

An exploration of former politically motivated prisoner (FPMP) identity using Identity Structure Analysis: The long-term impact of the 'No wash/ Blanket Protest' on how FPMP have reformulated their identity at 50 -65 years.

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Declaration

I hereby certify that this dissertation which I now submit in partial fulfilment for the degree of MSc _____ is entirely my own work and has not been taken from the work of others save to the extent that such work has been cited and acknowledged within this text.

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Abstract

Conflict-related imprisonment in Ireland has had adverse mental health consequences for former prisoners similar to other detainees and POWs suffering forms of long-term chronic trauma (Rolston, 2011; Jamieson et al., 2010). However, some consider that the trauma of incarceration has not been extensively investigated (De Veaux, 2013) and, in fact, there has only ever been one pilot study of the psychological impact of the ‘No wash/ Blanket Protest’ (1976-1981) described by Hamber (2005) as ‘a traumatic situation’ (p.93). This present study is unique in exploring how former politically motivated prisoners (FPMP) who were involved in the Protest have reformulated their identity at 50-65 years taking cognisance of the assertion that coercive captivity which involves chronic trauma results in a contaminated identity (Herman, 1992). A contaminated identity is a vulnerable, negative identity state characterised by a jaundiced sense of self, others and worldview the subjectivity of which is best studied employing qualitative methodology. Identity Structure Analysis (ISA) was used to track evolving identifications and the reshaping of belief systems as respondents appraised self and significant others situated in various socio-historical contexts across time. In a case study approach, two respondents were presented with a customised identity instrument and the data was analysed using Ipsos computer software to provide objective assessments of current subjective appraisals of self and others in relation to the social world.

Both respondents were shown to currently have vulnerable identities characterised by ‘psychological and emotional difficulties’ and, that this has been a feature of their lives from before conflict and imprisonment. However, the Protest was indicated as a significant and transformative experience regarding identity and trauma processes. Post-prison and other

traumas were found to be times of more negative impact with reverberation between various traumatic and negative psychological experiences. Importantly, this study illustrates commonalities and individual differences in how these processes interacted with idiographic life circumstances and socio-historical change. A significant finding was that, although ‘subject to a traumatic situation’ (Hamber, p.93) and experiencing degraded bodily integrity, the Protest was indicated as the time of highest self-evaluation across all situated contexts. In the present day both respondents are conflicted in their reappraisals of profound values and beliefs about Republican ideology and the outworking and cost of the conflict and imprisonment in an environment of post-conflict transformation and new political dynamics.

Future work can build on this study by looking at a wider sample of FPMP with a case study approach that would be enriched by the inclusion of interviews which were disallowed in this instance for ethical reasons of risk.

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Glossary

APA	American Psychiatric Association
DSM-IV	Diagnostical and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders 4th edition
DSM-5	Diagnostical and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders 5th edition
FPMP	Former politically motivated prisoners
GHQ12	12-item General Health Questionnaire
ISA	Identity Structure Analysis
PCT	Personal Construct Theory
PTSD	Post-traumatic Stress Disorder
M-PTSD	Mississippi Scale for Combat-Related PTSD

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Background to study

As a consequence of The Gardiner Report (1975) detention without trial ended in the north of Ireland in December 1975 and Special Category Status for those imprisoned as a result of the conflict was phased out. Those convicted for such scheduled offences after March 1st 1976 were to be treated as ‘ordinary criminals’ in a change to British government policy aimed at ‘criminalising’ the ongoing conflict (Coogan, 2002). This led directly the ‘Blanket Protest’ where over 400 prisoners protested to establish their right to political status which, effectively began when the first prisoner refused to wear a prison uniform and comply with the changed policy in September 1976.

In March 1978, due to a deteriorating situation the ‘Blanket Protest’ became known as the ‘No wash/ Blanket Protest’ (hereafter referred to as the ‘Protest’). Beatings, systematic brutality and degrading search procedures (many claimed were sexual assaults) were reported as commonplace. Prisoners responded by covering cell walls with excrement while the floors were constantly covered in urine. There was no furniture, no glass in the windows and prisoners slept on uncovered sponge mattresses on floors often infested with maggots and sometimes visited by rats. After a visit to the H Blocks in 1979 Cardinal O Fiach compared the conditions to the Black Hole of Calcutta. This eventually led to the deaths of 10 men on hunger strike in 1981, an event that is deeply ingrained in the Irish Republican psyche.

A pilot study done by Hamber (2005) is the only research conducted into the long-term psychological impact of the Protest (1976–1981). This present study is the first to explore the possible impact of that experience with regard to how these former politically motivated prisoners (hereafter FPMP) have reformulated their identities at 50–65 years of age.

1.2 Literature on incarceration, trauma and identity

Overall, studies looking at the proposition: “prison is destructive to the psychological and emotional wellbeing of those it detains”, have been inconclusive (Bonta and Gendreau, 1990 p.347). Despite this there is a widespread acceptance that long-term negative psychological, social and physical health difficulties result from the experience of incarceration (John Howard Society of Alberta, 1999). In a review of over 150 studies regarding FPMP in Ireland Rolston (2011) found that imprisonment had mental health consequences (Rolston, 2011) with many of these studies highlighting trauma symptomology as a significant long-term outcome (Shirlow, 2001). Jamieson et al., (2010) found that the circumstances of FPMP were comparable to others who experienced political detention and, POWs who suffered the chronic trauma of war captivity. This is important because the literature on war captivity and political detention refers to the traumatic impact of such coercive captivity influencing identity processes and producing a ‘contaminated identity’, i.e. a negative and vulnerable identity state characterised by self-loathing, shame, guilt and anger (Herman, 1992). Not only do these comparisons echo recorded experiences of FPMP they also resonate with Hamber’s (2005) statement that there was no doubt prisoners on the Protest were “subject to a traumatic situation” (p.93).

However, while Hamber (2005) frames his discussion of the short and long-term psychological effects around trauma he avoids a diagnostic approach that focuses on the singularity of the event. Instead, he promotes a life course perspective where trauma develops ‘sequentially’, evolving in relation to interactive idiographic and social processes (Keilson, 1992). This is complementary to the conceptualisation of identity development as a complex of processes by which people construct and reconstruct their identity in interaction with others and their environment (Weinreich, 1969, 1980, 1989a).

1.3 Methodology rationale

Traumatic experiences can fracture a sense of continuity and cohesiveness of the self and identity with a fundamental undermining of positive beliefs about oneself, others and the world (Abernathy, 2008; Janoff-Bulman, 1992). In essence, experiencing traumatic situations can impact identity development by becoming central to the attribution of meaning throughout the life span (Bernsten and Rubin, 2006). This study, explores how FPMP have reconstructed their identities at 50–65 years by examining the meaning of their experiences for underlying identity processes as they evolve in relation to socio-historical circumstances.

However, complex constructs like identity are difficult to quantify because they involve the subjective construction of meaning better studied using qualitative research methodology (Bryman, 2012). Here, Identity Structure Analysis (ISA) (Weinreich, 1986) is considered the most appropriate methodology because it provides “a framework for exploring self and identity issues in areas of interest” (Weinreich, 2003 p.362) making the subjective construction of meaning regarding identity and experience objectively explicit. ISA is

operationalised and analysed using computer software for, “uncovering patterns of identifications and value systems” (Saunderson and O’ Kane, 2003 p.317) in the process of appraising self and others over time and in various contexts. ISA has been shown to be sensitive to variations in belief systems, providing quantifiable estimations of evaluative connotations and has been widely used for over 20 years as a valid and reliable research methodology (Thornton, 2000).

1.4 Aim and Objectives

Using Identity Structure Analysis this study aims to explore how Irish Republican FPMP who were involved in the Protest (1976-1981) and thereby “subject to a traumatic situation” (Hamber, 2005 p.93) have reconstructed their identities at 50-65 years.

Objectives:

- To develop an understanding of the salience of this experience to how FPMP have reconstructed their identities over time.
- To explore the ways in which aspects of identity regarding relationship to significant others may have been influenced by the experience of the Protest.
- To explore the influence of the Protest on the developing value and belief systems of FPMP.
- To investigate the possible reverberations of the Protest with other traumatic or negative psychological experiences in the lives of FPMP.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Introduction

Hamber's (2005) report on the long-term psychological impact of the Protest in the Maze Prison (1976–1981) stated that there was no doubt participants had been “subject to a traumatic situation” (p.93). Therefore, exploring how FPMP who experienced the Protest have reformulated their identity at 50–65 years will involve themes of imprisonment, conflict-related captivity, identity development and trauma.

This review looks at literature regarding the psychological effects of incarceration (2.2) with references to it as a traumatic experience and links to studies of conflict-related imprisonment in Ireland. This includes a brief outline of studies referring to mental health issues and trauma symptomology as significant psychological outcomes some of which make comparisons with war captivity (2.3). The literature on war captivity is examined and there is discussion about how the impact of trauma is conceptualised (2.4) with consideration given to ‘sequential traumatisation’ as “useful in thinking about the best way to understand the traumatic process” (Hamber, 2005 p.94) (2.5). As this study explores how FPMP have reformulated their identity at 50-65 years changing personal and social contexts are looked at (2.6) along with the notion that significant or traumatic life events can become central to self-construal and processes of identity development (2.7). Identity Structure Analysis (ISA) is then considered both as a theoretical conceptualisation and a methodological tool for exploring the complex interfacing of coercive captivity, identity and trauma processes [See Chapter 3 for a full exposition of ISA] (2.8). The final section looks at the application of ISA to understanding the meaning of

traumatic experiences for FPMP by tracking modulations in their ‘assumptive worlds’ (Janoff-Bulman, 1992) (2.9).

2.2 Psychological effects of incarceration

Early studies looking at the long-term consequences of incarceration were predicated on the belief that physical, emotional and mental deterioration was an inevitable outcome. This position, however, was criticised as being deterministic, simplistic and reductionist in pursuit of general theories (John Howard Society of Alberta, 1999). Overall, studies looking at the proposition, “prison is destructive to the psychological and emotional wellbeing of those it detains”, (Bonta and Gendreau, 1990 p.347) have been inconclusive with questions arising about research design, methodology and the lack of consideration given to individual differences in adaptation to imprisonment (Bonta and Gendreau, 1990). Nevertheless, many studies do “point to the potential psychological harm that long term incarceration can cause” (John Howard Society of Alberta 1999, Executive Summary).

Haney (2001) comments that most people leave prison without permanent clinically diagnosable disorders but those who endure the more extreme, harsh conditions will likely suffer deeper psychological harm and prolonged negative change beyond release often masked by outward appearances of normality. Furthermore, while acknowledging the psychological changes that many prisoners make in order to survive the experience, Haney (2001) points out that outcomes of imprisonment are always idiosyncratic - a complex interplay of idiographic, situational and socio-historical variables. This is exemplified in the suggestion that post-traumatic stress reactions to the pains of imprisonment may well

reverberate with other personally traumatic experiences from across the life span. DeVeaux (2013), however, makes the point that the trauma of imprisonment has not been extensively researched but also refers to a body of work indicating significant psychological effects of trauma some of which relates to imprisonment as a result of conflict in Ireland from 1969 onwards.

2.3 Trauma, incarceration and political conflict in Ireland

In a review of approximately 150 studies regarding ex-prisoners and ex-combatants from the period of conflict in Ireland from 1969 onwards, Rolston (2011) writes:

“...the most notable and perhaps the most controversial finding was that imprisonment had mental health consequences for prisoners and their families”
(p.44)

Further, a number of these studies recorded significant levels of post-traumatic stress symptomology among ex-prisoners: In 2001, a survey of 100 Republican ex-prisoners and 40 family members showed 75% had suffered some form of post-traumatic stress disorder with 1 in 5 having symptoms in the 4 weeks prior to being surveyed (Shirlow, 2001); in 2010 a study of 190 former politically motivated prisoners recorded that over 50% displayed symptoms characteristic of PTSD (Jamieson et al., 2010) as well as significant findings of mental health issues using GHQ12.

Importantly, the latter study also concluded that the best comparator groups for health behaviour and symptomology evidenced by former politically motivated prisoners were army veterans, police and emergency service personnel also stating:

“Former politically motivated prisoners’ mental health problems are also similar to those of other detainees suffering more long term forms of chronic trauma, such as prisoners of war.” (Jamieson et al., 2010 p.53)

In more ways than one, this statement resonates with the perceived reality of those imprisoned as a result of the conflict in Ireland as recorded in many of the aforementioned studies and other literature (Shirlow, 2001; Coogan, 2002; Hamber, 2005; Jamieson et al., 2010; Shirlow and Hughes, 2015; Willis et al., 2015). Virtually all, for example, would have been involved in armed conflict and experienced serious communal violence in varying degrees of intensity before, during and after imprisonment. In consequence, their sense of self and identity was organised around political imprisonment as captured members of military groups involved in armed struggle and actively continuing that struggle within the prison as prisoners of war (Hamber, 2005). Indeed, nowhere was this more apparent than in the H Blocks (1976-1981) where Irish Republican prisoners protested against ‘criminalisation’. For this and future studies, therefore, the comparisons drawn by Jamieson et al., (2010) between the circumstances of FPMP in Ireland and other detainees who have experienced the chronic trauma of war captivity are particularly relevant.

2.4 War captivity and trauma

Throughout the literature political imprisonment and war captivity is recognised as a significant traumatic experience (Herman, 1992; Willis et al., 2014) with elevated rates of PTSD as a common outcome (Sutker and Allain, 1996; Al-Turkait and Ohaer, 2008), affecting both short and long-term physical and mental health and, with an increased risk of co-morbid somatic and psychiatric conditions (Ursano, 2003; Solomon et al, 2012).

“Across studies of POWs of different wars, rates of lifetime post-traumatic stress disorder and depression are about 35% – 50% and 50% – 80% higher, respectively, in POWs than in controls.” (Ursano, 2003 s 23)

The long-term impact of war captivity has also been tracked by Solomon et al., (2008) who, following periodic assessments, reported increased PTSD symptomology in POWs compared to controls. A further notable outcome of this study was the identification of increased attachment insecurities (avoidance and anxiety) decades after release. When considering how attachment insecurities have been linked to various psychopathologies and interpersonal problems (Mikulincer and Shaver, 2012) this contributes greatly to a better understanding of reported difficulties POWs have in personal relationships and with social connections. Such is similarly the case with FPMP in Ireland whose problems with interpersonal relationships and other difficulties like depression, anxiety, hypochondria, and alcohol dependency (Shirlow 2001, Hamber 2005, Jamieson et al., 2010) are also commonly featured in the literature on war captivity (Solomon and Dekel, 2007).

However, despite established criteria about what constitutes significant traumatic experience and the consequent physiological and psychological sequelae of PTSD (APA: DSM-IV, 1994; APA: DSM-5, 2013), understanding and studying the outworking of trauma remains a complex undertaking with debate about the usefulness of diagnostic classifications (Black, 2002). Indeed, we know from the literature that there are many variations in human responsiveness to different traumatic situations and stressors (Herman, 1992; Black, 2002; Solomon and Dekel, 2007) and that trauma processes are influenced by numerous variables, such as: age and stages of development (Maercker, 1999; Solomon and Dekel, 2007), “dose dependent response phenomena” (Sutker and Allain, 1996 p.24) and characteristics like hardiness and attachment style (Zakin et al., 2003). Joseph (2009), for example, points to the complexity of individual experience and notes that each individual’s subjective appraisal of a traumatic event is crucial to what follows and to how they will be impacted, with the meaning of that event continuing to evolve over time (Van der Kolk and McFarlene, 2006).

Notwithstanding this evidence, lots of trauma research has tended to narrowly focus on PTSD as pathology using instruments like M-PTSD (Keane et al., 1988) or PTSD Inventory (Solomon et al., 1993) and often focusing on single events (Sutker and Allain, 1996). However, although such diagnostic classifications can provide organising frameworks for understanding and research (Van der Kolk and McFarlene, 2006) the focus on psychopathology can also be seen as prescriptive and distracting from the idiosyncratic complex of ways trauma impacts personal worlds. While there are these differing viewpoints, generally the literature conveys a sense that the pervasive and persistent nature of trauma is multifaceted and best understood across the life cycle taking into account individual biography, biological, psychological and social factors (Cavin, 2006; Solomon and Dekel,

2007; Jamieson et al., 2010). Indeed, when referring to the different trajectories of trauma processes that include delayed onset PTSD and Blank's (1993) proposal of intermittent and reactivated PTSD, Solomon et al., (2012) declared that "long term reactions to traumatic stress are heterogeneous and labile" (p.188) thus highlighting the complexity of the human response to trauma (Solomon and Dekel, 2007).

In relation to the Protest in the H Blocks, Hamber (2005) also questions the suggestion of a universal response to traumatic experience and presents the concept of 'sequential traumatisation' (Keilson, 1992; Becker, 2004) as a more ecologically valid perspective stating:

"The interaction between each individual's psychology and the environment in which they found themselves whether in prison or out, no matter how similar on the surface, is always context specific." (Hamber, 2005 p.93)

2.5 Sequential traumatisation

'Sequential traumatisation' (Keilson, 1992) is a multidimensional perspective on the outworking of trauma, i.e. the effects of a sequence of negative psychological experiences at the level of the individual but in the context of evolving social processes. Keilson (1992) posits that how someone is impacted by trauma depends on the 'sequences' in a person's life and, can only be understood with reference to the interplay between intrapsychic, developmental and social processes across time. Indeed, Becker (2004) declares that there

can be no post trauma, only continuing trauma processes within evolving life circumstances and contexts (Hamber, 2005):

“...resolution of trauma is never final; recovery is never complete. The impact of a traumatic experience continues to reverberate throughout the life cycle.”

(Herman, 1992 p.211)

In fact, this perspective accords well with Hamber (2005) who reported that some of the most severe mental health effects occurred post release and were still being experienced 30 years later. Of the 21 FPMP who were surveyed in 2005 (average age 48) most were married, two thirds were working and many reported they had no mental health problems. Yet almost 75% felt that the protest still impacted on them negatively, 25% were estimated to need focused mental health care, a further 25% would require someone to share difficulties with and, approximately 50% had been prescribed antidepressants at some point.

In presenting the concept of ‘sequential traumatising’ and outlining many instances of physical and psychological symptomology indicative of post-traumatic stress, Hamber (2005), therefore, positions a trauma-informed perspective as central to understanding the long-term psychological impact of the Protest. However, while this concurs with other literature regarding conflict-related captivity (Herman, 1992), for those involved, the Protest was quintessentially about their identity as political prisoners and as actors in a political conflict. Essentially, this was a time when the profundity of identity interfaced with a traumatic situation.

2.6 Changing personal and social contexts

It is estimated that over 90% of FPMP are over 50 years of age, the majority having been in their teens and early 20s during the most intense period of the conflict and at the time of arrest and imprisonment (Jamieson et al., 2010). This is a significant period for identity development and also a time when deterioration in physical and psychological wellbeing can exacerbate the effects of earlier traumatic experiences (Solomon et al., 2012). Given the variability of life trajectories and the seismic shifts in socio-political arenas since 1981, ‘sequential traumatising’ and developmental perspectives are important considerations for exploring the outworking of trauma and identity processes in the lives of FPMP.

The Belfast Agreement (Good Friday Agreement) (1998), for example, brought an end to the conflict and significant changes to the socio-political landscape. For some it signalled the end of Irish Republicanism (Mc Intyre, 2008) while others suggested it would require a fundamental ideological readjustment in the philosophy, role and identity of Irish Republicans (Mc Kearney, 2011). In essence, the Belfast Agreement (1998) engendered a process of conflict transformation provoking significant challenges to continually evolving processes of identity reformulation and re-scripting of meaningful life narratives at a major time of transition in the life cycle (Erikson, 1964; Levinson, 1978). Though important as a socio-historic milestone, this context can also be viewed as a ‘sequential’ marker for Irish Republican FPMP as individuals, making meaning of their past experiences in respect of contemporary circumstances.

An illustration of such unfolding interplay between intrapsychic, developmental and social processes is given by Gilligan (2006) who described how, following the early release of prisoners after 1998, some former RUC personnel, negatively re-contextualised memories of past experiences of conflict into a reconstructed life narrative summed up as ‘what was it all for?’ (p.338). Gilligan (2006) suggests that problems arose from “trying to integrate the memory into a framework of meaning, not in the power of the event” (p.330), i.e. cognitive affective dissonance arose from a struggle to reconcile conflicted dimensions of identity while reappraising the meaning of past events in light of changed circumstances.

The literature, however, also suggests that some significant or traumatic life events can be more ‘central’ to these processes of ‘remembering’ and ‘meaning making’ than others.

2.7 ‘Centrality of Event’ and the No wash/ Blanket Protest

It is believed that trauma impedes the narrative coherence of an individual’s life story because memories are fragmented. However, referring to theories about how people understand themselves through the composing of their life-stories, Bernsten and Rubin (2006) suggest that significant, highly emotion laden or traumatic events can become central to self-construal and life narrative reconstruction across time. These are personally significant (landmark) events that readily develop into reference points for the attribution of meaning across other less significant experiences thus becoming core aspects of identity:

“...a central turning point in our life story it would also most likely be regarded as a central component of our personal identity... emblematic for the person’s self

and/ or as a symbol for persistent themes in the person's life story...seen as causally related to stable characteristics of the self that pertain across situations.”

