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Narratives of Crime: Narrative Psychology and the Integral Theory Perspective

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Abstract

The wide-ranging landscape of criminology offers avenues of research and understanding from various spheres of knowledge. Narrative psychology is one branch of inquiry that exemplifies how subjective realms of ontology contribute to the current understanding of human behavior, including criminality. Wilber's Integral Theory (IT) provides an overarching orientation for subjective/intersubjective and empirical/objective approaches to the study of crime and justice. Both of these spheres (internal and external) provide a basis for discussion of criminality and attendant ideas of justice and morality. Narrative psychology advances the notion of the importance of the story-telling metaphor as an internal/subjective principle for understanding people's behaviors, perceptions, and constructions about meaning within their lives. Elements of Integral theory hold a natural alignment with these sub-fields. They can serve as an overall meta-theoretical framework for understanding how these subjective/intersubjective inquiries fit into the greater vision of the potential sources and motivations of criminal behavior.

Keywords: Integral Theory, Integral Criminology, narrative psychology, AQAL

One way to conceptualize the study of crime is as the interpretation and understanding of human stories. Narrative psychologists have compellingly argued that dramaturgy, myths, folk tales, and allegories serve as templates for understanding human conduct and motivation (Gergen, 1973, 1985; K. Gergen & M. Gergen, 1986; Robinson & Hawpe, 1986; Sarbin, 1986; Scheib, 1986). Similar ideas have been alluded to (to an extent) to by earlier thinkers such as Dewey (1920/1996), Pepper (1942), and even Freud's work on dream interpretation (1900/n.d.). Gergen (1985) describes the overall social constructionist view of human behavior as one that transcends the dispute between rationalism and empiricism and captures its reality within the domain of social interchange. The common thread of these models is their exposition of the *interiors* of behavior: the subjective emotions, ruminations, cognitions, motives, and other internal realities of human nature and their transmission to others. This work discusses how Wilber's (1998; 2000; 2001; 2003; 2007) Integral Theory provides a meta-theoretical basis for such subjective/intersubjective investigations into the origins and nature of criminal behavior. Further, we discuss how Wilber's Integral Theory functions as

a superstructure for narrative psychology (NP) as an example of how Integral Criminology incorporates different theories of social behavior. Finally, we discuss how Wilber's Integral Theory/All Quadrants/All Levels (IT/AQAL) structure may serve the field as a tool for future thought and investigation.

The Integral Vision: A Brief Overview of the Quadrants

The quadrants stem from Wilber's mapping of the progressive, hierarchical relationships that (he claims) repeat across the realms of human knowledge (1998). These hierarchies span religious traditions, morality, biology, developmental psychology, the cosmos—as he terms it, "an entire spectrum of premodern, modern, and postmodern nests" (1998, p. 63). To apprehend his concept of quadrants, it is first necessary to note that Wilber premises them on the fundamental idea of universal hierarchical development. Further, that development represents a progressive transcendence, in which each higher level envelops and includes its lower ones. Wilber describes the quadrants as the inclusion of both interior and exterior domains, and individual and collective foci. These fundamental domains are part of a theoretical map for the integrality of both science and religion. They are intended to allow inclusion without diminishing the integrity of the other. Wilber presents the quadrants as part of an "irreducible reality" of existence (p. 66). Concerning the social sciences, they represent a method of understanding the various theories, statistics, data, teachings, and philosophical foundations of each discipline. The simple recognition of both subjective/objective realities is itself enough to start classroom discussions in criminal justice theory and ethics courses.

It may be tempting to regard the rather technical-sounding term "quadrant" itself as an ironic reduction of authentic subjective realities to the cold analytics of empiricism. Further, the word could lend itself to misinterpretation as a metaphor for fragmentation. "Quadrants" may bring to one's mind cutaway sections of a computer screen graphics or a quarter section of birthday cake sliced out and removed.

Such interpretations would be erroneous. The nature of quadrants is indeed the exact opposite: They instead represent inter-related domains of understanding. It is important to note that one section of a person or event does not dwell in the upper right quadrant individual empirical study while another lives in the lower-left world of social culture. The quadrants are domains of understanding in the viewing of an individual, group, or phenomenon. They encompass the entire "Chain of Being" (Wilber, 1998, p. 63) and are ultimately set up as a unifying (rather than a divisive) mode of understanding. The term "AQAL" (All Quadrants/All Lines/Levels) itself underscores the notion that humans and their knowledge/activities/development operate under all four quadrants. All events, all experiences, and phenomena occur and unfold in all realms (or domains, or spheres, or quadrants) (Wilber, 2007). However, some activities are more valid when viewed through the lens of one domain over another (see Figure 1). One would not use a scale to measure the emotional impact of a painting nor rely on regression analysis to best depict the emotional trauma sustained by the victim of a gang assault.

