



**UNIVERSITY OF
PORTSMOUTH**

**An Exploration of Animalistic and Mechanistic
Dehumanisation in Public Attitudes Towards
the Rehabilitation and Sentencing of Violent
and White-Collar Offenders**

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Abstract

The role of dehumanisation in public attitudes towards offenders has become a recently explored phenomenon in scholarly research. However, it was identified that the literature base was limited in scope and required further exploration. The present research concerns itself with two forms of dehumanisation: 1) animalistic dehumanisation (viewing offenders as animals); 2) mechanistic dehumanisation (viewing offenders as machines). The present research analysed the roles of animalistic and mechanistic dehumanisation in public attitudes towards the rehabilitation and sentencing of violent and white-collar offenders. Findings showed that animalistic dehumanisation plays a significant role in public attitudes towards the rehabilitation and sentencing of violent offenders. The same results were found with white-collar offenders but in a mechanistic form. Thus, suggesting that as dehumanisation increases, public support for rehabilitation decreases, and support for higher sentences increases. Findings also present initial evidence to suggest that tabloid newspaper consumption plays a significant role in the influencing of public dehumanisation of offenders. It is argued that these findings pose negative implications for the potential outcomes of offender rehabilitation.

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Statement of Originality

Dissertation submitted as partial requirement for the award of MSc Criminology and Criminal Justice

Title: An Exploration of Animalistic and Mechanistic Dehumanisation in Public Attitudes Towards the Rehabilitation and Sentencing of Violent and White-Collar Offenders

Submitted by: Mr Lloyd Christian Peter Paskell

Declaration: I confirm that, except where indicated through the proper use of citations and references, this is my own original work. I confirm that, subject to final approval by the Board of Examiners of the Institute of Criminal Justice Studies, a copy of this Dissertation may be made available electronically in the Library Dissertation repository and may be circulated as required.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Background Information

Dehumanisation is defined as “the act of perceiving or treating people as if they are less than fully human” (Haslam & Stratemeyer, 2016: 25) and has been argued as “a uniquely dangerous intergroup attitude” (Goff, Jackson, Di Leone, Culotta, & DiTomasso, 2014: 526). Haslam and Stratemeyer (2016) note that dehumanisation has become an ever-increasing topic of scholarly research over the past fifteen years. Bandura and colleagues were some of the first social psychologists to pioneer the early theorising of dehumanisation (Bandura, Underwood, & Fromson, 1975; Bandura, 1999; Bandura, 2002; Osofsky, Bandura, & Zimbardo, 2005). Empirical research, however, did not emerge until the early stages of the twenty-first century (Haslam & Stratemeyer, 2016). In 2006, Haslam was the first to propose a theoretical framework for understanding dehumanisation. This comprises two forms of dehumanisation: *animalistic dehumanisation* and *mechanistic dehumanisation*. Animalistic dehumanisation refers to viewing humans as animal-like; whereas mechanistic dehumanisation refers to viewing humans as machines, or in some cases objects, whereby human traits such as warmth or emotionality are removed (Haslam, 2006). It is only until recently that empirical research has begun to explore the role of dehumanisation in public attitudes towards offenders (Viki, Fullerton, Raggett, Tait & Wiltshire 2012; Stevenson, Malik, Totton & Reeves, 2014; Fincher & Tetlock, 2016). Vasiljevic and Viki (2013) have contended that evidence of offenders being dehumanised can be witnessed as far back as Cesare Lombroso, whereby

physical attributes of offenders were seen as primitive or animal-like. They argue that even today images of offenders in the media are portrayed as savages or subhuman, and to some extent, these atavistic views of the 19th Century are still held by the public today (Vasiljevic & Viki, 2013). Indeed, previous research conducted by Viki and colleagues, suggests that when the public dehumanise sex offenders in an animalistic form, they are more supportive of harsher sentencing and are less likely to support rehabilitation (Viki et al., 2012). Vasiljevic and Viki (2013) assert that since the majority of offenders will inevitably re-enter the community, and be amongst the public again, then their rehabilitation should become number one priority. Despite this, however, they argue that the public possess sceptical views about the effectiveness of rehabilitative programs. Moreover, they state that “such rehabilitative programs cannot succeed without the support of the public. As such, public attitudes towards crime, offenders, and rehabilitation can have a bearing on the outcomes of offenders.” (Vasiljevic & Viki, 2013: 130). Indeed, research has shown that those experiencing dehumanisation can experience cognitive and emotional consequences, in which an individual can develop problems associated with sadness and anger (Bastian & Haslam, 2011). Arguably, these experiences have the potential to reverse any positive developments made towards rehabilitating an individual with anger problems, such as a violent offender.

Viki et al. (2012) found in their research that as public dehumanisation towards sex offenders increases, support for their rehabilitation decreases, and sentencing increases. Vasiljevic and Viki (2013) argue that future research testing the same hypothesis should show similar trends with other types of offenders, but not to the same extremity, taking into consideration the particularly pernicious nature that sex offences hold. Viki et al. (2012) highlight that their research is the first and

only known piece of published research to empirically analyse the correlation between dehumanisation and public support for rehabilitation. A caveat of their research, however, is that it only explored the role of dehumanisation in public attitudes towards sex offenders (Vasiljevic & Viki, 2013). Therefore, the present research attempts to expand upon this limited literature base, by examining dehumanisation towards other types of offenders; specifically testing their hypothesis against violent and white-collar offenders. It is worth mentioning at this stage that the rationale behind using the case of white-collar offenders is to test the mechanistic form. Due to the very nature of white-collar crimes, arguably, this group of offenders are typically associated with connotations of mechanistic dehumanisation, such as lack of warmth or emotionality. A further rationale behind using the case of white-collar offenders and violent offenders is to examine the extent to which offenders as a group in general are a target of dehumanised; due to the disparate nature of violent and white-collar offences. Moreover, if dehumanisation does have a potential bearing on the outcomes of effective rehabilitative programs, as Vasiljevic and Viki (2013) argue, then further research is required for other types of offenders. Since there is a lack of empirical research surrounding the topic of dehumanisation in public attitudes towards rehabilitating offenders, it is arguable that further research is required to test hypotheses and expand upon other offence types. Advancing on a research recommendation provided by Viki et al. (2012), this research attempts to explore dehumanisation further, by analysing the animalistic form of dehumanisation for violent offenders and the mechanistic form for white-collar offenders.