(Bernsten and Rubin, 2006 p.222)

Burnsten and Rubin (2006) explain that when a traumatic experience is perceived as a major causal agent in the life story habitual oversimplifications in the attribution of current meaning accrue. By filtering out alternative explanations of causality, internal frames of reference are constructed that shape the meaning of other life experiences, explaining these with reference to the traumatic event. In doing so, a reconstructed but constricted form of life narrative coherence emerges optimising “the internal consistency of the life story at the expense of multiplicity of meaning that normally characterises our life” (Bernsten and Rubin, 2006 p.221–222).

Furthermore, some traumatic life events are suggested to be so highly charged through the interaction of psychological and social factors that they become “too central to the cognitive organisation of the life story and the identity of the person” (Bernsten and Rubin, 2006 p.228). Trauma memories thereby become highly accessible for spontaneous and painful reliving of the original trauma and for reverberation with other traumas from across the life span in response to internal and external cues (Bernsten, 2001). In seeking to heal a psychological wound, for example, people are sometimes said to organise their lives around a traumatic event to the point of periodic re-enactment (van der Kolk, 1989).

That said, negative life events also elicit adaptive responses and the striving to imbue a reconfigured life narrative with continuity and new meaning, reclaiming “a coherent,

culturally-situated identity” (Abernathy, 2008 p.201). While seeking to minimise psychological stress by integrating “traumatic experiences into a new world view and self-image” (van der Veer, 1998 cited in Black, 2002 p.108) people can, in fact, proactively reframe experiences in ways that offset negative impact and foster personal growth (Joseph, 2009).

However, while it is axiomatic that individuals differ greatly in the degree to which an emotionally intense negative event becomes central to identity, given the multifaceted significance of the Blanket Protest it is reasonable to propose that this experience would feature in the way FPMP construe their identity in the present. Understanding this impact will, therefore, involve taking a life course perspective and looking at the salience of the Protest to the unfolding processes of identity revision, reformulation and the reconstruction of meaning across time.

2.8 Trauma of coercive captivity, identity and Identity Structure Analysis (ISA)

Political imprisonment and prolonged coercive captivity are recorded in the literature as traumatic situations that have mental health consequences while “also producing profound alterations in the victim’s identity” (Herman, 1992 p.93). Indeed, it is said that captivity involving chronic trauma can result in a ‘contaminated identity’ (Herman, 1992) both of which are complex constructs involving the subjective construction of meaning best explicated by qualitative research methodology (Bryman, 2012). Black (2002) has demonstrated that this complex interfacing of trauma and identity can be investigated using

Identity Structure Analysis (ISA) to track a person's processes of identity reformulation and reconstruction of meaning across time (Black, 2002; Weinreich, 1986)

“...the key to understanding trauma is to unlock the meaning of the traumatic experience for individuals.” (Black, 2002 p.64)

In ISA, identity does not represent sameness and is not static, it is continuously open to revision and redefinition by way of appraisal and reappraisal of self and others in relation to changing contexts across time with the emphasis on ‘continuity’ and ‘process’. Black (2002) further explains that the appraisal process is central to psychological survival regarding identity because it is the way people actively give meaning to life experiences, i.e. current appraisals of ongoing circumstances are expressions of a person's identity within continuing processes of resynthesis and ‘meaning making’ (Weinreich, 2002).

In relation to traumatic life events, this means that the process of appraisal enables people to cue into and consider the circumstances and context of situations as well as their own and others roles in it (Black, 2002). In ISA terms, the past self (involving other traumatic experiences) and the aspirational self will influence the current appraisal of ongoing situations, i.e. appraisal of a traumatic experience in the present will evoke cueing into past experiences while also appealing to aspirational self's ideal state thereby reverberating with past traumas and conveying characterisations and concomitant evaluations (weighed against one's ideal self). The outcome of this is either a new worldview and integrated sense of self or a further contaminated identity in a fragmented and stressful world.

Weinreich (2002) explains that an event is only experienced as traumatic if it is appraised as devastating to bodily and psychological integrity:

“...trauma is not *out there* as an event, which has *an impact on* people...It is personally experienced...*construed and appraised by* persons as being devastatingly distressing” (p.2).

Further, when situations are appraised as traumatic the experience reshapes the relationship people have with themselves and their social world (Black, 2002). Existing schemas that organise values, beliefs and meaning to guide one’s worldview and evaluations of self and others are ‘shattered’ engendering a sense of disconnection and loss of life narrative coherence (Janoff-Bulman, 1992; Abernathy, 2008). Prisoners who live with a sense of chronic vulnerability under coercive control experience this disconnection at many levels, losing a sense of past and future to live in an endless present that can persist beyond release (Herman, 1992). Essentially, this describes an altered sense of self and temporality that resonates with reports of FPMP in Ireland feeling as if their lives had been ‘frozen’ (Jamieson and Grounds, 2002, cited in Hamber, 2005), a state Abernathy (2008) referred to as:

“...rupture of biographical continuity between past and future self...” with a heightened awareness of mortality puncturing the present, undermining the autonomous self and threatening “...a person’s integrity of self, cohesive self-narrative....valued roles and psychologically meaningful pursuits.” (p.201)

For this study, this is an important conceptualisation of trauma and identity processes because the destruction of fundamental beliefs about safety and predictability together with positive and meaningful values in relation to self and others can be investigated using ISA.

2.9 Shattering of the Assumptive World and Identity Structure Analysis (ISA)

Parkes (1975) first used the term ‘assumptive world’ in reference to a person’s view of reality made up of core beliefs that have been learned and confirmed by life experiences and organised into conceptual schemata that, “ground, secure, and orient people...give a sense of reality, meaning, purpose to life” (Beber, 2005 p.258).

The ‘assumptive world’ is, therefore, understood as those stable and core beliefs that encapsulate and guide a person’s worldview channeling the subjective experience of self in relation to others and the social world:

- The world is benevolent
- The world is meaningful
- The self is worthy

(Janoff-Bulman 1992, cited in Beber, 2005 p.258)

When faced with change and adversity people are intrinsically motivated to resolve psychological dissonance in a restorative process of positive integration, attempting to return to ‘normal’ (Festinger, 1957; Black, 2002). Trauma, however, decimates any ‘positivity bias’ regarding people, the world and life itself, destroying the beliefs that things make sense, that

the world is generally a safe place wherein people, including oneself, are good, “kind and well intentioned” (Beber, 2005 p.258).

“Trauma shatters the belief that people are invulnerable or can be insulated from disaster or inhuman action. Beliefs about safety, control, predictability and protection become undermined, and *the vulnerability that nothing is ever the same again becomes a central issue with which traumatised individuals contend.*” (Black, 2002 p.60) (This author’s emphasis)

This shattering of a person’s assumptive world is recognised by major theoretical models of trauma as, “the psychological event of primary focal importance following a traumatic event” (Kaler, 2009 p.3). It follows, therefore, that unlocking the individual meaning of traumatic experiences (Black, 2002) involves tracking modulations in values, beliefs and processes of evolving identifications. Although a complex undertaking this can be achieved, for example, by using ISA to map the transition of values and beliefs regarding the impact of traumatic life events by tracking changes to relevant constructs (e.g. regarding safety, trust, attachment orientation and a [sense of] shortened future) as individuals construe self and others situated across different phases of the life-story. Furthermore, the ISA conceptualisation of ‘Structural Pressure’ on constructs (beliefs) that reveals ‘conflicted dimensions of identity’ facilitates insight into arenas of stress with which a person currently contends (Weinreich, 2003).

While other approaches to trauma and identity can assess the nature and degree of impact ISA also explains what the psychological underpinnings of trauma are as they differ for each

individual. Black (2002), for instance, states that the outworking of trauma will depend on a person's orientation to the world whether 'open' or 'defensive' with 'identity diffusion' as an indicator of how someone is impacted by such experiences. Within the ISA framework these are objectivised as clearly defined concepts that are amenable to empirical assessment thereby facilitating the building of theories about the impact of such negative life experiences.

ISA is, in fact, uniquely suited to the study of this complex human phenomena because it provides a conceptual framework for the explication of underlying processes involved in the reformulation of identity and the reconstruction of meaning across time and in varying socio-historical contexts (Weinreich, 1986; Black, 2002). By making objective the subjective nature of current appraisal processes with regard to the parameters of a customised identity instrument, ISA can facilitate the exploration of FPMP identity reformulation at 50-65 years within the continuity of idiographic life narratives and personal worlds.

Chapter 3: Identity Structure Analysis (ISA)

3.1 Introduction

Identity Structure Analysis (ISA) (Weinreich, 1969, 1980, 1989a, 2003) is described as an open-ended ‘metatheoretical’ orientation that considers identity development as a complex of processes by which people construct and reconstruct their identity in interaction with others and their environment (Weinreich, 1969, 1980, 1989a). ISA draws on a number of theoretical orientations:

- The psychodynamic approach to identity development (Erikson, 1964: identification; identity diffusion; and identity foreclosure)
- Social comparison theory (Festinger, 1957: comparison with those similar to oneself)
- Reference group theory (Merton, 1950: positive and negative reference groups)
- Symbolic Interactionism (Mead, 1934: self as process and situated self)
- Personal construct theory (Kelly: the construal process)
- Cognitive-affective consistency theory (Heider, etc: dissonance)

(Workshop notes) (Weinreich, 1992 p.1)

Weinreich (2003) elaborates on this list to include, among others, Laing (Social Psychiatry approach, 1960), Marcia (Identity Status approach, 1980), Carrithers et al., (Social Anthropological and Ethnographic approach, 1985), and Harré (Singular and agentic self 1998).

In summary, the theoretical underpinnings of ISA include considering identity, self-awareness and self-evaluation as the products of social interaction and self-reflexiveness (Cooley, 1902) where we come to know ourselves, for example, in Mead's (1934) 'generalised other' and in social comparisons with other individuals and groups (Merton, 1950). Further definition comes from role positions within one's socio-cultural context (Stryker, 1980) some of which are salient and enduring while others are transient and fluid (Goffman, 1959). The notion is, therefore, of a multi-faceted self whose sense of coherence is maintained through personal agency and reflexiveness (review and revision) in a process of evolving identifications, values and beliefs with the emphasis on continuity rather than sameness over a lifetime (Erikson, 1968; Weinreich, 1989a).

“A person's identity is defined as the totality of one's self construal, in which how one construes oneself in the present expresses the continuity between how one construes oneself as one was in the past and how one construes oneself as one aspires to be in the future.” (Weinreich, 2003 p.26)

3.2 Harré: Singular and agentic self

While there are many propositions about what constitutes self and identity (with the terms often used interchangeably) ISA distinguishes between the two akin to Harré's conceptualisation of selfhood.

Harré (1998) proposed that Self comprises of 3 aspects: Self 1 as an exclusive agent proceeding with intentionality in respect of appraising self and others in interaction with

one's social world by "means of linguistic discourses and conversations" (Weinreich, 2003 p.36); Self 2 relates to the 'self-concept' or the 'reflexive self' infused with uniqueness and continuity:

"...the sense one has of oneself as possessing a unique set of attributes which, though they change nevertheless remain as a whole distinctive of just one person"

(Harré, 1998 p.4)

Self 3 refers to the 'public self' - the public presentation of self in everyday life – whose expression is shaped by Self 1's contextualised appraisals contrived in collaboration with others. This suggests that self-conceptualisation and identity formation also incorporates the influence of a 'metaperspective of self' as in Laing's Social Psychiatry approach (1960, 1961).

Person {Self 1, Self 2, Self 3}

(Harré, 1998 p.9)

Essentially, ISA equates the self with Harré's (1998) Self 1 and identity as relating to Self 2 and Self 3 (Mc Kenna, 2006)

Person {Self 1, Identity} where [Identity] = [Self 2, Self 3]

(Weinreich, 2003 p.80)

This conceptualisation of self and identity is central to ISA and encapsulates the dynamics at work in the complex of underlying processes by which people construct and reconstruct their sense of self and identity in relation to their social world, a world that ISA stresses is contextualised by both etic and emic features across changing socio-historical landscapes.

‘ISA conceptualises identity processes as occurring throughout the person’s life-history, during which self appraises and reappraises other agents and agencies within historically changing milieus’ (Weinreich, 2003, cited in Mc Kenna, 2006 p.3)

The emphasis on the subjective nature of personal agency in conjunction with the social construction of meaning is also the basis for understanding how pivotal the processes of ‘appraisal’, ‘self-construal’ and ‘evaluation’ are to the experience of self and the formation of identity.

3.3 Erikson

Endorsing the effectiveness of ISA for addressing notions about “identity and the associated concept of the self” Hogard (2014, p.5) focused attention on the synthesis of 3 major theoretical perspectives: Erikson (1963, 1968); Kelly (1955); Festinger (1957).

“Erikson’s definition of identity spans one’s past sense of self, current self as determined by self and significant others, and one’s expectations for the future” (Hogard, 2014 p.5).

From this biopsychosocial perspective identity (ego identity) development is a lifelong epigenetic process occurring as a normative, predetermined, sequential pattern of life stages, a series of psychosocial ‘crises’ in which there is a balance to be struck in establishing particular ego qualities or virtues. In infancy, for example, this concerns ‘trust – mistrust’ with the virtue of ‘hope’ or ‘faith’ as a desired, healthy psychological outcome. However, all of Erikson’s stages are implicitly present at birth but each has its own time of ascendancy, growing out of the one before and paving the way for those coming after. The outcome of any stage is not permanent though and, can be altered by later experiences in what is envisaged as a dynamic, fluid process across the life span.

For Erikson (1964) identity is constantly open to change via complex processes of both positive and negative identifications throughout life. Adolescence, however, is a particularly crucial time of psychosocial conflict when the partial identifications of childhood have to be resynthesized into a self-defined identity before proceeding into more complex identifications in adulthood (Mc Kenna, 2006). While these processes may give rise to integrated, coherent identity states there will also be times when contradictions exist between identifications evoking uncomfortable psychological stress as a result of being conflicted.

A key element of Erikson’s scheme regarding identity processes is the ‘evaluation’ of self and significant others as “relatively good or bad” (Hogard, 2014 p.7) i.e. positively identifying with those one would aspire to be like and negatively identifying with others perceived as having undesirable characteristics. In ISA, ‘evaluation’ is a constituent part of the appraisal process inextricably linked with the act of ‘construal’ which “emphasises cognition with attributions to and interpretations of people’s activities” (Weinreich, 2003

p.18). As people cue into particular contexts they construe the meaning of each situation, attributing characterisations while simultaneously making evaluations in accordance with their value systems. This process of appraisal inevitably evokes emotional states and where there are instances of identity conflicts this will entail the stressful experience of cognitive-affective dissonance (Festinger, 1957).

These conflicted identifications occur when a person sees themselves as similar to another while simultaneously recognising characteristics from which they wish to dissociate. However, for Festinger (1957) and other Cognitive-Affective Consistency theorists, when experiencing circumstances where “the cognitions and feelings that constitute identity are incompatible with each other or...behavior” (Hogard, 2014 p.6) people are motivated to resolve this disharmony in a process of reassessment and readjustment. In ISA terms this involves:

“...realignment of previous identifications with perhaps an acceptance of some and a rejection of others, or redefinition of them in part” (Weinreich, in Breakwell, 1983 p.152)

For this, Weinreich (1989a) offers the following hypotheses in ISA postulates:

Postulate 1

“When one’s identifications with others are conflicted, one attempts to resolve the conflicts, thereby inducing re-evaluations of self in relation to the others

within the limits of one's currently existing value system." (Weinreich, 1989a p.53)

Postulate 2

"When one forms further identifications with newly encountered individuals, one broadens one's value system and establishes a new context for one's self definition, thereby initiating a reappraisal of self and others which is dependent on fundamental changes in one's value system." (Weinreich, 1989a p.53)

ISA also postulates 2 modes of identification which allows conflicts in identification to be defined:

Empathetic identification

"The extent of one's current empathetic identification with another is defined as the degree of similarity between the qualities one attributes to the other, whether good or bad, and those of one's current self-image." (Weinreich, 1980/86/89/2003 p.60)

Role Model identification

"the degree to which one might want to emulate another when the other is a positive role model, or dissociate from the other when a negative role model" (Weinreich, 1989a p.52)

Idealistic identification and contra-identification distinguish between positive and negative role models. Together with other ISA postulates and definitions these allow for empirical assessments of patterns of identifications and identity states.

3.4 Identity Status approach

In the first instance, through the application of Ipseus computer software, ISA generates Global Identity Variants expressing estimations of a person's identity states in accordance with clearly defined ISA definitions of what are recognised as well-adjusted or vulnerable. ISA formulates these as useful overviews that draw on propositions about identity development from the viewpoint of the Identity Status approach (Marcia, 1980).

Marcia's (1980) elaboration on Erikson's (1964) conceptualisation of ego identity development proposed a process that begins with questioning (crisis) and ideally proceeds towards identity achievement (commitment):

- Identity Achievement: The person has been through a crisis and made commitments to ideological goals.
- Moratorium: There is a continuing crisis without a commitment having been made.
- Identity Diffusion: Not necessarily in current crisis although may represent either having experienced one in the past or, at an early stage of a crisis process but without yet making any identity commitments.

- Identity Foreclosure: The person has not experienced the process of crisis but has made identity commitments based on the choices of significant others or by what is culturally defined.

(Based on O' Keeffe, 2000 p.34)

This approach is, however, critiqued in Mc Kenna (2006) who states that ISA takes a “more flexible and ecologically valid stance” (p.6) by emphasising a continuum of underlying identity processes within a biosocial and historical context that never achieves complete and final resolution.

“ISA demonstrates that representations of identity as simple linear processes or all or nothing concepts... have little relation to the complex realities of people's identities as they are and as they modulate from context to context.” (Weinreich, 1999b p.18)

In fact, Weinreich (2003) writes that unlike Marcia's approach ISA is “basically morally agnostic regarding identity variants” (p.67) stressing that identity formation has no end point. Consequently, ISA views identity variants as global representations of identity states that provide insight rather than judgement.

Further, ISA postulates nine identity variants (Table 1) rather than Marcia's four and thus provides for a richer analysis of ‘process’ by degrees of diffusion rather than all or nothing concepts focused on ‘achievement’ of a particular identity status. Most people are deemed to have moderate levels of identity diffusion and self-evaluation and, therefore, ‘Confident’ and

‘Indeterminate’ are considered well-adjusted and stable identity states while all others are perceived as vulnerable in various ways. Weinreich (2003) explains that “people with vulnerable identities are likely to have problems when their identities are threatened” (p.68) rendering them susceptible to emotional or psychological difficulties.

Table 1. ISA Identity Variants

Identity Variants	Low Diffusion	Moderate Diffusion	High Diffusion
High Self-evaluation	Defensive High Self-regard	Confident	Diffuse High Self-regard
Moderate Self-evaluation	Defensive	Indeterminate	Diffusion
Low Self-evaluation	Defensive Negative	Negative	Crisis

3.5 Kelly

ISA also draws on theoretical and operational aspects of ‘constructive alternativism’ particularly the Personal Construct Theory (PCT) of Kelly (1955).

The fundamental principle of ‘constructive alternativism’ is that by a process of active construal people “construct a world of meanings and an identity from a number of possible alternatives” (Hogard, 2014 p.6) and, in fact, Hogard (2014) states that this “construal constitutes their identity” (p.5). The principles of ‘constructive alternativism’ are operationalised in Kelly’s PCT (1955), firstly, in the formal expression of a series of postulates and correlates and, secondly, in the development of the Repertory Grid as a methodological framework for deriving constructs by which individuals anticipate and interpret others and their environment (Hogard, 2014). Uncovering how a person construes

their social world is achieved by presenting constructs (bi-polar metaphorical representations) for consideration against elements (people, agents and objects) formulated in a grid (Weinreich, 2003). For both PCT and ISA, individualised values and beliefs evolve as people experience the successful anticipation of events by construing their replication, the meanings of these being denoted by the discourses of personal construct systems (Weinreich, 1992).

While elaborating on PCT (Kelly, 1955) ISA also builds on the centrality of discrete bi-polar constructs used in conjunction with an adaptation of the grid methodology for eliciting personalised appraisals of self and significant others in relation to the social world (Weinreich, 2003). In ISA constructs are conceptualised as schematic cognitive representations corresponding to a person's values and beliefs but also imbued with affect, i.e. interpreting and interacting with the world in accordance with one's value system evokes emotional states. The cognitive-affective process of 'meaning making' is, therefore, evaluative in nature and through the application of ISA, amenable to estimation.

As people construe self and others within the framework of a customised identity instrument ISA provides estimations of the cognitive-affective associations of constructs in order to evaluate the positive and negative aspects of a person's value system. Through the quantifiable concept of Structural Pressure (SP) on constructs, ISA provides measurements of how consistently favourable and unfavourable affective associations of cognitions are aligned with the overall evaluations of self and others. In so doing ISA makes objective the subjective nature of one's values and beliefs, revealing those that are stable and core and illuminating conflicted dimensions of identity that are arenas of stress. Therefore, by being

sensitive to modulations in a person's value and belief system ISA can facilitate research studies by enabling analysis and insight about change.

