THE ROLE OF MIGRATION, BELONGING AND IDENTITY IN THE DESISTANCE NARRATIVES OF MIGRANT EX-OFFENDERS IN ENGLAND AND WALES

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I dedicate this thesis to my Father!

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Abstract

This thesis is a qualitative study of migration, belonging and identity in the desistance narratives of migrant ex-offenders in England and Wales. Existing research on desistance has comprehensively explored how various components are central to the process of ceasing offending; these include age, familial ties, employment, education, social connections and social support, socio-economic status before and after release from prison, life circumstances, faith, preparation before being released, and future plans (Glueck and Glueck, 1951; Bruner, 1987; Laub and Sampson 2001, 2003; Maruna, 2001; Giordano et al., 2002; Gadd and Farrall, 2004; Farrall, 2004; Giordano et al., 2008; Healy, 2010; McNeil, 2014). A significant body of recent work argues that successful desistance often involves not only particular social attachments, but also identity change, usually termed 'secondary desistance'. There is now a range of work that explores the development of secondary desistance through the form of life narratives (Maruna, 2001; Piquero, 2004; Ezel and Cohen, 2005; Pals, 2006; Massoglia and Uggen, 2007; Vaughan, 2007; McNeil, 2014). This research suggests that a central part of this process is the ability to explain away periods of offending, and to separate off this old, offending identity from a new, non-offending identity. In order to develop our understanding of the relationship between life narrative, identity transformation and the process of ceasing offending, this thesis explores the narratives of migrant ex-offenders seeking to desist from crime.

In recent years, the demographics of the UK prison population have changed significantly, with 14% of inmates (Allen and Watson, 2017) now consisting of non-UK nationals or foreign-born prisoners. Thus, recent research has emphasised the specificity of the experience of migrant prisoners, both in the UK and across Europe (Bosworth et al., 2016). This thesis therefore explores the ways in which migrant ex-offenders narrate their desistance journey, their sense of belonging and their identity, as they enable the creation of a new non-offending identity. This is explored through narrative interviews, which are analysed thematically, allowing examination of the ways in which migrants narrate their past experiences and relate them to their desistance process. The sample consists of 15 male migrant ex-offenders, both foreign nationals and foreign-born UK nationals. Drawing on these interviews, the thesis argues that the dislocating experience of migration functions in their narratives as an explanation for offending, whereas becoming settled and established

is the route to a new identity. Central to this process is the narration of a 'functional' sense of belonging and identification, which is connected to particular social support networks and roles; this helps the participants to construct a non-offending identity and a sense of purpose, defined by hope for a future life without crime.

CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION

> Kofi:[1] *I don´t define myself as an ex-offender, but I define myself as an individual with a different background. I don´t like the word migrant, because I feel that people when use this word put other people who are not English into categories, like foreigner, black, white, Asian, young and old, Muslim, terrorist, Christian etc. People are human beings and should respect each other as they want to be respected. (…) And with this philosophy I try to continue my life without crime. (Exact transcription)*

This comment was the last part of an interview I conducted with Kofi, one of the 15 migrant ex-offenders I interviewed about their experiences of desistance from crime in England and Wales (February–September 2017). Such interviews have become a standard part of the methodological repertoire of research on desistance, since the publication of Shadd Maruna's (2001) *Making Good*. Maruna's work, built on the findings of the Liverpool Desistance Study, sought to understand the ways in which offenders shaped new identities for themselves through narratives about their offending journey. He identified a process whereby offenders were able to both distance themselves from their offending past, establishing an identity as a 'non-offender', while simultaneously making that past a necessary or comprehensible part of their life journey. Central to the process of identity-construction was the fabrication of a sense of belonging and identity, and a sense of higher purpose beyond their own individual life; this was sometimes manifest in parenthood, but also in religious convictions or other life projects. Maruna and Farall (2004) drew a clear and important distinction between primary and secondary desistance. The former relates merely to a behaviour, and the latter implies a related shift in identity. They distinguish between the simple fact of a period of non-offending, and what they saw as a more significant and permanent change in identity.

Since the publication of Maruna's work (itself a contribution to a long-running debate on desistance more generally), a wide range of literature has extended, critiqued and developed the study of desistance narratives (Smith, 2002, p. 702; Maruna, Immarigeon and LeBel, 2004; Pyrooz and Decker, 2011; McNeill, 2006; Bottoms and Shapland, 2011; McNeil, 2014; Bosworth et al., 2016). However, at the same time that the literature on desistance has been developing, the UK prison population, like the UK population at large, has been

[1] Kofi is a pseudonym; these are used throughout, to protect the confidentiality of the informants.

changing significantly. Between 1993 and 2015, the foreign-born population of the UK rose from 3.8 million to approximately 8.7 million, or from 7% to 13.5% of the total population; and the number of foreign-born UK citizens rose from nearly 2 million to more than 5 million, or from 3.6% to 8.9% (Rienzo and Vargas-Silva, 2014, 2017; Office for National Statistics, 2018). Not surprisingly, given this broader demographic shift, figures from the Home Office (2014) detailing individuals detained across the British detention estate illustrate that approximately one-quarter of individuals who had custodial sentences in the UK were foreign national offenders.

Despite the significance of this demographic transformation, however, the only study to date which has analysed the desistance process of people with migrant backgrounds is Adam Calverley's *Cultures of Desistance* (2013). This work demonstrated how the cultural and structural differences affect the desistance processes of male Indians, Bangladeshis, black and dual-heritage offenders. According to Calverley (2013; 2009), the process of ceasing offending and reintegration has occurred as a result of cultural traditions, religion, recreation, employment opportunities, family and social networks. Calverley's (2013) research focuses particularly on the pains of desistance, its causes and its outcomes. His participants, whose peers were still involved in criminal activity and whose families of origin and formation were often dispersed, tended to isolate themselves in order to maintain their desistance. In contrast, my study takes a broader approach to the desistance of migrants, both foreign nationals and foreign-born UK nationals. I focus on their migration journey, their sense of belonging and identity in the process of ceasing offending, while exploring the ambivalence of migration as regards their offending and non-offending experiences, the impact of being outside their country of origin and in the country of residence, and their offending and non-offending identity. Doing so provides a distinctive perspective on a set of issues that have been central to debates about desistance.

In order to explore the ways in which my respondents discuss belonging, identity and migration, this thesis develops an analytical framework based on the following approaches: theory of identity, theory of migrants' belonging, control theory, psychoanalytical theory of psycho-social development change, and social identity. In doing so, the analytical framework aims to contribute firstly to the discussion of belonging and identity already established in the desistance literature, which points to the important role played by the formation of a non-offending identity and a sense of belonging to a community, in achieving successful

desistance (Maruna, 2001; Giordano et al., 2002; Vaughan, 2007; Healy, 2010; LeBel, Burnett, Maruna and Bushway, 2008). Secondly, in addition to these factors, criminologists have ascribed successful desistance to maturation, the establishment of familial ties, willingness to change, social support and a stable environment (Bushway et al., 2001, 2004; Farrall, 2002; Giordano et al., 2002; Sampson and Laub, 2003; Bottoms et al., 2004; Bushway et al., 2003, Gadd and Farrall, 2004; Kazemian, 2007; Healy, 2010; LeBel et al., 2008). Therefore, my study will explore the ways in which these dimensions are manifest in the desistance narratives told by my respondents. These narratives were obtained through in-depth interviews with 15 migrant ex-offenders (foreign-born UK nationals and foreign nationals), following the example of existing desistance studies (Bushway et al., 2001; Maruna, 2001; Bottoms et al., 2004; King, 2013a, 2013b), which were conducted in order to explore:

- The experiences of migrant ex-offenders in desisting from crime;
- The role of migration, belonging and identity in the desistance narratives of interviewed migrants;
- The strategies that migrant ex-offenders use in order to cope with their reality and to desist from crime in the host country.

1.1 Definition of desistance

In order to assess the desistance process, I first needed a definition of desistance, which has been defined in a number of competing ways: desistance as a 'fixed point' (Laub and Sampson, 2001), as a shift from offending towards non-offending (Uggen and Kruttschnitt, 1998; Farrall and Bowling, 1999), as a decrease of criminal offences (Morizot and LeBlanc 2007), or as a phenomenon which stops offending, as a result of behaviour changes (Meisenhelder, 1977) and because of identity change (Maruna, 2001). As is demonstrated by these definitions, the majority of them interpret desistance as a momentum during life's course which results in stopping offending for a period of time, which is significantly different from Meisendhelder's (1977) and Maruna's (2001) definition. These two authors highlight the importance of inner changes which result in cessation from crime.

The desistance definition used in my study supports these inner changes and the factors that support them. Therefore, I suggest that desistance occurs as a continuous process and results in a complete termination of offending, arising from the ambivalence of migration experiences and the impact of belonging and identity. The rationale for this type of definition is influenced firstly by the sample of my study, i.e. migrants (foreign-born UK nationals and foreign nationals), and secondly, by the willingness and readiness of decision-making towards a significant change in an individual's life. Furthermore, the narratives helped the interviewed migrants to make sense of being a law-abiding citizen. The desistance definition of this research emerged from the findings of this study: the migrant participants were able to make sense of themselves in the UK, despite not necessarily feeling part of it. This occurs as a result of creating their own 'functional identity', which is based on a new non-offending identity that enables them to construct a new life without crime. The findings of this study are thoroughly analysed in the findings chapters (Chapters V, VI, VII). Moreover, a similar definition has also been drawn by previous desistance studies, which have seen the concept of stopping offending not as a breaking point, but rather as a process (Maruna, 2001; Farall, 2004; Giordano et al., 2002; Bottoms and Shapland, 2011).

1.2 Migrants

The choice of migrants as participants in this study is related to their particular and unique status. There is an enormous diversity within the migrant population, and some sub-groups of migrants are confronted with greater and more complex difficulties than the majority of the population, as was the case for participants of this study. A migrant, in this research, is a male[2] foreign-born UK national and/or foreign national ex-offender who 'has strong ties' in the UK, which means they have a family in the UK, and can demonstrate that they have less connection with their country of origin and a lack of belonging in their previous society. However, if there is a lack of strong ties in the United Kingdom, a deportation order might be imposed. In such cases, this does not allow me to study the process of ceasing offending within the United Kingdom. Moreover, there is a legislation conflict between the national law and the European Convention on Human Rights Law; in particular, Art. 8. If deportation would not lead to a breach of the UK's regulations regarding

[2] As prison population is mainly represented by male offenders, I focused my research on male migrant ex-offenders.

the individual's human rights, or his rights under the European Refugees' Convention, then deportation would take place (ECHR, 2010). There are clear difficulties in accessing these particular cases due to this legal conflict; and therefore, for practicality reasons this group of migrants is not part of my research. Despite the restrictive UK regulation on foreign nationals, according to the Home Office, there are accessible data and a significant number of foreign nationals with strong ties in the UK, who match my sample. In order to avoid a lack of accessible data about this group of society as a result of the UK regulation related to imposing a deportation order, this research also considers foreign-born UK nationals as migrants. This group includes individuals who have arrived in the UK after completing secondary school education in their home country, or later. The choice of this group is also related to the fact of their strong identity and belonging ties with their countries of origin. In the methodological chapter (IV), the process of data acquisition is explained in more detail (Home Office, 2014; ECHR, 2010).

Often a migrant is defined by his/her migration reasons and their immigration status in the country of residence. For example, a person could be an asylum seeker and detained for administrative purposes, typically to establish their identity or to facilitate their immigration claims resolution and/or their removal (Bell et al., 2013). Therefore, there are difficulties in extrapolating migrant figures generally, particularly for those with a criminal career. However, the foreign population held in custody and imprisoned in HMPPS-operated Immigration Removal Centres reached the number of 9,318 in March 2018 (1,638 on remand, 6,794 sentenced and 886 non-criminal), which represents 11% of the total prison population. Foreign nationals from Europe consituted the greatest proportion of all foreign nationals within the prison population (43% from EEA countries and a further 10% from non-EEA European countries), whereas those from Africa and Asia formed the second and the third-largest proportions, with 18% and 14% respectively. Prisoners originating from the European Union (excluding the UK) made up just under 5% of the total prison population. The most common nationalities among foreign prisoners are Polish (9% of the foreign-nationals prison population), Albanians (8%), Irish (8%), Rumanian (7%), and Jamaican (5%) (MoJ, Offender Management Statistics Quarterly, March 2018).

In relation to reoffending rates of foreign nationals, there is no statistical information about the actual patterns of reoffending; therefore this matter has to be explored through the way people explain it. Since the passage of the UK Borders Act 2007, foreign-national

offenders born outside the European Economic Area face mandatory deportation if their sentence is longer than 12 months, or if sentences over the past five years add up to 12 months. This new policy changes the outcome of imprisonment for many of those migrants born outside the UK, while exceptions are made for human rights protections (UK Borders Act, 2007). In England and Wales there are no sentencing restrictions on foreign nationals, whereas the principle of rehabilitation for this group of society is mainly replaced by the priority to remove those who are not British citizens. This makes it difficult to obtain a general idea about the reoffending rates of foreign nationals. Besides the challenges related to the sample of this study, i.e. migrants (foreign-born and foreign nationals), which is at the same time also a particular characteristic of this research. In order to explore the experience as a migrant, and belonging and identity in the desistance narratives of the interviewed migrants, the next section illustrates how my thesis is structured.

1.3 Structure of the thesis

This thesis contains seven chapters. Chapter I (Introduction) outlines the main concepts, such as desistance and migrants, and sets the aims of this study. Furthermore, it illustrates some general elements of the methodological framework of this research.

Chapter II (Literature review) provides a broad review of the existent literature about desistance from crime, and belonging and identity. Moreover, it analyses how the research area has developed, by determining the methodological challenges und underexplored areas in the research of ceasing offending.

Chapter III (Analytical framework) expands theoretically on the themes that emerged from the desistance literature. Furthermore, it analyses several approaches, such as control theory, psychoanalytical theory of psychosocial development, and social identity theory, because these are already taken into consideration by the current desistance literature and are in alignment with the particular sample of my study. In addition, they provide explanations for their decision-making towards a life without crime, as well as regarding the factors that have a significant impact for the participants of this study, during their journey in their country of residence.

Chapter IV (Methodological framework) provides a detailed outline of the methodology used in this research. It contains a discussion of the rationale of this study's design, its sample, and the procedures of ethical considerations undertaken in order to

conduct this study accordingly to the university regulations. Furthermore, it lays out the sampling strategy, the data collection and the analysis framework. It provides thorough insights into the process of collecting the data, and the challenges I experienced as a female researcher, interviewing male migrant ex-offenders with a diverse cultural background and an extensive criminal career.

Chapters V, VI and VII explore the findings of this research regarding belonging and identity, migration and offending and desistance from crime, which have been crystallised after analysing the interviews with the participants of this study. Moreover, they discuss the findings related to these themes with reference to the mainstream literature on these topics. Each of these chapters, besides the main research findings, illustrates the limitations of these findings, their implications for policy, practical implementation, and the key contributions of this study.

Chapter VIII (Conclusion) summarises the essential elements of this study, which position this innovative work among the current comprehensive desistance research.

CHAPTER II: LITERATURE REVIEW

2. Introduction

Desistance from crime is a well-researched criminological area, and the attention it has received has increased significantly in the last 20 years. Over that time, criminologists have put forward a wide range of explanations for the reasons and processes involved in ceasing offending. As a result, desistance and the ways in which individuals stop offending have been studiously researched, and our knowledge of the subject has deepened considerably. Initially, scholars such as Glueck and Glueck, (1940, 1945, 1970, 1974), Holden (1986), and Barclay (1990) identified maturation as the key factor. Subsequent work, most notably that of Sampson and Laub (1993, 2001, 2003), drew attention to the importance of social bonds and what they term mechanisms of 'informal social control', such as employment, marriage and social connections. However, it has been argued that such approaches fail to fully explain individual differences in desistance patterns, leading scholars such as Giordano et al. (2002), Smith (2002), and Cusson and Pinsonneault (1986) to emphasise the importance of cognitive transformation. Further work by Maruna (2001), Farrall, (2004), Vaughan, (2007), Bushway and Paternoster (2011, 2014) and other scholars has developed and critiqued this work through analysis of the role of identity change, made visible through desistance narratives.

These accounts tend to focus on personal choice in the desistance process, but McNeil (2014) suggests that the formation of a successful non-offending identity needs to be understood not simply as an aspect of personal development, but as a social process in which the desister develops a reciprocated sense of belonging to a moral community. The work of Calverley (2013) explores desistance narratives emerging from a range of communities drawn from different ethnic groups within British society, charting the differential experience of black, Indian, Bangladeshi and dual-heritage offenders who are attempting to desist from crime. This research implies that the idea of membership of a 'moral community' is a complex phenomenon in a multi-cultural and fluid social context. This is particularly important in the contemporary prison system, in which a significant proportion of offenders come from migrant backgrounds; this fact suggests distinctive experiences of place and community (Skelton and Gough, 2013; Valentine et al., 2009;

Spicer, 2008; Ni Laoire et al., 2010; Phillips et al., 2014). It has been argued that, for migrants, elements such as risk, trust, subjective understandings of fear, safety and belonging become ingrained in multi-layered constructions of place and community, where the boundaries may be drawn and redrawn according to a person's experiences, social network, and their sense of place in their immediate locality and/or nation (Phillips et al., 2008, 2014).

On the other hand, my study foregrounds the desistance of migrants (both documented and undocumented). Carrying out research on this social group, which has not been studied before, addresses the gap in the extant desistance literature, as it focuses on the first generation of migrants and on recent ones; this is not the case in other relevant desistance studies from various scholars. For example, Maruna's Liverpool study population was based on two groups with similar profiles in terms of age (around 30 years old), being without any qualifications, having a criminal record of around three years in prison, and being incarcerated for the first time at 20 years old (Maruna, 2001). The works of Calverley (2013) and of Glynn (2014, 2016) have explored the desistance process for minority ethnic groups in the UK. Calverley's study (2013) theorised a link between desistance and race. His review of the literature on desistance and ethnicity found that most studies come from the United States (Robertson and Wainwright, 2020). According to this review, Calverley argues that there is a gap in the knowledge regarding how identity change may work as an element in the desistance of UK-based minority ethnic groups (Calverley, 2013).

Therefore, carrying out a study on a group of society that has not previously been researched brings new insights into the desistance of documented and undocumented migrants. It extends the knowledge on the particularities of how migrants manage to cease offending. Furthermore, this study positions itself in relation to Maruna (2001), Giordano et al. (2004, 2007), Vaughan (2007), Calverley (2013), and Nugent and Schinkel (2016), who emphasise the importance of creating a non-offending identity through self-constructed narratives.

Ultimately, then, the cumulative research evidence on desistance and migration suggests that we need to pay attention to both individual and social factors in the process of desistance, focusing on the dynamic relationship between the two and their relation to the developing identity of the offender; particularly in terms of their sense of belonging to a community and their ability to shape a sense of a positive future as part of that community.

It also suggests that one of the best ways of addressing these issues is through the analysis of means by which ex-offenders seek to narrativise their experiences of offending and desistance.

2.1 Desistance theories

The desistance literature reviewed in this chapter shows that stopping offending occurs as a result of various factors. These components, such as age, social bonds, employment, familial reasons, cognitive development, identity change, etc., are embedded in some of the main desistance theories; therefore, this review begins with general factors and/or processes which affect every individual, such as maturation and social factors. However, this chapter focuses on belonging, identity and behaviour change, as these factors enable offenders to achieve long-term abstinence from crime.

2.1.1 Desistance theory of maturation

Maturation is a process that every individual undergoes during their life course. The first authors to explain desistance as a result of maturation were Sheldon and Eleanor Glueck (1940, 1945, 1970). They were clear that maturation did not just mean ageing, but also social control and the criminal career over time. In fact, the main evidence for maturation seemed to be the progressive reduction of offending. The Gluecks' main argument was that after a certain period of time, criminal behaviour slows down naturally, and that this process is not due primarily to 'environmental influences' (Glueck and Glueck, 1974; Sampson and Laub, 2003). The idea was that as the individual matured, s/he began to make more responsible decisions and understand that 'crime does not lead to satisfaction' (Glueck and Glueck, 1974, p. 170). Those who desist reach this maturation as a result of ageing or other factors (Laub and Sampson, 2003; Morizot and LeBlanc, 2007).

According to Shover (1996), the concept of ageing demonstrated by Glueck and Glueck (1940, 1951) is a rather enigmatical notion, because it is influenced by various aspects and conditions which make it difficult to analyse. However, according to Esiner (2003), the maturation pattern is common throughout known European history, dating back to the Middle Ages, regardless of social context. Furthermore, it might be argued that a moral attitude dominates this concept of maturation, which is in alignment with social expectations. Relying completely on the ageing notion, while neglecting other factors which

also influence the process of stopping offending (such as family support, future plans, rational choice, life opportunities, developmental and cognitive factors, identity change), does not provide a thorough explanation of desistance factors (Meisenhelder, 1977; Shover, 1983; Leibrich, 1996; Giordano et al., 2002; Sampson, 2002).

The author has decided to review the perspective of Gottfredson and Hirschi's work (1990) in relation to maturation, due to the association of the criminal propensity concept with their notion of self-control. The latter is built early in life; it remains over time, and has components of a maturation process. Individuals who did not cultivate a suitable level of self-control in early childhood, but increased it during their adolescence period, are more likely to become involved in criminal activities. In addition, they affirm that the constancy of the age-crime circuit across various social and cultural aspects confirms that offenders themselves have little influence in the desistance process. This means that, with time, the possibility of recidivism decreases, due to changes in opportunities, and to the fact that with age people stop offending (Gottfredson and Hirschi, 1990, p. 141).

A further study that has attempted to explain maturation as a desistance factor is Moffitt's research (1993), which brought together two contradictory elements of the age-crime curve. Firstly, the reoffending continues as an individual ages, and its predominance is influenced by the ageing component. Moffitt argued that the recidivist behaviour is illustrated by two qualitatively identified types of offenders: 'adolescent-limited offenders' and 'life-course persistent'. The latter are a small group of offenders who experienced abusive behaviour in their early childhood, which has affected several aspects of their adulthood life. As a result, they become less likely to desist from crime. Moffitt is one of the scholars who supports the idea that neither the traits nor the criminogenic environment per se play a relevant role for persistent offenders. Rather, a combination of mutual correlation between both is more likely to cause desistance. The other group, adolescent offenders, is bigger than the first, composed of people who do not have any anti-social episodes. Moreover, they commit criminal acts only during puberty. This explains offending behaviour during this life-stage, and reinforces the likelihood of this type of offender desisting after the transition to adulthood. According to Farrall and Calverley (2006), Moffitt's work laid the groundwork for 1990s theory regarding stopping offending.

However, Burnett's research (1992), which used typologies (desisters, persisters and 'converters') in a longitudinal study, illustrated that the criminal behaviour cannot be

categorised, because each group incorporates multi-layered aspects which differ from those created by Moffitt's study. Therefore, besides the maturation component, which plays a role in the desistance process, there are a number of aspects in an individual's life – such as employment, identity and belonging, rational choice, psychosocial factors, religion, hope and shame – which may affect both the desistance process and the criminal trajectory.

As this section has illustrated, maturation as a desistance factor has been explored by several scholars. Nevertheless, it has been criticised by Sampson and Laub (2003), on the grounds that maturation provides a limited explanation for the desistance process. According to Sampson and Laub (2003) and Morizot and LeBlanc, (2007), it is questionable to evaluate adult criminal behaviour based on aspects determined during childhood or adolescence. Therefore, maturation as a desistance factor should be regarded with a degree of caution, as the process of ceasing offending is determined by different factors such as physical, emotional and behavioural changes. These elements influence the length of periods without crime, which means that maturation alone cannot account for the abstinence from crime. As has been shown throughout this section, maturation plays a complementary role to the process of ceasing offending, because according to desistance literature (Sampson and Laub, 2001; 2003; Maruna and Farrall 2004; Giordano et al., 2002), desistance occurs if various components (social, familial, surroundings, etc.) complement each other.

2.1.2 Desistance theory based on social factors

This section considers the importance of other desistance factors, such as social bonds/social factors and employment. It begins by explaining in detail the role of social bonds in desistance, and proceeds to review the impact of other social factors, such as employment, marriage and peer influence, during this process.

Meisenhelder (1977) was one of the first authors to research the impact of social bonds. His study demonstrated that the main motivation to stop offending was avoidance of re-incarceration, and the desire to settle down in order to lead a life without crime. According to his research, the deterrence effect of prison has a self-reassessment effect on individuals, and at the same time promotes a strong desire for normality in their lifestyle. Meisenhelder's analysis argued that the starting point of the desistance process is

the decision to change; whereas continuing to lead a life without crime depends on meaningful bonds with family, circle of friends, and employment. All these factors have a restraining effect on the likelihood of being involved in criminal actions (Meisenhelder, 1977, pp. 320–325). Meisenhelder's argument (2006) supports the theoretical approach of control theory, analysed in the analytical framework chapter, because the presence and strength of these social bonds causes a positive change towards a life without crime.

Sampson and Laub (1993) are the two main authors who have researched the role of social factors during the desistance process. Their work was also built on Hirschi's (1969) control theory, and on Glueck and Glueck's (1951) study of the criminal trajectories of 500 juvenile offenders born in the 1920s; consequently, Sampson and Laub developed an 'Age-graded theory of informal social control'. The theory has three components: informal social controls, progression of anti-social behaviour from childhood to adulthood, and informal social control in adulthood; together these explain modifications in criminal behaviour over a lifetime. They argue that life experiences during childhood are important for understanding the stability of criminal actions. However, individual and social institutions such as marriage and employment might have a positive effect on conformity in adulthood.

The second analysis by Laub and Sampson (2003) highlighted the role of human agency, which, through enabling interaction between life events and historical contexts, creates strong social bonds. Laub and Sampson (2003), based on their earlier study (Laub and Sampson, 1993), attempted to demonstrate the continuum and modification of behaviour over time by connecting previous events and present experience (Laub et al., 2006). According to Laub et al. (2006), criminal activity is more likely to happen when the bond is weakened and/or broken, whereas the process of ceasing offending is a continuous one, in which an individual builds up social contribution and strengthens their attachment to law-abiding activities. This approach gives considerable relevance to the experiences in adulthood, and assigns an insignificant role to those during childhood. According to Laub and Sampson (2003), the desisters and persisters differ from each other in their ability to modify their routine activities and to replace them with other life events. The strength of social factors, such as social bonds or a healthy and safe environment, enables these offenders to desist. Seen from the life-course perspective, the process of ceasing offending occurs due to strong social capital, such as the importance of peers' influence during adolescence (Farrington, 2003; Huizinga, Wylie and Espiritu, 2003; Loeber, Farrington and

Stouthamer-Loeber, 2003; Morizot and LeBlanc, 2007). This phenomenon has been supported by Akers (1990), though desistence occurs only after the individual has evaluated the benefits and the risks of continuing their criminal activities.

Another factor supported by Sampson and Laub's perspective (2003) is the strong impact of marriage on desistance, as it undermines peer influence. On the other hand, Warr, with the aid of applied social learning principles, showed that the process of ceasing offending occurs due to the modifications in the social network brought by marriage (Warr, 1998). Warr's study collected its data from 1,725 participants in age groups of 15–21 and 18–24 years old; this was a longitudinal study on law obedience and deviant behaviour, using data from the USA in the late 1970s. Warr found that marriage promotes desistance only by stopping previous behaviours gained from other peers, such as reducing the time spent with other peer criminals, and lessening the individual's motivation and means of engaging in criminal activities. He discovered that this idea was particularly relevant for males, as they are more likely to continue offending behaviour. Men also create pro-social attachments when they bond with females, who are less likely to offend.

Besides the role of social factors/social bonds as part of the theory of desistance, another important component that is significant in the literature is employment. Employment provides the economic resources that facilitate both marriage and family formation (Lichter et al., 1992, in King et al., 2008). Similarly to Laub and Sampson (1993, 2003), other scholars argue that employment, marriage, and creating a strong social network are relevant in reducing offending (Farrall and Calverley, 2006; Morizot and LeBlanc, 2007; Pyrooz and Decker, 2011; Bax and Han, 2018). While work commitment strengthens bonds between workers and employers, it creates a different social capital and decreases previous opportunities related to criminal activities. Moreover, obtaining and sustaining employment (Edin et al., 2001; Edin and Kefalas, 2005; Savolainen, 2009) accommodates favourable circumstances, and allows the creation and improvement of a new social identity as a financial provider (Bersani et al., 2009).

Wright and Cullen (2004), based on Sampson and Laub's employment argument (1993), reached the conclusion that the workplace is a social environment and that learning is part of it, provided that the peer bond created at work builds different associations with work colleagues, which may result in breaking previous criminal networks.

Several other studies show that the role of employment and other important social bonds have a positive influence towards decreasing reoffending and aiding desistance. Giordiano et al. (2002) called the life stage that influences these social institutions (employment, social bonds, etc.) a 'respectability package', as it causes desistance (Giordano et al., 2002, p. 1015). As social bonds have a positive impact on the process of ceasing offending, and are also discussed by the desistance literature, they will be explored thoroughly in section 3.2 (Control theory) of Chapter III (Analytical framework).

A further relevant study in the desistance research, which emphasised the role of social context, was the Sheffield Pathways research: this demonstrated that favourable circumstances such as cultural aspects, peers' influence and self-identity, are all likely to have an important impact on the process of desistance (Bottoms et al., 2004; Bottoms and Shapland, 2011). The sample for this study consisted of 113 male persistent young offenders with socially disadvantaged backgrounds, who were serving a prison sentence or undertaking community service. This study showed that the process of ceasing offending oscillates between criminality and conformity. Moreover, it explained that a further analysis of the short phases without crime would demonstrate new findings in relation to this stage of desistance.

After the three years of follow-up, this study showed that the majority of participants did not stop offending, even though 56 per cent of them had strongly articulated their desire to desist. This finding preceded Burnett's study (2010), which illustrated that the phase of wanting to stop offending is mainly related to the will of the individual. The desire to desist is the first step towards this process, but not necessarily the most important aspect of ceasing offending. Like Meisenfelder (1977) and Lau and Sampson (2003), Bottoms et al. (2004) utilised not only elements of social control theory, but they also added components which are more related to the topic analysed in the next chapter (section 3.1.1: Theoretical background for belonging and identity, and 3.4: The psychosocial development model), as these are relevant factors, according to the desistance literature.

In addition to the importance of social context, the Sheffield study focused on the individual's perception of the barriers during the journey to a life without crime. Starting and especially maintaining desistance is essential, particularly among socially marginalised youth (MacDonald, 2011). An indicator of early desistance in a persisting sample, such as in the

Sheffield study, was the decreased number of Standard List Offences[3] per year. Before this study began, this figure was 8.0, and fell to 3.8 during this research (SCOPIC, 2003). Taking into consideration the findings of the Sheffield study, the strategies used by young offenders to overcome certain difficulties, and their available social capital resources, resulted in an improved understanding of the initial phases of ceasing offending.

The Sheffield study created a theoretical foundation for desistance, based on five key elements (Bottoms et al., 2004):

1. Features such as age, gender and previous behaviour create an idea of the individual's future behaviour.
2. Social structures, such as employment, have an effect on individual actions.
3. Culture, which refers to an individual's values and beliefs within their own culture.
4. Situational contexts, which provide an understanding of how specific situations may affect the process of ceasing offending.
5. An individual's understanding their own behaviour.

A further action plan for how stopping offending may happen in practice was constructed by Bottoms et al. (2004). It contained the following steps:

1. An event triggers a certain behaviour
2. Taking the decision to change
3. Reflecting on himself and his action in various ways
4. Acting towards desistance
5. Maintaining the desistance

The last step is crucial, as it causes the shift towards secondary desistance. This research has provided a thorough understanding of the earlier phases of the process of ceasing offending. In addition, these findings point out that desistance is affected by various aspects, and should be explored as a 'set of components'. Thus, the Sheffield study has contributed significantly to new knowledge for practitioners and policy makers, by demonstrating how individuals maintain the change from offending to non-offending.

[3] Standard List Offences are convictions for certain offences that are recorded in the Offenders Index.

2.1.3 Desistance theory of developmental changes and cognitive transformation

It is clear from the studies cited above that the role of social factors in desistance is complex, and that the presence of factors such as marriage, employment, etc., does not individually explain or predict a successful or unsuccessful desistance. Therefore, in order to understand the desistance process more in depth, scholars have focused on developmental changes and cognitive transformation, charting a shift from an offending to a non-offending identity. For instance, Shover studied the two aforementioned changes in 36 male ex-property offenders, by using official data and conducting interviews (Shover, 1983). He underlined that developmental changes and cognitive transformation could also be influenced by ageing. Moreover, these factors can have a crucial influence on individuals' lives by making them law-abiding citizens. The sample of Shover's study included mainly men in their late 30s and early 40s, who had made relevant changes in themselves. Shover (1996) discovered that displeasing experiences in criminal activity may trigger the decision to desist, even though this decision is not entirely rational, as it is influenced by other moral and affective aspects. According to Shover, individuals decide to lead a life without crime as they begin to find a better meaning in their life. Furthermore, they start to have something they value, which is too precious to risk losing. As a result, the process of stopping offending becomes clearer and achievable.

Leibrich's work (1996), similar to Shover's study, demonstrated that people losing something that was valuable in their lives was a strong motivation to decide to stop offending. Participants re-evaluating their actions, and in particular what mattered to them in their lives, was part of this decision-making (Leibrich, 1996, pp. 280–289). The latter consideration was often influenced by obtaining a job, by a meaningful relationship with a woman, and/or a combination of both. The participants of Shover's study evaluated their lives and deliberately ceased their criminal career; they started to assess their previous actions, and to value their time in a different way. This process made these ex-offenders reallocate their priorities, which allowed them to set new aims in their lives (Shover, 1983). Negative experiences as a result of their previous criminal career made them choose a life with fewer risks and, in the course of time, to abstain from crime. However, Shover demonstrated that despite the high motivation and determination of his study's participants, their incarceration experiences significantly weakened their social capital. Even

though the introductory nature of his study weakened the conclusiveness of its findings, Shover's work made an essential contribution to the developmental accounts. His work pointed out the psychology of change within the framework of criminal trajectories, and highlighted that these psychological components played a significant role for individuals who were aiming to change their lives. In addition, Shover highlighted that the changes caused by age, which result in abandoning offending, are similar to modifications experienced by non-offenders at around their 40s.

The literature on the Influence of cognitive transformation on the process of ceasing offending proposes a different view of desistance. Although there is substantial research on the process of ceasing offending, this study focuses on the work of Cusson and Pinsonneault (1986) and Giordano et al. (2002), as elements of their studies are relevant to long-term abstinence from crime.

The first authors to analyse desistance as a personal choice by studying retrospective narrative were Cusson and Pinsonneault (1986). According to these two authors, the process of ceasing offending occurs as a result of a rational reassessment of the costs and benefits of crime in an individual's life (Akers, 1990). In criminology, the belief that a human being weighs means and ends, costs and benefits, and makes a rational choice was applied in this field by Clarke and Cornish (1985), who employed this rational choice thinking to improve situational crime prevention. This idea provides some support for the findings of Cusson and Pinsonneault's (1986) study, of 17 Canadian former robbers who stopped offending. They identified the following factors which influenced their desistance: shock (being injured during the criminal act); growing tired of doing time in prison; becoming aware of longer prison sentences; and re-evaluation of what is important to the individual. Similar findings have been provided by other scholars, such as Leibrich (1993, pp. 56–57), Shover (1983, p. 213) and Cromwell et al. (1991, p. 83), all of whom highlighted the importance of the 'decision' to stop offending. Ultimately, they argued that negative experiences after committing crime, such as incarceration time, were significant factors in their process of decision-making to stop offending. In accordance with those findings, Cusson and Pinsonneault (1986, p. 73) explained that the decision to desist is usually triggered by a delayed deterrence process, which explains the decision to abandon a criminal career. Following this trigger, offenders re-evaluate their goals and then voluntarily decide whether to offend or not. Laub and Sampson (2003) questioned these findings, as they were based

on a limited sample. However, consecutive studies have supported the idea that the process of ceasing offending begins with a rational decision, after an individual has assessed his/her situation (Leibrich, 1996). This course of action occurs only when an individual reaches the point at which they evaluate their past and create future plans which result in major changes in their lives. In addition, the capability to maintain abstinence might be unrelated to the initial cause for stopping the behaviour in the first place; thus, initiating change is merely the first step, whereas different skills are required to maintain this change (Earls et al., 1993; McGuire and Earls, 1993 p. 293).

Giordano et al.'s work argues that desistance is mainly a personal choice/decision, which is part of the theory of cognitive transformation (Giordano et al., 2002 p. 998). Their work includes a broader meaning than only a personal choice decision. However, this cognitive transformation also seems to have elements of rational choice, and is therefore reviewed in the same section.

As a model of cognitive change, Giordano et al.'s research (2002) places significance on the active role of the individual; it explores whether aspects such as conjugal bond and employment stability could predict the process of stopping offending for both genders. Although Giordano et al.'s (2002) study uses both quantitative and qualitative approaches, it emphasises that the narrative of an unstructured life history indicates life changes. The sample of this research included 127 female adolescent serious offenders in the state of Ohio, and a comparable group of male offenders, between 1982 and 1995. The results found no significant differences between the responses of men and women; however, the discrepancies between genders were depicted in the motivations for change (Giordano et al., 2002). This suggests that desistance might be explained by a known process that might have other factors underlying it. Relevant components towards desistance for male offenders were family, prison, and prison treatment, whereas females were more likely to stop offending as a result of parenting or religious experiences.

This theory also includes an analysis of the desistance process based on choice and power, and contains the four following steps:

1. A 'general cognitive openness to change'
2. Exposure and reaction to 'hooks for change' or returning points
3. The envisioning of an appealing and conventional 'replacement self'

4. A transformation in the way the person views deviant behaviour (Giordano et al., 2002, pp. 999–1002).

This first step of Giordano et al.'s work, a 'general cognitive openness to change', enables the *primary desistance*, whereas *the secondary desistance* occurs in the other three steps, where decision-making is present. The latter is developed through a cognitive transformation which involves all the aforementioned steps. The third step is a paramount element in the process of choosing a life without crime. Changing the self-image from a deviant to a conventional one is crucial in creating social and emotional bonds, which facilitate societal goals that are achieved through legal means. The individual plays an essential role throughout this process, and is the main 'actor' in making this change possible, rather than being influenced by external factors and the environment, which may produce relevant changes in his/her life. This explains that traditional factors, which Giordano et al. (2002) call 'hooks for change' (such as marriage, age, employment, social bonds, etc.), might not have the same meaning for everyone.

Giordano et al. (2002) argued that turning points such as employment, marriage, or other so-called 'hooks for change', were relevant to allow the process of stopping offending to take place. However, before these turning points occur, there must be two types of cognitive transformation in the individual: firstly, openness to change, and secondly, the individual must perceive 'the hook' as important for them. Other cognitive changes, such as changes of views on crime or deviant behaviour, and following a new 'replacement self', occur only afterwards, as a result of involvement in conventional roles of 'hooks'. 'Hooks for change' are relevant because they can cause opportunities to create a new identity and actual reinforcement during all the steps of the transformation process. In some cases, the influence of the environmental stimulus is essential for the development of the replacement self. Thus, an important element is that the identification of identity potential, conferred by various 'hooks' for change, needs to be differentiated from capacity for self-control. In practice, these processes integrate a solid replacement self which may prove to have a stronger connection to a sustained behaviour change. Building a new, non-criminal identity is like an 'investment in the conventional world' (Meisenhelder, 1977, p. 327). This is in alignment with Laub and Sampson's study (2003), which supported that the development towards a 'new' sense of self-identity as a desister or as a good provider, as a family man and/or hard worker, or being and feeling safe in the new environment, is facilitated by a

transformative agency. The same transformation process finds application also in women's and young offenders' desistance (Giordano et al., 2002, pp. 1004–1017). Both pieces of research (Cusson and Pinsonneault, 1986; Giordano et al., 2002), though they foreground two different elements (personal willingness and process of transformation, in that order), focus on internal changes in the individual offender; a subject which is developed strongly in the work of various other scholars (Moffits, 1993; Maruna, 2001). Recent research has sought to considerably develop the importance of human agency during the desistance process (Opsal, 2012; Stevens, 2012; Breen, 2014; Sharpe, 2015). Perhaps the most influential work has been on the formation of a pro-social identity through desistance narratives.

The work of Shadd Maruna and colleagues (Maruna, 2001; Farrall and Maruna, 2004; Maruna and Roy, 2007; Andrews, Bonta and Wormith, 2011) seeks to explain desistance based on the notion of a person's identity. Maruna's Liverpool desistance study was based on interviews with 50 former or current offenders, 20 of whom were classified as persisting offenders, and 30 as desisters. According to Maruna's work, desistance depends on the development of a coherent pro-social identity. Offenders who already have a pro-social view of themselves in the present deliberately reinterpret their past, to make previous criminal actions both explicable and consistent with their current view of what they are 'really like'. For instance, 'Desisting is framed as just another adventure consistent with their lifelong personality, not as a change of heart. Again, this allows the individual to frame his or her desistance as a case of personality continuity rather than a change' (Maruna, 2001, p. 54). As such, Maruna's participants did not change who they were as much as they changed the interpretation and understanding of their criminal past. In this way, their past is reconciled with their current view of themselves as 'good' people. This does not involve change as much as it does a 'wilful cognitive distortion' of the past, to assimilate it with the present. This cognitive work is described by Maruna as 'making good' (Maruna, 2001, p. 9).

Similar to the work of Maruna (2001) and Giordano et al. (2002), Vaughan's theory argues that when individuals experience such a change that makes them stop offending, their previous offending identity is incompatible with their new non-offending identity, and simultaneously they distance themselves from the former (Vaughan, 2007, p. 394). According to Vaughan, 'our emotions provide the first signals about […] that to which we are drawn or shy away from' (Vaughan, 2006, p. 4). Thus, the possible 'feared self' is avoided by

the possible 'respectable self' of the good individual, partner, parent and colleague. The second phase of Vaughan's narrative theory is deliberation, which is a rational and emotional process that includes considering the position of an individual in relation to others (Vaughan, 2006, p. 5; 2005). Therefore, constructing a pro-social identity depends on an individual's current identity and how s/he believes others feel about it. The construction of 'a cognitive blueprint' (Giordano et al., 2002, p. 1055) for the future self is the last phase of Vaughan's personal narrative theory: dedication. At this stage, an individual decides to commit to a life without crime, and makes offending activities no longer compatible with his/her new identity (Vaughan, 2006, p. 5). Then, together with the aforementioned social restraints provided by the mentor or partner, and the devotion to newly found commitments, this dedication makes the desistance journey possible. According to Maruna, the 'process of freeing one's real me […] of finding the diamond in the rough' is explained as an empowerment from an outside source (Maruna, 2001, p. 95). A mentor or a partner can be an encouragement towards desistance; this often occurs when someone believes in them, so that they can begin to believe in themselves (Maruna, 2001, p. 96).