As a dramatic example, consider a violent sexual murderer who is assessed as a psychopath. As with other events, the killer's actions exist in and are perceptible from all domains: the interior and the exterior; the individual and the collective. One may view the upper left "I" realm as the killer's cognitions, affect, motives, and fantasies of revenge and control (Ressler & Burgess, 1988; Scully, 1994). From the upper right external/individual perspective, one observes the measurable, sensory empirical evidence of the killer. The impaired emotional processing of psychopaths (upper-left) may be reflected in the upper-right lens of retarded autonomic sensitivity as measured by electromyographic (EMG) activity, heart rate, and skin conductivity (SC) (Casey, Rogers, Burns & Yiend, 2013). Psychophysiological research on anti-social persons generally points to decreased baseline measures of autonomic arousal, but elevated reactivity to stressors (Patrick, 2008). The lower-left vantage point explores the many cultural and other intersubjective artifacts associated with sexual violence and homicide, including sociocultural reinforcement of rape (Scully, 1994) and the seemingly ubiquitous and endless cultural fascination with serial and sexual murder. Thus, an Integral perspective on sexual homicide would include and make room for the authenticity of all these perspectives. All have potentially equal valid claims on the "truth" of the problem.

<p>Upper Left Interior-Individual (Inten-)</p> <p><i>An individual's internal, subjective states; affect and emotional states; individual moral stage development; internal spiritual experiences; individual intentions, and thinking patterns.</i></p>	<p>Upper Right Exterior-Individual (Behavioral)</p> <p><i>An individual's externally observable, measurable, empirically testable behaviors and physiological responses. Observable behaviors of the individual.</i></p>
<p>Lower Left Interior-Collective (Cultural)</p> <p><i>The collective internal experience; worldview; societal culture, laws and their social context; narratives and traditions.</i></p>	<p>Lower Right Exterior-Collective (Social)</p> <p><i>Empirically testable collective behaviors of an organization and its processes. Empirically validated macro-level aspects of crime; black-letter law and systems.</i></p>

Figure 1. Adapted from Wilber's four-quadrant model (2007). The right quadrants represent exterior, objective, empirical realities. The left quadrants correspond to the interior, subjective experiential realities. The upper quadrants denote the individual. The lower ones signify the collective (Champion, 2017).

The current work assumes this underlying premise of the quadrants (or domains, or lenses) as a launching point for a discussion in which we focus on how aspects of narrative psychology serve as but one example of how the Integral framework may be applied to advancing the philosophical and theoretical elements of criminology.

The Subjective Grasp of Criminology

Criminology fundamentally differs from other behavioral and social sciences in that it includes an implicit and subjective moral judgment of behavior. There is, of course, an abundance of quantitative literature assessing variables through objective statistical methods. The role of empirical positivism is an essential and well-established component of the field. However, without subjective judgment and some form of moral assessment, there is no "crime," but merely a collection of human behaviors distinguished by variation of activity, but not by the degree of harmfulness, morality, righteousness, or evil. Referring to the above example, academic or clinical designations such as *psychopathy*, *anti-social personality disorder*, *deviance*, or *intermittent explosive disorder* (as just a few examples) represent only a portion of the reality of these behaviors as they tend to operate within the realm of externally based empiricism. Many social sciences seek to explore the internal/subjective domain through external/objective measurements, but the embedded judgment involved in criminology makes the field unique among the social sciences. The scholarship of criminology retains fundamental assumptions about ideal human interaction (e.g., cessation of violence, respect for the rights of others; equitable treatment by the state). Crime, by definition, is a violation of legally acceptable behavior. Thus, it functions as a primary disruptor of the culture and community (the intersubjective domain). That violation might manifest as the acts of the individual offender, collective crime trends, sentencing disparities, or of a draconian exercise of state power. The vast majority of criminological literature is neither subjective nor argumentative in tone, nor laden in bias. However, only in criminology is there an inherent premise of a disrupted, pathological, undesirable, or unstable social condition that requires investigation and amelioration, no matter how value-free the language employed. The field delves into *crime, victims, and injustice...of course it's bad*.

Further, the notion of what constitutes wrongful conduct is often wrapped in the individual internal subjectivity of the actor (regardless of the greater culture's moral and legal consensus). A Mafia enforcer may consider his acts of extortion and violence as a soldierly duty to a higher calling of "tradition" and "honor." Police officers who abuse their authority through excessive force and violation of rights may consider their actions necessary to maintain elevated notions of justice and social order that transcend legalities (Crank, 2004).

The Restricted Conception of Empiricism

Wilber (1998) argues for a conception of empiricism that transcends pure sensory observation. Wilber would include the subjective/intersubjective domains of interior mental (including hermeneutic and logical processes), spiritual, and communal experiences. This "broad empiricism" (1998, pp. 152-153) recognizes the legitimacy of internal experiences, whereas an excessively "narrow" view of empiricism remains on the outside, a mechanical recording of what is directly available to the senses. Similarly, scholarship such as Mills' conception of *abstracted empiricism* (1959/2000), Peppers' (1942) discussion of the *World Hypotheses*, and Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason* (1781/2007) all allude to the deficiencies of detached and restricted empiricism.