3.6 Summary

Identity has been described as “a lens through which individuals construct meaning and cognitive appraisal” (Abernathy, 2008 p.199), an abstract concept that gives a sense of continuity and stability and a facilitating sense of coherence in one's subjective experience of oneself in relation to the world across the life cycle (Erikson, 1980). Major theories on identity posit that people are agents in the formation of their own self-concept (Harré, 1979; Thoits, 2009) through the construction and reconstruction of life narratives (Mc Adams, 1993; Neimeyer, 2005) in continuous pursuit of new meaning (Brennan, 2001) and the avoidance of cognitive dissonance (Festinger, 1957).

As an open-ended metatheoretical orientation, ISA comprehensively accommodates the application of major theoretical perspectives to the complexity of identity exploration. The ISA theoretical postulates and conceptualisations of identity processes provide a unique framework allowing “empirically grounded theoretical propositions” (Weinreich, 2003 p.109) to be derived from the findings of customised identity instruments targeting areas of interest. ISA has been used in many studies for over 20 years and is operationalised and analysed using Ipseus computer software for, “uncovering patterns of identifications and value systems” (Saunderson and O' Kane, 2003 p.317) in the process of how one construes oneself in relation to the social world situated over time and in various socio-historical contexts.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1 Participants

Table 2 Participant profiles

Participant profile				
Participant	Age	Length of time on the Protest	Period (s) of time on Protest	Period (s) of conflict-related imprisonment
(A) Aidan	60	2 years	1	(1) 8.5 years
(B) Sean	58	5 years	1	(1) 10 years

4.1.1 Target Group

The participants in this study were two former politically motivated prisoners from the target group of Irish Republicans, aged 50–65, who took part in the Protest in the Maze Prison H Blocks from 1976–1981.

Inclusion criteria

- Male adults who were involved in the Protest 1976–1981 and between the ages 50-65.
- Persons who were former Irish Republican politically motivated prisoners

Exclusion criteria

- Persons who are not members of an illegal organisation

- Persons who have no ongoing health difficulties that may be of concern for their participation in the project

4.2 Materials

- Background Information Sheet (Participant) [Appendix 1]
- Background Information Sheet (Researcher) [Appendix 2]
- Participant Information Sheet [Appendix 3]
- Consent Form [Appendix 4]
- Customised Identity Instrument:
Constructs [Appendix 5]
Entities [Appendix 6]
- Distress protocol [Appendix 7]
- Research Summary Sheet [Appendix 8]
- World Assumption Scale (WAS) [Appendix 9]
- World Assumption Questionnaire (WAQ) [Appendix 10]
- ISA scale ranges [Appendix 11]
- ISA theoretical postulates [Appendix 12]
- Letter of ethical approval [Appendix 13]
- Letter of permission for extended word limit [Appendix 14]
- Ipseus data: Individual Entity Ratings [Appendix 15]

4.3 Procedure

Participants were recruited as a result of convenience sampling achieved by disseminating a research outline among people in the target group. The invitation to participate was circulated throughout the network of Republican FPMP by Coiste na n-Iarchimí, an umbrella organisation for 13 groups throughout Ireland. This included a Research Summary Sheet [Appendix 8], the Participant Information Sheet [Appendix 3] and Background Information Sheet (Researcher) [Appendix 2]. Interested parties were asked to contact the coordinator of the Coiste Health and Well-being programme who then arranged their visit to a community facility to complete the study tasks. This was a public building with private rooms open to observation and thus appropriate for confidential research activity and meeting ethical requirements for researcher and participant safety.

Data collection was facilitated by a counsellor at the centre who was independent of the research project. Participants were given a copy of the Participant Information Sheet [Appendix 3] and asked to affirm their acceptance of statements on a Consent Form [Appendix 4] by ticking the appropriate boxes. This form was witnessed and signed by the counsellor thus confirming the person's agreement with what was stated. Participants were not asked to sign their names or reveal their identity. They then completed the Background Information Sheet [Appendix 1] followed by the identity instrument on a laptop computer.

On completion the data was securely stored, encrypted and password protected. Each identity instrument and corresponding Background Information Sheet [Appendix 1] was assigned a pseudonym thereby protecting the anonymity of the participants.

Data storage and retention was done in accordance with the University of Ulster policies on research governance: 'Classification, storage and retention of research project data' which can be found at:

<http://research.ulster.ac.uk/rg/0613%20data%20handl>

Analysis of each respondent's identity instrument data was done using Ipeus software obtained from:

http://www.identityexploration.com/Ipeus_-_Software_for_identity_Exploration.asp

Analysis and interpretation of results was done based on external normative benchmarks for identity parameters [Appendix 11]

4.4 Ethical considerations

Because this study focused on former politically motivated prisoners with trauma as a topic under investigation and, because the researcher has a similar background, there were ethical considerations and issues of risk. It was necessary that procedures for recruitment and data collection would ensure participant anonymity with no direct contact between researcher and respondents. Participants knew from the outset that:

- There would be no interaction at any time between researchers and participants
- No researcher would ever be aware of participant's identity

- Completed identity instruments and Background Information Sheets [Appendix 1] would be anonymised and all data encrypted and securely stored.
- Data collection would take place in private, in a community facility open to the public providing both safety and confidentiality
- Participants would have full and ongoing control over their involvement and data pertaining to them; that they could withdraw their consent at any time
- A counsellor independent of the research would be in attendance during completion of the allotted tasks acting in a facilitative and supportive role
- A Distress Protocol [Appendix 7] would be in place for the counsellor to follow in the event of any emotional difficulties arising
- On completion of the allotted tasks information on services for FPMP and where to find help if needed would be provided
- Ethical approval for this study had been given by the University of Ulster Risk and Ethics Committee [Appendix 13]

4.5 Design

Because this research was concerned with idiographic subjective experience and personal meaning that is difficult to quantify it was necessary to employ a qualitative methodology with a case study approach (Bryman, 2012) using Identity Structure Analysis (ISA) (Weinreich, 1986).

With Identity Structure Analysis (ISA) Weinreich (1986) integrates many approaches into a metatheoretical conceptualisation for understanding and analysing underlying, evolving identity processes across the life cycle. ISA avoids simplistic cause and effect analysis of positivist approaches (Thornton, 2000) providing “a framework for exploring self and identity issues in areas of interest” (Weinreich, 2003 p.362) making the subjective construction of meaning regarding identity and experience objectively explicit. ISA is a well-established methodology in the field of identity exploration and is operationalised and analysed using Ipseus computer software.

For this study ISA was used to build empirically grounded theories from data and information that emerged from a customized identity instrument, exploring how FPMP have reconstructed their identities at 50–65 years with regard to their involvement in the Protest (1976–1981) described by Hamber (2005) as ‘a traumatic situation’ (p.93).

4.5.1. Instrument design

Although, interviews are the most useful way to develop constructs and entities in the construction of customised identity instruments (Weinreich, 1980), given ethical restrictions based on risk issues regarding a potential for distress, interviews were not conducted. A Background Information Sheet [Appendix 1] was used to gather some information in spite of being subject to similar constraints. This was considered important to evoke some sense of the period as well as augmenting possible interpretative insights regarding individual circumstances e.g. some people were on the Protest for much longer than others.

Rather than interviews, constructs and entities for the identity instrument were generated from an in-depth study of the literature, the existing knowledge and experience of the researcher and, relevant studies that record already extant interviews with FPMP.

Entities (also referred to in ISA as ‘Domains’) included mandatory ISA entities, “important facets of self in various contexts as perceived by others” (Mc Kenna, 2006 p.29), and those specifically relating to the topic under investigation together with others of significance in the respondents’ personal worlds [Appendix 6].

Constructs were developed as sets of bipolar emic discourses and texts relevant to the participants and around ‘themes’ pertinent to the aims and objectives of this study [Appendix 5]: Constructs (1–3) relating to personal and social dimensions of identity were gleaned from various ISA studies (Weinreich and Saunderson, 2003) while others (4–7) relating to political and cultural dimensions of identity were determined from research and literature regarding what would likely be of personal and socio-historical significance from context to context over time. Constructs (8–11) were derived from Levinson’s (1978) study of midlife transition and Erikson’s (1964) theoretical propositions regarding ‘generativity’ at midlife.

The constructs of the fourth thematic subgroup (12–20) focused on the possible impact of traumatic experience (Hamber, 2005). These were derived from trauma literature and research e.g. from a ‘worldview’ perspective traumatic situations of extreme stress shatter core aspects of a person’s assumptive world (Janoff-Bulman, 1992) destroying fundamental beliefs about safety and predictability as well as a person’s positive and meaningful values in relation to the self and creation (Herman, 1992). This perspective is recognised by major

theoretical models as, “the psychological event of primary focal importance following a traumatic event” (Kaler, 2009 p.3) and essentially refers to the reconstruction of meaning as people appraise their experiences. For this study, tracking the meaning of the Protest for identity reconstruction involved exploring modulations in the assumptive world of participants’ belief systems and identification processes likely to be affected by trauma.

To target relevant values and beliefs constructs were harvested from the World Assumption Scale (WAS) (Janoff-Bulman, 1989) and the World Assumption Questionnaire (WAQ) (Kaler, 2009). Other constructs were derived from a wider literature base e.g. shame, anger and guilt (Bratton, 2010; Novaco & Chemtob, 2002) or a persistent sense of foreboding and foreshortened future (APA: DSM-IV, C7, 1994). The first ever study exploring trauma and identity using ISA (Black, 2002) also provided guidance.

In total 20 constructs and 23 entities emerged from this process such that the customised identity instrument targeted specific areas of interest as well as more generalised aspects of identity e.g. personal and social; political and cultural; middle to late adulthood transition. Constructs remained the same for participants but some entities were required to be individually nominated as persons of idiosyncratic significance e.g. ‘a person I have high regard for (nominate)’.

Analysis of data was done by Ipsius-Computer Software providing computations of hard (quantitative) data that were objective assessments of an individual’s appraisals in relation to self, others and the social world as represented in the customized ISA identity instrument.

A draft ISA instrument was piloted with 2 people from the target group population to ensure appropriateness of language and discerning reliability of constructs. As a consequence some entities and constructs were reviewed and subsequently changed while others were omitted to ensure the instrument was manageable for participants, e.g. ‘...*my parents*’ were redefined as ‘...*my mother*’ and, ‘...*my father*’.

4.6 Application of ISA to research Aims and Objectives

ISA enables the exploration of complex issues by providing a unique conceptual framework underpinned by theoretical postulates allowing “empirically grounded theoretical propositions” (Weinreich, 2003 p.109) to be built from the findings of customised identity instruments. The formalised ISA theoretical postulates can be accessed at Appendix 12. For the purpose of this study a number of research postulates were composed:

Postulate 1

FPMP who were on the Protest will be characterised by vulnerability in identity states both in the short and longer-term as a consequence of their imprisonment.

Postulate 2

The experience of the Protest will have short and long-term negative psychological effects for FPMP revealed in their processes of identification with ‘a person with emotional or psychological difficulties’ (15).

Postulate 3

Being 'subject to a traumatic situation' on the Protest will affect a jaundiced reshaping of FPMP belief systems in accordance with the propositions of worldview-based models of trauma such as 'shattered assumptions theory' (Janoff-Bulman, 1992) i.e. tracking modulations in trauma-related constructs will show negative changes in values and beliefs in the short-term and prolonged effects across the life span.

Postulate 4

The salience of the Protest to how FPMP have reformulated their identity at 50-65 years will be seen in (a) the prolonged impact on values and beliefs (b) the prolonged influence on processes of identification (c) the extent to which FPMP are currently ego-involved with entities and issues related to the Protest and political imprisonment.

Postulate 5

Various traumatic and negative psychological experiences will likely reverberate with the experience of imprisonment and the Protest. This will be evidenced by similar patterns of identification for (a) Aidan and (b) Sean (Black, 2003).

Chapter 5: Results

5.1 Postulate 1

FPMP who were on the Protest will be characterised by vulnerability in identity states both in the short and longer-term as a consequence of their imprisonment.

Herman (1992), proposed that coercive captivity where there is repeated or chronic trauma due to constant threat, humiliation and attempts at psychological domination will result in a contaminated identity. Further, prisoners and former prisoners whose identities have been thus ‘contaminated’ will likely contend with shame and self-loathing in a devalued sense of self, i.e. identity states characterised by negativity and vulnerability. In ISA identity variants give estimations of well-adjusted or vulnerable identity states and indications of psychological stability. These are global overviews of people’s identity processes based solely on measures of identity diffusion and self-evaluation.

Table 3 Self-image: Aidan

Self-image Aidan	Self-evaluation (SE) (- 1.00 to 1.00)	Identity diffusion (ID) (0.00 to 1.00)	Ego-involvement (Ei) (0.00 to 1.00)	Identity Variant
(01) ISI	1.00	0.35	5.00	Confident
(02) CIS	-0.70	0.35	4.87	Negative
(03) CS1	-0.42	0.33	4.37	Negative
(04) CS2	-0.39	0.33	4.37	Negative
(05) CS3	-0.44	0.34	3.99	Negative
(06) PS1	-0.39	0.36	3.67	Negative
(07) PS2	-0.29	0.34	4.49	Negative
(08) PS3	-0.28	0.34	4.56	Negative
(09) PS4	-0.52	0.35	4.49	Negative

ISI Me, as I would ideally like to be

PS1 Me, as a young person in the years before conflict & imprisonment

CIS1 Me, as I would ideally not like to be

PS2 Me, when on the Blanket Protest

- CS1 Me, as I am now
 CS2 Me, as a parent
 CS3 Me, when in the company of others
 PS3 Me, as I was in the time soon after prison
 PS4 Me, as I was as in the aftermath of other traumatic experiences

Table 4 Self-image Sean

Self-image Sean	Self-evaluation (SE) (- 1.00 to 1.00)	Identity diffusion (ID) (0.00 to 1.00)	Ego-involvement (Ei) (0.00 to 1.00)	Identity Variant
(01) IS1	0.96	0.31	4.71	Confident
(02) CIS1	-0.60	0.42	5.00	Crisis
(03) CS1	-0.11	0.44	4.56	Crisis
(04) CS2	-0.06	0.44	4.26	Crisis
(05) CS3	-0.07	0.44	3.46	Crisis
(06) PS1	-0.29	0.34	3.60	Negative
(07) PS2	0.03	0.41	3.97	Negative
(08) PS3	-0.37	0.45	4.26	Crisis
(09) PS4	-0.45	0.48	4.49	Crisis

- IS1 Me, as I would ideally like to be
 CIS1 Me, as I would ideally not like to be
 CS1 Me, as I am now
 CS2 Me, as a parent
 CS3 Me, when in the company of others
 PS1 Me, as a young person in the years before conflict & imprisonment
 PS2 Me, when on the Blanket Protest
 PS3 Me, as I was in the time soon after prison
 PS4 Me, as I was as in the aftermath of other traumatic experiences

Aidan’s and Sean’s identity variants show current self (CS1) characterised by vulnerable identity states whereby Sean is classified as ‘Crisis’ and Aidan as ‘Negative’ thus indicating susceptibility to emotional and psychological instability (Weinreich, 2003). However, for both this vulnerability goes back to before the conflict (PS1) and persists across the life course (Table: 3; 4).

Aidan displays a persistent and enduring negativity throughout his life with no clear evidence from identity variants alone of substantial negative change on the Blanket Protest (PS2). Sean too is simply characterised by the identity variant ‘Negative’ when ‘on the Blanket Protest’

(PS2). However, in the case of Sean, Table 4 shows an escalation in identity diffusion [0.34 to 0.41] at PS2 such that the Blanket Protest can be understood as a time of transition from a 'Negative' state to tending more towards the problematic and prolonged 'Crisis' that becomes endemic from 'the years soon after imprisonment' (PS3); 'when on the Blanket Protest' (PS2), Sean becomes less grounded in a coherent sense of self and identity while experiencing increased psychological stress and instability.

Further, while identity diffusion increases for Sean [0.34 to 0.41] it decreases for Aidan [0.36 to 0.34] and at the same time self-evaluation for both improves such that these are the highest across the life span (Aidan: PS2 -0.29; Sean: PS2 0.03) (at PS3, Aidan's SE is -0.28 but the difference is insignificant). Essentially, this suggests that involvement in the Blanket Protest is appraised by both as a somewhat enhancing experience in terms of their sense of self-worth.

In respect of Postulate 1, therefore, although identity variants have been usefully discriminating for other studies (e.g. Black, 2002) here they have been limited in differentiating the meaning of vulnerability for each individual. Indeed, information from other data demonstrates that the impact of the Protest on identity processes is more complex than can be usefully understood by generalised concepts. Results showing increased self-worth in a traumatic situation, for example, are unexpected and unexplained, although Black (2002) comments that people sometimes positively overestimate their response in traumatic circumstances.

5.2 Postulate 2

The experience of the Protest will have short and long-term negative psychological effects for FPMP revealed in their processes of identification with 'a person with emotional or psychological difficulties' (15).

Table 5 Modulations of empathetic-identifications (EI) Aidan

Modulations of empathetic-identifications: Aidan	CS1	CS2	CS3		PS1	PS2	PS3	PS4
(15) a person with emotional/ psychological difficulties	0.65	0.65	0.60		0.59	0.55	0.60	0.65
(16) a victim of abuse	0.65	0.60	0.65		0.53	0.55	0.60	0.65
(12) my mother	0.40	0.40	0.40		0.41	0.55	0.45	0.40
(19) a political prisoner	0.40	0.40	0.40		0.35	0.55	0.45	0.30
(11) my father	0.35	0.35	0.35		0.41	0.50	0.40	0.25
(18) friends and comrades ... on the Blanket Protest	0.35	0.35	0.35		0.29	0.50	0.40	0.35

CS1 Me, as I am now

PS1 Me, as a young person in the years before conflict & imprisonment

CS2 Me, as a parent

PS2 Me, when on the Blanket Protest

CS3 Me, when in the company of others

PS3 Me, as I was in the time soon after prison

PS4 Me, as I was as in the aftermath of other traumatic experiences

Table 6 Modulations of empathetic-identifications (EI) Sean

Modulations of empathetic-identifications: Sean	CS1	CS2	CS3		PS1	PS2	PS3	PS4
(15) a person with emotional/ psychological difficulties	0.80	0.68	0.80		0.29	0.55	0.80	0.88
(16) a victim of abuse	0.75	0.74	0.75		0.24	0.65	0.65	0.88
(10) me as others in my community see me	0.60	0.58	0.60		0.41	0.45	0.70	0.71
(11) my father	0.50	0.47	0.50		0.47	0.40	0.60	0.71
(13) my spouse/ partner	0.55	0.63	0.55		0.41	0.60	0.55	0.71
(14) my closest friends and family	0.55	0.58	0.55		0.47	0.55	0.55	0.53
(12) my mother	0.40	0.53	0.40		0.18	0.50	0.30	0.47
(22) Republicans as I know them of old	0.40	0.47	0.40		0.18	0.45	0.35	0.35
(18) friends and comrades...on the Blanket Protest	0.35	0.37	0.35		0.12	0.50	0.25	0.29
(19) a political prisoner	0.45	0.53	0.45		0.12	0.50	0.40	0.53

CS1 Me, as I am now

PS1 Me, as a young person in the years before conflict & imprisonment

CS2 Me, as a parent

PS2 Me, when on the Blanket Protest

CS3 Me, when in the company of others

PS3 Me, as I was in the time soon after prison

PS4 Me, as I was as in the aftermath of other traumatic experiences

Table 7 Modulations of conflicted identifications (CI) Aidan

Modulations of conflicted identifications: Aidan	CS1	CS2	CS3		PS1	PS2	PS3	PS4
(15) a person with emotional/ psychological difficulties	0.70	0.70	0.67		0.66	0.64	0.67	0.70
(16) a victim of abuse	0.62	0.60	0.62		0.56	0.57	0.60	0.62
(19) a political prisoner	0.35	0.35	0.35		0.33	0.41	0.37	0.30
(23) Sinn Fein nowadays	0.20	0.20	0.28		0.43	0.24	0.24	0.35
(20) the Stormont Assembly	0.30	0.30	0.30		0.35	0.26	0.32	0.35
(21) armed forces opposed to Republicans	0.24	0.24	0.24		0.35	0.21	0.27	0.27
(18) friends and comrades ... on the Blanket Protest	0.30	0.30	0.30		0.27	0.35	0.32	0.30

CS1 Me, as I am now

PS1 Me, as a young person in the years before conflict & imprisonment

CS2 Me, as a parent

PS2 Me, when on the Blanket Protest

CS3 Me, when in the company of others

PS3 Me, as I was in the time soon after prison

PS4 Me, as I was as in the aftermath of other traumatic experiences

Table 8 Modulations of conflicted identifications (CI) Sean

Modulations of conflicted identifications: Sean	CS1	CS2	CS3		PS1	PS2	PS3	PS4
(15) a person with emotional/ psychological difficulties	0.63	0.58	0.63		0.38	0.52	0.63	0.66
(10) me as others in my community see me	0.62	0.61	0.62		0.52	0.54	0.67	0.68
(16) a victim of abuse	0.61	0.61	0.61		0.34	0.57	0.57	0.66
(11) my father	0.57	0.55	0.57		0.55	0.51	0.62	0.68
(13) my spouse/ partner	0.50	0.53	0.50		0.43	0.52	0.50	0.56
(14) my closest friends and family	0.50	0.51	0.50		0.46	0.50	0.50	0.49
(19) a political prisoner	0.40	0.43	0.40		0.20	0.42	0.37	0.43
(21) armed forces opposed to Republicans	0.35	0.38	0.35		0.34	0.35	0.40	0.38

CS1 Me, as I am now

PS1 Me, as a young person in the years before conflict & imprisonment

CS2 Me, as a parent

PS2 Me, when on the Blanket Protest

CS3 Me, when in the company of others

PS3 Me, as I was in the time soon after prison

PS4 Me, as I was as in the aftermath of other traumatic experiences

In reformulating their identity at 50-65 both respondents construe self in the present day (CS1) as similar to ‘a person with emotional or psychological difficulties’ (15) (EI: Aidan 0.65; Sean 0.80) (Table: 5; 6). This involves stressful negative affect and indications of psychological vulnerability as demonstrated by very low self-evaluation and considerable conflicted identification (CS1: Aidan CI 0.70, SE -0.42; Sean CI 0.63, SE -0.11) (Table: 3;

4; 7; 8). However, conflicted identifications also show that some instability and uncomfortable psychological dissonance predates the Blanket Protest and is continuous across the life span (Table: 7; 8).