Research Aim and Objectives

The aim of the present research is: to explore the roles of animalistic and mechanistic dehumanisation in public attitudes towards the rehabilitation and sentencing of violent and white-collar offenders. In order to achieve this aim, three objectives were met. Firstly, to conduct a literature review surrounding dehumanisation and offender rehabilitation. Secondly, to undertake web-based surveys with the public, measuring animalistic and mechanistic dehumanisation of violent offenders and white-collar offenders and public attitudes towards offender rehabilitation and sentencing. Thirdly, to provide a critical analysis examining the extent to which dehumanisation has an impact on an offender's potential for rehabilitation. This final objective is discussed in the conclusions and implications chapter.

The Present Research

The present research was a cross-sectional study, employing a positivist approach, using statistical analysis. A web-based survey was advertised online through social media; in addition to two advertisements on the University of Portsmouth student forums at the Institute of Criminal Justice Studies (ICJS). One advertisement was targeted toward postgraduate students on various courses at ICJS, and the second advertisement was targeted toward undergraduate students studying Criminology in their second year. The sample consisted of 72 participants (Males = 24 Females = 48), with a mixture of students and non-students. Ages of participants were grouped into three categories: 18 to 24; 25 to 34; and 34 to 45+. The research collected data for three key variables measuring: 1) dehumanisation; 2) support for rehabilitation;

and 3) sentencing. The structure of the survey was split into five sections: 1) demographic questions about the participant (i.e. age, gender, class etc); 2) a measure of animalistic dehumanisation of violent offenders and recommended sentencing; 3) a measure of support for violent offender rehabilitation; 4) a measure of mechanistic dehumanisation of white-collar offenders and recommended sentencing; 5) a measure of support for white-collar offender rehabilitation. In the animalistic dehumanisation of violent offenders section, participants were presented with a fictional vignette of a violent offender, outlining their criminal history and the violent crime they were most recently taken into custody for (common assault). With approval from the original lead author, questions and dehumanisation words in the present research were adapted from previous studies (Viki, Winchester, Titshall, Chisango, Pina, & Russell, 2006; Viki et al., 2012). Participants were firstly asked to rate on a 7-point Likert scale (*0 = not at all to 7 = very much*) the extent to which they would associate the offender described in the vignette, using four human words and four non-human words associated with animalistic dehumanisation (*Brute, Humanity, Person, Wild animal, Savage, Human, Civilian, Beast*). Participants were then asked to rate on an 8-point Likert scale (*0 = none at all to 8 = 10 years +*) the sentence they would recommend giving the offender. In the subsequent section, participants were asked an 8-item measure of support for rehabilitating violent offenders. For the next section, participants began the measure of mechanistic dehumanisation phase. Participants were presented with a fictional vignette of a white-collar offender, pertaining to their criminal history and the crime they were most recently arrested for (identity fraud/online fraud). Participants were asked again to rate on a 7-point Likert scale (*0 = not at all to 7 = very much*) the extent to which they would associate the offender with four human words and four non-human words associated with the

mechanistic form of dehumanisation (*Calculating, Humanity, Person, Emotionless, Cold, Human, Civilian, Unfeeling*). Subsequently, participants were asked to rate on an 8-point Likert scale (*0 = none at all to 8 = 10 years +*) the sentence they would recommend giving the offender. Participants were then advanced to the next section, measuring support for rehabilitating white-collar offenders, using the same questions as the violent offender section. Participants were then screened to a debrief page and thanked for their participation.

This research makes four major hypotheses. Firstly, it is hypothesised that as animalistic dehumanisation increases, support for rehabilitating violent offenders' decreases. Secondly, as animalistic dehumanisation increases recommended sentencing for violent offenders also increases. Thirdly, it is hypothesised that as mechanistic dehumanisation increases, support rehabilitating white-collar offenders' decreases. Finally, as mechanistic dehumanisation increases so does recommended sentencing of white-collar offenders. Although the present research concerns itself with four major hypotheses, the present research also attempts to explore the role of the media in influencing public attitudes towards the dehumanisation of offenders. This will be explored in the literature review chapter, findings and discussion chapter, and the conclusions and implications chapter.

Chapter 2: Literature Review

Introduction

The present literature review surrounds the general topics of dehumanisation, offender rehabilitation, and public attitudes to crime and offenders; however, subchapters explore these notions in greater depth. The first subchapter provides an overview of Dehumanisation and outlines the current research of dehumanisation in the context of offenders. In the Offender Rehabilitation subchapter, an overview of offender rehabilitation is discussed, with a discussion concerning the relevant models of rehabilitation; namely, the risk-need-responsivity model (RNR) and the Good Lives Model (GLM). The following subchapter, Desistance, discusses the definitions of desistance and how this relates to dehumanisation and the present research. The final subchapter, Public Attitudes to Crime and Offenders, explores the literature surrounding public attitudes to crime and offenders, how this relates to dehumanisation and punitiveness, and the role of the media in public attitudes towards offenders.

Research discussed in this literature review was obtained from The University of Portsmouth Library and online academic search engines, including the University of Portsmouth discovery search tool, refseek, and Google Scholar. Since dehumanisation and offender rehabilitation intertwine within multiple fields of research, a variety of academics journals have been explored in order to provide a broad range of research literature on the topic, from the Journal of Criminal Justice to the Journal of Applied Social Psychology. Key search terms used to source online

based literature include dehumanisation/dehumanization; dehumanisation and offenders; offender rehabilitation; risk-need-responsivity model; Good Lives Model; desistance from crime; public opinion/attitudes and offenders; media and dehumanisation of offenders. It is worth noting that whilst most literature surrounding dehumanisation uses the Americanised spelling of the word, this dissertation uses the British spelling, since the research was conducted in the United Kingdom.