A similar approach was illustrated by Farall and Calverley (2005, 2006), who explain openness to change as a capacity to imagine another future, and that hope is a necessary component in maintaining the motivation to successfully achieve a pro-social identity. Hope has been consistently identified as a paramount component for successful desistance (Burnett and Maruna, 2004; Maguire and Raynar, 2006; Martin and Stermac, 2010). The desistance narratives are founded on the narratives of hope, which is a belief in what Maruna and King (2009) call 'moral redeemability': this means a belief system which defines criminality not as a permanent characteristic of individuals, but as an adaptation to a person's life circumstances, which can be changed by adjusting those circumstances and/or through self-understanding. Importantly, Farrall and Calverley (2006, p. 129) support the idea that 'the "emotional" aspects of desistance are part of the feelings experienced by a wider social network of people other than the desister'; and this idea is developed further in McNeil's (2014) analysis of the importance of a reciprocated sense of belonging to a 'moral community'. McNeil (2014) emphasises the role of belonging in the desistance process, and the embedding of identity transformation within the wider community. The impact of this component in leading a life without crime is also linked with the above literature discussions on the impact of mentorship in creating and maintaining a desistance environment. McNeil

(2014) introduced the concept of 'tertiary desistance' which, contrary to primary and secondary desistance, focuses on the importance of belonging to a community. Several questions arose when McNeil produced a new concept in the desistance literature, whether and how this sense of belonging is created when the participants' sense of belonging has been interrupted by a offending experience. According to McNeil, desistance requires not only a change in identity, but mainly a validation of this new identity within a (moral) community. The 'moral communities' of which offenders might be a part can, of course, be quite various, particularly in fluid and multi-cultural contemporary societies.

The work of Adam Calverley (2013) draws attention to the extent to which experiences of desistance are modulated according to the ethnic background of offenders, and thus by the communities of which they are a part, or which they identify with. Exploring the differential experiences of offenders from the main ethnic minorities in the United Kingdom (Indian, Bangladeshi, black and dual heritage), Calverley emphasises the ways in which the structural and cultural components of desistance, notably the roles of family and community, vary across the different groups, and thus influence the environment in which desistance takes place. Like Maruna (2001), Vaughan (2005) and others, he explores these processes through in-depth interviews. His respondents had a previous history of offending, and were identified as desisters in collaboration with their probation officers. The in-depth interviews showed variations in social and familial factors, strategies to avoid further offending, access to resources, and plans for the future. These factors influenced the available resources and opportunities for desistance. The desistance process amongst Indians and Bangladeshis was characterised as a collective experience which involved families intervening in their lives. Thus, the role of family could provide 'hooks for change' and encourage hope. However, this was not always regarded as positive, because it could bring a sense of obligation or arouse feelings of shame upon relapse or reoffending; whereas black and dual-heritage offenders' desistance was mainly chosen for individual reasons (Calverley, 2013).

The work of McNeil (2014) and Calverley (2013), then, suggests that there is an important relationship between desistance and a sense of belonging to a 'moral community' that validates the non-offending identity. This is also consistent with the idea of 'community recovery capital' (Best and Laudet, 2010), which suggests that there are three levels of change: firstly, a change regarding personal motives, beliefs and values; secondly, an

alteration in terms of social networks and social identity; and thirdly, in terms of a negotiated transition of identity and role within the wider community. However, the importance attributed to these factors raises several questions in the context of contemporary multi-cultural society and the contemporary prison population. For instance, the latter now contains large numbers of prisoners from migrant backgrounds, who might not have easy access to, or feel part of, the kinds of 'moral communities' identified by McNeil. This thesis therefore seeks to build on the insights and methods of Maruna, Calverley and others, to explore the ways in which offenders from migrant backgrounds have been able to articulate a non-offending identity and trajectory.

2.2 Conclusion

This literature review has examined the process of ceasing offending from various perspectives. As has been illustrated in the aforementioned studies, desistance is understood as a process rather than a unique event. Through qualitative methods, it is possible to explore individuals' experiences from their subjective viewpoint. Through such insights, they are able to sustain the initial impetus to desist, to find a meaning in their lives, and to define their decisions, motivations and aspirations.

The influences of social factors such as age, employment, marriage, social bonds and/or social connections are processes which every individual experiences; they have been argued to be the basis of desistance, from a general point of view, whereas the cognitive transformation and behavioural development depend on the individual level, and also on their life circumstances and experiences. As a result, the desistance process occurs differently in different people.

The sample chosen for this research, which investigates the impact of migration, belonging and identity on the desistance narratives of migrant ex-offenders, means that this study differs from the work of other desistance scholars, while also showing similarities with them. Hence, the participants are consciously building on this work in order to engage with the desistance debate. The in-depth life narratives, which is the method of this study, enable ex-offenders to continue the stability achieved through a life without a crime. The possible instabilities and challenges created by the ambivalence of their migration journey and offending past are regarded as significant, as this research broadens the complex process of stopping offending by exploring it with a different viewpoint from that in the current

desistance literature. Moreover, it brings a different perspective to the role of belonging and identity, with regard to migrant ex-offenders. It is of interest to investigate how these elements – namely migration, feeling a sense of belonging, and creating an identity through desistance narratives – have impacted the desistance narratives of the interviewed migrant ex-offenders. For this reason, the themes that have emerged from the literature review are chosen to be theoretically developed in the next chapter, 'Analytical framework'.

CHAPTER III: ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK

3. Introduction

This study explores the impact of migration, belonging and identity within the desistance narratives of interviewed migrant ex-offenders in England and Wales. In order to investigate this topic, this chapter aims to develop the themes (belonging and identity, narrative identity, hope and shame) identified in the literature review, and to expand them theoretically.

The several approaches discussed in this chapter will be used to analyse the narratives of interviewed migrants. They point out theoretically how characteristics such as belonging, identity, narrative identity, self-identity, social identity, hope, shame, familial and social ties, emotional and financial stability, have been argued to have an impact on the process of ceasing offending. As these components have emerged from the literature review, it is important to demonstrate how they are theoretically developed. Therefore, this chapter begins with their theoretical expansion, and it explains their conceptualisation in relation to this thesis. As a result, various definitions and forms, and their relationship to other important aspects (such as membership, desire to belong, migration, adulthood, hope, shame, strong ties, secure environment), enable a strong theoretical basis for understanding the narratives of participants of this study. Subsequently, this chapter outlines the psychoanalytic theory of psychosocial development and control theories. All these approaches explore identity, migrants' belonging, social identity, social bonds and psychosocial development from several points of view. They explain the causes of different behaviours, as well as suggesting how offending might be prevented. The choice of these theories is strongly related to the fact that they all support and clarify the understanding of narratives of interviewed migrant ex-offenders in England and Wales.

3.1 Themes and their theoretical background

After a thorough review of the desistance literature and a summary of the work of the main desistance scholars, this section focuses on the theoretical development of the themes identified as central in the literature review. Therefore, this section engages with different components which seem to have a positive impact on the process of ceasing

offending. As has been discussed in the previous chapter, desistance identifies the impact of social processes upon transitions during life's course: for example, age (Glueck and Glueck, 1970; Laub and Sampson, 2001), social factors (Meisenhelder, 1977; Sampson and Laub, 1993, 2003) and finding a stable occupation (Farrall and Bowling, 1999). Regarding the themes of belonging and identity, the formation of a new self-identity, narrative identity, social identity, hope and shame, it is important to illustrate and to extend them theoretically, because they contribute to enabling a long abstinence from crime.

3.1.1 The theoretical background for belonging and identity

Belonging and identity have progressively become significant concepts in the social sciences. Sociology, social psychology, anthropology, feminist studies, criminology and political sciences suggest that the conception of identity is a complicated social phenomenon influenced by personal conditions, social relationships and institutional environment (Fortier, 2000; Sicakkan and Lithman, 2005; Krzyżanowski, 2005, 2007).

The theme of belonging and identity emerged from the desistance literature; it is central to the process of ceasing offending because it enables a long abstinence from crime (Maruna, 2001; Paternoster and Bushway, 2009; Bushway and Paternoster, 2011, 2014; Rowe, 2011; King, 2013a, 2013b; McNeil, 2014). Therefore, understanding and expanding this theme theoretically in relation to migrants helps to comprehend their belonging and identity process. Research has been able to demonstrate the theoretical process of creating identity and/or belonging (Hall and Gay, 1996; Antaki and Widdicombe, 1998; Wodak et al., 1999; Triandafyllidou and Wodak, 2003), even though the concept of identity is fluid and/or vague, collective and/or fragmented, and undergoing a continuous (trans)formation (Augé, 1992; Urry, 2003).

This theoretical development contains the following elements: firstly, the understanding and the analytical expansion of identity, i.e. the self-, narrative- and social identity of migrants; secondly, the theoretical development of this theme through migration studies; and lastly, migrants' membership/citizenship and their legal belonging.

Identity represents the results of self-representations and social categorisation. In addition, migrants' self-definition is represented by belonging and attachments, which could be established by the individual no longer recognising themselves as part of the society in their country of residence. As a result, this may create conflicts with migrants' self-definition

and, in particular, with the desire to belong (Jonas and Krzyżanowski, 2004, 2007). The initial forms of belonging are attachments, which are characterised by uncertainty that motivates the search for identities. Taking into consideration that identity itself also contains social elements, this means that a person is identifying themselves in two ways at the same time. Firstly, the individual becomes part of a particular group/community which (s)he wants to be part of, and secondly that (s)he does not belong to the other group. In this regard, identity seems to be very powerful, and it is continuously present (Zetter, 1999; Howard, 2000; Said, 2000; Zetter, 1991, 1999, 2007; Zetter and Pearl, 2000; Zetter et al., 2005).

As research has conclusively demonstrated in the last 30 years, the issues and expectations affiliated with individuals and groups of different nationalities are related to how individuals define themselves and how society defines them (Brubaker and Cooper, 2000; LaBarbera, 2015). The strongest likelihood of obtaining a long-term abstinence from crime is associated with a shift of identity and with a sense of belonging (McNeill, 2003). According to McNeill, relevant to the sense of belonging and identity are: how an individual sees themselves, how they are seen by others, and how this individual sees his/her place in the society (McNeil, 2014). For example, if people experience disfranchisement in public assistance, in public housing, or in access to the labour market, then it removes their capacity to develop a sense of identity and belonging, which makes the whole process of desistance critical. McNeil's work (2014) developed its basis from the research of Laub and Sampson (2003), Bottoms and Shapland (2011) and Weaver (2013), and concluded that identity is socially constructed and negotiated.

In order to secure long-term change, a further important component is narrative identity. Indeed, it has been argued that the ability to narrate stories of transformation, direction and purpose is central to the ability to shape a non-offending identity. There is an extensive body of research which reinforces the idea that drastic modifications at identity level are crucial to maintain change over time, such that the individual no longer perceives him/herself as a criminal (Shover, 1996; Laub and Sampson, 2001; Maruna, 2001; Giordano et al., 2002; Sommers et al., 2004; Vaughan, 2007). In particular, Maruna's work (2001) is one of the milestones of desistance literature with regard to identity change; it also concentrates on expanding this theme theoretically.

Maruna's 2001 work, 'The Liverpool Desistance Study', explored offenders' subjective view and created a framework for the desistance phenomenon. The narrative method was

used to explore the sample of this study. The analysis of participants' narratives illustrated that they all shared comparable criminogenic characteristics, in terms of background and residence in criminogenic surroundings; this indicated the existence of two unique groups: condemners and redemptioners. The condemners' determination towards offending was illustrated as an incapacity to change their deviant behaviour. Furthermore, the persistent offenders viewed themselves as victims of their circumstances. As significant turning points, they recognised solely childhood experiences related to troubled situations. A sense of hope appeared when these offenders tended to express a certain positivity related to their future, which was linked to an accidental chance. By contrast, redemptioners had positive views of themselves. Their perception was related to their self-control over their future, as well as seeing themselves as decent individuals who had negative experiences in their lives, which made them stronger. This resulted in turning their lives into something valuable and productive, which appeared to be their way of paying back society for their previous delinquent experiences. Maruna called this process 'making good'. This kind of behaviour was illustrated in various forms: for instance, it was directed at their communities, which resulted in a considerable integration. Furthermore, this group of ex-offenders aimed to contribute to helping other individuals who were having incarceration experiences similar to their own previous ones (Maruna, 2001, pp. 87–105). The narratives of this participant group demonstrated a logical narrative self-construction about who they really were; sharing their experiences had a positive impact on themselves, as well as on the impression others received about them. It was a way to show society that they were becoming reformed individuals (Maruna, 2001, pp. 85–87).

Moreover, these narratives illustrated that maintaining behaviour changes, while they were constantly confronted by various barriers as well as opportunities to reoffend, required an enormous and deliberate alteration in the individual's sense of self (Maruna, 2001). This suggests that the process of ceasing offending should occur in phases. This idea was analysed further by Maruna and Farrall (2004), based on Lemert's concept (1948) of primary and secondary deviance. According to Lemerts' theory, primary deviance might be triggered by stressors such as unemployment, boredom, or loss of a loved one; whereas the secondary deviance becomes part of the individual's identity. In order to stop offending, individuals should go through the primary and secondary process of symbolic reorganisation at the level of self-identity (Cohen, 1978, p. 6). Farrall and Maruna (2004) suggested similar

categories for the process of ceasing offending. Primary desistance would be a crime-free phase, whereas secondary desistance means maintaining a life without crime. Maruna's research (2001) contributed considerably to the field of desistance by exploring offenders' subjective point of view. According to his findings, psychological factors such as hope, self-reflexivity and efficacy could have an essential role in explaining how individuals with similar backgrounds and criminal experiences might choose various paths during the process of stopping offending.

As an additional study of the narrative identity, Laub and Sampson's research (2001) showed that participants desisted because of their change in identity, in the form of altering their sense of maturity and responsibility. Similarly, Giordano et al. (2002) demonstrated that labelling is diverted when the individual is establishing a new identity which differs significantly from their previous criminal identity. This idea was elaborated by Sommers et al. (2004), by assigning the role of integration into common networks; these create various opportunities to adjust to this new balanced identity, and are contradictory to previous criminal activities. This means that an individual who is ceasing offending is creating a new perception of him/herself, which is in alignment with their new self-image as a law-abiding citizen. Contrary to this claim, Bottom et al. (2004) found that participants tried to explore relevant components of themselves, despite their problematic past. Although an identity change had not occurred entirely, they had managed to foreground their positive outcomes in a conventional and significant way.

Bottoms et al. (2004) and Healy (2010) raised interest in the aspects of early phases of desistance, whereas others focused on understanding the factors influencing whether individuals abandon crime over a longer period of time. Self-identity is one of the several identity types that requires more cognitive, behavioural and internal change. The view of this approach is compatible with Farrall and Maruna's position that 'sustained desistance most likely requires a fundamental and intentional shift in a person's sense of self' (Farrall and Maruna, 2004, p. 269). The perceived sense of a possible new self as a non-offender, linked with the fear that, without this change, additional undesirable events may occur, could prevent the process of reoffending. According to this identity theory, the desistance happens when the individual has decided to make changes in his/her life and is supported in other ways. Identity motivates and provides the general direction for individuals' behaviour

(Burke, 1980; Burke and Reitzes, 1981, 1991; Burke, 1991, 2006; Burke and Stets, 2009), and therefore, its role is especially important in relation to migrants.

As emphasised by the desistance literature, the role of self-identity during the process of ceasing offending is paramount in influencing an individual's actions, and also the consistency of their self-image. According to Burke and Reitzes, individuals make commitments to their changed identity. In fact, these commitments explain a particular behaviour (Burke and Reitzes, 1991; Burke and Stets, 2009); and, in the case of this study, this new self-identity as a desister motivates migrants in the host country, as was generally consistent in various accounts. This does not mean that identity determines behaviour, as self-identity is very reflexive and unique; nevertheless, it guides actions towards a goal which, in the case of this research, is willingness to change. The concept of identity in this theory does not only answer the question of who an individual is, because the latter has several ideas about their own identity (Burke, 2006; Burke and Stets, 2009). The view of the self is a multi-layered concept which implies that it is a collection of selves; therefore, some identities are more important and more predominant than others. Thus, these are consistently shown in the behaviour of individuals. Identities may also vary in their temporal orientation, which means that some selves ('working self') are oriented towards the present, while others ('possible self') look towards the future. For example, stopping drinking and going regularly to AA meetings is a present goal, whereas moving to a new country for a new start and creating a new family is a future goal (Burke, 1991, 2006).

Furthermore, the working self is based on the individual's actual needs, experiences and knowledge, and consists of the self at present, whereas the possible self is defined by future orientations and dimensions of the self. This possible self is constrained by the context within which it exists, because its hopes and goals (such as migrant, offender, illegality, etc.) are limited by the social environment. Thus, an individual's actions are balanced between their aims and aspirations, and the insecurities created by the social environment where they find themselves (Burk and Reitzes, 1991; Burke and Stets, 2009).

Additional identity types that have received attention from different disciplines with regard to migrants are territorial, national and social, resulting from the migrants' dislocation. The first two forms of identity are explored within this section due to their importance to this theme, whereas the social identity is theoretically expanded in the social

identity theory section (3.1.2). Furthermore, they demonstrate a particular relevance for the interviewed migrants, during their process of stopping offending while living as a migrant.

According to Hudson (2000), 'territorial identity' has diverse manifestations and undergoes many phases. Moreover, Hall (1996, 2006) suggests that it is also strongly related to a person's social environment and space. This concept of identity appears to be significant also in geography studies, as a result of the connection between a community and its lived space (Caldo, 1996, p. 285). Furthermore, this territorial identity represents the sense of belonging to a territory (Pollice et al., 2014; Pollice and Banini, 2014), which might be relevant for individuals who experience territorial dislocation. As a result of the migration process, migrants may have several identities, each of which has a specific dynamic and involves several phases. This occurs as individuals recognise the territorial connection and complicated geographies of identity formation. Thus, a secure and a coherent identity is rather a fantasy conception, because identity is always fluid and changeable, as a result of individuals' time and place (Park, 1999; Howard, 2000; Everett and Wagstaff, 2004; Agnew, 2005; Hall, 2006; Kumsa, 2006). Despite the fluctuation of this concept, the individual still has the power to strengthen this fluidity (Kumsa, 2006) and/or instability, caused by migrating to other countries and creating new senses of belonging.

On the other hand, 'national identity' is characterised by a 'full belonging', and it stays stable despite migration. The fluid feature of identity, as explained in territorial identity, seems to be less present in the case of national identity, because individuals may not compromise in this regard. Within national identity, 'natural identity' exists as a main source of a 'full belonging'. The latter means a comfortable feeling that individuals understand each other, and it is possible 'when you are among your own people in your native land' (Ignatieff, 1993, p. 7; Chatty, 2010). As a consequence, a sense of belonging together with a sense of self seems to occur only among individuals who are from the same native country. While national identities are frequently contested and constantly being renegotiated, migrant identities often have additional complexity, due to multiple layers of negotiation between the norms and ties of the society of origin and those of the society of settlement.

To summarise this theme and its theoretical development, the process of identity transformation necessitates a change in self-identity, whereby the individual gains control

over their future through the existence of a strong social network, culture/values and society.

3.2 Theory of social identity

The theory of social identity is the next approach examined in this analytical framework chapter. The founders of this theory were Tajfel (1970, 1978a, 1978b) and Tajfel and Turner (1979), who made one of the greatest contributions to the domain of psychology. In the 1970s, Henri Tajfel and John Turner created the social identity theory as a continuation of Sherif's (1958; Sherif et al., 1961) realistic conflict theory.

The social identity is related to the sense of belonging to a group, which is defined by an individual's self-conception in relation to a group membership. It explains the reasons why division between groups in a society occurs, and also the way in which it happens. This perspective brings a further understanding of a general discrimination process which may emerge, and also how to prevent it, though it might have both a positive and negative impact on an individuals' life (Tajfel, 1982a, 1982b; Tajfel and Billig, 1974). It becomes rather problematic when society becomes more complex, and new skills and attitudes are needed to enable social cohesion, as is required in today's society. At the same time, the possible power struggle might define the powerful and dominant group in the society, as well as the other groups' identity (Howard, 2000; Hall, 2006; Blunt and Dowling, 2006). James E. Côté, a sociologist who has undertaken several studies on identity formation, suggests that the social identity can be influenced by people's surroundings, peers, community, etc. This influence is sustained through an automatic and critical adaptation of 'oneself into a community of "strangers" by meeting their approval through the creation of the right impressions' (Côté, 1996, p. 5). The desire to be accepted is a particular characteristic of migrants, because it might be used as a coping mechanism in the host country in order to feel part of it. Côté supports the argument that identity is not a fixed and resistant concept, but rather a notion which changes in a given time and space. This means that as soon as a change occurs, so too does the identity (Côté, 1996). This plays an important role in a person's identity (re)construction, as this self-image shifts from an offending identity to a desisting one; this is known as 'secondary desistance'.

Tajfel and Turner (1979) related the two components of social identity theory, namely social comparison and social identity, to three hypotheses: firstly, in order to develop

positive self-images, individuals attempt to augment their self-esteem, which may positively affect individuals. Secondly, as belonging to a specific group may be seen as a positive or a negative aspect, this may positively or negatively affect their social identity. Thirdly, individuals' evaluation, when confronting in- and out-groups, has positive or negative influences. This phenomenon is known as 'in-group' and 'out-group', whereby the former is understood as 'us', while the latter is 'them'. These three hypotheses could be used to explain the discrimination/stigmatisation process experienced by migrants, due to their socio-economic situation, resources competition, cultural background, race, immigration status, and the fact of being a migrant (Dench et al., 2006; Ruhs and Vargas-Silva, 2017; Vargas-Silva, 2018). All these aspects are relevant for this study, because this approach explains the conflict between in-groups and out-groups. Migrants are part of an out-group, as they are not nationals of their country of residence; and the desire to belong in the host country might cause continuous negative consequences for this group, who might be considered 'outsiders' of the society they live in (Tajfel, 1972a, 1972b, 1975; Tajfel et al., 1971).

According to Tajfel and Turner (1979), social identity is the individual's sense of self based on his/her group membership(s). Tajfel suggested that specific groups to which individuals belong are a significant source of pride and self-esteem. The commitment to such groups provides individuals with a sense of identity and/or a sense of belonging to the society. Therefore, enhancing the status of a person's belonging to (a) particular group(s) has a positive impact on increasing their self-image, such as an augmentation of self-esteem. This can also result in discrimination, and group members holding prejudices against non-members. This creates divisions into 'them' and 'us' in a society, based on a process of social categorisation where individuals are assigned to social groups (Tajfel, 1981).

One of the main hypotheses of this approach is that the members of an in-group have the tendency to find negative characteristics of the out-group, in order to improve their own self-image. Such prejudiced views to culture and ethnic groups, may result in only negative consequences, such as racism and discrimination. According to Tajfel, the process of labelling, or categorising people into groups, has its roots in a normal cognitive process. In this way, individuals tend to exaggerate the differences between groups and the similarities within their group. Therefore, the prejudiced attitude of the 'them' and 'us' mentality is explained by social categorisation, which is illustrated in the next section.

a.) Social categorisation

Social categorisation helps to understand a cognitive process that simply involves thinking about different groups in society. Given that social categorisation might impact how an individual is positioned in a society, and as the participants of this study are migrants with an offending experience, it is of interest to discover the impact of this categorisation in deciding to lead a life with or without crime. The categorisation of people into out- and in-groups exemplifies a strong sense of belonging, as they may support the same sports team, or political ideology, etc. However, if such social categorisation does not happen, then the cognitive processes and behaviours cannot be understood by social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1979).

b.) Out-group homogeneity

Out-group homogeneity is the last component of the social identity theory; it refers to the tendency to make natural generalisations as a result of being part of (a) particular group(s). This element is closely related to the two cognitive aspects mentioned above: social categorisation and social comparison. Out-group homogeneity deals with the creation of stereotypes, which are generalised ideas about a group of individuals (Tajfel, 1975, 1978). These stereotypes could also be related to migrants in general, as the issues related to this group of society are often misrepresented by the media. Therefore, these created stereotypes may affect migrants' self-esteem, their position in the society, and their experiences in the country of residence, as well as their desistance narratives.

In conclusion, the social identity approach suggests that belonging to a group and being recognised as part of it may affect various cognitive processes, such as in- and out-groups reflecting about and confronting each other. Aiming to increase self-esteem may lead to specific processes, and to analogising several aspects of out-group members negatively. In this way, an out-group homogeneity is created, which may cause other behaviours such as discrimination, in-group bias or inter-group competition. Out-group homogeneity is a similar type of positive distinctiveness, the only difference being that it is explained from the perspective of the out-group's members. As a result, this component of the social identity approach separates the in- and out-groups by creating more hostility, discrimination and stigmatisation between them (Tajfel and Turner 1979; Tajfel, 1982b).

3.2.1 Theory of migrants' belonging

The theory of migrants' belonging is an additional approach explored in this chapter, as it extends the analytical framework for the research data. Elaborating on this theory through migration studies, and in particular, on the elements related to it (such as a sense of stability, having a supporting entourage, border, and home), will provide an understanding of the enormous effect that belonging has on their journey to a life without crime. As has been shown in the literature review (Maruna, 2001; McNeill, 2014; Bushway et al., 2001), the component of belonging plays a significant role in the process of stopping offending, because it enables continuing the abstinence from crime.

Some migration studies argue that migration, belonging and identity are shaped by experiences and influenced by different individual reasons which are difficult to generalise (Soysal, 2000; Sicakkan and Lithman, 2005; Krzyżanowski, 2005, 2007). In addition, migration is often understood to create ethnic minorities and/or diasporas, etc. Diasporas become identified within a society through the process of settlement. Rugiu (2015) and Ferrante (2015) argue that there is a confusion in migrants' sense of belonging, as they settle 'here' but are culturally connected to 'there'. According to Anderson (1991), neither self-identities nor imagined communities may sufficiently explain migrants' identities, their construction, and how various factors may have an impact on migrants' personal and collective belonging and identity. However, Fortier's theory examines 'identity as threshold … and looks at migrants' identities through the combined process of being and becoming' (Anderson, 1983; Fortier, 2000, p. 2; Probyn, 1996; Krzyżanowski, 2007). These claims from the literature on belonging and the identity of migrants argue that collective identities are formed by the continuous process of migration, through modification and affirmation; and this makes migrants an interesting topic of study.

A further relevant component of the process of belonging is, to a certain extent, a desire for attachment to the welcoming country, to the people, to the language, and to a secure future (Probyn, 1996, p. 19). Focusing on the concept of belonging explores the ways in which individuals want to become part of the society in the country of residence and create a new 'home'. A similar phenomenon was proposed by Cuba and Hummon (1993) and Relf (1976); this is related to a desire for attachment and home. On the other hand, Milic (2015) and LaBarbera (2015) support the argument that migrants' identity

(trans)formation enables a sense of belonging in the settling country[4](LaBarbera, 2015). This type of belonging is explained through the struggle to form 'new' attachments, and is challenged by the traditional constructs of social rules and national boundaries; it involves a continuous search for recognition from the society of the welcoming country (LaBarbera, 2015). Belonging versus non-belonging to the host country becomes more complicated due to legal-structural criteria, such as the concept of borders/borderzones/borderscapes (Pereira, 2007; Squire, 2011). In addition, other conditions, such as language competence, offending experiences, accessing low-paid jobs, and cultural differences, challenge the process of belonging in the settling country. To a certain degree, this causes exclusion and inclusion realities which make the belonging process a long one. Indeed, the process becomes more difficult when individuals have a criminal record (Uggen, 2016) and/or are undocumented in the host country, as is the case for some of the interviewed migrants.

In conclusion, this theoretical approach to migrants' belonging integrates several elements of the identity concept. Furthermore, belonging is incorporated in the individual, emotional and structural bureaucratic process of becoming a member of the welcoming country's society. As has been shown in this and the previous section, this dualistic position makes the formation of a stable identity very challenging. Therefore, the theoretical development has brought new analytical dimensions to the intellectual themes identified as important in the literature review.

3.3 Control theory

Control theory, or the theory of social binding, is an approach which supports the idea that strong social ties, relationships and responsibilities can prevent delinquency. As this approach explains some of the changes that occur during the process of desistance, it has received attention also from desistance studies (Glueck and Glueck, 1951; Shover, 1983; Laub and Sampson, 1993), by providing meaningful new identities (Maruna, 2001) and reflexivity (Weaver, 2012). Therefore, its theoretical development explores new analytical dimensions, to gain a better understanding of the desistance process of migrants.

This type of control could be of an external or internal nature, and the strength of these ties has an impact on various decisions of an individual. Therefore, if these social ties

[4] Throughout my thesis, I have used the terms 'settling country,' 'welcoming country', 'host country depending how the process of settling has been for various social groups.

are missing or disturbed, forms of deviant behaviour such as dis-socialising and/or addiction are more likely to occur. This theory analyses the reasoning of people who have conformist behaviour and those who engage in criminal activities. This approach is used in the analytical framework due to the impact of familial and social ties during a journey towards desistance. As a result, the interviewed migrants' migration and social bonds/attachments, which were created before and/or during their migration to the UK, have an effect on their process of ceasing offending.

In addition to Reckless (1961a; 1961b), who was the first author to propose the control theory approach, Hirschi (1969) also analysed this concept. Reckless had suggested that the weakness of internal control can be compensated by the strength of external control, or vice versa (Reckless, 1961a, 1961b; Downes and Rock, 2011); whereas Hirschi distinguished four different forms of social bonds:

a.) Attachment to others: 'Attachment refers to the person who has sensitivity to another's thoughts and feelings. The essence of internalization of norms (...) lies in the attachment of the individual to others' (Hirschi, 1969, p. 18). It is an emotional relationship which involves, as a consequence, consideration and empathy. This point is debatable, taking into consideration the attachment theory (Bowlby, 1969), which implies reliance on another and does connect to empathy. In fact, the idea that the other may be as vulnerable as oneself may be extremely threatening and prevent the formation of empathy. However, this occurs when the relationship with others is missing, as was the case for a few of the interviewed migrants. On the other hand, if the attachment to others is strong, it positively affects their desistance, as found in participants of this study.

b.) Commitment to achieve (performance orientation): 'Commitment refers to the degree to which a person will persist in continuing his or her behaviour along the lines of conformity' (Hirschi, 1969, p. 21). The result of this responsibility may create coherent ambitions and positive assessment. This point links conformity with achievement because, if a person is aiming to achieve a certain goal, it helps the individual to avoid any deviant behaviour. Nonetheless, this second bond type can be arguable, as a non-conformist action might be interpreted in the same way. However, the interviewed migrants demonstrated that commitment to achieve positively influenced desistance.

c.) Involvement in conventional activities (such as study or employment): 'Involvement refers to the basic premise that if people are committed to something or someone, they become involved in carrying out the commitment to the extent that it leaves little time to deviate' (Hirschi, 1969, p. 22). This third attachment type brings into consideration an essential aspect of desistance, namely employment. The literature review (Chapter II) has explained that employment, when related to other components, tends to stop offending.

d.) Belief in the moral validity of rules: Religious obligation depends on the binding nature of social rules. According to Hirschi, this obligation exists if these attachments in a person are weak. In this case, there is a higher risk that an individual will engage in criminal activities and/or will continuously show delinquent behaviour. 'Delinquency is not caused by beliefs that require delinquency, but it's rather made possible by the absence of (effective) beliefs that forbid delinquency' (Hirschi, 1969, p. 26). This last attachment type is associated, as is the previous one, with another relevant desistance component: religion. As has been shown in the literature review (Chapter II), faith is a further factor which may cause desistance.

A similar logic is also applicable to the research question of this study. Examining the type and strength of these various attachments may illustrate the motivation and constraints of individuals to desist or to (re-)offend. For the participants of this study, they have also played a particular role in influencing individuals' choices. In addition, these attachments make the reasons for their choices more understandable, in relation to conformity and delinquency.

3.3.1 Criticism of control theories

Despite the positive components of this approach, there are still some criticisms of control theory; one of these is the fact that it explains broad tendencies rather than giving specific reasons for delinquency or conformity. There is lack of thoroughness in the explanations of why a person engages in criminal activities; for instance, massive deficits in social ties do not necessarily lead to delinquency. Many individuals are in a similar situation, but some act cautiously, to avoid the risk of delinquent behaviour (Lacey and Pickard, 2012). According to Hirschi and Gottfredson, (1994, 1995, 2000, 2003, 2008), this occurs as a result

of self-control, which varies from one individual to another, and is affected by several conditions such as their personal situation, etc.

Another criticism of control theory, in terms of explaining the consequences of the stability of these attachments, is mainly related to external control, although this is part of personality theories and is applicable to individuals' relationships (Aebersold, 2007, pp. 14–20; Hirschi and Gottfredson, 2008). This means that there is a lack of exploration of delinquency and the journey towards conformity from an individual perspective. These factors seem to have a relevant role in the process of desistance, as was the case for the participants of this study.

Kazemian (2007) called these notions of social bonds outdated and not as important in today's society. According to him, the modern family is more likely to have a sole parent, there is a higher divorce rate, fewer couples get married, and the notion of family does not carry the same meaning as it did previously. Therefore, the bonds to the family, new relationships and having children are no longer as influential on the process of ceasing offending (Kazemian, 2007, p. 17). Although the author agrees to a certain extent with Kazemian's argument, nevertheless, with regard to the various forms of today's modern family, the findings of this study show that the participants' social bonds during their migration experience have influenced their choices during their journey towards desistance.

3.4 The theoretical background of hope and shame

The other main theme emphasised by the desistance literature is hope and shame. Hope, self-efficacy and motivation are very individual related features which seem to have a positive influence on changing to a life without crime.

Burnett's study (1992) demonstrated that participants who were optimistic about non-offending were more likely to behave according the rules during their incarceration time. Similar results in relation to hope were also presented in Maruna's study (Maruna, 2001). On the other hand, Martin and Stermac (2010) analysed the role of hope in relation to criminal offending. Their sample included 200 participants incarcerated in Canada (male and female), and they used a standardised scale to evaluate the role of hope in reoffending. Martin and Stermac's findings showed that offenders with a stronger sense of hope were at lower risk of reoffending. In addition, they illustrated that when these participants had higher motivation and self-efficacy, they were more likely to stop offending. These results

were in alignment with those of Maruna's study (2001), which demonstrated that the lack of hope had a negative effect on their future decisions. Despite the positive effect of hope on the participants' lives, it appeared that maintaining considerable changes in their lives requires more than hope. Continuing to cease offending requires significant changes, which are very challenging for people who have difficulties in changing their life circumstances, despite their high degree of hope (Burnett, 2000, 2010). Studies on probation are also in alignment with these findings (Leibrich, 1996; Farrall, 2002).

LeBel et al. (2008) demonstrated another interesting view of hope, which creates optimism and also provides the individual with the right means to reach a goal. Similar to LeBel, other scholars (Arnau et al., 2007) have analysed hope in a similar way to self-efficacy. Self-belief is based on individuals' judgments about their own competences (Bandura, 1997), whereas a lack of trust in their own capabilities reduces the likelihood of successful desistance (Shover, 1996; Zamble and Quinsey, 1997; Giordano et al., 2002; Bottoms and Shapland, 2011; Brezina and Topalli, 2012). This supports the aforementioned arguments regarding the role of self-efficacy and hope in decreasing reoffending. However, they suggested that hope, motivation and self-efficacy are required, but in order to sustain desistance they have to be aligned with modifications to structural restrictions.

Shame is another relevant theme in the desistance process, as evidenced by the desistance literature, which has also explored the role of the emotions in this complicated process of stopping offending (Farrall and Calverley, 2005; 2006; Giordano et al., 2007; Morizot and LeBlanc, 2007). It appears that desistance also has an emotional curve (Farrall and Calverley, 2006) and, as such, the emotion of shame has received considerable attention in its connection to the process of ceasing offending.

The participants of Leibrich's study (1996) discussed shame in two ways: firstly, shame as the main cost of offending, and secondly, as the predominant reason to desist from crime. This means that for them, shame was seen as a personal disgrace, as a public embarrassment, and as a personal guilt (bad conscience). All these forms of shame could contribute to a certain degree of desistance if social support and acknowledgment were accessible (Leibrich, 1996).

Taking into account Braithwaite's concept (1989) of re-integrated shaming, LeBel et al. (2008) advocate that for an individual who is regretting his/her criminal career, if he/she has maintained a sense of self-respect, then the chances of stopping offending are higher.

On the other hand, the label of shame humiliates the act as well as the individual, which decreases their opportunity to positively acknowledge his/her rehabilitative work.

As shown in this section, shame and hope play a relevant role in the process of stopping offending, towards achieving a new life without crime. However, in the country of residence, shame might have the opposite effect, as this feeling might not be as present as in the home country where there is a strong social network.

With regard to this study, these two themes have a preventive role with regard to offending in the country of origin, due to the negative social and cultural consequences of incarceration on the migrants and their family. Therefore, the component of shame is analysed in connection with offending in Finding II (Migration and offending experience in England and Wales), and hope in relation to desistance in Finding III (Desistance from crime).

3.5 Psychoanalytic theory of psychosocial development

The desistance literature has demonstrated that the process of ceasing offending is influenced by various relevant components, such as personal choice, familial and social support, belonging and identity, maturation, social factors, hope, and behavioural and identity change. An important part of this change is the psychosocial development of an individual towards adulthood (Maruna, 2001; Farrall, 2002; Giordano et al., 2002; Sampson and Laub, 2003; Bottom et al., 2004; Farrall and Gadd, 2004; Vaughan, 2007; LeBel et al., 2008; Healy, 2010). The evolutionary component of this approach is strongly linked to identity (trans)formation, which has been identified as relevant by desistance literature (Gadd and Farrall, 2004; Vaughan, 2007; LeBel et al., 2008; Healy, 2010). The psychosocial aspects of this development explain the process of decision-making, and these developmental changes are expanded theoretically through Erikson's approach, namely the psychoanalytic theory of psychosocial development (Erikson, 1950, 1963).

This theory is used in this chapter because it explains identity change and personality development. The latter occurs during eight stages from infancy to adulthood. In the course of these phases, the individual experiences psychosocial crises that could have positive as well as negative effects on their personality development.

According to Erikson's theory, the development of personality occurs successfully when it solves crises which are distinctly of a social nature. These processes establish a

sense of trust in others, promote a sense of identity within the society, and help individuals to prepare for the future. Erikson extends the concept of personality development along one's entire life by focusing on the adaptive and creative feature of the personality, which was first explored by Freud. Erikson argues that personality progresses in a fixed order and relies on each previous stage; this process is known as the epigenetic principle. The consequence of this continuous development is receiving a broad and interlinked set of life skills and capabilities, which work together within an independent individual (Erikson, 1958, 1959, 1964, 1965).

These psychosocial stages are significant in relation to this study, as they attempt to understand the process of individual development during various life stages. Furthermore, this progress explains that the successful and/or unsuccessful resolution of several conflicts in life has an important impact on an individual's decision-making and relationships. Therefore, understanding this developmental model, which is explained in the next section (3.5.1), brings further insights into these processes. Furthermore, the stages explain the personal and social growth of individuals during their migration, and their creation/transformation process of a sense of belonging and identity in the country of residence, which influences their decision-making towards a life without crime.

3.5.1 Phases of the psychosocial developmental model

The theory of psychosocial development (Erikson, 1959) contains eight different phases. The first five stages demonstrate how this progress happens up to the age of 18 years, whereas the three additional steps proceed well into adulthood. Although each of these phases is important for individuals' future experiences in life, this section focuses on the fifth and sixth stages, because they have been emphasised by the desistance literature (Maruna, 2001; Gadd and Farrall, 2004) as relevant towards an identity change.

As has been explained in section 3.1.1 (Theoretical background on belonging and identity), identity formation and/or transformation are important processes during several life stages; particularly for migrants, as they are influenced by the instability created by their migration. Furthermore, the sense of identification is more often called into question when an individual migrates to a new country than in their country of origin. As a result, this (trans)formation of identity and a lack of a social support and/or social network could lead

these migrants to a sense of possible isolation, which might affect their choice towards offending or desistance. Therefore, these stages of individuals' psychosocial development are relevant, as they explain and provide an understanding of the factors which could influence the decision-making during various life stages. The successful accomplishment of each phase makes the personality of the individual healthy, and at the same time the person gains basic virtues. The latter are features of character which have an important impact on solving future conflicts. On the other hand, when the opposite occurs, i.e. a stage is not fully achieved, this may decrease people's ability to complete further phases successfully (Erikson, 1958, 1964, 1968). This results in a problematic personality and a weakened sense of self. However, these stages may be completed successfully at a later time. The two forms of these phases' accomplishment (full and partial completion) are useful for analysing some of the cases of the interviewed migrant ex-offenders. They have influenced their choices, and give an explanation for the desistance decision/process of the respondents of this study.

The table below shows these eight phases throughout the life span, and the basic virtue related to each of these steps.

Stage	Psychosocial crisis	Basic virtue	Age (years)
1.	Trust versus mistrust	Hope	0–1½
2.	Autonomy versus shame	Will	1½–3
3.	Initiative versus guilt	Purpose	3–5
4.	Industry versus inferiority	Competency	5–12
5.	Identity versus role confusion	Fidelity	12–18
6.	Intimacy versus isolation	Love	18–40
7.	Generativity versus stagnation	Care	40–65
8.	Ego (personality) integrity versus despair	Wisdom	65 +

Figure 1: The eight stages of the psychosocial developmental model (Erikson, 1958, 1963)

According to Erikson, all these phases play a significant role in the psychosocial development of an individual. My choice of this theory is related to two other reasons. Firstly, the participants of this study have undergone similar stages, which had an impact on their

process of stopping offending. Secondly, these stages are supported also by the desistance literature, as has been shown at the beginning of this chapter, as well as in the previous Chapter II: Literature review. As this thesis focuses on the desistance process of male adult migrants, the phases relevant for this study are from the fifth to the seventh stage, as they help to understand the process of this personal and social growth, which explains the desistance process of these interviewed migrant ex-offenders. As phases six and seven (Intimacy versus isolation, Generality versus stagnation) are mainly linked with factors already explained in the control theory, the only phase analysed in the next section (3.5.2) is Identity versus role confusion. The eighth stage of this developmental model will not be part of this analytical framework, as it cannot be applied in the case of this study; nor is it considered as significant for the desistance literature, for the simple reason that, by the age of 65, the process of desistance has already established roots in an individual's life.