Mills (1959/2000) bluntly critiques (as one example) political science studies on voting behaviors that report detailed statistical results but lack historical or psychological depth behind those results, in part because political scientists disregarded such left-quadrant (Wilber's term here) concerns as not sufficiently "empirical." His condemnation of abstracted empiricism relates to disparate discrete excursions into data collection that report (sometimes elaborately) detailed statistical results. Yet this reporting is disconnected from any organizing structure or overall meaning. Mills states, "(t)he details, no matter how numerous, do not convince us of anything worth having convictions about." (Mills, 1959/2000, Chapter 3, Section 1, para. 17).

The narrative approach (MacIntyre, 1981; Sarbin, 1986; K. Gergen, 1985, 1986; K. Gergen & M. Gergen, 1986) involves the structured narrative, or story as a superordinate metaphor for understanding human behaviors. Sarbin (1986) describes the narrative as an organizing system for one's episodic experiences and behaviors, including the motivations and reasons behind one's actions. Crossley (2000) describes the narrative system as a way in which human experience assumes meaning, particularly in regards to temporal sequence (the ordering of events, so they align as a meaningful construct). Crossley further states that NP's focus on self-creation of meaning and ongoing interpretation of experiences "highlights the inadequacy of quantitative, 'scientific' methods for the study of self and identity." (2000, p. 10).

Thus, criminology cannot retain vibrancy, drive, or direction without the input of the subjective realms of thinking. Just as criminology cannot ultimately ignore its empirical obligations, nor can it ignore its inherently subjective, philosophical roots. Beccaria's (1764/1872) opus of rational choice and justice (taught in every undergraduate criminology theory class) sprung not from regression tables, but from deep introspection about the nature of justice. His position against torture, for example, derives not from survey research or statistical modeling, but contemplative and subjective reasoning. Similarly, Kant's conception of retribution against those who would harm the state's people, to the extent of prescribing death for murderers (1790/2010) is borne from internal and subjective reasoning, rather than a positivistic analysis of data. Indeed, Kant was not concerned about outcomes at all, empirically calibrated or otherwise. He argued subjective/internal judgments about morality based on the actor's intent, rather than the action's consequence. Kant reasoned from internal subjectivity, not from data tables. Yet, his work on duty-oriented formulations of the categorical imperative continues to appear in the typical university criminal justice ethics course.

Similarly, the American Psychiatric Association's Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (2013) (DSM-5) criteria for anti-social personality disorder denote externally observed benchmarks, measurable to an extent, and useful for diagnosticians. The DSM-5 supplies external, observable markers that may be checked (e.g., "deceitfulness, as indicated by..." [p. 659]). However, they do little to capture the reality of the damage, misery, and turmoil that such individuals inflict on others, or their internal lack of affect, conscience, or connection to others.

Thus, the subjective/internal and objective/external dimensions of thinking both contribute to the advancement of disciplinary knowledge, and it is folly to believe that criminology only exists on one side of Wilber's map (figure 1., below). At times, it is as irrational to rely only on external/objective/quantified verifications of the nature of criminality as it is to believe only what one hears at the local coffee shop or bar. Both are prone to error and missed reality. Both require measurement, according to persistence, consistency, and reasonableness.

Scholars may study criminology via detached, objective research, but it is hardly an academic exercise from the perspective of the victim, offender, community, or criminal justice agents. Also, "objective" research in criminology often springs from the values, interests, and personal narratives of the scholar. Such literature constitutes subjective intercourse that often carries its own political or sociocultural undertones. This subjectivity may not be inherently anti-academic, but note that even the most quantitative machinations of narrow science literature unfold (at least partly) from the subjective (left) quadrants (see figure 1 below). Scholars do not publish on topics that do not animate in some way.

Criminal acts are often maelstroms of emotions, harm, violence, destruction, and unalterable life events. This effect can be measured from an external standpoint, but such a right side (figure 1. below) only approach does not adequately capture the full reality of the original criminal act, nor that of crime in general. Furthermore, the direction of research itself is determined by how, and at which angle, the scholar chooses to engage reality, thereby imbuing it with shades of political ideology, worldview, and other value-laden effects.

Social psychologists who purport a narrative template for behavior have made similar assertions. Gergen and Gergen (1986) assert that pure objectivity is beyond the grasp of the scientific investigation if the operating terms of the inquiry cannot sufficiently capture the investigated reality. Similarly, Sarbin (1986) emphasized the importance of context, metaphor, narrative, and change as principles of understanding human behavior in contrast to traditional positivism. Although these authors spoke from the discipline of social psychology (and its narrative sub-discipline), it is readily applicable to criminology.

Narrative psychology employs a constructivist/quasi-constructivist (see Freeman's [2015] discussion) hermeneutic posture towards the human tendency to assemble and interpret life experiences into a cogent "story." These stories depend in part, upon collective cultural, archetypal narratives available to the individual, but also involve active internal/individual subjective activity as to how this autobiographical process evolves (Bruner, 2004). In Integral Theory terms, the left quadrants (both upper and lower- see figure one below) map out these subjective processes. The availability and nature of cultural narratives may vary. However, the broad Jungian ones such as Hero, Trickster, and Outlaw certainly play their roles, as well as Pearson's (1991) Warrior and Destroyer (Bruner also posits that specific, available narratives tend to characterize a culture). The NP model incorporates the influence of the cultural collective on one's autobiographical renderings, while simultaneously including the individual's role in the process (an upper left quadrant function). Bruner writes,

The heart of my argument is this: eventually, the culturally shaped cognitive and linguistic processes that guide the self-telling of life narratives achieve the power to structure perceptual experience, to organize memory to segment and purpose-build the very 'events' of a life. In the end, we *become* (emphasis original) the autobiographical narratives by which we 'tell about' our lives. (Bruner, 2004, p. 694).