In appraising self specifically in relation to the Protest (PS2) conflicted identifications (Table: 7; 8) show that both contend with a sense of self as ‘a person with emotional or psychological difficulty’ (15) (Aidan 0.64; Sean 0.52) increasing considerably from ‘me as a young person’ (PS1) for Sean [0.38 to 0.52] and continuing to be substantial for Aidan [0.66 to 0.64]. Therefore, with regard to the immediate impact of the Protest on psychological well-being only Sean shows clear evidence of aggravated effects with escalating empathetic and conflicted identification in respect of ‘a person with emotional or psychological difficulties’ (15) (Table 4: ID 0.34 to 0.41; Table: 6; 8). For Aidan, there is, in fact, a lessening of conflicted identification [0.66 to 0.64] (Table: 7) and improvement in identity diffusion [0.36 to 0.34] and self-evaluation [-0.39 to -0.29] (Table: 3).

However, ‘when on the Blanket Protest’ (PS2) for both Aidan and Sean there is an escalation in conflicted identification with ‘a victim of abuse’ (16) from PS1 as ‘a young person’ (Table 7: Aidan 0.56 to 0.57; Table 8: Sean 0.34 to 0.57), i.e. they see themselves as increasing in similarity to an abused person but also wanting to dissociate from any perceived corresponding negative characteristics and attributes. Given the extent to which each construes this entity as a negative role model (Table 9: Aidan 0.60; Table 10: Sean 0.50) this is also a measure of negative psychological impact for both at this time.

Table 9 Negative aspirational identifications Aidan

Negative aspirational identifications: Aidan Entity (entity No)	Contra-identifications (0.00 to 1.00)	Ego-involvement (0.00 to 5.00)
(15) a person with emotional or psychological difficulties	0.75	3.73
(16) a victim of abuse	0.60	3.23

Table 10 Negative aspirational identifications Sean

Negative aspirational identifications: Sean Entity (entity No)	Contra-identifications (0.00 to 1.00)	Ego-involvement (0.00 to 5.00)
(10) me as others in my community see me	0.65	2.87
(11) my father	0.65	3.82
(15) a person with emotional or psychological difficulties	0.50	4.04
(16) a victim of abuse	0.50	4.12
(13) my spouse/ partner	0.45	3.46
(14) my closest friends and family	0.45	2.94

It is also notable that Aidan is substantially conflicted about self as ‘a victim of abuse’ (15) before conflict and imprisonment (PS1) [0.56] (Table: 7) (pointing to an ‘abusive’ earlier experience) suggesting this has more prominence for him than for Sean, i.e. both as a young person (PS1) and when imprisoned on the Protest (PS2) the linkage between victimhood, abuse and psychological problems are more negatively meaningful for Aidan. Black (2002) explains that people who have experienced trauma likely tap into uncomfortable emotional residue of previous biographical experience when appraising self in the past. Therefore, in appraising self in the context of the Blanket Protest Aidan likely taps into prior experience as ‘a victim of abuse’ (16). Thus, this would be the more meaningful expression of his psychological struggle to cope and assimilate his newer experience into a reconstructed identity that has continuity and makes sense. This can explain why Aidan’s considerable psychological conflict in relation to self as ‘a person with emotional or psychological

difficulties' (15) slightly reduces while his sense of self as 'a victim of abuse' (16), having particular personal meaning for him, is more emphasised.

Furthermore, while the decrease in identity diffusion for Aidan implies resolution of conflicted identifications from PS1 to PS2 the entities to which these apply are not contextually relevant to 'me as a young person' (PS1). However, they are symbolically representative of attributes about which he is conflicted (contributing to an overall understanding of Aidan's identity processes) but the more relevant features here are his recognition of new difficulties pertaining to the immediate situation, i.e. increases in strength of conflicted identification with 'friends and comrades who were on the Blanket Protest' (18) [0.27 to 0.35] and 'a political prisoner' (19) [0.33 to 0.41], the latter then persisting into the present day (Table 7).

Therefore, while in the longer-term the postulate holds for both respondents it only appears to hold for Sean in the short-term as evidence of immediate impact. However, increased conflicted identifications with other entities relevant to the situation show the experience of the Protest had negative psychological consequences for Aidan also (Table 7). This is further supported by reference to modulations in trauma-related constructs (see Postulate 3, Table 11).

5.3 Postulate 3

Being 'subject to a traumatic situation' on the Protest will affect a jaundiced reshaping of FPMP belief systems in accordance with the propositions of worldview-based models of

trauma such as ‘shattered assumptions theory’ (Janoff-Bulman, 1992), i.e. tracking modulations in trauma-related constructs will show negative changes in values and beliefs in the short-term and prolonged effects across the life span.

Table 11 Modulations in trauma-related constructs over time Aidan (endorsed pole in red)

Modulations in trauma-related constructs over time: Aidan	PS1	PS2	PS3	PS4	CS1	CS2	CS3
(12) ...believe people are mostly trustworthy// ... often have feelings of mistrust and suspicion	+ 3	- 3	- 3	- 3	- 4	- 4	- 3
(13) ... often lack a sense of purpose and meaning in life// ...feel positive about achievements and lasting contributions to life	- 4	- 4	- 4	- 4	- 3	- 3	- 2
(14) ...is prone to strong surges of anger and angry outbursts// ...is even tempered and tolerant	- 1	+ 3	- 2	- 4	- 2	+ 2	- 1
(15) ...can often feel a sense of disconnection or want to detach from others//...has a good sense of connection with people and life generally	- 3	- 3	- 4	- 4	- 4	- 4	- 4
(16) ... often has a sense that something unpleasant or unwanted could happen//... is mostly relaxed about life	+ 3	- 4	- 3	- 4	- 4	- 4	- 3
(17) ...has underlying feelings of shame about their personal character// ...rarely experiences feelings of shame & is very satisfied about the kind of person they are	- 4	- 2	- 4	- 4	- 4	- 4	- 4
(18) ...believe the world is a safe and secure place// ...feel the world isn't safe, where bad things happen randomly	+ 3	- 4	- 4	- 4	- 4	- 4	- 3
(19) ...is sensitive or prone to feelings of guilt// ...is rarely bothered by guilt or conscience	+ 3	- 4	- 4	- 4	- 4	- 4	- 4
(20) ...enjoys the intimacy of close relationships// ...finds the intimacy of close relationships difficult	- 4	+ 3	- 4	- 3	- 4	- 3	- 3

PS1 Me, as a young person in the years before conflict & imprisonment

PS2 Me, when on the Blanket Protest

PS3 Me, as I was in the time soon after prison

PS4 Me, as I was as in the aftermath of other traumatic experiences

CS1 Me, as I am now

CS2 Me, as a parent

CS3 Me, when in the company of others

Table 12 Modulations in trauma-related constructs over time Sean (endorsed pole in red)

Modulations in trauma-related constructs over time: Sean	PS1	PS2	PS3	PS4	CS1	CS2	CS3
(12) ...believe people are mostly trustworthy// ... often have feelings of mistrust and suspicion	+ 3	+ 3	- 4	- 4	- 3	- 4	- 1

(13) ... often lack a sense of purpose and meaning in life// ...feel positive about achievements and lasting contributions to life	+ 3	+ 2	- 4	- 4	- 3	- 3	- 3
(14) ...is prone to strong surges of anger and angry outbursts// ...is even tempered and tolerant	- 4	- 2	- 4	- 4	- 3	- 1	- 1
(15) ...can often feel a sense of disconnection or want to detach from others//...has a good sense of connection with people and life generally	+ 2	- 2	- 4	- 4	- 4	- 4	- 4
(16) ... often has a sense something that unpleasant or unwanted could happen//... is mostly relaxed about life	+ 2	- 3	- 4	- 4	- 4	- 3	- 2
(17) ...has underlying feelings of shame about their personal character// ...rarely experiences feelings of shame & is very satisfied about the kind of person they are	- 4	- 4	- 4	- 4	- 4	- 4	- 4
(18) ...believe the world is a safe and secure place// ...feel the world isn't safe, where bad things happen randomly	+ 1	- 4	- 4	- 4	- 4	- 4	- 3
(19) ...is sensitive or prone to feelings of guilt// ...is rarely bothered by guilt or conscience	- 3	+ 1	+ 2	+ 4	+ 4	+ 4	+ 4
(20) ...enjoys the intimacy of close relationships// ...finds the intimacy of close relationships difficult	- 2	- 2	+ 2	- 2	+ 1	- 4	+ 1

PS1 Me, as a young person in the years before conflict & imprison

PS2 Me, when on the Blanket Protest

PS3 Me, as I was in the time soon after prison

PS4 Me, as I was as in the aftermath of other traumatic experiences

CS1 Me, as I am now

CS2 Me, as a parent

CS3 Me, when in the company of others

Table 11 shows that in the present day the negative pole of all trauma-related constructs are endorsed by Aidan. Table 12 indicates a similar situation for Sean with the exception of ‘enjoying intimacy in close relationships’ (20) (albeit affirmed to a minimal degree [+1]) and being ‘sensitive or prone to feelings of guilt’ (19) which is, in fact, held in contradiction [-31.03] (Table 16) - it is also worth noting that Table 16 shows Sean strongly conflicted regarding feelings of guilt [-31.03] and in Table 12 the pole endorsed as aspirational is what most people would find disagreeable. Therefore, ‘proneness to feelings of guilt’ (19) is a construct that has to be viewed throughout as a core arena of stress suggesting underlying feelings of deserving to be so. For both, this rather bleak sense of self, others and the world, is added to by current feelings of being ‘not that necessary to the lives of others’ (11),

construing self as ‘introverted, standoffish, reserved’ (02) and, possessing a strong awareness of their own mortality (09) (Appendix 15: Individual Entity Ratings [IE Ratings], ‘me as I am now’).

Table 11 further shows that in addition to other extant negative beliefs (PS1) such as a sense of detachment and feelings of shame about his personal character Aidan acknowledges that ‘on the Blanket protest’ (PS2) he also becomes highly sensitive or prone to feelings of guilt (19) [+3 to -4], now ‘believes the world is unsafe where bad things happen randomly’ (18) [+3 to -4], has a more heightened sense of threat (16) [+3 to -4] and no longer believes that people are mostly trustworthy (12) [+3 to -4]. Essentially, Aidan indicates that ‘when on the Blanket Protest’ (PS2) his belief system changed such that 7 of the 9 constructs designated as trauma-related become embedded in a cognitive schema of negative beliefs about self, others and his social world.

Table 12 shows that Sean affirms that before conflict and imprisonment (PS1) he had a relatively strong belief in people as mostly trustworthy (12), registering also that he felt some positivity about his achievements and life contributions (13), had a good sense of connection with people (15) while feeling relaxed about life (16) and, living in a world that is generally safe and secure (18). While these aspects of Sean’s value and belief system suggest someone who is generally insouciant and positively involved with life and people, yet there are also issues with anger (14), [-4] shame (17) [-4], guilt (19) [-3] (the latter as a core arena of stress throughout) and difficulty with intimacy in relationships (20) [-2] that are mentioned in the literature as symptomatic of trauma stress (Stotz et al., 2015; APA: DSM-IV, 1994). Looked at alongside the existence of very low self-evaluation but moderate identity diffusion (Table

4: SE -0.29; ID 0.34) indications are of underlying emotional and psychological difficulties before conflict and imprisonment.

At PS2, 'on the Blanket Protest' while Sean retains a sense of trustworthiness in people and, to a lesser degree, feelings of achievement and contributions to life, all other trauma-related constructs have changed notably. Sean's belief system is now strongly indicative of someone impacted by a negative psychological experience involving traumatic stress such that he 'feels a sense of disconnection or of wanting to detach from others' (15), he perceives the world in which he lives as not 'safe where bad things happen randomly' (18) and often has a strong sense that 'something unpleasant or unwanted could happen' (16). In essence, his world view and sense of self have evolved from holding some degree of positivity, sense of safety and connection with others to become characterised by detachment, uncertainty and a pervasive sense of danger.

In summary: In relation to the immediate impact of the Protest situation, both Aidan and Sean acknowledge that former feelings of being 'mostly relaxed about life' (16) were transformed into hypervigilance regarding imminent danger (16) and, viewing the world as not safe or predictable, where bad things happen randomly (18). This is underscored for Sean in a heightened awareness of mortality while Aidan's embedded sense of life's fragility continues from the time of self 'as a young person' (PS1) (Appendix 15: IE Ratings). For both there is also an awakening of sensitivity/ proneness to feelings of guilt (19) (Table: 11; 12) which can suggest earlier negative/ traumatic experiences reverberating with that of the Protest (Lee et al., 2001). Essentially, the data shows that both experienced a darkening worldview when subject to this traumatic situation.

Table 13 Core-evaluative dimensions of identity Aidan

Core-evaluative Dimensions of Identity: Aidan Construct pole left (Construct No)	Construct pole right	Structural Pressure [SP -100 to 100] Highest/ Core
can often feel a sense of disconnection or want to detach from others (15)	<i>has a good sense of connection with people and life generally</i>	100.00 (ES10.00)
has underlying feelings of shame about their personal character (17)	<i>rarely experiences feelings of shame and is very satisfied about the kind of person they are</i>	98.69 (ES 9.87)
often lack a sense of purpose or meaning in life (13)	<i>feel positive about achievements and lasting contributions in life</i>	96.77 (ES 9.68)
<i>feel others need them in their lives (11)</i>	don't feel they are that necessary to the lives of others	91.98 (ES 9.89)
is sensitive or prone to feelings of guilt (19)	<i>is rarely bothered by guilt or conscience</i>	86.57 (ES 9.66)
<i>enjoys the intimacy of close relationships (20)</i>	find the intimacy of close relationships difficult	83.99
<i>is assertive, outgoing, sociable (02)</i>	is introverted, stand-offish, reserved	83.05
often has a sense that something unpleasant or unwanted could happen (16)	<i>is mostly relaxed about life</i>	75.20
regard constitutional politics as an obstacle loaded against Republican ideals (06)	<i>see constitutional politics as a way to progress Republicanism</i>	65.22
has an awareness of mortality (09)	<i>rarely contemplates how fragile life is</i>	62.48
<i>believe people are mostly trustworthy (12)</i>	often have feelings of mistrust and suspicion	56.43
<i>believe the world is a safe and secure place (18)</i>	feel the world isn't safe, where bad things happen randomly	54.68

(endorsed pole in italics)

Table 14 Core-evaluative dimensions of identity Sean

Core-evaluative dimensions of identity Sean Construct pole left (Construct No)	Construct pole right	Structural Pressure [SP -100 to 100] Highest/ Core
is prone to strong surges of anger (14)	<i>is even tempered and tolerant</i>	92.31 ES 9.82
often lack a sense of purpose or meaning in life (13)	<i>feel positive about achievements and lasting contributions in life</i>	81.14 ES 8.91
<i>feel others need them in their lives (11)</i>	don't feel they are that necessary to the lives of others	78.26 ES 9.65
has underlying feelings of shame about their personal character (17)	<i>rarely experiences feelings of shame and is very satisfied about the kind of person they are</i>	73.70 ES 10.00
often has a sense that something unpleasant or unwanted might happen (16)	<i>is mostly relaxed about life</i>	63.80 ES 8.39

can often feel a sense of disconnection or want to detach from others (15)	<i>has a good sense of connection with people and life generally</i>	62.93 ES 8.02
<i>believe people are mostly trustworthy</i> (12)	often have feelings of mistrust and suspicion	62.88 ES 9.35
<i>is assertive, outgoing, sociable</i> (02)	is introverted, stand-offish, reserved	51.28

(endorsed pole in italics)

Further, both have organised core-evaluative dimensions of identity (Table: 13; 14) largely around clusters of beliefs and attributes designated within this identity instrument as ‘trauma-related’, i.e. they aspire to ‘believe that people are mostly trustworthy’ (12), ‘feel positive about achievements and contributions to life’ (13), ‘have a good sense of connection with people and life generally’ (15), be ‘mostly relaxed about life’ (16) and, ‘rarely experience feelings of shame’ (17). For Sean this is accompanied by an aspiration to be ‘even tempered and tolerant’ (14) and for Aidan to ‘believe the world is a safe place’ (18), ‘be rarely bothered by guilt’ (19) and to ‘enjoy the intimacy of close relationships’ (20). However, self-construal at CS1 ‘me as I am now’, shows that, (with the exception of ‘enjoying intimacy in close relationships’ [+1] for Sean) neither of the respondents have endorsed these constructs such that self is characterised by what would be considered positive attributes and beliefs (Table: 11; 12).

Therefore, the fact that practically all designated trauma-related constructs are endorsed at the negative pole (Table: 11; 12) and, a notable number of unachieved core-evaluative dimensions of identity are organised around many of these same constructs (Table: 13; 14), points to core aspects of the respondents’ belief systems having been reshaped by traumatic experience. That many of these are held as core-evaluative dimensions of identity also suggests that, at some level Aidan and Sean have an awareness of the influence of trauma in their lives and aspire to achieve resolution as a priority, e.g. Aidan’s aspirations to have ‘a

good sense of connection with people and with life generally' (15) (SP 100.00; ES 10.00). The reality, however, is that there are no indications of reconstructed values and beliefs whereby traumatic experiences have been integrated into a new world view and self-image (Black, 2002). Moreover, the self-knowledge of being disparate from their core aspirations likely contributes to their generally devalued sense of self.

Therefore, the prolonged negative reconfigurations of cognitive schemas regarding trauma-related constructs illustrates the case for Postulate 3. Although there are individual differences, an overview of both profiles show developing processes from before, to 'when on the Blanket Protest' (PS2), then after imprisonment and, on into the present day. The evidence is of the 'Blanket Protest' as a transformative time of negative change in Aidan and Sean's belief systems, individually variable but part of a broader process over time whereby there is an increasingly expansive and pervasive negativity in beliefs linked to the impact of trauma.

5.4 Postulate 4

The salience of the Protest to how FPMP have reformulated their identity at 50-65 years will be seen in (a) the prolonged impact on values and beliefs (b) the prolonged influence on processes of identification (c) the extent to which FPMP are currently ego-involved with entities and issues related to the Protest and political imprisonment.

Tracking modulations of trauma-related constructs has provided one source of evidence about the salience of the Protest to current identity development by mapping the progression

of change across time from PS2 ‘when on the Blanket Protest’. However, beyond the content of these changes conflicted dimensions of identity reveal those aspects of the respondents’ belief systems with which they currently contend in reformulating identity at 50-65 years.

Table 15 Conflicted dimensions of identity Aidan

Conflicted dimensions of identity: Aidan		Structural Pressure [SP -100 to 100]
Construct pole left (Construct No)	Construct pole right	Lowest
<i>can be trusted</i> (03)	can't be trusted	08.37 Conflicted (ES 9.87)
isn't that bothered about religious or spiritual matters (10)	<i>attaches great importance to religious or spiritual matters</i>	-02.51 Conflicted
believe a united Ireland is essential for a just and lasting peace (04)	<i>think a united Ireland is not the only just way to resolve the political situation</i>	-21.51 Contradictory
feel the Hunger Strike was right and necessary for change (05)	<i>feel the deaths of the Hunger Strikers was an unnecessary waste of life</i>	-25.82 Contradictory

(endorsed pole in italics)

Table 16 Conflicted dimensions of identity Sean

Conflicted dimensions of identity: Sean		Structural Pressure [SP -100 to 100]
Construct pole left (Construct No)	Construct Pole right	Highest/ Core
<i>is loving and caring</i> (01)	is mean spirited or self-centred	10.38 Conflicted ES 9.15
regard constitutional politics as an obstacle loaded against Republican ideals (06)	<i>see constitutional politics as a way to progress Republicanism</i>	5.38 Conflicted
isn't that bothered about religious or spiritual matters (10)	<i>attaches great importance to religious or spiritual matters</i>	-0.11 Conflicted
<i>isn't at all disillusioned about Republicanism and the conflict</i> (07)	is disillusioned about Republicanism and the conflict	-1.77 Conflicted
<i>has an awareness of mortality</i> (09)	rarely contemplates how fragile life is	-4.67 Conflicted ES 8.77
believe a united Ireland is essential for a just and lasting peace (04)	<i>think a united Ireland is not the only just way to resolve the political situation</i>	-17.34 Conflicted
<i>is sensitive or prone to feelings of guilt</i> (19)	is rarely bothered by guilt or conscience	-31.03 Contradictory ES 8.47

(endorsed pole in italics)

Conflicted dimensions of identity demonstrate that rather than reclaiming “a coherent, culturally-situated identity” by satisfactorily reconfiguring their life narratives (Abernathy, 2008 p.201) both respondents currently contend with reappraisals of profound beliefs and experiences about Republicanism, imprisonment and the conflict in light of today’s socio-political context. Belief about a united Ireland as essential to a just and lasting peace (04) is a strongly conflicted dimension of identity for both with similar anxieties about Republicanism’s involvement in constitutional politics (06), i.e. for Sean the latter is a conflicted dimension of identity (Table: 16) whereas Aidan aspires to feel positive about it but does not believe it is a way to progress Republicanism (Table: 13; Appendix 15: IE Ratings, Aidan CS1 -3); Sean is currently conflicted in regard to being disillusioned about Republicanism and the conflict (Table: 16) while Aidan is much less uncertain and is clearly dissatisfied (Appendix 15: IE Ratings, Aidan CS1 -3); both also contend with issues to do with the Hunger Strike, i.e. Aidan currently holds a contradictory position in regard to it (Table: 15 [-25.82]) while Sean has always believed the Hunger Strike was an unnecessary waste of life (Appendix 15: IE Ratings, Sean PS2 -4 to CS1 -4).