3.5.2 Identity versus role confusion

Identity versus role confusion is the fifth stage of psychosocial development; it happens when an individual reaches adolescence, more precisely, between 12 and 18 years old. In this phase, there is a continuous search for a sense of self and personal identity through the passionate exploration of goals, personal values and beliefs. This process occurs between two important phases of life: childhood and adulthood. This means moving from the morality norms learned as a child and the development of ethics as an adult (Erikson, 1965, p. 247).

The transition towards adulthood is the most significant step during adolescence. Children become independent, and they begin to search for careers, relationships, housing, families, etc. There is a desire to belong to society and to fit in. Therefore, according to this approach, the progress of the individual is critically dependent on this phase, when the individual is required to learn his/her roles and position as an adult. Furthermore, the adolescent during this phase redefines his/her identity and seeks to find the 'real' him/her; this results in the creation of two types of identities: occupational and sexual (Erikson, 1965). Bee's theory (1992), which is built on Erikson's approach, suggests that 'a reintegrated sense of self', which means his/her future aspirations and his/her role in the society, should occur at the end of this stage.

From a cognitive social perspective, identities are internal cognitive schemas, which store information and meanings, and serve to interpret experience. In this way, they define situations and increase sensitivity to certain behaviour. These schemas may change the situation as they try to bring self-relevant meanings into alignment with those of the identity standard (Stryker and Burke, 2000). In this research, individuals' different experiences played an important role in participants' decision to migrate, and later to offend and/or desist. These experiences were triggered by various circumstances such as lack of trust, lack of sense of belonging and identity, and less social contact in the host country which might have accommodated this type of behaviour. These new circumstances created in the new environment, and the changes caused by personal development, impacted their decision-making towards offending and/or desistance. Overcoming this phase successfully leads to the virtue of fidelity, which implies a commitment towards others; this means being accepted by others, even if they have differences in various respects (Bee, 1992; Stryker and Burke, 2000)

A further feature of this phase is the adolescent exploring several possibilities and beginning to shape their own identity based on the outcomes of their exploration. The structure of the self influences the created identity and the social behaviour in general (Stryker and Burke, 2000). Therefore, establishing a successful sense of identity within the society leads to having a clear place in it, whereas failing to create this self-identity, always in relation to society, could cause confusion and lead to an unclear position in the society. As a consequence, there is an identity crisis for the adolescent who may practise different lifestyles at work, in education, or in other social activities. Furthermore, insisting that someone adopts an identity may result in rebellion, which means establishing a negative identity, and may cause feelings of unhappiness (Erikson, 1965).

3.5.3 Criticism of psychosocial developmental theory

As has been demonstrated in the sections above, Erikson's psychosocial developmental approach has various positive features, and forms a foundation for Erikson's personality development (McAdams, 1999; 2001). However, there are certain characteristics of this approach which require a critical evaluation (McCrae and Costa, 1997).

Firstly, this theory only vaguely analyses the causes of this development. There is a lack of explanation of the experiences that an individual should have in order to solve

different psychosocial conflicts and progress from one phase to another. Furthermore, it does not provide a mechanism for crisis resolution, and there is no clarification of how these phases influence the personality at later stages. Even Erikson recognises that this theory is mainly of a descriptive nature, in that it does not necessary analyse the process and the reasons for emotional and social development. Therefore, he underlines that his work should be considered as 'a tool for thinking, rather than an actual analysis.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has brought new analytical dimensions to the intellectual themes identified as significant in the literature review, through the following steps:

Firstly, it developed the themes emphasised by the desistance literature and expanded them theoretically. Through the theme of belonging and identity and its theoretical background, it explored and clarified the challenging process of creating a sense of belonging and identification in the county of residence.

Furthermore, it explained that the theoretical developments are closely related to each other; and, depending on the individual's experiences, their narration, collective belonging/identity, and the approach of legal and social institutions in the welcoming country (LaBarbera, 2015), these have an enormous impact on the migrants' life, and in particular during their desistance process. Taking into consideration the hostile environment created by the Home Office in relation to migrants, and its policies which aim to decrease the migration level, this reduces migrants' sense of belonging in the host country (Home Office, 2014), by augmenting the feeling of being 'unwanted'. This kind of environment also indirectly impacts the kinds of policies that need to be implemented by social institutions for this group in society. Being in the position of an 'outsider' may also affect these migrants' view of themselves: it may impact their decision-making in general and, in particular, in relation to their process of stopping offending.

Secondly, the social identity approach demonstrated that, through a normal cognitive process, a certain categorisation of individuals occurs which could cause negative effects, especially among less privileged social groups, such as some types of migrants. As has been explained in the social identity theory section, its elements such as self-esteem, self-efficacy, discrimination/stigmatisation, social categorisation and out-group

homogeneity, depending on how they are experienced, could have a positive and/or negative impact on migrants. Furthermore, for this study's participants, the fact of discrimination and/or stigmatisation of migrants by the media, legal and social institutions, and by society, has made their experience as a migrant, and the sense of belonging and identity, more challenging. Their status, and their differences from the rest of society in terms of culture, language, race, and on other levels, might make these migrant ex-offenders especially vulnerable.

Thirdly, the social control theory attempted to explain the importance and strength of attachments, which play a significant role in starting or stopping criminal behaviour. These attachments/bonds are considered relevant in the current desistance literature, as they support identity change, which enables a long-term desistance from crime.

Fourthly, after theoretically developing the theme of belonging and identity, the last theme of hope and shame was analytically expanded.

Fifthly, the psychosocial development approach analysed different phases of individuals' lives and their positive and negative experiences throughout these stages. This approach demonstrates an identity change and a cognitive transformation which, according to the literature review, positively affects the process of ceasing offending. Therefore, it is investigated whether the same stages explored in this approach develop new analytical dimensions which are relevant to migrants' desistance. This development depends also on the narration of migrants' experience in their country of residence, which could have a positive and/or negative influence on their process of ceasing offending. The importance of these experiences rests on their enormous impact on choices and behaviours during later phases of life's span, which may lead to beginning and/or a determination to pursue a criminal career.

Therefore, the theoretical expansion of the themes emphasised in the literature review, and the relevant theoretical approaches, provided new theoretical dimensions and suggested their possible application in the sample of this study. Furthermore, they explored different ways in which the sense of self, self-esteem, self-efficacy, self-identity, etc., which are already known in the current desistance literature, might have positively and or negatively affected the respondents of this study. Hence, using thematic analysis as the method of this study, the findings of this thesis (Findings I: Belonging and identity, II:

Migration and Offending narratives, and III: Desistance from crime) will show the different perspectives being combined in the course of analysis.

CHAPTER IV: METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORK

4. Introduction

This chapter explains the methodological approach adopted in this qualitative study. It points out the features of this research and demonstrates how life narratives can enhance the understanding of migrant ex-offenders' desistance process in England and Wales. Discovering the impact of migration, sense of belonging, and identity change (creation and/or transformation) through their narrative self-constructed version of desistance provides insights into the process of ceasing offending by the participants of this study (foreign-born UK nationals and foreign-born migrants), which enables them to maintain a desistance identity. According to Pasupathi and Rich (2005), the way narratives are told is influenced by encounters with the audience, and by its reaction to what is said. Taking into consideration that desistance is a process towards a life without offending, the autobiographical narratives about their experiences in the country of origin and in the country of residence help these participants during their journey to a life without crime. Furthermore, through narratives, a possible empathy towards the narrator might be created, which has a positive effect on their view of themselves, and which could ease their process of stopping offending.

Taking into consideration the themes emerging from the literature review, which were developed theoretically in the analytical framework, this chapter aims to articulate a method of studying the impact of migration, belonging and identity in the desistance narratives of interviewed migrants. This chapter illustrates how these themes enabled narrative self-construction, which was important to explain the desistance process of these interviewees. It shows why thematic analysis is the appropriate approach to analyse their desistance narratives. Furthermore, it explains the challenges of carrying out this type of research and its various limitations. All the steps explained in this chapter articulate the suitability of this method in relation to the roles of migration, belonging and identity, expressed through the narratives of the interviewees.

4.1 Research design

Research design is a significant part of this chapter, which incorporates the research questions, methodology and sampling procedure.

4.1.1 Research question and research aims

As was demonstrated in the previous chapters (I, II and III), this study aims to explore the role of migration, belonging and identity in the desistance narratives of the interviewed migrant ex-offenders in England and Wales. The researcher interviewed 15 male migrant ex-offenders (foreign-born UK nationals and foreign-born), and attempted to achieve the following research aims, in order to analyse their desistance experiences through life narrative.

Research Aims

- To examine the experiences of migrant ex-offenders in desisting from crime,
- To identify the roles of migration, belonging and identity in the desistance narratives of interviewed migrants,
- To explore the strategies that migrant ex-offenders use in order to cope with their reality and to desist from crime in the host country.

4.2 Methodological framework

4.2.1 Narrative research

This thesis draws on the life narrative methodology, which was chosen in order to provide rich answers to the research questions, and also to gain a further understanding of those areas which represent critical issues in desistance knowledge. The use of such personal autobiographies in this type of research is occasionally referred to as ‘narrative studies’ (McAdams, 1993; Presser and Sandberg, 2015). The literature review established that identity change was central to desistance, and using life narratives provides in-depth

knowledge of this process. Indeed, being able to narrate their journey helps participants to change their identity.

The terms ‘narrative’ and ‘narrative research’ are widely used in several disciplines of qualitative research. According to Webster, narrative is defined ‘as a discourse or an example of it and it is constructed to represent a connected succession of happenings’ (Webster, 1966, p. 1503). Other authors describe it as any study which uses or analyses stories as a data collection method. Moreover, it can be used to examine an identity and/or personality, a social phenomenon, and also to compare individuals within a group. Life narrative is used as a method to understand the production and analysis of qualitative data (Lieblich et al., 1998; Inowlocki et al., 1998; Cortazzi and Jin, 2002; Riessman, 1993, 2000; Roberts, 2002; Kazmierska, 2003); this method is mainly focused on the inner changes of the individuals which are required in order to achieve substantial life transformation. Moreover, this technique is important as it helps the researcher to explore the participants’ personal circumstances and difficult situations. Through its use, a dialectical process is constructed whereby the researcher, as an interviewer, and the interviewee are actively involved in the reconstruction of the past, the present, and foretelling of the future. The narratives are guided by questions and serve as an opportunity to find out more about their perspectives; therefore, it becomes an interpersonal path for all involved. It analyses relationship(s), and the ‘lived experience’ of research participants can be understood (Charmaz, 1990, p. 1161; 2008).

Understanding the process of desistance through this narrative framework creates a vision of the ‘whole person’ because, according to the narrative theory (McAdams, 1994a, 1994b, 1995; McAdams and McLean, 2013), human behaviour is guided by three internalised domains: psychological traits, personal strategies, and identity narratives or ‘self-stories’ (Conley, 1985; McAdams, 1994a). These traits are relatively stable over life’s course, but leave open the possibility of substantial change in adulthood. These narratives illustrate their actions in a sequence of events which connect to explanatory goals, motivations and feelings. Furthermore, the literature in psychology and sociology supports the view that the form and content of personal narratives express people’s identity (Gergen and Gergen, 1986; Bruner, 1991, 1996; Hermans et al., 1993; McAdams, 1993, 1994a, 1994b; McAdams and McLean, 2013; Gergen, 1994; Fischer-Rosenthal, 1995; Rosenthal, 1995, 1997).

4.2.2 Narratives and identity construction

The transformation of an individual's identity is possible through life narratives, because through narrative self-reconstruction the individual is able to reframe past negative events and construct a positive sense of self; this helps the individual to explain why negative past situations occurred, and hence how they can behave differently to enable a more positive future. Through narratives, the individual reflects on his/her previous actions, which elicits their views about their past, the present, and possible future plans. Such narratives are analysed as a constructed stories, an investigation in which uncovering the 'truth' is not the aim of analysis; rather, its purpose is to understand how individuals reframe their past – in these cases, to enable them to continue the desistance process. The construction of narratives of the self can help individuals to make sense of their dynamic internal life; the story individuals construct can assist them in developing a sense of purpose and meaning for his or her life (Bruner, 1991; Chanfrault-Duchet, 2000; Goodson, 2005; Bauer et al., 2008; Presser and Sandberg, 2015). Thus, such narratives can help impose order on their experiences, and the narrator makes sense of themselves and their life; they include subjective perspectives of the narrator and his/her interpretations of different situations and events (Holstein and Gubrium, 2000). However, even though these narratives are personal, their meanings are always put into context by others, such as family, friends and circumstances. The narratives are accounts of what happened to people, and what it was like as an experience that played a relevant role in particular life circumstances, and with specific consequences. Thus, self-constructed narratives involve selective reassembly of memories of events and experiences, to produce a coherent narrative designed to convince both the self and others that the individual has reformed. The aim is that such narratives enable change in the present and future, refashioning the individual's self-identity to enable personal change. Narrative self-construction engages the narrator in this process, which plays an important role in the social construction of identity. Thus, 'Personal stories are not merely a way of telling someone (or oneself) about one's life; they are the means by which identities may be fashioned' (Rosenwald and Ochberg, 1992, p. 1).

By constructing life stories, connections are created among experiences, actions and aspirations. Over time, numerous or varied cultural story elements are accessed and integrated into self-stories (Presser and Sandberg, 2015). These self-stories, which are used

to describe a broader spectrum of narratives, vary in their depth, coherence and authenticity; for example, a person may create fractured stories due to their life situation. In order to avoid such fragmented stories, narrative identity is used to assemble a coherent life story which delivers logic and wholeness. In addition, life narrative is a flexible concept (Bauer, McAdams and Pais, 2008), and can be defined as a basic human strategy for coming to terms with time, process and change (Herman, 2009; Magnusson and Marecek, 2013). This process is also addressed in the desistance literature (Maruna, 2001; Giordano et al., 2002; Farrall, 2005; Paternoster and Bushway, 2009; Rumgay, 2004). Therefore, narrative self-construction shapes people´s identity and personality, which in this case may be key to shaping a non-offending identity.

As a result, when analysing this alteration of a migrant's life towards ceasing offending, an individual is able to self-reconstruct the negative past to form a positive future. Moreover, these narratives differ from non-migrant narratives, given that the migration/offending affects their self-constructed narratives as migrant (ex)-offenders. This new non-offending identity is also explored by current desistance literature, and some of these scholars also use personal autobiographies (Maruna, 2001; Liem and Richardson, 2014).

Identity change, which is expanded by and incorporated into the narratives, helps to make sense and meaning out of the narrator's life. There is a selective reconstruction of the story, with autobiographical elements from the past and anticipation of the imagined future. The description of the narratives has a broader spectrum which varies in depth, coherence and authenticity. For example, a person may create fractured stories due to the narrator´s life situation. This means that the life story constructs a coherent narrative, where ´truth´ becomes no longer the object of analysis. This shows a move away from the ´what´ to the ´how´, and deconstructs the realist position which assumes that life stories can be regarded as ´mirrors´ of life events. Rather, they are viewed as social products of people in the context of specific social, historical and cultural locations (Rosenwald and Ochenburg, 1992). The process of narrative identity development continues throughout a person's life, although narrative identities begin to be part of people´s lives in their late adolescence. In order to avoid such fragmented self-constructed narratives, as was mentioned above, narrative identity is used to reveal a deeper-level life story which delivers coherence, logic and wholeness. In this framework, life narratives reflect both aspects of Lewin's (1935)

argument, namely behaviour and future choices. This framework firstly provides useful information about the person and their environment, and secondly, it illustrates the interaction of these two elements in the person's personality and their decisions. These two elements take a different shape particularly in relation to migrants, as their life experiences vary considerably. Individuals construct a determination and an ambition regarding their sense of their life, which is in accordance with their initial reason for migrating. These self-narratives act to shape and guide future behaviour, according to various personal scripts or action repertoires that the person has developed. As a result, these life goals provide individuals with the direction in which they act, and at the same time, these new life aims are shaped according to a new life without crime (Giddens, 1991, pp. 64–77).

A further important component of the narrative method is its flexibility in collecting the data. These are produced in various ways, such as interviews, field notes during an observation, personal letters, autobiography, oral history, auto-ethnography, life history, and other means. In the case of this study, an autobiographic interview was used to collect the data. This type of interview is relevant for reaching a pragmatic understanding of possible issues faced by people who have lived in different countries. It allows analysis of the belonging expressed by interviewees, in relation to other important elements, such as social and family support, education, employment, their personal choices, and their status as a migrant. These elements overlap and interact within social relations and processes, to legitimise specific social hierarchies and inequalities (Charmaz, 2006; Morse, 2000). Therefore, a life-history investigation method would make it possible to explore, in an effective way, how the social status of migrants influences their experiences in their decision-making in their life; and in particular, their desistance choice.

According to Mey (1999, p. 145; Charmaz, 2006; Morse, 2000, p. 3; Corbin and Strauss, 2007; Mason, 2010; Baker and Edwards, 2012), this type of interview is a 'discursive dialogue procedure' in which the ex-offenders are considered experts in explaining their actions. It is anticipated that this approach towards them makes ex-offenders more confident in the course of the interview, which gives them the freedom to correct their statements or the interviewer's.

4.2.3 Migrants' narratives

Taking into account the role of life narratives, as has been explained thoroughly in the previous section, it is of enormous interest to know how migrants might make sense of their experiences in their country of residence through these self-constructed narratives. By analysing the way migrants narrate their experiences, it is possible to decipher their views, understand their stories and unpick their desistance identity, through the co-production of the questions they are asked. Furthermore, the desistance literature uses narratives to enable this change towards a non-offending identity (Maruna, 2001; Giordano et al., 2002; Calverley, 2006). In order to understand migrants´ experiences, it is important to investigate how they have adjusted to a new life; i.e. to a new labour market, to a new language, to a new education system, and to their position in a new society. The way each interviewee views his own history is interesting because it reveals information about their personality, background, and position as a migrant. For the participants of this study, their migration experience and their functional sense of belonging in the new environment have played a paramount role in their willingness to desist and to continue to lead a life without crime. How they found the process of migrating to the UK might have enormously affected their decision towards offending and later towards non-offending. Continuing a non-offending present for more than four years was possible by creating their 'own', 'safe' environment, their sense of belonging in the host country, and transforming their identity into a new non-offending identity. Therefore, their future hope for themselves and their family, their behaviour while gaining this new non-offending identity, and the desire to create the reality – which might have made the majority of them migrate – is strengthened by these desistance narratives.

Migrants' process of ceasing offending has not yet been researched from a similar perspective, i.e. through their narratives of their migration, their identity, their belonging, their self-image, and the way in which they are perceived; thus, this study helps to understand their desistance process, and it provides an innovative and thorough research on this topic. Consequently, this thesis draws on the life-narrative methodology, because subjective self-reflexivity is a prerequisite for narrative reconstruction. This acknowledges migrants' past experiences and commits them to a cessation from crime. Furthermore, it analyses their coping desistance strategies in their country of residence.

4.3 Sampling and recruitment procedure

The criteria for eligibility were set according to the main component of the research question of my study: migrants' desistance from crime. Therefore, the sample of this research comprises 15 male foreign-born UK national and foreign-born migrant ex-offenders who were established to have been desisting before and during the interview. A specific length of their desistance period was not a condition to participate in this study.

The size of a qualitative research often provokes debate (Morse, 1995; Creswell, 1998). It is often smaller than in quantitative research, due to the fact that qualitative methods focus on the in-depth understanding of a particular phenomenon, an issue, a process, etc. Such types of research are not intended for generalisation to a larger population, but are more inductive and emergent in their process. A substantial number of pieces of academic work suggest that a sample size of between 5 and 50 participants is an adequate number (Morse, 1994, 1995, 2000, p. 3; Strauss and Corbin, 2007; Mason, 2010). However, the appropriate number is influenced by the quality of the data, the scope of the study, the nature of the topic, the difficulties in accessing the data, and the amount of useful information provided by each respondent (Charmaz, 1990, 2006, 2010; Morse, 1994, 1995, 2000, p. 3; Strauss and Corbin, 1998, Corbin and Strauss, 2007; Mason, 2010; Baker and Edwards, 2012).

Some scholars argue that the concept of saturation (Charmaz, 1990, 2006; Morse, 1994, 1995) is an important element when deciding on the size of the sample. This criterion is commonly defined as a reason for discontinuing data collection and/or data analysis (Charmaz, 2005, 2008, 2014; Legard et al., 2003). As has been discussed in the literature review, a substantial amount of desistance research tends to employ quantitative methods.

The rationale for the size of my sample was influenced by two factors. Firstly, the studies from which my research was derived (Maruna, 2001; Giordano et al., 2002, Calverley, 2006; McNeil, 2014) are mixed-method studies and/or qualitative ones. Even though Giordano et al.'s (2002) study was mainly quantitative research, its second phase included narratives, in order to gain an in-depth understanding of participants' desistance process.

Secondly, I had enormous difficulties in finding participants for this study, due to the particularities of the research sample characteristics (male foreign-national, foreign-born migrant ex-offenders, with no addiction problems). The information collected would be very

substantial, in order to illustrate various issues and/or particularities of my participants' desistance experience. Moreover, as I had used all the possible resources to find further respondents, and also followed the professional advice of my supervisors after reading the collected data, the final sample of this study was of 15 participants. When the interviews were conducted, their age-range was found to be 28 to 50 years old. They were a very diverse group of migrants who originally came from Poland, Morocco, Albania, Madagascar/France, India, Russia and Belgium. A considerable number of them had migrated to several countries such as Germany, Italy, France and Greece prior to their migration journey to the United Kingdom. With regard to race, the majority (12) are white, while of the remainder, two are black (black and mixed-race) and one is Asian.

Overall, this particular sample was not chosen randomly, but was a purposive sample to fulfil criteria which were important to the objectives of this study (Bryman, 2004). I defined the first criterion, desistance from crime, very broadly, in order to explore various experiences of documented and non-documented migrants throughout their process of ceasing offending. Despite the broadness of this concept, their period of stopping offending has been, for all the participants of my study, more than four years. Moreover, their experience of offending was mainly part of their past, whereas creating a routine without offending is part of their present and their future. A further component which was also given a broad definition was the type of offenders, mainly to increase the chance of finding the number of migrants to fulfil the criteria of this study.

To collect the data from the narratives of 15 adult male migrant ex-offenders, the process of finding appropriate participants for this study had to overcome several difficulties. According to Kazemian's (2007, 2015) theoretical point, a threshold of serious levels of a previous criminal career is required, to avoid documenting delinquent behaviour. This could result in two types of limitations: firstly, it might be hard to reach serious offenders, and secondly, they might not necessarily represent the most persistent offenders. The participants of this study are individuals who committed an offence according to Categories 1,[5] 2[6] and 3.[7] Category 1 includes a maximum penalty fine, whereas Categories 2

[5] An offence punishable with a maximum penalty of a fine only. An infringement offence (as defined in section 2 of the Summary Proceedings Act 1957), which is commenced by filing a charging document under the Criminal Procedure Act 2011 rather than by issuing an infringement notice.

and 3 are punished by a prison sentence. These categories include a wide span, from petty crimes to serious ones. Taking into account the nature of the offence, the research intends to examine those who, under the Criminal Procedure Rules 2011, are categorised on the basis of maximum penalty; though with the exception of Category 4 offences, which include offences whose seriousness contradicts the public norms and values (Ministry of Justice, 2013).

As was mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, participants of this research are foreign nationals and foreign-born migrants with strong ties to the UK. According to the UK legal framework, if a foreign prisoner is given a custodial sentence of up to 12 months, then the individual becomes eligible for deportation. As a result, the foreign-national prisoners may not be eligible for any support after their release, as the goal is to deport them. The question that arises here is whether the UK legislation takes into consideration the European Convention on Human Rights in relation to this group of society. Despite the UK regulations' aim to deport foreign nationals, according to the Home Office, there are accessible data for, and a significant number of, foreign nationals with strong ties in the UK who match my sample. However, in order to avoid a lack of accessible data about this group due to the above regulations, this research also considers foreign-born UK nationals. This group includes individuals who have arrived in the UK after completing secondary-school education their home country, or later. The choice of this group is also related to their strong identity and belonging ties with their countries of origin. Hence, although all the respondents were born outside the UK, three of them are UK nationals.

Another aspect to be taken into consideration is the impact of immigration legislation on this research. As various respondents of my sample have different immigration status (documented and undocumented), this study is not interested in individuals who have committed immigration offences, but standard criminal offences. The position of UK regulation in relation to the foreign nationals who have received a custodial sentence – i.e. that all will be deported – creates a damaging narrative with practical and psychological consequences (Aas and Bosworth, 2013). Furthermore, even if there are lower chances of

[6] An offence punishable by a term of imprisonment of less than two years; or an offence not punishable by a term of imprisonment but punishable by a community-based sentence (for example, an offence under section 11B of the Summary Offences Act 1981, which is punishable by a sentence of community work or a fine of $500, or both).

[7] An offence listed in Schedule 1 of the Act (for example, murder or manslaughter).

being removed from the country, the foreign-national prisoners have limited access to normal paths of sentence progression and preparation for life outside (HMIP, 2014). Immigration and asylum legislation define immigration offences through provisions for assigning civil or criminal sanctions, which include imprisonment for breaches of immigration rules. Examples of the latter are illegal entry, obtaining leave to remain in the UK by deception, or employing someone who does not have legal permission to work. However, 'immigration offences' does not refer to crimes committed by migrants, except those directly involving violation of immigration law. Breaches of immigration legislation can carry civil or administrative sanctions (Aliverti, 2013; Aliverti and Bosworth, 2017); they can also be criminal offences that carry criminal sanctions. In some cases, the same incident can be treated as either a civil or a criminal matter. For example, one person arriving in Britain with a false passport may be removed from the country immediately, but another might be prosecuted for possessing a false document if immediate removal is not possible (Aliverti, 2012). Depending on the circumstances of the case, enforcement agencies can refuse entry to the country, initiate removal or departure proceedings, or initiate deportation on the grounds of it being 'conducive to the public good'. When such cases occur, then the breach is also a criminal offence, such as in the case of illegal entry (Aas, 2014; Ager and Strand, 2008; Aliverti and Bosworth, 2017).

Taking into account the aforementioned legislation in relation to foreign national prisoners, it is of interest to know how the sample of this research (documented and undocumented migrants) experienced being a migrant/migrant ex-offender during their process of desistance. Migration can take different forms when immigration regulations are reinforced in order to show the state´s power in protecting national identity and state sovereignty; therefore, such regulation alterations have introduced a new group of migrants in my study, namely undocumented migrants. Such people consider themselves as citizens with the 'wrong passport', rather than criminal offenders. In the case of this study, several respondents are undocumented migrants who have committed a criminal offence(s).

Addiction is a thorny issue in the incarceration milieu, and also raises several difficulties in relation to desistance (Best, Ghufran and Day, 2007). Therefore, this study takes into consideration that addiction might have been present in the past or might become a reality in the future. Furthermore, rehabilitation barriers are often caused by dependency problems, which commonly result in a relapse. This would make the desistance

process wishful thinking rather than a possible course of action; however, none of the interviewees had addiction problems at the time of the interview.

This study focuses on adult men and excludes young offenders. It is argued that adolescence, as a complex life phase, brings a number of differences in various complicated factors, such as in social, physical and psychological areas. According to Burns and Deitz (1992), following Giddens' (1984) suggestions, intentional and reflective actions are associated more with male adults than juvenile offenders. Juveniles are often defined in contemporary literature as 'hot-headed', 'reckless' and 'callow'. Despite certain similarities in female and male offenders' circumstances, such as low educational achievement, extreme poverty and bad companions, the process of desistance in each gender occurs differently. For example, male desistance is successful with more social pressure and incentives, which is not the case for females (Giordano et al., 2002, pp. 1053–1055). Therefore, it is interesting to explore whether the same elements play a dominant role in migrant ex-offenders' desistance experience.

The recruitment procedure to acquire the actual number of participants used in this study was a long and very complex one for me. It included the following steps: firstly, I called a long list of charities that work with ex-offenders, and the probation services (National Offender Management); and secondly, the phone call was often followed by my written request for access to the intended type of participant.

Despite contacting a significant number of these organisations, I did not receive any acceptance confirmation; there were various reasons, related to the fact that their client group did not fit my research sample. Furthermore, a majority of contacted organisations did not accept my request because it would create supplementary work for the staff, and might cause some distress for their clients.

In addition to contacting a range of charities, I was supported by Prof. Dr Fergus McNeill, who posted a summary of my research on the homepage of IRSS, in order to reach out to the group of society I was seeking to interview. However, although my request for finding possible participants was posted several times online, this method did not produce any positive result.

A further recruitment procedure was word-of-mouth communication. As well as informing my family and friends circle about my research, I also talked about the difficulties in finding participants with other PhD students during the British Society of Criminology

conference (2016). This resulted in creating the first contact that led to a possible interview with a migrant ex-offender known to another participant in this conference. This was the first step in the long and difficult process of recruitment. After the first interview, I shared with my interviewee the difficulties I faced in finding other participants. He proposed to speak to some of his friends who had gone through a similar experience. As some of them were undocumented, my first interviewee proposed to talk to them and explain that there was no reason for them to be scared of the interview. The other interviewees were either friends of the first interviewee or were contacted through word-of-mouth communication. Some of my extended family work with a diverse group of migrants, and were able to make first contact with them. As they knew my relatives, they agreed to meet me so that I could find out if they fitted the criteria of my sample. After this informal meeting, the interviewees decided to proceed with the interviews, which were conducted at a later time at Kingston University premises. These were the steps that began the long and difficult process of recruitment.

4.4 Data collection

This section includes a description of the data acquisition, the limitations of data collection, and the procedures undertaken during this process.

4.4.1 Description of data acquisition

As explained in section 4.3 (Sampling and recruitment procedure), the process of gaining access to the group of individuals I was aiming to interview was long and very challenging. As a result of networking with other PhD students during the British Society of Criminology Conference, and through work relations of family relatives, the process of acquiring the data began. From that point on, this process was mainly focused on spreading word of mouth in order to increase the probability of accessing new participants. Explaining the importance of my study at the end of the interview convinced these migrants to involve some of their friends to become part of this study sample. In this way, the new participants were more comfortable with talking about their experiences of stopping offending in England and Wales. As some of these migrants lacked any legal documentation to reside in the UK, interviewing them became possible only because of their friends' positive experience during their interview. This element, in combination with the confidentiality

criteria of this study and its anonymity, played an important role in creating a basic trust between the researcher and interviewees. In order to help humanise these interviewees, I have used pseudonyms that will protect their confidentiality.

According to the literature, anonymisation is a complex process in which changing a person's name or disguising their location are the first steps in presenting information while preserving confidentiality. Anonymity occurs continuously during a research process in which researchers find harmony between two priorities: augmenting participants' protection identities, and maintaining the value and integrity of the data (Van den Hoonaard, 2003; Tolich, 2004; Scott, 2005, p. 149; Walford, 2005; Giordano et al., 2007; Kelly, 2009).

Despite the possible issues and various positions related to confidentiality and anonymity, in the case of my research, these two elements generally played a significant role. In particular, at the beginning they created the initial trust, which continued throughout the data collection phase, thereby producing a snowball effect.

A further component during the data acquisition was the gender element; at the beginning of data collection, I did not take into consideration what an important role it plays during the interviewing process. For me, the fact of being a woman and interviewing male migrant ex-offenders was intimidating, particularly at the beginning of the data collection. Even though I had previous experiences of interviewing ex-offenders, interviewing men and talking to migrant ex-offenders about sensitive issues made me realise that it was not easy for them to share some of their most negative life experiences with a woman. These challenges were more obvious when I interviewed Albanian migrants, as I am an Albanian migrant myself and was interviewing them in Albanian. I could see the uneasiness in their word choice while talking about their criminal experience in the residence country; this was also related to the fact of not being proud of their past.

As a result of this gender difference between myself and these migrant interviewees, all of them were particularly respectful and helpful; this was shown in the way they behaved. For a majority of them, finding new participants was also related to the fact that they wanted me to interview male ex-offenders with whom I would feel comfortable. Every time that these participants contacted me with other interviewees, they were those whom they themselves considered would feel safe and comfortable during the interview.

A further challenge during the process of data acquisition was interviewing individuals who had certain difficulties in expressing their experiences in their country of residence. The language barriers were mainly related to talking about their feelings rather than leading a conversation. The interviewer played a role as a co-contributor, while the respondents of this study were presenting their sense of self. With some of the interviewees, I spoke in their mother tongue; this made them feel comfortable talking about complex and sensitive matters, and this enabled the conversion to flow. I personally translated these interviews into English; this was a straightforward process, as the conversation was factual and simple.

4.4.2 Possible limitations of data collection

The process of conducting interviews with the participants of my study may have produced some shortcomings in the process of data collection. As the interview addressed previous events, there might be an issue of accuracy, and their narrative self-construction about their desistance experiences could be affected by several factors, such as forgetfulness. The latter is called the 'forward telescoping effect' (Loftus and Marburger, 1983), which means that events are thought to have happened more recently than they actually did.

Having considered that this effect might occur, I formulated the questions at the beginning of the interview in a very broad way (see section 4.5: Procedure of data collection), in order to avoid these transformations in memories. According to Nee (2004), given the aforementioned effect when relating the questions to current events, it is possible that the memories related to previous life experiences will not be distorted.

As was mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, it is relevant to understand that these narratives were produced by myself as a researcher through the interviews I conducted, and I was a participant in the process. Thus, my participation and the questions I asked also, to a large extent, determined the themes. This could be considered as a limitation, due to influencing and/or directing the self-constructed narratives of interviewees.

4.5 Procedure of data collection

As the first step before the data collection could begin, my study had to be approved by the Ethical Commission of Kingston University. I was only allowed to start the empirical procedure of data collection after ethical approval was granted. As a result of difficulties in finding participants who fit the sample of this study, the data collection began a couple of months after this approval. All the interviews took place in the premises of Kingston University, because this was one of the conditions of the Ethical Commission. It was a further challenge to convince the interviewees to travel to Kingston upon Thames, as their residences were at least an hour's journey away; thus, I covered the travel costs myself. I promised them full confidentiality when participating in this study, and explained to them that there were no reasons to feel intimidated about going to an educational institution. Therefore, travelling with them to Kingston upon Thames was a good way to gain a first sense of each participant. During the journey, I explained to the participants of this study, outside the interview framework, what to expect from it. When we arrived at the Penrhyn Road premises of Kingston University, I showed the interviewees several places where I could conduct the interview. Each participant was asked in which of these places he felt at ease to be interviewed and, after he had decided, the interview began. The interviews usually took place in the Learning Resources Centre at Kingston University. As the interviews were conducted during the weekend, these premises were not busy, which prevented any interruptions during the interview.

Through the interview questions, I was helping the interviewees to shape their narratives. In this way, they could produce their own self-constructed account; this was not fully structured by questions posed by the interviewer, but according to the narrator´s own perception of which topics were relevant. Therefore, the main areas of investigation related to the impact of crime on their sense of self, identity, migration, family, work, incarceration, desistance experiences, and support. Consequently, I asked the following set of questions:

1. Can you tell me about your life story?
2. Tell me about how crime has had an impact your life since then
3. What happened when you went to prison?
4. Can you tell me about what happened when you were released from prison?

5. What happened to make you want or try to stop committing crimes? Please tell me more about this.

6. What helped you to stop/keep you out of prison?

7. Do you think that you would have behaved in the same way in your home country? (easier, harder, irrelevant?) Please, tell me more about it.

8. Why did you stop? What prevented you from stopping before?

9. What helped you to stop/keep out of prison? Why do you think that this (event, person, etc.) helped you to stop committing crimes?

10. Do you think that you would behave the same way in your home country? (easier, harder, irrelevant?) Please, tell me more about it.

11. Can you tell me if you have ever felt part of society or a social group? Why do think that?

12. Do you have support now?

13. Would you have done the same things differently in other phases of your life? Which phases and why?

4.6 Data analysis

This section presents the rationale for analysing the collected data through thematic analysis, which is a suitable approach because it makes it possible to achieve the aims of this study. This approach provides, through the narratives of migrants shaped by their experiences within their circumstances, a complete and adaptable process of data analysis. These components not only illustrate the importance of this research and its purpose, but also help to understand the migrants´ experiences, in order to gain a clear perspective on their desistance process.

While analysing the collected data, several similar topics appeared continuously. These topics have been coded and categorised into themes, in order to interpret aspects of the desistance process. Identifying the main themes is a common way of analysing narratives, and systematic contrasting through case comparisons aims to establish the main topics common to all cases. Individual cases are compared with one another with regard to their substantive characteristics and features, in order to differentiate between similarities and differences of the two groups of interviewees: foreign-born UK nationals and foreign nationals (Gerhardt, 1986).

As mentioned in section 4.4.2 (Possible limitations of data collection), these themes were a co-production based on my interview questions and the academic literature which prompted me to adopt this approach. Moreover, they seemed to carry a certain relevance for the respondents of this study. This approach identifies, analyses and reports these themes within the life context of migrants, and creates a general view of the collected qualitative material. Subsequently, a list of codes was constructed from this information. Unlike other analytic methods that seek to describe patterns across qualitative data, such as discourse analysis and grounded theory, the created themes in the thematic analysis are not theoretically restrained. This lack of theoretical restriction in the thematic analysis makes this approach particularly suitable for this study, given that these themes are created by the interviewees (migrant ex-offenders), depending on the importance of these matters during their lives. Furthermore, thematic analysis, as has been shown above, is a flexible method; this characteristic simplifies and understands complex and rich data from migrants' narratives (Glaser, 1992; Burman and Parker, 1993; Willig, 2003; Smith and Osborn, 2003; Smith, 2005).

Adaptability is one of the main advantages of thematic analysis, compared to other qualitative methods such as discourse analysis and grounded theory; thus, thematic analysis provided me, as the researcher of this study, with certain freedoms regarding the theoretical framework. This relevant characteristic is missing from other qualitative analytic approaches, which are is divided in two categories. Within the first are those tied to a particular theoretical or epistemological position, such as conversational analysis and interpretative phenomenological analysis (Hutchby and Wooffitt, 1998; Smith and Osborn, 2003). The second category includes those which have relatively limited variability in how the method is applied within that framework, such as grounded theory (Glaser, 1992; Strauss and Corbin, 1998; Burman and Parker, 1993; Willig, 2003; Riessmann, 1993; Murray, 2003).

In contrast to other methods, thematic analysis can be applied to any theory chosen by the researcher. On the other hand, this advantage, as a flexible method, creates an absence of clear guidelines (Antaki et al., 2002). Nevertheless, thematic analysis allows scholars and/or practitioners to use a wide variety of information types in a systematic way. Therefore, because this method supports the respondents of this study to create this new

non-offending self through narrative identity, thematic analysis is the ideal method to use for this study.

The respondents' change of identity involves incompatibility with their previous identity, while simultaneously associating themselves with the new non-offending identity (Vaughan, 2007, p. 394). Therefore, the narratives are established by subjectively meaningful life-course events, which incorporate and reconstruct the coherence and understanding of their life as a whole.

Taking into consideration the chaotic and potentially challenging conditions experienced by the respondents of this study, autobiographical narratives give them a sense of consistency and order, because narrative identities provide two functions. Firstly, they influence their future social interaction and behaviour, which is aligned to their narratives. Secondly, particular life events can alter their future behaviour, actions and identities (Pals, 2006). Both of these functions, which are paramount for the interviewees of this study, are only possible through narratives. Furthermore, this method is also applied by similar studies in the current desistance literature. As has been also shown in the literature review chapter (Chapter II), according to Giordano et al. (2002) and Maruna (2001), the process of stopping offending is accompanied by this change of identity. Through narratives, identity change has been acknowledged for its important role in changing beliefs and values; this makes the process of stopping offending possible, despite the difficulties people may face along their journey (Laub and Sampson, 2003; Burnett, 2004; Gadd and Farrall, 2004; Barry, 2006; Presser, 2009; Marsh, 2011). Moreover, this method enhances the accuracy of understanding and interpreting observations about people, situations and experiences, which are important for this study.

As a result, thematic analysis is a suitable method for categorising and beginning to make sense of the narratives of migrant ex-offenders in England and Wales. These narratives helped them to explain their disrupted migration journey, their change of identity from being young male migrants towards adulthood and becoming family-oriented individuals with their own support system. Furthermore, thematic analysis addresses broader themes which can include social and cultural phenomena; these two components are of particular importance to migrants. The process of coding these experiences provides guidance regarding the perception of these rich, complex and detailed narratives from the participants of this study. According to Coffey and Aktinson, 'Coding can be thought about as

a way of relating our data to our ideas about these data' (1996, p. 27); they emphasised that coding provides many benefits in the processing and analysis of qualitative information. Below is an excerpt of an interview, alongside the coding of themes.

Gjoke	Data item	Initial codes
	Gjoke: I came to London from Albania in 2003. When I arrived here I was still a teenager, nearly 17 years old. I got register with the social service as I was not an adult yet. After I was transferred to a family. I stayed with that family until my friends and I could live by ourselves. We reached the age that we could alone and decided to leave that family. So I started to live with my friends. Everything was paid, the school, the food, clothes, everything. Social services were responsible for us and they paid everything for us. After a year, after six months I was here, I received my documents for a year and I didn´t want to receive any help anymore. I wanted to live alone, by myself.	Illegal migrant Minor Becoming part of a system Foster family Adult Independent Support from social service Support from social service Legal migrant Independent

Figure 2: Interview excerpt

4.7 Data preparation

This section explains how the data were prepared prior to analysis. Thematic analysis is an approach which occurs in six phases, each of which contributes to a reliable analysis. These stages are: a) becoming familiar with the collected data, b) generating initial codes, c) searching for themes, d) reviewing themes, e) defining and naming themes, and f) producing the report. A stepwise process of this approach, followed by the analysis of the material collected by the 15 interviews with the migrant ex-offenders, will be illustrated below in detail.

a.) Becoming familiar with collected data

This first phase of data analysis began with familiarising myself with the collected data. In this study, the first step of this process had already started while transcribing the interviews. Taking notes while transcribing the verbal data and rereading the 15 interviews actively occurred during this first stage. According to the literature on analysing qualitative data through thematic analysis, this sub-step is defined as an advisable and relevant process before starting to code the data (Boyatzis, 1998; Ezzy, 2002; Guest et al., 2012). When starting to analyse the data, transcribing and rereading were very important, because they made me thoroughly familiar with the self-constructed narratives of the study participants; this helped me to find meanings and patterns. These codes were differentiated from each other through a colour system I created while reading the data corpus (a term which in thematic analysis means the entire collected data).

b.) Generating initial codes

Generating initial codes is the second step of analysis; this involved the production of initial codes for my collected data. As I did not operate a software programme to encode the data corpus, I applied a manual technique to create the possible codes; this consisted of creating a table with three columns. The first column showed the case number, for example Case 1; the second one provided the data item, which means the entire interview text was included in this column; and the last column contained the initial codes. Through rereading and reviewing the data item, a code in the third column captured the qualitative richness of a relevant theme, which would be usable in the analysis, interpretation and presentation of this study. For qualitative methods, literature shows that code can maximise the probability of producing high reliability and validity (Boyatzis, 1998; Ezzy, 2002; Guest et al., 2012).

c.) Searching for themes

At this point in the third stage, a long list of different codes was created in the third column of the table mentioned in the 'Generating initial codes' phase. In this phase I aimed to focus on the broader level of themes, which means I organised different codes into potential themes. As this research analysed rich data, the list of the initial codes was very long and complex. Often, many experiences had been influenced by several factors, which meant creating complex charters. Mind maps and flashcards were used to organise the codes. For example, the theme of belonging was created as a result of constructing subsets of codes. Therefore, some of these codes formed themes or sub-themes, whereas others could be rejected in the next phase. As a result, at the end of this stage I had a collection of themes and sub-themes. The figure below illustrates only the theme of belonging with its sub-themes, at the end of this phase in Case 4.