Dehumanisation

Dehumanisation has been defined as “the act of perceiving or treating people as if they are less than fully human”, and has become a key field of scholarly exploration over the last fifteen years (Haslam & Stratemeyer, 2016: 25). Haslam and Stratemeyer (2016) contend that seminal research of the 20th century, in this field, has predominantly focused on the role of dehumanisation in war and human acts of atrocities. Haslam and Loughnan (2014) note that social psychologists were some of the first analysts to discuss notions of dehumanisation in the context of mass murdering. Bandura and colleagues extensively discussed notions of dehumanisation in the context of what he referred to as moral disengagement (Bandura, Underwood, & Fromson, 1975; Bandura, 1999; Bandura, 2002; Osofsky, Bandura, & Zimbardo, 2005). Bandura (2002) asserted that dehumanisation allows people to disengage from normally moral conduct, in order to commit acts of atrocities. Initial research suggests that people who are given the authority to act punitively towards a dehumanised group, tend to act more punitively towards those than the group attributed with human attributes (Bandura et al., 1975). Empirical research in this field, however, only emerged in the early 2000s (Haslam &

Stratemeyer, 2016), with work first being produced by Leyens and colleagues who researched what they termed as “infrahumanization”. This type of dehumanisation was concerned with intergroup relations, exploring how in-groups dehumanise those considered as part of an out-group by denying them human emotions (Leyens et al., 2000). More recent research has explored infrahumanization further, by examining perceptions of out-group members (Gypsies and Germans) by the in-group (Spaniards), in the context of mechanistic and animalistic dehumanisation (Martínez, Rodríguez-Bailón, & Moya, 2012). Martínez and colleagues found that members of the in-group were more likely to associate Gypsy surnames with animals and German surnames with machines (Martínez et al., 2012).

Animalistic dehumanisation versus mechanistic dehumanisation.

In 2006, Haslam was the first scholar to propose a theoretical framework for dehumanisation (Haslam, 2006). Haslam (2006) refers to these types of dehumanisation as *animalistic dehumanisation* and *mechanistic dehumanisation*. Animalistic dehumanisation refers to the treatment of humans as sub-human, to the extent that they are viewed as animal-like. Mechanistic dehumanisation, on the other hand, refers to viewing humans as machines, or, as Haslam puts it “automata” (Haslam, 2006: 252). Haslam (2006) notes that animalistic dehumanisation involves the removal of human qualities associated with warmth, emotions, or compassion, rendering the individual to that of a machine. As aforementioned, the present research concerns itself with both the animalistic form and the mechanistic form. Drawing from a research recommendation provided in a previous research study by Viki et al. (2012), this dissertation attempts to explore how violent and white-collar

offenders might be dehumanised differently. Viki et al. (2012) note that animalistic dehumanisation might be more associated with violent offenders; whereas mechanistic dehumanisation might be more associated with white-collar offenders.

Dehumanisation and offenders.

Haslam and Stratemeyer (2016) note that recent scholarly research has explored a wide variety of targets of dehumanisation. For example, research has explored the role of dehumanisation in attitudes towards African Americans (Costello & Hodson, 2014; Mekawi, Bresin, & Hunter, 2016). Key research in this area has explored this phenomenon further, by investigating “black/ape association” amongst black boys (Goff et al., 2014: 526). This research, by Goff and colleagues, found that when black boys are implicitly associated with black apes, they are viewed as less childlike to their white peers (Goff et al., 2014). They add that “this research suggests that dehumanization is a uniquely dangerous intergroup attitude” (Goff et al., 2014: 526). A more recently researched target of dehumanisation has been offenders; whereby sex offenders have been the focal point of particular attention (Viki et al., 2012; Stevenson, Malik, Totton & Reeves, 2014; Fincher & Tetlock, 2016). It has been argued that sex offenders are the most universally despised and vilified group of offenders by the public (Wakefield, 2006), which perhaps explains why they the particular focal point for research surrounding public attitudes to crime and offenders. However, in the field of dehumanisation, other offence types should also be explored, in order to assess the wider social implications for offenders as a whole. Vasiljevic and Viki (2013) have contended that some people in modern society perceive offenders as savages or subhuman, in which the media portray offenders

as monstrous beings that do not deserve empathy. Vasiljevic and Viki (2013) further argue that the notion of offenders being subhuman is not a modern phenomenon, but it is embedded in human history. Vasiljevic and Viki (2013) argue that this can be witnessed as early as Cesare Lombroso, whereby physical attributes of offenders were considered as animals or primitive beings. Lombroso's methodology epitomises the extent to which the nineteenth century dehumanised offenders (Jahoda, 1999), which associates itself with the Darwinian science behind biological criminology of the time (Lilly, Cullen, & Ball, 2010). Vasiljevic and Viki (2013) state that "interestingly [though] some of these views still influence people's judgements of criminals in Western contemporary society" (2013: 129). It is this influence that the present research attempts to explore, by analysing animalistic dehumanisation of violent offenders, but, furthermore, to explore mechanistic dehumanisation of white-collar offenders. Research conducted by Viki et al. (2012) has found that sex offenders are significantly dehumanised by the public, which has a negative influence on support for their rehabilitation. Additionally, they argue that their findings also indicate initial evidence towards the notion that offenders as a general group are dehumanised. The present research attempts to investigate whether the same results are found with other types of offenders; namely, violent and white-collar offenders. Furthermore, other findings in Viki et al.'s (2012) study found that there is a positive correlation between dehumanisation and harsher sentencing given to sex offenders. Research by Vasquez and colleagues, has also demonstrated that animalistic descriptions of crime, compared to non-animalistic descriptions, results in a harsher punishments given to an offender (Vasquez, Loughnan, Gootjes-Dreesbach & Weger, 2014). Corroboratively, research by Bastian and colleagues has also found that dehumanisation plays a role in punishment decision making, as

well as the severity of punishments (Bastian, Denson, & Haslam, 2013). The present research also attempts to draw from these findings, by exploring whether dehumanisation does have a significant effect on support for rehabilitation and sentencing recommendations. Furthermore, whether this is apparent for different offence types and different forms of dehumanisation. It has been argued that currently there is a lack of research examining the role of dehumanisation and public attitudes towards offenders (Vasiljevic & Viki, 2013); therefore, the present research attempts to build upon this scant knowledge base.