Given the circumstances of their lives, Tables 15 and 16 show significantly meaningful psychological conflicts about core beliefs that traverse the life span and connect to a wide range of experiences, relationships, existential aspects of identity and the cost of conflict and political imprisonment, e.g. the deaths of the Hunger Strikers and deprivations of continuing criminalisation. Therefore, amid profound reappraisals of Republicanism and the conflict in a contemporary context, issues that are personally relevant regarding the Protest and political imprisonment remain unfinished business. Although Aidan is more psychologically engaged with Sinn Fein (23) [Ei 4.75] and the Stormont Assembly [Ei 4.56] he is highly ego-involved

with self ‘on the Blanket Protest’ (PS2) [Ei 4.49], ‘friends and comrades’ (18) from the time (18) [Ei 4.49], ‘a political prisoner (19) [Ei 4.49] and ‘Republicans as I know them of old’ (22) [Ei 4.49] (Table: 17), with the latter three entities also seen as positive role models [0.75; 0.75; 0.70] (Table: 18).

Table 17 Ego-involvement (Ei) and Evaluation Aidan

Ego-involvement and Evaluation: Aidan Entity (entity No)	Ego-involvement (Ei) (0.00 to 5.00)	Evaluation (-1.00 to 1.00)
(01) me, as I would ideally like to be	5.00	1.00
(02) me, as I would not like to be	4.87	-0.70
(23) Sinn Fein nowadays	4.75	0.22
(17) a person I have high regard for	4.62	0.75
(08) me, as I was in the time soon after prison	4.56	-0.28
(10) me, as others in my community see me	4.56	0.73
(11) my father	4.56	0.68
(20) the Stormont Assembly	4.56	0.30
(21) armed forces opposed to Republicans (UK Gov etc)	4.56	0.32
(07) me, when on the Blanket Protest	4.49	-0.29
(09) me, as I was in the aftermath of other traumatic experiences	4.49	- 0.52
(18) friends and comrades who were on the Blanket Protest	4.49	0.47
(19) a political prisoner	4.49	0.39
(22) Republicans as I know them of old	4.49	0.44
(12) my mother	4.43	0.56
(03) me, as I am now	4.37	-0.42
(04) me, as a parent	4.37	-0.39
(13) my spouse/ partner	4.37	0.80
(14) my closest friends and family	4.24	0.80
(05) me, when in company with others	3.99	-0.44
(06) me, as a young person in the years before conflict and Imprisonment	3.67	-0.39

Table 18 Positive aspirational identifications Aidan

Positive aspirational identifications: Aidan Entity (entity No)	Idealistic-identifications (0.00 to 1.00)	Ego-involvement (Ei) (0.00 to 5.00)
(13) my spouse/partner	0.95	4.37
(14) my closest friends and family	0.95	4.24
(10) me, as others in my community see me	0.90	4.56
(17) a person I have high regard for	0.90	4.62
(11) my father	0.85	4.56
(12) my mother	0.80	4.43

(18) friends and comrades....on the Blanket Protest	0.75	4.49
(22) Republicans as I know them of old	0.75	4.49
(19) a political prisoner	0.70	4.49

Table 19 indicates that Sean is much more internally focused on self in the present [Ei 4.56], as a result of other traumas (PS4) [Ei 4.49] and reviewing life mainly from after imprisonment into the present. However, his ego-involvement with self ‘on the Blanket Protest’ (PS2) is not unsubstantial [Ei 3.97] and for both he and Aidan, ‘a political prisoner’ (19) consistently features as a conflicted identification from the time of the Protest (Table: 7; 8). It is notable too that they are both highly ego-involved with self in the ‘years soon after imprisonment’ (PS3) (Aidan Ei 4.56; Sean Ei 4.26) (Table: 17; 19). As an indirect commentary on the impact of conflict-related imprisonment this likely includes being reflective on the experience of the Protest. Hence, although individually more ego-involved with different entities and situations Aidan and Sean are, nonetheless, considerably engaged with self in relation to imprisonment and ‘the Blanket Protest’ (PS2).

Table 19 Ego-involvement (Ei) and Evaluation Sean

Ego-involvement and Evaluation: Sean	Ego-involvement (Ei) (0.00 to 5.00)	Evaluation (-1.00 to 1.00)
Entity (entity No)		
(02) me, as I would not like to be	5.00	-0.60
(01) me, as I would ideally like to be	4.71	0.96
(17) a person I have high regard for	4.63	1.00
(03) me, as I am now	4.56	-0.11
(09) me, as I was in the aftermath of other traumatic experiences	4.49	-0.45
(04) me, as a parent	4.26	-0.06
(08) me, as I was in the time soon after prison	4.26	-0.37
(16) a victim of abuse	4.12	-0.39
(07) me, when on the Blanket Protest	3.97	0.03
(10) my father	3.82	-0.76
(06) me, as a young person in the years before conflict and imprisonment	3.60	-0.29
(05) me, when in company with others	3.46	-0.07

(13) my spouse/partner	3.46	0.14
(14) my closest friends and family	2.94	0.03
(10) me as others in my community see me	2.87	-0.42

Therefore, with regard to Postulate 4, collating evidence from ego-involvement, conflicted dimensions of identity and conflicted identifications demonstrates that the experience of the Protest continues to have significant meaning and, is thereby salient to the underlying identity processes of the present. However, the data suggests that it is important to see this in the context of a wider reappraisal of involvement in Republicanism and the outworking of conflict transformation as they reconstruct their life narratives and identity at 50-65 years.

5.5 Postulate 5

Various traumatic and negative psychological experiences will likely reverberate with the experience of imprisonment and the Protest. This will be evidenced by similar patterns of identification for (a) Aidan and (b) Sean (Black, 2003).

Black (2003) postulated that previous traumatic experiences would reverberate with newer events and be evidenced by prolonged influence and “similar patterns of identification with significant others” (p.353) in relation to ‘me as I was in the aftermath of other traumatic experiences’ (PS4). In this study, this particularly involved ‘a person with emotional or psychological difficulties’ (15) and a ‘victim of abuse’ (16) as entities representative of persons with mental health difficulties and others who have experienced traumatic events. In fact, the ISA data does show that both Aidan and Sean display patterns of similarity in respect

of conflicted identification with the targeted entities and ‘me as I was in the aftermath of other traumatic experiences’ (PS4):

Table 7 Modulations of conflicted identifications (CI) Aidan

Modulations of conflicted identifications: Aidan	CS1	CS2	CS3		PS1	PS2	PS3	PS4
(15) a person with emotional/ psychological difficulties	0.70	0.70	0.67		0.66	0.64	0.67	0.70
(16) a victim of abuse	0.62	0.60	0.62		0.56	0.57	0.60	0.62
(19) a political prisoner	0.35	0.35	0.35		0.33	0.41	0.37	0.30
(23) Sinn Fein nowadays	0.20	0.20	0.28		0.43	0.24	0.24	0.35
(20) the Stormont Assembly	0.30	0.30	0.30		0.35	0.26	0.32	0.35
(21) armed forces opposed to Republicans	0.24	0.24	0.24		0.35	0.21	0.27	0.27
(18) friends and comrades ... on the Blanket Protest	0.30	0.30	0.30		0.27	0.35	0.32	0.30

CS1 Me, as I am now

PS1 Me, as a young person in the years before conflict & imprisonment

CS2 Me, as a parent

PS2 Me, when on the Blanket Protest

CS3 Me, when in the company of others

PS3 Me, as I was in the time soon after prison

PS4 Me, as I was as in the aftermath of other traumatic experiences

(a)

Table 7 shows at PS4 ‘me as I was in the aftermath of other traumatic experiences’ Aidan has conflicted identifications with ‘a person with emotional or psychological difficulties’ (15) and ‘a victim of abuse’ (16) corresponding with appraisals of self across all situated contexts from PS1 ‘as a young person’ to CS1 ‘me as I am now’. However, the most similarity in patterns of conflicted identifications are between PS1, ‘me as a young person’ and PS4, ‘after other traumatic experiences’ indicating strong reverberation between negative experiences from before the conflict and ‘other traumatic experiences’ (PS4) with the latter having more impact. The inclusion of ‘a political prisoner’ (19) as a conflicted identification in the context of ‘me when on the Blanket Protest’ (PS2) links some psychological difficulties to the Protest although not directly indicated here as strongly reverberating with other traumatic experiences. Nonetheless, in the present this continues as a consistent and active component of Aidan’s underlying identity processes.

Table 8 Modulations of conflicted identifications (CI) Sean

Modulations of conflicted-identifications: Sean	CS1	CS2	CS3		PS1	PS2	PS3	PS4
(15) a person with emotional/ psychological difficulties	0.63	0.58	0.63		0.38	0.52	0.63	0.66
(10) me as others in my community see me	0.62	0.61	0.62		0.52	0.54	0.67	0.68
(16) a victim of abuse	0.61	0.61	0.61		0.34	0.57	0.57	0.66
(11) my father	0.57	0.55	0.57		0.55	0.51	0.62	0.68
(13) my spouse/ partner	0.50	0.53	0.50		0.43	0.52	0.50	0.56
(14) my closest friends and family	0.50	0.51	0.50		0.46	0.50	0.50	0.49
(19) a political prisoner	0.40	0.43	0.40		0.20	0.42	0.37	0.43
(21) armed forces opposed to Republicans	0.35	0.38	0.35		0.34	0.35	0.40	0.38

CS1 Me, as I am now

PS1 Me, as a young person before conflict & imprisonment

CS2 Me, as a parent

PS2 Me, when on the Blanket Protest

CS3 Me, when in the company of others

PS3 Me, as I was in the time soon after prison

PS4 Me, as I was as in the aftermath of other traumatic experiences

(b)

In the case of Sean, identification conflicts increase generally from before conflict and imprisonment (PS1) to ‘me when on the Blanket protest’ (PS2) but most sharply with ‘a victim of abuse’ (16) [0.34 to 0.57], ‘a person with emotional or psychological difficulties’ (15) [0.38 to 0.52], and ‘a political prisoner’ (19) [0.20 to 0.42] (Table: 8). Thereafter, from PS2 ‘me when on the Blanket Protest’, Sean’s profiles of conflicted identifications situated in different contexts across time are similar to ‘me as I was in the aftermath of other traumatic experiences’ (PS4). Furthermore, increases and vacillations of magnitudes in respect of processes of identification generally and, conflicted identifications in particular, not only demonstrate the differential effects of various situations (Table: 8) they also propose the cumulative impact of interacting circumstances.

Other evidence for the reverberation of various experiences can be found in modulations of trauma-related constructs overall and regarding shame and guilt in particular. Shame and guilt are common self-conscious emotions that have been linked to cumulative stress and PTSD symptom severity (Stotz et al., 2015). Although often used interchangeably they arise

through different attributional networks from cognitive schemas that are core beliefs about the self and others. Lee et al., (2001) explain that chronic shame is a negative core belief developed in childhood that directly relates to early traumatic and psychologically adverse experiences. Thereafter, the potential exists for increased activation or, if dormant, later reactivation by other traumas. Aidan and Sean both have chronic shame-based feelings from PS1 'me as a young person' through to CS1 'me as I am now' (Tables: 11; 12) corresponding with other evidence of negative psychological experiences occurring before conflict and imprisonment (PS1). However, neither acknowledge being 'sensitive or prone to feelings of guilt' (19) at PS1 'as a young person' although Sean's conflicted dimensions of identity suggest the likelihood of such feelings underlying. But at PS2 'when on the Blanket Protest' both indicate difficulties regarding 'guilt' (Table: 11 Aidan +3 to -4; Table: 12 Sean -3 to +1) ('proneness to feelings of guilt' is endorsed by Sean at the positive pole as aspirational). Therefore, combining the evidence about chronic shame-based feelings originating from previous negative psychological experiences with the knowledge of links between shame and guilt in trauma symptomology (Stotz et al., 2015), and the insight from Lee et al., (2001) about underlying negative core self-beliefs becoming activated by other traumatic experiences, it is reasonable to postulate that the circumstances of the Protest reverberated with earlier experiences to activate 'sensitivity or proneness to feelings of guilt' (19).

Chapter 6: Discussion and conclusions

Discussion

The findings of this study concur with other research concerning FPMP in Ireland and wider literature regarding the trauma of coercive captivity, political imprisonment and POW experiences (Herman, 1992; Hamber, 2005; Solomon et al., 2012, Jamieson et al., 2010; Willis et al., 2015). A global overview of the data shows Aidan and Sean characterised by vulnerability in identity throughout their lives having encountered traumatic or negative psychological experiences as young people and progressively organising their sense of self around ‘a person with emotional or psychological difficulties’ (15) and ‘a victim of abuse’ (16). However, within this, the Blanket Protest is indicated as significant and transformative, not least because it is the time of highest self-evaluation but mainly as a catalytic experience in the evolution of a darkening worldview and sense of self. Other traumas and the post-prison period are shown to have been more adverse for identity and psychological well-being but generally the evidence is of progressively negative change regarding evolving identifications and belief systems indicative of having been impacted by trauma.

For both respondents their chronically negative self-image involves issues about shame, guilt, trust, anger, detachment, lack of purpose and meaning, safety and unpredictability, a heightened sense of threat, difficulties with intimacy in close relationships (Table: 11; 12) and a strong awareness of their own mortality (Appendix 15: IE Ratings, CS1 ‘me as I am now’), i.e. both Aidan and Sean appraise self as possessing attributes characteristic of contaminated identities (Herman, 1992) with belief systems that have been negatively

reshaped in accordance with propositions of ‘shattered assumptions’ and other theory as resulting from trauma (Janoff-Bulman, 1992). Although it should be noted that Mills (2010) has criticised ‘shattered assumptions’ theory for overgeneralising the ‘complex and nuanced phenomena of trauma response’ (Abstract), nonetheless, the validity of this study’s findings resides in the fact that many of the constructs here were also derived and verified by reference to various sources (Black, 2002; Bratton, 2010; Novaco & Chemtob, 2002; APA: DSM-IV, 1994) and are supplemented by other ISA data pertaining to the respondents’ processes of identification.

In fact, it is evident from the results here that using ISA as a methodology has enabled a comprehensive explication of various underlying processes providing ‘nuanced’ insights into the complexities of identity development in pursuance of the objectives of this study. For instance, relationship difficulties are an aspect of both short and long-term post-prison experience that commonly features in the literature regarding former political prisoners, those who have suffered war captivity and, is also linked to the impact of trauma (Shirlow, 2001; Hamber, 2005; Solomon et al., 2012; Jamieson et al., 2010). Here, along with tracking Sean’s modulations in trauma-related constructs and revealing how his worldview darkened over time ISA shows that in the role of parent (CS2) he has difficulty with closeness and intimacy in relationships (20), i.e. low self-evaluation [-0.06], substantial identity diffusion [4.44] (Table: 4) with strong affect regarding ‘difficulties with intimacy’ [-4] (Table: 12). Sean also has considerable ego-involvement with self as a parent (CS2) [Ei 4.26] (Table: 4) demonstrating that, while this role is meaningful and salient to his current identity reconstruction, reflecting on self in that role is characterized by negative reactivity and, therefore, an uncomfortable experience (Table: 4). This discomfort is further elaborated by

Sean’s strong conflicted identification throughout with ‘my father’ (11) (PS1 0.55; PS2 0.51; PS3 0.62; PS4 0.68; CS1 0.57; CS2 0.55; CS3 0.57) (Table: 8) suggesting that his difficulty in appraising self in the role of parent (PS2) with regards to ‘intimacy in relationships’ (20) likely links to his own negative experience of parenthood in relation to his father. This is underscored by his ego-involvement with ‘my father’ (11) [Ei 3.82] as the highest among all close intimates, family and friends but evaluated very negatively [-0.76] (Table: 19) - the lowest of all and in sharp contrast to his most positive role models [0.90] (Table: 20).

Table 20 Positive aspirational identifications Sean

Positive aspirational identifications: Sean Entity (entity No)	Idealistic-identifications (0.00 to 1.00)	Ego-involvement (0.00 to 5.00)
(17) a person I have high regard for	0.90	4.63
(23) Sinn Fein nowadays	0.65	3.60

Further, the negative potency of this relationship is epitomised in Sean’s appraisal of self as ‘a young person’ (PS1) possessing somewhat similar attributes to, ‘my father’ (11), who is someone untrustworthy (03) [-4], who is mean spirited and self-centred (01) [-4], ‘prone to strong surges of anger/angry outbursts’ (14) [-4] and, someone who ‘finds the intimacy of close relationships difficult’ (20) [-4] (Appendix 15: IE Ratings, Sean). There are also common ‘underlying feelings of shame’ (17) [-4] (Table: 12; IE Ratings, Sean) which, when considering other data further highlights the impact of this early influence on his identity development and psychological processes.

Sean’s highest conflicted identifications (Table: 8), for example, are ‘me as others in my community see me’ (10) [0.68] and ‘my father’ (11) [0.68] in relation to ‘me as I was in the aftermath of other traumatic experiences’ (PS4) (these are also the highest of all those

indicated at PS1 ‘me as a young person’ [0.52] [0.55]). Combining this with the data in Table 12, the indications are of underlying chronic ‘external shame’ which is a sense of feeling “inferior, inadequate, disgusting or weak in some way” (Lee et al., 2001 p.452) in the eyes of others (i.e. ‘me as others in my community see me’). Lee et al., (2001) explain that such persistent intense shame can directly result from early trauma, or develop in childhood as a core belief about the self that informs meaning across other life events. It is further stated that such negative core beliefs can lie dormant for years to be later activated by (reverberate with) other traumatic experiences (Lee et al., 2001) as demonstrated here in Chapter: 5, Postulate 5. This means that Sean’s propensity to feelings of shame and instability around issues of guilt going back beyond conflict and imprisonment are likely the consequence of childhood trauma or the inculcation of a negative devalued sense of self with ‘my father’ (10) as a primary source.

In essence, collating data and building theories within the ISA framework, proposes that early experiences (particularly in relation to ‘my father’) have been a persistent negative influence on Sean’s evolving sense of self and identity processes interplaying with other negative experiences including the Protest. However, the ISA conceptualisation of identity, with a focus on process, also proposes that this influence is not fixed or entirely negative. Being conflicted in identification indicates an ongoing process of wanting to dissociate from his father’s negative attributes and, while in the role of parent (CS2) his current difficulties with intimacy mirror ‘my father’ (10) (Appendix 15: IE Ratings, ‘me as a parent’ -4; ‘my father’ -4), Sean makes the point of construing himself as less ‘prone to strong surges of anger/ angry outbursts’ (14) (CS2 -1) (Table: 12) even though the latter is generally more problematic for him (CS1 -3). Indeed, this reification of underlying processes regarding not wanting to be

‘my father’ (11) is exemplified in his construing self as a distinctly different ‘loving and caring’ (01) parent (Appendix 15: IE Ratings, Sean +4).

Not only does this data attend to the complexity of identity development, it illustrates the effectiveness of ISA for exploring these processes and the impact of negative life experiences ‘within an individual’s biographical, social and cultural contexts’ (Black 2002, p.67). Here, for example, ISA illuminates the interactive influence of underlying biographical and psychological factors in response to the traumatic situation of the Protest thus verifying the need for a life course perspective as proposed by Jamieson et al., (2010):

“...human experience is often shaped by earlier conditions and events and by the unique social and historical contexts in which they occur.”

(Turner and Schieman, 2008 cited in Jamieson et al., 2010 p.93)

This in turn asserts the need for a ‘sophisticated’ approach to understanding how processes of identity, trauma and psychologically negative experiences interface and continually evolve from context to context (Black, 2002) which, echoes the perspectives of Herman (1992), Becker (2004), Keilson (1992) and others.