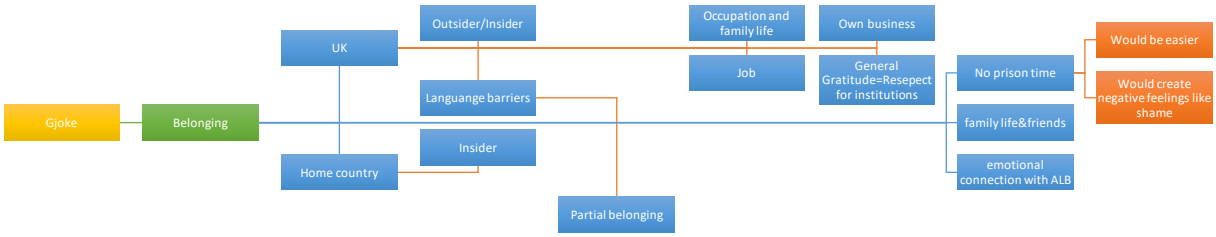

Figure 3: Illustration of the theme 'Belonging' in relation to other factors of interviewee Gjoke

d.) Reviewing themes

During this stage, the themes are refined; this means that some of them were divided, whereas others needed to be separated into smaller components. This step included refinement of the created themes, which occurred in two sub-steps. After rereading all the extracts from the data, I discovered a coherent pattern in relation to the

entire data corpus. Subsequently, I considered each topic in relation to the data corpus. In order to have a clear overview for visualising the relationship between the created themes, I created the following chart (see below); this illustrates how reviewing a theme develops even within one phase, and produces a clear and content-related theme.

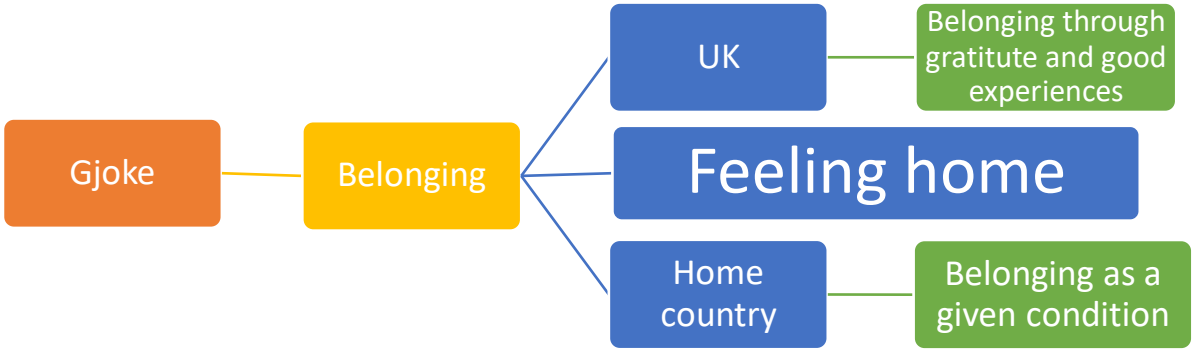

Figure 4: Illustration of theme 'Belonging' in the first sub-step of the fourth stage

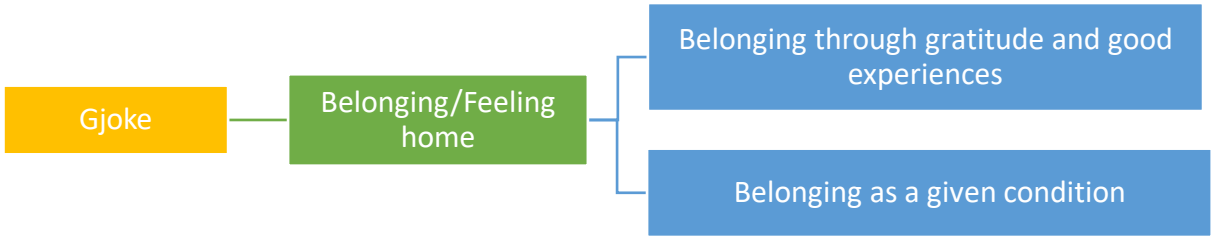

Figure 5: Illustration of theme 'Belonging' in the second sub-step of the fourth stage

e.) Defining and naming themes

This fifth stage captures the significance of each theme's content, and what aspect of the data each of them captures. At this point, an overall narrative for the data was created, which required analysing each theme and its individual narrative in order to test if it fitted into the overall narrative. As with the result of the analysis of interviewee Gjoke, some of these created themes were belonging, shame and desistance. A final thematic map was produced after the themes had been reviewed in relation to the collected data.

f.) Producing the report

Producing the report is the final phase of the analysis; this involved writing the report, which is concise, coherent, logical, and includes interesting narratives by the migrant

participants of this study. During this phase, each theme was presented and illustrated with sufficient examples taken from the interviews, as supporting elements in this last stage.

The thematic analysis step-by-step guidelines lead to a particular methodological rigour, which makes the analysis a straightforward process. This six-step process locates the interviewee at the centre, and creates a clear and a simplified way to analyse the information received from the migrants´ narratives. The encoding process established a transparent way of organising the large and rich data corpus. The created codes, which are represented in a chunk of text, as has been illustrated in 'Searching for themes', were established after rereading the data. Finding patterns and reviewing themes produced during the first two steps of the analysis process, as well as during other steps, created relevant themes for each interviewee of this study. These themes construct the link between various expressions of migrants' experiences; therefore, this is significant to illustrate how these joint themes enabled the narrative self-construction of my interviewees, which helped them to move towards ceasing offending. For example, Kofi's interview sequences illustrate how his story was made.

He describes his situation *before migration* as such:

> Kofi: *My role in the family has been the one of fatherhood, since my father´s death. I was the one to help them and also cash wise. My mother was the force behind everything especially regarding the finance because she was a well trained professional nurse and she worked hard to put us to school and etc. But I was the one to whom they look up to in case of any problem or to do something for the family. I stepped up any time when it was necessary to play the male role and I was always ready to do such things for them. So I always have been nice with them and it is the same from their side. But my financial situation before starting crime it was a difficult mission. (thinking…) very pathetic, very, very bad. That´s why I came to England illegally and after I made an asylum claim. After that I was send to an accommodation very, very, very degrading for a human being. (Exact transcription)*

His experience in the UK is described:

> *It was not enough money to eat, not to talk of putting money in clothes or taking care of other things. The reason of my first crime was just to try and feed myself. It was a very hard situation for me. (Exact transcription)*

While offending:

> *Prison is an institution that you don´t want to go and no one goes freely. I felt bad in there and I was ashamed to be inside. In Africa if somebody goes to prison and finishes his term there he does not want to go back there, because it is so terrible. When I was in prison in England I met people who weren´t sad or anything of returning back to prison. They didn't mind to come back to prison. I did not understand but it was what I saw. That was my impression on prison. Where is the point of prison if it is not a problem to come again? This was shocking for me. There was less shame in the people who were in prison and most of them took it very easy. I did crime myself but every time I did, I didn´t feel so good and I never felt so bad as I felt in prison. You are alone, you don´t trust anyone and you have to be part in any of the gangs, so you won´t have any trouble inside.*
> *The third time in prison, my last time, I called them (family member) but I never told them that I was in prison. My family doesn´t know that I was in prison. It´s better like this.*
> *They (Kofi's family) would feel sad and I think that something would have been broken in our relationship. She would have feel insulted, because my mother has done so much for me and I repaid that way. It wouldn´t have been the same way. I don´t think that she would seen me with the same admiration as she sees me now. (Exact transcription)*

Desisting experiences:

> *Everyone is capable of doing anything, but circumstances make us different, but not better. You become more deadly criminal in prison, if you want to be. If you want to become more deadly criminal in prison you have your opportunity to learn. But if you want to have the change in your life you also can do it in the prison. This comes only from you, from your internal thoughts and feelings. Nobody can tell you have to change or you have to do this or that. The change comes only from your mind.*
> *The question is to know how you would face these challenges. Somebody like me living an adventurous life at the moment when leaves the home country and go to a foreign country the person, including me needs time to adopt. The adaptation period is related with new language, new habits, new way of life and new way of thinking. It is clear that it would be difficult and at the same time there are always illegal ways to make a good life in the new country. (Exact transcription)*

Kofi's interview sequences show that self-constructed narrative was a way of exploring his desistance. Through the first interview sequence, before migration, I identified that stepping up into the 'father' role of the family gave Kofi several responsibilities, but at the same time put him under a great deal of pressure to fulfil his duties in that role. Thus, Kofi decided to migrate to help his family's economic situation. As his migration experience

was very challenging, Kofi then began to commit crime, and was incarcerated several times. He describes his time in prison as very difficult; it also gave him a reality check, between Kofi's image of prison and how incarceration time was experienced by his co-inmates. The feeling of shame was very present: the interview sequences show that this was because of offending and his ideas related to being in prison. In addition, Kofi found it more difficult to deal with the shame felt on behalf of his family, in particular his mother. Accepting the fact that he was not fulfilling his initial role as 'the father of the family', as he had been incarcerated several times, caused Kofi enormous shame, and could change his good relationship with his family. However, Kofi's decision to completely change his situation and his life, made him able to overcome the obstacles and to work towards a new life without crime. This 'new beginning' was in alignment with his previous goals before migrating to the UK. Furthermore, this new perception of himself enabled him to start his journey towards a life without crime. Therefore, the themes illustrated through interview sequences and then interpreted, such as migration, offending and shame, helped Kofi to find his way towards the process of ceasing offending. They help to refresh the understanding of his desistance process and frame the text. Through this, within the data corpus it is possible to capture the meaning of migrants' complex experiences during their desistance process. The analysis of this process is achievable through the flexibility of thematic analysis, which enables the collection of the data through life narratives and, in this way, allows the person´s 'story' to be understood through defining themes. Moreover, this analysis provides a subjective perception of the difficulties that interviewees have confronted or still confront during their desistance process. In the findings chapters (V, VI, VII), it is illustrated how the self-construction narratives shaped their new non offending identity.

In order to understand the factors that cause these barriers to desistance and how they can be overcome, the individuals, given their former social position, have to adjust to new institutions such as the labour market and the education system. The way each interviewee views his own history is of enormous interest, as it reveals information about his personality, background and position as a migrant. In addition, the life narratives shape their future choices and also their behaviour. Through thematic analysis, it is possible to reach a pragmatic understanding of possible issues faced by people who have lived in different countries, in order to analyse the interviewees' expression of belonging in relation to other important elements such as social and family support, education, employment, their

personal choices, and their status as a migrant. As has been shown in the 'Familiarising with collected data' and 'Generating initial codes' stages, identifying the themes and starting the process of developing codes is an open phase which examines all the collected information from the interviews. This provides some insights into possible themes which could be relevant while producing the report. Recognising a consistency throughout the data corpus is possible through thematic analysis. Data analysis will occur through coding the main topics of the interview, in order to get a better overview. Furthermore, coding is a common method of analysing through thematic analysis.

The systematic contrasting through case comparisons aims to work through the main topics common to all cases. Individual cases are compared with one another in terms of their substantive characteristics and features, in order to differentiate between similarities and differences of the two groups of interviewees, i.e. foreign-born and foreign nationals (Boyatzis, 1998; Ezzy, 2002; Braun and Clark, 2006; Guest et al., 2012). Therefore, the thematic analysis makes it possible to explore, in an effective way, how the social status of migrants influences their experiences in their decision-making in their life and, in particular, their desistance choice.

In order to occur, desistance is influenced by several factors and life circumstances. Some reasons for desistance were related to survival, such as fitting into a particular group of society, fighting for a better life, being scared of dying, love for their own family, or stopping addiction. Furthermore, the process of ceasing offending fluctuated significantly depending on the circumstances of the migrant, on the participant's willingness to desist from crime, as well as their new support system in the welcoming country. All these key themes for the participants, which were influenced by several factors (such as educational, familial and social), are thoroughly analysed and interpreted in the findings chapters (Chapters V, VI, VII).

By illustrating the importance of using the life narratives to explore the desistance of migrant ex-offenders, and with thematic analysis as the suitable approach for this study, the following part of this chapter illustrates whether and how this method has been used in the desistance literature.

As has been variously mentioned in this chapter, this study focuses on the impact of migration, belonging and identity as expressed in desistance narratives of migrant ex-offenders. The particularity of this group relates to the fact of being migrant and their

experiences towards a life without crime. Taking into consideration previous migration studies (Olsen, 2009; Fangen, 2010; Mau and Burkhardt, 2010), it is important to analyse the ways in which migrants confront their experiences as ex-offenders in England and Wales. Furthermore, it is valuable to study how migrants act and decide, in a context of disadvantages and opportunities which they actively integrate into their migration experience, and their understanding of themselves in their country of origin and the host country (Parmar, 2013; Anthias and Cederberg, 2009). It would be of a great interest to discover, through their narratives, how they rationalise decision-making towards desistance. Exploring and analysing the desistance experiences of migrant ex-offenders from their own perspective is a challenging process, as this group of society may face several disadvantages from a legal, socio-economic and educational point of view. In addition, migrants' strong familial, social and moral values from their countries of origin are of particular importance in the host country, as they are used as coping strategies under these different circumstances (Parmar, 2013, p. 204; Drever and Hoffmeister, 2008).

Despite the subjectivity in migrants' experiences, their unique positions with their specific conditions allow us to understand and explore the importance of belonging and identity in the desistance process, within the framework of this research. For instance, an individual's migration is a rational decision, and participants' migration reasoning might be related to many various factors. Taking into consideration several studies on migration (Spencer, 1997; Stråth, 2008; Olsen, 2009; Fangen, 2010; Mau and Burkhardt, 2010; Jansen et al., 2015), which generally illustrate migrants' difficulties, it is important to identify the strategies that migrants of this study used when trying to understand the host country's institutions.

On the other hand, migrant desistance has not previously been researched from this perspective of belonging, identity and migration, even though desistance is a criminological term that has attracted increasing research interest in recent decades. The methodological framework of desistance studies contains various methods which differ significantly from one study to another. Maruna's study was content-coded, and identified patterns in tone, theme, plot, roles, value-structure, coherence and complexity. However, whereas Maruna´s study used a mixed-method approach to reach its aims, my study, with a qualitative methodological framework, adopts not only the same approach of thematic analysis, but also explores patterns in themes of being a migrant/migrant ex-offender, in belonging and

identity, and in their status as migrants. In this way, the complexity of migrants' desistance process will be thoroughly analysed and understood. Other significant studies on desistance (Cusson and Pinsonneault, 1986; Giordano et al., 2002 p. 998; Soyer, 2014) have been taken into consideration from the theoretical point of view, but not from the methodological foundation aspect, which was illustrated in the literature review (Chapter II).

4.8 Conclusion

As has been illustrated, the first section of this chapter presents the research design, with its questions and its aims. Then, the methodological framework explores how the use of life narratives allows the participants of this study to explain, in more detail, their experiences in their country of residence as migrant ex-offenders. As this thesis focuses on the roles of migration, belonging and identity during their desistance process, life narratives is the type of interview which provides access to an identity change/transformation towards being a non-offending person. The respondents benefit from these narratives, as they provide a certain order and truthfulness to the new life stage of interviewed migrants. Even though life narratives are gaining popularity in many fields, such as psychology, literature and criminology, it is not the most common way of collecting data. Nevertheless, it provides rich data, which enables the examination of the desistance process of migrants in England and Wales.

Self-constructed life narratives are products of interaction, influenced by socio-historical and cultural positioning. They enable people to represent themselves and their worlds to themselves and to others. By constructing life stories, significant aspects such as the establishment of experiences, actions, aspirations – and, in particular, changes – play an important role in the identity construction. Moreover, this section illustrates how I have made use of a methodological framework derived from other current significant studies on desistance from crime. Furthermore, I demonstrated through an example how narrative self-construction shaped interviewees' experiences towards desistance.

The third relevant component of this section, prior to the data collection, is the research design; this illustrates the research questions, the research approach, and the sampling and recruitment procedure. Each of these phases is explained thoroughly, in order to show how this study was designed.

The particularity of this study is represented in its sample of male migrant ex-offenders, as well as its focus on their migration and their sense of belonging and identity through their desistance narratives.

Confidentiality and anonymity were very important for me as a researcher, in order to create a safe environment where they could talk about their past, and also to protect the collected information. These two elements were also paramount for the interviewees of this study, as some were undocumented migrants. Moreover, there was a general sense of shame with regard to their offending experience; and therefore, securing confidentiality and anonymity made them feel safe enough to open up and narrate their experiences. In order to keep these two elements, while also humanising the interviewed migrants, I created pseudonyms for the purpose of this study.

The research design part of this section also explains the choice of migrant ex-offenders as participants in this research. The characteristics of this study sample, and other aspects such as cultural connections and migrants' experiences in their country of residence, suggest new approaches for innovative studies on the well-researched topic of desistance. A further particularity of this research is the migrants' subjective self-reflexivity; this is accomplished through life narratives, which acknowledge the role of migrants' past experiences in their process of desistance from crime.

Furthermore, in the sampling and recruitment procedure, the reasons for choosing male migrant ex-offenders as participants in this study were thoroughly illustrated. However, excluding young offenders and offenders with addiction problems decreased the chances of finding suitable participants for this study.

Despite the difficulties that have been confronted regarding data collection, including a wide range of crimes committed by the interviewees, this study includes not only foreign-born but, as a majority, foreign nationals. As there is a lack of desistance studies on migrants, the chosen group of participants is of enormous significance, through highlighting how the interviewed male migrants narrate their desistance in England and Wales.

The fourth part of this section concerns the process of data collection. It describes how the data were acquired, and the challenges during this phase. Moreover, it explains the method of data collection, and identifies the benefits of choosing this method. This stage includes detailed information about the data collection method. Furthermore, it introduces the interview questions and explains why these particular questions were chosen.

Lastly, data analysis illustrates how the collected data were prepared and analysed through thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is an approach that provides the researcher with a wider spectrum of research theory choices, thus providing an opportunity to use the data for quantitative or qualitative studies, as well as for a mixed research. Its methodological rigour on the one hand, and its flexibility on the other, creates both efficiency and an understanding of complex qualitative data. This method became simplified through its six stages, which enabled me to follow a straightforward process. Through finding patterns in the data corpus, this mechanism facilitated an understanding, and it examined the meaning of information collected by the participants of this research. Thematic analysis can be used with nearly every type of data collection; however, its flexibility, pattern-finding within the data, and the ability to compare cases with each other, allowed the researcher firstly to explore the particularities of migrants' desistance process in England and Wales, and secondly, to broaden the existing desistance literature.

The methodological framework for studying desistance from crime, which illustrates the phenomenon of ceasing offending, has been widely researched through quantitative and qualitative studies. Despite the variety of previous studies, this research adopts certain elements from the significant research of Maruna's Liverpool Desistance Study, such as the same method and thematic analysis, as well as finding patterns for the themes of belonging and identity, and migrants' status (Maruna, 2001). Other relevant studies on desistance (Giordano et al., 2002; Gadd and Farrall, 2004; McNeill, 2011, 2012) mainly influenced this study from the theoretical point of view rather than the methodological aspect.

In conclusion, this chapter has illustrated the important elements of this methodological framework in a summarised form.

FINDINGS CHAPTERS

Introduction to findings chapters

The findings chapters illustrate the central findings of this study, and discuss the new contribution of this research to the desistance field. Chapters on belonging and identity, migration and offending narratives, and desistance from crime, respectively delineate the significant elements, as well as the links to and influences of other factors in relation to these themes; these factors are family relationships, occupation, social connection, immigration status, financial situation, cultural differences, and so forth. Taking into consideration that the desistance process of people with an ethnic minority background has

been researched only with regard to three particular groups, namely Bangladeshi, black, and dual origin (Calverley, 2013), these findings bring a more thorough understanding of the desistance process across a much more diverse group of migrants, given that the participants of this study originally come from Poland, Morocco, Albania, Madagascar/France, India, Russia and Belgium. As has been demonstrated by a description of this study's population in the methodology chapter (IV), the interviewees have migrated through several countries such as Germany, Italy, France and Greece prior to their migration journey to the United Kingdom.

The distinctive contribution of this study is to shed light on the impact of migrants' relatively short periods of residency, and (in some cases) uncertainty about their residency/citizenship status, on those desistence processes connected to social bonds, identification, belonging and migration. Therefore, the findings chapters (V, VI, VII) respectively explore the impact of belonging and identity, migration and offending, and desistance from crime, in relation to other relevant factors for the respondents of this research. Furthermore, as I have established in the previous methodology chapter (IV), they examine the link between the identified themes and narrative self-construction. Existing research suggests that there is a strong relationship between the ability to narrate a path to a non-offending identity and successful desistance from crime. This is demonstrated through the following three examples:

Dariuz's story before his migration journey:

> *You know in my country I always worked. I was like a driver. I was in a factory and the container come from China there. And from there I bring them to all Poland. So let's say, if we received boots, gloves or whatever, we had the cars and we go everywhere. That's why I was busy, you know. When I was 17 years old, I passed my test of driving and when I was 21 and I tried to make the licence for lorry, the big one. I finished the theory and everything, but I haven't finished drive, drive, because I didn't want to stay there and I was only 21 and I left since 12 years. (Exact transcription)*

Dariuz's migration story:

> *I came in this country 12 years ago. I had nobody. It was difficult. In the beginning, because I didn´t speak English. So I was working as labour in building site. After job I was going to school, every single day five days a week, two hours a day. I paid for school. I had a small room. That was my*

> *start. In my country I had bad friends like out of the normal. And if you stay there, I don´t know. If you would stay there they will go in prison and I will follow their way. That´s why I come here. After two years that I am here, my girlfriend come. (Exact transcription)*

Dariuz's offending experience:

> *She tells that I beat her. Actually I didn´t beat her. That´s why I was in prison. It was a short sentence. (Exact transcription)*

Dariuz's desistance:

> *Of course it has changed. Big change, because right now I´ve got many many friends here, but my mates drinking, everyone is drinking everyone taking drugs and I gave up everything. So we are not talking for the same line, you know. Because before when I was drinking with them, everything was all right. Now that I am not drinking, I said to my mates, stop. I stop it. Now I am interested about something new. Maybe I am gonna go to school. Have some more English.*
> *Here (UK) I know what to do. Where to go to find a job, everything you know. I've have strong connection here. I was thinking you know. Now I am alone with my dog and I want to make passport (renew his polish passport) and maybe I wanna immigration to Canada. Canada or Australia, if everything go well. I am going to send my dog to Poland, stay with my mum and I am gonna go, so, something new. I have many memories. In this country I was always with my daughter and my girlfriend, to many memories. Change my memories or something. Maybe it will help me, it will be new experience, because you don't want to stay always alone. (Exact transcription)*

Through Dariuz's interview sequences, I have identified that the beginning of migration was a difficult period of time, but over the years his life as a migrant has positively changed. Moreover, his current non-offending self was a separation from the offending self through either a new migration experience, or continuing to live as a migrant in the UK. However, the migration to the UK was followed by various changes which enabled Dariuz to continue a life without crime. Furthermore, in Dariuz's case, his environment and/or his support system was influencing his decision towards a new migration destiny or continuing a non-offending reality in the UK.

Afrim's migration sequence:

> *My life story is very long, but I will tell you everything. This is important. I left Albania in 1997. The situation in Albania wasn't very good during that time,*

> *and I went to Italy. In Italy the situation was better than in Albania, but it wasn't very easy. So I decided a year later in 1998…. So in 1998, I couldn't stay anymore in Italy, because it wasn't secure, less jobs, so I left. I went by lorry from Italy to England. I crossed the border after couple of days The people that brought me by lorry left me at a huge warehouse. I spent the night there. (Translation)*

Afrim's offending:

> *I felt ashamed of what I did. I did something so bad, in a such country that helps you. And if you cannot work, when you are sick or have other problems, this country supports you. This is a legal state and people are very polite. There are many people who repeat their crime or do other crimes, but I stopped. (Translation)*

Afrim's desistance:

> *Now it's different. I've created a life in these 18 years; you're not that foreigner anymore who doesn't speak the language, or doesn't know things. Sometimes I know things better than some English-born friends, because I've had to deal with many things and my experience made me learn many things. My experience made me learn many, many things, more than the others, who were born in this country. Now I feel part of this country.*
> *It's different here, in England. I mean, I feel a part of this country as much as I feel part of my country. (Translation)*

Afrim's interview sequences clearly identify the role of migration towards offending, and at the same time this migration has developed and enabled Afrim to separate himself from his previous offending experiences. Afrim's support system/environment has also played an important in enabling him to shape a new non-offending self. Therefore, Afrim has a strong belonging in the home country as well as in the UK. Although the impact of support/environment is not clearly shown through these sequences, this element is demonstrated thoroughly in the 'Desistance from crime' findings chapter .

Similarly to Kofi, the feeling of shame towards his previous offending was present while Afrim narrated his experiences in prison. Moreover, Afrim's shame was related to an 'ungrateful' feeling towards his residence country, as he received meaningful support from it.

Anas's narrative before migrating in the UK:

> *The story of my life.... I grew up in a small town near Tangier in Morocco. So I am Moroccan. Both my parents are Morocco from the same village. My parents got married when my mother was 16 and my father was 18 years old. My parents went to France together for work and left me and my brothers and sisters with my father's mother. We had a good life in the village (…). And I wanted to become a teacher for French and classic Arabic. After school I had to take care of the sheep and goats of my family. I am the youngest child in my family and when my grandparents passed away I was 22. My oldest brother decided that I should go to France to find a job. So I went to France and stayed with my parents.*
> *I am sure it would have been easier and simpler in my home village. You are never alone, because there is someone to drink a tea, to smoke a cigarette, things like this. (Exact transcription)*

Anas's narrative while living in the UK:

> *(…) There were so many things I didn´t know. I learned them in England. It is a different culture in France and England. I didn´t know how was in these countries. They have different values as us in Morocco. Here in England young people drink a lot. In the weekend they go in a pub and drink. It is interesting this culture of pubs. This culture makes them try alcohol very early. It is not good. In my village we didn´t drink. We drank milk. (Interviewee smiles) Life in a village is very simple and if my parents stayed in Morocco I would have continued a good simple life as a farmer. Nothing like I had in England, crime, prison, lies, problems with girls. I miss my village. Maybe one day I will live with (interviewee says the name of his future wife) and my children. I had a great life with my grandparents and I have many good memories there. (…)*
>
> *In England is very different too. I never felt part of English society. My culture and the English culture is very different. It was very difficult to understand their mentality. (Interviewee says the name of his future wife) told me about it. There are still things that I do not understand, because I grew up in a village and in cities is different. I always felt part of the Muslim community. I went to the mosque the first time and my brothers helped me a lot. (Exact transcription)*

Offending/incarceration:

> *I have been in prison two times. The first time because of the Russian girlfriend and the second time for selling stolen cars. It was very difficult the first time. I was very depressed in prison. I was mostly by myself and I started to read again inside prison. They didn´t have many books in French. Reading brings me to another reality and reading was the only thing that did not depress me. (Exact transcription)*

Desistance:

> *Anas: My home in England is my (interviewee says the name of his future wife), my brothers and the group of kids that I teach. I am teaching to them something I love, French language. It makes me feel good. I don´t have English friends, only my (interviewee says the name of his future wife). She is my friend too. (Exact transcription)*

Through Anas's interview sequences, I identified that migrating in the UK was a cultural challenge for him, as he describes his life in Morocco as very simple. These cultural differences were present also after residing for a long time in the UK. Although his belonging towards the UK seems not to be as strong as in the case of Afrim, Anas was able to create a support system in accordance with his faith and his cultural norms, which helped him to continue a new non-offending self in the UK.

All these three examples identified how the various themes, such as shame, belonging, migration and incarceration experiences, reconstructed their narrative towards a new identity, as a migrant ex-offender. The following chapters demonstrate how these elements have reinforced their effect on narrative self-reconstruction.

CHAPTER V: FINDING 1: BELONGING AND IDENTITY

5. Introduction

This chapter addresses the findings for belonging and identity. According to the work of some scholars in the field of desistance (Maruna 2001; Laub and Sampson, 2003; Bottoms and Shapland, 2011; Weaver, 2013; Calverley, 2013; McNeal, 2014), these two key elements reviewed in the literature review chapter (II) and theoretically developed in the analytical framework (III), are important in enabling long-term desistance from crime.

This chapter's purpose is to explore the role of belonging and identity in the desistance narratives of the respondents of this study, through the understanding and development of these two components in relation to the migrants' sense of the country of residence and their home country.

The belonging and identity of the interviewed migrants through these self-reconstructed narratives is part of the desistance process itself. In telling their stories, they enable this identity change process. A sense of belonging and identity towards the country of residence was created when the participants had a new network in the new environment, which made them feel safe and comfortable in pursuing their goal(s) within it. This new sense of identification and belonging had a functional role and was less connected with national identity.

The development of belonging and identity in their country of residence and in their home country is illustrated through interview sequences which emphasise their importance in relation to this first finding.

Moreover, this chapter demonstrates if, how, and which senses of belonging and identification are found the desistance narratives of interviewed migrants, in terms of creating a new non-offending identity. This subject was addressed by asking participants about their behaviour in their home country, their position in society, their general experiences as a migrant / migrant ex-offender, their reasons for stopping offending, and their support system in the UK and in their home country.

As the participants of this study come from very diverse cultural backgrounds and might be expected to have complex relationships with these issues, the researcher therefore asked them the following questions:

a. Do you think you would behave the same way in your home country? (easier, harder, irrelevant?)
b. Can you tell me if you have ever felt part of a society or social group? Why do you think that?
c. What is your experience as a migrant ex-offender in this country and why have you decided to stop committing crimes?
d. Would you have done the same things differently in other phases of your life? Which phases and why? Why do you think you will not commit crimes anymore? Do you have support now?

The narratives of both types of participants (foreign-born UK nationals and foreign nationals) identified that belonging and identity are relevant during the desistance process. The strength of their sense of belonging and identification is mainly linked to participants' narration of their life experiences in both countries, and less with their immigration status.

A striking element is that belonging to their home country and their country of residence was often associated with a support mechanism, whereas the sense of identity was less related to support. Therefore, this chapter demonstrates how belonging and identity, in relation to migration, influenced the interviewed migrants' criminal career and/or the process of ceasing offending.

5.1 Belonging and identity in relation to country of residence

Belonging and identity was mentioned by all the participants of this research, although they used different language to express themselves. Interviewees used phrases such as 'I will never feel English', 'it´s a different culture', 'it´s different in England', and 'you feel as if you are foreigner'.

This section explores whether the theme of belonging and identity enables the process of ceasing offending with regard to this group of recipients, migrant ex-offenders. Investigating this point explains what types of belonging and identity matter to them.

The interview questions influenced, directed and enabled participants to co-produce the discourse of their desistance narratives. This should be taken into account in order to understand the role of the self-constructed narratives in promoting this new non-offending identity. These desistance narratives, about the relationship of this distinctive cohort of ex-offenders with their country of residence and their home country, show ambivalent relationships, due to their bond with or detachment from these countries. Belonging to both the communities of the receiving country and country of origin creates many conflicts in daily life, as well as at an internal level (Madsen and Naerssen 2003, p. 62). These conflicts might be related to a possible 'clash of belonging and/or clash of identity' within both communities. Therefore, this research investigates whether, besides the already known reasons for ceasing offending, other reasons play a relevant role in the desistance narratives of participants of this study, as well as in the way migrants cope with different strategies in their new country of residence. Such reasons include familial and social bonds, immigration

status, experiences as a migrant, belonging and identity. The migrants' position, particularly upon first arrival, is strongly dependent on familial and social bonds, and on their sense of identification and belonging (Drever and Hoffmeister, 2008; Kitching et al., 2009; Danzer and Ulku, 2011). As a result, a possible longing and/or indifference towards the support circle is expressed by the interviewees. The condition(s) which influenced this connection and/or disconnection with these places express the belonging and identity of the interviewed migrants.

> Afrim: *I became a British citizen after five years, it´s not that you become English. You have the UK passport, but you will always carry with you, yourself, your language, your country, your memories, your family, everything. (…) Another thing is that it's your country, you know things better than in a foreign country . (Translation)*

> Kolya: *Is a long time that I am England and I have English passport, but England is never my country. I never feel home here and with all the problems I have and my parent had, I cannot say that this is my country.*
> *I left the country when I was young, but I feel home there and I still have friends. (Exact transcription)*

> Dariuz: *I don't miss (my home country). (…) I do not know that. It's difficult to say, because I haven't been there (my home country) 12 years.*
> *(Exact transcription)*

These sequences show the sense of belonging and identity towards the country of residence. In some cases, the immigration status (documented or undocumented migrants) affects their sense of belonging to the country of residence. This status influences their practical access to healthcare, social services, and the support system they receive in the host country. Therefore, it is reliable and valid to understand the influence of immigration status in England and Wales, in relation to their sense of belonging there. On the other hand, their lack of knowledge and sense of dislocation have impacted their desistance narratives.

The undocumented interviewees identify themselves less with their country of residence as a result of their immigration status, which makes it challenging to connect to the UK. However, some of the interviewees who were foreign UK nationals had a sense of belonging to their country of residence that was similar to the undocumented ones.

Moreover, family and relationship connections, and sometimes language and cultural differences, also appear to influence their belonging and identity towards their country of residence.

> Arben: *I think not having the documents is the reason why I don't feel such a part of this society. It's not that I will feel more English when I have them. (Translation)*

> Arber: *You are foreigner in this country. (…) Since I am here, it´s different. I cannot feel part of this society, if I am illegal. This country for whatever reasons doesn´t accept me, so I am like an alien here. (…)*
> *In England I also don´t have any documents to have a normal life. Not having the documents makes you feel isolated and you feel more foreign than a foreigner. A person who is legally in this country can do the same thing as an English person. You might feel foreign, but still you can have a normal life. But like me, you don´t have a life and you feel twice as bad as a foreigner with documents. (Translation)*

> Stanislaw: *England is not your country, is not home. I don´t feel part of the English mentality. I didn´t speak English and it is difficult to have friends, English friends. When you don´t speak like them, you never feel like them.*
> *It is different and difficult to be and feel English if you are not. It is not a thing that I wanted to be English or anything. (Exact transcription)*

Despite this fact and their attempts to lead a regular life, hostile feelings in relation to their country of residence were not present in any interviews. Nevertheless, continuous fear, insecurity and feelings of isolation influenced some of the participants' identification with the UK.

> Kofi: *People come and ask 'what are you doing here?'. How you can feel home if you´ve been asked question like this on a regular basis? You are a foreigner here and you will never be accepted. (Exact transcription)*

> Drilon: *Here I don't have documents, so you cannot feel part of this country. But being an ex-offender is also part of your identity, it's part of you. (Translation)*

> Fatjon: *I am illegal and you cannot feel part of this country. You feel like you are not wanted, and scared. In England I don´t feel at home, because I am not. (Translation)*

The documented interviewees, despite their immigration status, their long residence in the UK and their determination to create a new life here, which is also feasible, define themselves as not part of this country. This lack of identification with their country of residence occurs for the following reasons.

First, the disparities in culture and mentality make the process of belonging to their country of residence very difficult. The acceptance of these differences creates a further obstacle to identifying with their country of residence. As a result of these distinctions, the interviewees clearly position themselves as outsiders in relation to British society.

The 'cultural negotiation' discussed by Satnam (see below), as part of the support from a probation officer and a counsellor, is an interesting element. This shows the impact of understanding on a different level, namely cultural connection; and it made Satnam understand that counselling could help him live with cultural differences and overcome them.

> Arben: *I will never feel English. English people say 'amazing, amazing' (the interviewee says this in English) about everything, also when they don't like something, just to be polite. I am not like that and I don't want to be like that. (Translation)*
>
> Tomasz: *In England the people are nice, but there are different. They are polite also when they don´t like you and you don´t understand them, because they keep everything inside. I don´t feel alone and foreigner anymore. I know that I am not English, but it´s not that I want to be English. (Exact transcription)*
>
> Kolya: *You always understand that this is not your country, you are foreigner and you will always be. (Exact transcription)*
>
> Satnam: *When you are from another country as I am, you are strong related to your culture, your tradition and your religion and it is difficult to fit all this in the new culture. From the talks with my (interviewee says the name of the probation officer) and (interviewee says the name of the counsellor) I learned that you can have your culture and you can accept things that are normal in the other culture. (Exact transcription)*
>
> Anas: *In England is very different too. I never felt part of English society. My culture and the English culture is very different. It was very difficult to understand their mentality.*
> *My home in England is my (interviewee says the name of his future wife), my brothers and the group of kids that I teach. (Exact transcription)*

> Fatjon: *The mentality here is different. Everyone thinks about themselves and doesn´t care much about others. In a way I feel part of this small group, but not part of the English society, because I am not English. It is very simple. I am not registered in this country, I am illegal. (Translation)*

On the other hand, there are also other participants who are documented migrants, and feel 'at home' in the United Kingdom. In the case of two participants, Gjoke and Guillaume, their belonging to the UK is as strong as to their home country. However, the reasons behind this connection differ between them. The residence country is defined mainly as home because they have received a strong support system from several institutions in the UK. This is a similar phenomenon to the example above: receiving support and being mentored by a probation officer. By contrast, for the other interviewee, the identification with the country of residence is mainly related to the negative experiences in his country of origin; this makes belonging to the UK part of a new stage of his life. In the case of Lucien, he does not have the same connection with the county of residence, although the United Kingdom is, for him, a place where he can adapt to despite his circumstances.

> Gjoke: *I have been here for 12 to 13 years and England is my home. I don´t feel very foreign in this country ,not a foreigner at all. (Translation)*

> Guillaume: *England is my country. I am a new person in England. I have my wife and her family and I feel home. (Exact transcription)*

> Lucien: *I never felt like left alone also when I was alone in England. I adapted to the circle of society. In England I had mostly white people as client so for them I was a French guy, not the African one and I sold myself as a French one not as the African guy from Madagascar. It was simple. You learn it with time. (Exact transcription)*

Secondly, the legal status is mainly seen, even among foreign-born UK nationals, as an opportunity for their freedom of movement rather than feeling part of the UK.

> Afrim: *Nothing changes, only from the point of freedom to travel without a visa. That´s it. I will never feel English and I think it´s fine not to feel it. (Translation)*

Thirdly, being foreign nationals, which is a reality for the majority of participants, generates a lack of identification with their country of residence. This phenomenon has also

been supported by the above quotes from the interviewed migrant ex-offenders. In fact, however, they show a different sense of belonging and/or identification in relation to their country of residence. It is less connected with the desire to feel English for various reasons, and more related to finding their support from the state, familial and/or social system. This system enforces the sense of belonging in the United Kingdom, which has a positive effect on creating a new position in the host country's society.

Fourthly, despite some of the respondents having the desire to belong in the country of residence, it has been challenging to become part of it, due to this dislocation created by migration. There is a general tendency to focus on differences between their country of residence and their home country. This negatively influences the sense of belonging to and identification with the country of residence, and it strengthens their sense of belonging and identity towards their home country. This 'non-full-arrival' might shift this desire to belong in the country of residence, towards a new offending behaviour. This has not happened in their home country, which they feel part of due to several reasons, such as language, cultural background and non-offending experiences. Furthermore, they consider it as home and as a safe place. Despite the differences between their sense of belonging and identification in the host country and in their country of origin, none of the interviewees (documented or undocumented) wanted to continue to commit crime in the new environment of the host country. This sense of belonging and identity towards country of origin will be analysed more thoroughly in the next section, 5.2.

Focusing on the similarities between their country of residence and their home country facilitates the process of belonging and identity in the UK. However, the interviewees who have a stable immigration status are, in general, more connected to the United Kingdom, whereas this connection is more problematic for the undocumented participants.

In the case of Dariuz, belonging to the country of residence is mainly related to his own family. As his familial situation has changed, this interviewee prefers to have a new start in a new country, with less connection to his past.

> Dariuz: *Maybe I wanna immigration to Canada. Canada or Australia, if everything go well. (…) have many memories. In this country I was always with my daughter and my girlfriend, too many memories. Change my memories or something. (Exact transcription)*

The quote above gives a further reason that demonstrates this fluidity of belonging to the country of residence. Moreover, it shows that for the participants of this study, belonging and identity towards the country of residence is a process which, for various reasons, is strongly influenced by their unique migration experiences and their self-constructed narratives.

5.2 Belonging and identity in relation to the home country

After explaining the sense of belonging and identity towards participants' country of residence, this section aims to illustrate the particularities of these 15 interviewees' narratives in relation to their country of origin.

For the majority of participants of this study, the sense of belonging to, and identity with, the home country is very substantial. Their interviewees' identification with their home country is significant, and it is illustrated in different ways. Firstly, the connection is due to the fact of being born there, and there is a 'full belonging'. As has been explained in the analytical framework, this type of belonging involves being among one's own people in one's native land (Ignatieff, 1993, p. 7; Chatty, 2010), and in the case of the majority of interviewed migrants, it occurs in relation to the home country.

> Arber: *It's your country. I miss my country very much. I miss everything there. I would love to be back even for an hour. (Translation)*
>
> Afrim: *Another thing is that it's your country, you know things better than in a foreign country. (Translation)*
>
> Drilon: *You know what, even though there might be not perfect everything in my country, I love it. I had a good time in my country, despite the problems that I might have had there. (Exact transcription)*
>
> *Lucien: In my country I don´t have family anymore so you just have memories and very good memories. (Exact transcription)*
>
> *Fatjon: It's your country, everything is easier there. I miss everything in my country. (Translation)*

Secondly, the native home country is 'home'; not only because there is a link to this given condition, but also because of the many certainties that their country of origin provides, such as knowing the language, support (familial and community), a general sense of security, acceptance, the feeling of being an insider in society, etc. Relph (1976) and Cuba and Hummon (1993) suggest that home is the place where an individual feels at ease; it is a familiar environment where a person can be him/herself. This definition is very interesting, because it shows that home is a wide, borderless concept which requires a comfortable feeling and a known space. Furthermore, it illustrates that home could be created anywhere. On the other hand, the notion of home is challenged by seeing that it can be outlined as the place where an individual is born and/or has grown up. Moreover, it is the place where a person lives and works as an adult, in an absolute way. Therefore, an individual may have several 'homes' that only moderately match with the physical places (Milic, 2015).