Although Bruner was not alluding to IT, his points are Integral in nature. His quote demonstrates the recognition of how both the upper and lower left Quadrants emerged as fundamental points to the function of narrative inquiry.

The NP employs a social constructivist orientation and lies within the realms of the subjective/inter-subjective insights into human conduct (as opposed to strict empirical/external measurement of reality, which is a useful but limited mode of understanding). Although criminologists may intuitively apprehend the

importance of both subjective and objective dimensions of the study of crime, a meta-theoretical lens is necessary to incorporate both the subjective and objective dimensions. Wilber's Integral Theory is the model for the job. Yet, there has been only a limited attempt thus far to bring an Integral Theory approach to the discipline (Champion, 2017, 2011; Gibbs, Giever & Pober, 2000; Martin, 2006.) The study of criminology inherently resists a *strictly* empirical treatment (although it does require its inclusion as discussed by Rock and Holdaway [1998]). It intrinsically involves dimensions of morality, righteousness, harm, violence, terror, and other concepts that are not directly quantifiable. We assert that Wilber's four-quadrant Integral map (as it sets forth a cogent template for including the subjective/inter-subjective concepts into the mix of external/empirical "reality") establishes a necessary organizing structure for the incorporation of subjective/inter-subjective dimensions into the study of crime. Narrative psychology literature aligns with this approach and represents but one example of how criminology may benefit from an Integral vision.

It is vital to understand that the role of the Integral map is not to validate one claim over another (the narrative/interpretive vs. the empirical, or even strict rationalism vs. strict empiricism). The IT merely makes room to include the differing ontologies, with the caveat that their claims are for validity are each legitimate, as long as they are viewed under their own terms.

The Left Quadrant, Archetypes and the Narrative Dimension

Narrative Psychology

Narrative psychology (NP) emerged in the 1980s as a branch of social psychology that sought to move beyond many of the positivist assumptions of the field and explore what we identify as the intersubjective realm of the human condition. Specifically, this subfield studied the perennial cultural influence of storytelling, the dramatic arts, and persistent narrative themes on the motives and behaviors of humans, as they strive to filter the external realities of the world into some semblance of meaning. Borrowing from Peppers' (1972/1942) work, Sarbin offers the notion of stories as the "root metaphor" (Sarbin, 1986, p. 3) for human behavior. As such, NP asserts that stories, as a sort of dominant monad, serve as organizational frameworks for human experiences. People tend to interpret experience into recognizable and episodic arcs and rely on stories in order to do so (presumably, because they are readily accessible and have universal as well as a perennial appeal). The narrative is an organizational heuristic as people "impose structure on the flow of human experience" (Sarbin, 1986, p. 9). The components of narrative structuring incorporate some desired objective, such as a victory over adversity or defeating an enemy (K. Gergen & M. Gergen, 1986). Therefore, narrative psychology is one line of scholarship that includes the left/subjective quadrants within the overall understanding of criminology.

Sarbin (1986) considers the narrative as a "root metaphor" (p. 3) for the study of human conduct (drawing from Pepper [1942]), as an organizing principle for human experiences, and as a guide for actions (including moral choices). The lower left (LL) quadrant of cultural inter-subjectivism can influence the thinking and intentions of the upper left (UL).

As an example of this interface among the quadrants, consider again the instance of the psychopathic/anti-social sexual slayer mentioned above. The revenge/control fantasies of the upper left domain might well draw from the popular cultural artifacts of the lower left. These internal motivations eventually manifest in external behaviors (like another murder), which becomes measurable from the right quadrants. At the same time, the upper right physiological under-arousal markers continue to exist as externally validated measurements (were there anyone there to record them or not). Repeated serial/sexual homicides (committed by both the individual killer and others of his ilk) accumulate in collective systems of crime statistics in the lower right (external/collective). Aside from eventually culminating in objective system theorization and measurement about the class of serial killers, they may well also impact lower-left cultural reporting through narratives that are manifested in popular movies, books, television, and social media. Thus, the Integral vision of the quadrants is at the meta-level of organization and vision. It is a lens at the highest altitude that organizes all of this violent activity into a cogent whole.

Sarbin (1986) remarks that although the empirical side of the social sciences employs metaphors, they tend to be sterile and mechanistic, such as macrostructures and cognitive heuristics. Sarbin instead supports the inclusion of rich humanism, drama, stories, and cultural artifacts. In Integral terms (although Sarbin did not refer to Integral Theory, Sarbin seems to endorse the inclusion of left quadrant consideration as part of social science scholarship. This aligns with the Integral notion that grasping the "reality" of human behavior requires a vision that exceeds the scope of the right side/external/empirical domains. Such appeal to the inclusion of persistent stories, narratives, and the intersubjective is not one of speciousness or folly but simply an acknowledgment of a potentially useful method of inquiry into behavior and actions of humans (Sarbin, 1986).