Becker (2004), for example, explains how Freud’s ideas that trauma can result from multiple experiences led to Khan (1977) developing propositions about ‘cumulative trauma’ and how a series of non-traumatic negative experiences can interact and develop to ultimately produce traumatic breakdown. This resonates with the case study material of Sean and, also with Aidan’s data that proposes he experienced abuse (extrafamilial given family and friends are

positive role models, Table: 18) before the conflict with his worldview becoming progressively more negative from the Protest onwards. It follows, therefore, that understanding the outworking of being subject to the traumatic situation of this environment should not be constrained within a framework of diagnostically defined concepts regarding trauma and traumatic events. For this reason, although the Protest is shown to have been a significant experience, the emphasis here is on identity and trauma as continually evolving and interactive processes incorporating terms such as ‘negative psychological experience’ as well.

The evidence from the results, for example, indicate that Aidan and Sean have contended with the reverberation of traumatic and negative psychological experiences throughout their lives but with individually different processes. Aidan’s identity profile (Table 3) shows a propensity to very low self-worth and a consistent orientation towards detachment (15) from ‘me as a young person’ (PS1) [-3] (Table: 11) which increased over time (Table: 5). Sean, on the other hand, indicates a reasonable sense of connection with others (15) before the conflict (PS1) [+2] that changed ‘when on the Protest’ (PS2) [-2] (Table: 12) with both now (CS1) often strongly ‘feeling disconnected or wanting to detach from others’ (15) (Table: 11; 12). This proposes that Aidan’s relationality to the world is somewhat characterised overall by a tendency to ‘avoidance’ and detachment whereas Sean’s orientation became more about psychological stress and ‘anxiety’ as indicated by increasing identity diffusion from PS2 ‘on the Blanket Protest’ (Table: 4) and, the range and magnitude of his conflicted identifications (Table: 8). Therefore, while both indicate ‘a sense of disconnection and wanting to detach from others’ (15) (Table: 11; 12) and difficulties with ‘intimacy in relationships’ (19) (uncertainty and vacillating for Sean) the likelihood is of different modes of attachment

insecurities ('avoidance' and 'anxiety'). This corresponds with what is reported in the longitudinal study of POWs by Solomon et al., (2012) but manifests here in accordance with each individual's relational orientation to the world as revealed by ISA.

Further, it is notable that both Aidan and Sean indicate that their sense of wanting to detach and feelings of disconnect worsened for them up to a maximum degree in the years soon after imprisonment (PS3) (Table: 11; 12: Aidan PS2 -3 to PS3 -4; Sean PS2 -2 to PS3 -4). While overall both have increasingly negative trauma-related beliefs (Table: 11; 12) and, increasing conflicted identifications with 'a person with emotional or psychological difficulties' (15) (Table: 7; 8) this and other ISA data reveal differences in trauma and identity processes related to particular periods of time. For instance, empathetic-identifications with close intimates and those related to the Protest increased in strength from PS1 to PS2 'when on the Protest' thus demonstrating attempts to draw psychologically closer in this adversity. However, these then reduced in 'the years soon after imprisonment' (PS3) (Table: 5; 6) when conditions and circumstances changed.

Indeed, it is important to note that each situated context here is not an event but a period of time when biographical, developmental and social circumstances were different, representing before, during and after the Protest/ imprisonment, and the present day, with other traumatic experiences (PS4) included by way of comparative understanding. This was intended to explore developments in accordance with Hamber (2005) who recorded that some of the more severe mental health effects occurred post release and even decades later. In fact, the literature commonly refers to prisoners finding post-prison a (more) difficult time (Shirlow, 2001; Jamieson et al., 2010) suggesting that ongoing psychological effects of imprisonment

interacted with and, were exacerbated by, the loosening of supportive bonds of comradeship, continuing criminalisation and various interpersonal, social and structural complexities evoked by life in the freeworld (Shirlow, 2001; Hamber, 2005; Jamieson et al., 2010; Willis et al., 2015). In trying to understand this situation Hamber (2005) refers to Keilson's (1992) theory of 'sequential traumatisation' as useful for thinking about long-term psychological effects. Becker (2004), for example, explains that trauma is not in an event but develops "sequentially...(and)...contains both intrapsychic and macro-social dimensions that are interwoven" (p.6). Considering how this study also found post-prison more problematic than the Protest in respect of identity and psychological processes the suggestion is that 'sequential traumatisation' is a valid perspective here as well.

For instance, in the present day 'sequence', most FPMP are over 50 with significant changes to personal and socio-political landscapes from the time of the Protest. Here, as suggested by Mc Kearney (2011) both respondents are shown to be struggling to assimilate their experiences of conflict and imprisonment into a coherent identity and life story against a backdrop of challenging contemporary circumstances in a post-conflict world. However, within this situation they bring to the table the influences of their own unique perceptions and biographical circumstances. Overall Aidan's subjective self-appraisal is very distinct from Sean (Table: 3; 4) in that identity diffusion has only ever fluctuated within small margins and he is mainly defined by his thoroughly negative self-evaluation throughout which, is now lower than before the conflict; Sean, although also characterised by negative self-evaluation [-0.11], has an improved self-worth today compared to then but he has substantially increased identity diffusion (Table: 4) [0.34 to 0.44]. Essentially, this suggests that Aidan's 'avoidant' identity has developed over time within the bounds of a self-

devaluing framework of beliefs and processes of identification. However, Sean's already vulnerable identity and tendency to instability was exacerbated by the Protest and reverberations with other traumatic experiences provoking increased psychological stress. In the present day, although the experience of imprisonment and the Protest remain salient to both in the process of reformulating identity, they have a different narrative focus on what is most meaningful for reconstructing their individual life narratives: Sean on self in the present; Aidan on self in the past and the present political process (Table: 17; 19).

The most striking finding from this study, however, is that the Protest is indicated as a time of enhanced self-worth, the highest for each across all situated contexts spanning more than 40 years. IE Ratings (Appendix 15) show that 'when on the Blanket Protest' (PS2) both declare themselves to be 'loving and caring people' (01) (Aidan +3; Sean +3) who 'can be trusted' (03) (Aidan +4; Sean +3) and who affirm that 'it is most important to contribute to the future of others' (08) (Aidan +3; Sean +4). For Sean this is a complete transformation regarding these constructs from PS1 'as a young person' i.e. (01) [-4 to +3], (03) [-2 to +3], (08) [-4 to +4], and similarly so with a sense of being necessary in the lives of others (11) [-3 to +4]. For Aidan, on the other hand, in spite of improvement in a sense of self as 'loving and caring' (01) [-3 to +3] and endorsing the 'importance of contributing to the future of others' (11) [-4 to +3] ongoing negative identity issues continue to undermine his self-image (SE -0.29) as exemplified by his continuing belief that he is not that 'necessary to the lives of others' (11) [-4].

Nevertheless, the Blanket Protest is perceived as a time of elevated self-worth and this is most likely related to enhanced feelings of, 'it is most important to contribute to the future of

others' (08), an attribute that did not previously exist for either (Appendix 15: IE Ratings). While this could simply relate to a generative or altruistic concern for others at a particular point in time, it is likely, given the dynamics of the Protest, that prisoners were attuned to issues about social and political justice and, developing bonds of comradeship in the adversity of a 'traumatic situation' heightened by emotional intensity and significant meaning. Hamber (2005), for example, reported that prisoners developed coping mechanisms particular to the situation whereby they were sustained through resistance and comradeship against a common enemy, saying the abuses they suffered strengthened their defiance and, heightened political awareness: "solidarity... and collective strategies are excellent coping mechanisms" (Hamber, 2005 p.53). This resonates with Herman's (1992) statement about destroying a prisoner's autonomy being seen as crucial for control and subjugation but stressing that political prisoners and prisoners of conscience have a particular awareness of the importance of resistance with, "hunger strike...the ultimate expression of this resistance" (p.79). However, while adapting certain psychological defensive strategies may have proved effective for survival in the context the Protest (e.g. 'emotional numbing') many would have been maladaptive in the freeworld which, further elaborates why post-prison and even the present day, can be more difficult times for some FPMP.

The Protest, was an unique set of circumstances in which identity and trauma interfaced for over 400 hundred people, a prolonged period of time in which prisoners were 'subject to a traumatic situation' (Hamber, 2005 p.93). It was also a significant event in a particular era of conflict with a legacy that remains relevant to post-conflict readjustment. Within that tapestry of changing socio-historical circumstances, however, there is also the ongoing reconstruction of individual identity and idiographic life narratives shaped by subjective appraisals in an

interactive complex of processes and circumstances. ISA proved an effective methodology for addressing these complexities, not least because the ISA conceptualisation of identity parallels models of trauma presented here as having most ecological validity, i.e. identity and trauma processes continually evolve and modulate from context to context wherein the person, through subjective appraisal, is an active agent. Also, the emphasis in ISA on continuity rather than sameness, on process more than content and extent, facilitated this study of FPMP identity by explicating and explaining underlying identity processes with reference to clearly defined psychological concepts such as ‘conflicted dimensions of identity’.

In ISA conflicted dimensions of identity can simply represent momentary processes of reappraisal and readjustment or denote issues with which a person contends that may never be resolved (Black, 2002). In the present day, conflicted dimensions of identity show Aidan and Sean’s identity reconstruction defined by instability in reappraising profoundly meaningful and existential issues in an environment of post-conflict transformation, new political arrangements, age related introspective processes and changed idiosyncratic life structures vastly different from 1981. In this, they both contend with unfinished business regarding the political process, Republicanism in general, the outworking and cost of conflict and imprisonment and the impact of other traumatic experiences some of which are likely related to the conflict. They also strongly aspire ‘to be needed’ (11) by others at this time (Table: 14; 15: Aidan SP 91.98; Sean SP 78.26) in what could be considered a healthy generative orientation, however, neither believe they are that necessary to the lives of others and are conflicted about spiritual matters with a strong sense of their own mortality (Table 15; 16) (Appendix 15: IE Ratings).

In summary: both Aidan's and Sean's personal history of involvement in Republicanism, conflict-related imprisonment and the Protest continues to influence how they are reformulating identity although ISA reveals that, at this time of life, akin to Gilligan's revelations in 'Traumatised by Peace?' (2006) regarding other actors in the conflict, there is an ongoing and problematic process of life narrative reappraisal in search of new meaning.

Conclusions

Many aspects of what this study revealed resonate with other studies regarding political imprisonment, coercive captivity, POWs and FPMP in Ireland. Both respondents demonstrated that their involvement in the Protest has had prolonged negative psychological consequences indicative of how trauma impacts self and identity. However, this has to be set within a life course context whereby various traumatic and negative psychological experiences reverberated with cumulative effect.

Identity Structure Analysis proved an effective methodology for eliciting a nuanced understanding of complex idiographic identity processes, e.g. providing insight into Sean's psychological difficulties in relation to his father, the meaning of his contradictory position regarding 'prone to feelings of guilt' (19) and, the elevated sense of self-worth for both 'when on the Blanket Protest' (PS2). ISA not only facilitated the tracking of identity reformulation across the life span it also explained the underlying processes with reference to clearly defined psychological concepts.

Importantly, the evidence of this study tends to agree that the human response to trauma is individual and complex with no 'post trauma', only developing processes evolving in relation to changing idiographic and social contexts (Becker, 2004).

Limitations

The major limitation for this study was the lack of interviews that could have facilitated instrument design and enriched interpretation of ISA data. This constraint increased the potential for vagaries in instrument design and theory building.

Secondly, both respondents indicated notable negative and traumatic experiences before the conflict. Having more participants with greater biographical diversity would be of value.

Future directions

Introducing interviews and possibly health questionnaires would enrich a case study approach by gathering potentially relevant and discriminating information, e.g. predisposing factors of childhood trauma or demographic details such as employment which is a recognised protective factor in relation to mental health (Willis et al., 2015) and a core feature of male identity in terms of meaning and purpose, social status and self-worth.

Repeating the process at different times with a larger sample may enable the exploration of various personal and other influences such as ageing and social change.

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Appendix 1



Background Information Sheet

Date:

Identity pseudonym:

Age:

Researcher: Joseph Barnes

Prison:

1. How many periods of time did you spend on the Protest? _____
2. How long were you on the Protest altogether? _____
3. How many times were you imprisoned as a result of the conflict?

4. How many years did you spend in Prison as a result of the conflict? _____

Thank you for your participation. All personal information will be treated with the utmost confidentiality, anonymised by the use of an identity pseudonym and, securely stored in encrypted files.

Appendix 2



JOSEPH BARNES

Registered Member MBACP (Accred), MBPsS,
PGDip Guidance & Counselling, BA (Hons)

- I have spent time in prison as a result of the conflict in the north of Ireland, firstly in the compounds of the Maze Prison with Special Category Status, followed by a period of time in the H Blocks.
- Since then I have studied psychology with the Open University, community work at QUB and, counselling at the University of Ulster. I am currently a Registered and Accredited Member of the British Association of Counselling and Psychotherapy (BACP).
- In 1998 I began work with Tus Nua which is part of the Upper Springfield Development Trust (USDT) mainly promoting the rights and welfare of former politically motivated prisoners (hereafter FPMP) and, as a member of the Committee for the Administration of Justice (CAJ), better community relations through the implementation of Section 75 of the Belfast Agreement. For this I trained with Counteract (ICTU) to design and deliver training programmes on Equity Diversity and Interdependence, Section 75, human rights and employment legislation, conflict resolution and mediation.
- Since May 2003 I have been a full time counsellor with the Tar Isteach project that has been providing counselling, welfare rights advice, education, training and youth work in North Belfast since 1998. This is a community based registered charity and Company Ltd by Guarantee funded under the European Union Peace Programme. Initially, Tar Isteach was specifically funded to work with FPMP and their families but has always operated an open door policy to all communities. Those who use the services come from all sections of society.
- As a counsellor for over 11 years I have gained substantial experience working with trauma, learning from and training with recognised organisations and bodies in the field: WAVE, Northern Ireland Centre for Trauma and Transformation (NICTT) and the Traumatology Institute of Western Canada.
- Since 2010, together with a colleague who is a CBT therapist, I have been facilitating programmes of work with those affected by conflict including former prisoners and their families. The aim is to provide a process for people to make sense of their

personal experience of conflict in a confidential, validating, interactive and safe way, sharing and learning in an environment of trust without pressure or fear of judgement. The programme has resynthesis of identity and, learning about and dealing with trauma as core components.

- I currently sit on the Steering Committee managing Lenadoon Community Counselling Project which routinely provides over 400 counselling sessions per month including fulfilment of Primary Care contracts with the Belfast Trust and GP referrals. LCCP also maintains a weekend emergency helpline for people in crisis and provides placement opportunities for trainee counsellors.
- As well as my own research I am currently involved with Tar Isteach's 12 month research project in conjunction with the International Committee of the Red Cross who are providing funding to look at the situation of marginalised FPMP with regard to the psychological impact of conflict and imprisonment.
- Since 2003 I have been actively involved in initiatives for the prevention of suicide and self-harm. As a co-founder of the community response to suicide, the Public Initiative for the Prevention of Suicide and Self-harm (PIPS), my main focus has been on postvention and family support as a facilitator of support groups for survivors of suicide and in the past I chaired the family support sub group for N & W Protect Life Implementation Group that co-ordinates statutory and community responses to suicide and self-harm.

If you have any questions regarding any aspect of this study or require any more information you can use the contact details that have been made available.



Participant Information Sheet

You are invited to take part in a research project: A study of the long-term impact of the No wash/ Blanket protest on Republican FPMP (former politically motivated prisoners) identity at midlife.

Please take time to read the following information carefully before you decide if you want to take part. It is important for you to understand about the purpose of the research and what it will involve for you. If there is anything you are unsure about please ask for more information or explanation on any points.

What is the purpose of the study?

Most former politically motivated prisoners (hereafter FPMP) are now between the ages 50-65 years. This study will explore the experience of some of those who took part in the No wash/ Blanket Protest at this stage of life with regard to issues of identity development and trauma.

Aim

Using Identity Structure Analysis this study aims to explore how Republican FPMP who were involved in the No wash/ Blanket Protest (1976-1981) and thereby 'subject to a traumatic situation' (Hamber 2005, p. 93) have reconstructed their identities at 50-65.

Objectives:

- To develop an understanding of the salience of this experience to how FPMP have reconstructed their identities over time.
- To explore the ways in which aspects of identity regarding relationship to significant others may have been influenced by the experience of the Protest.
- To explore the influence of the Protest on the developing value and belief systems of FPMP.
- To investigate the possible reverberations of the Protest with other traumatic or negative psychological experiences in the lives of FPMP.

You are not obliged to take part in this study. Participation is entirely voluntary.

Why have I been invited?

You have been invited to participate in this study because you fit the criteria of being a FPMP between the ages 50-65 years who experienced the unique circumstances of the No wash/ Blanket Protest. The aim is to recruit 2 people for the study.

How long will participation in the study take?

Your participation should take approximately one hour but may take longer if you decide to take a break at any point before completion.

Do I have to take part?

This is an invitation to be a voluntary participant and if you decide to be involved you will be asked to indicate you agree that you fit the criteria for taking part by affirming these points on a Consent Form. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason and you can ask that your details and data not be used and destroyed.

What will I be asked to do if I take part?

If you decide to take part you will be asked to go to Tar Anall, Conway Mill, Belfast where you will meet with a counsellor who will facilitate your participation in the study. This will include indicating your agreement with statements on a **Consent Form** (see attached) about your participation and then filling in some details about your imprisonment on a **Background Information Sheet** presented on a laptop computer. The person who will be facilitating you throughout this process is independent of the research project and the researchers but will sign the **Consent Form** as a witness to the fact that you have agreed with the statements about taking part in the research. **You will not be asked to sign anything.**

The **Background Information Sheet** will ask your age, how long you were on the Protest altogether, how many periods of time (if there were any breaks in your time there), how many times you were in prison as a result of the conflict and, how long altogether. This information will be used to provide a context for the results of a computerised survey (referred to in research literature as an '**Identity Instrument**') presented on a laptop computer. The results of this and the **Background Information Sheet** will be linked by a pseudonym in place of your name; your identity will not be recorded at any stage and will not be known to the researchers. **You will not meet with any researcher throughout your participation in order to preserve your anonymity and the objectivity of the research.** Instructions and an example of what is required will be given before you start. For example:

Welcome to your appraisal
You will be presented with a number of entities (people, places or things).
These will be combined with a number of constructs (characteristics, beliefs or values).
Each construct comes in two opposing poles and your task is to highlight where you think each sits between these two poles.
Use the centre option where you can't make any choice.

The computerised survey (**Identity Instrument**) is presented on computer as a consecutive series of screens on which the participant gives an estimation of the strength of their appraisal (rating) regarding how either of two statements (constructs) relate to the person, place or thing (entity) shown above. For example.

as a young man at work, I

feel strongly about worker's rights don't feel strongly about worker's rights

There are no right or wrong answers but responding honestly when completing this task is essential for the outcome of this project and if you have any reservations about this it is important that you decline the invitation to take part.

What are the possible disadvantages and risks of taking part?

In studies that involve any consideration of traumatic experiences there is always the possibility (however small) for some experience of emotional discomfort or distress. However, as this study does not require directly accessing or recounting details of traumatic experiences as in the case of interview based research, it is not expected that any such effects will occur. In the unlikely event that anything does arise assistance will be available throughout your participation. In any case, you will be given details of services that can help with any issues that may arise as a result of your participation in the research (ex-prisoner support services, counsellors etc.).

If you do experience any distress at any time then stop what you are doing and indicate this to the counsellor in attendance who will follow a distress protocol and assist you as is appropriate to your situation. Irrespective of this scenario you can take a break if you need to throughout the course of your participation. **It is also important you know you can end your involvement at any time.**

How will I benefit from participating in this study?

There is no financial incentive to take part in this research; you will not receive any compensation for your time. However, your participation in this study will contribute to a better understanding of the circumstances of FPMP and the experience of the No wash/ Blanket Protest in particular. It is hoped that the insights gained from this study may guide the further development of support services and future research projects.

If I need to speak to someone about the research who should I contact?

If you have any questions about any aspect of the research project you can get a response via the contact details below or you can request more information from the Coiste network contact that has distributed this **Information Sheet**.

Confidentiality

Confidentiality is paramount to this research and all data and information from this study will be securely stored and protected in accordance with University of Ulster standards on Research Governance: Classification, storage and retention of research project data, which can be found at <http://research.ulster.ac.uk/rg/0613%20data%20handl>

Both the results of the computerised survey (**Identity Instrument**) and the **Background Information Sheet** will be given a pseudonym on the day. The **Consent Forms** will bear no information regarding the identity of any participant either. Any material or details that need to be made available to others (for example, to the University) will be anonymised by the assigned pseudonym.

What will happen if I don't want to carry on with the study?

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason.

How will the results of this research be used?

In the first instance the results of the study will contribute towards a postgraduate MSc degree. The dissertation will be available to others (for example, within the University of Ulster to facilitate further research projects) but you cannot be compromised by this in any way as your participation will be anonymous as no personal details will be recorded.

Further to that, it is expected that the information resulting from this study will give insight into the experience of FPMP that can be used to develop services for the benefit of that constituency. The study will also be available for independent scrutiny by other researchers and for the advancement of knowledge on the subject for those with a professional interest.

Am I able to know the results of the study?

If you participate in the study, you can access a summary sheet of the research findings on request via the venue in which you participated.

