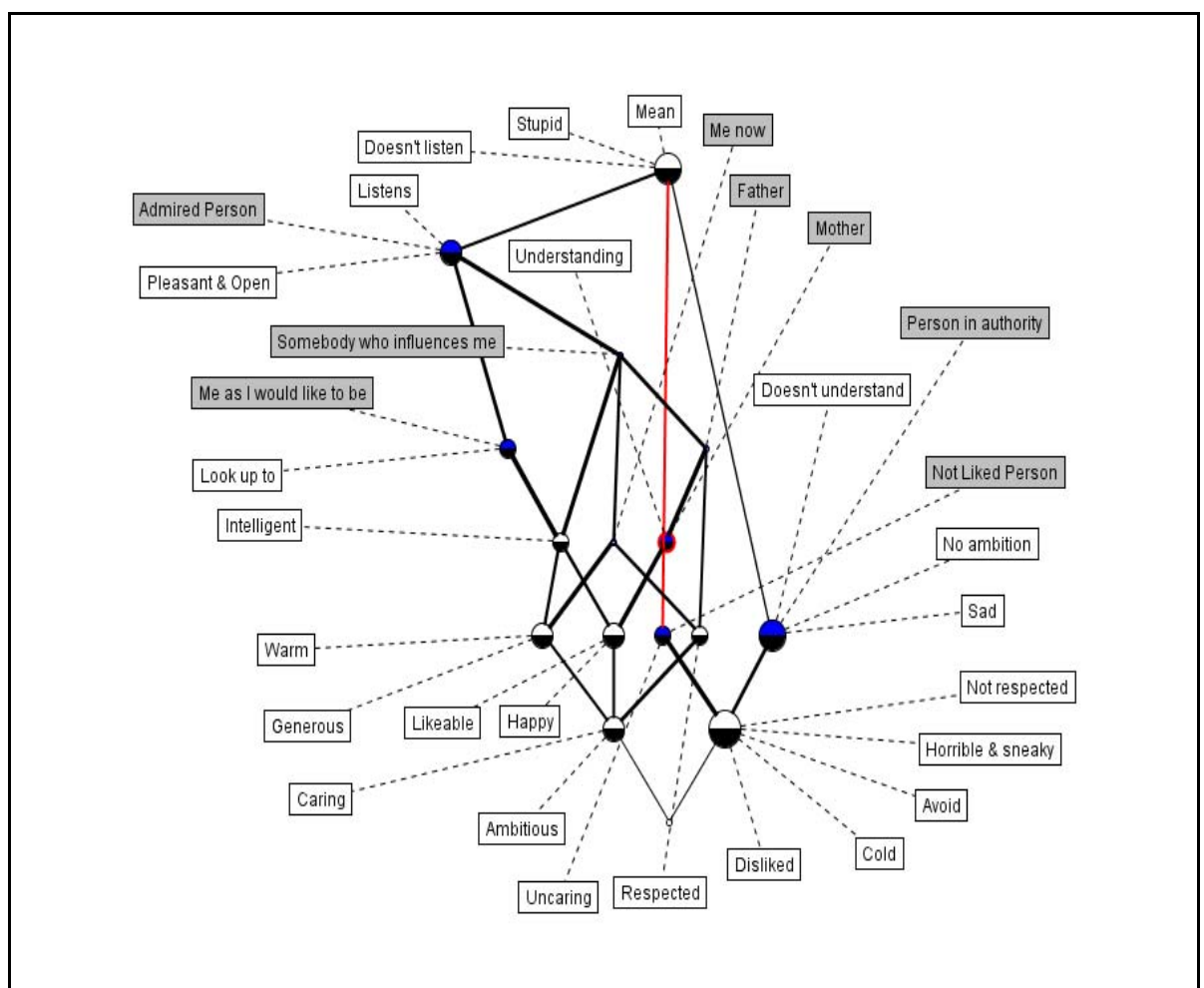
He is influenced by warm, respected, generous and understanding people even though they may not listen yet he strongly admires those that do listen to him as long as they have these characteristics and are, in his opinion, intelligent.

Participant E

An older Nigerian man who seems very caring, **E** is a serving a five-year prison sentence for selling drugs. Like many Nigerians, he claims to have connections in high places and saw drug dealing as a business that could augment his troubled legitimate engineering business. He used to import manufactured goods from a range of countries as they were not produced within Nigeria. He received notification prohibiting the imports for no apparent reason. There is an absence of state benefit systems in Nigeria for those with no income and this led to him couriering drugs. Here was an opportunity to generate an income of £5000 in one trip to the UK, almost fifteen times as much as the average yearly income of a Nigerian (*Gross National Income per capita in Nigeria in 2006 was £340, according to the World Bank, 2007)*, a life-changing amount of money. In Nigeria, legitimate entrepreneurs denied their regular business by seemingly snap judgments of the state may resort to crime in order to support their families. Young (1994) argued that relative deprivation is the most probable cause of criminality because people who are unable to progress towards fulfilling their expectations will develop an awareness of the injustice and unfairness in a society that allows such inequalities and this in turn breeds political disenchantment.

Nigeria is a good example where 71% of the population is living below the poverty line of $1 per day and life expectancy is a mere 44 years (World Bank, 2007). At an individual level, theft, burglary and drugs smuggling may seem an appropriate means to redress the balance. However, realists consider that crime is a reactionary form of behaviour and not a means to restore the balance by some revolutionary challenge to political power. This does not seem to be the case in Nigeria which is the economic hub of Africa.

His Heinz moral dilemma reasoning test answers were:

Q1	yes	*To save his wife's life*
Q2	yes	*To save her life*
Q3	yes	*To save her life and take responsibility for his actions.*
Q4	yes	*Life is more precious than anything else.*
Q5	no	*Morally it is wrong to steal but at the same time it is morally wrong for the pharmacist to refuse treatment.*
Q6	yes	*When you break the law you are responsible for your actions.*

Stage 3 reasoning is demonstrated.
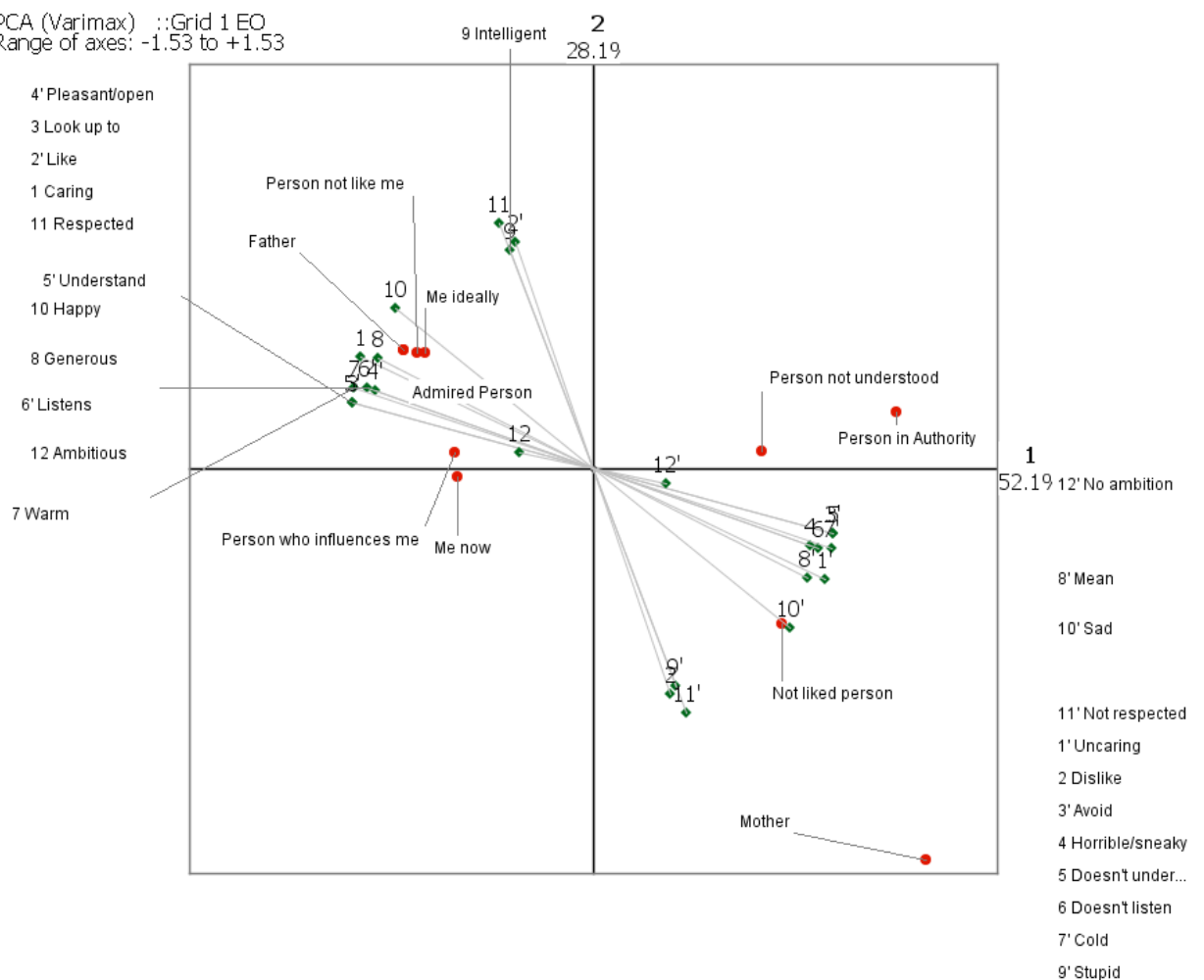
PCA1

PCA1. There are two independent sets of constructs:

E is understanding, pleasant, listens, caring and generous. He rates himself as intelligent, respected and liked. **E** admires caring people. His disliked person is uncaring, cold and mean. He sees himself as very caring but not particularly well liked although he would prefer to be more liked. He has problems listening

to people but would like to improve in this respect. Ambition features strongly in **E**'s life. Strangely, he likes his 'person in authority' even though they are not very caring and he does not understand them. He is strongly influenced by ambitious people and those who he thinks are like him.

FCA
Number of concepts 33.
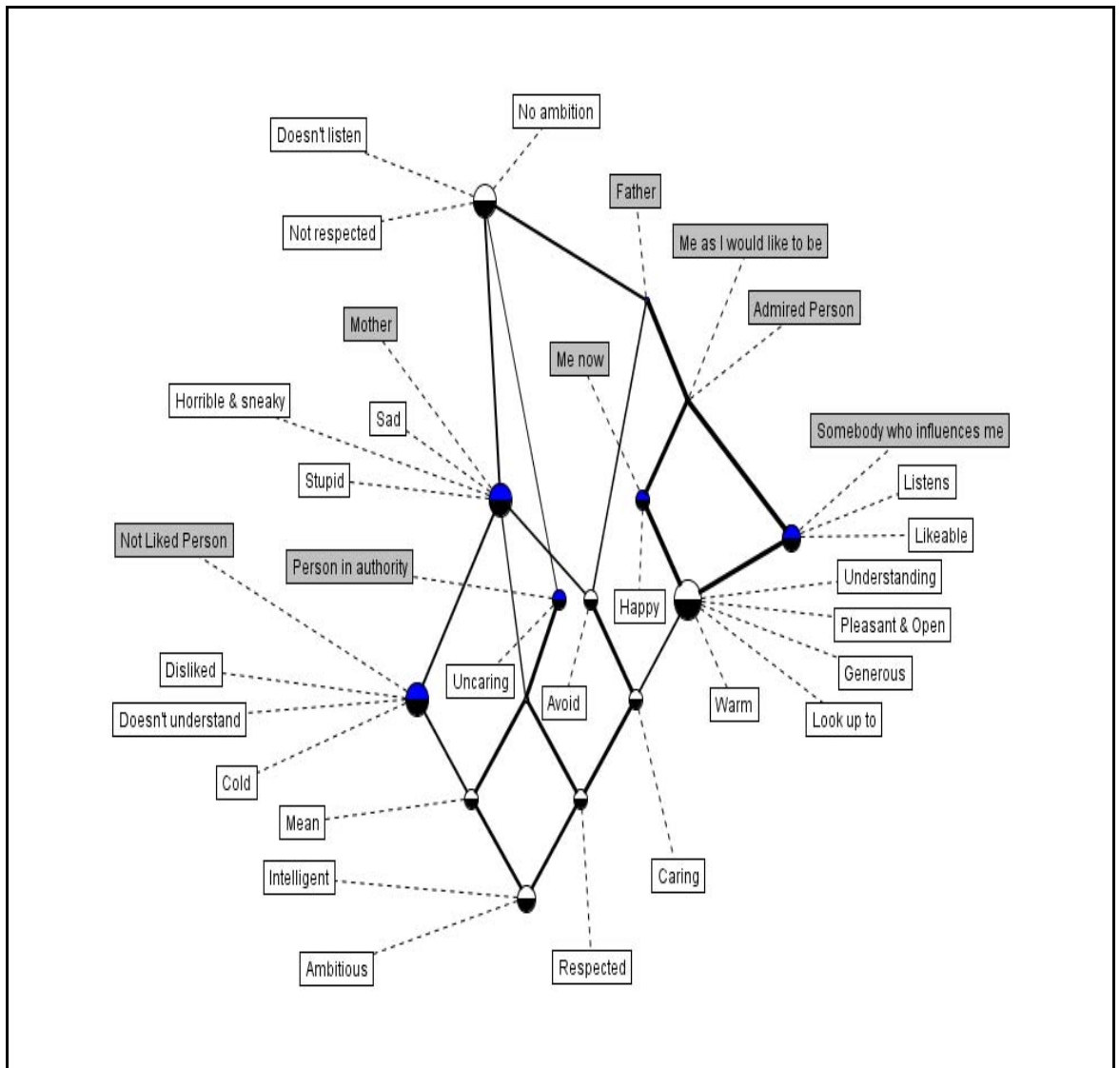
Although **E** clearly has issues with his ambitious mother, whom he respects but dislikes intensely, his construing of the world is mainly through his father who is much more understanding and listens to him unlike his mother.

Participant F

Participant **F** is a 26 year old West African serving a sentence for fraud. **F** has a strict father who likes to keep a firm control of his family and is not very understanding or generous. A West African, F has strong family ties. Strangely, someone who is cold, rather sad and mean influences him.

He took the Heinz moral dilemma reasoning test:

Q1	yes	*Any husband should want to save his wife.*
Q2	yes	*Because without it she will die*
Q3	no	*Must be someone else who could help.*
Q4	yes	*A loved one could be in a similar spot.*
Q5	yes	*It's against the law.*
Q6	yes	*The law is laid out for the general good of all.*

Stage 1 or 2 reasoning.

PCA1
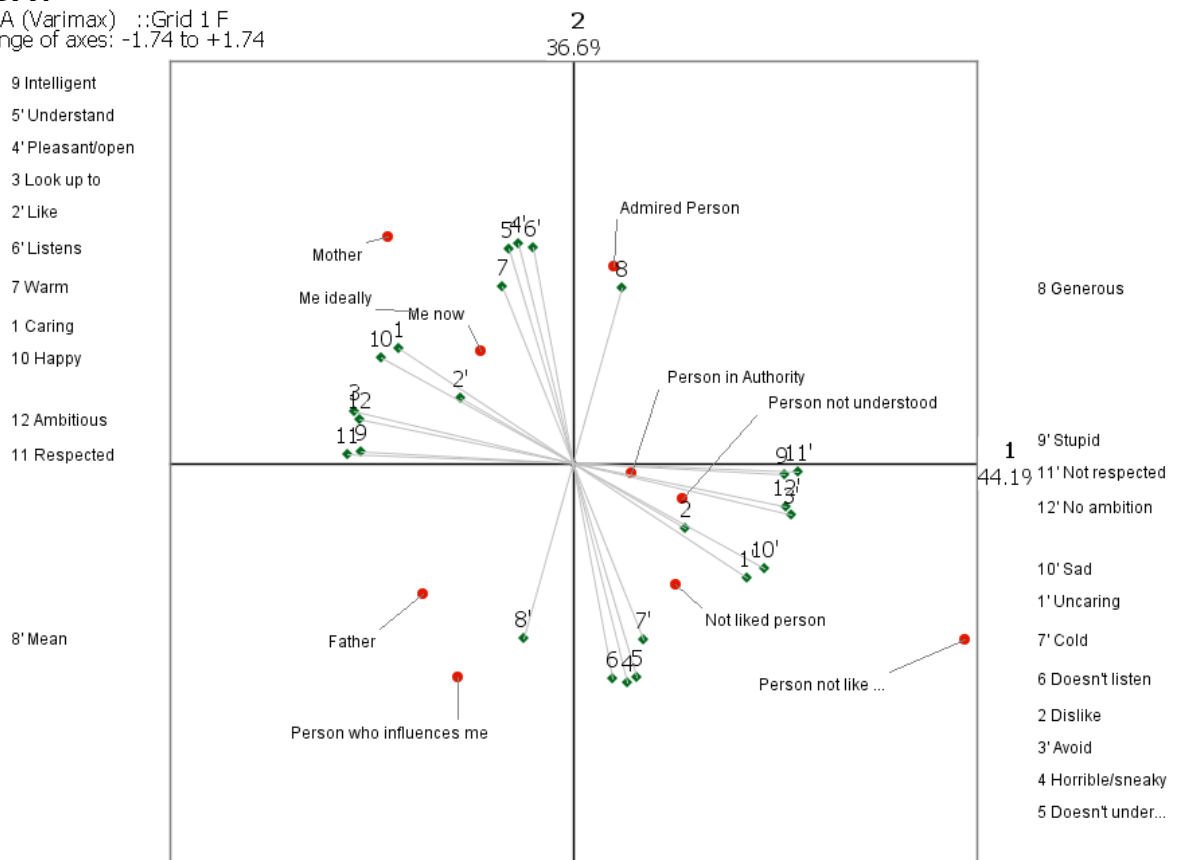
His mother is more like him than his father, who he seems to have issues with but he is influenced by him. He respects his father even though he considers he is 'horrible and sneaky'.

FCA

Number of concepts 29.
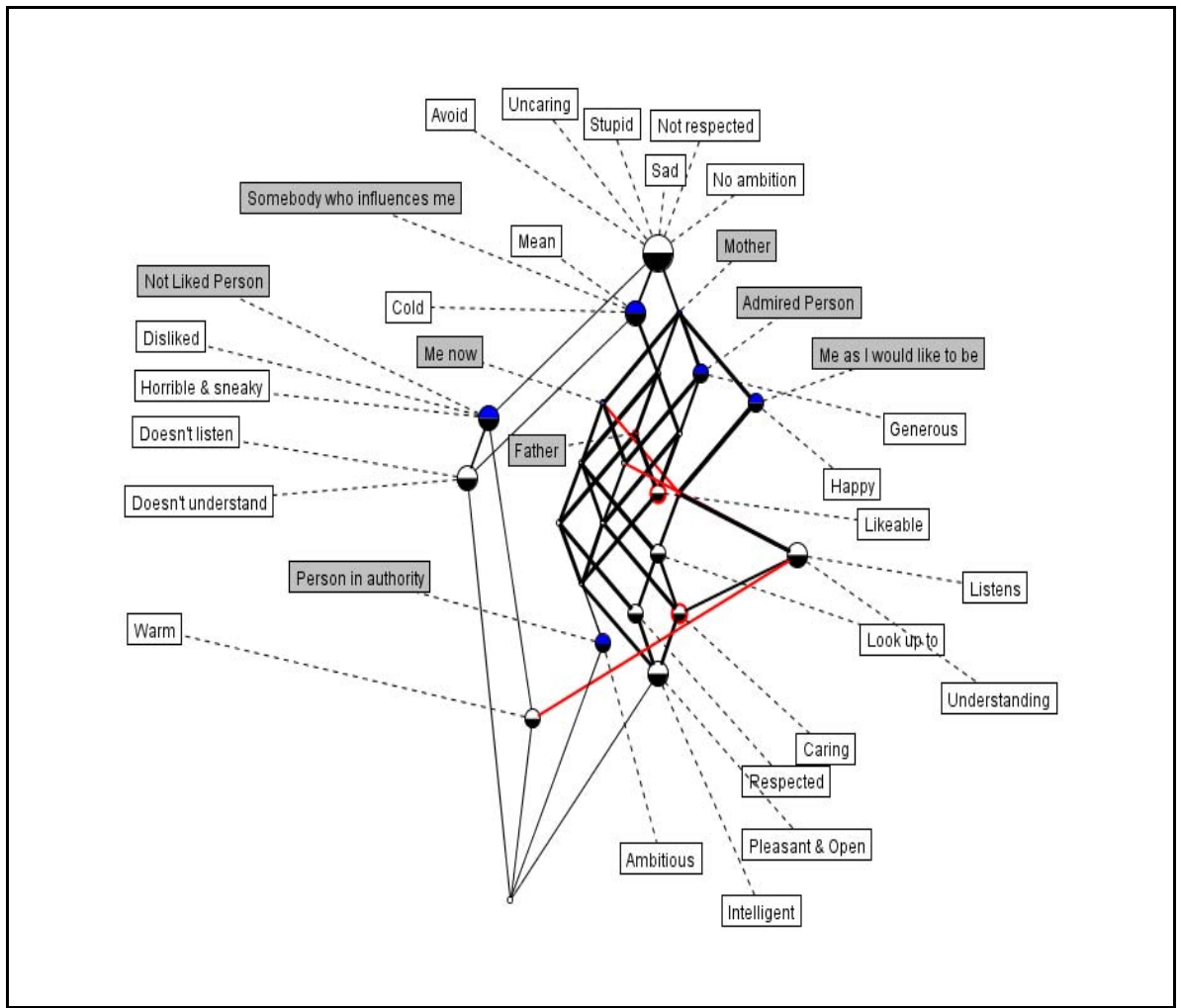
F admires people like his mother although his 'admired person' is less ambitious, not as happy and is less respected. His 'disliked person' has many negative attributes as may be expected. He is influenced by someone who is mean, cold and not very happy.

Participant G

G is a 25 year old British drug dealer with little education who professes to be a 'wheeler dealer'. He took the Heinz moral dilemma reasoning test:

Q1	yes	*A husband should love his wife enough to want to save her*
Q2	yes	*So she won't die.*
Q3	yes	*Should help anyone in this kind of difficulty.*
Q4	yes	*We should all try to help each other.*
Q5	yes	*Morally OK because you are not benefiting*
Q6	yes	*The law is set out for the general good of all.*

Stage 1-2 reasoning.

PCA1
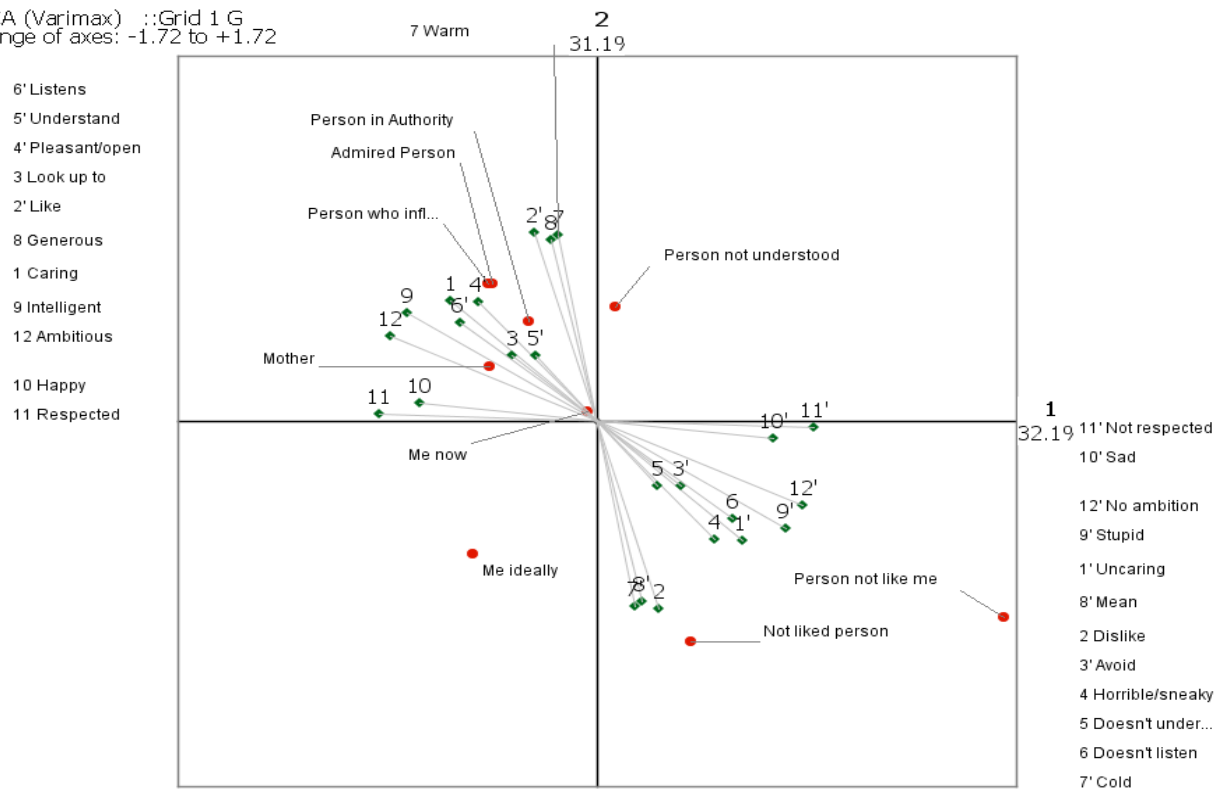
Only one set of constructs is identified by a PCA cluster: understanding, pleasant. Clearly, **G** has very strong issues concerning his father and this showed throughout the two interviews. **G** refused to talk about his father merely saying 'I never knew him'; no scores are recorded for him on the repertory grid.

He is very negative about his disliked person who is strongly uncaring, not looked up to, mean and cold etc.