The Narratives of Crime

It is impossible to capture the overall inertia and impact of storytelling, narratives, and myths of human culture, and it is nearly as difficult to represent those themes in the narrower context of criminality. However, it is useful to begin such identification of narrative themes that reflect the darker side of human nature. Gergen and Gergen (1986) assert that narratives provide a coherent structure to unfolding human experiences/events and foster the worthiness of the actor's well-being, the battle against and achievement of triumph over some perceived evil; the acquisition of something of value, and similar touchstones. In a narrative application of Integral Theory, the dramaturgical roots are not restricted to what one may consider "classic" established mythos or Jungian archetypes, but almost any current remnant from the scrapheap of popular culture. However, the established myths of human drama tend to persist over time.

Gergen and Gergen (1986) noted that narratives might be progressive or regressive in nature, reflecting a move away from the desired narrative goal. Similarly, Wilber (2000) has discussed how various stages of consciousness have both a healthy and a pathological dimension to them, in which things go awry in the person's development, and the stages/waves of evolution become arrested, fragmented, stunted or oppressive. In the same way, persisting cultural narratives may be manifested in behaviors that may be deemed as pro-social/law-abiding or criminal/pathological. Additionally, these manifestations (either positive or negative) occur in a continuum of behaviors, ranging from the mundane to exceptional. Therefore, how the individual acts out a Hero or Outlaw perennial narrative may vary from the legitimately heroic (saving children from a burning school bus); to the mundanely pro-social (helping a co-worker with an expense report); to the mundanely anti-social (stealing Post-it notes from the office); to the diabolical (mission-oriented serial killers), depending upon how the individual interprets and acts upon the narrative.

The Integral Map and the Quadrants

A full discussion of Wilber's Integral Theory exceeds the scope of this paper. However, some fundamentals of the basic principles are requisite. Wilber's Integral Theory (or IT) includes all aspects of human development, knowledge, and activity (also including the physical world). It functions as lens, meta-theory, and roadmap of science, philosophy, art, and morality. Various disciplines employ the IT approach as a model, including medicine, business, biology, criminology, psychology, the arts, and others (Wilber, 2000; 2003, 2007). Landrum and Gardner's (2012) article on corporate organization and IT; Esborn-Harger's (2006) work on IT and graduate education; Perloff's (2006) scholarship on IT and mediation and conflict resolution, and Wilber's (2009) perspective on IT and literary theory. The Integral perspective has also contributed to aspects of criminology, including theoretical orientation (Champion, 2011a; Gibbs, Giever & Pober, 2000; Martin, 2006); research conceptualization (Cohen, 2008; Cohen & Harvey, 2006; Cohen, Champion, & Martin, 2014; Martin, Cohen & Champion, 2013); police culture (Champion, 2017) and white-collar crime (Champion, 2011b), among others.

The model above represents traditional and persistent principles of human thought, activity, and development. The quadrants represent domains of knowledge and their progressive hierarchies in the traditional spheres of "big three" spheres of Arts, Morals, and Science, (alternately, the Good, the True, and the Beautiful) (Wilber, 1998, p. 74; 2001, p. 70). As such, they are lenses for the fundamental dimensions of human progression and actions. The model is an interpretation of the quadrant model as an interpretation of the traditional value spheres, distinguishing between the individual subjective, the intersubjective (collective/social/culture), and the external/objective realms. Wilber describes these as the "four corners of the known world" (p. 75), adding the lower right collective/objective as a means to include empirical/external systems (e.g., ecosystems). From a high-altitude, meta-theoretical lens (which is the tendency of the AQAL vision), the Big Three and the quadrants are crucial to grasping the noosphere of human thinking as well as the full span of the physical sciences.

The development of the Good (Morality) may best be understood from the upper left (at the individual level) and the lower left (social) quadrant. That is, good/morality might be perceived as a function of individual stage development progression, or as how one treats others/societal development (This lower-left domain is the spirit of justice of particular society. It is the profile of a particular community's/nation's moral stance at a given point of time). The right-side realms are the lenses of the external observation of both individuals (upper) and the objective understanding of systems (lower) (Wilber, 1998; 2001). The lower right realm includes bodies of statistics, theories based on macro-structural variables, and black-letter-law machinery of criminal procedure.

The right-side domains are the external observations of criminality. This realm reflects the empirical and quantitative: it supports the collection and interpretation of statistical data as well as interpretations of qualitative data. This interpretation of reality is characterized by objective observation, usually through the quantification of behavior and subsequent quantitative analysis. As a tool of inquiry, it is invaluable in outlining an external measurement of tested variables. The right quadrants impose a structure and rigor to the pursuit of specific lines of investigation. However, the external right quadrants do not capture the subjective aspects of crime.