Who has reviewed the study?

This study has obtained ethical approval from the University of Ulster Research Ethics Committee.

Research contact details at University of Ulster

Chief Investigator: Karyn Stapleton **k.stapleton@ulster.ac.uk**

Researcher: Joseph Barnes **Barnes-J1@email.ulster.ac.uk**



Consent Form

Title of Study: A study of the long-term impact of the No wash/ Blanket Protest on Republican FPMPs identity at midlife.

Name of Researcher: Joseph Barnes

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet for the above study. I have had the opportunity to ask questions and to reflect on whether or not to take part.
2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason.
3. I understand that in participating neither my identity nor any personal details (other than those required by the Background Information Sheet) will be recorded.
4. I understand what is required of me to participate in this study and that the resulting data may be used to contribute to better understanding the impact of conflict-related imprisonment and to the development of services for FPMP.
5. I understand that the data from this study will be anonymised and made accessible to others for the purpose of study and expanding knowledge about this subject.

Name of person taking consent

Date

Signature

Appendix 5

Constructs

Personal & social constructs

- 1 ...is loving and caring//...is mean spirited or self-centred
- 2 ...is assertive, outgoing, sociable//...is introverted, stand-offish, reserved
- 3 ...can be trusted//...can't be trusted

Political & cultural constructs

- 4 ...believe a united Ireland is essential for a lasting and just peace //
...think a united Ireland is not the only just way to resolve the political situation
- 5 ...feel the Hunger Strike was right and necessary for change//
...feel the deaths of the Hunger Strikers was an unnecessary waste of life
- 6 ...regard constitutional politics as an obstacle loaded against Republican ideals//
...see constitutional politics as a way to progress Republicanism
- 7 ...isn't at all disillusioned about Republicanism and the conflict //
...is disillusioned about Republicanism and the conflict

Generativity related constructs

- 8 ...feel it is most important to contribute to the future of others//
...is mostly focused on their own lives and ambitions for the future
- 9 ...has an awareness of mortality//...rarely contemplates how fragile life is
- 10 ...attaches great importance to religious or spiritual matters//
...isn't that bothered about religious or spiritual matters
- 11 ...feel others need them in their lives//
...don't feel they are that necessary to the lives of others

Trauma related constructs

- 12 ...believe people are mostly trustworthy//
...often have feelings of mistrust and suspicion
- 13 ...feel positive about achievements and lasting contributions in life//
...often lack a sense of purpose or meaning in life
- 14 ...is even tempered and tolerant//
...is prone to strong surges of anger and angry outbursts
- 15 ...has a good sense of connection with people and life generally//
...can often feel a sense of disconnection or want to detach from others
- 16 ...is mostly relaxed about life//
...often has a sense that something unpleasant or unwanted might happen

- 17 ...has underlying feelings of shame about their personal character//
...rarely experiences feelings of shame and is very satisfied about the kind of person they are
- 18 ...believe the world is a safe and secure place //
...feel the world isn't safe, where bad things happen randomly
- 19 ...is rarely bothered by guilt or conscience//...is sensitive or prone to feelings of guilt
- 20 ...enjoys the intimacy of close relationships//
...finds the intimacy of close relationships difficult

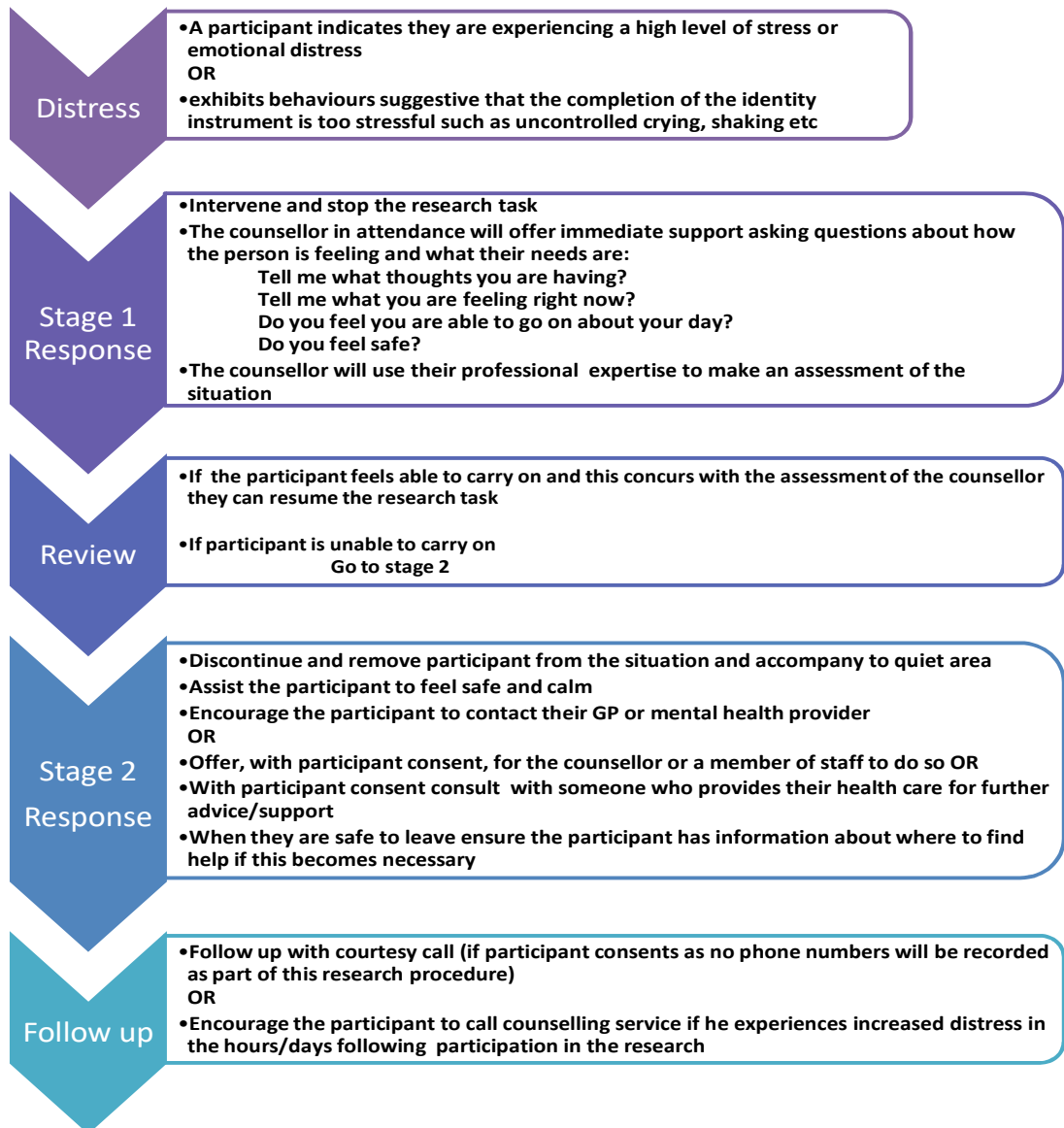
Appendix 6

Entities

1	me, as I would ideally like to be	<i>Ideal Self</i>
2	me, as I would not like to be	<i>Contra Ideal Self</i>
3	me, as I am now	<i>Current Self 1</i>
4	me, as a parent	<i>Current Self 2</i>
5	me, when in the company of others	<i>Current Self 3</i>
6	me, as a young person in the years before conflict and imprisonment	<i>Past Self 1</i>
7	me, when on the Blanket Protest	<i>Past Self 2</i>
8	me, as I was in the time soon after prison	<i>Past Self 3</i>
9	me, as I was in the aftermath of other traumatic experiences (nominate)	<i>Past Self 4</i>
10	me, as others in my community see me	<i>Metaperspective</i>
11	my father	<i>Family & friends</i>
12	my mother	
13	my spouse/ partner	
14	my closest friends and family	
15	a person with emotional or psychological difficulties	<i>Mental health</i>
16	a victim of abuse	
17	a person I have high regard for (nominate)	<i>Admired person</i>
18	friends and comrades who were on the Blanket Protest	<i>H Blocks</i>
19	a political prisoner	
20	the Stormont Assembly	<i>Others</i>
21	armed forces opposed to Republicans (UK Gov, BA, RUC, UDR, Loyalists)	
22	Republicans as I know them of old	
23	Sinn Fein nowadays	

Appendix 7

Distress Protocol: This protocol for managing distress in the context of this study and completion of the identity instrument was adapted from 'Distress Protocol for qualitative data collection' (PPT) developed by Professor Carol Haigh & Gary Witham, Department of Nursing, MMU from a modification of Draucker C B, Martsolf D S and Poole C (2009) *Developing Distress Protocols for research on Sensitive Topics. Archives of Psychiatric Nursing 23 (5) pp 343-350*)



Appendix 8

Research Summary Sheet

In response to British government policy aiming to ‘criminalise’ the conflict in the North of Ireland the ‘Blanket’ protest began in September 1976 and lasted 5 years. With a deteriorating situation this became the No wash/ Blanket protest in March 1978. Beatings, systematic brutality and degrading search procedures (many claimed were sexual assaults) were reported as commonplace. Visiting the H Blocks in 1979 Cardinal O Fiach compared the conditions to the Black Hole of Calcutta. Eventually the Protest led to the deaths of 10 men on hunger strike in 1981, an event that is deeply ingrained in the Republican psyche.

It is widely acknowledged that negative social, psychological and physical health consequences result from incarceration (John Howard Society of Alberta, 1999), political detention and war captivity (Herman, 1992) suggesting that those imprisoned as a result of the conflict, and especially those who went through the No wash/ Blanket protest, would be significantly affected by the traumatic experience. Trauma impacts a person’s sense of self and identity (Herman, 1992; Black, 2002; Abernathy, 2009) affecting relationships through identification processes and negatively reshaping belief systems. Sometimes these difficulties worsen with age and evolving personal and socio-political circumstances such as conflict transformation.

This study seeks to build on Hamber’s (2005) report into the psychological impact of the No wash/ Blanket Protest but from the perspective of looking at the influence of this experience to how Republicans have reconstructed their identities over many years into midlife (50-65) This will be done through the application of Identity Structure Analysis (ISA) (Weinreich, 1986) which is sensitive to variations in belief systems and provides quantifiable estimations of evaluative connotations. ISA has been widely used for over 20 years as a valid and reliable research methodology (Thornton, 2000).

Using this methodology this study aims to explore how Republican FPMP who were involved in the No wash/ Blanket Protest (1976-1981) and thereby ‘subject to a traumatic situation’ (Hamber, 2005, p.93) have reconstructed their identities at 50-65 years.

Objectives:

- To develop an understanding of the salience of this experience to how FPMP have reconstructed their identities over time.
- To explore the ways in which aspects of identity regarding relationship to significant others may have been influenced by the experience of the Protest.
- To explore the influence of the Protest on the developing value and belief systems of Republican FPMP.
- To investigate the possible reverberations of the Protest with other traumatic or negative psychological experiences in the lives of FPMP.

Appendix 9

World Assumptions Scale (WAS) (Janoff-Bulman, 1992)

- 1 Misfortune is least likely to strike worthy, decent people.
- 2 People are naturally unfriendly and unkind.
- 3 Bad events are distributed to people at random.
- 4 Human nature is basically good.
- 5 The good things that happen in this world far outnumber the bad.
- 6 The course of our lives is largely determined by chance
- 7 Generally, people deserve what they get in this world
- 8 I often think I am no good at all
- 9 There is more good than evil in the world
- 10 I am basically a lucky person
- 11 People's misfortunes result from mistakes they have made
- 12 People don't really care what happens to the next person
- 13 I usually behave in ways that are likely to maximise good results for me.
- 14 People will experience good fortune if they themselves are good
- 15 Life is too full of uncertainties to be determined by chance
- 16 When I think about it, I consider myself very lucky
- 17 I almost always make an effort to prevent bad things from happening to me.
- 18 I have a low opinion of myself
- 19 By and large, good people get what they deserve in this world.
- 20 Through our actions we can prevent bad things from happening to us.
- 21 Looking at my life, I realise that chance events have worked out well for me.
- 22 If people took preventive actions, most misfortune could be avoided
- 23 I take the actions necessary to protect myself against misfortune
- 24 In general, life is mostly a gamble
- 25 The world is a good place
- 26 People are basically kind and helpful
- 27 I usually behave so as to bring about the greatest good for me
- 28 I am very satisfied with the kind of person I am
- 29 When bad things happen, it is typically because people have not taken the necessary actions to protect themselves
- 30 If you look closely enough, you will see that the world is full of goodness.
- 31 I have reason to be ashamed of my personal character
- 32 I am luckier than most people

Appendix 10

World Assumptions Questionnaire

Please rate the following statements on how much you agree or disagree with them using the following scale:

1 = Strongly Agree

2 = Agree

3 = Slightly Agree

4 = Slightly Disagree

5 = Disagree

6 = Strongly Disagree

1. Most people can be trusted. *TGP
2. I don't feel in control of the events that happen to me. CE
3. You usually can know what is going to happen in your life. *CE
4. It is difficult for me to take most of what people say at face-value. TGP
5. It is very difficult to know what others are thinking. CPP
6. Anyone can experience a very bad event. SV
7. People often behave in unpredictable ways. CPP
8. People are less safe than they usually realize. SV
9. For the most part, I believe people are good. *TGP
10. I have a great deal of control over what will happen to me in my life. *CE
11. You never know what's going to happen tomorrow. SV
12. Other people are usually trustworthy. *TGP
13. People's lives are very fragile. SV
14. It is hard to know exactly what motivates another person. CPP
15. Most people cannot be trusted. TGP
16. People fool themselves into feeling safe. SV

17. It is hard to understand why people do what they do. CPP
18. Most of what happens to me happens because I choose it. *CE
19. Terrible things might happen to me. SV
20. It is ultimately up to me to determine how events in my life will happen. *CE
21. It can be very difficult to predict other people's behavior. CPP
22. What people say and what they do are often very different things. TGP

* denotes reverse-scoring

CE = item on the Controllability of Events subscale

CPP = item on the Comprehensibility and Predictability of People subscale

TGP = item on the Trustworthiness and Goodness of People subscale

SV = item on the Safety and Vulnerability subscale

Appendix 11

Scale Ranges for ISA Indices: Peter Weinreich Identity Exploration Ltd 2010 (Based on external normative bench-marks for identity parameters)

Ego-involvement Scale range: 0.00 to 5.00	High Moderate Low	Above 4.00 2.00 to 4.00 Below 2.00
Evaluation Scale range: -1.00 to +1.00	High Moderate Low Negative	Above 0.80 0.19 to 0.70 -0.33 to 0.18 Below -0.30
Idealistic-identification Scale range: 0.00 to 1.00	High (+ve) Moderate Low	Above 0.70 0.50 to 0.70 Below 0.50
Contra Identification Scale range: 0.00 to 1.00	High (-ve) Moderate Low	Above 0.45 0.25 to 0.45 Below 0.25
Empathetic Identification Scale range: 0.00 to 1.00	High Moderate Low	Above 0.70 0.50 to 0.70 Below 0.50
Conflicted Identification (according to context or mood) Scale range: 0.00 to 1.00	High Moderate Low	Above 0.35 0.20 to 0.34 Below 0.20
Identity Diffusion (according to context or mood) Scale range: 0.00 to 1.00 (‘Diffused’ or ‘Defensive’ identity variants indicated)	High Moderate Low	Above 0.41 (Diffused) 0.26 to 0.41 Below 0.26 (Defensive)
Emotional significance (of a bipolar construct) Scale range: 0.00 to 1.00	High Moderate Low	Above 0.80 0.40 to 0.80 Below 0.40

Structural Pressure
(on a bipolar construct)
Scale range -100 to + 100

Rigid	Above 95
Core	50 to 95
(evaluative dimensions of identity)	
Secondary	20 to 49
(evaluative dimensions of identity)	
Conflicted	-20 to +20
(inconsistently or non-evaluative dimensions of identity)	

Consistently incompatible dimensions of identity:
Large negative

Appendix 12

Identity Structure Analysis (ISA): Theoretical Postulates

In the first instance, ISA *Identity Variants* are global representations of identity states based on measures of *Self-evaluation* in conjunction with *Identity Diffusion* thereby conveying an overview of underlying identity processes as they relate to current appraisals of self contextualised in various situated past, present and aspirational self-entities. These are also indicators of psychological states pertaining to ‘defensiveness’ and ‘identity diffusion’.

The *Identity Variant* classifications for most people who are considered to be well-adjusted are ‘confident’ or ‘indeterminate’ signifying moderate levels of identity diffusion in conjunction with either high or moderate self-evaluation. All others i.e. *Defensive High Self-regard, Defensive, Defensive Negative, Negative, Diffuse High Self-regard, Diffusion, Crisis*, are considered vulnerable, susceptible to threat and characterised by levels of psychological stress.

Table 1. ISA Identity Variants

Identity Variants	Low Diffusion	Moderate Diffusion	High Diffusion
High Self-evaluation	Defensive High Self-regard	Confident	Diffuse High Self-regard
Moderate Self-evaluation	Defensive	Indeterminate	Diffusion
Low Self-evaluation	Defensive Negative	Negative	Crisis

A defensive orientation relates to rigidity and lack of openness and, thereby, vulnerable by virtue of inflexibility to challenge and life's necessity of adapting to changing circumstances. Diffusion, on the other hand, relates to a sense of self and identity that lacks cohesion and is overly receptive to external influences due to not being anchored with any sense of consistency regarding identifications, social connectedness or stability in core values and beliefs. Weinreich (2003) explains that in the short-term and in certain circumstances 'defensiveness' can be advantageous and 'diffusion' can simply be an indication of ongoing transition but it is the extent and range of these measures that provide a basis for further definition and clarity. (Weinreich, 2003)

Empathetic Identification with another person...assesses the degree to which the individual appraises him or herself as sharing qualities with that other person – whether these qualities are positive or negative. (Professor P. Weinreich, personal communication, ca 2015)

ISA Postulate: **Empathetic identification**

The extent of one's current empathetic identification is defined as the degree of similarity between the qualities one attributes to the other, whether 'good' or 'bad', and those of one's current self-image. (Weinreich, 2003)

Contra-Identification with another person...assesses the degree to which the individual appraises the other person in terms of qualities from which he or she would wish to dissociate. This measure will indicate who is likely to be the person's 'villain'. (Professor P. Weinreich, personal communication, ca 2015)

ISA Postulate: **Contra-identification**

The degree of one's current contra-identification with another is defined as the similarity between the qualities one attributes to the other and those from which one would wish to dissociate. (Weinreich, 2003)

Idealistic Identification with another person...assesses the degree to which the individual appraises the other person as having qualities in accordance with those of his or her ideal self-image. This measure will indicate who is likely to be the person's role model or 'hero'. (Professor P. Weinreich, personal communication, ca 2015)

ISA Postulate: **Idealistic-identification**

The extent of one's idealistic identification with another is defined as the degree of similarity between the qualities one attributes to the other and those which one would like to possess as part of one's ideal self-image. (Weinreich, 2003)

Conflicted-identification, 'with another occurs when one appraises oneself to be as the other in some respects, but wishes not to be in others' (Black, 2002 p.51)

ISA Postulate: **Conflicted identification**

In terms of one's current self-image the extent of one's identification conflict with another is defined as the multiplicative function of one's current empathetic identification and contra-identification with that other. (Weinreich, 1980/86/88)

The ISA concept of Ego-involvement with an entity is a measure of the extent to which an individual feels something about that entity (positive or negative) and Evaluation is the extent to which one appraises self or others as 'good' or 'bad' when compared to one's fundamental preferences. (Professor P. Weinreich, personal communication, ca 2015)

ISA Postulate: **Ego-involvement**

One's ego-involvement with another is defined as one's overall responsiveness to the other in terms of the extensiveness both in quantity and strength of the attributes one construes the other as possessing. (Weinreich, 1980/86/88)

ISA Postulate: **Evaluation of another**

One's evaluation of another is defined as one's overall assessment of the other in terms of the positive and negative evaluative connotations of the attributes one construes the other as possessing. (Weinreich, 1980/86/88)

ISA Postulate: **Evaluation of current (past) self**

One's evaluation of one's current (past) self is defined as one's overall self-assessment in terms of the positive and negative evaluative connotations of the attributes one construes as making up one's current (past) self-image, in accordance with one's value system. (Weinreich, 1980/86/88)

In ISA 'Constructs' are conceptualised as corresponding to a person's values and beliefs i.e. schematic cognitive representations imbued with affect used to interpret and interact with the environment and those within it. By recording variations in Structural Pressure (SP) on

constructs and thereby providing quantifiable estimates of evaluative connotations ISA can be sensitive to modulations in a person's value and belief system enabling analysis and insight about change that can facilitate research in areas of interest. Structural Pressure is a measure of fundamental pressures arising from a person's appraisal of self and others that contributes to the manner of believing certain things designated by the particular construct. These represent cognitive-affective compatibilities (*positive* pressures) and incompatibilities (*negative* pressures) and are indicants of the strength of affect associated with the person's use of the construct, where the construct in question may range from representing a core evaluative dimension of identity to a conflicted one i.e. positive pressures contribute to stability of beliefs, while negative pressures undermine their stability thus signifying arenas of stress.