Offender Rehabilitation

Historically, the notion that offenders could be treated emerged from the liberal reforms of the early stages of the twentieth century (Hollin, 2007). This new rehabilitative approach held that an array of measures involving social welfare and improvements of education were required in order to reduce crime (Hollin, 2007). Robinson and Crow (2009) have argued that the concept of rehabilitation is a difficult term to define, as the term can hold different meanings amongst practitioners. Other analysts, including Walker (1991), have placed preference for the term “correction”, as it is argued to be a much more noncommittal word than the term rehabilitation. However, this term is arguably more negative in nature, implying that an offender is an abnormality that needs to be corrected. Various other terms associated with rehabilitation include: reform; redemption; reintegration; resettlement; and re-entry (Robinson and Crow, 2009: 14). Marsh, Cochrane, and Melville (2004) further support the notion that the terms reform and rehabilitation are interchangeable in their use; however, they further note that reform refers to an offender being given the

opportunity to change; whereas rehabilitation refers to a more regulated planning of an imposed treatment program onto the offender. For the purpose of the present research, the term rehabilitation will be used, as it will be exploring public attitudes to whether an offender can change their behaviour and if they deem rehabilitation to be a worthy approach. Furthermore, it is arguable that in the public's view, rehabilitation is an all-encompassing term (i.e. reform, reintegration, resettlement) that is likely to be the most recognisable and understandable term by the British public, when understanding offenders changing their behaviour and desisting from crime. Therefore, the term rehabilitation will be used within this particular research as it researches attitudes of the British public.

The risk-need-responsivity model.

The risk-need-responsivity model (RNR; Andrews & Bonta, 2010) originally came about in the 1980s from Canada (Ward & Maruna, 2007), having been produced in 1994 in its fullest form by Andrews and Bonta (Polaschek, 2012). This has been the accepted paradigm for offender rehabilitation over the past two decades (Casey, Day, Vess, & Ward, 2012) and has been the theoretical framework used around the world (Polaschek, 2012). In 1990, Andrews, Bonta, and Hoge proposed three principles for offender rehabilitation to be effective; these were risk, need, and responsivity (Andrews, Bonta & Wormith, 2011). Andrews, Bonta and Wormith (2011) state that offender treatment programmes that use the principles of the RNR model have shown significant decreases in recidivism; whereas interventions that do not adhere to the principles aligning with the RNR model have failed to produce a

reduction in recidivism and, in some cases, recidivism has even increased (Andrews & Bonta, 2010; Andrews, Zinger, Hoge, Bonta, Gendreau, & Cullen, 1990).

The good lives model.

Another prominent model used within offender rehabilitation is the Good Lives Model (GLM), first developed by Ward and colleagues (Ward & Gannon, 2006; Ward & Stewart, 2003). GLM is an alternative approach to the RNR model that does, however, draw from its core principles of risk, need, and responsivity (Ward & Fortune, 2013). The GLM is a strengths-based approach to dealing with offender rehabilitation by adding to the principles associated with the RNR model, whereby offenders are helped to develop meaningful life plans for their future that are not compatible with a previous life of offending (Willis, Prescott, & Yates, 2013). The GLM is termed a strengths-based approach, because, firstly, it aims to establish capabilities within the offender that are aligned with their core values and interests; and, secondly, it aims to capitalise on the strengths of the individual offender (e.g. mechanical abilities) (Ward & Fortune, 2013). The basic assumption of GLM is that all human beings construct their lives around what they believe to be a good life plan (Ward, Yates & Willis, 2012). The aim of the GLM is to assist offenders in achieving a good life, by providing them with the resources they needed (Ward, Yates & Willis, 2012).

One of the major principles that forms the very basis of the GLM is that “offenders are *human beings* with aspirations similar to those of non-offenders” (Andrews, Bonta, & Wormith, 2011: 739). Further to this, the very nature of the RNR model and the GLM is that it requires the recognition of, and treatment of, an

individual's needs in order to rehabilitate an offender. "A consequence of this positive turn [RNR & GLM] is that it encourages practitioners to view offenders as "people like us"" (Casey et al., 2012: 33). Thus, the notion of encouraging practitioners, and to a further extent the public, to treat offenders as "people like us" suggests that humanising individuals, to the extent that they are viewed as equals to the general public, is an essential component for rehabilitation to have the potential to successfully work. Indeed, prisons such as Bastoy, in Norway, have epitomised this notion, "...where inmates are treated like people" (James, 2013). Research has shown that offender rehabilitation practitioners significantly humanise sex offenders more than general members of the public, as they have better quality contact with the offenders. Consequently, practitioners were also more inclined to support sex offender rehabilitation (Viki et al., 2012). This coincides with Bandura's (2002: 110) notion regarding "the power of humanisation". Bandura (2002: 110) emphasised the positive nature of humanising an individual, whereby "...the affirmation of humanity can bring out the best in others". Furthermore, as Vasiljevic and Viki (2013) have argued, in order for a criminal justice system to be successful in rehabilitating offenders, it requires support from the public. Arguably, if people dehumanise offenders and dehumanisation plays a role in attitudes towards offender rehabilitation, then this counteracts the very humanising principles that underpin the GLM and the RNR model, which could pose wider implications for outcomes of offender rehabilitation.

While the research evidence shows that rehabilitative programs have been effective in reducing recidivism (Cullen, 2002; Cullen & Gendreau, 2002), other research suggests that some members of the public have sceptical views towards the effectiveness of rehabilitation programs (Sundt, Cullen, Applegate, & Turner,

1998; Sample & Bray, 2006); whereas criminologists, such as Ward and Maruna, have argued that “lots of us believe in rehabilitation as an ideal and as a science – indeed, public opinion share these views with those of us in the criminology business” (Ward & Maruna, 2007: IX). Vasiljevic and Viki (2013) contend that since the majority of offenders are eventually going to re-enter the community, their successful rehabilitation should be number one priority. Furthermore, such rehabilitative programs cannot be successful without public support (Vasiljevic & Viki, 2013). Thus, the present research attempts to investigate whether the public are sceptical about the effectiveness of rehabilitative programs, and the implications of dehumanisation on the outcomes of offender rehabilitation.

Desistance.