The left subjective quadrants (both the individual as well as the collective) also contribute to the understanding of crime to the degree that is as important as empirical tracking. Even on empiricism's own terms, it has been demonstrated that sociocultural memes, subcultures, and media influence behavior, as do internal notions of morality (e.g., Calvert, et al., 2017; Meindl & Ivy, 2017; Rojek, 2017) These are some of the manifestations of the Left side perspectives. The upper left domain is the internal subjective landscape of the "I." It consists of cognitions, sensations, emotions, subsumed experiences at the individual first-person level (Wilber, 2007, p. 70). This lens encompasses the roots of art, philosophy, and other manifestations of the first-person subjective that Wilber equates to the Grecian "art" or "beautiful," as it encompasses the aesthetic world.

The lower left cultural/social quadrants reveal the intersubjective, i.e., the "We," or the shared collective. This realm holds the archetypal cultural lore of heroes, anti-heroes, love, romance, drama, action, revenge, and adventurism. These narratives also constitute some of the subjective markers of criminality, such as defiance or victory against perceived enemies.

Wilber (2001, p. 74) distinguishes between "narrow" and "broad" sciences, to differentiate between the natural/physical "hard" sciences and the disciplines that also investigate the subjective, interior realms like psychology, anthropology, and (of pertinence here) criminology. These "human sciences" are broader in scope as far as the quadrantal terrain that is covered in that they purport to incorporate both internal and external aspects (as well as individual and collective elements) of the human condition and spread their domain into the left quadrants. However, in venturing beyond the strictly empirical validation that characterizes the right quadrant narrow disciplines, the broad/soft sciences trade-off the traditional empirical (and often quantitative) validity checks that are the essence of the hard sciences. It is an exchange of precision and clarity for scope and insight; the comprehension that the inquiry into human subjectivity and the interior landscape is as "real" as the study of rocks, trees, circulatory systems, and the periodic table.

The caution here, as Wilber (2000; 2001) points out, is when the broader human sciences restrict themselves unnecessarily to the narrow, hard-edged, right-side lens of inquiry (or the “eye of the flesh” [Wilber, 1998]). Martin (2006) and Williams (1999), among others, have discussed this problem of self-limitation in criminology. In transcending that essential recognition, we introduce here how the left quadrants of individual and collective subjectivity (and more specifically the narratives of social construction) might provide pathways to a more profound and more fruitful understanding of criminality. Social psychologists Gergen, Gulerce, Lock, and Misra (1996) criticized the restriction of Western social/behavioral sciences in its willful ignorance of the cultural (LL in Integral terms) contexts of behavior and reducing them to a voice of “decontextualized vision with an extraordinary emphasis on individualism, mechanism, and objectivity.” (p. 498). Wilber (2000) makes a similar observation, differentiating Eastern and Western approaches to consciousness: “Cognitive science admirably brings a scientific empiricism to bear on the problem, but often ends up simply reducing consciousness to its objective dimensions, neuronal mechanisms, and biocomputer-like functions, thus devastating the lifeworld of consciousness itself.” (p. 2).

Therefore, as the right quadrants reflect the empirical and externally observable nature of phenomena, they provide an essential rigor to the study. Empirical rigor maintains quality control of sorts on subjective intuitions about crime, but only to a certain extent. The vital role of external empiricism is to filter out erroneous subjectivisms about criminality and to prevent the field from becoming a cacophony of barroom philosophizing and myth perpetuation. It is indeed what separates uninformed, popular-cultural-driven guesses about criminality from a rigorously established body of knowledge. The objective right-side quadrants provide deliberation and process to the understanding of crime and the state’s reaction to it. As it is problematic and limiting to ignore the Left side perspectives, so it is to ignore the Right.

Big Picture Approaches: The Role of the Left Quadrants

The high altitude perspective of the meta-theoretical lens has been the topic of discourse from scholars such as Mills (2000) and Peppers (1961). Mills’ contends that the “Grand Theory” vantage precludes finer level empirical observation, which he characterizes as the “absence of a firm sense of genuine problems” (Chapter 2, Section 2, para. 2). We contend that abstracted empiricism is a form of category error (Wilber, 1998), in which the close-level objective observation is mistaken as the total reality of a criminological construct. This fallacy is due to a lack of regard for internal subjective/intersubjective concerns such as justice, fairness, equity, righteousness, an outrageous violation of human rights, or any other meaningful context. Moreover, this fallacy is driven by the notion that internal quadrants play no role in the study of crime, despite the glaring discrepancy that without inter-subjectivity, the very idea of “crime” is meaningless. As Mills writes, the “details, no matter how numerous, do not convince us of anything worth having convictions about.” (Chapter 2, Section 1, para 15).