Taking the home concept of Relph (1976) and Cuba and Hummon (1993) into consideration, this notion becomes non-existent when identity is disconnected from physical space. In this case, the idea of home is strongly affiliated with the sense of longing and remembering feelings. This means that home is not only about a place/space, but about a group/network, and the relationship of the individual with that particular place (Warner, 1994). There is a considerable cross-over between belonging and social factors of desistance; they intersect if both elements of Warner's argument (place and group) complement each other. Viewed from this angle, it illustrates that home is connected not only to a particular territory, but also to a community. Cuba and Hummon (1993) suggest that understanding of self occurs through an environmental conception of identity, which in fact means fabricating a sense of attachment or home. Even though the home notion of Relph (1976), Cuba and Hummon (1993) is defined differently from that of Milic (2015) and LaBarbera, (2015), in both definitions the sense of belonging seems to be an essential step in the process of identity formation and reconstruction for migrants. Their ambition to have stability, belonging and roots in the host country challenges the traditional constructs of social rules and national boundaries (LaBarbera, 2015). This discussion illustrates that the relationship between home and identity is a complex dynamic in itself; yet it becomes more difficult in the case of migrants and/or forced migrants when they leave their home, and their sense of identification and belonging might become blurred. For this reason, territorial identities and national identities have been theoretically developed in the analytical

framework. In relation to the respondents of this study, these two types of identification are more connected with their home country, due to the security and the support system that exist there. In addition, it is also influenced by the personal experiences of the interviewees in the country of residence.

According to constructionist theorists, the creation of national identities results from individual imagination and historical construction (Foucault, 1980; Anderson, 1983, 1991). Therefore, it is immensely difficult to establish an identity based on commitments when enclosed in a community of others (Côté, 1996, p. 7). Taking into account that identities are not fixed but frequently changeable and de- and/or reconstructed, the process of their creation necessitate mechanisms of 'bordering' and 'othering' of 'us/them' (Houtum and Naerssen, 2002). This us/them division is a known outcome in relation to migrants, which suggests that the in-group usually discriminates against the out-group due to this separation. Furthermore, this division increases the self-esteem of in-group members (Tajfel, 1975, 1978a, 1978b, 1981). As has been mentioned in the analytical chapter, social identity impacts positively and/or negatively on the self-esteem of an individual. This influences the decision-making towards migration, offending and/or desistance.

A further essential and influential element of identity is 'border'. Borders between countries implacably define and outline different identities on both sides. The projection of these countries, in regard to nations, illustrates a vital characteristic of identities (Anderson, 1991). At the same time, in this border/borderzones/borderscapes concept is incorporated the process of inclusion and exclusion (Pereira, 2007; Squire, 2011). During these processes, individuals are enabling an active and collective identity creation; they continue to define themselves, their community and their multiple belongings. These individuals engage in social networks that include various systems and extents of hierarchy and equality, such as families, communities, religious institutions, etc. These social networks of parents, friends and colleagues are relevant for identity construction. With regard to respondents of this study, their sense of identification towards their country of origin is strongly related to their support system, feeling at home, knowing the language and understanding the cultural background.

> Arben: *I always felt like, well at least in Albania. In Albania I had and still have my circle of friends, like childhood friends. They are like brothers to me. I*

> *would do everything for them and they would do the same. I know that because I've seen them in good and difficult times. (Translation)*
>
> Drilon: *At least in my country I am not a foreigner, I might feel like that, I don't know, but I am not. I speak the language and no one can tell me you have to leave the country. It's a feeling of security that makes me feel good. (Translation)*
>
> Kofi: *My home country is my home, which I never felt here. (Exact transcription)*
>
> Tomasz: *In my country I never had that feeling, also when I did troubles. I can say, I understand the people of my country better, when they are angry when they are happy, when there are pissed off or they don´t like you (…)*
> *At least in my country, if you feel so lost as I was, you can tell to someone and you will get help. (Exact transcription)*
>
> Kolya: *I come from a small town and my life in my country was good. My parents had good job. In my country I maybe go to school. I wasn't a person for school, but is my country and I know the language and I don't have other problems as I have here. If I was in my country I had an education and job. (Exact transcription)*
>
> Stanislaw: *I am so happy when I go home, because home stays home. My family is there, my parents my friends are there. (Exact transcription)*
>
> Anas**:** *In my village I always felt part of that village community. I was myself, taking care of my farm, I was with my grandparents and this is home. Everything in that little village is so sweet for me. Never had a problem there. (Exact transcription)*
>
> Fatjon: *I have my family there and I miss my family. (Translation)*

Thirdly, this second component, 'home', becomes questionable when familial mistreatment and a general disconnection with the home country occurs. Only in the case of Guillaume, a foreign-born UK national, is there a disconnection in relation to country of origin; this happened as a result of a negative relationship with his family. This detachment was his way of making a clear break from his home country. However, belonging and identity towards their country of origin are important for a significant number of both types of interviewees (foreign-born UK nationals and foreign nationals).

> Guillaume: *So I don´t miss anything or anyone in my home country. I don´t have a home country. (Exact transcription)*

Dariuz, a foreign national, is another participant who has a further disconnection with his country of origin. In contrast to Guillaume, this phenomenon occurs because he has not been in his home country for 12 years.

> Dariuz: *I don't miss (my home country). (…) I do not know that. It's difficult to say, because I haven't been there (my home country) 12 years. I have been there for one week, 10 years ago, when my father passed away. I don't know what's going on there. (Exact transcription)*

Another relevant component in this theme is that the identification with their home country is powerful and has deep roots. This is mainly related to an unconditional association with their home country, as a result of feeling longing, nostalgia and cultural affiliation towards it.

> Lucien: *My home country is Madagascar and it has been a long time since I wasn´t there. I know I am French too, but I haven´t live for so long in France to tell that France is my country. In Madagascar I had a very simple life. We had everything and we played outside. (…)*
> *Everything was easier in my country. Maybe because I was satisfied with my life in Madagascar, but in France not so much. In England I saw a chance to have a lot of money and that´s what I did. In my country I don´t have family anymore so you just have memories and very good memories. (Exact transcription)*
>
> Satnam: *When you are from another country as I am, you are strong related to your culture, your tradition and your religion. (Exact transcription)*
>
> Anas: *It was such a beautiful time when I was with my goats outside and I used to sit and read a book for hours. I miss that time. (Exact transcription)*

Therefore, the theme of belonging and identity is highlighted in three different forms: as a given condition, as a feeling of homeliness, and as a complete disconnection from the country of origin.

The table below shows how these three sub-themes are generally represented by the participants of this study.

Participants		Sub-themes	

	Belonging and identity as a given condition	Belonging and identity (feeling at home)	Disconnection from home country
Dariuz			X
Arben		X	
Arber	X	X	
Gjoke	X	X	
Afrim	X	X	
Drilon	X	X	
Kofi		X	
Guillaume			X
Tomasz	X	X	
Kolya	X		
Stanislaw		X	
Lucien	X	X	
Satnam	X		
Anas	X		
Fatjon	X	X	

Figure 6: The representation of three sub-themes about belonging and identity towards country of origin

An interesting parameter demonstrated by this table is that, apart from one participant for whom the disconnection from home country occurs solely through his negative familial relationship, the two first sub-themes of belonging to home country are important among a majority of interviewed migrants. This emphasises the interviewed migrants' stable connection to their country of origin, despite their long residence and their immigration status in the United Kingdom.

A further outcome from the data analysis is that participants of this study connect their offending patterns mainly to their relationship with their country of residence rather than their country of origin. The reason for this connection is strongly related to the sense of belonging, identity, and the impact of shame. This is investigated further in Finding II, 'Migration and offending narratives'. If belonging and identity is weak, the shame connected

with their family is nearly non-existent in their country of residence. This occurs due to the lack of a social network, and because their migration experiences were challenging to overcome, which creates a tendency towards offending. However, the respondents of this study developed, besides their national/territorial identity, a 'functional' form of belonging and identity which helped them in their journey to living without crime. They identify themselves with certain social groups, which enables them to create a safe and stable environment. Their narration of this plays a positive role in their identity creation and/or transformation, as has been identified by some desistance scholars (Maruana, 2001; Giordano et al., 2004; McNeil, 2014). Through their narratives on desistance, the participants emphasise in a similar way the role of belonging and identity in gaining a new and transformed non-offending identity.

After demonstrating the particularities of the sense of belonging and identity in the previous sections, it is important to explore these two key elements in relation to the country of residence and to the home country, in order to discover the particularities of the interviewees' sense of belonging and identity towards these two countries which have played a role in their process of ceasing offending. This process of belonging to the country of origin as well as to the welcoming country is called transnationalism, or a 'dual' belonging. This may cause conflicts at the individual level, especially when these two cultures clash; however, it is possible that migrants may connect with these two types of belonging when in the host community. For instance, they have the opportunity to relate better to others and to strengthen their attachment to those factors that form the territory where they live. As a result, identity construction relies, to a certain degree, on the different political and social contexts of the migrants' relationship to the host community. This occurs as a result of the acculturation process, which happens automatically when migrants come into contact with the cultural background of the country of residence. This acculturation process causes modification in social identity, and especially in cultural identity, as migrants relate to individuals and institutions of the receiving country. These changes in cultural identity may include seeking and possibly acting according to an extended set of values which also contain the heritage and culture of the residence country. In other words, acculturation is a process of cultural assimilation. According to Gibson, acculturation is 'the process of change and cultural adaptation that occurs when individuals from different cultures come into contact' (Gibson, 2001, p. 20).

With regard to migrants, this transformation process happens in two dimensions: firstly, through assimilation of values, ideas and behaviours in the country of residence; and secondly, through keeping the ideas, values and beliefs of the home country and accepting the differences between them (Phinney et al., 2001). These two aspects cause either the co-existence of these values and beliefs from country of origin and country of residence, or abandoning their cultural heritage and accepting those of their host country. In the case of some respondents of my study, the second situation occurred.

The reasons for these processes are based upon various factors, such as a desire to assimilate and feel similar to the individuals in the country of residence, affinities between the two cultures, the prejudice and discrimination experienced by the individual, the cultural support in the host society, and the acceptance of migrants by the resident community (Brown, 2000; Portes and Rumbaut, 2001; Rudmin, 2003). The nature and force of this alteration may be influenced by the degree to which cultural heritage, with its values and beliefs from the county of origin, is sustained; and also by the degree to which the cultural heritage of the host country is maintained. In addition, it is affected by the extent of discrepancies between the two cultures (Phinney et al., 2001; Rudmin, 2003).

A model of acculturation was developed by Berry (1990, 1997), who proposed that this process of influencing migrants who have different cultural backgrounds occurs through an authentic contact and is affected by each other's cultures. Taking into consideration the degree of migrants' participation in the culture of the residence country and preserving the culture of their home country, Berry created a strategy model which included assimilation, separation, integration and marginalisation. Berry supported the idea that adaptation is strongly influenced by the desire to 'fit'/acculturate between dominant and less dominant groups. Adaptation to the dominant group is embedded in all four strategies; however, only integration makes the social union between the two cultures more powerful. Furthermore, it is only integration that includes both elements at the same time: the willingness of migrants to accept the culture of the welcoming country, as well as the values of the host community, which has to adjust its institutions to the needs of migrants (Berry, 1997; Pollice et al., 2014). The latter plays an important role, particularly for border communities who embrace common elements of both cultures. The sense of 'other' in these territories is strong, albeit home remains stronger. In such cases there is an integration, but there is also a lack of

unification at the political and social level (Arreola and Madsen, 1999). The answer to the question of why migrants across the border still feel at home even though they are so close at home, depends on how these migrants revise their identity on the other side of the border, so that they are no longer 'across' the border from their new true home. The process of constructing identities and following the ideology of 'othering' is often linked to the access to economic resources and political power (Singh, 2000; Singh, 2001); in particular, when poverty dominates in the origin country and the access to economic resources is limited, then there is an additional reason to migrate.

A further important finding of this study is that undocumented migrant ex-offenders maintain their identity or their sense of self in their welcoming country by preserving the language, cultural characteristics and their bonds to the communities of their country of origin. While they replaced their travel documents with ones with false identities, these are common ways in which some of the interviewed migrants dealt with their undocumented status in their country of residence.

A further approach to maintain their identity and their sense of self is to disregard their actual situation. This approach may be effective up to a certain point, until they learn to live with the insecurity presented by their actual circumstances.

The interviewees' sense of belonging to the country of origin and to the welcoming country differs according to their experiences. However, there is a 'functional belonging and identity', which means a sense of connection to their country of residence. This is not as a result of the national and territorial identity, nor based on their change of immigration status, but due to finding and creating their own new sense of identity and belonging in the UK, even though this differs from the structural, social, cultural and religious beliefs that they carry with them from their home country. This 'functional sense of belonging and identity' shown by the respondents of this study has similarities with the phenomenon 'civility towards diversity' (Lofland, 1998), identified in the cultural literature on super-diversity (Wessendorf, 2014; Vertovec 2007). However, the differences between these two concepts of 'functional belonging and identity' and 'civility towards diversity' are influenced by the migrants' previous criminal career. Furthermore, the first phenomenon is strongly related to a safe social supporting network after being released. If a support system exists, the sense of belonging to their country of residence is strong; and because of its stability,

the interviewees give it the same importance as familiarity with the home country. Moreover, in the case of Gjoke, the sense of identity and belonging towards his country of residence has become stronger as a result of creating a new and a better life in it.

> Gjoke: *Sometimes when I go to Albania, I feel a bit like a foreigner there, but here I feel very good and I feel at home. (Translation)*

When a disconnection to the home country occurs as a result of negative experiences in the home country, as with the interviewee Guillaume, then developing a sense of belonging and identity with the country of residence becomes a way to make a clear break with the country of origin.

> Guillaume: *I don´t know how would have been in my home country. When I think about home country, I think about my parents and boarding school. Many horrible memories come in my mind. I´ve have an English passport since a long time and I didn´t renew my Belgium passport. I don´t want to go back there. I feel like I am in my country. (Exact transcription)*

This might suggest that Guillaume sees the United Kingdom as his home country as a result of his negative experiences in his country of origin.

As has been shown from these quotes and in the two sections above, the sense of belonging and identity towards one's country of residence fluctuates from case to case. This variation depends on the narration of each interviewed migrant. However, the majority of the interviewed migrants show a 'functional sense of belonging and identity' in the UK, which has been explained above.

The diagrams (1a and 1b) below illustrate the change of belonging and identity in the country of residence and in the home country.

Figure7: Illustration of the sense of belonging and identity towards the country of residence and also towards the home country

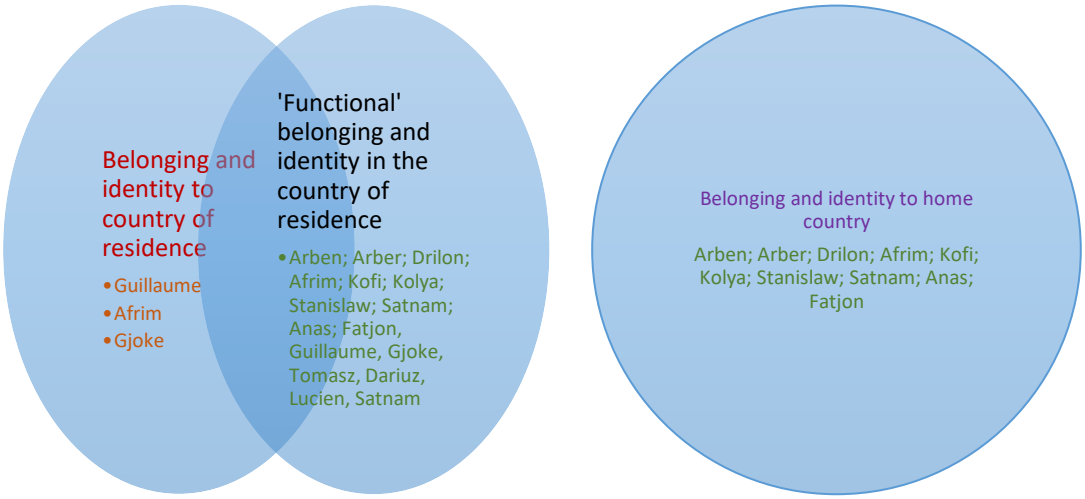

Figure 8:: Illustration of the sense of belonging and identity in relation to the country of residence, the 'functional' belonging and identity in the country of residence, and belonging and identity towards the home country

In these two figures, the important section is the second circle: this shows the 'functional sense of belonging and identity' in the country of residence, which is present for all the interviewees of this study. Furthermore, the use of a set here clarifies that this type of belonging and identity has helped the participants of this study towards their desistance process.

In addition to the 'functional belonging and identity', the analysis results show that the sense of belonging towards their country of residence and their home country differs for the following reasons. Firstly, there is a clash of identities as a result of cultural differences. This clash is present as a given condition because of their origins. Furthermore, the participants of this study had difficulties in accepting these differences as part of their new identity features, which simultaneously act as coping mechanisms. Therefore, this level of identification with the country of residence is challenged by a majority of the participants of this study. Even when these differences are accepted (Afrim; Tomasz; Kolya; Satnam; Anas), there is a clear distinction being established between their own culture, mentality and background, and the British one. Through this clear sense of functional belonging, each of the respondents of this study has created his identification, which fits with the reality of being an ex-offender as well as a migrant.

Secondly, the interviewed migrants' creation of a sense of belonging and identity in their country of residence is not influenced by a long residence in the United Kingdom, except for Gjoke. According to social identity theory, an individual's actions are balanced between their aims, aspirations and insecurities, created by the social environment in which (s)he finds her/himself. This means that the behaviour of these interviewed migrants is not only influenced by their self-identity, but also by the social and cultural/social environment within which the (non)-offending behaviour takes place.

Thirdly, belonging and identity with the UK is also characterised by the border concept. The findings for this notion are in harmony with the recent research on the same topic (Boe, 2016; Bosworth et al., 2016). According to Mehta (2016), borders are created in order to separate citizens and foreigners, leading to a deepening differentiation between 'us' and 'them'.

> Arben: *I think not having the documents is the reason why I don't feel such a part of this society. (Translation)*
>
> Tomasz: *You always understand that this is not your country, you are foreigner and you will always be. (Exact transcription)*
>
> Kofi: *'What are you doing here?' How can you feel home if you've been asked question like this on a regular basis? (Exact transcription)*

A similar phenomenon has also been identified by McCulloch and Pickering (2012), who argued that the presence of borders impacts on everyone who lives on, across, within and outside them. In the section on 'Belonging and identity in relation to the home country', it was explained that border is an influential element of identity creation (Anderson, 1991), which is influenced by an individual's multiple sense of belonging in his/her community. This is in contrast to Anderson (1991) and McCulloch and Pickering (2012), who explain the creation of the 'bordering' process as identities of 'citizens' and 'non-citizens'. Therefore, through these produced identities, the border has become a pre-eminent site for criminality and crime control (Mehta, 2016; McCulloch and Pickering, 2012; Aas, 2014). According to the current UK Immigration Act, it is a criminal offence to cross the border without a legal identification document. Such legislation has a deterrent effect and, at the same time, penalises an individual harshly, and creates a further separation between identities of citizens and non-citizens. Likewise, these limitations, as a result of immigration regulations,

have had an immense impact on the interviewed migrants' positioning and their identification with the United Kingdom. For the respondents of this study, being an undocumented migrant was a condition which negatively affected their sense of belonging in the country of residence. This has been illustrated throughout this chapter.

According to Strath (2010), because of these disadvantages, the confrontation with the Other leads to a reflection on the self-image (Strath, 2010). This view of self-image is shared by nearly all the participants of this study, essentially through a strong identification with the culture of their country of origin and with being an ex-offender.

> Drilon: *(…) But being an ex-offender is also part of your identity, it's part of you. (Translation)*
>
> Kolya: *I never feel home here and with all the problems I have and my parent had, I cannot say that this is my country. (Exact transcription)*

This self-image is related not only to official territory borders and immigration regulation, but also to other limitations such as language, finding an occupation, integration with the society, etc.

> Stanislaw: *I don't feel part of the English mentality. I didn't speak English and it is difficult to have friends, English friends. When you don't speak like them, you never feel like them. (Exact transcription)*

By contrast, in the home country there is a full concept of belonging and identity, as was the case for the majority of the interviewees, such as Afrim, Kolya, Stanislaw, Lucien, Satnam, Anas and Fatjon. Moreover, being in the home country involves positive restraints that are not present abroad. At least at the beginning of the respondents' migration journey, this phenomenon occurred when the 'functional belonging and identity' in the host country had not yet been created.

> Arben: *Anyway, in my country I wouldn't start to do such things (crimes). Even when things didn't go so well, I would go and leave Albania as I did, and find work abroad. (Translation)*
>
> Drilon: *(…) No one can tell you to leave the country. (Translation)*

As a result, these borders (territorial and non-territorial) create a clear outsider position in the reception country. This position is mainly experienced by undocumented participants, whereas for the documented migrants, their sense of being an outsider is essentially influenced by the circumstances, the support system and their negative experiences in the home country.

As has been explained previously in this chapter, it is found that belonging in the country of residence is essentially a constructed concept rather than a stable one. Taking into account that the interviewees are migrants – and, as such, the majority of them have migrated to the United Kingdom to have a better future – then reaching this goal involves not only entering the host country, documented or undocumented, but also creating this imagined future. This sense of functional belonging to the host country is shaped by the narratives of these interviewees in the UK, and by other factors which have been illustrated throughout this chapter. This means that belonging to the country of residence is constructed and influenced during the interviewees' life as a migrant. Moreover, this process of construction has been evident throughout the interviews. At the beginning, the interviewees talked about their migration journey, and during the interviews they narrated their experiences as a migrant, as an offender, as an ex-offender, as a family man, as a father, as unemployed, as an undocumented migrant, as a desisted interviewee; but always in relation to their sense of belonging and identity towards the UK, as well as to their country of origin. Strengthening this belief through their narratives makes the personal goals also worth achieving, even in the host country; and this has resulted in stopping the offending patterns.

For a majority of the interviewed participants, the establishment of belonging and identity depends strongly on their immigration status; whereas belonging to the home country is not changeable, and is represented as a natural circumstance. The figure below illustrates these discrepancies between these two types of belonging and identity.

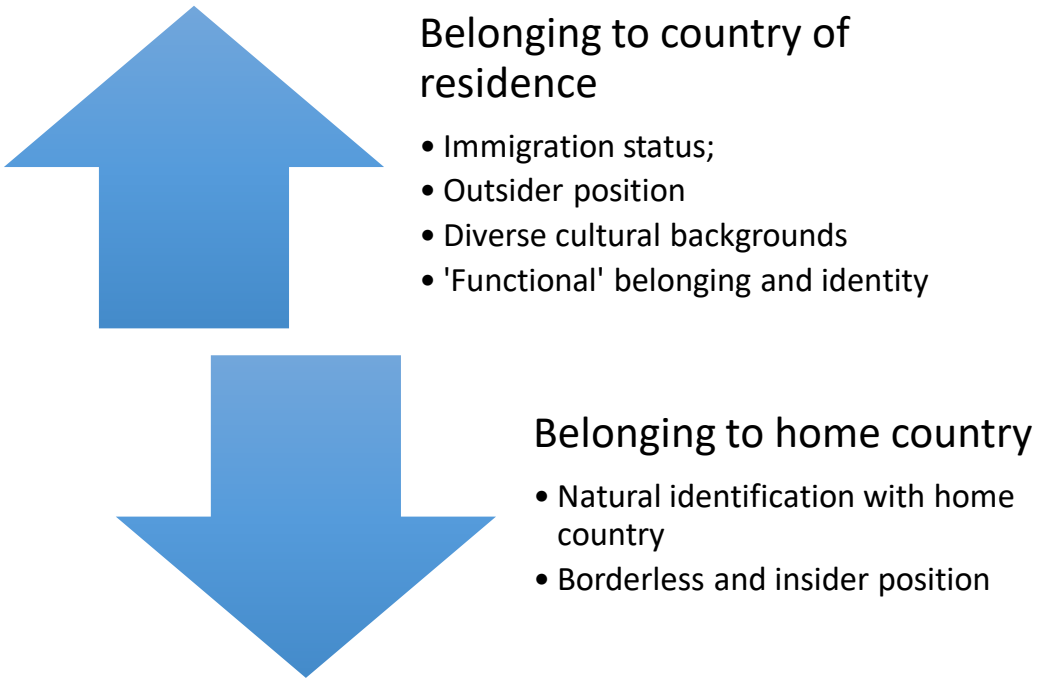

Figure 9: Illustration of the differences of belonging and identity between two types of belonging and identity

As has been demonstrated throughout this section, belonging and identity in relation to country of residence and to home country illustrated some of their issues regarding these topics. Their disrupted sense of belonging and identification with the host country relates more to the offending of the interviewees, rather than to their desistance. This disruption is caused by not only a lack of belonging and identity, but also by other social factors and the difficulties experienced during their migration. Despite differences between belonging and identity towards the home country and country of residence, there is a direct/indirect connection and identification with these two countries. Furthermore, in the case of the interviewed migrants, their sense of belonging and identification towards a country or countries is related to feeling settled or positive, with a 'functional belonging and identity', even though they still feel alien in the UK. Their sense of identity is less related to national identity and more with a happy and secure environment. Despite the migrants' immigration status in the country of residence (documented or undocumented), they have found, to a certain degree, a necessary stability which made them feel settled and part of their surroundings, without giving up their sense of belonging and identity towards their country of origin. Furthermore, this sense of belonging and identity in both countries did not have a

direct impact on the participants' desistance process, as was proposed by several desistance scholars (Maruna, 2001; Sampson and Laub, 2003; McNeill, 2014).

The belonging and identity in relation to the home country was strong and, for the majority of the interviewed migrants, was regarded as 'a given condition'. Moreover, when it was also strongly connected with shame, it played mainly a preventive role towards offending; whereas in the country of residence, this lack of belonging and identity was, for a long time, a push factor towards offending. However, after a period of time, a new 'functional sense of belonging and identity' was created. The impact of the aforementioned component in the country of residence, similar to the social factors found in the literature review, had a preventive role only when the migrants had an existent, safe, social network in it. Furthermore, continuing a life without crime would strengthen this new 'functional' sense of belonging and identification. This sense is also in alignment with the migration reasons of the interviewed migrants; thus, their new desister self has become their new reality.

5.3 Summary of findings on belonging and identity

As has been demonstrated throughout this chapter, the theme of belonging and identity has different layers, depending on the participants' experiences in relation to their country of residence and country of origin. The main findings related to belonging and identity in this research are as follows.

Firstly, the connection and the identification with the country of residence is a constructed concept which is essentially influenced by the support system, interviewees' immigration status, and their desistance narratives in the United Kingdom. As a result of this sense of belonging to the host country, the position of interviewed migrants is rather that of an outsider than an insider in British society.

Secondly, belonging and identity towards the home country is stable, despite involving possible challenges or difficulties. This stability establishes a clear feeling of home for most of the migrants, even though many of them left their home country a long time ago.

Thirdly, belonging and identity with regard to their home country is narrated as a natural process, due to being nationals of the country, their cultural connection and their general knowledge about it; whereas the identification with the country of residence is not

as natural for the majority of interviewed migrants. However, the migrants have shown a 'functional sense of belonging and identity', which is influenced by feeling settled and positive, even though they feel foreign in the UK. Moreover, it is affected more by a secure environment, and less affected by the typical sense of national identity which migrants are often assumed to possess. Therefore, this new 'functional belonging and identity' has influenced the respondents of this study to create their 'own' sense of belonging in the country of residence, despite the differences they mentioned in comparison to non-migrants. It allowed them to explain their offending and played an explanatory role in the migrant ex-offenders' process of desistance. Taking this into consideration, Laub and Sampson's study (2003) supported that the development towards a 'new' sense of self-identity as a desister or as a good provider, as a family man and/or hard worker, is facilitated by a transformative agency; moreover, a similar change enables a termination of offending. Also in alignment with this study are the works of McNeill (2014) and other scholars (Laub and Sampson, 2003; Bottoms and Shapland, 2011; Weaver, 2013), which confirm that the sense of belonging facilitates a long-term abstinence from crime. This relates also to Erikson's (1993) theoretical scheme, developed in the analytical framework chapter (III), which showed that reaching a certain maturity helps to create and accept this new identification of themselves, with a non-offender self-image.

A further aspect of the terms 'belonging' and 'identity' is the meaning of identification with the country of origin and the residence country; this is a thorny issue which has many 'layers'. The findings of this theme seem to correlate, in particular, with the work of some other studies which identify a clear differentiation between 'us' and 'others'. This separation causes a lack of connection towards the society in the country of residence, which may have a negative effect on the desistance process. This seems to make migrants separate from 'normal' society (Mehta, 2016). This differentiation is confirmed by a dominant number of participants of this study (Arben; Arber; Drilon; Tomasz; Kolya; Stanislaw; Lucien; Satnam; Anas; Fatjon) as a result of their immigration status, their cultural and ethnic diversity, and their natural connection and identification with country of origin. The quotes in the two sections of this chapter support the aforementioned differentiation between 'us' and 'others'.

The sense of nationality and/or migrants' own culture being inevitably challenged by immigration and ethnic diversity (LaBarbera, 2015) seems not to be confirmed in the

collected data, because their connection to their 'own' culture has never been called into question. This seems to support their 'insider' role in the home country.

The notion of long-term desistance, led by belonging and identity, creates a stable self-image which leads to an abstinence from crime in the country of origin. On the other hand, the interviewees have an association with 'other' cultures; in particular, they experience the differences between their own and the other culture. This seems to confirm their 'outsider' role, considering that as a result of their status, cultural background, languages, etc., these migrants involuntarily create a category in the society of their country of residence. Being in that position enables the transitional stage between cultures and countries (Strath, 2010; LaBarbera, 2015); this instability in relation to their self-image and other aspects of life in the country of residence has often led participants to an offending experience. Depending on the positive and/or negative experiences of these migrants in their host country, they positively and/or negatively affect their process of ceasing offending. This shows that the impact of belonging and identity has an explanatory role in the desistance process of these migrants.

A further important part of this discussion requires an awareness of this research's limitations. The author has deliberately addressed the theme of belonging and identity in general terms, in order to give the interviewees the freedom to narrate their experiences as migrant ex-offenders in England and Wales. In this way the participants, influenced by the questions, shaped the answers according to their experiences, which resulted in two types of belonging and identity. Hence, although the findings on belonging and identity play an important role in this desistance research, it is important to take into consideration that they are restricted to the participants of this study.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the general impact of belonging and identity on the participants in this study, particularly its role during their process of desistance. It focused on four relevant components of this theme. Firstly, it demonstrated the distinguishing features of belonging and identity in the country of residence. Secondly, it described the characteristics of belonging and identity in the home country. Thirdly, it depicted the similarities and differences between the two forms of belonging and identity. Fourthly, it analysed the role of this study in relation to previous research in similar fields.

These findings show that the migrants' connection and identification with the country of residence is a changeable construct which is influenced by several factors, such as immigration status, a support system, general experiences, cultural and mentality differences. Depending on these, the interviewed migrants' identification with the country of residence is weaker and/or stronger than with the country of origin. Their belonging to and identification with their home country is stable for nearly all of the participants; most of the interviewed migrants identify as an 'insider' in the society of their country of origin.

The illustration of the two forms of belonging and identity demonstrates that despite the differences between them, there are still common elements which are important for a better understanding of this theme. The findings have shown that the stability of belonging and identity in the country of origin has a positive impact on enabling and continuing to create desistance narratives. This is also strongly connected with the feeling of being ashamed in their home country, whereas the instability of the connection and identification with the country of residence makes the process of starting and continuing the criminal career much easier. This implies that when belonging and identity are balanced, the chances of committing crime are lower. Consequently, the new 'functional sense of belonging' created by the interviewed migrants, influenced by other factors such as a strong supporting network, their migration narratives, and creating a 'new' non-offending identity, has stabilised their relationship to their country of residence, and contributed to their desistance narratives.

CHAPTER VI: FINDING 2: MIGRATION AND OFFENDING NARRATIVES

6. Introduction

This chapter presents the findings for the migration and offending narratives. After demonstrating how migrants express their sense of belonging and identification, this chapter expands on the role migration plays in the interviewees' narratives of offending and desistance. Moreover, it examines the challenges of being a migrant ex-offender in the host country. The questions asked of respondents related to this theme were as follows:

a. How it was for you to be a foreigner who committed crime in this country?

b. What is your experience? Would you please summarise the main points of this interview?

c. Have you ever felt part of this society?

d. Do you have anything else to add? Would you have done the same things differently in other phases of your life? Which phases and why? Why are you not doing any crime anymore?

The migration and offending narratives of interviewed migrant ex-offenders in England and Wales are analysed in order to illustrate that components such as migration, committing crime, a change towards a non-offending identity, shame, race and/or racial discrimination, impact their narrative self-construction during their desistance journey. As offending is part of their migration path, this chapter focuses on the consequences of beginning, continuing and stopping a criminal career in their country of residence. Furthermore, it scrutinises the narratives of these migrants from different angles, such as their socio-economic situation, their support network (if there is any), their place in the resident country's society, and their immigration status in relation to migration and offending. The latter has influenced migrant life in general, and seems to be a major fault-line during their narration of their migration. Moreover, their migration narratives provide the basis for a developing an understanding of methods that the participants in this study used to adapt to life in the host country. These are related to their strategies for integration and/or separation in the country of residence; to the way that their migration experience has shaped them as individuals; and to their decision(s) in relation to their future, which influenced their life-course in England and Wales.

Shame is an important emotion analysed in this chapter, due to its frequent occurrence in the offending and migration narratives of these interviewed migrant ex-offenders. The idea that they are 'not succeeding' until they decide to desist gives them feelings of shame, despite their desire to migrate and create a better life than they had in their home country. This component is also strongly related to offending experiences. Consequently, shame has gained importance in the well-researched field of criminology (Den Boer, 1998; Palidda, 1999; Maruna, 2001; Maruna et al., 2004a, 2004b; Corrigan, Markowitz and Watson, 2004; Hagan, Eschbach and Rodriguez, 2008; Brotherton and Barrrios, 2009; Galvin, 2014). However, it remains important to discover how the feeling of shame plays a relevant role for the interviewed migrant ex-offenders. The subject of shame became apparent from the beginning of the interviews, and the majority of the migrants described it in relation to offending through terms such as 'shame', 'being ashamed' and 'guilt'. Furthermore, this section reveals if and which components of shame play a role in their desistance process, and it demonstrates some new ways for migrants to deal with this feeling.

This chapter also examines how the respondents of this study refer to themselves, as this generally illustrates their perception of themselves in their host country, which in turn influences, in various ways, their experiences as migrants. As was found in Chapter V (Belonging and identity), both types of migrants (foreign-born UK nationals and foreign nationals) described themselves as 'foreigners' / 'I am not from here'. This view of themselves in connection to racial discrimination experiences enforces the feeling of being 'alien' in their country of residence, and impacts their desistance narratives. These narratives were formulated through terms such as 'not causing trouble anymore', 'not doing crime anymore', which shows their position in relation to their crime. Their word choice was not influenced by the fact of speaking English poorly, because with some of them, the researcher spoke in their mother tongue, and the others could hold a normal conversation in English. Mainly, however, their word choice was influenced by the desire to present their criminal past with less negative impact. This is a known phenomenon of narrative construction (McAdams, 1995; Maruna, 2001), which benefits them in creating a new identity that is different from the previous one. Telling their narrative self-construction from their own perspective made them position themselves differently: less as offenders, and more as desisters. Narrating their past with less judgment, and formulating offending as

being part of the past, is another way of dealing with their previous criminal activity. Focusing on the present and on a better future enabled them to establish this non-offending identity, which is paramount for maintaining a long-term abstinence from crime.

Subsequently, the impact of migration on the offending narratives emphasises their understanding of the offending process in relation to other important components, such as occupation, support, language, different cultural backgrounds, etc. The relevance of these elements shows how they have influenced their migration journey in general, and how the aforementioned aspects and/or other ones differ for the participants of this study during their offending process.

In addition, narratives portray the roles of a new self (as a migrant ex-offender), race, and discrimination change through their migration journey. The findings on migration and offending narratives, together with these associated elements, are discussed in relation to other pieces of research on the same topic.

6.1 Migration narratives in England and Wales

Migration is a very diverse topic, and a well-established subject within several fields such as criminology, sociology and political science (Essed, 1991; Wacquant, 1999; Hedetoft and Hjort, 2002; Joly and Backford, 2006; Huysmans, 2006; Stråth, 2008; Kitching, Smallbone and Athayde, 2009; Kruttschnitt, Dirkzwager and Kennedy, 2013). However, this section investigates the interviewees' migration reasons; it analyses their narratives as migrants in England and Wales through the main features of their migration, and how these characteristics vary according to the type of migration. This approach illustrates how these features influence each other, and in particular, how they affect participants' migration and desistance narratives.

The majority of the interviewed migrants (Dariuz, Arben, Arber, Gjoke, Afrim, Kofi, Tomasz, Stanislaw, Anas and Fatjon) migrated to the UK for economic reasons; three of them (Guillaume, Kolya and Satnam) migrated for family reasons, whereas the others (Drilon and Lucien) left their country of origin for other purposes. They described their experiences as migrants in England and Wales as difficult. Their challenges were influenced by four factors: a) being alone in the country of residence and having no support system, b) not feeling part of society, c) general negative life conditions, and d) immigration status. The second factor, not feeling part of the society, is determined by the sense of identification as a foreigner,

lack of language skills, lack of trust, and discrimination. Each of these factors is supported by quotes from the interviewees.

One of the difficulties mentioned by six migrants (Dariuz, Arben, Arber, Tomasz, Stanislaw and Fatjon) was being alone and receiving less support in the host country.

> Dariuz: *It has been very difficult and it is still very difficult, because I have less support. (Exact transcription)*
>
> Arben: *What can I say, it's very difficult. You leave your country for a better future, and at the end of the day even that money that you earn it doesn't make any sense, because you are alone and cannot enjoy or share good moments with people that you trust and you love. (...) Also now it's difficult, maybe more difficult than before, because you have a family to maintain and you have to take care for them without causing any troubles; I mean, without doing any crimes. (Translation)*
>
> Arber: *You start to think about everything. You have a feeling that you are alone in all this. You are in a foreign country, for example you don´t have any family members here, you don´t have real friends, you don´t have anyone. You are by yourself. What can I say? It is very difficult. It is more than difficult. (...) (Translation)*
>
> Tomasz: *It´s not easy to leave your country and start a new life in a new country. When I arrived here I was young alone and troubled. I thought that I could start something new, but it wasn´t easy. (Exact transcription)*
>
> Stanislaw: *The life here in England is very different and very hard. (…) at the beginning it was very difficult to do anything. I felt alone with all these lies now. (Exact transcription)*
>
> Fatjon: *Always alone, it is just difficult, (…) I miss my family very much and it is hard to be just working. Sometimes I think, what is the point of all this kind of life. (The interviewee thinks…. A minute break) (Translation)*

A further difficulty is related to the fact of not feeling or being part of their country of residence. The reason for this is influenced by several factors, such as lack of trust, lack of language, feeling and being a foreigner, and discrimination. The quotes below show some of these difficulties mentioned above.

> Dariuz: *It´s not my country, it's different, because I know how it works there. (Exact transcription)*

Arber: *You are a foreigner in this country. There are many things that you don't know and if you learn them, it depends who you learn them from, because you might learn them wrong too, or you find illegal ways. Here it is different. You cannot trust anyone. They seem all polite, but they stab you in the back You wouldn´t think that because they seem so polite, but as there is a saying: The dog that barks doesn´t bite. Here, people are like such dogs. Dogs that don´t bark, but they bite on the first occasion they have (...) (Translation)*

Gjoke: *I can say that one of the problems that I had at the beginning was the language. This makes you feel not completely part of this country. (Translation)*

Kofi: *But I have felt discrimination everywhere since I arrived in Western world. (…) it has happened to me that people come and ask 'what are you doing here?'. How you can feel home if you´ve been asked question like this on a regular basis? You are a foreigner here and you will never be accepted. (…) define myself as an individual with a different background. I don´t like the word migrant, because I feel that people when use this word put other people who are not English into categories, like foreigner, black white, Asian, young and old, Muslim, terrorist, Christian etc. (…) (Exact transcription)*

Kolya: *No like when I arrive in England. Is difficult here. (...) is very hard. Very very difficult. My parents has education and was difficult for them. They work different jobs in England. I have no school, not a good English so I find a job, but less money. There is no money in England.*
*Not speaking English good make everything difficult**.** You always understand that. This is not your country, you are foreigner and you will always be. My parents come I in England for a good future for me and my sisters and I want the same for my daughter. (Exact transcription)*

Fatjon: *(…) I spent some time looking for a job. I went to all the restaurants close to where I was staying. They didn't want to take me without documents… (Translation)*

Afrim, Drilon, Lucien, Satnam, Anas and Fatjon had similar experiences, which were influenced by the same factors. A further category of challenges that these migrants have experienced in their country of residence is related to general negative living conditions.

Kofi: *You ask for protection and the treatment is really very bad. The living conditions were worse than people in Africa. In that flat were rats, it was mouldy, old really very bad. I got a lung infection when I started to live there. It was a really horrible. So I would like to change this part of my life, because living there became too risky for my health. (Exact transcription)*

On the other hand, three participants (Arber, Afrim and Guillaume) narrated their experience in England and Wales differently from the interviewees above. Arber did not experience any discrimination in the welcoming country, even though he is an undocumented migrant. According to Arber, Afrim and Guillaume, England and Wales has a good support system, and they feel good in it. Taking into consideration the bad experiences in his home country, Guillaume sees his country of residence as his new home country.

> Arber: *At least here I can find a job, but illegally… it´s…. (the interviewee thinks). In England you can say that you are Albanian and they can still employ you. You don´t have to lie all the time about your origins. In Europe, you cannot find a job if you say you are Albanian, because in Europe it´s more difficult to employ illegals In England, it´s not a problem. I am not saying that all of employers take illegal Albanians, but a lot of them do. It´s not that they do it only for Albanians, they accept illegal migrants to work for them. I am talking about private companies. From my experience, I cannot say that I was mistreated because I was a foreigner. You always have work stress and you have to do your work, so I wouldn´t say that the boss is treating you like this or like that because you are a foreigner. (Translation)*
>
> Afrim: *This country, England, makes you also feel better. You receive a lot of support from this country. I am not saying that I haven't have any problems here, but the state helps you if you need help. There are structures where you can go and receive what you need. (...) (Translation)*
>
> Guillaume: *I know that everybody can recognise my French accent, but it is not as strong as it was before and it doesn´t make me feel like a foreigner, or less 'homey'. My wife is English and her family is here. So when we go and meet her family, it feels like I have a new family. They are all so kind. So it was so easy. (Exact transcription)*

Gjoke is another participant of this study who has a very good opinion about his host country because he has always been treated with respect.