Over the last two decades, exploration into desistance based research has been on a steady incline (Hunter, 2015). There have been numerous studies focused on gaining a better understanding of when and how offenders desist from crime (Bottoms, Shapland, Costello, Holmes & Muir, 2004; Farrall & Calverley, 2006; Farrall & Maruna, 2004; Laub & Sampson, 2001, 1998; Maruna, 2001). Maruna et al. (2013) proposes two distinguishable forms of desistance, in order to overcome problems encountered when defining desistance. These can be categorised as “primary desistance” and “secondary desistance”. Primary desistance refers to a “crime-free gap” during the offender’s criminal career. Secondary desistance, on the other hand, refers to “the movement from the behaviour of non-offending to the assumption of the role or identity of a “changed person””, or, the chance to become “normal” again (Maruna et al., 2013: 19). Therefore, primary desistance does not provide the same level of theoretical interest that secondary desistance does, as

secondary desistance is the notion of preventing the act of reoffending of an individual indefinitely (Maruna et al., 2013). Little research has explored the implications of dehumanisation in the realm of desistance. The present research concerns itself with secondary desistance, by critically analysing the extent to which a person can change themselves, indefinitely, and cease offending permanently, in order to become “normal” again, when they, in fact, are dehumanised by the public.

Public Attitudes to Crime and Offenders

Public attitudes towards offenders, and how they are treated, is arguably an important concern for academic research. It has been argued that in England and Wales, and the United States, governments have based their justification for harsher penalties, harsher regimes, and the removal of rights from prisoners, defendants, and those suspected of crimes, on the sole basis of satisfying public opinion (Hancock, 2013). Garland (2001) has contended that society is experiencing the process of a “punitive turn”, whereby experts and practitioners are no longer looked to for guidance; but, instead, it is the public’s opinion that guides contemporary penal politics (Garland, 2001). Since the public are looked to for politically penal decision-making, it is arguable that their opinions are of key importance in academic research, as they hold a great deal of influence on penal politics. In a similar vein to Garland’s notion of a “punitive turn”, Pratt (2007) originated the term “penal populism”, in which contemporary governments use penal policies as a tactic for winning votes of the public. Pratt (2007) also observed that the term penal populism originally stemmed from the term “populist punitiveness”, coined by Bottoms (1995), which was “intended to convey the notion of politicians tapping into and using for their own

purposes what they believed to be the public's punitive stance" (Bottoms, 1995: 20, cited in Pratt, 2007: 2). Although the evidence suggests that a large proportion of the public demand that something is done to address concerns about crime, fear of crime, and victimisation; there is a lack of empirical research to suggest that harsher penal and criminal justice policies are a favourable approach in dealing with an offender's behaviour (Hancock, 2013). Hancock (2013: 55) contends that some theorists have exhibited a sense of unease in the discourse surrounding the public having a more prominent role in the decision making of how the criminal justice system is operated. Hancock (2003) argues further that punitive attitudes do exist among the public. Simultaneously, Dowler (2003) has argued that the public receive the majority of their knowledge about crime and the criminal justice system through the media. The present research attempts to explore how dehumanisation manifests itself in public attitudes towards offenders as well as the extent to which the media influences the dehumanisation of offenders. While empirical research thus far has explored dehumanising attitudes towards sex offenders (Viki et al., 2012; Stevenson, Malik, Totton & Reeves, 2014), there is a lack of empirical research examining dehumanising public attitudes towards other types of offenders and whether type of dehumanisation varies. As Viki et al. (2012) contend, their research is the first known published piece of research to analyse dehumanisation and attitudes towards the rehabilitation of offenders.

Thus, public attitudes towards crime and offenders have been a prominent area of concern for scholars, which emphasises its importance for conducting further research. The present research draws from Hancock's (2013) assertion that there is a lack of empirical research to suggest that a harsher stance is a more favourable approach amongst the public when changing an offender's behaviour. The present

research explores this assertion further to examine whether the public feels that rehabilitation is a worthy pathway for changing an offender's behaviour, by conducting a measure of support for rehabilitative treatment. In addition to measuring recommended sentencing by the public. Furthermore, exploring whether this varies with types of offenders; namely, violent offenders and white-collar offenders. A further point worth mentioning is that support for rehabilitation and more punitive sentencing may not be synonymous, as previous research has found that public attitudes towards sex offenders are not only supportive of harsher punishments, but also supportive of rehabilitation (McCorkle, 1993). This dissertation's research attempts to explore whether public attitudes towards offenders can be punitive with regards to sentencing, but simultaneously supportive of rehabilitative treatment.

The media and public attitudes to crime and offenders.

A further area of literature worth discussing is the role of the media and public attitudes towards offenders. Wood and Viki (2001) have noted that some researchers have found that the media portrays crime in a misleading way (Wright, Cullen, Blackenship, 1995). This could arguably cause wider social implications as Dowler (2003) has argued that public knowledge about crime and the criminal justice system is predominantly derived from the media. Indeed, there has been an abundance of research over the last fifteen years, which has found that media consumption influences perception of crime, the criminal justice system, and fear of crime (Dowler, 2003; Dowler & Zawilski, 2007; Rosenburger & Callanan, 2011; Callanan & Rosenburger, 2015). Vasiljevic and Viki (2013) have argued that the

media consistently portrays offenders, with animal-like depictions. Research has shown that the media propagates inaccurate and extreme dehumanising depictions of refugees and immigrants, which negatively distorts public perceptions (Esses, Veenvliet, Hodson, & Mihic, 2008; Esses, Medianu, & Lawson, 2013). Other research has found that media organisations use animalistic images of terrorists to construct negative portrayals of Arabs and Muslims amongst the public as the “enemy”, which has wider implications towards inciting racist views (Steuter & Wills, 2009). There is, however, a lack of research examining the role of the media in influencing the public dehumanisation of offenders. Research conducted by Harper and Hogue (2014: 12) found in their content analysis that tabloid newspapers used significantly more dehumanising language towards sex offenders than broadsheet newspapers; portraying sex offenders as “monsters” or “beasts”. While the present research aims to generally explore the role of dehumanisation in public attitudes towards rehabilitation and sentencing, the role of the media in influencing public dehumanisation of offenders is also explored. Moreover, the extent to which there is a difference in dehumanisation between different types of newspapers read (tabloid/broadsheet). Since there is a lack of research examining the role of the media in influencing public attitudes towards the dehumanisation of offenders, the present research will be a starting point for the literature base.