FCA

Number of concepts 32.
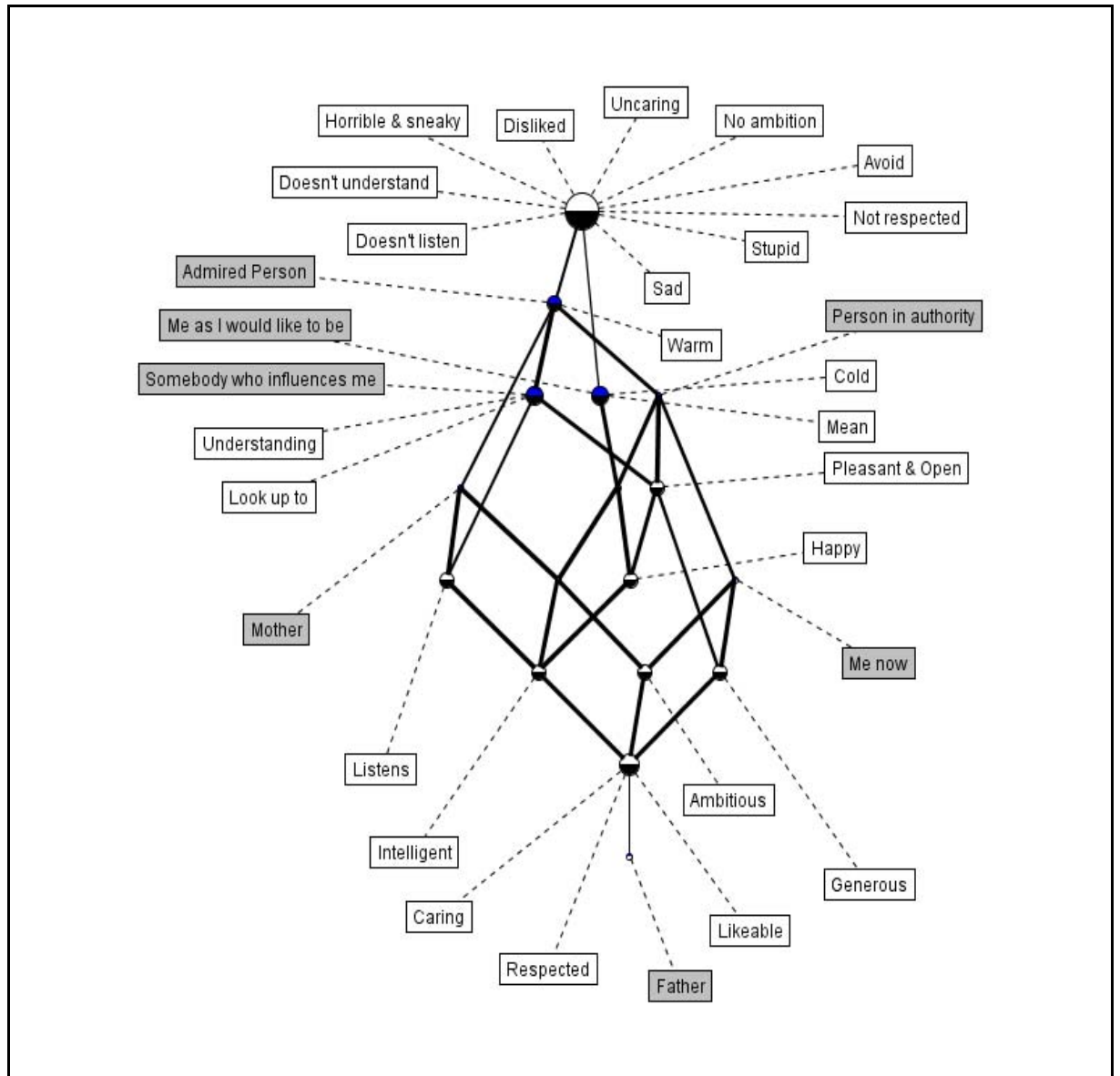
G is evidently the product of a fatherless socially and economically deprived family. He admires his mother, who doesn't understand him and he does not particularly look up to her, preferring to avoid her. **G** is influenced by someone who displays positive attributes like, warmth, caring, listening and understanding; his 'person in authority' has more encouraging attributes.

Participant H

H is a 25 year old South American drug dealer, serving a long sentence, who completed secondary school and speaks fairly good English.

He took the Heinz moral dilemma reasoning test.

Q1	yes	*Any good husband would try to save his wife.*
Q2	no	*Why bother?*
Q3	no	*Why take the risk?*
Q4	no	*It depends on the circumstances.*
Q5	yes	*It is against the law to steal but the pharmacist is morally wrong anyway.*
Q6	yes	*The laws are for the good of society.*

Stage 2 level of reasoning.

PCA1

PCA (Varimax) ::Grid 1 H
Range of axes: -1.31 to +1.31
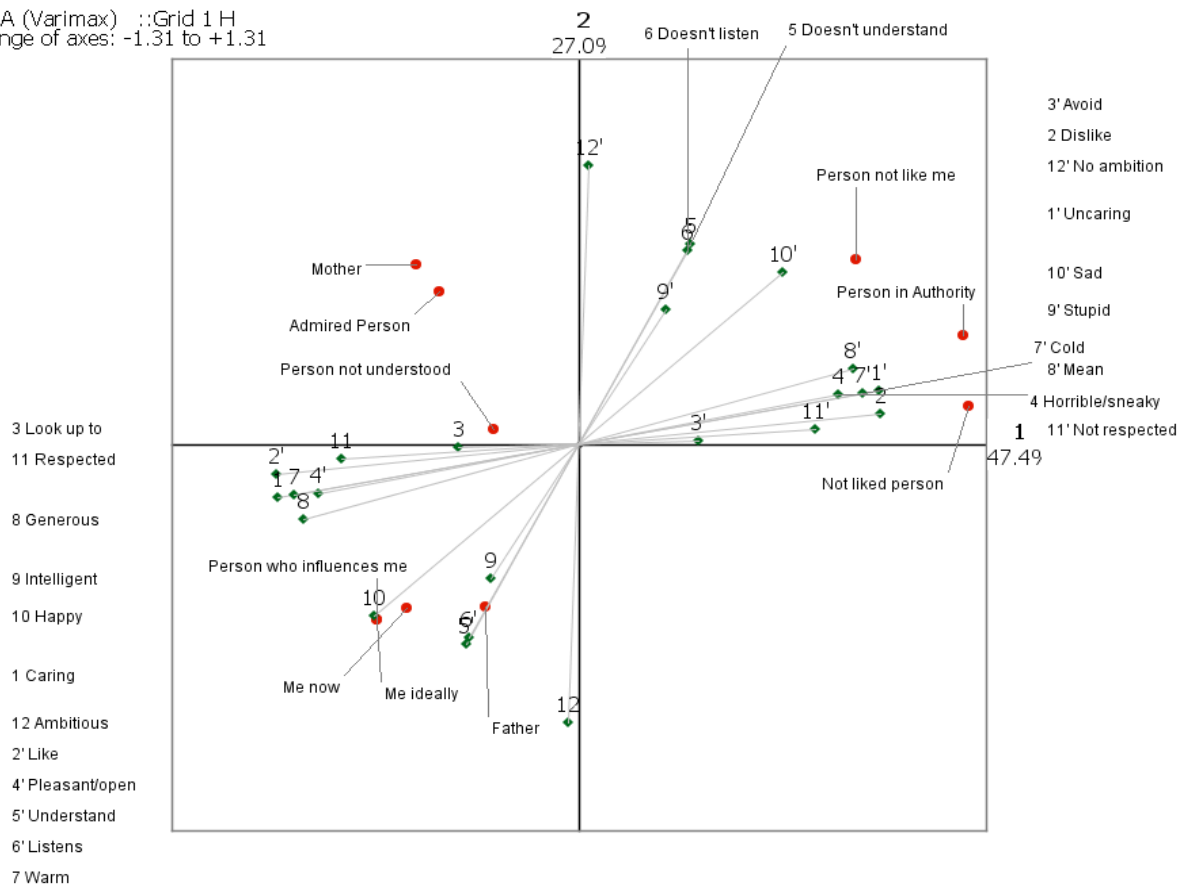
This chart is more spread out like the spokes on a bicycle wheel with one set of constructs: **H** is warm, liked, pleasant, looked up to and generous.

FCA

Number of concepts 32.
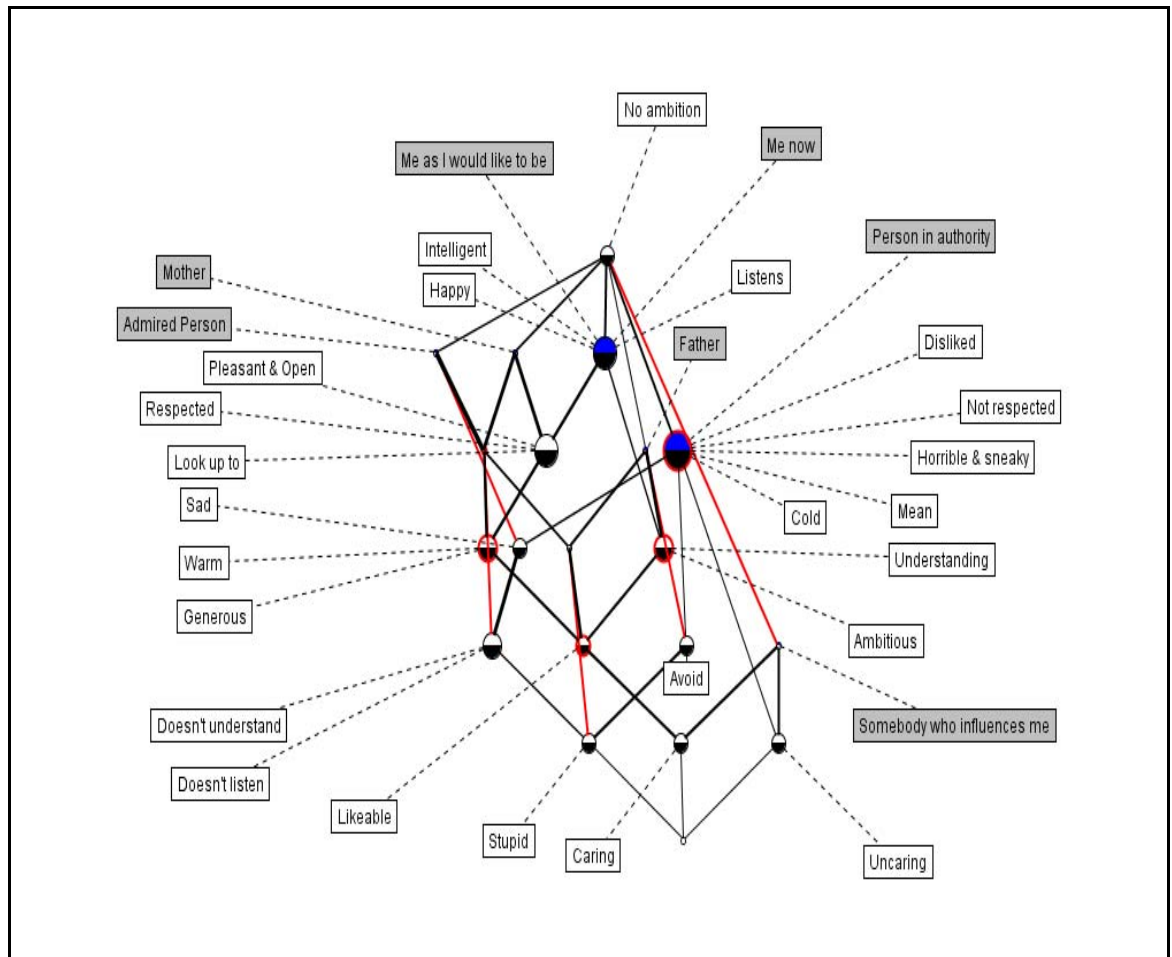
H's admired person was not very ambitious; he was the only participant who admired someone who was not ambitious, although he was strongly influenced by someone who was. His 'admired person' was unhappy, stupid, and not particularly looked up to by others.

Participant J

J is a fraudster of British origin aged 26 who left secondary school with two 'A' levels. Fraudsters are seen as being respectable in prisons; they have some kudos with most prisoners. This is generally because they are considered brighter than the average prisoner and they are serving time for fraud, or more

likely deception, which appears to be generally considered victimless by offenders as the big institutions can afford it! In his self-characterisation sketch he mentioned that he had a 'great sense of humour' and was religious.

PCA1.

PCA (Varimax)   ::Grid 1 J
Range of axes: -1.48 to +1.48
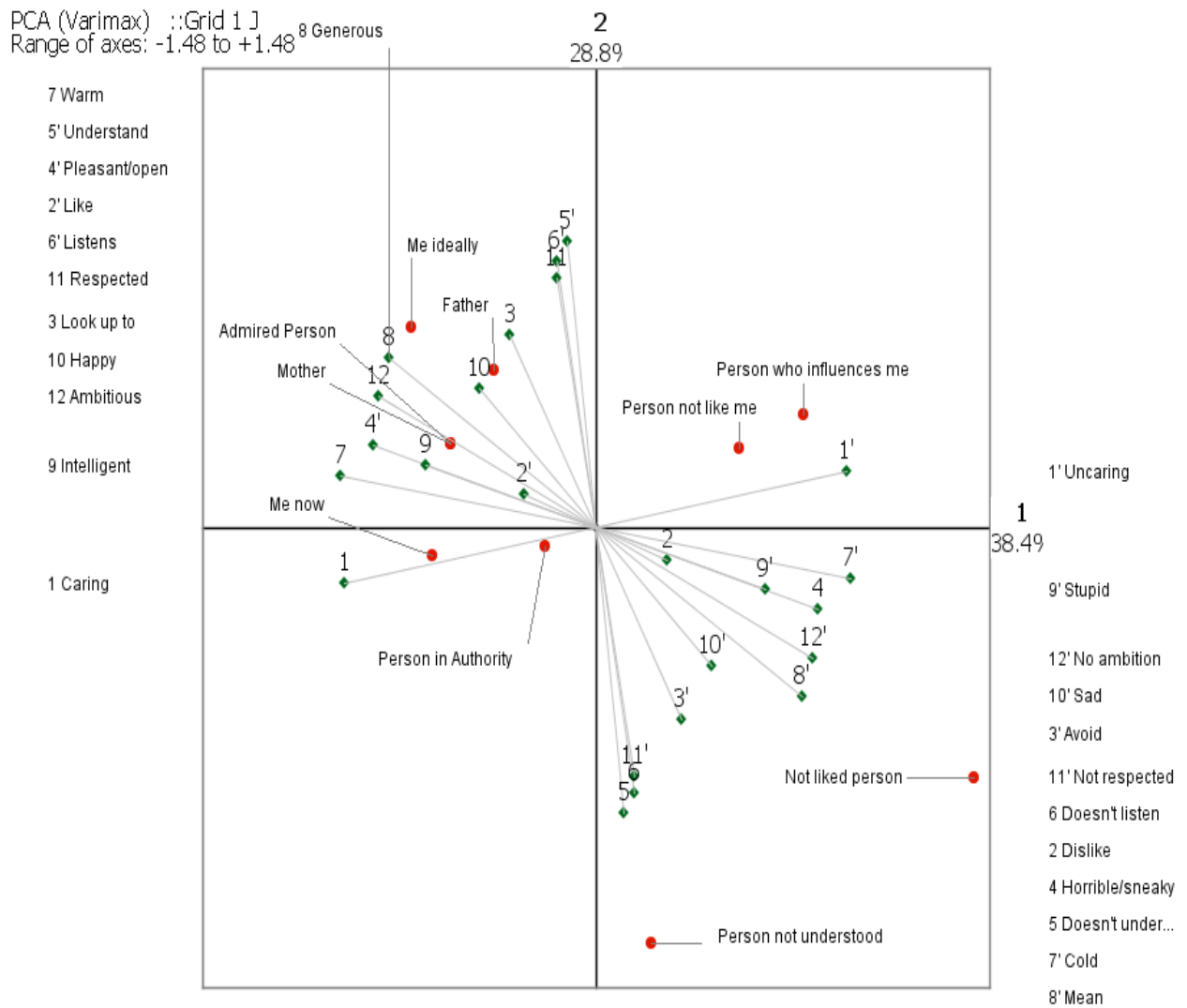
This chart is also spread out like the spokes on a bicycle wheel but with no discernible constructs.

FCA

Number of concepts 41.
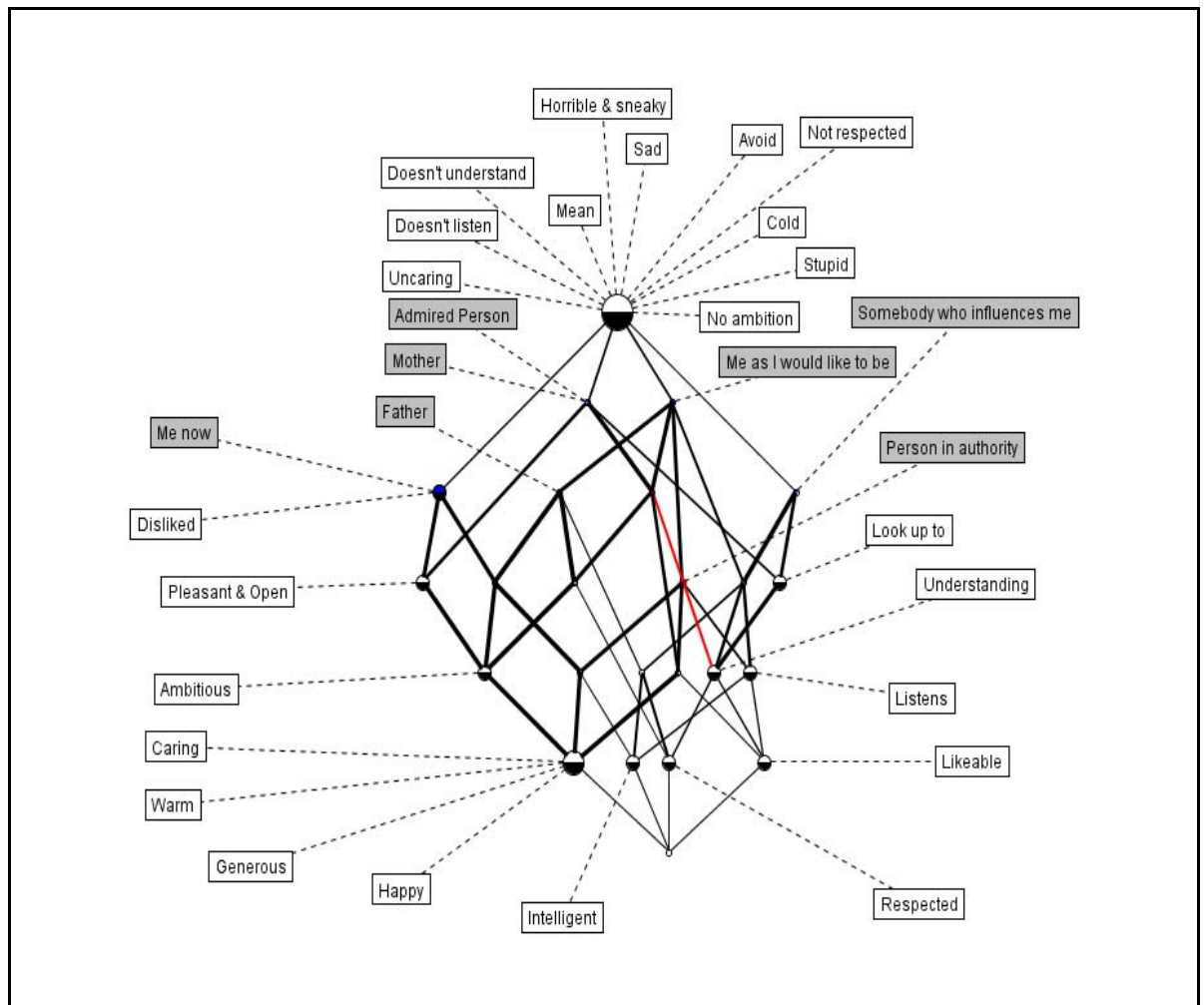
J is influenced by someone who is not very caring, is rather mean and cold with little ambition. His disliked person has no ambition, should be avoided, and is cold and mean. **J** has problems listening to people but would like to overcome this. His parents are caring, pleasant and listened to him. His 'admired person' is a close fit to his mother and slightly less so to his father but somebody who influences him does not mirror either parent.

Participant L

Aged 29 years of age, L is Black British and left school early. He did not complete the moral dilemma questions. He was a drug dealer and is serving a sentence for a firearms offence. In his self-characterisation sketch he comes across as being very remorseful with regard to his latest sentence. His admired

person is not a particularly warm and caring person. Although he looks up to them, they are horrible and sneaky people but understanding and generous, ambitious and well respected by him. Maybe this is a role model as the participant is also very ambitious. Yet he does not normally like people who are uncaring. Is he saying that ambition can overrule all other feelings? He has a tendency to dislike people who are unlike himself, as they tend to be less caring than he is. He finds it difficult to look up to people or respect them if they lack ambition. People he dislikes do not listen to him and are sneaky, cold and miserable people.

PCA1

PCA (Varimax) ::Grid 1 A
Range of axes: -1.42 to +1.42

2
37.69

11' Not respected
8' Mean

5 Doesn't under...
4 Horrible/sneaky
3' Avoid
2 Dislike
12' No ambition
9' Stupid
10' Sad
1' Uncaring
7' Cold

Father
Not liked person

3' 12' 11'
8' 10' 9'

Person in Authority

1'

Person not like me

7' 5
4

6' Listens

6'
6
1
40.49 6 Doesn't listen

Mother

4'
5' 7'

7 Warm
1 Caring

1

Me now
9 10
8

Person not understood

10 Happy

Me ideally

12 Ambitious
2' Like
3 Look up to
4' Pleasant/open
5' Understand
8 Generous
9 Intelligent
11 Respected

12' 2' 3

Admired Person

Person who influences me

Three discernible sheaves of independent constructs occur on this chart: which highlight **L** as pleasant/open, understanding and warm. He considers himself to be intelligent, happy and generous as well as being caring, liked and looked up to.

Although he is ambitious, it is not ruthless ambition like his 'admired person' as he is warm, caring and generous. He rates himself fairly well respected (by the criminal fraternity?) intelligent and happy. His mother is caring but not excessively so and he has a real deep sense of hatred for his father (who abandoned him as a small child?) in all the constructs. In his self-characterisation sketch he mentioned his father not being there for him on his first day of school or not giving him the love and affection that all the other kids were receiving from their dads.

In a further interview with him, **L** made the following comments:
"Life is unfair. I ask myself each day what is the purpose of life. Now I care. It has been a waste of a life. Having two kids has made me change my view. I do not want to continue doing to them what happened to me. I do not want to give them the wrong guidance as I have suffered from. My role models were a drug dealer and robber; they are the one's who looked after me. My life of crime is due to what I saw and what I know. It has taken me twelve years to realize that that it is not the way.

I had kids while out between the last sentence and this one. In the eleven months before I came back in during 2000. I was living comfortably and happily. I am a better person than I was five to ten years ago. I have been in prison half of my life. Between 1995 and 2006, I have been out for a total of three or four years. Prison is waste of time but it is a more relaxed lifestyle inside. Outside I spend most of my time looking over my shoulder and watching out for police and others."

FCA

Number of concepts 101.
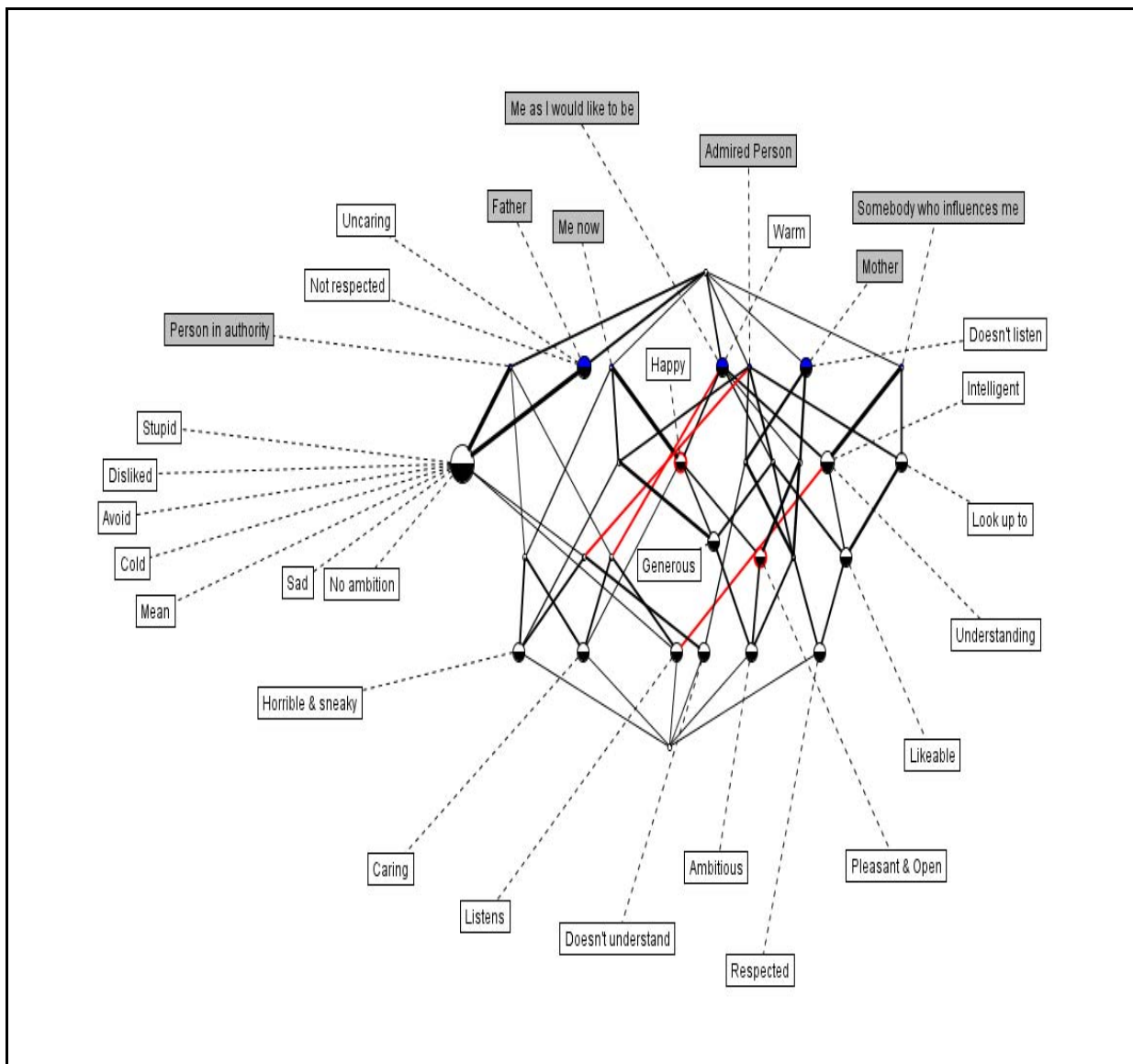
He has a strong dislike for figures of authority, sees them as very uncaring, and is unable to look up to them. He cannot understand why they are as they are. They are not particularly happy people and do not listen to him as well as being mean and cold. Somebody who influences him is uncaring but ambitious and warm. He sees himself as a caring person who seeks respect. He is warm, intelligent and strongly ambitious but only moderately worried about being looked up to.

Participant M

Aged 24 years old and a former cannabis dealer, **M** is British and has a strong attachment to his mother. (It was revealed in his second interview that she had passed away four years ago). His self-characterisation sketch revealed that he was very loving and understanding but he liked to get his own way. He sees life as being all about 'minimising risk'.

He took the Heinz moral dilemma reasoning test.

Q1	yes	*Life is more important than worrying about being caught.*
Q2	yes	*It is justifiable to save anyone from dying.*
Q3	no	*Why risk it for somebody you don't know?*
Q4	yes	*Because we might be in that situation or our loved ones.*
Q5	yes	*Morally not wrong as he is not stealing for his own gain.*
Q6	yes	*The law is laid out for the general good of all.*

Stage 2 reasoning.