> Gjoke: *In particular, in this country the way that good people treated me in this country was one of the things that made me respect this country. (Translation)*

According to the quotes above, the majority of interviewees narrate their general situation in terms of being influenced by several characteristics, such as common struggles in finding an occupation, inadequate support, a general lack of trust, not feeling part of the

society in the country of residence, racial discrimination, language difficulties, etc. They seem to undergo similar difficulties in order to create a normal life in their country of residence. This shows that despite their migration reasons, which define their type of migration, there is no significant association between the three types of migration (economic, familial and other) and the degree of difficulties experienced in their country of residence. In order to gain an overview of the differences between documented and undocumented migrants, the figures below shed more light on the migrants' narratives in relation to these two status types.

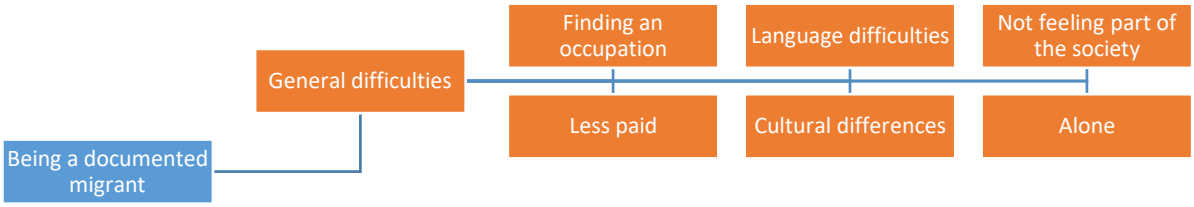

Figure 10: A general overview of experiences as a documented migrant in England and Wales

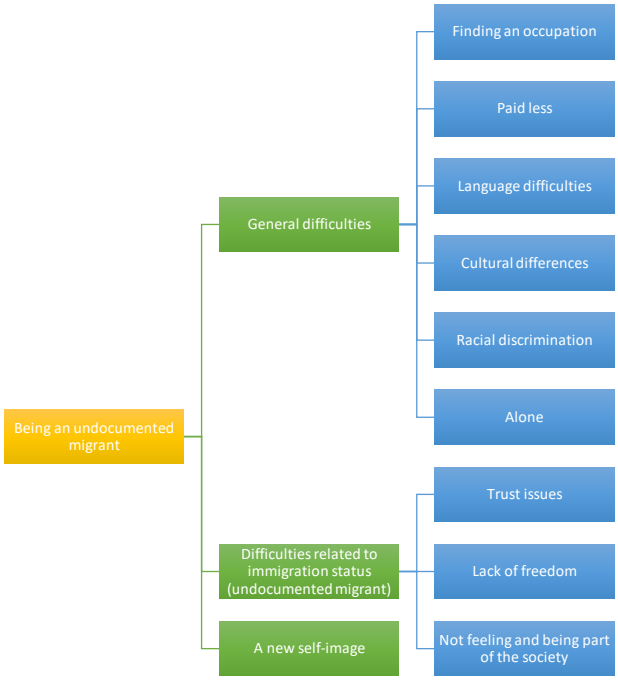

Figure 11: A general overview of experiences as an undocumented migrant in England and Wales

Figure 10 and 11 show that both types of migrants, documented and undocumented, undergo similar experiences with regard to general difficulties after leaving their country of origin, such as difficulties in finding an occupation, being paid less, lack of language skills, etc. However, their immigration status, documented or undocumented, influences the interviewees' life in general and creates other insecurities, which are mainly related to the particular feature of being an undocumented migrant; whereas this feature is a less-seen characteristic in the documented migrants. Therefore, their immigration status leads to more problems which make the migration process more difficult. In addition, it also indirectly influences their choices towards offending. Furthermore, the narratives of undocumented migrants illustrate a direct connection between being undocumented and further challenging experiences. All the participants made the choice to leave their country of origin with the sole intention of creating a better future for themselves and their family. Despite this fact, this journey towards that kind of reality was, and still is for some of them, described as involving various challenging experiences that have made their migration journey very difficult, even before they start their criminal career. Therefore, understanding their migration narratives provides the background for their offending narratives, and it demonstrates how their migration and previous offending influenced belonging and identity and desistance due to carried shame, and how it shaped their hopes differently.

6.2 Offending narratives in England and Wales

The offending narratives are shaped by a relevant feature, namely committing crimes in the country of residence. The characteristic of being an (ex-)offender affects their general migration experience and their progress towards a life without crime. Thus, this section determines, firstly, how being a migrant with previous offending influences this process of desistance; secondly, how offending had an impact on the migration narratives of these interviewed migrants; and thirdly, how the immigration status, documented or undocumented, has influenced their offending narratives.

The participants of this study narrate that offending has caused further challenges in their migration and desistance process, and which influence their general life experience in their country of residence. The table below illustrates, in a summarised way, the impact of these challenges on the participants' life.

Figure 12: Illustration of the consequences of being a migrant offender

The difficulties mentioned in the previous section (6.1, Migration narratives in England and Wales) were, for the majority of the participants of this study, able to explain the offending narratives. Moreover, as a result of their offending career, the journey towards desistance also became more challenging, and made the offending more likely.

> Dariuz: *In my country didn't need to commit any crime. I could have a normal life, but I wanted something different and come here. Here is difficult and had other problems so that's why I had problems with crime. (Exact transcription)*
>
> Arber: *(…) so you cannot make really friends, plus you start doing crimes. So you get in touch with dangerous people. For sure it´s more difficult. When I started to do crimes, you think I am a foreigner in this country, I am 'illegal' here (the interviewee said 'illegal' in English), you do crimes. (Translation)*
>
> Tomasz: *I never messed up so badly to go to prison. In England was different, because I didn´t know many things and it was difficult to be alone in a foreign country and really I was lost here. I didn´t know that I was lost, but I was badly lost. So I can say, it was difficult in England and for sure in your country everything is easier, because you just understand things and you know things how they work. (Exact transcription)*

As has been shown from the quotes above, the difficulties caused during their migration path pushed the majority of the interviewees to begin offending, and to continue it in the country of residence.

Satnam, Anas and Fatjon had similar experiences with regard to the difficulties when they began and continued to commit crime, even though their reasons differ from each other. In the case of Satnam, his precarious financial situation was the trigger to begin and to continue committing crimes.

> Satnam: *When I was out I continued to do the same things, because the situation with my family was the same. My father was working a lot and when I wasn´t there, my family had more difficult time, because the money that I was bringing was missing. (…)*
> *It was the same situation every time I was out. My father was the only one working, we had never enough money for food, clothes, everything that we need. I started again finding my way with small crimes to have some money and nothing was changing. I couldn´t find a proper job that could give me more money than the crimes I was doing, so it was easier to do crimes than to look for a real job. If your boss knows that you have been in prison, he won´t take you. It´s normal. If you don´t say anything that you have been in prison, the moment your boss finds out you´ve lost the job. In prison was horrible, and outside was very difficult of the whole situation I got in until I stopped doing crimes. (Exact transcription)*

In contrast, Fatjon and Anas talked about the difficulties related to their immigration status (undocumented migrant), which restricted their ability to feel part of the society in

the country of residence and lead a normal life in it. Being an undocumented foreign national and an ex-offender has made the migration experiences of these respondents very challenging. It is appropriate to invoke here the figure of the vicious circle: several of the interviewed migrants were arguing that the context of migration created not only opportunities and incentives for offending, but once they had offended, it made the integration process harder.

> Fatjon: *It is just difficult, because I am here illegally. It is not easy to be without documents in a country. I have a job and I am earning some money. I send money home too, but I cannot go and visit my family. I miss my family very much and it is hard to be always alone, just working. Sometimes I think what is the point of all this kind of life. (The interviewee thinks…. A minute break). (Translation)*

> Anas: *In a way, I was never accepted by the society too. I did crime here. No one wants to stay with criminals. It is not easy to be accepted. Maybe it was one of the reasons that I felt alone here too. English people are not rude as French but are discreet. I have done my mistakes too. It is very difficult to make a life in a different country. I am foreigner, a foreigner that steal and did (haram) bad things. I did many mistakes. I didn´t show to this society what a kind person I am. I showed it the worst in me, so it is very difficult to be part of this society. I am illegal too. I don´t want to talk about it, because it makes me not secure enough. It is impossible to feel part of a group when you are not part of it from the law. (Exact transcription)*

In the case of interviewees Afrim, Gjoke and Lucien, there are elements of the traditional image of a migrant as an individual who creates a home in the host country, adapts to a new environment, and assimilates into the culture of the welcoming country. Returning to the country of origin may remain only a dream, for their retirement period. Their narratives are also strongly related to the sense of identification and belonging that the majority of the respondents of this study have created in the country of residence, as has been explained in the previous chapter.

> Afrim: *Now it's different. I've created a life in these 18 years, you're not that foreigner anymore, who doesn't speak the language, or doesn't know things. Sometimes I know things better than some English-born friends, because I had to deal with many things and my experience made me learn many things. (Translation)*

According to Zelinsky and Lee (1998), this idealistic image of an immigrant has lost its importance, and the cultural characteristics of their country of origin have proven to be strong and resistant to change over time. Migrants of today import their imagined communities with them to an even greater degree than before. Furthermore, they apply new communication possibilities in creating and maintaining their identities, despite their dispersion (Zelinsky and Lee, 1998). This is similar to the phenomenon of 'dual belonging', analysed in Chapter V: Belonging and Identity; although in the case of the participants of this study, a 'functional belonging and identity' seemed to be effective for them. The difference between belonging and identity and a 'functional' one lies in the fact that the latter is mainly related to safe surroundings, rather than being fully assimilated in the host country. Even though an individual might be or feel alien in the host country, this 'functional' sense of belonging and identity enables the person to continue a life without crime there.

On the other hand, committing crime was, for the majority of interviewees, a way to survive their difficulties. For some of them, crime was a different way of life, a strategy to escape from their reality, a frustration release, and also a result of socialising with peers who were committing crimes. The quotes illustrate the interviewees' narratives, which resonate with their desistance process. Their story makes their past experience comprehensible, and separates their offending identity from the new non-offending one.

> Arben: *The money was good and that's why I continued. I didn't see myself as a foreigner. (...) I never said that I was Albanian, and after selling I had some fun in other pubs in London. That type of life was fun and gave me a lot of money. It's like a living on a cloud, I could afford a flat in Chelsea. You have to be there where the money is and I had many clients in Chelsea, so I always showed up in a car, very well dressed so nobody would think that I didn't have documents (the interviewee laughs). So it was a good cover-up. (...) The difficulties that I have here as a migrant ex-offender on one side have to do with me being without documents. I've explained what it's like to be without documents. On the other side, I made my chance of having documents nearly impossible because I have done crimes here. (…) So, from my experience I can say, it's already difficult to be a foreigner in this country, and it becomes more difficult if you've done crimes, plus I am illegal in this country. It's like a 'mission impossible' (the interviewee said this in English). You will never feel part of this country, but you have to find your ways of surviving with all these obstacles that I've made as a result of the things that I have done in this country. (Translation)*

Through this quote, Arben demonstrated some of his adaptation methods in order to overcome difficulties related to his offending experience and his immigration status (undocumented migrant). Creating an offending identity with less connection to his real story was a way for him to adapt and deal with his situation, until he decided to stop offending.

> Kofi: *If I´ve arrived in England with the same of thinking that I had nearly three to four years ago, then I wouldn´t have been in prison and I wouldn´t have started do crime. I was too young and too adventurous when I arrived in England. This wasn´t good, because I choose the easy way. It gave me a lot of money for a period of time, it gave me a huge kick too, it was fun too but the price that you pay for that it is too high. (…)*
> *Another reason is that being in a position pushed me to the limit and made to find an illegal way to earn money. On the other hand, such experiences made me grow up and see things with a different perspective. (Exact transcription)*

In the case of Kofi, the offending narratives were related to the difficulties brought by his migration experience. Beginning and continuing to commit crime was a way to overcome his challenges. Furthermore, the excitement and economic security gained from certain types of crime might last for a period of time, and a lack of maturation made his offending narratives continue until he decided to desist.

> Stanislaw: *When you do crime you go to prison and this makes your life sh… so nothing good come from crime and makes your life sh… too. I swear… (Interviewee thinks) (Break…). When I started to do crime, you always find people it´s not difficult. They are not friends, you just do crime with them and drink. This was for me. (Exact transcription)*

However, Stanislaw explains that when offending begins, life takes a different direction, and it becomes very challenging. From that moment, an adaptation process towards that type of life starts and continues.

For all these three interviewees, and also in the quotes throughout this section, an identity (de)construction occurs, known as an 'individual state of being', when someone's existence is dominated by various components which dominate his inner and outer world. This process can occur on a conscious and/or unconscious level. According to Wilson (1956), the individual's life experiences are controlled by their state of being, and are experienced regardless of homeland, age, sex, culture, religion, colour, racial or ethnic origin. Moreover,

this process occurs regardless of their migration reasons and their long period of living abroad. In the case of these migrant ex-offenders, the state of being a foreigner/(un)documented migrant, and feeling isolated, became their state of being as a result of their circumstances. Some of these participants live in a world that is isolated from their family, if they have one; or alone, if they do not.

The figures below depict the main consequences for interviewees as (un)documented migrant ex-offenders in England and Wales.

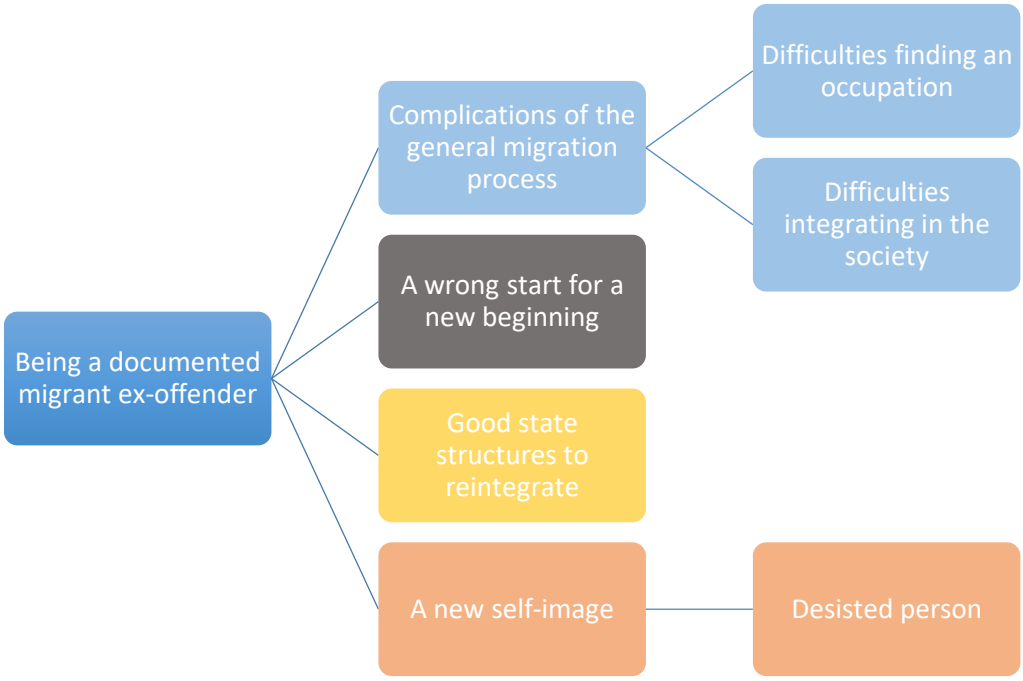

Figure 13: Illustration of the consequences for documented migrant ex-offenders in England and Wales

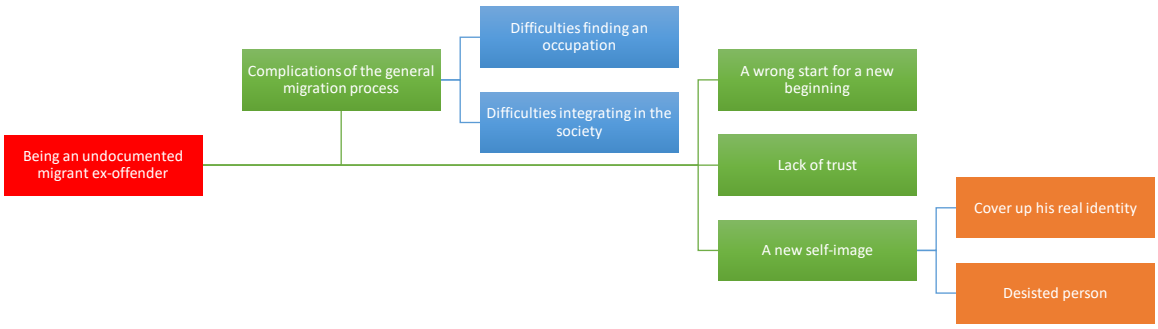

Figure 14: Illustration of the consequences for undocumented migrant ex-offenders in England and Wales

As is shown, these challenging narratives have similarities with the difficulties illustrated in Figure 10 in section 6.1, 'Migration narratives in England and Wales'. The difference between these two charts and that in the previous section (Figure 11) is found in what being an (ex-)offender means for the life of the interviewed migrants. As demonstrated by the charts above, regardless of migrant type (documented/undocumented), the newly added characteristic of previous offending creates further difficulties in their migration, in their drive, and in their continuing desistance. Even though there are no significant differences between challenges that these migrants experience as they stop offending, it is relevant to understand that the difficulties of these two types of migrants are found in the social and psychological processes that they narrate. This means that the factors mentioned in section 6.1 (Migration narratives in England and Wales) and section 6.2 (Offending narratives in England and Wales) – such as difficulties in finding an occupation, language difficulties, racial discrimination, lack of knowledge of the system, lack of freedom, not being and feeling part of the society in the country of residence – create disadvantages for the interviewed migrants, which make their process of desistance and their social integration very challenging. Furthermore, additional factors such as trust issues, lack of support, feeling alone, cultural differences, being and feeling a foreigner, have an impact on the adaptation strategies of these migrants in the host country, as illustrated in the previous interviews.

These factors have been explored by Bombelli, (2015), Viola, (2015) and Ferrante (2015), who describe the process of migration as a developing one (Mauss, 1966). Furthermore, migration requires a complete identity (re)construction/transformation, because migrants lose their social status and social networks in the country of origin the moment they leave it. Faced with an unknown reality, migrants may feel lost, alone, and without reference points. Despite their aim to integrate, migrants remain foreigners/strangers, and they are often confronted with distrust and hostility. The harsh reality of being excluded is different from the idealised picture of the host country as a better place to live, which initially caused the majority of interviewed migrants to leave their country of origin.

> Stanislaw: *We wanted to start a new life, earn some money and send money to my parents. My parents still work, but it is not enough to have a normal life in Poland. (…) The life here is England is different and very hard. (…) We were so tired. We were so tired, that after the shower sometimes we slept until the next morning. We had only Sunday off. Saturdays my brother worked in Costa and I in a car wash. (…). It is not that I come to England to do crime. Crime has only bad influence in you. You don´t trust anyone and it makes your life more difficult. (Exact transcription)*

> Fatjon: *I was not happy with the situation and I wanted to leave the country. I went to Italy to work and find any job related with my studies. In Italy I worked in a restaurant too, but I could get more money. There I met other Albanians and they told me they were going to England because there is more money in England than in Italy. (…) I spend some time and looking for a job. I went to all the restaurants close where I was staying. They didn't want to take me without documents. It was looking for months, but nothing I could find. I was sleeping rough, it was very difficult. (Translation)*

Disappointment and nostalgia help to idealise the country of origin, which is, in turn, prettified through memory. However, when the migrant returns to his/her country of origin, the distinction between the ideal and the real reappears. This shows that migrants live to a certain degree between feeling glorification and disappointment towards both the host country and the country of origin. This process starts when an individual leaves his/her own country, and it does not cease. Moreover, it provokes an unfinished situation of not yet belonging 'here', but no longer 'there' (Ferrante, 2015). The blurring of 'here' and 'there' has confused the cultural fixities of those who have lived in the same place their entire life (Ruggiu, 2015). According to Gupta and Ferguson (1992), the relationship between culture and place is broken in today's societies, whereas for the interviewed migrants it was mainly

the opposite. The connection with the country of origin for the majority of them was very strong, and they were able to create a sense of 'functional' existence, even though they saw fewer common points between their culture and that of the host country.

The support system for UK prisoners after their release has been mentioned by some of the documented migrant ex-offenders, who were helped by probation officers as a result of their difficult circumstances. On the other hand, for undocumented migrants, this support system was not available, as they had entered without permission. Taking into consideration all the social and psychological processes explained above, this leads to a conclusion that the offending experience was challenging for the participants of this study. Moreover, being an undocumented (ex-)offender in the country of residence renders the entire process of reintegration into society impossible. As a result, this status has an immense impact on their future decisions, and particularly on their adaptation to their new life experiences of being migrant, undocumented, and a desister in England and Wales. As shown by the quotes of interviewed migrants, the process of migration and offending is for several respondents a vicious circle, and for others a demanding experience. However, an individual faces additional challenges when they have previously committed a crime. Therefore, the difference between the narratives of migration and offending is found in the severe difficulties arising from the incarceration experience in their country of residence. As a result, migration has been a push factor towards offending, as well as towards the process of ceasing offending. Desistance from crime is analysed in the next chapter (VII).

6.3 Shame

Shame is an important component for the respondents of this study, due to its connection with their migration and offending narratives. In order to gain a general overview of shame with regard to the interviewed migrants, the table below shows how they narrate this feeling.

Interviewees	Immigration status		Shame
	Documented Migrant	Undocumented Migrant	
Dariuz	X		
Arben		X	X
Arber		X	X

Gjoke	X		
Afrim	X		
Drilon		X	X
Kofi		X	X
Guillaume	X		
Tomasz	X		
Kolya	X		X
Stanislaw	X		X
Lucien	X		
Satnam	X		X
Anas		X	X
Fatjon		X	X

Figure 15: General view of shame for the 15 interviewees

As shown, shame was experienced by the majority of the participants of this study. It is particularly important for the undocumented migrant ex-offenders, when explained in relation to other components such as family, incarceration time, country of residence and country of origin, during their experience in England and Wales. In this sense, the topic of shame is explored in relation to how it has affected the journey of these interviewed migrants and has shaped their desistance narratives. This analysis is supported by their quotes, which illustrate the several layers of this important emotion. Firstly, it demonstrates how the feeling of shame is constructed, and to which factors it relates. Secondly, it examines whether shame is associated with the type of migrant (foreign-born or foreign national), and/or immigration status (documented or undocumented). The analysis thereby explores the main features of shame and how they influence each other, particularly in the narratives of interviewed migrant ex-offenders in England and Wales.

According to the respondents of this study, shame appears to be a subject with several layers, and is strongly related to several components such as themselves, their family, society in their country of origin, prison experiences, criminal career, etc. The majority of interviewees experienced the feeling of shame in relation to different factors, as is supported by their quotes.

Firstly, shame evolves in relation to themselves and in relation to their family. For a few respondents, it is demonstrated as guilt.

> Kofi: *I felt bad in there and I was ashamed to be inside. In Africa if somebody goes to prison and finishes his term there he does not want to go back there, because it is so terrible.*
> *(…) During my first and second time in prison I never had any contact with my family, because I didn't want to have contact with them. First of all I was ashamed of myself. I was trying to imagine what my mother would think of me. They always were talking to me peacefully but I let them down. (Exact transcription)*

> Drilon: *Every time I committed criminal offences, I felt guilty. I was not proud of my behaviour and I always had feelings of guilt. I have always thought that I could help the people, and I did the opposite. I caused a lot of damage to my family and other people. Let me explain better. I was forced to do crimes, in a way. (Translation)*

> Fatjon: *Anyway I am ashamed of myself, how I dealt with things during that time. (…) I feel ashamed towards my family for the choices I made in England. (Translation)*

The feeling of shame was also related to their type of offence and/or the fact of being incarcerated.

> Arben: *But if you are one of the ones who do such crimes you have reached the lowest level, underground tube (the interviewee laughs). No really I laugh, because I don't feel very proud about that. It's something that is very very very low. You've lost any border, because selling drugs I don't see like that. The money made me blind and I started things that I shouldn't have done. There is also a moral thing related with prostitution. And after some time I wasn't feeling very good about doing that. (Translation)*

> Gjoke: *Sincerely I felt bad, when I was at the police station in front of the police officers and in front of the judge I really felt bad.*
> *(…) The term 'deprivation of freedom' means that you have touched the lowest point. You can´t go lower than that. I would do everything to avoid going back to prison. (Translation)*

> Satnam: *My father was violent with me and this made my stay at home very difficult. I didn´t leave home, because I didn´t want to bring shame to my family.*
> *(…) To be honest in first and second crime there were some shame feelings. I thought it is not good. (Exact transcription)*

Being ashamed in relation to themselves was mainly influenced by their choices made during their offending time, which is described as a 'very low period' of their life.

> Gjoke: *(…) Deprivation of freedom is the worst thing that can happen to you. (…) The only thing is that if I was in prison in my country, it wouldn´t just have been hard on me, but also on my family. It would have been a huge shame for my parents. It was a shame also when I was here, but they didn´t know, so it was less of a burden for me. (Translation)*

> Drilon: *But every time that I committed a crime, it caused harm to someone. I had to harm someone to fulfil my obligations. I harmed the people that I sold drugs to. I felt guilty every time I sold someone drugs. This was difficult for me to bear.*
> *(...) I said to myself: I let down my parents with my lifestyle, and my parents have done everything for me to have a good normal life, which I had while they were alive. What a shameful thing have you done, (The interviewee says his name and thinks....) (Translation)*

> Anas: *The time I was in prison has been a very difficult time for me. This part is also one of this part of my life that I want to change. I told you before I was alone, depressed, ashamed. (…) (Exact transcription)*
> *Crime made me a bad person, a very different person than the one my grandparent took care. I am happy they haven´t seen this part of my life, because they would be ashamed. They wouldn´t believe this guy is their favourite nephew, the man they took so good care. I think a lot about them. I am more ashamed by them than my, my parents.*
> *(…) These are bad things and when I think about them, I am ashamed. I know I cannot change them now, but it says a lot about me. I was able to do all these bad things. (Exact transcription)*

Secondly, the feeling of shame regarding family seems to have two layers. The first one concerns a possible change to their relationship with their family, as interviewees Arben and Kofi were afraid would happen.

> Arben: *My parents don't know what I've done all these years. They just know that I live in England, but not this. If my father knew that I've prostituted girls too, he wouldn't talk to me anymore. I have a sister, and when I started to do that I had her in my mind. What if something like that would have happened to my sister? It would have been pfffff…. I cannot explain that, because I also know how they are treated, so I cannot even think straight if my sister would have been in such a situation. That's why I never mistreated the girls that I had. (Translation)*

> Kofi: *For these reasons I didn't have contacts with my family during my first two terms in prison. I didn't call them, I never wrote them… I just told to my cousin in Brussel and I told him what happened and that I would be out soon. The third time in prison, my last time, I called them but I never told them that I was in prison. My family doesn´t know that I was in prison. It´s better like this.*
> *(…) I told you that I didn´t tell to my mother and my sisters that I was in prison, because it would destroy them. They would feel sad and I think that something would have been broken in our relationship. She would have feel insulted, because my mother has done so much for me and I repaid that way. It wouldn´t have been the same way. I don´t think that she would see me with the same admiration as she sees me now. (Exact transcription)*

The second layer refers to ruining their family's reputation in its home community, as was the opinion of Arben, Kolya and Satnam.

> Arben: *I come from a small town, and if I had started to earn money doing crimes, everyone would have known and it would have brought a huge shame to my family. I wouldn't have had the courage anymore to live there. I would have moved my parents too, because they would have felt so bad to live in that small town where everybody knew that I was selling drugs. (Translation)*

> Kolya: *In my country steal car never happen because I don't want my family to feel bad and to get a bad name, but in England is easy**.** (Exact transcription)*

Another phenomenon shown in the quotes below is that less restraints abroad made a life with offending easier in the host country than in the country of origin. To avoid these possible consequences, the respondents either kept their experiences as offenders in their country of residence to themselves, or only told their close family.

> Satnam: *(...) I don't think that I would have start to do crimes in my country. It would bring a lot of shame to my family. My family had a good name in the community I didn't have any reasons to start there. (Exact transcription)*

> Drilon: *That feeling, a combination of shame, dissatisfaction, disappointment, sorrow and anger, made me think a lot about my parents and made me also see things with a different perspective; and now after three years without a crime, my life is much better. (Translation)*

A further issue related to the feeling of shame is its preventive role towards offending in the country of origin. Although Braithwaite's theory (1989) deals with the role of

reintegrative shaming, it states that the most effective influence is not judges or police officers, but the people they care about the most. Therefore, the police have paved the way for a shaming process within communities, which touches upon shared values in their honour code (Gemert, Deckert and Pyrooz, 2008; Braithwaite, 1998; Arowolo, 2000, 2002; Grassi, 2010; Brooks and Simpson, 2012). In the case of these interviewees, shaming towards family was one of their reasons for not beginning their criminal career in their country of origin.

Thirdly, feeling ashamed occurs in their country of residence as well as in their origin country, although finding a way to live with this feeling seems to be easier in England and Wales than in their country of origin. This happens as a result of being alone in the country of residence, and also corresponds with possible labelling related to migrants who cause problems in England and Wales. Moreover, this is connected to the lack of a sense of belonging and identification in the country of residence; and with this lack, the feeling of shame loses its context. Another element shown in Satnam's quote is the fact that creating a normal life after being in prison appears to be easier in England and Wales than in the home country.

> Satnam: *(...) Prison would give a bigger shame to my family if I was in prison in my country. Everybody would have known and it would have been difficult to find also a good girl from a good family, if everyone knew I was in prison. If you see it from this side than it would have been more difficult to create my own family in India than in England. (Exact transcription)*

A further characteristic in relation to this third reason is illustrated by Drilon, who has a similar opinion to Arber and Fatjon. These three interviewees would not commit any crime in their country of origin, because their offending would give great shame to their parents. However, if this happened, the experience would be less painful for Drilon, because he would have support to overcome the resultant difficulties.

> Arber: *(…) Another reason that I think that it wouldn't have been the same in Albania, is that I would have felt very ashamed. I would have caused a lot of shame to my family too. You might think, but prison is the same, so why don't you feel so ashamed that you have been in prison in England? Here I am in a foreign country, it's not my country, nobody knows in Albania, apart from my family and some good friends It's not the same shame. I know that I wouldn't have done the same thing in my country. Here as a foreigner you are in a way expected to do bad things, not necessarily and not always, but you are*

> *confronted with all kind of difficulties and it's more easy to start doing crimes. (Translation)*
>
> Drilon: *(...) I wouldn't have sold drugs in Albania, because I would have given a lot of shame to my parents. It's different when you do crime in your country and when you do it abroad. You are also never alone in your country. There is always someone to help you if you need support. (Translation)*
>
> Fatjon: *This wouldn't have happened in Albania. I brought shame to the family, but at least in Albania no one knows besides my family, which makes the whole thing with shame less problematic. (Translation)*

Fourthly, shame seems to be important in the narratives of both types of migrants (foreign-born UK migrants and foreign nationals). It has influenced, in one way or another, their choice to commit crime, as well as promoted their life without crime.

> Kofi: *(…) David and the image of myself in him gave me the courage to leave the shame and the guilt feeling away and to focus on things that I am good at it. (Exact transcription)*

Fifthly, the interpretation of collected data in relation to shame showed that there was no significant connection between shame and the immigration status of the interviewed migrant ex-offenders. In other words, the emotion of shame was experienced by documented interviewed migrants as well as by undocumented ones.

In order to gain a better understanding of the aforementioned findings, the figure below encapsulates the relation between the key aspects of shame, to demonstrate its diversity.

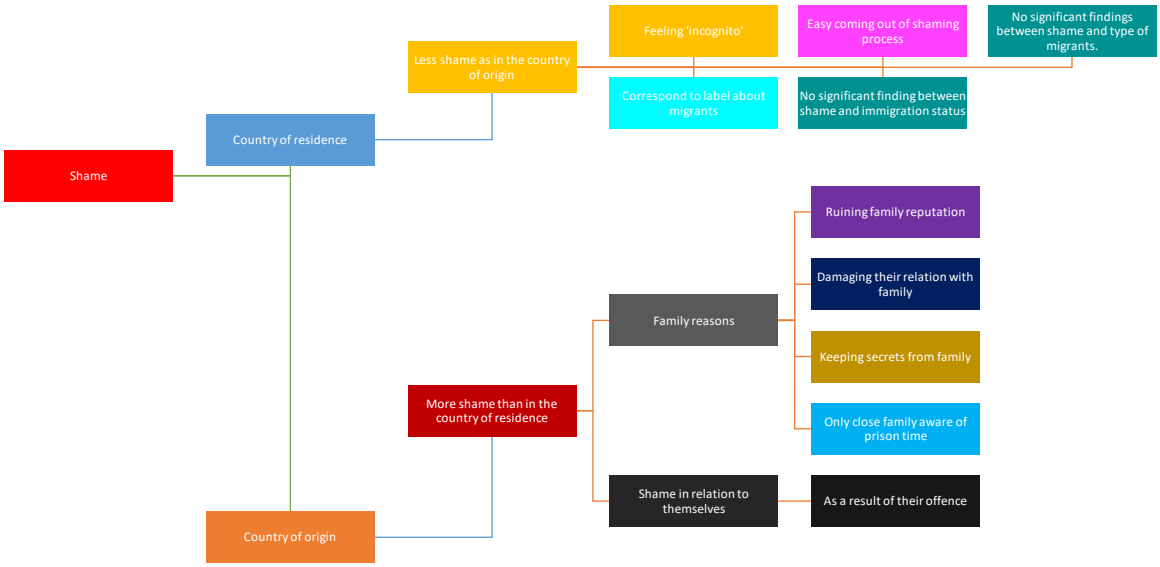

Figure 16: Illustration of key elements of the theme 'shame'

As has been demonstrated by the quotes mentioned above, and also by this table, shame is influenced by various characteristics, such as family reputation and migrants' attitude towards their offences; these differ significantly in the country of residence and in the country of origin. These differences are associated with various approaches to handling shame. Furthermore, they also have an important impact on their decision-making towards offending in England and Wales, as well as on not committing crimes in their country of origin. The component of shaming their family is a key element in this theme, as it significantly affected their relationship with family during their incarceration time; whereas feeling ashamed as a result of their incarceration experience is a further relevant characteristic in both their country of residence and their country of origin. However, for the migrant ex-offenders of this study, shame towards themselves in their country of origin seems to have a preventive role towards a criminal career, whereas in their country of residence it has an opposite effect.

The narratives of the respondents of this study illustrate that their offending past was often related to the general feeling of being ashamed. This has been explained throughout this section, whereas the explanation of a non-offending present was also influenced by the component of shame with regard to the family and their social circle. This supports the conclusion that a strong belonging and identity, and/or the 'functional identity',

lessens the shameful feelings of certain actions. This implies that a non-offending present decreases the opportunities for offending and creates the right circumstances for a life without crime.

The phenomenon of the preventive effect towards offending has not occurred by accident, particularly for those migrants from Albania. According to the literature (Peristiany, 1965; Vullnetari and King, 2011; Marion, 2012), belonging to a Mediterranean society with Islamic or Christian traditions means that honour and shame are its central concept, which regulates interpersonal relationships. Shame is connected to contempt and disrespect, while honour is related to respect and prestige. Thus, a similar phenomenon is also seen in the Albanian participants of this study.

6.4 A new self-image

A new self-image is described through the narratives of the interviewees of this study as a new form of adaptation to a life without crime. This transformation emerges for the undocumented migrants in two forms: firstly, as a strategy to avoid detection, to limit the difficulties brought by their status, and to overcome their challenges through offending; and secondly, as an adjustment to become a migrant (ex-)offender through a new non-offending identity. The second form is similar also for the documented migrants. Furthermore, creating a new self-image generates different challenges in several areas of life, which causes significant adjustments and/or disruptions to the lives of these migrants in their country of residence. The table below depicts how ‘a new self-image’ is produced, and which characteristics are related to it.

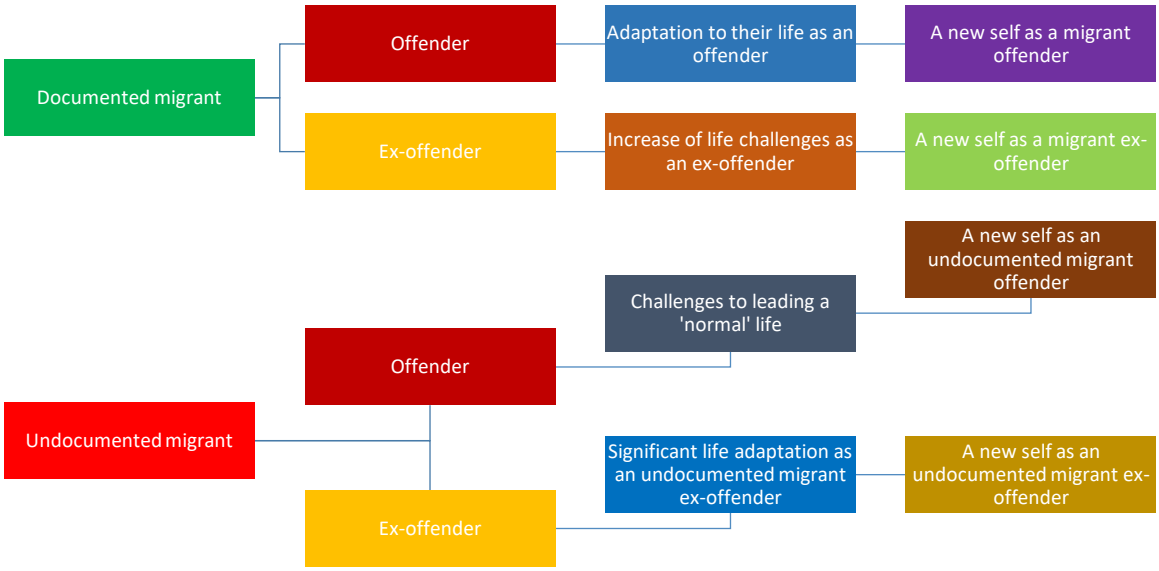

Figure 17: Illustration of the characteristics of 'new self' for both types of migrants

The table above illustrates how both types of migrants produce four different forms of a new self-image in relation to the characteristic of being an (ex-)offender. Each of them carries a different scale of the general difficulties which are confronted on a regular basis by the interviewed migrants in England and Wales. The position of a migrant as both an insider and outsider within the country of residence demonstrates their attempts towards self-projection and self-image in the new society. Furthermore, the role of the self-image is significant in the desistance process (Laub and Sampson, 2003; Bottoms and Shapland, 2011; McNeil and Weaver, 2010; McNeal, 2014), because it enables the permanent abstinence from crime, and helps the interviewed migrants to proceed towards a life without crime.

As has been claimed by the desistance literature (explained in Chapter II, and expanded theoretically in the analytical framework, Chapter III), this continuous change of identity is common due to being influenced by the process of migration (Probyn, 1996; Fortier, 2000; Krzyżanowski, 2007). As migration has been narrated as challenging, telling their self-constructed narratives has a positive influence on the image the migrants present to themselves and to the society (Maruna, 2001).

As has been established theoretically with regard to the theory of identity, a new self-identity requires internal changes. Accordingly, the process of ceasing offending occurs

when the individual is willing to start changing to the new image of himself, which influences his current action and enables him to maintain these changes for a longer period of time (Burke, 1980; Burke et al., 1981; Burke, 1991, 2006; Burke and Stets, 2009). Therefore, this new self-image seemed to provide new perspectives for the interviewed migrants during their narration on desistance.

6.5 General and racial discrimination

Race and discrimination is a further sub-theme of this third finding. Its importance is shown in how this topic is related to the interviewees' desistance narratives. As was illustrated in section 6.1 (Migration narratives in England and Wales), all the participants of this study have experienced a range of difficulties as a result of their status. However, the discussion of discrimination as a result of being a migrant was undertaken by only two interviewees, but mentioned by four of them. Additionally, racial discrimination was discussed only by the two black interviewees. Both types of discrimination are based on the stereotypes about migrants in general, as well as about black people. There is evidence of a relationship between general discrimination and types of migrants (documented and undocumented), as demonstrated in the graph below.

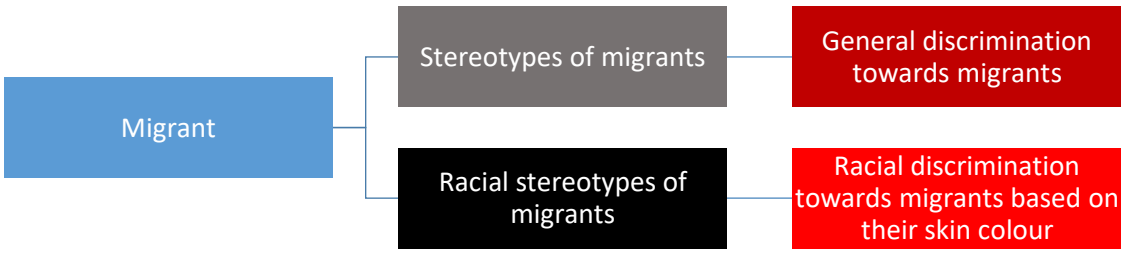

Figure 18: Description of the (racial) discrimination process experienced by interviewed migrants

Even though this sub-theme was not discussed by the majority of interviewees, it is a phenomenon which attracted some attention from the black participants of this study. This

racial discrimination has caused further difficulties for reintegrating into society. Kofi is one of the interviews who has experienced it.

> Kofi: *Before the first crime I didn't have a role in the society. The society always tends to look at us like we were parasites. The society looks at you not to make part of it but to take you away from the society. The society looked at us with negativity never had a positive approach. They never knew our capabilities or what we can do because they never tested us. Society always looked at us from a different point of view, putting always a colour… (Exact transcription)*

> Lucien: *I was too white for the black ones and too black for the white ones, but I was in the drug business. So I had to prove to other Africans that I was enough black to be with them. (Exact transcription)*

On the other hand, Drilon narrated a different discrimination, which was mainly related to possible stereotypes towards migrants.