Conclusion

This chapter has outlined three general areas of research pertaining to the present research. Firstly, it was identified in the dehumanisation subchapter, that two forms of dehumanisation will be analysed; animalistic dehumanisation and mechanistic

dehumanisation. It was identified that the animalistic form is associated with violent offences and the mechanistic form is associated with white-collar offences (Viki et al., 2012). It was also noted that while the field of dehumanisation has been theoretically explored since the mid-twentieth century, empirical research in this field has only begun to be explored since the turn of the twenty-first century (Haslam & Stratemeyer, 2016). Furthermore, there is a lack of research in the field of dehumanisation and attitudes to crime and offenders (Vasiljevic & Viki, 2013). Current empirical research has predominantly explored dehumanisation of sex offenders (Viki et al., 2012; Stevenson, et al., 2014; Fincher & Tetlock, 2016). Thus, the present research builds upon this by exploring the dehumanisation of other offenders. Within the field of offender rehabilitation, two models were highlighted: the RNR model and the GLM. It was observed that the principles underlying these models are humanising in nature and if the public dehumanise offenders, and dehumanisation does indeed play a role in attitudes towards rehabilitation, then this presents wider social implications for the outcomes of offender rehabilitation. Indeed, research has shown that those experiencing dehumanisation can experience cognitive and emotional consequences, in which an individual can develop problems associated with sadness and anger (Bastian & Haslam, 2011). Additionally, it was noted that while public attitudes to crime and offenders has been an important topic for social analysts (Bottoms, 1995; Garland, 2001, Pratt, 2007; Hancock, 2013), there is a lack of empirical research to suggest that a harsher stance is a more favourable approach in dealing with an offender's behaviour (Hancock, 2013). As Maruna notes in the offender rehabilitation subchapter, "lots of us believe in rehabilitation as an ideal and as a science – indeed, public opinion share these views with those of us in the criminology business" (2007: IX). Therefore, the present

research seeks to explore these assertions further. In the next subchapter, the literature concerned itself with public attitudes to crime and offenders. It was noted that the media has an influence on public knowledge of crime and offenders (Dowler, 2003). It was noted that although some research has found the media to dehumanise offenders (Harper & Hogue, 2014), and other research has explored the role of the media and the dehumanisation of refugees and immigrants (Esses et al., 2008; Esses et al., 2013), there is a lack of research surrounding the influence of the media on public dehumanisation of offenders. Therefore, the present research further explores this gap in the literature.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Research Design

Rationale and strategy.

The present research employed a positivist approach. Since the present research was concerned with collecting large amounts of data, regarding public attitudes, the researcher employed the use of a cross-sectional, web-based survey. Positivism is said to be the methodological foundation of research methods such as surveys and experimental design (Jupp, 2006). The decision to use this approach was chosen for a variety of reasons. Firstly, the very nature of surveys being cheap to produce, easy to distribute, and the ability to target a large sample of participants (Walliman, 2006). Furthermore, the survey method's ability to be representative of the overall population being studied (Walliman, 2006). Secondly, the survey was cross-sectional, since it collected data on just one occasion, from a chosen population (the British public), in order to make inferences about that population (Lavrakas, 2008). Closed-ended questions were used for two reasons. Firstly, they were used to replicate the same style of questions as used in previous research (Viki et al., 2012; Viki et al., 2006). Secondly, closed-ended questions are useful because they are easy for participants to answer (Walliman, 2006). Furthermore, closed-ended questions means that answers are easily processed, since answers have already been assigned an appropriate code derived from the questions being asked (Bryman, 2016). The rationale behind using a web-based survey was based on a

number of reasons. Firstly, there are a variety of advantages to adopting a web-based survey. For example, web-based surveys allow for automatic coding and data file creation (De Vaus, 2014). Since statistical tests were carried out using a statistical software package (SPSS), this was highly advantageous as all responses were already coded. This allowed for data analysis to be carried out in a timelier manner. Additionally, web-based surveys provide computerised response types, including scales or drop down lists, which arguably provides a more engaging and attractive interface for participants (De Vaus, 2014). This allows for the potential to lead to better response rates (De Vaus, 2014). Moreover, web-based surveys are becoming an increasingly fundamental tool of research in a plethora of fields, including social research, marketing, and official statistics (Fielding, Lee, & Blank, 2008). Therefore, in light of these reasons, a web-based survey was deemed to be the most appropriate form of survey for the present research.

Sample design.

With regards to the sample design, it was decided that the sampling frame would be a mixture of students and non-students. A mixture of postgraduate and undergraduate students were obtained through a combination of convenience sampling and snowball sampling. Bryman (2016: 187) states that “a convenience sample is one that is simply available to the researcher by virtue of its accessibility”. Therefore, since students were the most accessible demographic available to the researcher at the time, they make up a large proportion of the sample. Students were invited to take part in research via the Institute of Criminal Justice Studies’ Moodle discussion forums. The undergraduates targeted were Criminology students

in their second year of study. The rationale behind this was based on three separate thoughts of logic: 1) Second year students were more likely to respond. Since first year students are in the early stages of their study, they may not take as much interest in participating as second year students may do; 2) Second year students will inevitably be thinking about their own dissertations, which might increase the likelihood of their participation; 3) Third year students have graduated, meaning they may not see the advertisement anymore or may not take as much interest in participating. For the non-student proportion of the sample, an advertisement was placed on social media accounts through the use of Facebook and Twitter. Although the purpose of this advertisement was to obtain predominantly non-student participants, it was expected that some students will also be able to view the advertisement and have the potential to take part. Since the advertisement was posted publicly online, this meant that participants could share the survey link onto their own profile, for other members of the public to see, which accounts as a form of snowball sampling. Indeed, research has shown that virtual snowball sampling, through the use of Facebook, has a higher response rate than traditional techniques of snowball sampling (Baltar & Brunet, 2012).