PCA1
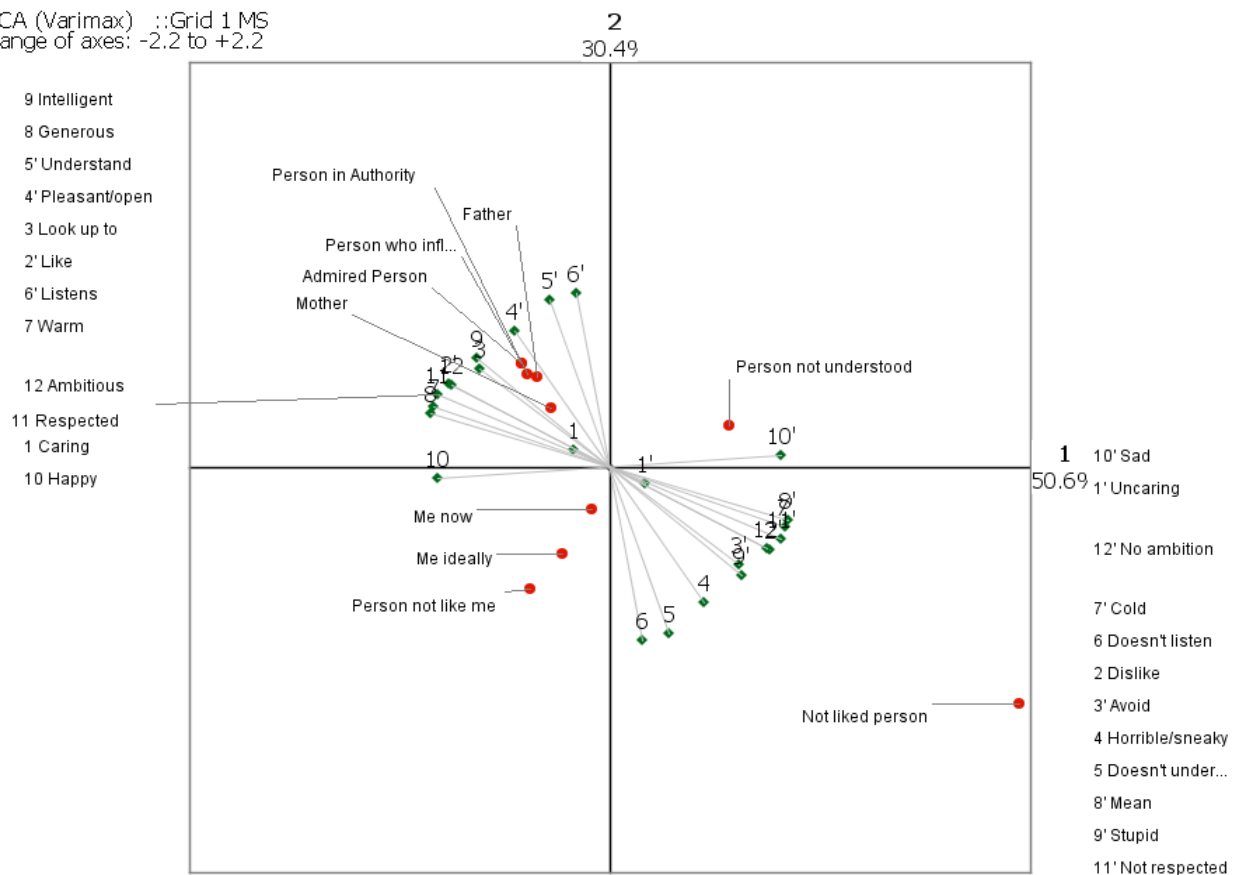
One discernible sheave of constructs occurs on this chart. **M** is liked, ambitious and respected. Although he rated his father as strongly uncaring, he liked him and looked up to him. He also rated his father as very ambitious and generous.

FCA

Number of concepts 101.
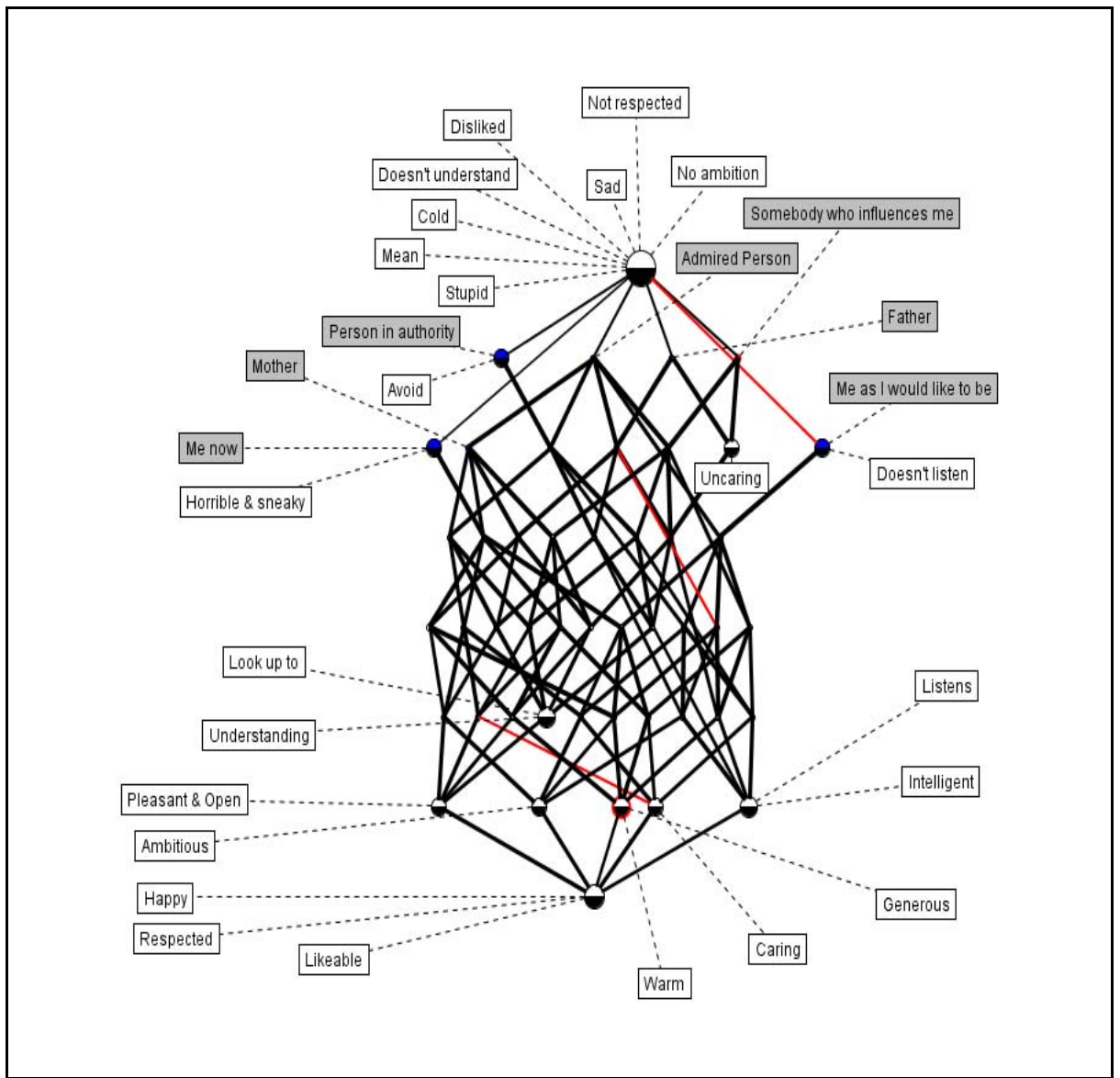
He appears to be influenced by someone similar to his mother who is caring but unlike them she does not always listen. Strangely he would like to be someone who does not listen. It may be that he feels he is gullible when dealing with people who he admires or influence him.

Participant N

An unmarried former drug dealer of British origin and aged 25 years old, **N** is serving eight years; he liked to talk about the market for drugs. He reckoned that drug dealers in London could typically make £1000 - £2000 a week tax free selling a 'stretch of brown' (heroin) or 'white' (crack cocaine). Cocaine at £120 per ounce can make £100 profit when split into 'deals' at £10 each. A profit margin of 50% can be made on 'white' or 'brown' whereas some drugs like speed can make up to 300% profit. He hated all figures of authority e.g. police and politicians. He claimed that he "usually don't just deal drugs but will also steal anything to order".

He completed the Heinz moral dilemma reasoning test.

Q1	yes	*To save his wife.*
Q2	yes	*Because without it she will die*
Q3	no	*There must be someone who cares for the women to do it.*
Q4	yes	*Because we might be in that situation one day or our loved ones.*
Q5	no	*Morally I do not think it is wrong because he is not stealing to gain out of it.*
Q6	yes	*Because the law is laid out for everyone to follow but sometimes unforeseen circumstances cause people to break the law.*

Stage 2 reasoning.

PCA1

PCA (Varimax) ::Grid 1 N
Range of axes: -1.16 to +1.16
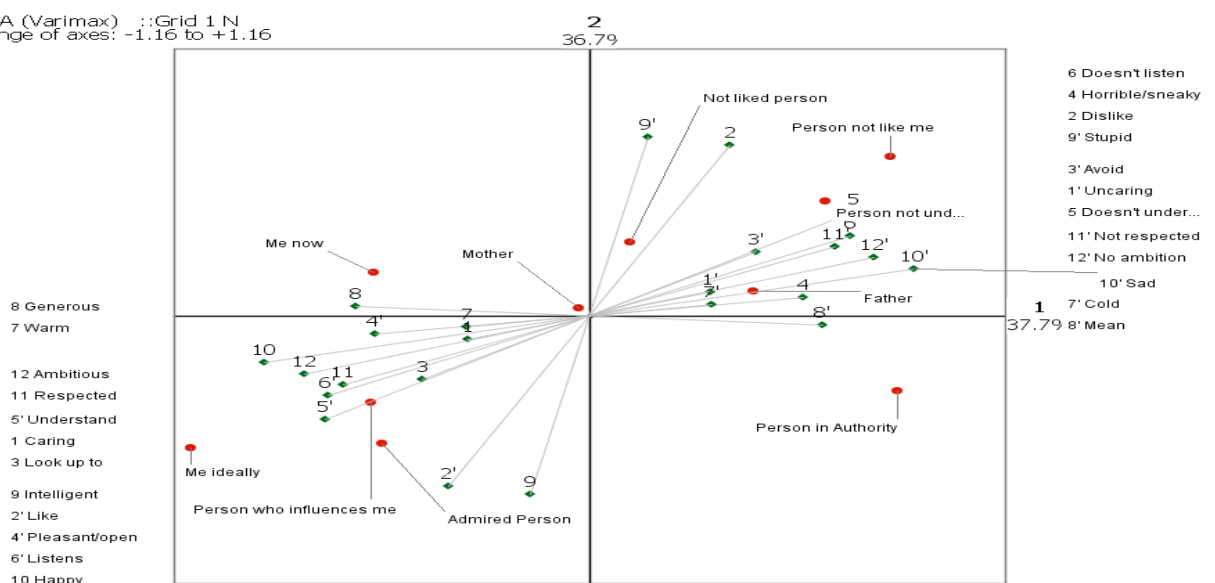
N's 'admired person' is rather ambitious, uncaring and cold. He is very negative about his 'person in authority' rating, them at the extreme ends of the bipolar constructs i.e. cold, mean, sad, not respected, no ambition etc., although he does give the person some credit for being intelligent.

FCA

Number of concepts 40.
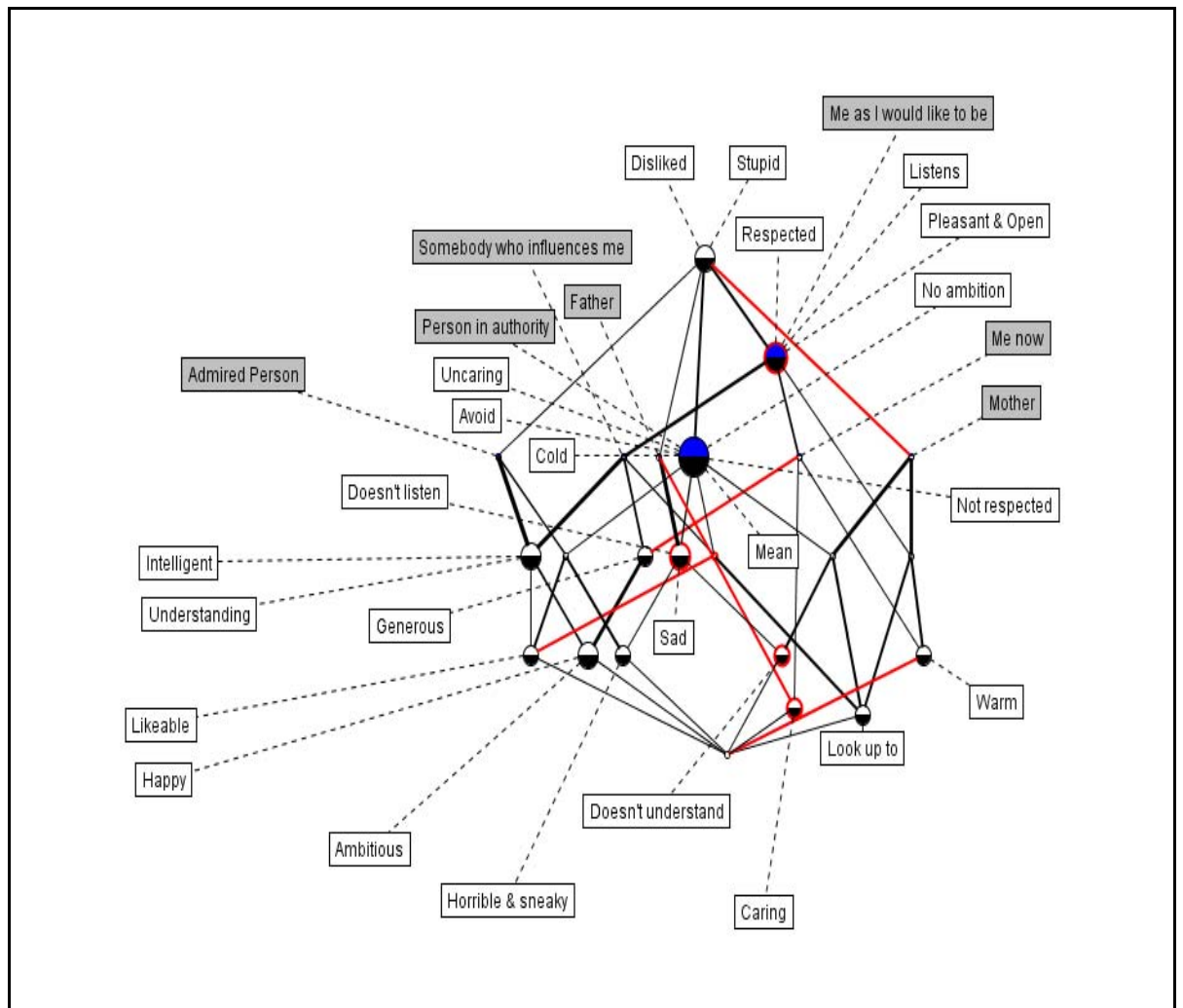
This displays his immaturity to some extent. His admired person is happy but not a caring individual; does not listen; is not very generous; is rather cold and is 'horrible and sneaky'. Somebody who influences him is fairly similar. However he is a product of a family where his mother and father are not very happy and he has very little respect for them. His father lacked ambition whereas he is strongly ambitious.

In a further discussion, he made the following comments:

"To get involved in organized crime you get invited in". Living in a street where there are criminal families; they get to know you from being a child so learn to

trust you. I started by doing my own thing and then I got asked if I would like to help because they know you and respect you".

Participant O

A graduate, participant O was serving an eight year sentence for drug dealing.
He completed the Heinz moral dilemma reasoning test:

Q1	yes	*To save his wife's life*
Q2	yes	*To save her life*
Q3	yes	*To save her life and take responsibility for his actions.*
Q4	yes	*Life is too precious.*
Q5	no	*Morally it is wrong but it's morally wrong for the pharmacist to turn down treatment.*
Q6	yes	*Breaking the law is wrong.*

Stage 3 reasoning is demonstrated.

PCA1

PCA (Varimax) ::Grid 1 B
Range of axes: -1.46 to +1.46

2
27.39

Person not understood

2 Dislike
5 Doesn't under...
6 Doesn't listen
4 Horrible/sneaky

Person in Authority

9' Stupid
7' Cold
8 Generous
7 Warm
3 Look up to
1 Caring
11' Not respected
12' No ambition
10 Happy

Mother
Father

Me now

8' Mean
39.19 10' Sad
1' Uncaring

12 Ambitious

9 Intelligent
11 Respected

Person not like me
3' Avoid

Admired Person

Person who influences me

4' Pleasant/open

5' Understand
2' Like

Me ideally

Not liked person
6' Listens

This participant, **O**, an Afro-American, is 29 years of age and has a strong admiration for ambitious people with moderate caring, warmth and generosity. He dislikes those who do not listen to him.   His father and mother feature strongly in his life and there is a strong bond of attachment. They are caring, ambitious warm and happy and he looks up to, and respects, them both. **O** only has a moderate liking and respect for those in positions of authority.   He considers that authority figures lack intelligence, generosity and warmth.

O would like to be more caring, looked up to, and respected.

In his self-characterisation sketch he said that he was an over ambitious young man who with his tenacity could overcome any obstacle stacked up against him.

FCA

Number of concepts 25.
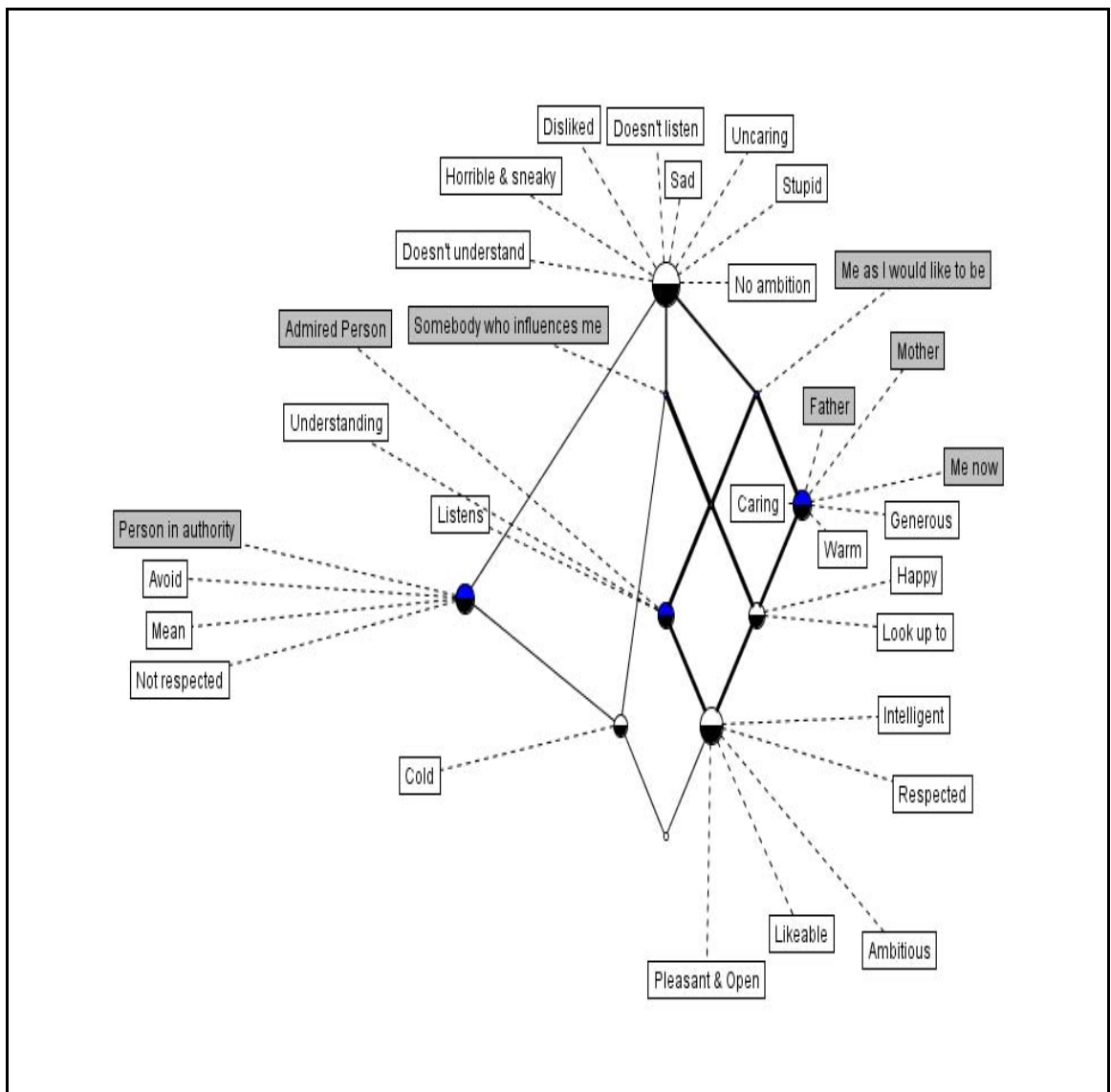
The FCA confirms that **O** clearly dislikes those in authority which he does not respect and thinks are mean, cold, not very understanding and he tries to avoid.

His parents are ambitious, warm and caring but they do not quite understand or listen to their son. He wants to have people listen to him. His admired person virtually mirrors 'somebody who influences him,' both listen but the latter is meaner and colder hearted.

Participant S

Of Irish descent, **S** is 24 years of age and serving a 5 year sentence for intent to supply Class A drugs.

He took the Heinz moral dilemma reasoning test:

Q1	yes	*The chemist is greedy and unfair.*
Q2	yes	*So she won't die.*
Q3	yes	*Should help anyone in this kind of difficulty.*
Q4	yes	*We should all try to help each other.*
Q5	yes	*Morally not wrong. Pharmacist is greedy and should give the drug for free.*
Q6	yes	*Laws are made for the good of society at large but breaking the law may sometimes be justified.*

Stage 2 reasoning.

PCA1

PCA (Varimax) ::Grid 1 S
Range of axes: -1.46 to +1.46
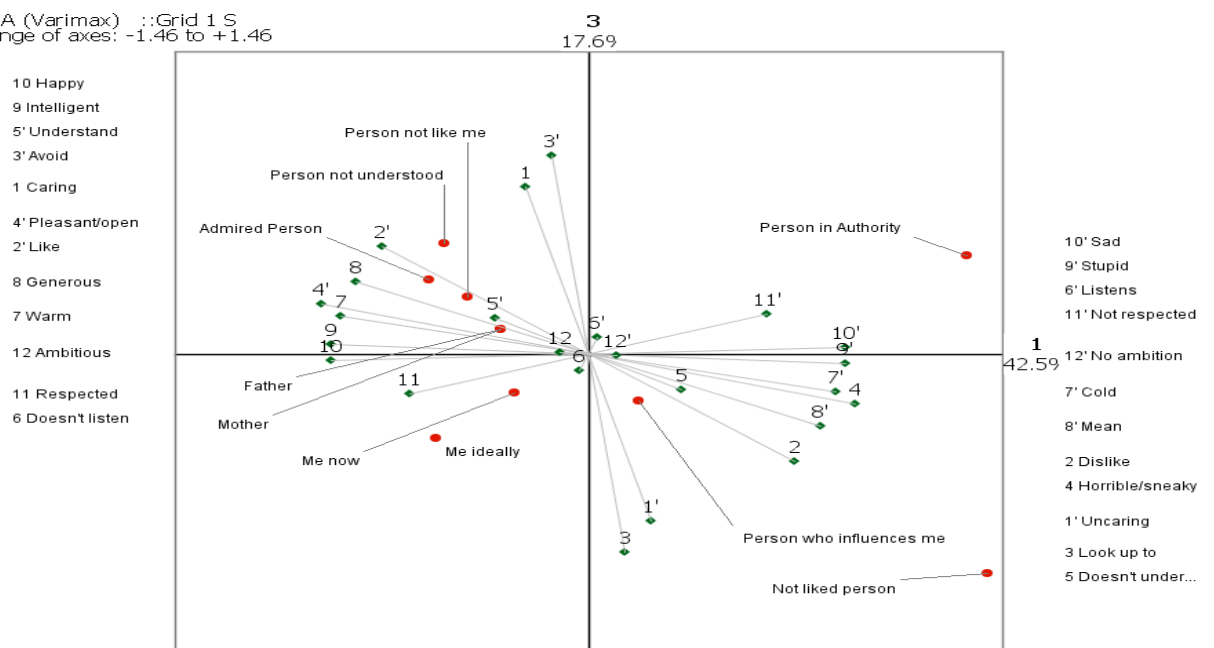
S is very ambitious and his admired person or role model he later disclosed was David Beckham. The person who influences him is clearly someone from the 'dark side' who is not a particularly nice person as he is fairly uncaring, cold and mean but he is successful in the world of crime.

FCA

Number of concepts 40.
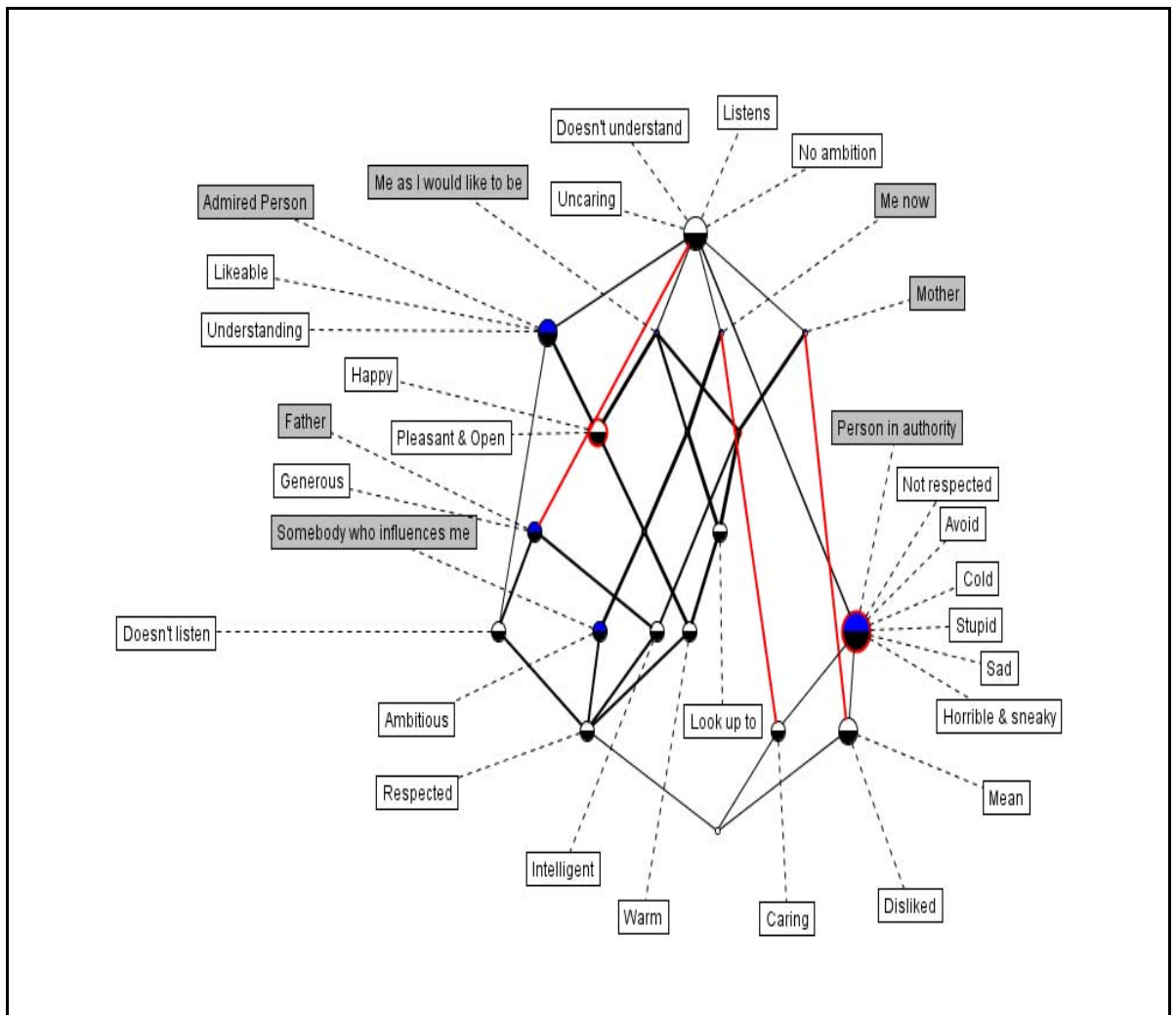
He sees the person in authority that figures in his life as caring but someone he does not look up and is to be avoided; they are disliked, cold, mean, stupid and sad which is something of a contradiction.