The Reality of the Left Quadrants: Validity Claims

If social constructivism/narrative lines from the left quadrants capture reality as legitimately as do the right-hand empirical quadrants, the obvious question is, how can one test, or verify such claims? Wilber cites Habermas’s (1984) validity claims (p. 99-100) of subjective and intersubjective spheres as a means of multi-quadrant verification. Habermas offers the following validity claims from an actor communicating from the right and left quadrants:

1. The objective world (as the totality of all entities about which true statements are possible)
2. The social world (as the totality of all legitimately regulated interpersonal relations);
3. The subjective world (as the totality of the experiences of the speaker to which he has privileged access) (1984, p. 100)

Habermas distills these to the truth, rightness, and sincerity (1984, p. 100). Truth corresponds to the Right side external empirical validations of objects and systems. “Rightness,” as used here, may be defined as righteousness or justice, and represents the moral line of the LL collective. The validity is determined by the “fit/misfit” of the actor’s utterances/actions in accordance with whichever quadrantal lens is being used to observe the phenomenon in question. The validity of the subjective (UL) is grounded in the sincerity of the act or the communication for the actor. The validity of the (LL) social collective is regulated by its generalized, collective righteousness. These three realms (which Wilber further divides into a fourth through the addition of an LR systems/collective external) roughly align with the Wilberian map. However, the hermeneutic lens of the LL quadrant reflects more than morality and includes social culture, media, trends, norms, and the social roots of laws. The backdrop of human stories and dramas reside in the LL quadrant as part of this social milieu.

On a related issue, a recent American Psychological Association (APA) task force report on qualitative research recommendations responded to concerns in the field that review procedures for qualitative article submissions tended to be rigid and contradictory (Levitt, Motulsky, Wertz, Morrow & Ponterotto, 2017). Although qualitative research is aimed at maintaining scientific and empirical rigor (external/right-side validity) it also focuses on the internal/experiential phenomena of social processing and employs “natural language and other descriptive and interpretive forms of human expression in their data, analysis and findings” (Levitt, et al., 2017, p. 3). Among the proposed recommendations were that qualitative work be reviewed in terms of its *fidelity* and *utility* as core components of the work’s overall methodological integrity (Levitt, et al., 2017, p. 9). These compose the overall “trustworthiness” of the research, which relates in part to capturing left quadrant/internal realities (albeit to the standards of the right-side empiricism). Still, the recommendations hold promise for scholarly inquiry into the left side domains.

Implications

The narrative line of social psychological research aligns with the overarching IT/AQAL structure. A multi-quadrant approach to criminality may provide additional insights and groundwork from which to generate new avenues of thought. The Integral perspective (specifically the lower-left cultural/intersubjective collective) expands the field’s understanding of criminogenesis, as well as the practice of criminal justice. The narrative psychology subfield is an exemplar of how the Integral vision allows criminologists to pull from other fields to gain insights into their discipline. The AQAL approach allows for consideration of the subjective and objective. It comprises the individual and the collective in considering the expansive landscape of the study of crime. The narrative approach to understanding human behavior is merely one example of how the inclusion of all quadrants may benefit an overall approach to the discipline.

Discussion

The IT/AQAL perspective is wide-ranging and lends itself to myriad interpretations. As a meta-theoretical lens, IT represents a unique posture towards criminology that readily includes established knowledge. The AQAL map assembles and organizes the diverse aspects of the field—from postmodern feminist deconstructions to treatises on blood spatter analysis. An Integral vision includes all dimensions of the field and retains the value and dignity of each. Each thread of scholarly contributions may be valued on its own quadrantal terms, as adopting an Integral vision allows for a more expansive and organized lens of the criminological landscape.

The discussion of narrative psychology here demonstrates how various established schools of thought that are not necessarily part of the typical criminological theory bullpen may be effectively incorporated into the field. The basic tenets of narrative psychology, which enjoys empirical support as well as a reasoned structure that draws from the internal subjective aspects of stories and culture, provides a means of understanding criminality. Beach (2010, p. 15) refers to the narrative “puzzle” of human thought. He formulates it as three progressive questions: How electrical discharges of human bodily systems transform into

sensory perceptions of discrete external objects; how the discrete events are processed into sequential narratives and subjective meanings, and how these narrative expectations result in behavioral actions.

Beach's (2010) puzzle of narrative inquiry demonstrates the organizing power of the AQAL/IT perspective. The formulating questions progress from the right side exterior quadrants (electrical impulses and bodily systems), how they are processed into left side internal quadrants (subjective processing of external events into narrative meaning (including both individual and collective/cultural renderings) that results on observable behaviors (right quadrants again).

Crossley (2000) discusses how the field of psychology must deal with fundamental questions of the self and identity. Crossley laments, "We bumble along like second-rate detectives, fitting the pieces together as we go, but invariably fail to pull it all together..." (p. 3). Crossley was referring to psychology's efforts to formulate a cohesive theory of the self and identity, but it effectively serves as an example of the broader, fundamental challenges facing the criminology discipline. Criminal justice scholars, educators, and students are continually sorting through wide-ranging theories and practical knowledge that originate from sweeping and seemingly unrelated corners of epistemology that have a general connection to bad behavior and the state's reaction to it, but with no adequate superstructure to order them into a cogent formation. AQAL/IT provides that superstructure. The narrative theory demonstrates but one example of how the four-quadrant lens simplifies and orients knowledge. What Crossley (2000), Beach (2010), and Freeman (1993, 2015) seem to be seeking when they set forth the narrative theory is what AQAL/IT provides for all modes of human inquiry. The IT takes one step back (or up) from a narrative inquiry into the meta-theoretical range, where it can lay down an epistemological map to make sense of the wide-ranging bits and pieces of extant scholarship.