The Research Procedure

The online survey was designed using the Bristol Online Survey tool (BOS, 2017). The present research collected three dependant variables. These were measures of dehumanisation, support for rehabilitation, and sentencing. For the structure, the survey was divided into five sections: 1) questions pertaining to demographic variables about the participant (i.e. age, gender, class, etc.); 2) a measure of

dehumanisation of violent offenders and as measure of sentencing; 3) a measure of support for rehabilitating violent offenders; 4) a measure of mechanistic dehumanisation of white-collar offenders and a measure of sentencing; 5) a measure of support for rehabilitation. Prior to beginning the study, participants were asked to carefully read an information sheet about the study and were asked to complete the consent form should they wish to proceed. The survey was designed so that if participants selected "no" when asked if they agree with all consent form statements, they were screened to a page explaining why they have been removed from the survey and thanking them for their time. Prior to beginning the dehumanisation measure, participants were given a series of demographic related questions, such as age, gender or class. Next, participants were asked questions relating to media consumption, such as amount of crime television watched, amount of news watched, and type of newspapers read. Subsequently, in the section pertaining to measuring animalistic dehumanisation of violent offenders, participants were presented with a vignette of a fictional violent offender (See Appendix E). This comprised their criminal history and the violent crime they were most recently taken into custody for (common assault). With the written approval of the original researchers, questions and dehumanisation words in the present research were adapted from previous studies by Viki and colleagues (Viki et al., 2012; Viki et al., 2006). Participants were firstly asked to rate on a 7-point Likert scale (*0 = not at all to 7 = very much*) the extent to which they would associate the offender described in the vignette, using four human words and four non-human words associated with animalistic dehumanisation (*Brute, Humanity, Person, Wild animal, Savage, Human, Civilian, Beast*). Participants were then asked to rate on an 8-point Likert scale (*0 = none at all to 8 = 10 years +*) the sentence they would recommend giving the offender. In the

subsequent section, participants were asked an 8-item measure of support for rehabilitating violent offenders. Previous research employed a 16-item measure (Viki et al., 2012); however, the authors were unable to provide documents pertaining to their survey questions. Therefore, an 8-item measure was employed and reliability analysis was carried out on the scales for the 8-item measure and found very high reliability ($\alpha = .893$). A reliability analysis was not provided in the previous research paper; however, since the present reliability analysis was very high, the scale can be considered as reliable. Full questions can be found in Appendix A and Appendix B; however, sample questions include “Rehabilitating violent offenders does not work” and “Rehabilitating violent offenders is a waste of tax payer’s money”. In the following section, participants began the measure of mechanistic dehumanisation phase. Participants were presented with a fictional vignette of a white-collar offender (See Appendix E). This vignette also comprised their criminal history and the crime they were most recently arrested for (identity fraud/online fraud). Participants were asked again to rate on a 7-point Likert scale ($0 = not\ at\ all$ to $7 = very\ much$) the extent to which they would associate the offender with four human words and four non-human words associated with mechanistic dehumanisation (*Calculating, Humanity, Person, Emotionless, Cold, Human, Civilian, Unfeeling*). Since mechanistic dehumanisation refers to the removal of human qualities, such as warmth or emotions (Haslam, 2006), four non-human words pertaining to mechanistic dehumanisation were chosen. Subsequently, participants were asked to rate on an 8-point Likert scale ($0 = none\ at\ all$ to $8 = 10\ years\ +$) the sentence they would recommend giving the offender. It is worth noting, at this point, that the maximum sentence for common assault is 5 years imprisonment (CPS, 2017a) and the maximum sentence for acts of fraud is 10 years imprisonment (CPS, 2017b).

Since the maximum penalty for acts of fraud is double that of violent offences, it worth comparing the two in the data analysis stage, to see if there is a difference in mean scores; therefore, to investigate whether or not one group is treated more punitively than the other. Following the sentencing question, participants were then advanced to the next section, which measured support for rehabilitating white-collar offenders, using the same questions as the violent offender section. Participants were then screened to a debrief page and thanked for their participation.

Data Analysis

Once the survey had closed, the finished data set was exported from Bristol Online Survey tool to SPSS, where statistical analyses were performed. Firstly, it was hypothesised that as dehumanisation increases, support for rehabilitation decreases. Therefore, the more offenders are dehumanised, the less likely the public are to support rehabilitation. For the data analysis of violent offenders, responses for the human words were reverse coded and averaged to give an overall measure of animalistic dehumanisation of violent offenders. Reliability tests were then performed for the animalistic dehumanisation scale ($\alpha = .83$) and the mechanistic scale ($\alpha = .75$); in addition to the rehabilitation scales for violent offenders and white-collar offenders. Subsequently, for the rehabilitation measure, responses were reverse coded and averaged. Due to the nature of all statements being opposed to rehabilitation, reverse coding was required, so a measure of support for rehabilitation could be established. For the measure of sentencing, only one scale was used; therefore, no reverse coding or averaging was required. For ease of data analysis, responses for sentencing were created into a new variable column. Following this

procedure, the same process was carried out for all measures concerned with white-collar offenders. Once measures had been established, a Pearson's r Test was performed. Pearson's r Test is "a measure of association used to explore the association between two interval variables" (David & Sutton, 2011: 627). This test was carried out to test the significance of associations between all three variables of animalistic dehumanisation, support for rehabilitation, and sentencing for violent offenders. Subsequently, a scatter graph was produced to see if a visual correlation could be seen between dehumanisation and support for rehabilitation. Next, a scatter graph was produced to see if a visual correlation could be seen for the relationship between sentencing and animalistic dehumanisation, and the relationship between sentencing and support for rehabilitation. Subsequently, the same procedure was carried out for white-collar offenders. Next, Paired-Samples T-Tests were performed to test the significance of difference between animalistic dehumanisation and mechanistic dehumanisation; attitudes towards rehabilitating violent offenders and rehabilitating white-collar offenders; and sentencing of violent offenders and white-collar offenders. In addition, significance tests were then run for demographic variables about the participants, as collected in the first section of the survey. Demographic variables included: age, gender, class, and level of education. Significance tests were then performed, to analyse their relationships with the dehumanisation variables. Finally, variables pertaining to frequency of crime based television watched, frequency of news watched, and type of newspaper read were analysed with the dehumanisation measures using significance tests and figures.