5.5 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

The group of participants consisted of eleven drug dealers and three fraudsters. Two fraudsters were British and one West African. The drug dealers comprised of five foreign nationals and six people of British nationality.

Heinz Moral Dilemma

Participants who were mature in terms of age and, or with higher levels of education tended to show higher stages of moral development i.e. generally level 2 or 3 was achieved on Kohlberg's scale.   Stage 2 is the Instrumental Relativist Orientation where the right action is one which 'instrumentally satisfies one's own needs and occasionally the needs of others whereas Stage 3, the Good Boy – Nice Girl Orientation, is that where good behaviour pleases or helps others in order to gain approval. Additionally, Kohlberg's Stage 4, the: Law and Order Orientation is based on the premise that 'right behaviour consists of doing one's duty, showing respect for authority and maintaining the given social order for its own sake.' The participants clearly must have had very little respect for the law when they committed their crimes. Eisenberg's (1989) cognitive development model, which is also six stages, is more appropriate than the Kohlbergian view since reasoning can be at several different levels. However, Erikson's eight stage model is probably even more apt, as it places greater emphasis on social development and the development of ego identity. Gilligan's comments that caring should be a factor in moral reasoning was firmly confirmed.

The ethics questionnaire

Honesty and trust were considered essential in personal relationships and in places of employment and all participants expected people to trust them. All thought that success can come without monetary reward. Role models featured in most participants' lives (73%); 88.5% had no problems with their own ethics and character. Successful people do what they have to do to win even if others consider it cheating (96.2%), and 84.6% thought that a person has to lie or cheat sometimes in order to succeed. But just over half thought that people who

are willing to lie, cheat or break the rules are more likely to succeed than those who don't.

Self-characterisation sketches

In these sketches the criminal entrepreneurs seem to paint a rather rosy picture of themselves as though they are looking at the world through 'rose tinted glasses'. This implies that their behaviour may be immature but it may also be that Comte's view was correct: according to a historical analysis by William Lyons (1986), Comte argued that the observer cannot be "split in two" so that one part observes the other, and, thus, observation of one's own inner experiences is impossible. In other words, in order to direct one's attention towards one's own inner state, one must first shift attention from the perceived physical object "out there" that caused this inner state in the first place. He argued that even if we would set aside the principal problems with introspection, it generates unreliable and conflicting data. Thus, one can never be introspective. To overcome this, repertory grid interviews were used.

Repertory grids

The use of a 'standard repertory' grid for all participants fits neatly in with Kelly's (1955) *Commonality Corollary* which posits that someone who has the same experiences as another will have similar psychological processes as that of the other person (see page 73).

However, using a 'standard' repertory grid to be completed by more than one person raises issues about how personal constructs can be selected so that they are relevant to a group of people and how, theoretically speaking, this relates to a central feature of personal construct psychology: that one person's construing will not be identical to that of another person. Kelly (1932) wrote:

> "*The process of group behaviour is nothing but the behaviour of individual members, although the pattern may be super-individual. In this sense, then, we can say there is a group mind… But wait, we should be careful not to jump to conclusions. The group mind is not a separate organism, not a separate process, not a separate will, not a separate force from that of the individual. It is a super-pattern*

into which the individual sub-patterns fit….The group mind is a situation into which individual tendencies are so combined as to make their effect violently felt by all."

It is necessary that these individuals are from as homogeneous a group as possible since it is only if there is 'commonality' in their construing that the themes among the personal constructs become apparent.

The FCA Hesse diagrams had a range of 20 to 101 concepts with a mean of 48.1.

The PCA charts generally show that most of the criminal entrepreneurs dislike people who are not very ambitious, uncaring, cold and lacking respect. Yet strangely most of them who took part in this study are drug dealers. All participants had strong ambition constructs. Attitude to authority was mixed; six had a dislike for people in authority but the remaining six had no particular issues with them. Loyalty to self and family was particularly strong with most participants. To quote Fisher (2006: 276): "*This horizon may be represented by the alleged judgement on many East End gangsters that they were essentially good because they were good to their mothers*".

The repertory grids generally showed that a moral reasoning stage existed in most participants where conflict with authority was quite strong. Entrepreneurs tend to have a dislike of authority (Kets de Vries, 1977: 34-57) but the reaction from participants was mixed. The results from the self-characterisation sketches and the repertory grids show the criminal entrepreneurs are individuals stuck in Stages 2 or 3 in Kohlberg's preconventional level where an "egocentric point of view" is involved and a "concrete individualistic perspective" in which the person makes choices based on the fear of punishment and the desire for rewards.

Gilligan's comments that caring should be a factor in moral reasoning were firmly confirmed and there were indications of a strong caring bond between child and parent which carried on through into adulthood.

More on cultural differences

One of the major weaknesses of Kohlberg (1984) is that the work appears to be based on Western culture and assumes that people in the West all have a normal childhood. Many of those in prison have been given custodial sentences because of drug dealing or trafficking. A few cultures such West African see no difference between drug dealing and carrying out legitimate trading or business activities as evidenced by the following:

In a discussion on criminal entrepreneurs with two foreign nationals (from Nigeria); let us call them O and B. They are serving six years and six and a half years respectively for importation of drugs. Both claimed to be fraudsters. One described how in running his travel agency he had to practise deception in order for clients to get visas for places like Australia: he would forge the appropriate documents; make out hotel bookings using another of his clients' credit card details. They both claimed that drugs and fraud are the only crimes that are acceptable in their culture and can be called businesses. Robbery was not. Apparently in Nigeria, stealing was considered far worse than drug dealing which after all is "just another business where you supply the customer with what they want" – they do not have to buy the drugs but with stealing you are "stealing someone else's sweat". Someone has worked hard for their property and now they are being deprived of it. Thieves are lucky if they make it alive to the police station or prison. However, white collar crime is treated differently – it is fair game if you can get away with it and doesn't attract long prison sentences.
"Crime is like a culture" in Nigeria said one offender. To some Nigerians, it appears that fraud is simply considered a normal part of their business culture.

They both had the impression that most business was based on fraud! Participant B reckons prison and business education in HMP The Mount has changed his perspective on life. Seeing a different culture and the seriousness of the situation has affected him. "*I now know that I can make it without crime*".

5.5.1 ANALYSIS OF CASE STUDIES - MATRIX OF THE CASE STUDIES

Participant	Offence	Ethnicity	Age	Level of Education	Moral Development Stage	Ambitious?	Dislike Authority?
A	Drugs	White British	40	'A' Level	3	Y	Y
B	Fraud	West African	23	2nd Year Degree in BIS	3	Y	Y
C	Drugs	Br Jamaican	39	Left school early	3	Y	N
D	Drugs	White British	24	Left school early	2	Y	N
E	Drugs	West African	50	Graduate engineer	3	Y	N
F	Fraud	West African	26	1st year degree	1/2	Y	N
G	Drugs	White British	24	Left school early	1/2	Y	N
H	Drugs	South American	25	Secondary school	2	Y	Y
J	Fraud	White British	26	Secondary school	-	Y	N
L	Drugs/Firearms	Black British	29	Left school early	-	Y	Y
M	Drugs	Mixed British	24	Left school early	2	Y	N
N	Drugs	Black British	25	Secondary school	2	Y	Y
O	Drugs	Afro-American	29	Graduate	3	Y	N
S	Drugs	Irish	24	Secondary school	2	Y	Y

5.7   Summary

Is it valid to explain changes in children's thinking about moral dilemmas in terms of increased reasoning skills as the children get older? People respond to moral dilemmas differently because they have cultural differences, and researchers like Gilligan argued that boys and girls are brought up to have different moral orientations; girls are more caring.

In conclusion, the role of entrepreneurship in all parts of the market economy whether legal markets, illegal markets or other business activities in 'the shadow' is too important to be relegated to a footnote in economic theory. However, there remains no standard theoretical approach to the study of entrepreneurship.   Different perspectives need to be considered with each shedding some light upon the role of entrepreneurship in the economy and in economic theory. Entrepreneurship theories tend to be moving towards more 'holistic' approaches, which try to understand both the unique motives and actions of individual entrepreneurs, together with the influence of the dynamic external social and economic environment upon the entrepreneur.

This has important implications for empirical methodologies and the process of theory construction in the study of entrepreneurship. Emphasis needs to be placed on developing conceptual models that help to 'ground' theory in reality.

Moral development theories tend to be embraced by those with an interest in ethics; latent trait theories by those with an interest in the root psychological causes of crime; and life course theories tend to attract researchers interested in asking why and when do offenders *stop* offending (i.e., the study of *desistance*).

6.   CONCLUSIONS

Introduction

Sutherland and Cressy in their *Principles of Criminology* (1970: 68) said that there is a real danger that the study of inmates may simply produce studies of inmates. For instance one of the problems with interviewing offenders for the repertory grids is that in rating 'a person in authority' they could be blinkered and only be thinking of prison officers, and other members of the judicial system, as people in authority. Whether the same responses would have been achieved if the criminal entrepreneur was free and could actively carry out his shady business is impossible to determine. These offenders are no longer in their natural environment although, given the drugs culture in prisons; they could be still active although none would admit to it. (Indeed some of the interviewees were under suspicion for dealing and one was moved to another prison).

Presumably, it also depends on the nature of the study and the interviewee's attitude on the day of the interview. Another concern with phenomenological interviews is that the respondents could confabulate. It is generally recognised that people who abuse their bodies with leisure drugs could easily confuse memory and present reality. Are they distorting their view of the world in order to be able to live with their crimes? The self-characterization sketches particularly indicated that they might be creating an unrealistic sense of themselves in the world.

One of the main difficulties in interviewing offenders in a prison context is gaining their confidence and often it is revealed that some people in prison are not always incarcerated for the crime, or crimes, which they indulged in. For example, often they may be imprisoned because of an act of violence connected with their criminal activities. This would be difficult to relate directly with the data without interviewing the individual participants. Unfortunately in the timescale of the study it was not possible to interview all participants, assuming that they were willing to participate or to acquire transcripts of individual cases to obtain in-depth data. Although the literature on ethnography does not specify the minimum number of participants to be interviewed, or the

time required by an ethnographic inquiry, the restricted number of participants and period of time in which the mini studies have been carried out clearly represents a limitation of the overall study. Another problem is that participants are now living in an environment which is not natural to them, so does the way they think and behave change when they are imprisoned?

The findings generally confirm that males in this group may base their moral judgments and behaviours on both justice and care. However it would appear that the main motivation or driving force for criminal entrepreneurs is not their level of moral reasoning, or moral values, but strong relationships and the presence or absence of appropriate actors as role models. Relationships are paramount since, to a large extent, morality is about relationships. Our rights and obligations spring largely from the relationships which we have or had with people and organisations or society in general. These include relationships to family, friends, customers or community groups among others. These relationships can give us important moral reasons for our behaviour or actions. Whatever group one belongs to there are legitimate moral expectations or moral duties. For people to reform they need to be given appropriate opportunities for acquiring a new psychological identity and increased self esteem which can be derived from improving their education. There is a need to create better incentives for those with entrepreneurial preferences and talent to become productive legitimate entrepreneurs, instead of turning to a life of crime.

6.2   Review of research questions

Q1   *What level of moral development is exhibited by a group of criminal entrepreneurs?*

The Heinz Dilemma revealed that the group of criminal entrepreneurs are mainly at Stage 2 or Stage 3 where Stage 2 is the individualistic or instrumental relativist orientations which are part of Level 1 the pre-conventional level, and Stage 3 is the good boy-nice girl orientation which is part of Level 2 - the conventional morality level. The Stage 1 punishment – obedience orientation was less evident. All thought it was reasonable to steal a drug to save their wife's life.

As all participants have committed persistent crimes, it follows that they are unlikely to achieve higher than Stage 4 since the next, Stage 5, is based on social contract and individual rights, accepted along with democratically derived laws, which are approved of by the whole of society.

The PCA analysis of the repertory grids supports Gilligan's caring mode and clearly fits in with two of Fisher's (2006: 253) four levels of loyalty, namely: to self and family and to groups and associated people who the offender has chosen to belong to. The other two levels are loyalty to the employing organisation and loyalty to society at large, which are less applicable in this scenario.

Q2   *How does their level of moral development affect their choice of acting 'entrepreneurially' in a legitimate or criminal context?*

To take the Piagetian view, the low level of moral development of the group of criminal entrepreneurs means that they are likely to act in an egocentric manner. Like children they will attempt to project their own thoughts and wishes on others. Their uni-directional view of authority and rules is usually that associated with heteronymous moral thinking i.e. Stage 1.

Kohlberg ignores the fact that social influences may affect moral reasoning in several ways. For example, cultural and societal norms must exert a direct impact on moral standards which in turn, affect behaviour (Turiel, 1994). Stage 2 moral orientation was the most prevalent, which is egocentric in outlook, but with some ability to see things from another person's perspective. The "What's in it for me" attitude fits this orientation. An individual with this mind-set at Stage 2 would also think about how they could convince others to take up a business idea. This would be very much typical entrepreneurial thinking (Hupalo, 1999).

It was confirmed, as mentioned in DBA Doc 3, page 40, that criminal actions are not merely a result of the individual's beliefs but other factors have acted to cause their criminal actions, e.g. social conditions, peer groups and exercise of choice.

Q3   *What are the important personal relationships, ethical stances and beliefs of the criminal entrepreneurs?*

The research would seem to show that moral reasoning and moral values are not the main driving force for criminal entrepreneurs but the presence of appropriate role model actors.

This group of criminal entrepreneurs were strongly ambitious and linked ambition with caring. Role models played a significant role in their lives but given the criminal records of the participants, presumably these were ineffectual, inappropriate or had an adverse affect on them.

There was a general dislike for figures of authority and a preference for associating with successful people although of course, figures of authority are often successful and the two are generally linked. However, in a prison environment it could be that incarcerated offenders form a narrow-minded view of figures of authority because of the situation in which they find themselves. Prisoners often have a dislike for some prison officers and policemen as they blame them for their predicament. It was demonstrated that in general the group of criminal entrepreneurs consider honesty and trust important in both relationships and in the workplace and that it was important for others to trust them. Being a 'good person' was more important than being rich. The majority had a role model and were satisfied with their own ethics and character while most thought that successful people will do what they have to do to win, even if it means lying or cheating. PCA of the repertory grids identified that this group of criminal entrepreneurs were still using their parents as elements in their construing of the world.

The analysis illustrated that ambition, role models, family influences and culture were strong themes.

Ambition

Enterprising people are often those who have high ambitions. McClelland (1961) identified 'the need for achievement' in successful entrepreneurs and they want to enjoy all the comforts of life or want to achieve positions of power. It is possible that drug dealers are seeking power or influence and not merely

the money; their activities ensure that they have 'friends' and therefore probably protection especially in the case of drug dealing. Relationship building and maintenance is a crucial feature of the work of entrepreneurs (Carson et al 1995: 140). Criminal entrepreneurs are those individuals who want to achieve their ambitions at any cost and will use any unfair means to accomplish their aim.

Although the sample studied in the ethics questionnaire (n=26) characterisation sketches and repertory grids was relatively small (n = 14) there were some common themes which also showed some cultural differences. All of the British offenders had a dysfunctional childhood with the biological father leaving home when they were young, whereas the West African participants (n=4) came from a more solid and happier family background.

Role models

Admiration for role models appears to a common theme but it is not known whether these were good or bad influences. It was shown in the Repertory Grid study that the models who have most influence are likely to be those who they look up to, are respected, understanding, ambitious, intelligent, liked and warm. These fit into Bandura's (1986) social learning theory.

Family influences

Family breakdown was one of the main catalysts for youth crime, which had been identified during the course of the build up of the DBA documents, setting the offender on the path to becoming a criminal entrepreneur but this study shows that a strong bond generally exists between the parents and the offender even though the family background is often a socially or economically disadvantaged one. Family allegiances seem strong for West African offenders: they feel obliged to support their kinsmen regardless of whether or not it involves breaking the rules of law of the West.

The findings confirm that Kohlberg underestimated the influence of the family in moral development of the individuals. Like Piaget, he argued for peer influence rather than that of the family thus ignoring the parental role in the development of moral reasoning and behaviour.

What is rather striking is the maternal love which still exists within the group of criminal entrepreneurs, contrary to findings of other studies where maternal deprivation appeared to be a major factor in the triggering of criminal activity. In Colby's (1944) empirical study a high level of early maternal separation was found in the delinquent group that he researched: 39 per cent of these children had experienced complete separation from their mothers for six months or more in the first five years of their life; the comparable figure in his non-delinquent group was 5 per cent. A review of the available studies led Bowlby (1951) to formulate his theory that early maternal deprivation was causally related to antisocial behaviour. This theory rested on two key postulates: a warm, close, and unbroken relationship between child and mother (or permanent mother substitute) is essential for good mental health, whereas maternal separation and rejection accounts for most of the more troublesome cases of delinquency (Bowlby and Salter-Ainsworth 1965). However, Bowlby's theory suffered from criticism about the experimental methodology he used in his two major empirical studies; Morgan (1975) and Feldman (1977) catalogue the research flaws and shortcomings. Also Wootton (1959) argued that there is no evidence that damage from maternal separation is irreversible. This would seem to be strongly confirmed by the repertory grid analysis in this study.

Individuals are products of their own culture and criminal entrepreneurs are no exception. They have talents which they do not fully appreciate and consequently do not develop in a legitimate way. Their lack of guidance from suitable role models and their insecurity or desperate lifestyle pushes them towards a life of crime. Generally, a lack of self-awareness among criminal entrepreneurs means that they are unable to learn i.e. to develop their minds, knowledge etc., whereas legitimate entrepreneurs do have a self-awareness which they can build on. Offenders seem to have difficulty perceiving moral problems and have poor ethical awareness. However, criminal entrepreneurs employ several 'performance' virtues, which would be expected in legitimate entrepreneurs such as alertness to opportunities; perseverance; being good at networking and at taking the initiative.

Clearly the relationship between moral reasoning and offending is not a straightforward one and it needs to be integrated with other variables to give a

fuller explanation of why some entrepreneurial offenders do not take the legitimate route to prosperity.

- ♦ There is a lack of longitudinal studies investigating moral development.
- ♦ Lower stages of moral reasoning may be a consequence and not a cause of criminal behaviour.

Cultural differences were also detected. It was clear that West African participants became drugs traffickers because they were seizing an opportunity to be able to provide for their families, whereas those from UK origins tended to come from severely deprived families and entered into drug dealing for more hedonistic reasons.

The findings were in part as expected, i.e. all are low on the Kohlberg scale. However, other results were not – i.e. criminals are not usually thought to have caring and ambition, as key constructs in making sense of their world, but in fact, these two constructs and the others appeared quite strong. Although these criminal entrepreneurs thought ambition, caring, etc were important, circumstances such as migrant status, dysfunctional family backgrounds and discrimination meant that they had to apply these constructs within a narrow ethical horizon and limited criminal world rather the broader legitimate one.

This research suggests that the criminal entrepreneurs have constructs that would be applicable to a legitimate activity; the problem is what stops them from broadening their ethical horizons? It appears that a lack of resources, lack of knowledge of how licit business works, and lack of confidence stemming from having neither, are the main barriers to legitimate business start-ups. Broadening of ethical horizons would follow from working in free markets rather than clandestine ones. The marketplace has emerged as the area for serious criminality according to Hobbs (1995: 107). Economic entrepreneurs appear to need to understand the workings of both illegal and legal markets.

Personal influences of peers must also have an affect on an individual's moral reasoning. Hoffman (1987) argued that one's ability to empathize affects their moral reasoning by allowing people to take on others' perspectives and by providing the motivation to act in a morally responsible manner.

Criminal entrepreneurs, like their legitimate counterparts, would seem to be action-oriented and a lot of their learning is experientially based. Rae and Carswell (2000) talked about entrepreneurs learning in this way whereas Cope and Watts (2000) consider that they 'learn by doing.' Policy makers could significantly reduce a large proportion of social ills, such as drug abuse, alcoholism, unemployment etc., by eradicating or re-directing persistent offenders who account for most crime. It costs £100 per day to keep someone in prison. Drugs couriers from Africa hoping to make £5000 on one trip typically spend three years in prison at a cost to the tax payer of £100,000. The social benefits of giving them a shorter sentence, teaching them the skills to set up a legitimate business and providing them with the capital seem so sensible.

Clearly, starting up a legitimate business is effortful. It requires a lot of energy; criminal entrepreneurs, however, look for the easy ways of doing business and lack the experiential learning and confidence required to tackle businesses which require so much red tape and bureaucracy.

True moral behaviour involves a number of internal processes that are best developed through warm, caring parenting with clear and consistent expectations, emphasis on the reinforcement of positive behaviours (rather than the punishment of negative ones), modelling of moral behaviour by adults, and creation of opportunities for the child to practise moral reasoning and actions.

Individuals seem to choose the criminal route because they believe that it is the only route open to them. Stability and social achievement are rare, and they may come from a destitute area where high levels of crime and unemployment are the norm. When self-esteem of the parent is low the behaviour of the children becomes more antisocial.

Is membership of a criminal gang a substitute for the lack of sense of belonging to a family?

Drivers and traits are what motivate us. In order to coach offenders effectively we need to be able to identify and manage their drivers. This study has identified some of those drivers. The criminal entrepreneur is not without caring for others. Although Gilligan's (1982) work disputed Kohlberg's (1969) by

identifying the gender difference of caring, the preponderance of evidence is that males also reason based on justice and care. Thus Gilligan's work has contributed to an increased understanding that care is an integral component of moral reasoning.

For many, training convicted criminals to become successful legitimate business people is an unlikely scenario because prisoners carry the stigma of dishonesty and being doomed to failure. While it is true that some will revert to crime when they are released back into society, there are a good many others whose prison sentences teach them a lesson they don't want to repeat: who are genuinely hungry to make a good, honest living and self employment is their only real option if they want to get out of the poverty trap or recidivism loop. Do property offenders, particularly fraudsters, perceive and solve problems in different ways, depending on their preferred problem-solving style to entrepreneurs?

There are three main ways to prevent crime:
   (a)   Change the offender's criminal motivation
   (b)   Reduce any opportunities for crime
   (c)   Reduce the incentives for crime.

Education can only help to alter (a) and (c). A planned curriculum that factors in the effects of individual differences and multiple learning objectives across the boundaries of individual courses is much more likely to achieve the ambitious outcomes now associated with enterprise education.

6.3   Implications of the studies for management practice

While prisons are primarily places of punishment, they can also provide excellent opportunities for reducing recidivism by offering appropriate education and vocational training courses and giving support and guidance. Not all prisons offer these facilities to offenders and where they are offered many offenders do not take up the option of such help. To reduce recidivism there must be a greater emphasis on education and vocational training in prisons as this is the key to ex-offenders securing some kind of employment. This study has looked at the moral development, beliefs and relationships of offenders who have a history of participating in entrepreneurial activities; they should be encouraged

to develop the skills necessary to set up and run their own legitimate businesses.

More facilities should be made available for implementing courses in business enterprise and life skills and prison and probation staff should be made more aware of sources of advice and support.

The personal construct research showed that all the participants in the study were strongly ambitious and had a high need for achievement; both characteristics that are needed to become a successful entrepreneur. This would justify Government expenditure on assisting such individuals to go into self-employment. Also the analysis showed that most of the criminal entrepreneurs responded to role models and partnerships, however by the nature of their crimes in the past these are very unlikely to have been appropriate role models. The key to preventing them from re-offending is to identify suitable role models in the form of mentors or coaches who could guide them into legitimate activities on release from prison. If offenders developed a trusting relationship with a mentor outside of the prison system it is possible this relationship and guidance could continue upon the offender's release. The presence of a positive relationship in the individual's life would provide some of the informal but critical support needed to make a successful transition into normal community life. A mentor could therefore increase the positive networks that they could access in the community. Ideally, a network of mentors should be set up with the aim of reducing re-offending by working with identified entrepreneurial offenders on building self-awareness, confidence and self-esteem and to help them to achieve changes in their thinking, attitude, and ultimately - behaviour.

A web-based directory of role models could be used and their role as mentors and coaches developed through workshops which would address some of the main barriers that offenders currently experience; these may be confidence building courses or finding solutions to personal and practical barriers to setting up businesses, but they will also incorporate presentations from role models, analysis of their experiences, and sessions on sources of finance, major EU and UK bursaries and awards available in relevant fields.

Prisoners should be to be assigned a trained coach/mentor rather than just a nominated personal officer. Personal officers often do not have time or experience to devote to the ex-offender as they are carrying out other prison duties. Experienced education staff may be better placed to take on this role but costs may be significant at over £30,000 plus overheads of £20,000 for one senior officer acting as a mentor. One officer would be needed per 20 offenders on a mentored enterprise scheme. National Offender Management Service (NOMS, 2009) has a cost savings target of £171 million in the financial year 2009-10 so any expansion of services is unlikely in the short term.   Costs could be reduced considerably by relying on volunteer agencies such as The Prince's Trust or Business Link. Relationships should be developed between NOMS and the social enterprise sector to provide opportunities for ex-offenders.

There should be more emphasis on genuine sentence planning with regular reviews, and an education and/or training programme for the whole length of their sentence should be established. More courses of training in suitable trades and bolted-on enterprise courses for ex-offenders entering self-employment are needed.

Another major problem that needs to be addressed is one of continuity, as prison staff are not allowed to remain in contact with ex-offenders on their release.
Despite their best intentions, offender management agencies continue to be associated solely with the punishment and control of their clients whereas more effective seamless support systems are needed for ex-offenders that facilitate long-term relationships with mentors and coaches, preferably on a one-to-one basis.

Future research

Criminal activity in terms of property crime needs to be understood as a rational response to objective social conditions rather than merely a lack of morality or the character of individuals.

Instead of using characterisation sketches, future research may produce richer results by employing an alternative constructivist technique - the 'snake

interview' ('river of experience') technique which is used to visualise and identify critical incidents in the biographical pathways of participants (Denicolo and Pope, 1990). These would highlight the positive and negative milestones which influenced the offender's attitudes and beliefs. An investigation into how PCP laddering techniques could be utilised as a technique for understanding both staff and prisoners; individual repertory grid interviews with both would be useful to get a better insight into how differently they view the world.