Through one's current construal of self and others situated in various contexts across the life cycle in relation to constructs ISA not only maps evolving identifications but also changes in values and beliefs.

The ***Emotional Significance*** of a construct is represented by the summated affect (the cognitions being the denotative meanings of the discourses) and is indicative of the extent of affect associated with the expression of the constructs personal meaning. (Professor P. Weinreich, personal communication, ca 2015)

ISA Postulate: ***Structural Pressure***

The structural pressure on a person's construct is defined as the overall strength of the excess of compatibilities over incompatibilities between the evaluative connotations of attributions

one makes to each entity by way of the one construct and one's overall evaluation of each entity. (Weinreich, 1980/86/88)

Core-evaluative dimensions of identity, revealed as high, positive Structural Pressure (SP) on a construct mean that the evaluative connotations associated with it are stably bound i.e. these constructs are used in a consistent way and likely to endure over time providing stability to how people appraise self and others. Furthermore, these constructs indicate ways in which people endeavour to make sense of their experiences. (Professor P. Weinreich, personal communication, ca 2015)

ISA Postulate: **Core-evaluative dimensions of identity**

When the net structural pressure on one of a person's constructs is high and positive, the evaluative connotations associated with it are stably bound. (Weinreich, 1980/86/88)

ISA Postulate: **Conflicted-evaluative dimensions of identity**

When the net structural pressure on a construct is low, or negative, as a result of strong negative pressures counteracting positive ones, the evaluative connotations associated with it are conflicted: the construct in question is an arena of stress. (Weinreich, 1980/86/88)

An ISA Instrument Guide and an ISA Results Interpretation Guide. Available from:
www.identityexploration.com/Identity_Instrument_User_Guides.asp

Appendix 13



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Research Office

Our Ref: NC:GOV

26 September 2014

Dr K Stapleton
Room 17E16
School of Communication
University of Ulster
Jordanstown Campus

Dear Dr Stapleton

Research Ethics Committee Application Number: REC/14/0035

Title: A study of the long-term impact on the No Wash/Blanket protest on Republican FPMPs identity at midlife

Thank you for your recent response to matters raised by the committee. This has been considered and the decision of the committee is that the research should proceed.

Please also note the additional documentation relating to research governance and indemnity matters, including the requirements placed upon you as Chief Investigator.

The committee's decision is valid for a period of three years from today's date (this means that the research should be completed by that date). If you require this period to be extended, please contact the Research Governance section.

Please sign, date and return the Chief Investigator undertaking form and keep a copy for your file. Please return the attached undertaking prior to commencing the research. All other documents should be retained.

Further details of the University's policy are available at www.ulster.ac.uk/research/rg along with guidance notes, procedures, terms of reference and forms.

If you need any further information or clarification of any points, please do not hesitate to contact me.

Yours sincerely


Nick Curry
Senior Administrative Officer
Research Governance
028 9036 6629
n.curry@ulster.ac.uk

Appendix 14

Joe,

I hope you are well.

A request for extension of words for your MSc Dissertation has been put forward by your supervisor, please see below.

Following communication earlier this week (see below), this specific request for MSc student, Joe Barnes, to have a word extension for his MSc dissertation to 20K words, an increase of 5K due to ISA being used. This specific request was discussed carefully with Michael Mc Gibbon (Course Director), Karyn Stapleton (Supervisor) and myself as MSc Dissertation Coordinator and it is now confirmed that on this occasion the word limit for Joe's dissertation is 20,000 words maximum.

Joe, please print this e-mail communication and insert this into your Dissertation as confirmation for your markers and External Examiner that this request has been granted.

Best Regards,
Anne.

Dr Anne Moorhead

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Appendix 15

Individual Entity Ratings: Aidan

Entity 3: me, as I am now CS1

	#	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4		ES	SP
is loving and caring	< 01			X							is mean spirited or self-centred	8.24	28.38
is assertive, outgoing, sociable	< 02								X		is introverted, ...offish, reserved	8.98	83.05
can be trusted	< 03	X									can't be trusted	9.87	8.37
believe a united...g and just peace	04							X	>		think a united I...itical situation	8.64	-21.51
feel the Hunger ...essary for change	05							X	>		feel the deaths ...ary waste of life	8.34	-25.82
regard constitut...epublican ideals	06	X							>		see constitution...ss Republicanism	8.11	65.22
isn't at all dis... and the conflict	< 07							X			is disillusioned... and the conflict	7.45	45.08
is mostly focuse...ns for the future	08							X	>		feel it is most ... future of others	8.75	30.77
has an awareness of mortality	09	X							>		rarely contempla...w fragile life is	9.20	62.48
isn't that bothe...piritual matters	10							X	>		attachs great im...piritual matters	8.65	-2.51
feel others need...m in their lives	< 11							X			don't feel they ...e lives of others	9.89	91.98
believe people a...ostly trustworthy	< 12							X			often have feeli...ust and suspicion	8.53	56.43
often lack a sen... meaning in life	13	X							>		feel positive ab...ibutions to life	9.68	96.77
is prone to stro... angry outbursts	14	X							>		is even tempered and tolerant	7.98	40.56
can often feel a...ach from others	15	X							>		has a good sense...nd life generally	10.00	100.00
often has a sens...ted could happen	16	X							>		is mostly relaxed about life	8.99	75.20
has underlying f...ersonal character	17	X							>		rarely experienc... person they are	9.87	98.69
believe the worl...and secure place	< 18							X			feel the world i...s happen randomly	8.30	54.68
is sensitive or ...eelings of guilt	19	X							>		is rarely bother...ilt or conscience	9.66	86.57
enjoys the intim...se relationships	< 20							X			finds the intima...onships difficult	9.08	83.99

Entity 4: me, as a parent CS2

	#	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4		ES	SP
is loving and caring	< 01	X									is mean spirited or self-centred	8.24	28.38
is assertive, outgoing, sociable	< 02								X		is introverted, ...offish, reserved	8.98	83.05
can be trusted	< 03	X									can't be trusted	9.87	8.37
believe a united...g and just peace	04								X	>	think a united I...itical situation	8.64	-21.51
feel the Hunger ...essary for change	05								X	>	feel the deaths ...ary waste of life	8.34	-25.82
regard constitut...epublican ideals	06	X								>	see constitution...ss Republicanism	8.11	65.22
isn't at all dis... and the conflict	< 07								X		is disillusioned... and the conflict	7.45	45.08
is mostly focuse...ns for the future	08	X								>	feel it is most ... future of others	8.75	30.77
has an awareness of mortality	09	X								>	rarely contempla...w fragile life is	9.20	62.48
isn't that bothe...piritual matters	10								X	>	attachs great im...piritual matters	8.65	-2.51
feel others need...m in their lives	< 11								X		don't feel they ...e lives of others	9.89	91.98
believe people a...ostly trustworthy	< 12								X		often have feeli...ust and suspicion	8.53	56.43
often lack a sen... meaning in life	13	X								>	feel positive ab...ibutions to life	9.68	96.77
is prone to stro... angry outbursts	14							X		>	is even tempered and tolerant	7.98	40.56
can often feel a...ach from others	15	X								>	has a good sense...nd life generally	10.00	100.00
often has a sens...ted could happen	16	X								>	is mostly relaxed about life	8.99	75.20
has underlying f...ersonal character	17	X								>	rarely experienc... person they are	9.87	98.69
believe the worl...and secure place	< 18								X		feel the world i...s happen randomly	8.30	54.68
is sensitive or ...eelings of guilt	19	X								>	is rarely bother...ilt or conscience	9.66	86.57
enjoys the intim...se relationships	< 20								X		finds the intima...onships difficult	9.08	83.99

Entity 6: me, as a young person in the years before conflict and imprisonment PS1

	#	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4		ES	SP
is loving and caring	< 01								X		is mean spirited or self-centred	8.24	28.38
is assertive, outgoing, sociable	< 02									X	is introverted, ...offish, reserved	8.98	83.05
can be trusted	< 03	X									can't be trusted	9.87	8.37
believe a united...g and just peace	04		X								> think a united I...itical situation	8.64	-21.51
feel the Hunger ...essary for change	05				X						> feel the deaths ...ary waste of life	8.34	-25.82
regard constitut...epublican ideals	06				X						> see constitution...ss Republicanism	8.11	65.22
isn't at all dis... and the conflict	< 07				X						is disillusioned... and the conflict	7.45	45.08
is mostly focuse...ns for the future	08	X									> feel it is most ... future of others	8.75	30.77
has an awareness of mortality	09	X									> rarely contempla...w fragile life is	9.20	62.48
isn't that bothe...piritual matters	10	X									> attaches great im...piritual matters	8.65	-2.51
feel others need...m in their lives	< 11								X		don't feel they ...e lives of others	9.89	91.98
believe people a...ostly trustworthy	< 12		X								often have feeli...ust and suspicion	8.53	56.43
often lack a sen... meaning in life	13	X									> feel positive ab...ibutions to life	9.68	96.77
is prone to stro... angry outbursts	14			X							> is even tempered and tolerant	7.98	40.56
can often feel a...ach from others	15		X								> has a good sense...nd life generally	10.00	100.00
often has a sens...ted could happen	16							X			> is mostly relaxed about life	8.99	75.20
has underlying f...ersonal character	17	X									> rarely experienc... person they are	9.87	98.69
believe the worl...and secure place	< 18		X								feel the world i...s happen randomly	8.30	54.68
is sensitive or ...eelings of guilt	19							X			> is rarely bother...ilt or conscience	9.66	86.57
enjoys the intim...se relationships	< 20								X		finds the intima...onships difficult	9.08	83.99

Entity 7: me, when on the Blanket Protest PS2

	#	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4		ES	SP
is loving and caring	< 01	X									is mean spirited or self-centred	8.24	28.38
is assertive, outgoing, sociable	< 02							X			is introverted, ...offish, reserved	8.98	83.05
can be trusted	< 03	X									can't be trusted	9.87	8.37
believe a united...g and just peace	04	X								>	think a united I...itical situation	8.64	-21.51
feel the Hunger ...essary for change	05							X		>	feel the deaths ...ary waste of life	8.34	-25.82
regard constitut...epublican ideals	06	X								>	see constitution...ss Republicanism	8.11	65.22
isn't at all dis... and the conflict	< 07							X			is disillusioned... and the conflict	7.45	45.08
is mostly focuse...ns for the future	08							X		>	feel it is most ... future of others	8.75	30.77
has an awareness of mortality	09	X								>	rarely contempla...w fragile life is	9.20	62.48
isn't that bothe...piritual matters	10							X		>	attachs great im...piritual matters	8.65	-2.51
feel others need...m in their lives	< 11							X			don't feel they ...e lives of others	9.89	91.98
believe people a...ostly trustworthy	< 12							X			often have feeli...ust and suspicion	8.53	56.43
often lack a sen... meaning in life	13	X								>	feel positive ab...ibutions to life	9.68	96.77
is prone to stro... angry outbursts	14							X		>	is even tempered and tolerant	7.98	40.56
can often feel a...ach from others	15	X								>	has a good sense...nd life generally	10.00	100.00
often has a sens...ted could happen	16	X								>	is mostly relaxed about life	8.99	75.20
has underlying f...ersonal character	17		X							>	rarely experienc... person they are	9.87	98.69
believe the worl...and secure place	< 18							X			feel the world i...s happen randomly	8.30	54.68
is sensitive or ...eelings of guilt	19	X								>	is rarely bother...ilt or conscience	9.66	86.57
enjoys the intim...se relationships	< 20	X									finds the intima...onships difficult	9.08	83.99

Individual Entity Ratings: Sean

Entity 3: me, as I am now CS1

	#	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4		ES	SP
is loving and caring	< 01	X									is mean spirited or self-centred	9.15	10.38
is assertive, outgoing, sociable	< 02							X			is introverted, ...offish, reserved	7.39	51.28
can be trusted	< 03	X									can't be trusted	8.31	30.90
believe a united...g and just peace	04						X			>	think a united I...tical situation	5.74	-17.34
feel the Hunger ...essary for change	< 05								X		feel the deaths ...ary waste of life	5.14	26.79
regard constitut...epublican ideals	06								X	>	see constitution...ss Republicanism	4.63	5.38
isn't at all dis... and the conflict	< 07				X						is disillusioned... and the conflict	2.34	-1.77
is mostly focuse...ns for the future	08								X	>	feel it is most ... future of others	9.44	21.68
has an awareness of mortality	< 09	X									rarely contempla...w fragile life is	8.77	-4.67
isn't that bothe...piritual matters	10						X			>	attachs great im...piritual matters	6.98	-0.11
feel others need...m in their lives	< 11								X		don't feel they ...e lives of others	9.65	78.26
believe people a...ostly trustworthy	< 12							X			often have feeli...ust and suspicion	9.35	62.88
often lack a sen... meaning in life	13		X							>	feel positive ab...ibutions to life	8.91	81.14
is prone to stro... angry outbursts	14		X							>	is even tempered and tolerant	9.82	92.31
can often feel a...ach from others	15	X								>	has a good sense...nd life generally	8.02	62.93
often has a sens...ted could happen	16	X								>	is mostly relaxed about life	8.39	63.80
has underlying f...ersonal character	17	X								>	rarely experienc... person they are	10.00	73.70
believe the worl...and secure place	< 18								X		feel the world i...s happen randomly	9.07	38.80
is sensitive or...eelings of guilt	< 19	X									is rarely bother...ilt or conscience	8.47	-31.03
enjoys the intim...se relationships	< 20				X						finds the intima...onships difficult	6.48	33.78

Entity 4: me, as a parent CS2

	#	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4		ES	SP
is loving and caring	< 01	X									is mean spirited or self-centred	9.15	10.38
is assertive, outgoing, sociable	< 02				X						is introverted, ...offish, reserved	7.39	51.28
can be trusted	< 03		X								can't be trusted	8.31	30.90
believe a united...g and just peace	04						X			>	think a united I...itical situation	5.74	-17.34
feel the Hunger ...essary for change	< 05							X			feel the deaths ...ary waste of life	5.14	26.79
regard constitut...epublican ideals	06						X			>	see constitution...ss Republicanism	4.63	5.38
isn't at all dis... and the conflict	< 07		X								is disillusioned... and the conflict	2.34	-1.77
is mostly focuse...ns for the future	08						X			>	feel it is most ... future of others	9.44	21.68
has an awareness of mortality	< 09	X									rarely contempla...w fragile life is	8.77	-4.67
isn't that bothe...piritual matters	10						X			>	attachs great im...piritual matters	6.98	-0.11
feel others need...m in their lives	< 11		X								don't feel they ...e lives of others	9.65	78.26
believe people a...ostly trustworthy	< 12							X			often have feeli...ust and suspicion	9.35	62.88
often lack a sen... meaning in life	13	X								>	feel positive ab...ibutions to life	8.91	81.14
is prone to stro... angry outbursts	14			X						>	is even tempered and tolerant	9.82	92.31
can often feel a...ach from others	15	X								>	has a good sense...nd life generally	8.02	62.93
often has a sens...ted could happen	16	X								>	is mostly relaxed about life	8.39	63.80
has underlying f...ersonal character	17	X								>	rarely experienc... person they are	10.00	73.70
believe the worl...and secure place	< 18							X			feel the world i...s happen randomly	9.07	38.80
is sensitive or ...eelings of guilt	< 19	X									is rarely bother...ilt or conscience	8.47	-31.03
enjoys the intim...se relationships	< 20							X			finds the intima...onships difficult	6.48	33.78

Entity 6: me, as a young person in the years before conflict and imprisonment PS1

	#	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4		ES	SP
is loving and caring	< 01									X	is mean spirited or self-centred	9.15	10.38
is assertive, outgoing, sociable	< 02	X									is introverted, ...offish, reserved	7.39	51.28
can be trusted	< 03							X			can't be trusted	8.31	30.90
believe a united...g and just peace	04							X		>	think a united I...itical situation	5.74	-17.34
feel the Hunger ...essary for change	< 05				X						feel the deaths ...ary waste of life	5.14	26.79
regard constitut...epublican ideals	06				X					>	see constitution...ss Republicanism	4.63	5.38
isn't at all dis... and the conflict	< 07				X						is disillusioned... and the conflict	2.34	-1.77
is mostly focuse...ns for the future	08	X								>	feel it is most ... future of others	9.44	21.68
has an awareness of mortality	< 09							X			rarely contempla...w fragile life is	8.77	-4.67
isn't that bothe...piritual matters	10	X								>	attachs great im...piritual matters	6.98	-0.11
feel others need...m in their lives	< 11							X			don't feel they ...e lives of others	9.65	78.26
believe people a...ostly trustworthy	< 12	X									often have feeli...ust and suspicion	9.35	62.88
often lack a sen... meaning in life	13							X		>	feel positive ab...ibutions to life	8.91	81.14
is prone to stro... angry outbursts	14	X								>	is even tempered and tolerant	9.82	92.31
can often feel a...ach from others	15							X		>	has a good sense...nd life generally	8.02	62.93
often has a sens...ted could happen	16							X		>	is mostly relaxed about life	8.39	63.80
has underlying f...ersonal character	17	X								>	rarely experienc... person they are	10.00	73.70
believe the worl...and secure place	< 18			X							feel the world i...s happen randomly	9.07	38.80
is sensitive or ...eelings of guilt	< 19							X			is rarely bother...ilt or conscience	8.47	-31.03
enjoys the intim...se relationships	< 20							X			finds the intima...onships difficult	6.48	33.78

Entity 7: me, when on the Blanket Protest PS2

	#	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4		ES	SP
is loving and caring	< 01	X									is mean spirited or self-centred	9.15	10.38
is assertive, outgoing, sociable	< 02				X						is introverted, ...offish, reserved	7.39	51.28
can be trusted	< 03	X									can't be trusted	8.31	30.90
believe a united...g and just peace	04	X								>	think a united I...itical situation	5.74	-17.34
feel the Hunger ...essary for change	< 05							X			feel the deaths ...ary waste of life	5.14	26.79
regard constitut...epublican ideals	06	X								>	see constitution...ss Republicanism	4.63	5.38
isn't at all dis... and the conflict	< 07		X								is disillusioned... and the conflict	2.34	-1.77
is mostly focuse...ns for the future	08							X		>	feel it is most ... future of others	9.44	21.68
has an awareness of mortality	< 09	X									rarely contempla...w fragile life is	8.77	-4.67
isn't that bothe...piritual matters	10							X		>	attachs great im...piritual matters	6.98	-0.11
feel others need...m in their lives	< 11	X									don't feel they ...e lives of others	9.65	78.26
believe people a...ostly trustworthy	< 12	X									often have feeli...ust and suspicion	9.35	62.88
often lack a sen... meaning in life	13					X				>	feel positive ab...ibutions to life	8.91	81.14
is prone to stro... angry outbursts	14	X								>	is even tempered and tolerant	9.82	92.31
can often feel a...ach from others	15	X								>	has a good sense...nd life generally	8.02	62.93
often has a sens...ted could happen	16	X								>	is mostly relaxed about life	8.39	63.80
has underlying f...ersonal character	17	X								>	rarely experienc... person they are	10.00	73.70
believe the worl...and secure place	< 18							X			feel the world i...s happen randomly	9.07	38.80
is sensitive or ...eelings of guilt	< 19		X								is rarely bother...ilt or conscience	8.47	-31.03
enjoys the intim...se relationships	< 20					X					finds the intima...onships difficult	6.48	33.78

Entity 11: my father

	#	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4		ES	SP
is loving and caring	< 01									X	is mean spirited or self-centred	9.15	10.38
is assertive, outgoing, sociable	< 02									X	is introverted, ...offish, reserved	7.39	51.28
can be trusted	< 03									X	can't be trusted	8.31	30.90
believe a united...g and just peace	04				X						> think a united I...itical situation	5.74	-17.34
feel the Hunger ...essary for change	< 05				X						feel the deaths ...ary waste of life	5.14	26.79
regard constitut...epublican ideals	06				X						> see constitution...ss Republicanism	4.63	5.38
isn't at all dis... and the conflict	< 07				X						is disillusioned... and the conflict	2.34	-1.77
is mostly focuse...ns for the future	08	X									> feel it is most ... future of others	9.44	21.68
has an awareness of mortality	< 09			X							rarely contempla...w fragile life is	8.77	-4.67
isn't that bothe...piritual matters	10	X									> attaches great im...piritual matters	6.98	-0.11
feel others need...m in their lives	< 11								X		don't feel they ...e lives of others	9.65	78.26
believe people a...ostly trustworthy	< 12									X	often have feeli...ust and suspicion	9.35	62.88
often lack a sen... meaning in life	13			X							> feel positive ab...ibutions to life	8.91	81.14
is prone to stro... angry outbursts	14	X									> is even tempered and tolerant	9.82	92.31
can often feel a...ach from others	15				X						> has a good sense...nd life generally	8.02	62.93
often has a sens...ted could happen	16	X									> is mostly relaxed about life	8.39	63.80
has underlying f...ersonal character	17	X									> rarely experienc... person they are	10.00	73.70
believe the worl...and secure place	< 18									X	feel the world i...s happen randomly	9.07	38.80
is sensitive or ...eelings of guilt	< 19	X									is rarely bother...ilt or conscience	8.47	-31.03
enjoys the intim...se relationships	< 20									X	finds the intima...onships difficult	6.48	33.78