The field, in both teaching and research, would benefit from a vision that transcends the oft-compartmentalized approach to the discipline. This is not a call to reject external/empirical rigor, quite the opposite. External empiricism must be functional under its own terms, or else it loses its power. The field demands empirical testing and external observation and measurement of variables that operate within the external/objective realms. For example, analysis of crime prevalence statistics, demographics, and recidivism rates are squarely within the jurisdiction of the right exterior quadrants. The study of lawbreaking motivations, attitudes, and criminal narratives are less so, except to the extent that their behaviors may be measured. External observation-only minimally captures the reality of trauma, hate, fear, control, frustration, and revenge that often accompanies criminal actions. The externally observed behaviors are the stuff of the right quadrants. The subjective geneses of these behaviors are not.

Indeed, external measurement does not even come into play until there is an interior-based idea leap of intuition, reaction, or perception. When the behaviorists rejected the entire notion of investigating the internal/subjective as a "black box" (Skinner, 1977) and psychology as "a purely objective, experimental branch of natural science which needs introspection as little as do the sciences of chemistry and physics" (Watson, p. 253, 1913), they are affirming the existence of the Integral framework. They simply choose to explore right quadrant territories. The behaviorists deliberately exclude left-side internal workings of human behavior as useful instruments of calibrated study, thereby avoiding Wilber's (1998) conception of the *category error* (i.e., forcing one quadrantal domain onto another, resulting in nonsense such as empirical calibration of poetry greatness mentioned above). Theirs is obviously not an all-quadrant approach to research, but they grasp the importance of the differentiation between the objective/external and the subjective/internal. They consciously decided to restrict their own inquiries as to the most practical.

Hollywood and popular fiction are notoriously inaccurate much of the time. However, they exist as a reality in the lower-left quadrants, in the Habermasian sense of *truthfulness* (that is, an authenticity from the subjective voice), an authenticity that claims validity from its widespread cultural inculcation. There are truths, or realities of a sort, operating from the lower-left cultural quadrant. The subjective lower-left cultural stories drive right quadrant behaviors, (as some narrative psychologists contend). As but one example, scholars that include a West Point psychology professor (Grossman, 2014), as well as a meta-analysis by an APA task force (Applebaum et al., 2015), have reported a significant correlation between violent video games and criminal aggression. Grossman goes further, arguing that interactive violent video games "indiscriminately

condition our children to kill” (2014, Killing and science..., para. 42). The ubiquitous lower-left phenomenon of violence-based games has assumed a powerful component of contemporary lore. This relationship seems to be (at least partially) empirically substantiated by the APA task force study. However, further research into long-term trends of active shootings and homicides in general would be necessary to explore this relationship.

Narratives, as artifacts of the left quadrants, eventually manifest themselves in observable right quadrant behaviors and events. In the same manner, right side perspectives of human criminality (such as the FBI Uniform Crime Report (UCR), the Bureau of Justice Statistics (BJS), and other quantifications of human suffering) eventually filter into the lower-left intersubjective (however distorted). Fear of crime, the perpetuation of myths, and popular media (mis)representation of everything from serial killers to police procedures continue to fascinate the public as cultural lore.

Therefore, criminology requires an AQAL perspective to sort this all out and to move beyond the assemblage of a piecemeal understanding of the complexity of the broad swath of the discipline. The IT map provides a standardized lens for criminal justice study, i.e., policing, courts, corrections, theory, research, and fundamental ideas about the nature of the relationship between state control and individual freedoms.

The span of criminology is wide-ranging, rich, and eclectic. It is also inextricably bound to the subjective and the intersubjective quadrants. Consider the themes of recent past professional meetings of the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences (ACJS): *Justice, Human Rights and Activism* (2019), *Advancing Justice on All Fronts* (2016), *Linking Teaching, Practice, and Research* (2017), *The Politics of Crime and Criminal Justice* (2013). Similarly, the American Society of Criminology has hosted recent meetings with culturally linked themes: *The Many Colors of Crime and Justice* (2016) and *Criminology at the Intersections of Oppression* (2014) (Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, 2018). It is clear that the discipline already recognizes the import of the human inter-subjective aspect. What it requires is an overarching framework for it, a map of the landscape and its varied domains.

In terms of theory, the field need not be fractious or contradictory. Sutherland’s Differential Association Theory (Sutherland & Cressey, 1996) need not negate Skinnerian behaviorism, and Hare’s (1998) seminal work on psychopathy need not conflict with Gottfriedson and Hirschi’s General Theory of Crime (1990). The AQAL/IT perspective includes voices from all quadrants. As a field, criminology should consider the integration of all learned offerings, if those offerings are thoughtful, reasoned, authentic, and valid in accordance with their quadrantal claims (as Habermas defines them). The narrative line of psychology, as discussed above, is but one of many examples the AQAL/IT’s value in taking on the formidable task of engaging criminology’s wide scope.

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