> Drilon: *You always hear on the news that migrants come here to get medical care, and that's why the NHS should be privatised, or things like this. So there is a hatred towards migrants and I think especially against illegal ones, because of the things that people read in the newspapers. (Translation)*

Contrary to the other interviewees, Arber has not experienced such occurrences.

> Arber: *In England you can say that you are Albanian and they can still employ you. You don´t have to lie all the time about your origins. In Europe, you cannot find a job if you say you are Albanian, because in Europe it´s more difficult to employ illegals In England, it´s not a problem. I am not saying that all employers take illegal Albanians, but a lot of them do. It´s not that they do it only for Albanians, they accept illegal migrants to work for them. I am talking about private companies. From my experience I cannot say that I was mistreated because I was a foreigner. You always have work stress and you have to do your work, so I wouldn´t say that the boss is treating you like this or like that because you are foreigner. (Translation)*

As has been illustrated by the table above and the quotes of interviewees, there is a direct link between experiencing particular racial stereotypes and general discrimination. As has been theoretically developed in the analytical framework (Chapter III, Social identity section), general discrimination may occur as a result of socio-economic situation, resources competition, cultural background, race and immigration status (Dench et al., 2006; Ruhs and

Vargas-Silva, 2017; Vargas-Silva, 2018). In the case of this study, only a few participants narrated racial discrimination. However, it is difficult to reach conclusive findings regarding racial and general discrimination, because the narratives of some interviewees on this topic do not necessarily apply to the sample of this research. Moreover, in addition to these interviewees, the other participants of this study did not narrate any discrimination experiences as a result of being a migrant ex-offender. This does not necessarily mean that they have not encountered it, but there is insufficient evidence that it is experienced by the majority of the interviewees.

6.6 Conclusion

The results of this second finding, on migration and offending narratives, established the following outcomes.

Firstly, the majority of interviewed respondents of this study narrated a range of struggles in their country of residence, such as finding an occupation, receiving less pay, cultural differences, lack of support, being and feeling alone, and a few of them experienced racial discrimination.

Secondly, undocumented migrants are subject to additional challenges as a result of their immigration status, which had an enormous effect on their decision-making towards offending and/or desistance. Their criminal career has significantly increased the difficulties narrated during their migration journey. Moreover, it has made their desistance and reintegration into society a very demanding process.

Thirdly, the feeling of shame is less present in the country of residence than in their country of origin. This makes the shaming process of interviewed migrant ex-offenders more manageable in the host country than in the home country. This occurs as a result of their sense of belonging and identification in both countries, and a lack of social connection in England and Wales, which prevents feelings of shame while offending. This is also related to a lack of restraints in the country of residence, which reduces the shame feeling.

Fourthly, for the participants of this study, feeling ashamed played a preventative role towards offending in their country of origin. As a result of strong shame feelings there, these migrants never began to offend, even though their life circumstances could have been ‘push factors’ towards that path.

Fifthly, the theme of shame includes two forms: feeling ashamed of themselves and the shame attached to their family. The first form occurs because of their criminal past in general, and due to their judgment in relation to their previous actions. The second form is related to the enormous influence of shame on familial reputation in the country of origin. Moreover, it also affects their relationship with their family.

Sixthly, creating a new self-image is a method for migrants and/or migrant (ex-) offenders to adapt to the new society; it influences their perspective on themselves and resonates with their desistance narratives. Depending on the type of migrant, this transformation involves different layers according to the individual's life circumstances.

Seventhly, general and racial discrimination, due to people's stereotypes about them, was experienced by a few interviewees. This makes the process of stopping offending and the reintegration into society a complex and a difficult one.

These findings are important for various reasons. The last aim of this research, to identify 'the strategies that migrant ex-offenders use in order to cope with their reality and to desist from crime in the host country', is fulfilled through the results of this finding. The participants of this study used offending as a strategy to survive in the host country, until they decided to desist. When the desistance process begins and continues, then there is a shift towards a new self-image in their lives, which makes them focus on their future goals and helps them to obtain a non-offending identity. Other components, such as a social support network, finding a new life goal, etc., make the continuation of a life without crime possible (Sampson and Laub, 2003; Drever and Hoffmeister, 2008; Bracken et al., 2009. These strategies become difficult when these migrants are undocumented in the host country. However, creating a safe social network, receiving support from it, and having a new self-identity helps them to stop offending completely, and to maintain themselves and/or their families in a legitimate way. Furthermore, this is also another adaptation method in the country of residence. The interviewees' general narration on migration explains certain choices they made during their journey in the country of residence. Depending on the type of migrant and their life circumstances, they adjusted according to their experience in their host country. This is similar to several relevant studies on migration (Olsen, 2009; Fangen, 2010; Mau and Burkhardt, 2010), and also to the main argument of Côté (1996) in the social identity approach regarding the impact of surroundings, social

network support, etc. Migration studies generally illustrate migrants' difficulties and their strategies to overcome their struggles in their country of residence. According to participants, migration is often perceived as a process with individual costs and benefits. Migrants, as social beings with characteristics of ethnicity, family situation, religion and gender, explain their diversified strategies, experiences, and the social context in which they engage (Spencer, 1997; Casas-Cortes et al., 2014).

The findings of this chapter illustrate how migrants act and decide in the context of limitations and opportunities which they actively integrate into their migration experience. How they understand themselves in their country of origin and in their host country (Parmar, 2013; Anthias and Cederberg, 2009) shows us how these interviewed migrants decide to narrate their desistance journey. Exploring and analysing their desistance narration from their perspective is a challenging process, as this group of society faces several disadvantages in legal, socio-economic, cultural and other areas, as shown previously in this section. In addition, migrants' strong familial, social and moral values from their country of origin are of particular importance in the host country, as they are used as coping factors under different circumstances (Parmar, 2013, p. 204; Drever and Hoffmeister, 2008). A similar phenomenon has been found for the interviewed migrants of this study. Despite the subjectivity of the migrants' narratives, their individual positions and specific conditions clarify the understanding and investigation of migration, offending, belonging and identity, through analysis of their desistance narratives within the framework of this research.

An additional important element related to the participants' migration narratives is the border concept, with its borderscapes (Pereira, 2007) and borderzones (Squire, 2011). This concept introduces two further important notions of 'inclusion' and 'exclusion'; these seem to be the case also for the participants of this study, in relation to their sense of belonging and identification in the host country, as well as with regard to their status as migrants (documented or undocumented). The results for these second findings demonstrate that the inclusions and exclusions may begin with the border concept; but they continued for the majority of interviewees throughout their experience in England and Wales, and for some of them during the first years of settling there. This happened as a result of their offending, immigration status, various socio-economic and immigration-related factors, as well as being an outsider in the host country's society. This is similar to Turner and Tajfel's concept of 'outsiders', which was theoretically expanded in the analytical

framework (Tajfel, 1972a, 1972b, 1975; Turner, 1979). As a result of this position of migrants, the process of 'inclusion'/ 'exclusion' may occur.

In the case of these migrants, this categorisation has not happened in the same way as was demonstrated by Pereira (2007) and Squire (2011), who analysed the two concepts mentioned above in relation to classifying migrants as dangerous and non-dangerous ones. However, the process of 'exclusion' rather than 'inclusion' is experienced by the participants of this study when these individuals are undeniably present within the criminal justice framework, and due to their immigration status. As a result, in this way they can quite easily be subject to general and racial discrimination. They are seen as diminishing their cultural identity and more generally contributing to increasing crime. These changes are in alignment with some narratives given by these migrant ex-offenders.

> Fatjon: *I never wanted to do any crime. There were the circumstances I was in, and in a way I was forced to do illegal things. I was scared that the people involved with the drugs would do something bad to my sister, because they knew a lot of things about my family. I never told them things about my family. I am illegal in the country, it's not that I can leave the country or go somewhere else, so I am not free at all. In a way I am in England, but not fully, because I don't have documents. (…)*
> *If I was, I was in Albania, I would have left the moment I found out what was planted in that flat. I know people in Albania, and I wouldn´t have been without a place to stay in my country. Even if I didn´t want to live with my parents, I have enough friends who would have helped me to find a place to stay. I wouldn´t have been obliged to start doing crime so I could survive. (Translation)*

> Satnam: *Maybe were safe in England, because of being Sikh, but we were having a very difficult time. So the crimes were helping me to get some money so my family and I could have something on the table. (…)*
> *When you have such talks with someone of the same culture, who know things in England too, than you start to understand that there are other ways also. You are insider and outsider at the same time. It was not any more important to me that I had different culture and English people will never understand my past and my decision. (Exact transcription)*

> Kofi: *Society supports you to become a criminal, it played an important role. For example: If I jump on the bus and a person I never have seen before comes at me and asks 'Boy, where I can find some cocaine and do not worry for the money'. I know where he can find cocaine and he has money so I do it.*
> *It has happened that I am in supermarket with my girlfriend and somebody approaches me and asks 5 grams of cocaine. That is the society. (Exact transcription)*

Another significant element of this finding is shame, which is among a set of specific effects linked to nostalgia, hope, betrayal, etc. According to the main scholars on shaming (Gemert, Deckert and Pyrooz, 2008; Braithwaite, 1989, 1998; Drotbohm, 2009; Vammen, 2016), this has a more predominantly symbolic content than punishment has. Punishment is a denial of confidence in the morality of the offender, by reducing normal compliance to a crude cost-benefit calculation. On the other hand, shaming can be a reaffirmation of the morality of the offender by expressing personal disappointment as a result of his/her action. Shaming becomes reintegrative by expressing personal satisfaction in seeing the changed character of the reintegrated ex-offender. Punishment erects barriers between the offender and punisher through transforming the relationship into one of power assertion and injury; whereas shaming produces a greater affinity between the parties, albeit a painful one. This affinity could produce the repulsion of stigmatisation, or the establishment of a potentially more positive relationship following reintegration. Punishment is often shameful, and shaming usually punishes; but whereas punishment gains its symbolic content only from its accusatory association with shaming, the latter has purely symbolic content (Braithwaite, 1989, 1989; Grassi 2009; Brooks and Simpson, 2012). In accordance with these scholars and with the quotes presented in the findings analysis, the processes of punishment and shaming are encountered in similar ways (Braithwaite, 1989; Grassi, 2009; Brooks and Simpson, 2012). During this shaming process, migrants are exploring themselves in a new environment while carrying the cultural background of their home country; this reveals insights into their offending narratives and their non-offending present. These findings illustrate how these migrant ex-offenders make decisions, despite their shaming process, in the context of new opportunities which they integrate into their experience in the host country.

As was found by other studies on the same topic, shaming is more important as a wider cultural process than as a concrete tactic to build conscience. It is the presence of shaming in society which gives socialisation its content. The participants' lack of socialisation resulted in a continuing criminal career in the host country. When they were able to create their 'functional' sense of identity and belonging in relation to the country of residence,

then this tendency towards offending started to fade until it became non-existent in their lives, and a non-offending present was created.

A relevant component related to shame is the 'mechanism of gossip', which is a known phenomenon in the shaming literature. According to Gluckman (1963) and Campbell (1964, p. 265), shaming often works through gossip, whereby the deviant or his family are never confronted or make openly expressed efforts to reintegrate. This is a new step towards acceptance, regret and making a new start; not only for the ex-offender, but also for his/her family. A similar phenomenon has also been demonstrated by the participants of this study. The only difference between this study and the above-mentioned studies on reintegrative shaming is that shaming promotes abstinence from crime: the interviewees' quotes on shaming illustrated in this chapter demonstrate this avoidance of it.

Another important component in the migration and offending narratives is the role of self-image. According to desistance scholars (Maruna, 2001; Maruna and Farrall, 2004; Giordano et al., 2002), this positive self-image helps a long-term process of ceasing offending. On the other hand, Casey and Dustmann (2010) argued that identity formation has effects on the labour market outcome. Moreover, Battu and Zenou (2010) estimated the effect of identity on employment by instrumenting identity with variables measuring whether individuals had experienced racial harassment; whereas the participants of this study seem to maintain and alternate between self-images that they have created during their journey in their residence country. The self-image of undocumented migrants is constructed by strategies which were adopted even before starting their criminal career; whereas the legal migrants designed these transformations after starting their offending experience. Depending on their status and their life circumstances, these new self-images became part of their daily life. A relevant element of these adaptation strategies is that they are reconstructed and take different shapes according to their narration of their life circumstances.

The last outcome of this findings chapter, general and racial discrimination, is present for a few of the interviewed migrants, because of stereotypes about them. This is in accordance with the research of Wacquant (1999, 2001) and Sayad (2004), who argue that being a migrant presents a situational form of delinquency, or an 'initial sin'. As a result, when a migrant commits a crime, then he or she is perceived, socially, as committing not one, but two offences (2004, pp. 282–283). Sayad refers to this occurrence as a type of

double punishment, which the migrants face as a result of a general perception even before they might begin a criminal career. Furthermore, these two authors analysed the state's discrimination towards migrants, which involves designating them as individuals who disturb national order, in order to distinguish them from its citizens (Wacquant, 2001, 2008b; Sayad, 2004).

> Arben: *In my case, I've started completely wrong. It's already difficult to find your place in a foreign country when you do everything by the book; so you work hard, you learn the language, you do a qualification, so you invest in your future. Even then, you might still not feel part of society for different reasons, but at least you're doing your part as you should; but me: Everything wrong. I came to this country and instead of working, I sold drugs. Nothing good comes from selling drugs. It's a solution for a short time. Doing such stuff, you never feel part of this country, but it fits the picture that people have about migrants, Like police officer have. They come to this country to cause troubles. (Translation)*

According to various studies on migration and the incarceration of foreign nationals (Kruttschnitt, Dirkzwager and Kennedy, 2013; Wacquant, 2001, 2008a, 2008b; Sayad, 2004), race and nationality affect the actions and activities of criminal justice in different ways and in different contexts. However, only detailed examinations directed at particular social settings can clarify the reasoning of this process. In the context of this study, the narratives regarding racial discrimination experiences were present, but not as robust findings that could confirm the results of Wacquant (2008b) and Sayad (2004). Contrary to these two studies, the interesting aspect regarding general and racial discrimination is that despite the struggles these migrants have faced during their stay in the host country, a majority of them view themselves as individuals with distinctive experiences in their host country, and less as victims of their different backgrounds. This also illustrates that despite the participants' struggles, which have resulted from the various factors that have been analysed throughout this chapter, they would all like to continue their life without crime in their host country. Furthermore, their experiences indicate that these migrant ex-offenders are trying to get the best outcome possible, despite the unwanted consequences of their personal journey in England and Wales.

As well as the relevance of the outcomes of this Finding II, and the position of this research within the well-researched topic of migration, an additional part of this chapter

concerns the limitations of this research. The small sample of this study complicates the process of making recommendations for migration at policy level. In general, however, the disadvantages of this study are similar to the drawbacks explained in relation to the two other findings.

In summary, the narratives of the interviewed migrants showed that this group of society face a range of difficulties in many areas of their life, such as finding an occupation, discrimination, receiving less support, lack of language skills, cultural difficulties and differences, etc. These challenges were present for all the participants of this study, regardless of their status in the host country. The differences between the struggles faced by these two types of migrants (documented or undocumented) are found in additional coping methods that undocumented migrants must employ, as a result of their status, in order to lead a 'normal life'. One of the main adaptation strategies was stopping offending and shifting their priorities from short-term goals, such as surviving in the host country, towards long-term ones which gave them the willingness to continue this life without crime. For the undocumented migrants of this study, a further coping strategy has been creating a different identity, which involves continuous insecurities and often generates trust issues. As a result, the migrant constructs additional difficulties to feel part of the society in the country of residence. These challenges become more demanding not only when participants of this study commit crimes, but also when they desist in the host country. However, as has been illustrated above, the problems facing the undocumented migrants are more serious than for documented ones. Despite this fact, the narratives of both types of migrants have enabled maintaining a new non-offending identity in the host country, which facilitates their process of stopping offending.

FINDING 3: CHAPTER VII: DESISTANCE FROM CRIME

7. Introduction

Desistance from crime is the third and last theme of this research. The literature review chapter demonstrated that the process of ceasing offending is broadly researched; and according to the current literature on this topic, desistance from crime is influenced by various factors, such as age/maturation, employment, marriage, becoming a parent, familial support, faith, belonging and identity, and identity transformation towards a non-offending identity (Maruna et al., 2004a; Farrall and Calverley, 2006; Loeber, Farrington and Stouthamer-Loeber, 2003; Rhodes, 2008; McNeill and Weaver, 2010; Bottoms and Shapland, 2011; Weaver, 2013).

Despite the increase in relevant desistance research, this broadly researched topic has not yet been explored from the perspective of migrant ex-offenders. Taking this into account, it is of great interest to know if migrants stop offending as a result of the reasons already identified by the current desistance literature, or whether their status as migrants, with disrupted or different relationships to issues of belonging and identity, and different social networks, affect the ways they explain and experience desistance. The experiences of the interviewed migrant ex-offenders have pointed out that their desistance reasons are influenced by other relevant aspects which will be evaluated throughout this chapter. Therefore, this chapter aims to demonstrate how and why the interviewees have stopped offending. Furthermore, it explains the role of hope during the process of ceasing offending.

As the component of hope has gained importance in the well-researched field of criminology (Maruna, 2001; Hartfree, Deadren and Pound, 2008; Brotherton and Barrios 2009; Khosravi 2009; Drotbohm and Hasselberg, 2014), it is of interest to find out if and how hope has influenced the respondents' path towards desistance. Even though hope is not one of the main reasons to stop offending, from the perspective of the respondents of this study, its impact made them continue their journey towards abstinence from crime. This section demonstrates a new understanding of how migrants deal with the feeling of hope.

The questions that addressed this theme were related to a life without crime, and to factors which influenced them to achieve long-term desistance.

a. What helped you to stop or to keep out of prison?

b. What happened to make you want or try to stop committing crimes? Please tell me more about this.

c. Do you think that you would have behaved in the same way in your home country? (easier, harder, irrelevant?) Please tell me more about it.

d. Do you have anything else to add? Would you have done the same things differently in other phases of your life? Which phases and why? Why are you not committing crime anymore?

In order to answer these questions, this chapter analyses thoroughly the four main themes which have been identified by the data analysis: namely, personal choice, creating own family/familial reasons, connection to a religion, and other reasons. Support/counselling includes various reasons which did not fall into any of the aforementioned categories.

The table below presents a general overview of the interviewed migrant ex-offenders' desistance reasons.

Interviewees	Personal choice	Creating own family/familial reasons	Religious reasons	Other reasons
Dariuz	X	(X)	(X)	
Arben		X		
Arber	X			
Gjoke	X			(X)
Afrim			X	
Drilon	X			
Kofi	X			
Guillaume	(X)			X
Tomasz			X	
Kolya		X		
Stanislaw	X			
Lucien		X		(X)

Satnam				X
Anas			X	
Fatjon	X			

Figure 19: General view of desistance reasons of the 15 interviewees

This table illustrates that the majority of the interviewed migrants stop offending as a result of their own personal decision. Furthermore, the process of ceasing offending is for the participants of this study not a one-dimensional experience. As it is difficult to illustrate all of the migrants' nuanced reasons for stopping offending, I have decided to show, through this table, a general overview of the main desistance reasons of the participants. Only four participants seem to desist due to more than a single reason; however, the desistence arguments of these migrant ex-offenders seem to be influenced by various factors which will be analysed throughout this chapter. Moreover, all the desistance components are examined by referring to other studies in the same field. Suggestions for new pieces of research and the limitations of this study also form parts of this chapter, while the conclusion contains, in a summarised form, the main findings of this theme.

7.1 Rational choice/personal decision

One of the main questions of this study was to understand the rationalisation of migrant ex-offenders during their process of desistance. My motivation to explore their path was mainly inspired by Cusson and Pinsonneault (1986), who were the first authors to analyse desistance as a personal choice, in retrospective narrative. The rational choice is influenced by secondary factors, such as becoming aware of the possibility of longer prison terms, a reassessment of what is important to the individual, etc.; this mirrors the findings of Cusson and Pinsonneault's qualitative study (1986). Similar findings have been reported by other researchers, including Leibrich (1993, pp. 56–57), Shover (1983, p. 213) and Cromwell et al. (1991, p. 83), all of whom identified the significance of a 'decision' to stop committing crime.

Rational choice and/or a personal decision is also, for the majority of the interviewed migrants, the primary desistance reason. A common thread in the various narratives of the participants was their implicit and explicit references to desistance from crime as a personal choice. There were six interviewees whose decision to stop offending was mainly a result of

a personal choice. Their narratives illustrate that reaching the point of ceasing offending was not a straightforward process.

The first interviewee sees similarities between stopping offending and stopping an addiction (cigarettes). Dariuz expresses:

> Dariuz: *There is always something, but the strongest decision is me, you know. Because if I say to my mind I don't want it, same is with cigarettes. (Exact transcription)*

Whereas Arber's personal choice was mainly influenced by the deterrence factor of being imprisoned.

> Arber: *I knew that if I get caught for the fifth time, I will be inside for a very long time and I will have bigger problems. You know I decided to stop, because I felt it would be a huge risk if I had continued to do other crimes. I´ve reached my limit. So I stopped. I could have been in prison from four to six years, really serious stuff. I said to myself, it´s time to stop, before it´s too late and before it becomes too risky for me. I was lucky too, very lucky. You know you can be lucky, one, two times, but not always, so I had to stop. I don´t know if I would start again. (Translation)*

Neither Sampson's age-graded theory of social control, nor Giordano and colleagues' theory of cognitive transformations, has a very active causal role for identity change in initiating desistance from crime. Furthermore, these findings also replicate the element of general cognitive openness to change, shown in the findings of Giordano et al. (2002). Giordano and colleagues (Giordano et al., 2002, 2007) admit that cognitive transformation occurs, but as Laub and Sampson (2003) explain, only as a result of other conventional aspects (Giordano et al., 2002, p. 1002).

For the interviewed migrants, the process of stopping offending as a result of personal choice created a general readiness to change; whereas the 'hooks for change' play a secondary role in the process of ceasing offending, by creating the right life circumstances, such as creating their own family, finding an occupation, or a safe network. This awareness and willingness appears to be, for the participants of this study, desirable and necessary. For example, interviewee Guillaume experienced a general cognitive openness to change.

> Guillaume: *It was a long and a difficult way to stop doing crimes. When I´ve done the second crime, I was in prison for a longer time. As my crime was also*

> *violent, I had to follow a special programme inside a prison. We had groups meeting and one to one with a psychologist. (…). When I had one to one meeting with the psychologist it was different. (…) While Aaron was working with me about my past, he was also working with the question, is this the reality that I want to have for myself. This kind of reality proved to my parents that they were right, that I was a troublemaker, so it made me think and ask the question: Do I really want this? How can I make my future better, because I realised I was in a huge deep sh... (…) (Exact transcription)*

The interviewee Drilon narrates a process of transformation similar to Giordano et al.'s (2001) explanation of a journey without crime. The four steps of transformation explain how this interviewee went from one stage to the next. His readiness to stop offending became obvious as the interviewee became more open to changes; he was influenced by the hook(s) to start this process of stopping offending, such as his personal decision, and also his opinion towards offending generally. A further hook to continue his experience was also related to the fact of having a daughter. A relevant element in this process also played a role in the interviewee's changed perception of his criminal career.

> Drilon: *Now I think differently. I don't see crimes as the only solutions to my problems. Now I have a different opinion. I think the moment has come. I am not the same person anymore. (…) The desire for change is helping me to keep my hopes up that crime is part of the past. I know it seems not very real, when it comes out from the mouth of somebody that has been in prison so many times. It was like a switch-off button in my head. Probably this button is being switched off because of my daughter. I don't know. It was my decision to stop, because I had had enough of that type of life, but my daughter is helping to continue to keep my mind straight. After a long thought process, I came to the point that there are other solutions for me and crime is definitely not one of them. (Translation)*

However, the transformation process analysed by Giordano et al. (2002) does not occur so obviously for other interviewees, whose desistance process was influenced by reasons other than rational choice. Afrim expresses his path towards desistance through the help of family:

> Afrim: *The support of my family was the main reason. (Translation)*

and Tomasz narrates:

> Tomasz: *I stopped doing crime, because I found a better and peaceful way to leave my dark past. (Exact transcription)*

whereas Anas expresses his experiences as follows:

> Anas: *Nothing made more sense. I was tired of my life and all bad things I cause. (Exact transcription)*

According to several other scholars (Cusson and Pinsonneault, 1986; Farral and Bowling, 1999; Farrall, 2002), a period of reaction and reviewing the relevant components for the individual seems to be a common feature of the initial process of desistance, whereas the findings of Giordano et al. (2002, p. 1001) and Farrall (2002, p. 225) do not seem to be relevant to initiating desistance from crime. In relation to the interviewees of this study, there is insufficient evidence to support that a common element exists at the beginning of the process of ceasing offending. This lack of evidence does not mean that it has not occurred, but that it is difficult to interpret, because all the participants had been desisting for a long period of time; therefore, the interviewees focused their narratives mainly on the end result of leading a life without crime, and less on those initial desistance periods. The findings of this study demonstrate that when the readiness to change occurred, the interviewed migrants were increasingly confronted by situations which supported their willingness to continue their journey without crime. Moreover, this research affirms that when criminality is no longer seen as the only desirable way to achieve their goals, then the desistance becomes part of the migrants' new life. Kofi describes his desistance journey as a gradual process and a very challenging one.

> Kofi: *The decision to stop doing crimes didn't happen from one day to another. When I was in prison for the last time I was longer than the other two times. It was very long time.(…) So I have had enough time to think and reflect on my life. I have asked myself quite often: Boy, is this the type of life you want to live. Now I have someone who is telling me when to eat, another one tells me when to talk and at 7:30 pm comes the good night… I thought about all these things and I never, never want to commit crime again. But when you tell to somebody, man I don't want to do crime again, I want to live a good and decent life, nobody cares. That's a problem. Nobody cares. I have to care for myself. (…) Well when I decided to stop, it was like everything become clearer. And I told you it was a long and a difficult way. (Exact transcription)*

The interviewee Stanislaw expresses that his decision to stop offending was because he was leading a life without any aim. Furthermore, through this lifestyle, Stanislaw seemed to lose control of his life.

> Stanislaw: *I stop doing crimes, because I decided so. My life was becoming boring and without any goal. Always the same, out of prison and in the prison after some time and a lot of alcohol during all this time. My family was not the same anymore, I didn't have any contact with my brother and I was just sad. Alcohol and crime was a way how to forget my pain, but I did not forget it, I went down and I started to lose control at my life. I had to do with my life what other people told me and I had enough. It was becoming boring and it was not bringing as much money as in the beginning. This wasn't the reason, I understood I couldn't go like this anymore and decided. (Exact transcription)*

Giordano and colleagues draw on evidence that shows elements of the environment can influence relevant life changes (Giordano et al., 2002, p. 1003; Giordano et al., 2007). In this way, they work towards a model of desistance which draws together evidence of the influence of both individual agency and social structures (Giordano et al., 2002; Maruna and Farrall, 2004).

A similar phase has also been experienced by the interviewee Kofi, who has constructed supporting structures in order to sustain a life without crime.

> Kofi: *It has been nearly five years that I haven´t done any crime anymore. When I decided, I planned what to do when I was out. And I thought that if I go back to school it will help me to find a better job, which it did.*
> *I would never do something that would jeopardise my work and my future. Well, to answer your question, I decided to stop and since then it was clear for me. The beginning was tough, but I had several plans so wouldn´t be discouraged, if the first plan didn´t work. (Exact transcription)*

As has been explored through the quotes of some participants of this study, and also in the desistance literature, rational choice appears to be the main reason that seven interviewees gave for ceasing offending. Moreover, this personal decision seems to be related to other factors, such as a general maturation, longing for normality, preventing further risks, willingness to change, etc. These other factors, which influence the main reason, are named 'secondary factors' in the framework of this research. Their relationship is shown through the diagram below:

Figure 20: Illustration of the relationship between the main desistance reason, i.e. personal/rational choice, and secondary factors

This diagram demonstrates that the desistance process is a fluctuating development. It involves the main reason, and the influence of a secondary factor which makes the process of ceasing offending not only possible but consistent; this results in long-term desistance. It is the same process analysed by the desistance literature (Maruna, 2001; Giordano et al., 2002; Laub and Sampson, 2003; Farrall, 2004; Farrall et al., 2009; Farrall and Calverley, 2006; Farrall et al., 2014; Giordano et al., 2007; McNeill and Weaver, 2010; Bushway and Paternoster, 2014), which explains that the complexity of stopping offending is influenced by various factors, such as identity change, age, belonging and identity, familial reasons, etc.

Moreover, in the case of these seven participants, if their main reason (rational choice/personal decision) had not occurred, then they would not have experienced these secondary factors, the absence of which would have made the desistance process more challenging.

> Drilon: *It was my decision, because I had had enough of that type of life (Translation)*
>
> Dariuz: *(…) because if I say to my mind, I don't want it. (Exact transcription)*

Unlike 'functional' belonging and identity (which was influenced by a safe environment, migrants' immigration status, etc.), primary desistance with support for its continuation seems to be, for the participants of this study, a process with a starting point and the aim of keeping the same initial goal of stopping offending. It might be expected that

migrants' status (foreign-born UK nationals and foreign nationals) could influence their ability to continue desisting more than the initial intention to desist; however, in the case of the respondents of this study, their status does not influence the process of ceasing offending. Even though only a small sample of migrants has produced these results, the findings depict that desistance seems to be an ongoing improvement process.

7.2 Creating own family and/or familial desistance reasons

Another dimension of desistance which has been demonstrated by this study is the importance of the family or becoming a parent. Creating one's own family and/or familial support plays a significant role for some of the interviewees, in terms of stopping offending. These factors seemed to cause, for four interviewees, the change required for a life without crime. According to Dariuz, becoming a parent is the stage of life which causes radical changes as a person; it shifts life's priorities to other people, such as his daughter in his case.

> Dariuz: *When you have kids, you have to change your life, because you are father, mother, totally change of life. Very quick, changes your life, 80, 500, 600 per cent, everything is changed. You settle down and you are a different person and you think about the future of the little one. (Exact transcription)*

Whereas, in the case of Kolya, becoming a parent was a turning point for his desistance journey, but mainly in the direction of taking responsibility of his actions and wishing to build a better life for his child.

> Kolya: *My daughter. My daughter is reason I want to be better man. When I was in prison I did not see her for very long time. She did not know me when I came back. I want her to know me. I want her to have good life. (Exact transcription)*

Becoming a parent and/or creating one's own family seem to be related to the sense of responsibility, which was similar not only for Dariuz and Kolya, but also for Arben. Arben decided to desist when he created his family; furthermore, seeing himself in a role other than an offender helped Arben also to create a different perception of himself from the previous one.

> Arben: *There is a change in your life when you have a family. You are a breadwinner and I am happy to do that for them. They, my wife and my son, brought me to a straight path. They don't know that, but I know that, and this means the world to me. The moment that I got married, it was clear that I should, for me to have a normal life. My wife and my son are the future so they don't need to know the past. You know that there is no return to my bad old habits. It's very simple and it became clear when I had a family. The birth of my son has strengthened the relationship with my wife and has put an end to my 'old' life. (Translation)*

Even though the interviewee Afrim desisted for other reasons than those of Dariuz, Kolya and Arben, nevertheless, focusing on his family and his business played a significant role in maintaining normality in his life.

> Afrim: *I would never do another crime. The only thing that I have in my mind is to work in my business and to have a normal life with my family here and in my country. (Translation)*

As has been shown from the aforementioned quotes, there is a wish to lead a life without crime; but there is a lack of motivation, together with insufficient reasons to achieve desistence. It appears to be easier when the source of motivation is very significant, such as creating one's own family, becoming a parent, and/or having familial support, as this makes this transformation part of a new life without crime. As is illustrated in the quotes below, a similar process has occurred for these interviewees.

> Arben: *As I said before, I stopped because I got married and after I had a son. Having a family was for me the moment that I decided. It wasn't about my life anymore, but about my wife and my son. I didn't stop before, because I wasn't ready. When you are not ready, you just keep going. When I went to prison, it's not that I learned something about how to stop, you just learn how to continue and you don't feel bad about what have you done, because you see so many people who have done worse things than you. So you keep doing it, because you aren't ready yet.(...)*
> *Now I want a normal life with my wife and my son. Only the documents are missing. That's it. It's simple to stop when you are ready. Only when you are ready you find other reasons to strengthen this decision. It was very easy to stop, it was clear to me and there was no other way. (...) (Translation)*

Kolya expresses this in the same way, with regard to being ready to stop offending; however, this interviewee also had a drinking problem, which made his journey towards desistance more challenging.

> Kolya: *So no drink no crime for me. Is very easy to stop when you have a reason and I want to continue my life with my daughter and my wife. (Exact transcription)*

A further significant element related to these desistance reasons (such as creating a family, having a child, and/or familial reasons), is also related to a clear distinction between the previous life as a criminal, and the current life as a desister. In Arben's case, he was also influenced by being ashamed, as a result of the type of crime he committed. Therefore, he makes a clear break between his past and his new future with his wife and his son. A similar process was experienced also by Gjoke.

> Arben: *Since I have a family (a wife and a son), I don't think about doing crimes and my family doesn't know my past. I don't want my wife to know that part of my life. It won't do her any good if she knows, probably she will just be hurt and sad. I can spare her this unnecessary sadness. And in a way, it was part of the past. (...)*
> *I am happy that they don't know my past, because nothing good came from that past. I want to always look forward and to be with them. That's it. (Translation)*

As another aspect of desistance reasons that result from creating one's own family and/or familial reasons, desisters also depend on continuous familial support, despite possible challenges such as alcohol addiction. As a result, this journey towards desistance becomes possible.

> Afrim: *The support of my family was the main reason. In particular, my brother, my parents. They were there for me. My family talked to me, all the time, also kept talking when I wasn't listening. (Translation)*

> Kolya: *Is not always so easy to have a life with no crime. (...) My family, my daughter, my wife and my parents and my sisters. My family means everything to me. They are everything to me. I know that I do not meet my sister very often but we write to each other. I go to an AA group and it help me a lot. I used to drink very much and stopping like that is never easy. My wife and my sister are happy that I go to this group. I see other people that*

were like me and have not drink since a long time than me. I like going to this group. (Exact transcription)

Analogous research was also developed by Sampson and Laub (1993), though with the difference of proposing the notion of a bond between an individual and society. According to the findings of this study, the element of such a bond, particularly to the family and to the fact of creating one's own family, is more likely to cause a life without crime rather than one of offending. A strong attachment to their family and their country was a particular desistance characteristic for the participants of this study. For the majority of the interviewed migrants, offending occurred for other reasons less related to a weak or broken attachment. As has been mentioned in the analytical framework (Chapter III: Control theory), the strength of created bonds has a positive impact on desistance.

The similarity between my study and Sampson and Laub's (1993) research lies in the continuous changes as a result of an individual's relationship with various institutions, such as family, society, peer groups, addiction, etc., which have an enormous effect on the desistance and/or offending process. Contrary to the main critics of Sampson and Laub's work, Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990), the findings of my study confirm that creating one's own family or strong familial and social support plays a positive role in achieving a life without crime.

According to Gottfredson and Hirschi (1990), the element of self-control is the essential component of law abiding life; however, in the case of the participants of this study, as has been shown by the quotes above, there was not a clear correlation between self-control and desistance. These migrants undertook criminal activity for a period of time mainly because of challenges in the host country, the opportunity to earn more money in a short period, familial problems, etc. Furthermore, in the case of migrants who have experienced addiction problems, even though the latter has an impact on continuing offending, these participants were able to desist because of familial support, and/or creating their own family, becoming a parent, or for other reasons. The component of self-control was significant for migrants who have had dependency, whereas for the other migrants with no addiction problems, self-control produced no significant results that could conclude a relevant association with the desistance process.

As has been discussed throughout this chapter, the desistance process is often influenced by a support mechanism which makes this achievement more possible. Furthermore, it is also linked with acceptance, inclusion, a life without addiction, as well as the significant role of the new identity as a non-offender. These reasons are secondary factors which have the same role as those in section 7.1 (Rational choice/Personal decision). They are illustrated indirectly through the above quotes. The diagram below (Diagram 3) shows the relationship between the main reason and secondary factors. For the interviewed migrants, this new role in the family, with a relevant position in it, promotes the desire to desist, and makes the decision process unquestionable.

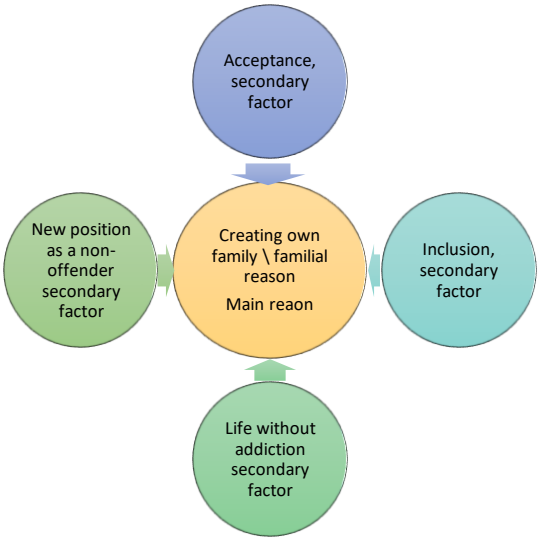

Figure 21: Illustration of the relationship between the main desistance reason, i.e. creating own family/familial reason, and secondary factors

Their narratives illustrate that reaching the point of ceasing offending was not a straightforward process, and was influenced by the main reason and other secondary factor(s).

7.3 Connection to a religion

The third desistance reason for the participants of this study was the connection to a religious belief. Believing in God and/or being connected to a particular religion is a theme which has been explored by several desistance scholars (Maruna, 2001; Giordano et al., 2007; Stone, 2016). Contrary to Stansfield et al.'s study (2016), my research shows that,

despite its small sample, the bond with spirituality created the turning point towards a life without crime.

There are two relevant features that linked desistance with a religious belief. Firstly, finding spiritual support made them understand that offending is not the way to continue with that type of life. This was strongly related to a serenity which, for most of them, was a relevant component in finding meaning in their new path without crime. Moreover, believing in God made some participants of this study find a new purpose in their life. It is a similar sense to that found by the other interviewees when they created their own family or became a parent. There was a shift of perspectives when they 'found God'; therefore, it appears that the normality they were seeking after a criminal career could be found through their belief.

> Tomasz: *I stopped doing crime because I found a better and peaceful way to leave my dark past. I found the way to God. I am very happy that I found this way, because I was lost before. (...).*
> *You know Merlinda, when you believe in God you are so peaceful. It´s not that you don´t have problems but you take them easier, with wisdom. Wisdom was one of the words that I learned when I started to follow God´s way. I didn´t know that word in English. It really felt different after some time. God forgives you for everything you have done, if you really feel bad and you regret what you´ve done. So for me the life that I am living now is like a second life. (...) I´ve found God, so I don´t need drugs to be happy.(...) (Exact transcription)*

> Anas: *Nothing made more sense. I was tired of my life and all bad things I cause. (Interviewee says the name of imam) made me understand many things. (...)*
> *I was not depressed, I found strength in my religion. I started to understand many things better. I was a different man. A grown up, a kind and nice with everyone. (...)*
> *I have a new life now. I have my love (Interviewee says the name of his future wife), my religion and with the help of God everything will be good. (...)*
> *Praying is a beautiful too. When I pray is like being alone with God. You feel so light when you pray. (Exact transcription)*

A further important component of this desistance reason, which has a different purpose from the other two reasons (creating own family/familial reasons and rational choice/personal decision), is finding peace with the past. This is particularly illustrated when the interviewees talk about forgiveness in relation to their past, which they found in their religious conviction.

Secondly, this study lends credence to the idea that connection to a religious belief can help to position them in relation to a community, and a new support system which, for the participants of this study, had been missing for several reasons. This second trait is in alignment with Giordano's and Schroeder's studies (Giordano et al., 2008; Schroeder and Frana, 2009; Duwe and Clark, 2011), which certify that religious support offers a strong conventional belief system that provides comfort and distraction during times of stress.

> Dariuz: *I think believing in God helping me, of course always. (Exact transcription)*
>
> Afrim: *I am also religious and I don't want to cause more pain to people that mean a lot to me. I understood that money isn't everything. God has given a brain to think and you have to use it. You've come into this world to live and to be good person and not cause pain to yourself and to others. It can happen that you do a crime (...) (Translation)*

The connection with a religious belief is a significant component for some of the interviewed migrants, because it helps them to change their self-perception and social perception; this positively affects their experiences towards desistance. Similar features have also been endorsed by Maruna (2001). According to his study, in order to desist from crime, ex-offenders need to develop a coherent, pro-social identity for themselves (Maruna, 2001, p. 7). This draws on his finding that individuals who desisted had high levels of self-efficacy, which means they saw themselves in control of their futures and had a clear sense of purpose in their lives.

> Tomasz: *Talking to the priest and understanding the Bible made me see (the interviewee says his name) with different eyes. I didn´t see (the interviewee says his name) I was the loser that I thought I was. Finding a sense in my life was new for me. (Exact transcription)*

The characteristic of making sense of their past lives by putting their experiences to 'a good use' by helping others, has little relevance for the desisters of my study. However, the aspect of a new self was significantly present for the participants. Furthermore, this attitude was particularly relevant for the majority of interviewees who desisted due to familial reasons, and also because of connection to a religion. Being a parent gave them a fully

controlling position in their lives, and a certain responsibility to be the main financial provider for the family, as well as to create a better future for their children and wives. This new role, which was very different from their previous one of (ex-)offender, made them create a new and better image of themselves; and most importantly, a conviction which gave a significant meaning to a life without crime.

As has been illustrated by the quotes related to faith, the connection to a religious belief was one of the main reasons for four of the interviewed migrants to stop offending. This relationship began mainly as a result of random circumstances (secondary factors) that resulted in a stronger religious belief (see Diagram 4).

Figure 22: Illustration of the relationship between the main desistance reason, i.e. connection to a religious belief, and secondary factors

As illustrated in the table above, the desistance reasons of the interviewee Dariuz appear to be influenced by several factors, such as familial reasons, connection to a religion, or willingness to change. This last element, willingness to change, is demonstrated also in the form of migrating to a completely new environment, as it relates to his desire for a new start without any connection to the past.

> Dariuz: *(…) I was thinking to go somewhere far away from here. In Australia, I can speak English, in Canada I can speak English. You know what. I am open for adventure, you know, but normal adventure not like get high, get drugs or things like this. No, no. Adventure like do something different. (Exact transcription)*

The interesting component in the desistance process of this interviewee is finding migration to be a new way towards a life without crime. Being part of a new country, a new culture, and a place with no connection with the past, appears to make the desistance process of this participant achievable, even though Dariuz is already desisting without a second migration experience. In addition, this illustrates that the process of stopping offending is complex, and it is also determined by several factors rather than a main one.