Another area for further research is an investigation into the effectiveness of appropriate role models and family relationships on criminal activities, using PCP techniques. A comparison of the beliefs and relationships of the criminal entrepreneur with other offenders, and also legitimate entrepreneurs, may reveal richer conceptual information enhancing our understanding of how they view the world.

7.   REFERENCES

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8. APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

European Union Policy on Entrepreneurship

In 2004 the European Commission set out its priorities for boosting entrepreneurship in its Entrepreneurship Action Plan. This describes 38 sub-actions in five strategic areas: (1) Fuelling entrepreneurial mindsets; (2) Encouraging more people to become entrepreneurs; (3) Gearing entrepreneurs for growth and competitiveness; (4) Improving the flow of finance; and (5) Creating a more SME-friendly regulatory and administrative framework. It also sets out the roles of the different actors involved, ranging from European Commission to national and sub-national authorities and business support organisations.

APPENDIX 2:   Characteristics of typical offender

%		%	
67	Recidivism within 2 years	40	Have used drugs at least once in prison
14	Under 21 years of age	30	Regularly played truant from school
11	Aged 18 – 20 years	25	Aged under 25
3	Under 18 years of age	24	Jailed for violence
2	Over 60 years old	11	In jail for sex offences
14	Black	12	Jailed for robbery
4	Asian	14	Jailed for burglary
13	Foreign nationals	6	Jailed for theft or HSG
2	Jamaican	2	Jailed for fraud or forgery
1	Nigerian	17	Jailed for drugs offences
1	Irish	4	Jailed for motoring offences
16	On remand	47	Ran away from home as a child
8	Serving life sentences	27	Taken into care as a child
1	Has no release date	49	Excluded from school at some time
59	Have dependent children	52	Left school without qualifications
45	Will lose contact with their families and/or partners while inside	65	Numeracy skills below expected level of an 11 year old
73	Taken an illegal drug in year before entering prison	48	Reading ability less than an 11 year old
5	Were sleeping rough before going into prison	67	Unemployed before being jailed
80	Cannot complete a job application form	20	Been admitted for in-patient psychiatric care before jail
32	Attend education classes	15	No previous convictions
15	Will lose the job that they had	5	Self harm in prison
32	Were homeless before being jailed	20	Had attempted suicide before jailed
72	Suffer from 2 or more mental disorders	63	Hazardous drinking habit before jailed
7	Suffer a psychotic disorder		

Compiled from several Home Office documents (www.homeoffice.gov.uk/rds)

APPENDIX 3: ETHICS QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Do you believe that honesty and trust are essential in a personal

    relationship?

    Yes □ No □

2. Is it important to you that people trust you?

    Yes □ No □

3. Are trust and honesty essential in the workplace?

    Yes □ No □

4. What is more important – being a good person or being rich?

    Good □ Rich □

5. Can you be successful and not be rich?

    Yes □ No □

6. Do you have a role model (someone you look up to or would like to be)?

    Yes □ No □

    If yes, is it: Mother? □ Father? □ Brother/Sister? □ Other relative? □

    Friend □ A celebrity? □ Other? □

7. Are you satisfied with your own ethics and character?

    Yes □ No □

8. In the 'real world' successful people do what they have to do to win even if

    others consider it cheating. True □ False □

9. A person has to lie or cheat sometimes in order to succeed.

    True □ False □

10. People who are willing to lie, cheat or break the rules are more likely to

    succeed than those who don't.   True □ False □

APPENDIX 4:   KOHLBERG'S HEINZ MORAL DILEMMA[38]

In Europe, a woman was near death from a rare type of cancer. There was one drug that doctors thought might save her. It was a form of radium that a local pharmacist had recently discovered. The drug was expensive to make, but the pharmacist was charging £4000 for a small dose of the drug that cost him only £400 to make. The sick woman's husband, Heinz, went to everyone he knew to borrow the money but could only raise £2000 which is half the cost of the drug. He told the pharmacist that his wife was dying and asked him to sell it cheaper or let him pay later but the pharmacist said 'No, I discovered the drug and I'm going to make money from it'. So Heinz gets desperate and considers breaking into the man's shop to steal the drug for his wife.

    1) Should Heinz steal the drug?

                           Yes   No

    State reason

    2) If Heinz doesn't love his wife, should he steal the drug for her?

                           Yes   No

    State reason:

    3) Suppose the person dying is not his wife but is a stranger. Should Heinz steal the drug for a stranger?

                           Yes   No

    State reason:

    4) Is it important for people to do everything they can to save another's life?

                           Yes   No

    State reason:

    5) Is it against the law for Heinz to steal? Does that make it morally wrong?

                           Yes   No

    State reason:

    6) Should people try to do everything they can to obey the law?

                           Yes   No

    State reason:

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[38] *Adapted from Kohlberg (1984)*

APPENDIX 5: A SELECTION OF
SELF-CHARACTERISATION SKETCHES

PARTICIPANT B

I would best describe B as a good friend who I have known for a good few years and is someone I can trust. He is a nice guy who I can talk to about most things anytime I feel I need to talk to someone and is supportive when I have any problems. I can tell him anything and I don't expect him to go and talk about me and tell someone what I've said behind my back. If I need something he would do it for me. He is one out a group of my close friends and we all think the same of each other and we all share the same things in common like cars, girls, music and all meeting up and going drinking and he is someone who can have a laugh and a good time. He is a quiet person, but when has had a few drinks and starts to relax, is a lot louder. He has a good sense of humour, he is funny and he knows how to have a good time when we go out, though I do not always agree with what he does. I would say he is reliable though is not always on time. But he will always let us know when he is going to be late.

He is someone who works hard and cares about his job, but doesn't let work get in the way. B cares about other people, he cares about his family and his girlfriend and likes to make time for everyone and would never forget about his friends. He would make time for you. He is not afraid to talk about things and would tell you what was on his mind, but he would not talk bad about anyone and doesn't brag about anything he's done. He is quite a fussy person which you will notice and likes nice things. He is good at organising and arranging stuff and knows what to do when we go out and he would always invite me if he is doing something he thinks I would be interested in and doesn't forget you.

He can be a bit naïve at times and maybe a bit too nice when it comes to people, I've never known him to not be nice to anyone and he is liked by everyone for that. He doesn't get angry and is not aggressive but he would stick up for you and be there if you are in trouble or in need and has done before.

So to sum B up, he is a nice guy and a good friend and is someone who I like to hang around with.

PARTICIPANT D

He was born in a seaside town in 1984. He has four sisters who he lived with during most of his childhood and with his mother, who he loves dearly. His parents split up when he was around nine years old. He has few memories of his father, as he did not play a great part in the children's upbringing.

It is a seasonal place where he lives. In the summer it is good, there is a lot to do and a vast crowd of holidaymakers inhabit the area for their summer break. There are holiday resorts, Butlins being the most notorious and many caravan sites, which have swimming pools, pubs and clubs. In the winter you could walk through most areas of his hometown and hear a pin drop. In the winter season the place is like a ghost town. Most places of entertainment close down and whatever is left open is not worth wasting time to acknowledge. You could guarantee the place you'd visit would be empty.

He remembers not having a lot to do as a child and as a result causing mischief. He was brought up well and thinks his family is not to blame. The easiest thing to do to escape boredom as a child was to drink alcohol, smoke and take drugs. He fell into this trap influenced by his friends. As much as he enjoyed this at the time, it is his biggest regret making those choices. He started participating in crime, which ultimately ended in him being incarcerated. He can't say he would have regretted any of these contributions to destruction, if he had avoided the judicial service permanently. But they found him and so his perception has changed.

Going back to when he started taking drugs his behaviour and outlook on life changed. He can't remember having any goals in life or remember anything he wanted to achieve. He had no future prospects and he didn't want any. Taking drugs contributed to this. He doesn't dislike drugs but does dislike the fact instead of making his own choices he was easily led. He told me that he wouldn't say it is good to take them but he had had some amazing experiences while being under the influence of a specific drug, especially on one particular occasion.

It was summer 2000 he cannot recall the exact date, but it was early in the morning on a Thursday. He went to a friend's house, James, to return a cassette tape that he wanted to use while travelling to Glastonbury. James lives nearby the road where his mother's house is. When he arrived he was unhappy because a friend of his who was meant to be accompanying them had decided to refuse their offer. He didn't want to go along with just those currently going and asked if he would like to go. It was a stupid question. He remembers running back to his house as fast as he could to collect some clothes but only acquired a jumper. He wanted to avoid giving his mother any information about his departure, as this would have only caused an altercation. So there he was in the back of a van, no money, no food and only equipped with a jumper for a three day trip, though never does he remember being so happy. They set off.

They stopped at a local supermarket as his companions wanted to get some provisions for the festival. He needed alcohol to last for four days. He wouldn't do this now but at the time he considered it a matter of survival. He didn't have many options and thought "What did a supermarket need with a trolley full of alcohol they have plenty more?" He needed it for Glastonbury. So relieving them of a sufficient quantity of drink they were back on the road. With his vision and perception limited, because of intoxication, they arrived.

Nothing was the same as he had imagined. There he was in the middle of around 70,000 individuals and they all seemed strange. It was a brilliant atmosphere. He couldn't fully take in everything that was going on around him, as there was so much happening. There were tents as far as the eye could see and cars all stuck on a mass of land. We weren't inside the festival but were on the perimeter where nearly everyone had to park his or her car and set up a camp. His friend and him weren't worried about helping the others to set up tents, so they headed down to the festival. He remembers seeing masses of people climbing over and digging under the fences, many were even paying others to aid them in gaining access.

They swiftly made their way back to the others to get a shovel and arriving back they dug a hole. When they had made £400 each, he informed his new business partner that he wanted to buy some drugs and gave him his

resignation. It didn't take long to find someone selling acid. He and his friend spotted some hippy completely off his nut, he looked like a mental patient and so they made the transaction. A while after taking the drug and entering the festival he remembers slowly losing his grip on reality and the festival atmosphere enhanced the effects.

PARTICIPANT I

Time spent inside has been in a way beneficial to him. His desire to turn his life around and take responsibility to make choices for his future lead him to do relevant courses notably Firm Start, IT and Decision Making which until now has been something that eludes him, in particular, his organising skills, time management, financial management, team work, passion, independence, entrepreneurship and assertive decisions. But with the knowledge gained in these courses, his dramatic improvement in his attention to details, planning out, setting and meeting targets, working to deadlines and organising own work load to suit specific objectives meant that things can be made to work as long as the desire to succeed is there.

As a person, he knows his needs and looking for ways to fulfil them. He is more aware of his weaknesses and working to address them. Of particular interest is his good listening skills and the interest he has for others. He is clearer than ever about what he can offer others. He treats people with respect, more prepared to compromise than before, but at the same time prepared to persist for what he wants. He is a more outward looking person and his vision for the future seems bright. He keener and has changed from a problem lead person to solution-oriented person.

He believes that what is happening to him now or what has happened to him in the past is not what will determine who he becomes, rather it is his decision about what to focus on, what things mean to him and what he is going to do about them that will determine his ultimate destiny.

He could be described as a well driven and motivated person, who is determined to change things around.

PARTICIPANT J

I have been a friend of J's for about ten years now and we've shared a lot of experiences together. I would describe him as a very jovial and easy going person with a great sense of humour. When we go out, the first impression of people about him would be that he is a quiet and a very shy person, which he is far from when they get to know him better. I am not saying he is not quiet, but the moment he loosens up or feels comfortable around people, he turns into a very funny person and people really enjoy his company.

Talking on a more serious note, we went to the same secondary school and during the course of our study, I found him to be quite intelligent, often asks questions in class, quite reserved and a sports fan. I would say he is a bit obsessed about himself in the sense that he cared a lot about how he looked and what he was wearing, which the girls loved about him.

He is a very good mate in terms of sticking up for me when I get into trouble and I would admit that I looked up to him because he always seem to have things under control even when he hasn't got a clue of what is going to happen next and there is always a level of confidence about the way he presents himself when we go somewhere new or meet new people. He rarely gets angry and when he does, he deals with his anger by keeping to himself and staying away from people until he feels alright and ready to interact with people again.

After graduating from secondary school, we went to different universities and we get to see each other during holidays. A lot hasn't changed about him, but I have noticed that he is now more religious, more focused, still a bit naughty and I've also noticed an act of independence about him, in the sense that he is now more focused on achieving his goals on his own and not relying so much on his family and friends.

Generally, I would describe him as God fearing, friendly, ambitious and fun to be with.

PARTICIPANT L

He sits there alone at night in his cell staring up at the ceiling thinking of the day he is going to be free from this living hell. Free to start living his life again; living a real life and not just being another number, existing behind four walls. He is aching to be with his children and family once again, giving them the love and attention they all deserve. He thinks of things that he has done in the past that he is not proud of; things that he is more than happy to leave in the past. He is no angel but I am also sure that he is not an evil person either. He knows he deserves to be where he is and can accept it but what he cannot accept is the pain and heartache that he is putting his children and family through, all due to his own mistakes. He wishes I could make things different and had a magic wand so he could relive his life and do it all again. This time he would do things so differently, he would try to do his best to make as few mistakes as possible. Half the adults in this world would wish for this same wish too. He knows that this is a unrealistic way of thinking and he brings himself back to earth by saying to himself that "I have made a lot of mistakes in my past and I am not only going to learn from my past mistakes by not repeating them but also by trying to correct them if I can".

This still does not take the pain and hurt away from what he is putting his children through but it does help him to try and make sensible plans for them in the future. He gets so angry with himself because he knows what he is putting his children through because he had been through similar experiences with his dad. He knows how it feels not having him there, knowing the feeling of him not being there to hug him or give him words of encouragement when he needed them. Not being there for him on his first day of school or not giving him the love and affection that all the other kids were receiving from their dads. He says to himself, "I would never put my children through what I have been through". But by him being in prison he has failed to achieve this, which makes him feel very disappointed and annoyed with himself.

All he has now is the future to look forward to and he can't wait. He can't wait to make it up to his children; he can't wait to bond with them by spending quality time with them, taking them out to the park, out to the zoo and out to lots of

different theme parks, going swimming, outings and other family day outs. His youngest daughter was born 3 months after he came in to prison so he knows he has to try that bit harder to bond with her. He was close with his elder daughter and knows it was hard on her having her Daddy taken away from her, so he has his work cut out making it up to her too. Then he has all the pain and heartache he caused his fiancé. He knows that I will have a lot of making up to do with her too. Luckily for him and his children he has a wonderful partner. She is an excellent mother to them and this makes his life that little bit more easy to cope with at the hardest of times. His children's mother is the perfect woman and always does the best she can for them. She always puts them first and that is one of many good qualities that he loves about her.

Having his children has definitely made him change in a lot of positive ways. He now thinks differently and now has different ambitions and goals in life. Having children has helped him to become more open minded; a quality he is so happy to have. At this moment in time he plans on educating himself as much as possible, so that he can have more opportunities and chances to better his life for himself and his family in the future. He also plans to start focusing more time on his health by going back to the gym and eating a healthy balanced diet. He wants to do this so that he is not restricted in taking part with certain activities with his children and so he can live a longer healthier comfortable life in the long run.

He knows that he has to change his life style and do a lot of things differently and he is willing to do whatever it takes to make his children happy. He knows it's not going to be easy and it's going to take time but he also knows it will all be worth it at the end of the day. He sits thinking of better days and better times, then a smile comes to his face when he can visualise the smile on his family's faces. His mother telling him how proud she is of him for changing his ways and becoming a better person. The children are happy that he is there with them; playing games and displaying his love and affection for them with a million hugs and kisses. Then his partner tells him how pleased and happy she is that he is back home with her and our children.

Wishful thinking that he hopes will one day come true then his eyes are opened and he realises that he is back in this paradox that is called his world.

A conversation with participant L - a former Drug Dealer

Here is a man who before he came to prison on this sentence never rated education but through being switched on by doing a self-employment business skills course has developed a real thirst for it and can't get enough. His enthusiasm was initially triggered by recognising that he had strong entrepreneurial skills which he didn't realise when he was younger and he had no focus. He is someone who was expelled from school at an early age and has never held down a job although he has fathered two children.

I asked him:

Why don't drug dealers go into legitimate business? What is it all about?

Life is all about minimising risk. It's identifying the risk and then working on it an reducing it. We take risks every day. When you eat you take risks – you might choke on a sandwich. When you step out of the house you take risks, when you cross the road you take risks.

Before I came to prison I used to be reckless and carefree. I was out of control. Was I out of control! I didn't even think about the element of risk. I couldn't care.

The kids that deal in drugs don't have the knowledge or confidence to go into a legitimate business besides all that paperwork and legislation puts them of.

They don't want to move out of their comfort zone and having a lack of knowledge stops them. They can't see in front of their noses. All they want are flash watches and cars and that gets them noticed by the police. Living with their mums in council flats they stand out a mile, like a sore thumb. They have never worked and have no chance of getting a proper job. Not that they want to work a 9 til 5 job. They would rather stay in bed until lunchtime and stay out late at night.

Lots of people out there have made money from drugs but they don't know what to do with it, how to launder it. I can take you to plenty of them that have more

money than you can imagine but they can't do nothing with it. Otherwise they would stick out like a sore thumb. They have safe deposit boxes full of money or Rolex watches but can't do anything. One guy I know has 23 Rolexes. They are being watched by the police. The police are much smarter than most of the guys out there think.

He is currently serving 9 years for having possession of a firearm and with intent to supply drugs (cocaine).

PARTICIPANT M

M is a very loving and understanding person however he does have a different side to him. Whenever he can't get his own way he gets upset. I would put this down to him being the only boy among 3 girls. He was very spoilt as a child and I believer this has stayed in him throughout his life.

M loves his 2 year old son N more than anything in the world. When his son was born I feel it made M a man as he realized life was not only about him anymore. He took responsibility and provided all he could for his son and his son's mother. This surprised me to a certain extent as I could never picture M as a caring father but he surprised me with the amount of time and commitment he has for his family.

I would always bring M with me if I was going to buy anything because he is very good at getting a good deal. When we were a bit younger and went to nightclubs in the West End M would always get us in the club and VIP area. I can not tell you what he use to say but whatever it was it use to work.

I have never met anyone like M as he is the most persistent person I have ever known. He would go on and on and on just to get what he wants, he never gives up until he gets what he wants. M has good understanding of people so I find it easy to talk to him he always tells you straight how it is, and some people don't like him for it but he is strong minded and will always get his point across.

M is a competitive person and like to win at all costs he hates to lose and I can recall many a time we had arguments when I have beaten him at a game or I've

won a bet. He is a very bad loser and I enjoy winding him up. M loves Liverpool FC, you can not tell him any team are better, this the easiest way to wind him up.

Overall I would say M is a very considerate person but hates to be told what to do also he has a good attitude towards life and tries to make people around him as happy as possible. He does have a different side to him but who doesn't?

PARTICIPANT O

I have a very good friend who goes by the "Double OO". He has one of those impossible African names which are more like a chore for kids our age to pronounce. His real name is more of a challenge, or should I say a tongue twister riddle for us all. And for that reason topped with the fact that he grew tired of us butchering his name, he allowed us to bestow an easier nickname upon him.

I have known "Double OO" for a better half my life or I should say of his life, as both of us are of the same age. This essay is an attempt to cramp a 30 year history into one page, and while I endeavour to portray an accurate positive story of his life in one short brief page, I will also, paint a dark and formidable side that no one really knew his is capable of.

Here we go… "Double OO" has one of those larger than life attitudes. I know that this may not paint a picture of anyone in particular, but hang in there you will see where am going with this. Back in the days when we were college student, he said sometimes that literally blew that entire class away - including the professor.

Although he has always said that he has a great purpose in life and that he will be a beacon of light for the world to see, I write him off as an over ambitious young man who with his tenacity could overcome any obstacle stacked up against him. He has always maintained that his has a dream that is taller than the world trade centre towers stacked up together, but after the towers were destroyed, asked him what his dreams are like now that the towers are no

more, he sharply replied, " they are longer than the Great walls of China." (Am sure that you are getting the picture of this magnanimous human being)

Anyway, up till date, I still remember clearly as if it happened yesterday, in one of our Philosophy of Law lecture (which by the way is one of his numerous university degrees he achieved before the age of 24), he made a declaration that startled the entire lecture room. Prior to that fateful day, we were given an essay assignment titled, "***Who am I?***" for our term paper, to be presented to the entire class. When he was called for his presentation, the entire room became silent. He has that dominating (in a good sense) effect on people and everywhere he goes, he attracts positive energy towards him. As he walked up the stage, stood on the podium with head held up, he started with a question and answer statement that I will never forget. ***Who am I…? I am God!***

Having attended a seminary school for 2 years, he was able to create a godly image with his studies in philosophy and religion which made his term paper more credible that it ordinarily would have. It was a wonderful presentation and right there and then; I saw the light he wishes the world to see beam from him.

APPENDIX 6:   THE REPERTORY GRIDS

PARTICIPANT A

Rating = 1	Admired person	Not liked person	Me now	Mother	Father	Person in authority	Me as I would like to be	Person I don't quite understand	Person who is unlike me	Somebody who influences me	Rating = 7
	E1	E2	E3	E4	E5	E6	E7	E8	E9	E10	
C1 *Caring*	5	6	3	2	6	6	1	6	6	1	*Uncaring*
C2 *Dislike*	6	1	6	7	6	3	7	2	6	7	*Like*
C3 *Look up to*	2	7	4	5	7	7	1	3	2	2	*Avoid*
C4 *Horrible and sneaky*	6	1	7	7	7	1	7	7	2	7	*Pleasant & Open*
C5 *Doesn't understand*	7	6	7	2	4	4	7	1	4	4	*Understanding*
C6 *Doesn't listen*	2	2	2	1	1	2	7	3	1	6	*Listens*
C7 *Warm*	5	3	2	3	5	6	1	4	5	1	*Cold*
C8 *Generous*	2	2	3	1	7	7	1	7	7	3	*Mean*
C9 *Intelligent*	2	2	2	2	1	6	1	1	1	3	*Stupid*
C10 *Happy*	2	3	5	1	2	6	1	6	3	2	*Sad*
C11 *Respected*	3	6	3	6	1	4	1	2	1	2	*Not respected*
C12 *Ambitious*	1	2	1	1	6	6	1	5	2	6	*No ambition*

PARTICIPANT B

Rating = 1	Admired person	Not liked person	Me now	Mother	Father	Person in authority	Me as I would like to be	Person I don't quite understand	Person who is unlike me	Somebody who influences me	Rating = 7
	E1	E2	E3	E4	E5	E6	E7	E8	E9	E10	
C1 *Caring*	3	7	2	1	1	6	2	4	7	3	*Uncaring*
C2 *Dislike*	7	2	4	7	7	4	4	4	1	6	*Like*
C3 *Look up to*	1	6	4	4	1	4	1	5	7	2	*Avoid*
C4 *Horrible and sneaky*	6	2	7	7	7	4	7	3	1	5	*Pleasant & Open*
C5 *Doesn't understand*	4	2	4	6	6	4	1	1	1	3	*Understanding*
C6 *Doesn't listen*	6	2	6	6	6	6	6	2	1	3	*Listens*
C7 *Warm*	4	7	2	1	1	4	2	4	6	2	*Cold*
C8 *Generous*	4	7	1	1	1	4	1	4	6	2	*Mean*
C9 *Intelligent*	2	4	2	1	1	3	1	4	7	5	*Stupid*
C10 *Happy*	2	7	2	1	1	3	1	3	2	2	*Sad*
C11 *Respected*	2	3	3	1	1	2	1	3	5	2	*Not respected*
C12 *Ambitious*	1	7	1	1	1	1	1	3	3	1	*No ambition*

PARTICIPANT C

Rating = 1	Admired person	Not liked person	Me now	Mother	Father	Person in authority	Me as I would like to be	Person I don't quite understand	Person who is unlike me	Somebody who influences me	Rating = 7
	E1	**E2**	**E3**	**E4**	**E5**	**E6**	**E7**	**E8**	**E9**	**E10**	
C1 *Caring*	1	7	1	1	1	2	2	2	1	1	*Uncaring*
C2 *Dislike*	7	1	6	7	7	7	6	6	7	7	*Like*
C3 *Look up to*	2	7	3	1	1	1	5	4	2	2	*Avoid*
C4 *Horrible and sneaky*	7	1	6	7	6	6	3	5	4	7	*Pleasant & Open*
C5 *Doesn't understand*	7	1	4	7	6	6	4	6	2	7	*Understanding*
C6 *Doesn't listen*	7	1	2	4	3	6	2	5	1	7	*Listens*
C7 *Warm*	1	7	2	1	2	1	2	4	1	1	*Cold*
C8 *Generous*	1	7	1	1	3	1	1	3	1	1	*Mean*
C9 *Intelligent*	2	7	3	4	4	1	2	3	4	2	*Stupid*
C10 *Happy*	1	4	2	2	2	2	1	4	1	1	*Sad*
C11 *Respected*	1	7	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	*Not respected*
C12 *Ambitious*	1	7	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	*No ambition*

PARTICIPANT D

Rating = 1	Admired person	Not liked person	Me now	Mother	Father	Person in authority	Me as I would like to be	Person I don't quite understand	Person who is unlike me	Somebody who influences me	Rating = 7
	E1	E2	E3	E4	E5	E6	E7	E8	E9	E10	
C1 *Caring*	1	6	2	2	2	5	1	4	7	2	*Uncaring*
C2 *Dislike*	7	1	5	7	7	2	7	4	4	7	*Like*
C3 *Look up to*	1	7	4	3	5	6	1	5	4	3	*Avoid*
C4 *Horrible and sneaky*	7	2	4	5	5	2	1	4	2	5	*Pleasant & Open*
C5 *Doesn't understand*	7	3	3	6	6	2	7	2	3	7	*Understanding*
C6 *Doesn't listen*	7	3	6	5	6	2	7	4	2	5	*Listens*
C7 *Warm*	1	7	2	1	1	6	1	4	6	2	*Cold*
C8 *Generous*	1	5	2	1	2	5	1	4	5	2	*Mean*
C9 *Intelligent*	1	5	3	3	3	6	1	4	4	2	*Stupid*
C10 *Happy*	1	4	3	2	2	5	1	4	4	2	*Sad*
C11 *Respected*	1	7	2	1	1	6	3	5	4	1	*Not respected*
C12 *Ambitious*	1	4	1	4	2	7	1	4	4	2	*No ambition*

PARTICIPANT E

Rating = 1	Admired person	Not liked person	Me now	Mother	Father	Person in authority	Me as I would like to be	Person I don't quite understand	Person who is unlike me	Somebody who influences me	Rating = 7
	E1	E2	E3	E4	E5	E6	E7	E8	E9	E10	
C1 *Caring*	1	5	1	7	1	6	1	3	2	2	*Uncaring*
C2 *Dislike*	7	1	4	1	7	7	7	5	7	6	*Like*
C3 *Look up to*	1	5	2	6	1	6	1	6	1	1	*Avoid*
C4 *Horrible and sneaky*	7	5	7	1	7	3	7	1	7	6	*Pleasant & Open*
C5 *Doesn't understand*	7	2	6	1	7	1	7	1	7	7	*Understanding*
C6 *Doesn't listen*	7	3	5	1	7	2	6	1	7	7	*Listens*
C7 *Warm*	1	7	1	7	1	7	1	5	1	1	*Cold*
C8 *Generous*	1	7	2	7	1	7	2	2	1	2	*Mean*
C9 *Intelligent*	1	1	2	7	1	1	1	2	1	2	*Stupid*
C10 *Happy*	1	5	2	6	1	5	1	2	1	3	*Sad*
C11 *Respected*	1	4	2	1	1	1	1	2	1	2	*Not respected*
C12 *Ambitious*	1	2	1	1	1	1	1	2	1	1	*No ambition*

PARTICIPANT F

Rating = 1	Admired person	Not liked person	Me now	Mother	Father	Person in authority	Me as I would like to be	Person I don't quite understand	Person who is unlike me	Somebody who influences me	Rating = 7
	E1	E2	E3	E4	E5	E6	E7	E8	E9	E10	
C1 *Caring*	2	4	2	1	3	3	2	3	6	2	*Uncaring*
C2 *Dislike*	6	1	5	6	6	5	5	6	2	6	*Like*
C3 *Look up to*	3	4	2	1	1	4	1	5	6	2	*Avoid*
C4 *Horrible and sneaky*	6	2	6	7	2	4	6	4	2	2	*Pleasant & Open*
C5 *Doesn't understand*	6	2	6	6	3	4	6	4	2	2	*Understanding*
C6 *Doesn't listen*	7	2	6	6	3	4	6	5	2	2	*Listens*
C7 *Warm*	2	2	2	2	5	4	2	5	6	6	*Cold*
C8 *Generous*	2	4	5	1	5	3	3	5	3	7	*Mean*
C9 *Intelligent*	2	4	2	2	1	3	2	3	7	2	*Stupid*
C10 *Happy*	4	4	3	1	3	5	2	5	6	4	*Sad*
C11 *Respected*	4	4	2	1	1	3	1	4	6	1	*Not respected*
C12 *Ambitious*	2	3	2	1	1	2	1	3	6	1	*No ambition*

PARTICIPANT G

Rating = 1	Admired person	Not liked person	Me now	Mother	Father	Person in authority	Me as I would like to be	Person I don't quite understand	Person who is unlike me	Somebody who influences me	Rating = 7
	E1	E2	E3	E4	E5	E6	E7	E8	E9	E10	
C1 *Caring*	1	7	1	1		1	1	1	7	1	*Uncaring*
C2 *Dislike*	7	1	1	6		7	1	7	1	7	*Like*
C3 *Look up to*	1	7	3	5		5	3	5	7	1	*Avoid*
C4 *Horrible and sneaky*	7	1	5	5		7	5	4	1	7	*Pleasant & Open*
C5 *Doesn't understand*	7	1	5	1		6	5	3	1	6	*Understanding*
C6 *Doesn't listen*	7	1	5	7		5	5	3	1	7	*Listens*
C7 *Warm*	1	7	3	4		3	7	2	7	1	*Cold*
C8 *Generous*	1	7	1	3		2	7	2	7	1	*Mean*
C9 *Intelligent*	1	4	3	1		1	1	1	6	1	*Stupid*
C10 *Happy*	1	4	4	3		2	1	5	7	1	*Sad*
C11 *Respected*	1	1	1	1		2	1	3	7	1	*Not respected*
C12 *Ambitious*	1	3	1	1		1	1	1	7	1	*No ambition*

PARTICIPANT H

Rating = 1	Admired person	Not liked person	Me now	Mother	Father	Person in authority	Me as I would like to be	Person I don't quite understand	Person who is unlike me	Somebody who influences me	Rating = 7
	E1	E2	E3	E4	E5	E6	E7	E8	E9	E10	
C1 *Caring*	1	7	1	1	1	7	1	1	6	1	*Uncaring*
C2 *Dislike*	7	1	6	7	6	1	7	7	2	7	*Like*
C3 *Look up to*	5	7	2	2	7	7	1	7	5	1	*Avoid*
C4 *Horrible and sneaky*	5	1	6	6	4	1	7	5	2	7	*Pleasant & Open*
C5 *Doesn't understand*	2	1	6	2	7	1	7	1	2	7	*Understanding*
C6 *Doesn't listen*	2	1	7	2	6	1	7	1	2	7	*Listens*
C7 *Warm*	1	7	1	1	1	7	1	3	6	1	*Cold*
C8 *Generous*	2	7	1	2	2	7	1	3	6	1	*Mean*
C9 *Intelligent*	6	7	2	6	6	7	1	7	6	1	*Stupid*
C10 *Happy*	5	7	1	5	3	7	1	2	6	1	*Sad*
C11 *Respected*	2	7	1	1	4	7	1	5	6	1	*Not respected*
C12 *Ambitious*	5	1	1	5	1	3	1	2	6	1	*No ambition*

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PARTICIPANT J

Rating = 1	Admired person	Not liked person	Me now	Mother	Father	Person in authority	Me as I would like to be	Person I don't quite understand	Person who is unlike me	Somebody who influences me	Rating = 7
	E1	E2	E3	E4	E5	E6	E7	E8	E9	E10	
C1 *Caring*	1	4	1	1	1	1	1	1	4	4	*Uncaring*
C2 *Dislike*	7	1	2	7	3	7	7	7	6	6	*Like*
C3 *Look up to*	2	7	3	2	3	4	4	6	5	1	*Avoid*
C4 *Horrible and sneaky*	7	2	6	7	5	4	5	3	4	2	*Pleasant & Open*
C5 *Doesn't understand*	6	4	5	6	6	3	7	1	6	6	*Understanding*
C6 *Doesn't listen*	4	3	5	4	6	6	7	1	5	6	*Listens*
C7 *Warm*	2	5	1	2	2	2	1	3	4	4	*Cold*
C8 *Generous*	1	7	1	1	2	2	1	5	2	4	*Mean*
C9 *Intelligent*	3	7	2	3	2	2	1	2	4	2	*Stupid*
C10 *Happy*	2	2	2	2	2	2	1	3	2	3	*Sad*
C11 *Respected*	2	4	4	2	1	2	2	4	2	2	*Not respected*
C12 *Ambitious*	2	7	2	2	1	4	2	4	4	4	*No ambition*

PARTICIPANT L

Rating = 1	Admired person	Not liked person	Me now	Mother	Father	Person in authority	Me as I would like to be	Person I don't quite understand	Person who is unlike me	Somebody who influences me	Rating = 7
	E1	E2	E3	E4	E5	E6	E7	E8	E9	E10	
C1 *Caring*	5	7	2	3	7	7	1	5	7	6	*Uncaring*
C2 *Dislike*	7	1	5	3	1	1	7	7	2	6	*Like*
C3 *Look up to*	1	7	4	4	7	7	4	4	3	2	*Avoid*
C4 *Horrible and sneaky*	1	1	2	4	1	1	7	2	2	4	*Pleasant & Open*
C5 *Doesn't understand*	2	1	4	6	1	1	7	2	4	6	*Understanding*
C6 *Doesn't listen*	4	1	4	6	7	7	6	1	2	3	*Listens*
C7 *Warm*	6	7	3	3	7	7	1	7	5	2	*Cold*
C8 *Generous*	2	7	2	3	7	7	1	4	3	3	*Mean*
C9 *Intelligent*	3	6	3	2	7	7	1	4	4	2	*Stupid*
C10 *Happy*	3	5	2	3	7	6	1	3	4	2	*Sad*
C11 *Respected*	1	7	3	2	7	3	1	4	6	1	*Not respected*
C12 *Ambitious*	1	7	1	2	7	2	1	3	4	1	*No ambition*

PARTICIPANT M

Rating = 1	Admired person	Not liked person	Me now	Mother	Father	Person in authority	Me as I would like to be	Person I don't quite understand	Person who is unlike me	Somebody who influences me	Rating = 7
	E1	**E2**	**E3**	**E4**	**E5**	**E6**	**E7**	**E8**	**E9**	**E10**	
C1 *Caring*	1	7	1	1	7	7	1	2	1	1	*Uncaring*
C2 *Dislike*	7	1	6	7	7	7	6	6	7	7	*Like*
C3 *Look up to*	2	7	3	1	1	1	5	4	2	2	*Avoid*
C4 *Horrible and sneaky*	7	1	6	7	6	6	3	5	4	7	*Pleasant & Open*
C5 *Doesn't understand*	7	1	4	7	6	6	4	6	2	7	*Understanding*
C6 *Doesn't listen*	7	1	2	4	6	6	2	5	1	7	*Listens*
C7 *Warm*	1	7	2	1	1	1	2	4	1	1	*Cold*
C8 *Generous*	1	7	1	1	1	1	1	3	1	1	*Mean*
C9 *Intelligent*	2	7	3	4	1	1	2	3	4	2	*Stupid*
C10 *Happy*	1	4	2	2	2	2	1	4	1	1	*Sad*
C11 *Respected*	1	7	2	1	1	1	2	3	1	1	*Not respected*
C12 *Ambitious*	1	7	2	1	1	1	1	2	2	1	*No ambition*

PARTICIPANT N

Rating = 1	Admired person	Not liked person	Me now	Mother	Father	Person in authority	Me as I would like to be	Person I don't quite understand	Person who is unlike me	Somebody who influences me	Rating = 7
	E1	E2	E3	E4	E5	E6	E7	E8	E9	E10	
C1 *Caring*	5	7	2	3	2	7	1	7	6	3	*Uncaring*
C2 *Dislike*	6	7	3	4	4	7	7	2	2	6	*Like*
C3 *Look up to*	3	7	3	1	4	7	1	6	7	2	*Avoid*
C4 *Horrible and sneaky*	2	2	5	4	2	1	7	1	1	3	*Pleasant & Open*
C5 *Doesn't understand*	6	1	4	2	2	1	7	1	1	6	*Understanding*
C6 *Doesn't listen*	5	1	5	3	2	1	7	1	1	5	*Listens*
C7 *Warm*	5	6	2	2	4	6	1	4	7	4	*Cold*
C8 *Generous*	4	4	1	4	3	7	1	4	7	2	*Mean*
C9 *Intelligent*	1	7	3	3	3	2	1	4	7	2	*Stupid*
C10 *Happy*	1	4	2	4	7	7	1	5	7	2	*Sad*
C11 *Respected*	3	6	3	3	5	7	1	7	7	3	*Not respected*
C12 *Ambitious*	1	5	1	3	5	7	1	7	7	2	*No ambition*

PARTICIPANT O

Rating = 1	Admired person	Not liked person	Me now	Mother	Father	Person in authority	Me as I would like to be	Person I don't quite understand	Person who is unlike me	Somebody who influences me	Rating = 7
	E1	E2	E3	E4	E5	E6	E7	E8	E9	E10	
C1 *Caring*	3	6	1	1	1	4	1	4	6	3	*Uncaring*
C2 *Dislike*	6	7	6	7	7	4	7	4	6	6	*Like*
C3 *Look up to*	3	6	2	1	1	4	1	4	6	2	*Avoid*
C4 *Horrible and sneaky*	7	7	7	7	7	5	7	4	6	6	*Pleasant & Open*
C5 *Doesn't understand*	6	7	5	4	4	4	7	2	6	6	*Understanding*
C6 *Doesn't listen*	6	7	5	4	4	5	7	2	6	6	*Listens*
C7 *Warm*	4	6	1	1	1	7	1	4	6	6	*Cold*
C8 *Generous*	4	6	1	1	1	6	1	4	5	5	*Mean*
C9 *Intelligent*	2	2	1	2	2	7	1	4	7	1	*Stupid*
C10 *Happy*	3	6	2	1	1	5	1	4	7	2	*Sad*
C11 *Respected*	2	3	1	1	1	7	1	4	7	1	*Not respected*
C12 *Ambitious*	1	3	1	1	1	4	1	4	7	1	*No ambition*

PARTICIPANT S

Rating = 1	Admired person	Not liked person	Me now	Mother	Father	Person in authority	Me as I would like to be	Person I don't quite understand	Person who is unlike me	Somebody who influences me	Rating = 7
	E1	E2	E3	E4	E5	E6	E7	E8	E9	E10	
C1 *Caring*	3	7	2	3	3	1	3	2	2	4	*Uncaring*
C2 *Dislike*	7	1	3	2	5	2	3	6	5	4	*Like*
C3 *Look up to*	5	1	2	1	4	5	2	5	4	3	*Avoid*
C4 *Horrible and sneaky*	6	1	5	4	5	2	6	6	5	4	*Pleasant & Open*
C5 *Doesn't understand*	6	1	4	4	3	3	4	1	4	3	*Understanding*
C6 *Doesn't listen*	2	1	3	4	2	3	3	1	4	4	*Listens*
C7 *Warm*	2	7	2	2	4	6	2	2	3	4	*Cold*
C8 *Generous*	4	7	3	7	2	6	4	2	2	4	*Mean*
C9 *Intelligent*	5	7	3	2	2	7	2	3	2	4	*Stupid*
C10 *Happy*	2	6	3	4	4	7	1	2	2	4	*Sad*
C11 *Respected*	1	7	2	2	2	7	1	7	3	2	*Not respected*
C12 *Ambitious*	1	5	1	3	3	2	1	6	1	1	*No ambition*

Means

Construct	Element 1 Admired Person	Element 2 Unliked Person	Element 3 Me Now	Element 4 Mother	Element 5 Father	Element 6 Person in Authority	Element 7 Me Ideally	Element 8 Person I don't Understand	Element 9 Person not like Me	Element 10 Someone who Influences Me
Caring - Uncaring	5.64	1.79	6.43	6.00	4.77	3.14	5.86	4.79	3.14	5.57
	0.44	0.30	0.17	0.44	0.71	0.64	0.57	0.50	0.63	0.40
	14	14	14	14	13	14	14	14	14	14
Like – Dislike	6.71	1.93	4.43	5.79	5.62	4.57	5.79	5.21	4.14	6.29
	0.13	0.58	0.44	0.50	0.53	0.65	0.50	0.47	0.64	0.22
	14	14	14	14	13	14	14	14	14	14
Look up to - Avoid	5.71	1.93	5.07	5.14	4.69	3.14	5.79	3.07	3.64	6.14
	0.37	0.46	0.22	0.48	0.70	0.54	0.43	0.29	0.56	0.18
	14	14	14	14	13	14	14	14	14	14
Pleasant & open – Horrible and sneaky	5.79	2.07	5.64	5.64	4.92	3.36	5.57	3.86	3.07	5.14
	0.52	0.47	0.37	0.48	0.58	0.56	0.52	0.47	0.52	0.50
	14	14	14	14	13	14	14	14	14	14
Understanding – Doesn't understand	5.71	2.36	4.79	4.21	4.69	3.29	5.71	2.29	3.21	5.50
	0.47	0.53	0.30	0.61	0.55	0.51	0.50	0.49	0.54	0.47
	14	14	14	14	13	14	14	14	14	14
Listens - Doesn't listen	5.21	2.07	4.50	3.93	4.77	4.00	5.57	2.50	2.57	5.36
	0.55	0.44	0.44	0.52	0.58	0.56	0.50	0.44	0.55	0.46
	14	14	14	14	13	14	14	14	14	14
Warm - Cold	5.43	1.93	6.14	5.64	5.38	3.21	6.21	4.07	3.43	5.43
	0.49	0.44	0.18	0.46	0.58	0.60	0.42	0.34	0.59	0.50
	14	14	14	14	13	14	14	14	14	14
Generous - Mean	5.86	2.00	6.21	5.93	5.31	3.36	6.14	4.29	4.00	5.29
	0.35	0.43	0.32	0.46	0.61	0.64	0.47	0.37	0.64	0.47
	14	14	14	14	13	14	14	14	14	14
Intelligent - Stupid	5.57	3.00	5.57	5.00	5.62	4.14	6.71	4.79	3.43	5.79
	0.39	0.58	0.17	0.47	0.55	0.70	0.13	0.41	0.58	0.30

	14	14	14	14	13	14	14	14	14	14
Happy - Sad	5.93	3.36	5.50	5.29	5.15	3.43	6.93	4.29	4.21	5.86
	0.34	0.39	0.27	0.47	0.56	0.53	0.07	0.34	0.64	0.27
	14	14	14	14	13	14	14	14	14	14
Respected – Not respected	6.21	2.79	5.79	5.93	5.92	4.21	6.64	4.00	3.93	6.50
	0.26	0.54	0.24	0.47	0.55	0.66	0.17	0.42	0.67	0.17
	14	14	14	14	13	14	14	14	14	14
Ambitious - Unambitious	6.57	3.50	6.71	6.07	5.62	5.00	6.93	4.57	4.00	6.29
	0.29	0.59	0.13	0.35	0.60	0.60	0.07	0.45	0.60	0.40
	14	14	14	14	13	14	14	14	14	14

Table showing the Means of Total Repertory Grids

NOTTINGHAM BUSINESS SCHOOL

A Reflective Journal

Document 6

By

John Haggerstone

CONTENTS

Figures

1.   INTRODUCTION

> *"Perhaps even more central to adult learning than elaborating established meaning schemes is the process of reflecting back on prior learning to determine whether what we have learned is justified under present circumstances. This is a crucial learning process egregiously ignored by learning theorists."* (Mezirow, 1990:5)

This is the final document in a series of six compiled during this DBA study into the entrepreneurial capacity of offenders; it reports my reflections on the learning journey during the DBA course. It draws on my daily journal which contains my thoughts and notes on critical incidents[39] that occurred over the duration of the DBA and it links my thoughts with adult learning theory. This final document marks the end of this particular journey and the beginning of the next which starts my third career.

One of the main aims of the DBA was to obtain a better understanding of how to implement a range of professional research techniques which would enable me to become a professional researcher. On this learning journey I hoped to be able to identify how I should modify my own role in both management and the delivery of learning and teaching styles. I wanted to investigate how criminal entrepreneurs viewed the world but did not envisage that the learning journey would change how I viewed it.

In section 2 I look at my learning journey by setting the scene, looking at learning styles and moral reasoning. I then link this with contemporary adult learning theories in section 3. In section 4 I look at how my research skills developed and in section 5 I discuss my professional development and changes in practice. Finally in section 6 I draw my conclusions on the DBA course as a whole and in section 7 I reflect on the main outcomes of my research.

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[39] *A critical incident is any event that is unexpected, acute, and stressful, and exceeds the normal coping capacities of individuals.* It is an *"event of life-changing significance."*

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2.   MY LEARNING JOURNEY

Setting the scene

I started out in my working career as an industrial chemist; in other words I was a scientist; someone who observes, is curious and likes to analyse things and infers from what is presented.   Then I moved into marketing and subsequently into education where I initially taught science, then taught ICT to students with learning disabilities and finally teaching business studies and becoming a curriculum coordinator in a prison. By doing the DBA I seem to have completed some kind of route from scientist via business studies lecturer to social scientist.

The course has given me confidence in both my work and myself.   When I started out on this learning journey I thought I had taken on more than I could handle both intellectually and in terms of time available particularly as I am working full-time in a fairly stressful environment. Module meetings have given me the chance to explore my ideas and I receive support by listening to the progress and comments of the other members of the cohort, as well as the Action Learning Set.   I would now like to get into a role where I could do more research. I have learned how to manage relationships better and I've got a good work – personal life balance.

Personal critical incidents

During the course of the DBA I lost my younger sister who was my father's carer and then six months later I lost my father. At the same time I nearly lost my only daughter to MRSA as she spent several months in hospital and subsequently had a kidney transplant from me and then after nearly three years it failed and she is now back on dialysis and has lost her sight. During the last year I lost two more relatives and also a friend and his wife. My rheumatoid arthritis regressed and then returned with avengeance. With this combination of critical incidences I learned to lead a more balanced work – personal life and manage my stress levels better!

The journey

The basic framework for the learning journey was supplied by the course leaders, lecturers, mentoring supervisors and the 'Kensington' learning set.

The first day of the DBA

The journey started on the first day of the DBA course on a warm September day at Nottingham. It was one of those terrifying days and doubt started to creep in to my mind as to whether or not I was doing the right thing. Feeling I was I probably out of my league, I decided to sit back, listen and learn.

I felt rather like Groucho Marx who famously said that "*I don't want to belong to any club that will accept me as a member.*"

The day brought back memories of my first day at college a few decades ago! I managed to get through my distance learning Sterling MBA fine but this would be different; I first met fellow members of my cohort at the beginning of the course and not at the graduation ceremony.

The cohort

There were twelve women mostly in HR functions. At least six academics from Nottingham Business School, six people from Ireland, two from Denmark, six from Greece, one from France, eight from Nottingham, one from Scotland, two from Wales and six from the London area. The latter six were to form the 'Kensington learning set.'

The induction session

The induction session was led by Professors Colin Fisher and Jim Stewart. I was surprised to see so many people on the course, thirty-five, I made it.

It was an interesting day, I didn't know what to expect and found it rather overwhelming. In fact I was terrified as I thought all those present must be incredibly intelligent and very bright; they are all potential doctors for goodness sake. Maybe I am taking on too much.   Everything seemed well organised – unusual for academia I thought from my previous experience!

The first part of the session was about the library which was all a bit odd as we didn't actually go into the library! It was useful, though, particularly the information about accessing on-line data as I would need to make great use of it working at a distance of 110 miles from Nottingham.

After the first session we were put into sets or rather we put ourselves into sets. Our set for the London area included one girl from France, Anino. I suggested we called ourselves the 'Kensington Set', which was approved by the other five members of the set. What a nice bunch of people, I thought, much more normal than I expected. I agreed to do the minutes of the meeting. We all gave a brief outline of our backgrounds and the area of study we hoped to work on. We were a varied group mainly from financial backgrounds but all keen to build on our past experiences and anxious to broaden our horizons.

> *'As adult learners, we are caught in our own histories. However good we are at making sense of our experiences, we all have to start with what we have been given and operate within horizons set by ways of seeing and understanding that we have acquired through prior learning'*
>
> *(Mezirow, 1991: 1).*

Building an outline proposal

The learning journey started with spending time in class to clarify our thoughts and focus on the research topic. I wrote my outline proposal which Colin Fisher said was suitable but then he threw a spanner in the works regarding entrepreneurs – do they have traits? (*During those early days I was fixated with research into entrepreneurial traits mainly as a leftover from my MBA. Things are very much different now as I take a more holistic view.*)

After the induction days

After the two induction days, my research questions became more confused and I was literally befuddled with ideas and unable to decide in which direction to go but then I received notification of my supervisor during the October, a Senior Lecturer in Entrepreneurship. This was a relief as it was someone who could understand entrepreneurship or at least be able to give me guidance on my research topic. When I first started on this journey my main concern was to research the entrepreneurial capacity of offenders. Now the journey seems to

be taking another road and I seem to be thinking more and more about the topic of business ethics, mainly because the choice of going down a legitimate route versus the illegal one seems to be based on morals or ethics. After all some say that business is about greed and Gekko in the film '*Wall Street*' famously makes a speech in which he says '*Greed is good*'. Are criminal entrepreneurs simply entrepreneurs who have few or no principles? Would most entrepreneurs take short cuts or sail close to the wind in order to achieve their business objectives? I think that these questions were adequately answered in my investigations documented in DBA Document 5.

The literature survey

A broad range of literature was researched in order to conceptualise the nature of the criminal entrepreneur.   This journey into the murky areas of entrepreneurship was one which looked at the thoughts of philosophers in regard to entrepreneurs and criminals. The literature threw up some interesting areas and it was difficult to keep on a straight track, especially philosophy and within that the field of ethics. In was interesting to learn that philosophers of old would have no truck with business.

Clarifying the research question

I needed to clarify the research question, project design and research methods. This was probably the most difficult task and took some time. What was this new language I was being confronted with that employed words like epistemology, ontology, relativism and positivism?

In those early days I felt that I was adrift; all at sea! I was moving from having a broad sense of a research area to losing direction. I guess I felt that I needed to do less reading and to try and narrow down my focus a bit. Lots of unassociated ideas started bouncing around in my head!

It seemed like one step forward and two steps back when I saw my supervisor. Although she was helpful in focusing on what I needed to do i.e. take a more holistic view of the offender as an entrepreneur rather than merely looking at entrepreneurial traits, I struggled with the proposal and actual research area. I

never ever envisaged so much reading needed to be done particularly so early on in the course and indeed throughout the course.

I met with one of my supervisors – the meeting lasted about an hour. I found that her knowledge did not seem as detailed as mine in my area of study, particularly from the criminology point of view.   She threw out a few ideas to help me focus better but afterwards I realised I was now actually having to widen my remit, at least initially, as she didn't share my preliminary belief that entrepreneurs can have common measurable traits.

With Document 1, I remember e-mailing Colin Fisher and telling him I was considering giving up.   He rang me wanting to meet halfway between Nottingham and Berkhamsted at a service station on the M1. I didn't feel it was necessary to go to such lengths and after chatting over the telephone I decided to continue.

My first critical incident occurred with Document 1 which I initially failed and was referred. On reflection the reason was I didn't use my supervisors properly and hadn't understood the system. Once I got feedback I was able to move forward and pass the Document.

The research

Our fourth set of seminars was on 'Research Methodology & Non-Survey based Research and it set the scene for qualitative research. The two days were good, only 21 students though – quite a few down from our original class of 35. The sessions were much more relaxed and seemed less intellectually challenging but nevertheless stimulating. I was now starting to wonder whether or not I had chosen the right topic. It seemed right at the start but it went so broad at this point I just wondered why I was doing it! Ethnography is the name of the game but I couldn't see where it was taking me.

I started interviewing the ex-offenders who had agreed to co-operate with my study. I gave them only a very basic outline of what I was interested so I would not influence what they had to say and my interviewing methodology was a phenomenological one. The interviews lasted on average just over an hour although one went on for two hours and was in two parts. I was only able to

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digitally record one interview because while I was carrying them out we got a Governor's order that recording equipment was not allowed in the prison.

Interviewing prisoners brought me closer to understanding them and their backgrounds. This was to lead me to think about a potential career change into counselling, where I would work with clients to facilitate ways to give them the opportunity of a more satisfying and resourceful experience of life.

This DBA is very much part of my life long learning programme. I was very pleased to read in Stewart & Beaver(2004: 186) that according to Honey (2001b) learning has become 'respectable' and is enjoying centre stage as the undisputed key to sustainable performance and competitive advantage as I had always thought that myself!. Also cited (ibid) is that Honey (2001c) comments on the paradox 'that the more other skills become outdated, the more it becomes necessary to *continue* learning'. To get to grips with learning, foundation in how people learn is needed so I started to look at learning styles.

Learning styles uncovered

Kolb's experiential learning cycle encompassed learning preferences and information processing style while Honey and Mumford's typology encompasses instructional preferences (Activist, Theorist, Pragmatist or Reflector).