Similarly to the other two desistance reasons, the immigration status and the type of migrants in this study also play an insignificant role in the process of ceasing offending.

7.4 Other reasons: Support/Counselling

Besides these desistance reasons, namely personal and/or rational choice, familial support or creating own family, and religious belief, the respondents of this study also stopped offending for other reasons. These are called 'support and counselling' in this section. Support and counselling differ from the other three motivations as they comprise various categories; therefore, I decided to summarise all of them in one group, named as 'other desistance reasons'. There were only three participants who have desisted as a result of support/counselling; this is related to the fact of making sense of their lives. As McAdams (1985, 1993) and Sampson and Laub (1993, 1995) express, these individuals make sense of their lives by telling their story. 'Individuals confront ambiguity, change and contradiction throughout their lives, (and) constructing a coherent personal narrative on sometimes disorderly lives is one of the dominant struggles that life course research has uncovered' (Sampson and Laub, 1995, p. 156). McAdams' theory of life story provides, mainly, purpose and meaning. Thus, the construction and reconstruction of their narratives is in itself an identity development into adulthood (Maruna, 2001, p. 7). In the case of these two interviewees, even though they shared past experiences because of random circumstances, it made them construct and reconstruct their story in order to make sense of their lives, and make the transformation needed to lead a life without crime.

> Guillaume: *I wouldn´t have made it without Aaron and without dealing with the problems that I had with my family. I know that I did my part too, but without the support, I don´t think that I could have done it. (…)*

> *I think the life that I had after I left home, the way I lived, the crimes I did, it was a way to not deal with my past. I also didn´t know how to deal with it. So for a long time my experience with my parents made me numb, but I didn´t know. I wasn´t ready, it was difficult and by myself, and for it´s impossible to do all this change alone. So in a way, it´s good that the second time I lost it, because otherwise, I wouldn´t have met Aaron and probably I wouldn´t be at this point that I am now. I don´t know. Important is that I stopped and I am grateful to Aaron about this. Another thing that is important in this stopping was talking openly about my relationship with my parents. Telling to Aaron about this was the first step toward a life without crime. It was like an unsolved knot in my chest. Talking about it with Aaron and in a group, I felt completely different. I was always scared that if I tell my past to someone, they will think about me as my parents did. So for me it was a big step to talk to someone and to be understood as Aaron did and also the other people in this group. They have been through same experiences, so it was easy for me. Maybe I wasn´t so strong to go through this alone and I didn´t do it as long as I was alone. So you can say a mix of things, like not being ready, being scared, chose an easy way rather and other reasons. (Exact transcription)*

Satnam also experienced a similar process through random life circumstances: the chance to reconstruct his past in relation to his family, his religion, and cultural clashes in the country of residence. There was a change in the perception of how the interviewee saw himself, and he acted accordingly, which had positive results for his life and made it possible for him to lead a life without crime.

> Satnam: *When you have such talks with someone of the same culture, who know things in England too, then you start to understand that there are other ways also. (Interviewee says the name of his probation officer) made me believe more in myself and to see other options for my life rather than continuing to do crimes I was doing in the past. (The probation officer) opened my eyes and since then I have stopped doing crimes. (...)*
> *I stopped because of (Interviewee says the name of the probation officer). (The probation officer) made me understand that I could solve my angry problems that I had through therapy. We both worked on a future plan and on future goals. It was a long process to arrive at that point with (the probation officer), because first I had to talk to him why I was so angry. (The probation officer) made me understand that it was possible to have a normal life, as a Sikh and the religion background, Indian, Hindi, Sikh, or Muslim it says not everything about me. It is me that can decide what to be and not my religion or my cultural background. This was a new thing for me and it took me time to understand that. These regular talks that I had with (the probation officer) helped me a lot. They made me understand that I didn't want to do any crime anymore. I was following the advice of (the probation officer) to focus on my goals and work on my problems with my counsellor (...)*

> *I am in peace with what I do, with my family and I am starting to build a good future. (Exact transcription)*

In contrast to the other two interviewees (Guillaume, Satnam), in the case of Lucien, the reason to stop offending was related of being scared of dying, as a result of the type of crime he had committed. This, together with the support and not wanting to disappoint his family anymore, made Lucien desist. Lucien and Gjoke have therefore desisted due to a personal choice and familial support. However, they demonstrated that besides these main reasons, the process of stopping offending was also linked to other reasons: support and counselling (see Figure 19). A general view of the 15 interviewees' desistance reasons appears in the introduction section of this chapter.

> Lucien: *It was done for me since I had two bullets in my body. Since then I didn´t do any more business with drugs, so I stopped. (...) I got scared of dying so young. When I saw the faces of my parents in the hospital how shocked and worried they were, I asked for help. The money wasn´t important anymore, nothing was important anymore as much as it was the help and the love of my family at that time. In prison it was difficult to stop, because there is a lot of temptation, but every time I was tempted of starting, I thought of my parents. (Exact transcription)*

The case of Gjoke shows that he was mainly becoming aware of the possible consequences of his illegal actions, which had an impact on the progress of his desistance process.

> *Gjoke: Well, now I think a bit longer about the things I do, before do them. I also will never forget the words of that police officer: 'If I decide to let you go, you will drive another 100 metres or some km, and you could have an accident with someone. You could drive on the pavement, you could injure someone, and the person could become disabled. Who will pay for that person?' I was shocked when he told me, that´s why it´s important to have car insurance. It´s actually the first thing to do when you have a car. I always recall the words of that police officer before. (…) (Translation)*

As these quotes show, for these four participants (Guillame, Satnam, Lucien and Gjoke), the desistance process is influenced by life circumstances which make them completely adjust to a life without crime. They demonstrate that the support system plays an enormous role in ceasing offending, and is offered unconditionally, if this 'help scheme' is

produced by family, peers, work colleagues and/or people who randomly become part of the participants' life-course. In the case of these three interviewees, the decision-making to lead a life without crime occurred as a consequence of their life circumstances. This depicts an interesting desistance factor, which is not related to mainstream reasons for stopping offending, such as family, age, maturation, etc.; rather, it involves uncontrollable reasons, such as being understood by a therapist or a probation officer, or a life-risking experience. In such cases the prevention measures are rather problematic to put into practice, as these desistance reasons are not part of the mainstream desistance research, but are influenced by unpredictable conditions. This is illustrated in the diagram below.

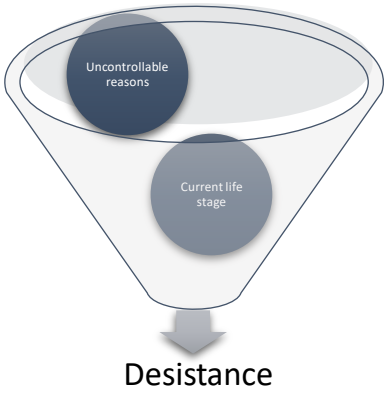

Figure 23: Illustration of other desistance reasons.

7.5 The impact of hope in the desistance process

As was explained in the introduction to this chapter, a further relevant component of the desistance process of the study's respondents is the role of hope.

After interpreting the impact of shame in relation to offending in the previous chapter (6.2), this section explores the role of hope in relation to desistance. Firstly, this section analyses the main findings related to the theme of hope, supported by quotes from the interviewees of this study. Secondly, it illustrates these findings in relation to characteristics which affect the hope of the interviewed migrant ex-offenders.

In order to demonstrate a general overview of the impact of hope for the interviewed migrants, the table below illustrates how hope appears as a significant component in their process of ceasing offending.

Participants	Documented Migrant Ex-Offender	Undocumented Migrant Ex-Offender	Hope

Dariuz	X		X
Arben		X	X
Arber		X	
Gjoke	X		
Afrim		X	X
Drilon		X	X
Kofi		X	X
Guillaume	X		
Tomasz	X		
Kolya	X		X
Stanislaw			
Lucien			
Satnam	X		X
Anas		X	X
Fatjon		X	X

Figure 24: General view of hope for the 15 interviewees

As this table shows, hope is mentioned by both types of migrants, foreign-born UK nationals and foreign nationals; however, it seems more important for the second group of participants and, in particular, for the undocumented migrants. Its relevance is explained through the respondents' views in relation to their family, immigration status, and other components during their desistance journey in England and Wales. Nevertheless, the reasons which support the feeling of hope for these two groups of migrants vary significantly. These differences seem to depend upon their immigration status, (un/documented), which plays an important role in shaping the theme of hope according to their personal circumstances. As a result, the following categorisations are relevant to the participants of this study. The hope for undocumented migrants is illustrated in two forms: firstly, it is mainly related to a drastic change in their immigration status. This is shown by the quotes of three interviewees, Arben, Arber and Drilon.

> Arben: *I hope also that my son grows up without any fear and should not have to deal with it too. (...) I hope it continues like this, because when you are illegal nothing is secure. (Translation)*

> Arber: *But I know one thing, even if I get caught tomorrow, I will be sent back and I will come again to England. That´s for sure. I hope it never happens, but if it happens, I will come back. (...) I can only say that the only thing that keeps me going is the hope that one day I will have the documents, that one day my life will be better. (Translation)*
>
> Drilon: *I have the hope that all this will be fixed one day. (Cries and turns away.) I cannot speak anymore. (Translation)*

Secondly, hope seems to be a 'life motto' in order to support the difficulties affected by it. 'Life motto' is taken to mean making the best out of the circumstances in which these migrants find themselves. Being in such a situation results in an avoidance of insecurities as a consequence of their status, and also leads to a normal life.

> Arber: *(...) that one day I can go and visit my family in my country, that one day my children will thank me for having a better life here. I always hope that something good will happen in my life. I will never lose my hopes. It gives me motivation to continue this 'un-normal' life in a normal way. The moment when I lose my hopes, then I am dead. Everything is difficult in this country and it becomes more difficult if you don´t have documents, but if you sacrifice yourself and if you try to have an honest life, even if it´s hard, it´s possible. (Translation)*
>
> Anas: *I just hope that everything I have created now will continue with God's blessing and I hope me and (interviewee says the name of his future wife) will have a happy life. (Exact transcription)*
>
> Fatjon: *(...) I just hope to live here and I hope one day professionals will see my drawings and I will continue to draw. (...) The only thing that keeps me smiling and laughing and trying to have a 'normal' life is hope. I hope one day people will like my art, will go to my exhibition and will have a good time. Hope and art make me forget the hard reality (interviewee smiles). (Interviewee thinks…)*
> *I just hope that one day I can open an exhibition and people enjoy it. Art in general makes me a happy person. (Translation)*

Hope for documented migrants is associated with a future plan, such as finding a better occupation, creating a family, etc.

> Kolya: *So I hope I get a job. I am happy that I have the help of my family. No possible way. (...) Is very difficult, but I hope I can have a normal life with my daughter and my wife. (Exact transcription)*

> Satnam: *I want and I hope to find my future wife. Only she is missing (interviewee smiles), but I am sure it will happen too, because now I am ready. (...) I hope they are, especially my father is proud of me now. (Exact transcription)*

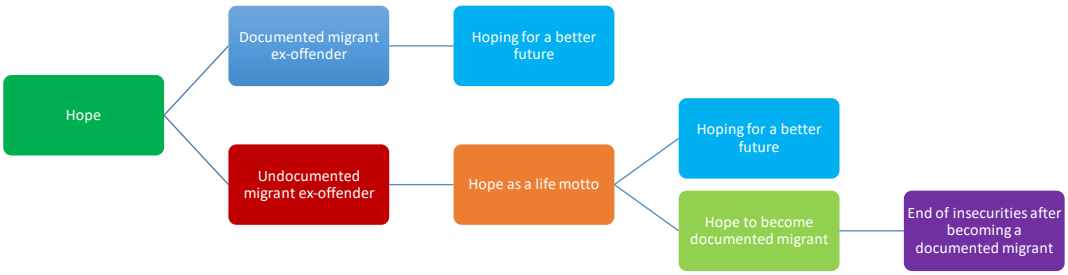

Figure 25: Illustration of the key elements related to the theme of hope

The graph above illustrates some of the key aspects of the theme 'hope' from the perspective of interviewed migrant ex-offenders. This theme is strongly related to the participants' immigration status, to a general desire to ameliorate their life, and creating their life motto based on hope. Depending on these components, this theme involves several layers which shape the hope of these migrant ex-offenders in England and Wales.

A further form of hope is also related to having a short prison sentence, as in the case of Gjoke.

> Gjoke: *What made me keep my hopes was that I wouldn´t stay there for too long. (Translation)*

Even though this type of hope was mentioned by one interviewee, the majority of participants of this study expressed their experiences in prison as being unpleasant, and not at all helpful for reintegration into society.

The connection between hope and uncertainty is a relevant aspect of hope. At first sight these two elements seem very far apart; however, for the participants of this study, the uncertainties as a result of their immigration status, their life circumstances, their previous

criminal past, and familial and social situation, strengthen the role of hope for them. This relationship is accorded particular importance among undocumented migrants, as these uncertainties are more present for this type of migrant, due to their immigration status.

7.6 Conclusion

Subsequent to the analysis of interviewed migrant ex-offenders' desistance reasons and the role of hope in this process, this third finding, desistance from crime, confirms the following results:

Firstly, the process of stopping offending for participants of this study has its roots in a rational/personal decision, familial reason(s), and a connection to a religious belief. All the other reasons, such a strong support system (familial and/or social), general maturation, longing for normality, being scared of death, etc., are relevant factors which influence the process of decision-making towards a life without crime. Rational/personal choice was, for the majority of the interviewed migrant ex-offenders, the main reason to stop offending. This element was influenced by other secondary factors, such as longing for normality, fear of longer incarceration time, willingness to change, etc.

The second essential argumentation, familial reasons, was motivated by being a parent and/or creating one's own family (getting married). These migrants took on their new role as a father/husband/partner, together with a set of responsibilities in the family and the society. Connection to a religious belief was another reason to stop offending, which was affected by ceasing addiction, finding peace, and random life circumstances. These factors and the current life stage of an individual also had an impact on the last desistance reason.

Secondly, the process of ceasing offending demonstrates that it can also be dominated by uncontrollable reasons and by the person's current life stage, which can also lead to a life without crime.

Thirdly, the type of migrant (foreign-born UK national of foreign national) and their immigration status (documented or undocumented) has not played a decisive role in the desistance process.

Fourthly, the desistance reasons of these interviewed migrant ex-offenders share similar elements with other social groups, as analysed by the current desistance research, with regard to the process of stopping offending. As has been explored throughout this

chapter, the migrant status of participants did not particularly affect their reasons to stop offending. The process of ceasing offending has been challenging for the interviewed migrant ex-offenders. However, the participants of this study did not mention any particular challenges towards desistance as a result of their type (foreign-born UK nationals or foreign nationals) and their immigration status (documented or undocumented migrants).

Fifthly, hope is significantly related to a possible drastic alteration, such as a change in their immigration status, and also to continuing to lead a life without crime.

Sixthly, hope appears to be a life motto in order to overcome the life difficulties caused by being a migrant ex-offender, in particular for the undocumented migrants.

Seventhly, hope is associated with a desire for a better future, in the form of approaching a goal.

In relation to all these findings, there is also a dynamic of emotions which explains the role of hope/shame. Even though shame and hope are two elements that cause opposite types of emotions, they both have an impact on achieving a life without crime.

These findings are significant for several reasons. Taking into consideration the aims of this research, this first finding is confirmed through the interpretation of data from the interviewed migrants. Furthermore, the importance of the first finding is supported by some relevant desistance research which positions rational choice, and the other reasons mentioned at the beginning of this chapter, as the primary motivations for stopping offending.

The relation between the results of this research and those of similar studies has been thoroughly interpreted throughout this chapter. The second and the third findings of this theme are essential, as they illustrate several factors in desistance which the main scholars of this field have not placed at the centre of the well-researched desistance topic. The reason for this might be related to the factors' unpredictable nature, which is more strongly case-related rather than a general tendency in the process of desistance. This means that the desistance of this study's participants is mainly influenced by factors which are strongly related to a person, his/her social and familial entourage, the role of his/her belonging and identity, and other circumstantial reasons.

The type of migrant (foreign-born UK nationals / foreign nationals) and their immigration status (documented or undocumented) do not seem relevant reasons to stop

offending. As has been mentioned above, the findings of this chapter illustrate that migrants seem to stop offending in the same way as the rest of the population without any migration background. All the desistance reasons of these migrants are in alignment with the findings of the general current desistance literature; however, the particularity of this study lies in the fluctuating roles of migration, belonging and identity in influencing offending/desistance.

A further relevant component for the interviewed migrants was the impact of hope during their journey towards a life without crime. To cope with the feelings of failure and despair when faced with obstacles, hope assumes a significant role in their lives. It affects them in a positive way, which sometimes results in achieving a better life. According to Drotbohm (2014), migrants' hopeful strategies to access legal documents, despite their limited prospects of success, illustrate the same process that the participants of this study underwent during their experience in England and Wales. Hernandez-Carretero, Bredeloup and Lucht (2016) contribute to this discussion by reflecting on the importance of hope and uncertainty in explaining migrants' reluctance to return to their countries of origin, even in the face of failed expectations, instances of involuntary immobility, poverty and suffering. In the case of the participants of this study, despite the difficulties they confront in their country of residence, there is no return to the home country without creating a long-term goal. They have found their functional belonging in their country of residence. Furthermore, hope is connected to temporality, space, and their differential importance in particular situations for this group of society, namely migrants.

These findings related to shame (Chapter VI) and hope (Chapter VII) demonstrate the ways in which the interviewed migrants are coping not only with daily struggles, but mainly with thorny issues which have their roots in cultural particularities, as well as in their unique experience as migrant ex-offenders in England and Wales. Taking their struggles into consideration, their hopeful feelings aid them in adapting to these challenges which they experience in the country of residence.

In contrast to shame, hope was strongly influenced by the migrants' immigration status, which played an important role in the shaping of their hope; it was also affected by their approach to their general life situation. Even though hope and shame do not seem to be associated with each other, their connection is mainly related to the insecurities created by shame and balanced by hope. The latter seems not to be a desistance reason for the

respondents of this study; however, it supports the process of ceasing offending, by giving them a different life-goal other than offending. Moreover, the sense of hope appears to be a further mechanism for the participants of this study to address the possible challenges in their lives as migrants, by giving them a sense of positivity and power; whereas shame seems to have mainly led them to avoid offending in their country of origin, and it also serves as a way of shaping their desistance.

Notwithstanding the valuable findings of this study, I am aware of its limitations. This research concerns a small sample of migrant ex-offenders; this makes it difficult to make recommendations about migrants' desistance at policy level. One of the main limitations of this study is its framework, meaning that this research is a 'one person' project, where time and resources are limited, and its results may be affected by these limitations.

Nevertheless, despite its impediments, this research reveals significant findings in relation to migrants' desistance. It provides a basis for further studies in the well-researched topic of ceasing offending. It opens the way for further research, and also for creating new effective programmes for professionals, which may positively impact the desistance process of migrants.

From the prevention perspective, this study demonstrates some relevant factors, such as belonging and identity, immigration status, employment, and a lack of general support which these interviewed migrants have encountered in their country of residence. Knowledge of these may help professionals to create programmes in order to prevent certain challenges which have a direct impact on the migrants' offending and/or desistance process.

The last part of this chapter stated the major findings of this research, in relation to the process of desistance from crime. By analysing the major findings of this research critically, including similarities and differences between this study and others, it positions my study alongside the work of other scholars in the field of criminology. My study certifies that the process of ceasing offending is not a straightforward process, but a changing one. This alteration depends on the aforementioned secondary factors, as well as on the personal life experience of each participant, which indirectly affect the path towards a life without crime. Taking into consideration that desistance is a transformation period, its components are also changeable with time; in addition, it is influenced by finding and/or creating a functional belonging and identity, being a migrant, and other life circumstances. Nevertheless, my

study illustrates that migrant ex-offenders seem to desist similarly to non-migrant ex-offenders, as demonstrated by numerous desistance studies. However, the ambivalence of their migration experience and their 'functional' sense of belonging and identity provide a different, interesting and hitherto unexplored perspective on desistance from crime, which enriches the current literature and positions my study in the centre of the 'migrant desistance map'.

CHAPTER VIII: CONCLUSIONS

8. Introduction

This study researched migration, belonging and identity in the desistance narratives of migrant ex-offenders residing in England and Wales. As a result, it found a set of discursive strategies that produce a narrative of change, explain past offending behaviour, and demonstrate the migrants' desistance experience. This is entirely consistent with the desistance literature, which highlights the need to explain the offending behaviour by attributing it to an outside force or circumstance, in order to assume a changed identity, and to have a sense of hope for the future. The respondents of this study used their status as migrants to illustrate the difficulties of integration/alienation, as a way of moving from integration to alienation. Ultimately, this research addresses the process the interviewees are undergoing by emphasising the roles of belonging and identity, migration and offending narratives, shame, desistance, and hope.

This chapter begins by presenting an outline of the main findings of this study. Subsequently, it continues with a discussion of the implications for theory, policy and practice, and it concludes with recommendations for further studies.

8.1 Overview of the study

The aims of this research – which were to explore the experiences of migrant ex-offenders in desisting from crime; the role of migration, belonging and identity in their desistance narratives; and also their coping strategies in their host country – are achieved through three steps. Firstly, the critical review of the literature provides an understanding of how the current research on desistance has been developed. Furthermore, it demonstrates literature gaps in relation to the desistance process of migrants. Secondly, the theoretical framework demonstrates how the chosen theories explain the experiences of migrants during their journey towards a life without crime. Thirdly, analysing the collected data through thematic analysis brings an in-depth understanding of migrants' desistance narratives in England and Wales.

The literature review achieved a thorough understanding of the current desistance research by analysing the main components related to this identity change. In addition to

desistance factors such as age, employment and social factors, others (including cognitive transformation, developmental changes and narrative identity) not only interrupt the offending process for a period of time, but they also cause abstinence from crime. This process occurs when the individual develops a new self-image of a non-offending identity. Thus, creating a new image enables the individual to see him/herself in a different role from their previous one.

By building upon the analytical framework, Chapter III aimed to expand theoretically the themes emerging from the literature review. The various relevant aspects of the chosen theories included the strength of attachment(s) to sources of informal social control such as family, education, employment and marriage; the role of identity, self,- narrative-, and social identity, and its layers during migration; the desire to belong in the welcoming country; the challenges while living as a migrant; searching for a sense of self in this instability created by migration; and the thorny issue of discrimination and/or labelling an individual as a result of his/her past. Skin colour and general social categorisation have also been described as influential by the desistance literature (Laub and Sampson, 2003; Mulvey et al., 2004; Uggen and Kruttschnitt, 2004; Bersani et al., 2009). Moreover, these components explain the decision-making process of interviewed migrants during some of their life stages, and how these decisions might impact on the choices during their desistance journey.

In addition, the methodological framework of this qualitative study explains each empirical step of this research. During this phase, the data collection was a very challenging process, because the researcher was confronted with various difficulties in finding migrants (foreign-born and foreign nationals) who fulfilled the research criteria. Moreover, gaining their trust, given the immigration status of some of the interviewees, so that they would narrate their desistance journey, was a further challenge while collecting the data.

The sample of 15 male migrant ex-offenders was identified through personal contacts and through word of mouth communication between participants of this study. Subsequent to the analysis of the collected data, several themes were created, to allow the narratives to be analysed through thematic analysis. These emphasised the paramount impact of belonging and identity, migration and offending in the interviewees' desistance narratives.

Finding I, Belonging and identity, illustrates the ambivalence of the interviewees' relationship to the UK. Its fluctuation function is demonstrated negatively, in the sense of

leading them to crime; according to Finding II (Migration and offending narratives), this enabled the creation of an offending identity. However, in Finding III (Desistance from crime), its function is illustrated positively: 'functional' belonging and identity allows them to create a new non-offending identity, which helps them to move on, to continue leading a life without crime, and to have hope for a better future. Furthermore, these themes bring an in-depth understanding of the interviewees' desistance narratives.

This first theme, Belonging and identity, which has also received attention in the reviewed desistance literature (Maruna, 2001; Laub and Sampson, 2003; Bottom and Shapland, 2013; Weaver, 2013; McNeill, 2014; Nugent and Schinkel, 2016) (see Chapter II), appears to have two layers for the interviewees of this study: firstly, the sense of belonging in the host country; and secondly, belonging to the country of origin; whereas identification towards the country of residence appears less present. Moreover, similarly to belonging, the sense of identity seems to be shaped by several factors, such as immigration status, their new role in the family and/or society, life experiences in the host country and in the country of origin, etc. As shown in Chapter V, a sense of belonging and identity towards their country of origin was a natural consequence for the majority of the interviewed migrants, as a result of being born there; whereas these feelings towards their country of residence were strongly influenced by their experiences in it. As a result, the respondents of this study created a certain 'functional' sense of belonging and identity in the country of residence; this sense is influenced by safe surroundings, even though they might feel like aliens within it. A similar phenomenon has already been demonstrated in the super-diversity literature.

The relevance of this theme, and the differences between the two layers of belonging and identity, was demonstrated in the interviewees' ambivalence towards their host country. This illustrates that, depending on their experiences, it could have a negative or positive influence on the desistance process of these migrants. The sense of belonging and identification towards their country of origin was strong and natural for the majority of the interviewees. On the other hand, in their country of residence, when this sense of belonging and identity was not as present as in the country of origin, this component promoted their offending rather than their desistance. However, a key finding in relation to the first theme is the creation of this 'new', 'functional' sense of belonging and identity. The latter has strengthened with time as a result of migrants having a good support system,

creating their own family, feeling part of their community, speaking the language, and their immigration status.

The findings for the first theme that resulted from the interviewees' narratives showed that belonging and identity seem to be related to a safe and secure environment. This provides a new perspective on the role of the sense of belonging and identity, in relation to the current desistance literature. It demonstrates that in the case of the interviewed migrants, this 'functional' sense of belonging and identity, based on these social factors, played a paramount role in the creation of their desistance narratives. This 'new' identity and belonging differs from their national identity. Their satisfaction with their life, feeling settled, and/or positive in their own reality – despite some respondents' insecurities as a result of their immigration status – made these interviewees able to create their sense of belonging, even though they still felt alien in the United Kingdom. Nevertheless, they all have a strong desire to stay in the host country, for various reasons. Moreover, they have found their sense of belonging and their identification in England and Wales without necessarily having a strong national identity towards their host country. This has had a positive impact on the desistance process of the interviewed migrant ex-offenders.

After illustrating in the Belonging and identity chapter (V) the ambivalent function of respondents' relationship to the UK, the following chapter (VI) demonstrated how their migration narratives negatively affected their sense of starting a criminal career. The interviewees' migration experiences and their immigration status had a strong impact on their experiences as migrants in England and Wales. Both types of migrants (foreign-born and foreign nationals) were confronted with many difficulties as a result of being a migrant, although the undocumented respondents were experiencing supplementary struggles, because of their status. A further consequence of being a migrant was creating a new self-image; not only as a coping strategy in order to adapt to the new life as an undocumented migrant, but also as part of a new non-offending identity during their desistance process in England and Wales.

A further relevant element of the second findings chapter is the concept of bordering, which is integral to the overall argument as it is linked to the feeling of belonging as well as to legitimising residency. However, this requires more attention in future research on migrants' desistance narratives. According to the work of De Noronha et al. (2019) and El-Enany (2013, 2020) there are two essential elements which need to be taken into

consideration while carrying out research on migrants. The first is the slippery relationship between migrant and minority categories, and how their identities have been racialised in relation to several challenges that migrants face in the housing, working and welfare sectors (De Noronha et al., 2019). Secondly, the interaction between the criminal justice system and border control intersects with the racialisation and criminalisation of migrants as a result of their status (El-Enany, 2013, 2020). As has been shown throughout this work, these challenges that migrants have confronted had an impact on their path towards offending.

The offending experience of the participants of this study was often linked with feeling of shame, which were shaped differently in the country of origin and in the country of residence. If this feeling was very strong towards themselves (ashamed) and towards the family (ruining its reputation in society), it had preventive consequences towards offending in the country of origin; whereas in the host country, the feeling of shame was not present, as a result of a lack of support system (family, friends), not belonging to the country, and less identification with it. The theme of shame is strongly influenced by the sense of belonging and the identification towards the country of origin and country of residence. The positive effect of these interviewees' relationship to the UK was that it allowed them to create a sense which explained their offending experiences. This made them move away from offending, towards a life without crime.

The finding for the third theme, Desistance from crime, showed that the participants of this study have stopped their offending career as a result of their personal decision/rational choice, creating their own family and/or familial reasons, religious beliefs, and other reasons such as general maturation, longing for normality, being scared of death, and willingness to change.

All these factors which have influenced the interviewees' process of ceasing offending were also identified in the current desistance literature (Cusson and Pinsonneault, 1986; Farrall and Bowling, 1999; Laub and Sampson, 2001; Farrall, 2002; Farrington et al., 2003; Laub and Sampson, 2003; Maruna, 2004; Gadd and Farrall, 2004; Rhodes, 2008; McNeill and Weaver, 2010; Bottoms and Shapland, 2011). This shows that the respondents of this study desist in a similar way to non-migrants. However, there are two relevant components related to the status of migrants that emerge from this theme. Firstly, for a few participants of this study (Arben, Fatjon), their status as an undocumented migrant might have a positive influence on their process of ceasing offending. Secondly, the desistance

process of both types of migrants (foreign-born and foreign nationals) is strongly related to the feeling of hope. This feeling was always discussed by the undocumented migrant ex-offenders in relation to their desire to change their immigration status; moreover, they had hoped to follow their migration purpose of creating a better future for themselves and their families. For this group of interviewees, hope became a life motto which supported them in overcoming certain difficulties experienced as a migrant ex-offender in England and Wales. Thus, the feeling of hope for the documented migrants was mainly related to leading a life without crime.

Overall, the findings of this research, in relation to the reasons for desistance, identified similar factors to those described by the current desistance studies. These included personal decision/rational choice (Cusson and Pinsonneault, 1986; Giordano et al., 2002; Farrall, 2002; Bottoms et al., 2004; LeBel et al., 2008), familial reasons/creating their own family (Shover, 1996; Laub and Sampson, 2003; Farrall and Caverley, 2006; Morizot and LeBlanc, 2007), and faith (Maruna, 2001; Giordano et al., 2008). Furthermore, additional factors that were in line with those demonstrated by the desistance research were: being optimistic about the future (the sense of hope) (Burnet, 1991; Maruna, 2001; Nugent and Schinkel, 2016), creating a new non-offending self-identity, strengthening their sense of belonging and identification towards the country of residence as a result of their changed life circumstances, the willingness to change, and the sense of control over their lives (Maruna, 2001; Giordano et al., 2002; Serin and Lloyd, 2009).

In addition to these general similarities with the findings of the main studies on the topic of ceasing offending, the results of this study widen the existent knowledge on desistance of crime by exploring how this group of society desists. Furthermore, this research demonstrates an in-depth understanding and illustrates the elements that play a key role in the migrant desistance process. Interviewing foreign-born and foreign nationals (documented and undocumented migrants) has provided some insights about their desistance experiences in England and Wales. Moreover, it has demonstrated that the sense of belonging and identity, which is often assumed to characterise migrants, was different for this group of interviewees.

Taking the findings of this study into account, it is possible to conclude that the interviewees' migration experiences in the UK and their fluctuation function of belonging and identity towards their host country had an impact on their offending experiences.

However, it also had a positive impact in relation to their desistance narratives and their hopes for the future. Furthermore, none of the interviewees had arrived with any intentions of committing crime in England and Wales. Therefore, the ambivalence function of migration enabled these interviewees to be led towards offending, but also towards desistance. Nevertheless, despite their good intentions, they have all committed more than one offence in their country of residence as a result of their difficulties, i.e. their life circumstances in England and Wales. This demonstrates that a range of interventions should probably be undertaken when migrants begin to settle in their host country, in order to avoid some of the difficulties mentioned by the participants of this study. By drawing upon the fact that migration does not necessarily increase the crime rate in the country, despite media speculation that it does so, this research has contributed to deepen the current literature in relation to migrants' desistance process.

8.2 Implications for policies and practice

The results of this study demonstrate that policy recommendations regarding migrants should focus on creating supporting facilities and promoting new ways of settling in the UK. As has been narrated by the participants of this study, settling in the host country is a process with various challenges, which have influenced their decision to begin offending. Therefore, creating opportunities to improve their language skills, finding an occupation, and encouraging their participation in several community events, would enable them to feel part of society, and possibly prevent them from beginning to offend.

A further implication is that the criminal justice authorities should promote and stimulate desistance through probation services and prison staff. In the sample of this study, two of the interviewees were influenced by the support and encouragement of probation officers to stop offending. According to Maruna (2001), the desisters develop relevant stories between the past, present and the future, which help them to better accomplish the change towards a non-offending identity. Therefore, the probation services or incarceration institutions should play a relevant role and implement special programmes in order to promote desistance. It is relevant to make the offenders aware that there are other achievable opportunities for them. Unfortunately, as a result of UK legislation, foreign national prisoners currently do not receive any particular support before release, which would enable them to tackle possible difficulties as a result of their offending experience;

nor are there any support systems after release. Moreover, improving educational and employment policies for (ex-)offenders is another way to work towards desistance. The interviewees of this study had mainly negative experiences in prison; this was often related to the fact that they continued to offend after their incarceration period, as there were fewer resources available for them upon release. Furthermore, the language barriers were also one of the reasons for not participating in available programmes. Therefore, implementing opportunities to improve language skills, even in penal institutions, is not only a way of supporting the foreign national prisoners to feel less isolated in prison, but also a skill which would be very useful after release.

In addition to policies applied during the time in prison, it is relevant to create reintegration policies which should support this particular group of society after being released, in order to give migrants the opportunity to stop offending. The challenges to achieving this are also related to the recent changes in legislation and policy; according to Bosworth (2011, 2013, 2014; Bosworth and Turnbull, 2015; Bosworth, Hasselberg and Turnbull, 2016), these have shifted both the purposes and experiences of punishment in the UK, resulting in deportable subjects whose rights to remain begin to unravel upon conviction. This demonstrates that the punitive system in the UK emphasises the relevance of citizenship in the governance of global migration (Aas and Bosworth, 2013; Aas, 2014). As there is less support for migrants after their release, as a result of legislation and the role of penal power in the governance of migration (Aas and Bosworth, 2013), it is important to implement policies which would support migrants who are not deportable, as they are less protected after their release. Even though the experiences in prison might have a positive effect towards desistance, as was the case for two interviewees, returning to disadvantaged neighbourhoods after release might create criminal opportunities which are more attractive than legal ones, for various reasons. Therefore, this study suggests that it might be effective to promote and create a communication between policies oriented to the reintegration of ex-offenders into society, and knowledge of the processes of ceasing offending. Through such implementations, this group of society might then have more opportunities after release from prison. These suggestions should be understood as frameworks that can lead to greater comprehension, in order to create interventions that support identity changes, given that these might result in desistance from crime after offenders are released.

8.3 Limitations and contributions of this study

This study's topic is migration, belonging and identity in the desistance narratives of migrant ex-offenders in England and Wales. Before demonstrating its contributions, I will firstly focus on my awareness of its limitations, in relation to some methodological components.

This research has a sample of only 15 male respondents, and therefore its results should not be generalised to the total population of migrants. I have collected the data through interviews where the participants had the opportunity to narrate their desistance journey in England and Wales. As the interviews were mainly focused on their past and their current situation, there were no follow-ups examining their path towards ceasing offending, even though all of the interviewees had abandoned offending for more than five years. Taking into consideration that this study is part of my doctoral studies, it has also some shortcomings, such as limited time and resources, which caused various challenges during the data collection. Such limitations are also identified by some of previous desistance scholars (Laub and Sampson, 2003; Kazemian, 2015; Farrington, 1997, 2003).

A further limitation of this study is the partly unexplored question of racism and xenophobia. For the majority of the participants of this study, this seemed to be insignificant. However, it will be of great interest to explore whether the same factor in further studies would appear as insignificant for black and minority ethnic offenders. The challenges analysed in Chapter VI (Migration and Offending narratives) might show different results in other studies with a much larger or different sample group, with a different set of questions, and an alternative methodology- hence a possible direction for future research.

Despite the shortcomings of this study, this research makes an enormous contribution by generating new knowledge in the field of desistance. Even though desistance is a well-researched field, as has been demonstrated throughout this study, nonetheless the process of migrants (foreign-born and foreign nationals) ceasing offending has not yet been thoroughly explored. Therefore, this study expands the knowledge of desistance in relation to documented and undocumented migrants in England and Wales. Furthermore, this research has provided a new perspective on the role of belonging and identity. The sense of belonging and identification with the country of origin is found to be related to nostalgia and a sense of security. Despite these migrants' identity, belonging, and their ties with their country of origin, they demonstrate their sense of belonging in a

different way from that identified by other desistance scholars (Maruna, 2001; McNeill 2014). Specifically, the 'functional' sense of belonging and identification was particular to the respondents of this study; this has less to do with national identity, as it was strongly related to safe surroundings and creating their 'own' safe network.

A further contribution of this study is to expand the field of comparative desistance research, by providing the following benefits to the field of ceasing offending. Firstly, this research addresses the problems of documented and undocumented migrants during their journey of desistance, which has been an underexplored area until now, by using a diverse sample from Europe, the Balkans, Africa and Asia. It has concluded that existing knowledge was significant in explaining some of the characteristics shown by these participants during their journey towards desistance. Moreover, this research demonstrated that there are findings which are unique to this sample, such as regarding belonging and identity, migration, and migrants structural differences from the mainstream societies in which the majority of desistance studies have been carried out.

As a result of these contributions, this research has clearly broadened the current desistance literature, from the viewpoint of its unique sample (documented and undocumented migrants), as well as from the perspective of understanding the belonging and identity of interviewed migrant ex-offenders in England and Wales.

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APPENDIX

Interview consent form

Title of the Project: The role of migration, belonging and identity in the desistance narratives of migrant ex-offenders in England and Wales

Name of the researcher: Merlinda A. Bajo E-mail: K1250368@kingston.ac.uk

This study examines the experiences of migrant ex-offenders in the process of their attempts to cease offending. The aim is to explore how they make the journey from being an offender to seeing themselves as a non-offender or an ex-offender and how the status of being a migrant affects that process.

The interview will last from approximately 1 hour to 90 minutes, and it will be digitally recorded. The interview will be anonymous and the recording will be transcribed; the transcript will be stored in a secure place to which only I (Merlinda Bajo) will have access.

For the participant:

- I voluntarily agree to take part in this interview.
- I confirm that I am over the age of 18.
- The nature and purpose of the research in which I am involved has been explained to me in writing or verbally.
- I authorise the researcher to use the data I provide but I understand that my name and my other identifying details will be changed and disguised.
- I understand that any recordings (both audio and written) undertaken are for the purpose of transcription of data and will be stored securely.
- I understand that I can ask further questions at any time.
- I understand that I may withdraw from this research and remove permission for the use of any data obtained from me at any point up to when the writing process starts without having to give a reason for my withdrawal and, if I wish to discontinue, I will contact the researcher to request this.
- I have received a copy of this consent form for my own records.
- You have the right to withdraw from this study until the writing process starts.

_____ _____

Name of Participant Signature Date

(or identifying name)

Researcher:

_____

Name of Researcher Signature

Date

Information sheet

My name is Merlinda A. Bajo, I am a Doctoral Researcher at Kingston University in London. The research that I am carrying out for my PhD is titled 'The role of migration, belonging and identity in the desistance narratives of migrant ex-offenders in England and Wales?' This study examines the impact of being a migrant on the journey from offending towards a life without a crime.

Research questions:

1. What are the experiences of migrant ex-offenders during their desistance process in England and Wales?
2. How do migrant ex-offenders rationalise their decision to stop offending?

In order to answer these questions I will interview 15 participants in England and Wales, who are adult male migrant ex-offenders. All those interviewed will be migrants who are foreign nationals with strong ties in the UK and/or foreign born, who have finished their secondary education in their country of origin. This will include people who have committed various kinds of different offences. The aim is to allow you to articulate your thoughts and experiences of offending and stopping offending in order to develop a broader picture of the issues affecting migrant ex-offenders in England and Wales.

The length of the interview will be between 1-2 hours. All interviews will be anonymous and treated confidentially. I will use pseudonyms for participants to protect your identity.

The interviews will be taped and transcribed (typed up). If an interview takes place in a language other than English, all data will be translated by me into English.

The data will be stored on my PC until the completion of my PhD. I will encrypt all folders with password protection and I will be the only person that can access this data.

You do not have to take part in this research but your participation would be very helpful. It is hoped that your interview will serve us a better understanding of migrant's experiences during their offending and their process of stopping the criminal career.

Furthermore, it will help us to find out possible ways for the right support to this group of society as well as what type of assistance is still available and how useful it is.

If you have any questions you may contact me at one of the following addresses:

c/o Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences,
Kingston University, Penrhyn Road,
Kingston upon Thames,
Surrey KT1 2EE

or via E-mail: K1250368@kingston.ac.uk

Alternatively, you may contact my supervisors: Associate Professor Marisa Silvestri and Dr.Francis Dodsworth

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences,
Kingston University, Penrhyn Road,
Kingston upon Thames,
Surrey KT1 2EE;

or via Email: M.Silvestri@kingston.ac.uk & F.Dodsworth@kingston.ac.uk or Tel: 0208 417 9000

Debriefing form

The role of migration, belonging and identity in the desistance narratives of migrant ex-offenders during their desistance process in England and Wales.

Thank you for taking the time to participate in my research. It is hoped that your interview will help us better understand how migrants experience offending and the process of stopping offending, and therefore help us understand if the right support and assistance is available.

This form is to confirm that you have participated through your own informed consent and that you are able to withdraw your consent from this project up to one month after the interview. If you wish to withdraw your consent, or have any other queries about the project, please contact me at one of the following addresses:

c/o Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences,
Kingston University, Penrhyn Road,
Kingston upon Thames,
Surrey KT1 2EE

or via E-mail: **K1250368@kingston.ac.uk**

You may find that participating in this research has caused you some emotional distress. If this is the case, then you could contact the following services to help and support you such as:

- *Revolving Door Agency*
  South Bank Technopark,
  90 London Road,
  London SE1 6LN,
  Phone: 020 7407 0747,

- *Resettlement Plus:* Hotline service of offenders and their families

- *Nacro*

  46 Loman Street,

  London SE1 0EH,

  Phone: Tel: 0300 123 1889

If you have any further questions regarding this study, please feel free to contact me via my email **K1250368@kingston.ac.uk, or my supervisors: Associate Professor Marisa Silvestri and Dr. Francis Dodsworth**

Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences,

Kingston University, Penrhyn Road,

Kingston upon Thames,

Surrey KT1 2EE

or via E-mail: M.Silvestri@kingston.ac.uk / F.Dodsworth@kingston.ac.uk or