Kolb and Fry (1975: 35-6) argued that effective learning entails the possession of four basic learning styles; they developed a learning style inventory model (Kolb, 1976) based on these: concrete experience, reflective observation, abstract conceptualization and active experimentation. This was designed to place people on a line between concrete experience and abstract conceptualization; and active experimentation and reflective observation.
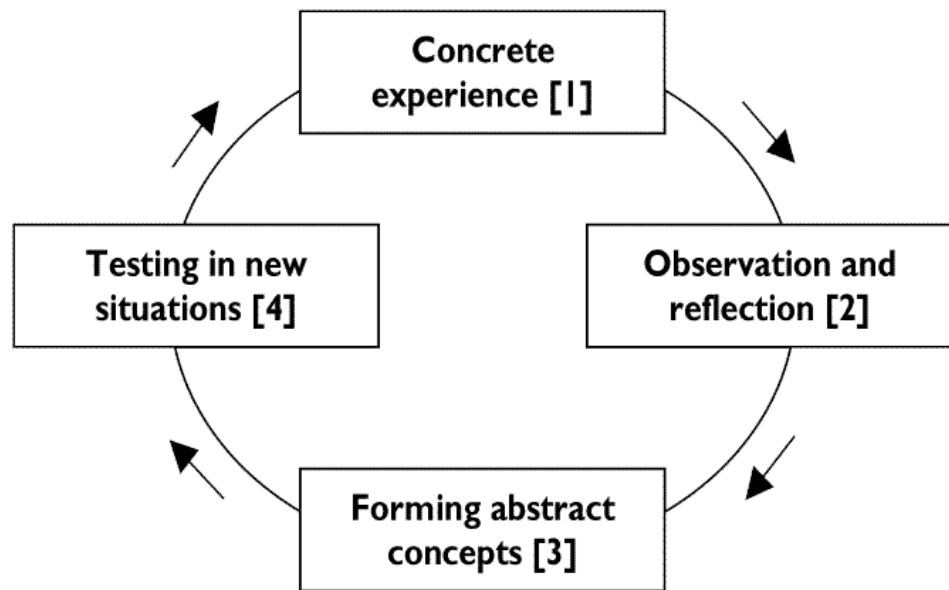
Figure 1   Kolb & Fry's (1975) Experiential Learning Cycle

Kolb and Fry (1975) argue that the learning cycle can begin at any one of the four points - and that it should really be approached as a continuous spiral. However, it is suggested that the learning process often begins with a person carrying out a particular action and then seeing the effect of the action in this situation. Following this, the second step is to understand these effects in the particular instance so that if the same action was taken in the same circumstances it would be possible to predict what would follow from the action. In this pattern the third step would be to understand the general principle under which the particular instance falls. The DBA process seemed to have been designed with this cycle in mind! The work involved in the documents prior to Document 5 followed this cycle. We learned research techniques and then had to apply them to constructing the thesis.

Generalizing may involve actions over a range of circumstances to gain experience beyond the particular instance and suggest the general principle. "*Understanding the general principle does not imply, in this sequence, an ability to express the principle in a symbolic medium, that is, the ability to put it into words. It implies only the ability to see a connection between the actions and effects over a range of situations*". (Coleman 1976: 52).

An educator who has learnt in this way may well have various rules of thumb or generalizations about what to do in different situations. They will be able to say what action to take when say, there is tension between two people in a group but they will not be able to verbalize their actions in psychodynamic or sociological terms. There may thus be difficulties about the transferability of their learning to other settings and situations.

When the general principle is understood, the last step, according to David Kolb is its application through action in a new situation within the range of generalization. In some models of experiential learning these steps are sometimes represented as a circular movement. In reality, if learning has taken place the process could be seen as a spiral. The action is taking place in a different set of circumstances and the learner is now able to foresee the possible effects of the action.

Two aspects can be seen as especially significant: the use of concrete, 'here-and-now' experience to test ideas; and the use of feedback to change practices and theories (Kolb, 1984: 21-22). Kolb joins with the pragmatist Dewey (1997) to emphasise the developmental nature of the learning process and also with Piaget (1932) for an appreciation of cognitive development.

As part of the study I investigated preferred learning styles using established commercially available questionnaires. I used a Honey and Mumford (1986) Learning Style Index (LSI) followed by a commercial neuro linguistic programming (NLP) one based on Bandler, Grinder and O'Stevens (1981). Part of my learning was to try out any material that I was going to use on my prisoner participants on myself and friends or colleagues first in order to establish benchmarks.

When I completed a Honey and Mumford learning style questionnaire to establish my current learning style, I discovered that I was mainly a pragmatist (18), closely followed by reflector (15), theorist (14) and activist (11). I then tried the questionnaire with a Firm Start business skills class at HMP The Mount. Ironically, most offenders, who had previously been involved with drug dealing, were mainly pragmatists or reflectors; I too was a pragmatist!

At the start of my DBA journey, I used a different preferred learning style questionnaire based on NLP[40] developed by Bandler, Grinder and O'Stevens (1981). Here my highest score showed that I was mainly visual (8), and tactile (kinaesthetic) (7) with a low score for auditory (4). So the test revealed that my learning style was mainly visual, which was the dominant preferred style of most property crime ex-offenders tested. With a low auditory score I clearly do not listen properly – a problem that I needed to address and like to think that I did by the end of the course.

In all, I got the current Firm Start group to do three types of learning style preference tests including the NLP one. I now use LSI with all my students in order to direct my teaching and their learning more effectively. Carrying out these studies with learners at the start of a subject is important to understand the balance in the classroom. Although LSI is a valuable tool in pedagogy ,particularly in supporting curriculum development in general and lesson plans for the specific groups being taught, it not without its critics. In a survey of 71 learning style tests, Coffield et al (2004) of Newcastle University Education Department was less impressed commenting that "This field suffers from serious conceptual confusion and a lack of accumulated theoretical knowledge," They found that the learning styles field is not unified, but instead is divided into three linked areas of activity: theoretical, pedagogical and commercial.

Taylor (1998) said that the teacher's role is to establish an environment that builds trust and care and facilitate the development of sensitive relationships among learners was a fundamental principle of fostering transformative learning. **Transformative learning**[41] (or transformational learning) is the process of getting beyond merely gaining factual knowledge alone to instead become changed by what one learns in some meaningful way. It involves questioning assumptions, beliefs and values, and considering multiple points of view, while always seeking to verify reasoning. This is precisely what the DBA was about in my opinion.

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[40] *This has been developed to include reading and writing and has the acronym VARK instead of VAK which was originally used.*

[41] *Wikipedia definition*

One of the wonderful experiences I had was the realisation that male ex-offenders aged 21 – 62 could be transformed into model students with a genuine thirst for knowledge. Many men who had been excluded from school as teenagers and were semiliterate or unskilled attended my classes for a variety of reasons. These varied from those who were hoping to just pass the time in prison, some to learn about setting up a business and some to be taught book-keeping or marketing, income tax or VAT; how to use a computer or merely to be just entertained. Some wanted to learn new skills in order to get a job because they recognised the need to be business savvy and computer literate for the present job market. But it occurred to me that what they really learned in class was that they could actually still learn, age and a previously disastrous education were no longer were seen as barriers to learning and this was confirmed by a significant number who went on to higher levels of education including degrees and hopefully less recidivism. One of my learners became student of the year 2008 across eleven prisons which was quite an achievement for one who was expelled from education at the age of fourteen and as a result was disaffected by it.

It was apparent that regardless of what I discover on this journey there must be some key factors that interact with the entrepreneurial process. Can an individual be enterprising yet not entrepreneurial?

During the work for DBA Document 4, I found myself in a maze of statistical techniques – a wondrous world. One of the skills I have developed on this course is the ability to distil material down and carry out an endless search for the 'golden nugget'.

As a break from my data collection and statistical analysis I started thinking about modern day crime as opposed to burglaries and armed robberies which I seemed to get bogged down with in the early days of the study though as it went on drug dealers became more prominent. It's the more sophisticated criminal mind I am really interested in but I seldom seem to come across them in HMP The Mount. Perhaps I should have advertised internally within the prison!

It occurs to me now that by doing the traits exercise over these years I am, like in psychometric testing, imposing my own constructs or framework for understanding people onto these individuals. My hope was that by using a repertory grid it would have greater precision in discovering how my offenders saw the world than I had from the interviews I carried out in DBA Document 3. As with all tests or exercises that I used during the course of the DBA I carried out a repertory grid on myself. It showed that I was very close to my parents, ambitious, but not overly so, and that the people I admire most are intelligent, ambitious and caring.

Informed by my work in DBA Documents 3 and 4, I decided to focus on the hedonistic or moral reasoning nature of the criminal entrepreneur for my thesis in DBA Document 5. In other words I was to investigate the egocentric or '*me me*' side of them; anyone who has ever worked very closely with ex-offenders in custody will have anecdotal evidence of this and know exactly what I mean.

Moral reasoning

My Document 5 initially focused on moral reasoning and opened my eyes to the world of business ethics as well as that of crime. Members of Parliament are using their privileged positions to avoid paying capital gains taxes or 'fiddling' expenses. Leaders of industry, finance and commerce are now rewarded for failure while they close down companies and make others redundant on much smaller compensation packages. Then we have businesses contributing to polluting the environment and global warming all in the name of making a profit for shareholders who don't seem to have much of a say in how businesses use their investments.

I spent many hours pondering and researching moral reasoning from Aristotle's (2007) teleological or goal-directed virtue theory, Bentham (1996, 1839) and (his exponent) Mill's (1864) utilitarian theories (*based on the premise that all action should be directed toward achieving the greatest happiness for the greatest number of people*) and the opposing Kant's (1781, 1787) deontological theory, where when we follow our duty, we are behaving morally and an action is justified by its conformity to duty, despite the consequences that may result. This seemed incredible stuff. The only problem was that I

needed more time to be able to devote my thoughts on the subject. Until I started doing the DBA I didn't realise I had time management problems and naturally problems at work reared their heads usually at times when I was trying to complete a DBA Document. Feedback from supervisors on the Documents was something I looked forward to as it revealed whether or not I was on track. Sometimes I was on track but more often than not, particularly in the early days with DBA Documents 1 and 2, I was not quite on track.

One way of getting to know a person or a culture would be to ask the question: who are your heroes? I tried it and got such a mixed reaction I decided not to pursue that line of enquiry!

Colin Fisher suggested that I looked at Kohlberg's work. I did a quick search on the web and yikes there was loads of stuff by Lawrence Kohlberg on the subject of 'moral reasoning'! Something I hadn't really thought about before. But here was the work of Kohlberg who had managed to integrate the works of several others who had worked on moral and cognitive development, such as Jean Piaget (1936, *cited in Beard, 1969*) James Mark Baldwin (1906), George Herbert Mead (1934), and Lev Vygotsky (1962), and had caused the paradigm shift that transformed child psychology into child development. Psychological thinking was morphed into sociological theory.

Kohlberg (1969) presented the cognitive-developmental view as an alternative to maturational and environmental views not only in moral development, but also in socialization in general.

Kohlberg's Heinz (moral) dilemma gave me more material to work on with my criminals. A quick look at the literature and I couldn't see where anyone had tried investigating moral reasoning with crime from Kohlberg's six developmental stage theory point of view. Moral reasoning is thought to be the basis for ethical behaviour. However based on feedback from my participants after carrying out a trial run with the Heinz dilemma I didn't feel totally at ease using this method for DBA Document 5 as I felt that the offenders were merely trying to give me the answers that they thought that I wanted so I devised an ethics questionnaire from knowledge gained from compiling the previous documents.

I sought ways of reducing or eliminating their preconceived notions of what I was researching and any bias that I may have. In order to improve my ethnographic interviewing technique, I started taking a look at Kelly's (2001, 1955) Personal Construct Theory (PCT) to find out more about Repertory Grids as it seemed like a novel way of investigating the moral reasoning of criminal entrepreneurs.

> "Perspective transformation is the process of becoming critically aware of how and why our presuppositions have come to constrain the way we perceive, understand, and feel about our world; of reformulating these assumptions to permit a more inclusive, discriminating, permeable and integrative perspective; and of making decisions or otherwise acting on these new understandings. *More inclusive, discriminating permeable and integrative perspectives are superior perspectives* that adults choose if they can because they are motivated to better understand the meaning of their experience."
>
> (Mezirow, 1990:14)

Using PCT made me realise that moral reasoning theories are stuck in a progressive stage development format, basically the same outline that Piaget first posited. My research using PCT indicates that relationships are important and these seem to be neglected in current moral development theory.

My extensive reading during the DBA process has made me much more aware of many areas of epistemology that I had never thought about before. For example, I learned more about the different cultures and one of the main points was that different cultures seem to have widely different work ethics.

Life is fundamentally about choices

My research has shown that many criminal entrepreneurs believe that they need to commit crime because they have no choice due to the circumstances that they find themselves in. For Glasser (1998) life is all about choice and is closely linked with the way we behave[42].

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[42] *See DBA Document 5, page 30.*

I read a 'working paper' by Ash (1999) from the University of Reading on Social Self-interest. He was looking at the interface between economics and sociology. I liked his quote by Duesenberry (1960:233) that economics is all about how people make choices whereas sociology is all about how they don't have any choices to make. This whole business of sociology, criminology, psychology, economics and entrepreneurship is fascinating – why don't I have more time to devote to it? I wished that I could get a sabbatical so that I could devote more time to the work but there is very little chance of that happening and it was not forthcoming. I need to win the lottery! (*Something which my ex-offenders often go on about*).

> *"Many of the problems of our modern world, ranging from disease to drugs to crime to terrorism, derive from the inequalities between the rich and the poor … be they rich nation versus poor nation or rich community versus poor community. It is in the best interests of the well-off to help empower those who are not as well-off to improve their lives."*
>
> *Jeff Skoll (2008) Founder of Ebay and philanthropist*

Broadening my horizons

I read some of Gross's (2005) book Psychology (*The Science of Mind and Behaviour*). It was a revelation all this psychological material. After I read the chapter on Criminology (ibid 835-851),   it dawned on me that doing a doctorate is not what I thought it would be. I never assumed that I would need to have such a breadth and depth of knowledge. In this particular case: psychology, sociology, criminology etc in addition to entrepreneurship. The latter was the main area of my MBA so it comes easier but that is also a drawback since I assumed things which I now know I shouldn't. I needed to think outside of the box but found it wasn't that easily.   My main interests within the research developed into drug dealing as a business, fraud and white collar crime. Unfortunately, I didn't have many contacts for the latter but for first drug dealing I had plenty and fraud a lesser amount.

I was approaching this research from so many angles that I was not entirely sure where I was heading but researching adult learning theories for my investigation of my participants lead to me applying them to myself!

3. ADULT LEARNING THEORIES

Learning

Cited in Smith (1999), Säljö, 1979, asked a number of adult students what they understood by learning. Their responses fell into five main categories:

- Learning as a quantitative increase in knowledge. Learning is acquiring information or 'knowing a lot'.

- Learning as memorising. Learning is storing information that can be reproduced.

- Learning as acquiring facts, skills, and methods that can be retained and used as necessary.

- Learning as making sense or abstracting meaning. Learning involves relating parts of the subject matter to each other and to the real world.

- Learning as interpreting and understanding reality in a different way. Learning involves comprehending the world by reinterpreting knowledge.

It seemed to me that learning was about increasing one's knowledge which is certainly a simplistic view and I am in agreement with Smith (1999) who considered that concepts 4 and 5 are qualitatively different from the first three which imply a less complex view of learning. Learning is something external to the learner. It may even be something that just happens or is done to them by teachers (as in concept 1). Certainly I increased my knowledge but I'm not sure whether it led to me 'knowing a lot'. The last two concepts look at the 'internal' or personal aspect of learning which is seen as something that you do in order to understand the real world. Kolb (1984) posited that learning is approached as a process leading to the production of knowledge.

So to summarise, learning can be defined as the process which leads to behavioural change. As I learnt, I certainly altered the way I perceived my environment and my attitude towards critical incidents changed. I cannot think of any learning experiences which have not altered the way I think or behave.

Learning theories

Brookfield (1995) identified four major areas of research which when combined constitute an 'espoused theory of adult learning that informs how a great many

adult educators practice their craft': self-directed learning, critical reflection, experiential learning and learning to learn.

Self-directed learning

Self-directed learning focuses on the process by which adults take control of their own learning, how they set their own learning goals, locate appropriate resources, decide on which learning methods to use and evaluate their progress. Cross (1981) estimated that 70 percent of all adult learning is self-directed learning. Without doubt the DBA was very much a process based on self-directed learning.

Critical reflection
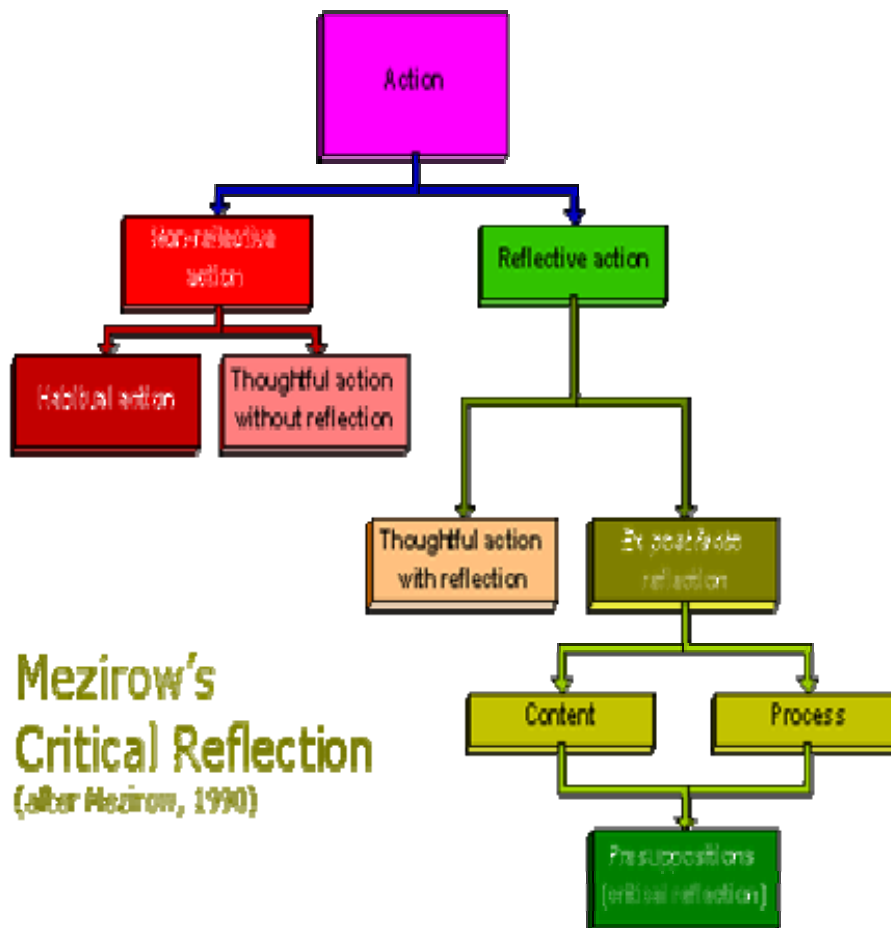
Figure 2   *Mezirow's Critical Reflection Process*

Evidence that adults are capable of learning from critical reflection can be found in developmental psychology, where a range of constructs such as embedded logic, dialectical thinking, working intelligence, reflective judgment, post-formal reasoning and epistemic cognition describe how adults come to think contextually and critically (Brookfield, 1987, 1991).

Critical reflection was an important part of their learning process for Mezirow. He posited that in order for learners to change their "*meaning schemes (specific beliefs, attitudes, and emotional reactions)*," they must engage in critical reflection on their experiences, which in turn leads to a perspective transformation (Mezirow 1991: 167). The theory of transformative learning developed by Mezirow during the past two decades has evolved "*into a comprehensive and complex description of how learners construe, validate, and reformulate the meaning of their experience*" (Cranton 1994; 22).

Certainly in the context of prison education the real significance of adult learning appeared to be when the learners began to re-evaluate their lives. Although undertaking business and information technology courses aimed at opening opportunities to legitimate self-employment or employment as Mezirow implied the transformation took precedence over whatever it was they thought they were setting out to "learn" in the first place. Frequently learners attended prison education classes in order to pass away the time in prison but after reflecting on their progress they realised that they had the capacity to learn and went on to study higher level courses. Tutor feedback on assignments was a key to this critical reflection for the learner and also the tutor. Until I set out on the DBA journey I had not appreciated the fact that in giving feedback to learners that I was also learning. The example that stuck with me was with Document 1 when I was writing the research proposal where I was intending to focus on a narrow area of research which would not have given me a more holistic picture of the offenders.

Experiential learning

The emphasis on experience as a crucial feature of adult learning was articulated in Lindeman's frequently quoted aphorism that "*experience is the adult learner's living textbook*" (1926: 7) and that adult education was, therefore, "a continuing process of evaluating experiences" (ibid: 85).

The belief that adult teaching should be grounded in adults' experiences, and that these experiences represent a valuable resource, is currently cited as crucial by adult educators of every conceivable ideological type. Of all the models of experiential learning that have been developed, Kolb's has probably been the most influential in prompting theoretical work among researchers of adult learning (Jarvis, 1987). Our experience is culturally framed and sculptured. How we sense and interpret what happens to us and to the world around us is a function of structures of understanding and perceptual filters that are so culturally embedded that we are scarcely aware of their existence or operation. Secondly, the quantity or length of experience is not necessarily connected to its richness or intensity.

Learning to learn

Learning how to learn has been the least successful in capturing the imagination of the adult educational world and in prompting a dynamic programme of follow-up research (Brookfield, 1991). Learning to learn should be conceived as a lifelong learning project. Jarvis (1987) made an important attempt to ground thinking about adult learning in a sociological perspective.

Dewey (1997: 79) said that education should be thought of as a continuous reconstruction of experience. One of his main theories was the incorporation of the learner's past experiences into the classroom. It is best conceived as a process rather than in terms of outcomes and the primary focus in education should be engaging learners in a process that best enhances their learning and it should include feedback on the effectiveness of their learning efforts.

Cited in Harrison et al (2002: 9), Boud (1989:40-43) refers to four main traditions of learning in adult education: training and efficiency in learning self-directed learning or andragogy, learner-centred or humanistic, and critical pedagogy and social action. These traditions, although very different, all seek to *remove* something from the process of learning in order that they can attain their goal. The andragogical tradition has been perhaps the most influential in institutional adult education. As Boud (1989:41) points out, it is a tradition that emphasises *'the unique goals and interests of individual learners and places these as central in the teaching and learning process'*.

Rogers (1969) theory is built on a single "*force of life*" he calls "**the actualizing tendency**". It can be defined as the built-in motivation present in every living being to develop its fullest possible potential. Rogers believes that all creatures strive to make the very best of their existence and if they fail to do so, it is not for a lack of desire. I have come to feel that the only learning which significantly influences behaviour is that which is 'self-discovered' and 'self-appropriated'. Much significant learning is acquired through doing. Self-initiated learning which involves the whole person of the learner - feelings as well as intellect - is the most lasting and pervasive. Independence, creativity, and self-reliance are all facilitated when self-criticism and self-evaluation are basic and evaluation by others is of secondary importance.

Knowles' (1975) theory of andragogy[43] attempts to develop a theory specifically for adult learning. He emphasised that adults are self-directed and expect to take responsibility for their own decisions and earning programmes must accommodate this basic aspect. It seems to me just commonsense, and the theory has been criticized for stating the obvious and being an adaptation of existing pedagogical theories. Nevertheless it struck a chord with me both in my teaching and learning. The main assumptions for the design of adult learning are:

Adults need to know why they need to learn something, they need to learn experientially and they approach learning as problem-solving. Adults learn best when the topic is of immediate value in their job or personal life. So in practical terms it means that adults need to focus more on the process and less on the content being taught. E.g. techniques such as case studies, role playing, simulations, and self-evaluation should be employed.

According to Botham and Morris (2001), Action Learning can be thought of as a powerful triangulation of three distinguishable learning experiences, which lend themselves to critical monitoring and evaluation. The three angles of learning in Action Learning were described by Botham and Morris as w*ork, set and information*. At the centre of all this was the constant need for monitoring and evaluation as shown in Figure 1.

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[43] *Wikipedia definition: Andragogy is from Greek words meaning man-leading to distinguish it from pedagogy meaning child-leading. It is defined as the process of engaging adult learners in the structure of the learning experience.*

Applying this triangle, the first angle is the focus on the learning experience from my day-to-day work. In my case it represents my work in prison education and previously in the chemical industry. This is recognised and sustained as I observe and record my own actions and experiences gained from the actions of colleagues and former colleagues that I worked with. The second angle focuses on my learning experienced from participating in an Action Learning set and less formally the members of my Cohort. Again, my experience is monitored by my observations and note taking. The focus was then increased as the set/cohort challenges and questioned the learning experience gained from work.
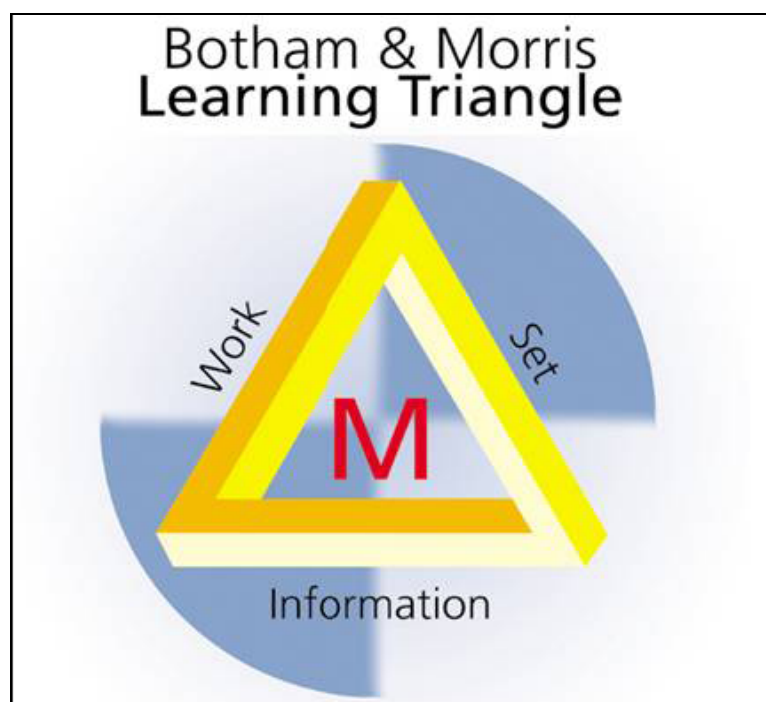

Figure 3   Botham & Morris Learning Triangle (2001)   .

The third angle is a focus on my learning gained from my research, reading, and attendance at seminars and workshops at Nottingham.

A proponent of Action Learning, Revans (1997) suggested that learning (L) has two elements: *"- traditional instruction or programmed knowledge (P), and critical reflection or questioning insight (Q).*

This gives the learning equation: $L = P + Q$. I find this kind of equation interesting as it implies that the factors involved can easily be quantified and hence measured. Clearly this is a ludicrous suggestion in this particular case

and the equation over simplifies the rather complex context in which learning takes place.

Rogers (1969) built a theory based on a single "*force of life*" that he calls "***the actualizing tendency***". It can be defined as the built-in motivation present in every living being to develop its fullest possible potential. Rogers believes that all creatures strive to make the very best of their existence and if they fail to do so, it is not for a lack of desire. I have come to feel that the only learning which significantly influences behaviour is that which is 'self-discovered' and 'self-appropriated'. Much significant learning is acquired through doing. Self-initiated learning which involves the whole person of the learner - feelings as well as intellect - is the most lasting and pervasive. Independence, creativity, and self-reliance are all facilitated when self-criticism and self-evaluation are basic and evaluation by others is of secondary importance.

The Kensington learning set

Although the Action Learning Set only met formally at the DBA seminars we supported and encouraged each other by means of emails. It was very reassuring to know that fellow members of the Cohort experienced similar problems albeit that they were investigating very different areas. Knowing that a member of the set was ploughing ahead was certainly encouraging and spurred me on to complete the relevant research or Documents.

Being a part of an Action Learning Set (and a Cohort), helped to develop my listening and questioning skills. It also helped me to give and accept feedback. It improved my understanding of the process of learning and refection. These are all essential skills needed for leadership in the field of prison education.

Vygotsky (1978) had something to say about the connection between people and the sociocultural context in which they interact with shared experiences (Crawford, 1996). According to Vygotsky (ibid), humans use tools that develop from their culture, such as speech and writing, to mediate their social environments. Initially children develop these tools to serve solely as social functions, ways to communicate needs but Vygotsky believed that the internalization of these tools led to higher thinking skills. So his theory promotes

learning contexts in which students play an active role in the learning. The teacher and student roles are therefore shifted; a teacher should collaborate with his or her students in order to help facilitate meaning construction in students and learning hence becomes a reciprocal experience for the students and teacher. This was what I found during the course of the DBA where the supervisors and lecturers facilitated learning and encouraged reflection.

4. RESEARCHING

I came from a background in science where adherence to the scientific method was paramount and all evidence had to be *empirical*[44], or *empirically* based, theoretical methods made use of basic axioms, established scientific laws, and previous experimental results in order to engage in reasoned model building and theoretical inquiry. My main mode of enquiry (like my criminal entrepreneurs) is mostly one of a pragmatist using an incremental approach. Some might say muddling through, but I like to think I muddle through in an organized way. I do not entirely agree with Loveridge, (1990: 19) that any attempt to divorce management teaching and research from a thorough grounding in basic social science concepts should be resisted as this implies all management teaching should be based on social science concepts. Important features of management education should include organisational behaviour which is grounded in psychology.

Due to my scientific background I originally took a positivist interpretivist view of events and considered that research could or should only be empirical. I liked to be able to reduce everything to numbers – you knew where you were with numbers. Numbers never lie. Because of this I was originally welded to the General Enterprise Tendency Test (Caird, 1982), although not of my invention, is an instrument that I have tried and tested very widely and adopted as part of the decision making process when deciding the suitability of applicants for an enterprise studies course. Although it has been effective it is not foolproof and I hope to continue to develop it. My own score of 32 out of 54 put me at the

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44 Derived from empiricism which is a theory of knowledge emphasizing the role of experience in the formation of ideas, while discounting the notion of innate ideas.

bottom of the range for those considered to have strong entrepreneurial traits and firmly in the mean of the general public.

The usefulness of qualitative approaches such as phenomenology has opened my eyes to what can be accomplished. I was lucky with my participants because they were prisoners. But whatever research technique I used I wondered if they were only giving me the answers they thought that I was looking for. What effect does being incarcerated have on their cognitive abilities?

I tried getting to grips with realistic evaluation as suggested by Colin Fisher. I think I might have got the gist now. Reading Pawson & Tilley's (2005) Realistic Evaluation some of the material is certainly making sense and slotting in to place but it's the jump from evaluation programmes to making sense of criminological mechanisms which I am having difficulty absorbing. They reduce everything to context + mechanism = outcome. Being initially from a scientific background I liked the reductionism approach with kinetic theory i.e. the gas laws. Reading through, I realised why Colin suggested this work by Pawson & Tilley (2005), as Pawson did a study at HMP Full Sutton into inmates' interpretations of educational initiatives which became the pilot for the Canadian prison programme (PEP) [45] evaluation.

Realistic evaluation looked useful and after initially considering it for Document 5 I thought that it may be valuable for future research on prison inmates about the usefulness of education in general and self-employment courses in particular so I subsequently decided to look at moral reasoning which would seem the way to get into the criminal mind and discover why they take the 'shadowy' side of life.

One major quandary was which methodological approach to use i.e. interpretivist versus positivist and inductive versus deductive. This was clarified to some extent by rationalising the topic and theme. This came from a good

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[45] *Simon Fraser University Prison Education Program on rehabilitation of offenders serving in British Columbian prisons.*

analogy in one of the seminars which was 'if ice cream is the topic; then the flavours are the themes'.

I began to feel that I needed to review the notion of enterprise discourse and provide a commentary on how this is spoken of and reproduced in various policies including government, corporate and now a prison context.

Certainly I realised that my thesis, which is grounded in the studies of the other DBA Documents, will need to be more open-minded and critical than I originally anticipated.

The independent observer

Is there such a thing as an independent observer? From an empiricists point of view I never had a problem with this but now I do! Ethnographic research without some subjectivity from the observer now seems to me to be something of an anomaly.

Sitting in the restaurant Wagamama's in St Albans with my wife it struck me that her view of the place was different to mine. She was sat across from me and my view was there were eight chefs behind the counter and five waiters in front all of whom were males. I counted fifty-five customers.   My wife's view was different. She saw only two chefs and three waiters of which two of the latter were female! She saw maybe a couple of dozen customers. Our views were different but we were in the same place having the same experience but our views were different. Was this our epistemological position that one's own perceptions are the only things that can be known with certainty? The nature of the external world — that is, the source of one's perceptions; therefore cannot be conclusively known; it may not even exist. The metaphysical belief would be that the universe is entirely the creation of an individual's own mind and thus, in a sense, the belief that nothing 'exists' outside of their own mind.

The individual understands all psychological concepts (thinking, willing, perceiving, etc.) from inner experience. This view has been held by most philosophers, since the rationalist Descartes (cited in Cottingham, 1992) elevated the egocentric search for incontrovertible certainty to the status of the primary goal of critical epistemology.

> *Bishop Berkeley muttered darkly:*
> *"If I can't see you, you can't be you."*

In March 2006 I got a new supervisor ex-Probation Service, but he had an ethical problem with some of the ethnographical information revealed and we parted company. When you are dealing with offenders one often has to bite one's lip and get on with things. If I reported everything that I had heard to the appropriate authorities I could not survive or gain the respect of the prisoners something which my new supervisor obviously found difficulty understanding.

There was a need to analyse the subject from a more pluralistic perspective to embrace both process and situational views of entrepreneurship.

5.   CHANGES IN MY PROFESSIONAL PRACTICE

Doing the DBA has had a positive effect on my working life. It has helped me to adopt a more analytical approach and to look at the wider picture before focusing onto the specific problem. I now have the urge to use my research skills on several management problems and I employ several instruments that I have discovered in my daily work.

Delving into moral reasoning brought me into all manner of approaches to ethics such as the virtue ethics of the golden mean, the utilitarian ethics of the greatest good for the greatest number, and the duty ethics of doing unto others as you would have them do unto you. It led me through theories based on consequences (teleological theories) versus those based on motives and duties (deontological). This area of study has opened a plethora of case studies and learning opportunities which I can introduce into my teaching.

Certainly with the current 'credit crunch' banking crisis much more material is available. I suppose by definition offenders have led an amoral life; I now feel more able to address ethical business problems with them. Moral development theory has modified the way I think about learning and teaching in general although I'm not convinced that the progressive stages of development can be predictive in adults. Kelly's (1991)

Much of my time on the course has been involved with analysis of convicted offenders. When one sets out to analyse others then first they must look at oneself. During the course of my DBA studies I have looked at myself from many different aspects and didn't always find out things about myself that I liked. I perceive aspects of myself much differently e.g. my ethical awareness has been much enhanced. The course has had both positive and negative effects on my working life. Thankfully it has mainly been the former. It has helped me to look at the world differently. I am more analytical in some respects and I'm less likely to take things at face value. I am now able to look at the wider picture and then focus in on a problem. An analogy with a bird of prey's view comes to mind where the bird spots the 'prey' and then swoops down to on the target.

> *The best way to predict the future is to create it.*
> Peter F. Drucker (Austrian-born American economist) (1985)

I have become a student of Personal Construct Psychology (PCP); a follower of George Kelly (1991, 1955). It is like joining some kind of religious group. Years ago when I worked in the speciality chemicals business I remember attending electro-ceramics conferences and learning about the creation of nanotechnology. I felt that I was "one of them working at the forefront of technology". Having left that world behind me some years ago I now find myself in a world where I try to analyse even more. One of the few gripes with Kelly and his PCP is that he appears to eschew the use of the term "*learning*" altogether, but provides a model of how individuals make sense of the world and how this changes.

During the DBA I attended a one day PCP workshop on moral realism which consisted of seventeen psychologists/psychotherapists and two of us were unrelated to these professions. That was an interesting experience and now I feel that I'm almost part of the 'Club'.   The DBA has been a voyage of self-discovery much more so than the MBA was. Whilst I have been trying to figure out how criminals view the world it has changed my way of looking at it and made me much more aware of how individuals have such differing views based on their life's experiences. Not only differing views, but experiences help to

sculpt their lives. Too many people do not have any real focus in their lives due to lack of affection and appropriate role models during the early stages of development.

The study of Personal Construct Theory, and the use of Repertory Grids, have probably had the biggest effect on me and may become the basis for yet another career change. Having developed my knowledge and skills in this area with the help of Fay Fransella and Nick Reed of the University of Hertfordshire, I now see the possibilities of using these techniques as part of business and lifestyle coaching which I hope to develop. Also I have learnt new techniques from PCP like the interviewing technique of laddering to elicit constructs. PCP has so many possible applications but is not widely used. It is probably not extensively used because it is fairly difficult to get to grips with. So although used in clinical situations, commercially, the repertory grid technique is underutilised as both a marketing and management tool and I now wish to develop my skills in this area further.

My boundaries have been widened and enriched or do I mean removed? I have the urge to use my skills on several management problems and to take on a more formal coaching role. Life and business are basically a series of choices about how we spend our time/lives, how successful we become and how we feel. I have discovered during my interviewing of participants that many people need life and business coaching. As the main purpose of coaching and mentoring is to help people and businesses to maximize their potential and profits, so coaching positively expands options.

I am much more widely read than I have ever been in my life, though retaining that knowledge in my declining years is not so easy! The breadth of subjects and knowledge covered has been amazing. When I started out on this learning journey I never thought that I would need to get to grips with the basics of so many 'ologies' such as philosophy, sociology, criminology and psychology. Within these I looked at a range of topics such as ethics and moral reasoning. It's all aimed at obtaining a holistic picture of the persistent property crime offender. In addition I have researched what makes a successful entrepreneur in order to draw some comparisons or parallels. Originally I thought that

entrepreneurship was mainly about having strong entrepreneurial traits but I now realise that, like committing crime, it is usually a combination of factors that push or pull people into setting up their own business. Crime is seen not merely an offence against the State, which is static, but is dynamic in nature and what is or is not a crime can change in nature due to political or media pressures.

6. CONCLUSION

One amazing thing about this learning journey has been the realisation that business studies is not just an empirical subject centred around the world of finance and marketing but is a subject which brings many other quite different subjects together. This study has opened my eyes to economics, psychology, sociology, criminology, statistics etc. The DBA has been different to the MBA where I built up my knowledge about management and entrepreneurship in general but with the DBA I feel more confident about using statistical techniques and repertory grids (both powerful management tools) and I now try to view the world as I think others do.

In Document 4 I investigated psychological charactersitics or traits having originally taken an empiricist stance. I was a positivist; now I see myself as very much a constructivist. In carrying out the work for the DBA I have made the transition from being a positive realist to a constructivist interventist and have developed my critical thinking.

Studying people who trade in the drugs market has finally convinced me that unfortunately this illegal business, which relates to further criminal activity, will not go away and the battle is being lost. Very reluctantly it seems the answer may be to legalise and hence the market could be tightly controlled. Legalising drugs should inevitably lead to a drastic reduction in crime. However media pressure is very unlikely to allow politicians to agree with this course of action.

Mezirow implied that the real significance of adult learning appears when learners begin to reassess their lives and to restructure them. This, for Mezirow, takes priority over whatever it was they set out to "learn" in the first place. I am in agreement with this, when I set out on my journey I simply wanted to continue

doing research which was appropriate to my job at the time but I now see my role in life differently. I enjoy research but I also enjoy counselling and coaching. When I started on my journey my work was about getting ex-offenders into self-employment. I now realise that it is so much more than that. It is also about opening their eyes to the fact that that they can learn; they don't have to see themselves as society's rejects. They are capable. They need to set themselves their own goals and not let others around them sculpt their lives for them.

My experience is rather different to that of Atherton (2005) who said that "*Social institutions do not create equal opportunities and encourage people to fulfil their potential simply because they come to realise that potential is greater than they thought. It only makes a difference when people have the opportunities to change. Otherwise their critical reflection may simply lead to the conclusion that they are on a "hiding to nothing" and to learned helplessness*". Prison education is a little known incubation hot spot for the evolving of cognitive awareness, and resultant educational development of the disadvantaged and uneducated ex-offender and the tutor.

As I mentioned in the introduction on page 1 this DBA Document 6 marks the end of the written part of my DBA programme. The final hurdle will be the viva voce. There is always more we can learn and develop, like avoiding perfectionism or taking on too much or getting apprehensive under pressure. From originally being totally bewildered by the wide range of approaches that were before me and balancing my studies with my work and home life I like to think that I have now got the confidence to tackle any new subject or challenge.

> *A musician must make music, and an artist must paint, a poet must write, if he is to ultimately be at peace with himself. What a man can be, he must be. This need we may call self-actualization. … It refers to man's desire for self-fulfilment, namely to the tendency for him to become actually in what he is potentially; to become everything that one is capable of becoming.*
>
> *Abraham. H. Maslow, Maslow on Management (1998)*

I would like to believe that I have acquired skills in reading carefully and critically difficult texts that have shaped debates in social theory and the social sciences.

I have now reached my self-actualisation point. As Maslow (1987: 12) put it: "*This business of self-actualization via a commitment to an important job and to worthwhile work could also be said, then, to be the path to human happiness (by contrast with the direct attack or the direct search for happiness - happiness is an epiphenomenon, a by-product, something not to be sought directly but an indirect reward for virtue).*"

Studying for the DBA was a practical life-changing experience that has made me look at the world differently and I am now at the stage where I can more freely choose what I want to do with my life and the DBA process has helped me to gain the confidence I need to achieve this. I see my future in a more formal coaching role along with writing and further research.

7. REFLECTIONS ON THE OUTCOMES OF RESEARCH

Introduction

The main purpose of this study was to provide evidence to convince management that greater emphasis should be put on training appropriate offenders for setting up their own micro enterprises. There is a lack of business enterprise courses in prisons in general and where they do exist, such as in HMP The Mount, there is no link with setting up a practical business which is needed for greatest effectiveness. Currently prisoners on business enterprise courses are released with reasonably realistic business plans but without mentoring support and lacking the experience of being involved with a legitimate business venture. There has always been reluctance, for various reasons, mainly based on security grounds or lack of resources, to encourage enterprise schemes in prisons in general and HMP The Mount in particular.

Main outcomes of the research

When I started this work my initial thoughts were mainly centred on looking at the skills of entrepreneurial offenders but over the course of the study they have developed into a social context approach. I was convinced that the key to understanding prolific property offenders or criminal entrepreneurs was to study

the psychological characteristics of the offenders and from this I would be able to develop a predictive method of identifying them. Once they were identifiable I would be able develop teaching/training methods to enable them to reassess and restructure their lives and have the foundations and confidence to start up their own legitimate businesses. On reflection this was a fairly naive approach since when they study was widened, to give a more holistic view of the entrepreneurial offenders, I felt that I understood them better and what was mainly missing was their need for appropriate role models or mentors. Many showed valuable entrepreneurial qualities, like persistence, ambition and drive. They were prepared to take risks and had traded successfully, albeit in an occupation that incurred imprisonment as a significant business risk. Although the entrepreneurial offenders had many of the psychological characteristics of entrepreneurs on average they were only marginally stronger than the general public in those such as 'need for achievement', 'locus of control', creativity, autonomy, and 'calculated risk taking'. Like his legitimate counterpart the criminal entrepreneur tends to be very ambitious but he lacks the confidence and knowledge in setting up a legitimate business. This puts them in heightened danger of re-offending on release. Further, they have been engaged in enterprises that are themselves illegal, such as drug dealing or trafficking stolen goods. That is frequently the extent of their market knowledge. Prison is a veritable storehouse of untapped entrepreneurial potential. For the entrepreneurial prisoner, business concepts such as competition, profitability and risk management is something they understand in common with legitimate entrepreneurs.

The three main themes evolved from the study:

(a)   Barriers to starting legitimate businesses

It appears that a lack of resources, lack of knowledge of how licit business works, and lack of confidence stemming from having neither, are the main barriers to entrepreneurial offenders starting up legitimate businesses.

As entrepreneurial offenders develop their 'skills', they start to assert themselves in more serious, planned crime often developing a background in violence and a resentment of authority figures which makes it difficult for them to access resources both within the prison system and on release. In addition

they frequently have a poor credit rating and are unable to obtain the necessary funding and insurance for setting up their businesses.

(b)   Different driving forces for different cultures

The research showed that different cultures have different attitudes to crime. The common perception of entrepreneurial criminals is that they are driven by greed but this findings of the work has a whole did support this view. Greed was not identified as a driving force, indeed for the West African offender they saw their activities as fulfilling obligations to their kinsfolk and for the British offender the main driving forces for their dangerous criminal risk-taking activities appeared to be the adrenaline rush that they experienced. Refusing to yield to the negative emotions of shame, guilt, or fear, offenders in the grip of the adrenaline rush and other 'edgework' sensations appeared to resent those authorities or social control agents who they believe seek to introduce such negative emotions as a way to achieve their goals. The study tends to support Lyng (2004: 3) who posits that empirical studies of risk taking activities support the view that *'edgework'* serves as a vehicle of escape from social conditions that produce stunted identities and offer few opportunities for personal transformation and character development. It could be that for some offenders their criminal activities are merely their cheap, but sometimes violent, substitute for 'extreme sports' activities rather than a presupposed desperate need for money to fulfil their physiological needs.

(c)   Moral reasoning and ethical horizons

Although they are mainly working at the social level within Kohlberg's hierarchy they are restricted to their own social groups of fellow miscreants and so they lack appropriate role models. I never expected that role models and relationships would figure so largely in offenders' lives nor that they have a caring side and are strongly ambitious. This underlines the need for a mentor/coaching system for the entrepreneurial offenders which is seamless from prison through release to micro business start-up.

This research suggests that the criminal entrepreneurs have constructs that would be applicable to a legitimate activity; the problem is what stops them from broadening their ethical horizons?

Often people such as criminals have very narrow ethical horizons within which they may behave ethically but beyond them they are outside of their 'comfort zones' and lack the confidence to act legitimately and standards no longer apply. So if a criminal's ethical horizon is restricted to his friends and their families then he will only see his entrepreneurial activities as being a legitimate. Without the support of friends and family prisoners lack the confidence to behave legitimately and become entangled in a situation which is difficult to break free from without appropriate support systems in place. Broadening of ethical horizons would follow from working in free markets rather than clandestine ones and post-prison resettlement to a different environment would help facilitate this. Without exception all of the offenders interviewed expressed a strong desire to set up their own legitimate businesses but virtually all considered that their main hurdle would be that of obtaining the start up capital to enter the legitimate business arena.

Implications for entrepreneurial education in prisons

Since culture makes a difference in criminal entrepreneurial behaviour and moral reasoning then a different policy is needed for foreign nationals. Greater priority should be given to training tutors how to be more effective at dealing with cultural differences in a business context; Basic diversity courses do not deliver the level needed to understand the differences.

It is clear that current business studies programmes, which although centred on the development of the business skills necessary to construct a business plan, are inadequate to ensure that the ex-offender will be equipped to set up a successful legitimate business on release from prison. Along with giving greater support, courses need greater life skills content and deliver more experiential learning in how businesses are set up and generally run.

In the curriculum, higher priority should be given to the use of business simulation games alongside business theory and the compilation of business plans.

Policy implications

Implementation of coherent, tailored plans for prisoners aimed at reducing their recidivism is essential. Since one of the major reasons for re-offending is the lack of job opportunities then there needs to be greater emphasis on getting them into employment. At HMP The Mount currently about 1/3rd are engaged in some form of education, 1/3rd in workshops, which are mainly under-utilised and 1/3rd languish on the prison wings doing nothing in particular. Languishing in their cells should not be an option. It is clear that many offenders have many of the attributes of legitimate entrepreneurs but, with the exception of fraudsters, they often tend to lack planning skills, are inclined to be impetuous and often lack focus.

Offender learning and skills courses are generally focused on getting ex-offenders into employment since having a job reduces the likelihood of re-offending by half and success in delivering relevant learning and skills to offenders ultimately carries large social benefits. Many offenders come to prison as seasoned entrepreneurs who happened to have run illegitimate businesses so there is a strong argument in favour of including business enterprise or self-employment courses on the prison education syllabus as for some ex-offenders self-employment offers the only route to gainful employment.

For people to reform they need to be given appropriate opportunities for acquiring a new psychological identity and increased self esteem which can be derived from improving their education. There is a need to create better incentives for those with entrepreneurial preferences and talent to become productive legitimate entrepreneurs, instead of turning to a life of crime.

The offenders demonstrated a lack of fundamental experiential learning: current business enterprise teaching at HMP The Mount has the common theme of preparing a business plan on release from prison but access to real business situations is missing, making the learning experience less effective. From the little feedback I have had current practise is not enough to ensure that ex-offenders will set-up their own micro business.

Some of the benefits of the research have already been implemented to a limited extent such as the use of Prince's Trust mentors. These spend a Friday

morning assisting prisoners on business enterprise courses at HMP The Mount to complete realistic business plans on their release but then there are no facilities for follow up as Education staff are currently not allowed contact with released ex-offenders.

The main outcome of this study is that it has helped to build the case for a prison programme that will stimulate positive life transformation for offenders and external legitimate business partners, acting as mentors, uniting them through entrepreneurial passion, education and mentoring.

More appropriate role models could be harvested by forming partnerships with local firms, entrepreneurs or Business Schools to build a mentoring system. MBA students or graduates could be a useful source of mentors.

Initially, in order to kick-start the pilot programme, an annual budget of £75,000 would be needed to finance a manager and a part-time administrative assistant. If successful, this could eventually become self-funding and in the long term provide an income stream for the prison service. However in the current economic climate it may be difficult to persuade prison management to take this route when the Ministry of Justice have recently announced[46] that in addition to Operational Efficiency and Smarter Government savings of £343m, they will make a contribution to the Public Value Programme, by saving £360m through reforms across the criminal justice system and legal aid. A voluntary system using existing education staff may be the short-term answer. Further work is needed to evaluate the practicalities of the scheme, costings, possible internal and external funding and potential strategies before implementation.

The ultimate goal is to assist in developing a well organised learning journey for the education of enterprising offenders linked with the practical skills and experience of setting up their own micro business ventures.

The initial aim is to set up a pilot scheme locally and then, if successful, to roll it out nationally. Financial and mentoring support after release should help to make their change of direction permanent. Mentoring should significantly reduce the risk of failure for new micro enterprises. Business opportunities that could feasibly could be developed in the prison include activities such selling

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[46] *www.justice.gov.uk/news/newsrelease240310a.htm*

and marketing horticultural products, crafts, graphic art and design, website design and printing workshop services which could all be closely supervised. .

In the long term a national system of mentors should be formed based on The Prince's Trust or Business Link. Another solution may be to set up a web-based system for assisting ex-offenders who leave the local area of the prison.

Each student is matched with one or two professional volunteers, who act as advisors and mentors as the students work to refine and implement their business plans.

Wider Implications for UK Prison Policies

Working in prisons and probation services is a high risk environment which necessitates an operational culture to minimise risk. The main type of working relationship between prisons and probation services and social enterprises is with independent, well established or new social enterprises delivering services mainly contracted by or funded by third party agencies such as Turning Point, a large national social enterprise contracted to provide services with a number of prisons and probation services. There are issues relating to the rules governing activities that can take place in a prison or a probation service. This has particularly been the case in relation to setting up separate legal entities within a prison or probation service for trading activity, and setting up separate business bank accounts that attempt to operate according to business principles rather than Treasury rules. As a result there are some concerns about developing sustainable social enterprises in partnership with prisons.

Barriers to start-up

Many of the obstacles encountered are due to discrimination or the way in which society at large has a distrust of anyone who has served a custodial sentence regardless of the reasons.

Cultural and structural barriers often affect the ability of social enterprises to deliver services to prisons and probation services. Some of these are related to the way that probation services and, in particular prisons, are run. For example, social enterprises (independent businesses that trade for a social purpose) creating work experience and vocational skills training within prisons are limited due to the frequent movement of prisoners. Other cultural barriers include a

suspicion of and resistance to services being delivered to prisoners by prison and probation staff. They often doubt the motives and competence of some external service providers.

In the current economic climate, there are barriers which may block plans to develop of entrepreneurial education. For instance tensions are being created by budget and staffing cuts. Whereas social enterprises are often able to provide training or work opportunities at a lower cost than the prison or probation services, the support, training and supervision required from prison or probation staff limits the amount of work that outside agencies can undertake.

The widespread lack of access to capital undoubtedly contributes much more than any other factor in denying ex-offenders the opportunity to set up their own firm particularly in less crowded markets. The link between access to finance and access to markets is the biggest challenge facing the would-be entrepreneur. Another major obstacle is that of insurance; there is a general reluctance by insurers to insure people who have served a custodial sentence and consequently premia charged are very high for ex-offenders. While ex-offenders attending business start-up education or training courses become fired up with the notion of setting up a business and leave the courses with viable business plans they often have had no relevant training for the idea. On release the first barrier they meet is getting established in a position which will give them the experience and financial resources needed before contemplating starting the business.   There is concern among prisoners doing self-employment courses and ex-offenders about the reluctance of finance providers to supply finance due to the perceived high risk. The missing link appears to be the lack of support needed to give ex-offenders the confidence to approach sources of funding and to help catalyse the business start-up process. Run on a regional basis, The Princes Trust has difficulties in giving support to prisoners on release because they are often not released into the same region as they were incarcerated. Further research ideally requires a longitudinal design to assess the relationship between psychological characteristics and future start-ups.

The European Social Fund (ESF) in England 2007 to 2013 through the National Offender Management Service (NOMS) currently funds 'PS Plus 2' that addresses the training and employability of offenders while they are in prison and for 90 days post-release, addresses the specific barriers to employment faced by ex-offenders, including poor basic skills and work history, as well as drug and mental health problems but ignores the enterprise option.

Agenda for implementation of new management strategy

- Carry out further feasibilities studies.

- Draw up and implement new curricula that include more appropriate life skills training which involves wider aspects of cultural diversity.

- Integrate business simulation practices into courses.

- Carry out a pilot incubation scheme for micro businesses acceptable to the prison management. (Most likely businesses are graphic design and website design as a starting point.)

- Set up a not-for-profit social enterprise as a charitable trust with the main the objective of directly assisting ex-offenders to set up and run their own micro businesses. Any profits being ploughed back into the enterprise for growth.

- Locate suitable sources of finance such as sympathetic credit unions.

- Set up a website with a link to JustGiving.

- Set up provision for post-prison mentoring and support by seeking partnerships with local businesses, other social enterprise organisations, such as 'Turning Point', and academic institutions such as management colleges e.g. Ashridge Business School or Henley Business School which are local to HMP The Mount.

- Roll out the scheme regionally and then nationally.

Agenda for Future research

- Investigate the effectiveness of appropriate role models and family relationships on criminal activities, using PCP techniques.

- Carry out a comparison of the beliefs and relationships of the criminal entrepreneur with other offenders, and also legitimate entrepreneurs.

- Research the sociology of risk-taking and the boundaries between legal and criminal behaviour.

Conclusion

For the truly reformed prisoners, once they are equipped with education and life skills training and have an appropriate support mechanism, the return on investment potential for these ex-offenders, their families and communities is limitless.

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