Ethical Considerations

For the research to be considered as ethically sound, an ethical narrative was written, comprising a full consideration of all potential ethical issues. Prior to conducting the research, code of ethics provided by The British Society of Criminology (British Society of Criminology, 2015) were followed by the researcher. Following this, ethical documentation was completed and submitted to The ICJS Ethics Committee, which received a favourable opinion to commence research. With regards to the ethical considerations, the first code of ethic to be considered was informed consent. Since participants were required to complete an online survey, an information sheet was provided at the start and was followed by a consent form. This consent form required that participants read a series of statements carefully, and then either select yes they agree with all the above statements, or no they do not. The survey was designed so that if participants clicked 'yes', they were taken to the first section of the study to begin. However, if participants clicked 'no', they were removed from the study, given an explanation why they were removed, and thanked for their time and consideration in taking part. With regards to voluntary participation, it was outlined in the consent form and the information sheet that participants have the right to quit the survey at any point. For the ethical consideration pertaining to the safety of participants and the researcher, it was deemed that the study posed no risks to the participants or the researcher. Since the survey was completed online by the general public, there was no need for immediate contact between the participants and the researcher. In addition, since the research was not sensitive in nature, it was also deemed that the research posed no threat to the researcher, participants, or the organisational reputation of the University of Portsmouth. With regards to confidentiality and anonymity, participants were informed in the

information sheet that all responses were entirely confidential and all reasonable steps to retain anonymity would be maintained. Furthermore, the survey would not require participants to reveal any personally identifying information; nor would the data be accessible by anyone other than the researcher, and was also only accessible via a password-protected account. Since the survey was advertised online, this allowed for anyone to have an equal chance to take part. Therefore, equal opportunities for anyone to take part were adhered to. To ensure that participants were debriefed correctly, a separate page was provided at the end of the survey, explaining the reason for the research and thanking them for their participation. In light of data protection and freedom of information, participants were also given contact details of the researcher and supervisor, so that should they wish to know more about the research findings, then they have a point of contact. Additionally, since the Bristol Online Survey tool does not store participants' IP addresses, no personal data was be stored.

Strengths and Limitations

When evaluating the present research, there are a variety of strengths and weaknesses to be discussed. With regards to the limitations of the research, it can be seen to have three limitations. Firstly, the sample size only collected data from 72 participants; 48 of which were female participants. Naturally, this reduces the studies validity to a minor extent, as there is a gender imbalance. Secondly, due to the fact that only 72 participants were recruited, this means that it does not hold the same confidence level of generalisability as does the previous research. Previous research collected data from 120 participants, with an exact gender ratio of 50% (Viki et al.,

2012). In order to test the margin error for the present research sample, an online margin of error calculator was used (SurveyMonkey, 2017). This showed that for a confidence level of 95%, for a population size of the British public, there is a 12% margin of error. Therefore, the study is arguably generalisable to the British population to an extent; however, had the research obtained a larger data set, then it would possess more external validity. Since the present research was conducted as part of a year-long Master's dissertation, it was not expected to obtain a very large sample. A final weakness of the present research was that it was highly positivist in nature. If there was more time for the research project, then a mixed methods approach would have been adopted, by triangulating data obtained from other methods. These could have, perhaps, included interviews or focus groups, and a content analysis of newspaper articles pertaining to dehumanising language of offenders. Since a great deal of quantitative analysis was required for the nature of study, a mixed methods approach was not possible, due to time limitations. In light of these weaknesses, the study does possess valuable strengths. Firstly, the study can be considered as reliable. Since the survey incorporated various Likert scales, reliability tests were run on the relevant scales (Animalistic Dehumanisation Scale $\alpha = .825$; Mechanistic Dehumanisation $\alpha = .749$; Support for Rehabilitation of Violent Offenders $\alpha = .893$; Support for Rehabilitation of White-Collar Offenders $\alpha = .916$). Previous research by Viki et al. (2012) tested reliability of just the dehumanisation scale ($\alpha = .86$), which generally corroborates with the reliability scores in the present research ($\alpha = .825$). Internal reliability is the extent to which the indicators making up a scale are consistent with one another (Bryman, 2016). Since the scores are in line with previous research, and has a high range from $\alpha = .749$ to $\alpha = .916$, this study can be said to have internal reliability. An additional strength of the present research

is that it can be considered as replicable. Since the research has a detailed account of its research procedure, which has already been adapted by previously conducted research (Viki et al., 2006; Viki et al., 2012), it can be easily and readily replicated by future researchers. Furthermore, as data analysis was positivist in nature, future researchers who wish to replicate the study can cross-examine the present findings with their own, as quantitative data were collected and analysed. A final strength of the study is that it makes a valuable contribution to a limited area of research. As aforementioned, only one published research paper has tested the correlation between dehumanisation and attitudes towards the rehabilitation of offenders (Viki et al., 2012), which focused on a particularly extreme type of offences (sex offences). Not only does the present research test these findings, it also broadens its scope, by testing its findings with other types of offences (violent and white-collar). These findings are presented in the following chapter.

Chapter 4: Findings

The Role of Animalistic Dehumanisation in Attitudes Towards the Rehabilitation and Sentencing of Violent Offenders

Prior to conducting the research, two hypotheses were made pertaining to violent offenders. The first hypothesis of the study was that the more people exhibit animalistic dehumanisation towards violent offenders, the less likely they are to support their rehabilitation. The second hypothesis was that the more people dehumanise violent offenders, the higher the sentencing given. Using a Pearson's *r* test, results found significance in all correlations between animalistic dehumanisation, support for rehabilitation, and sentencing variables. Therefore, the findings indicate that the hypothesis is correct; thus, the null hypothesis can be rejected. These results suggest there is a negative correlation between the two variables of animalistic dehumanisation and support for rehabilitating violent offenders. Thus, these results suggest that the more people dehumanise a violent offender, the less likely they are to support their rehabilitative treatment ($p = < 0.05$). Additionally, these results suggest that there is a positive correlation between animalistic dehumanisation of violent offenders and higher sentences given; in addition to a negative correlation between support for rehabilitation and higher sentencing. Therefore, the more people dehumanise violent offenders, the harsher the prison sentencing. Descriptive statistics, means, and correlations are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics and Correlations**Descriptive Statistics**

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Animalistic Dehumanisation	4.2289	1.31645	71
Rehabilitation Violent Offenders	5.0952	1.24508	69
Sentencing Violent Offenders	5.1250	1.96403	72

Correlations

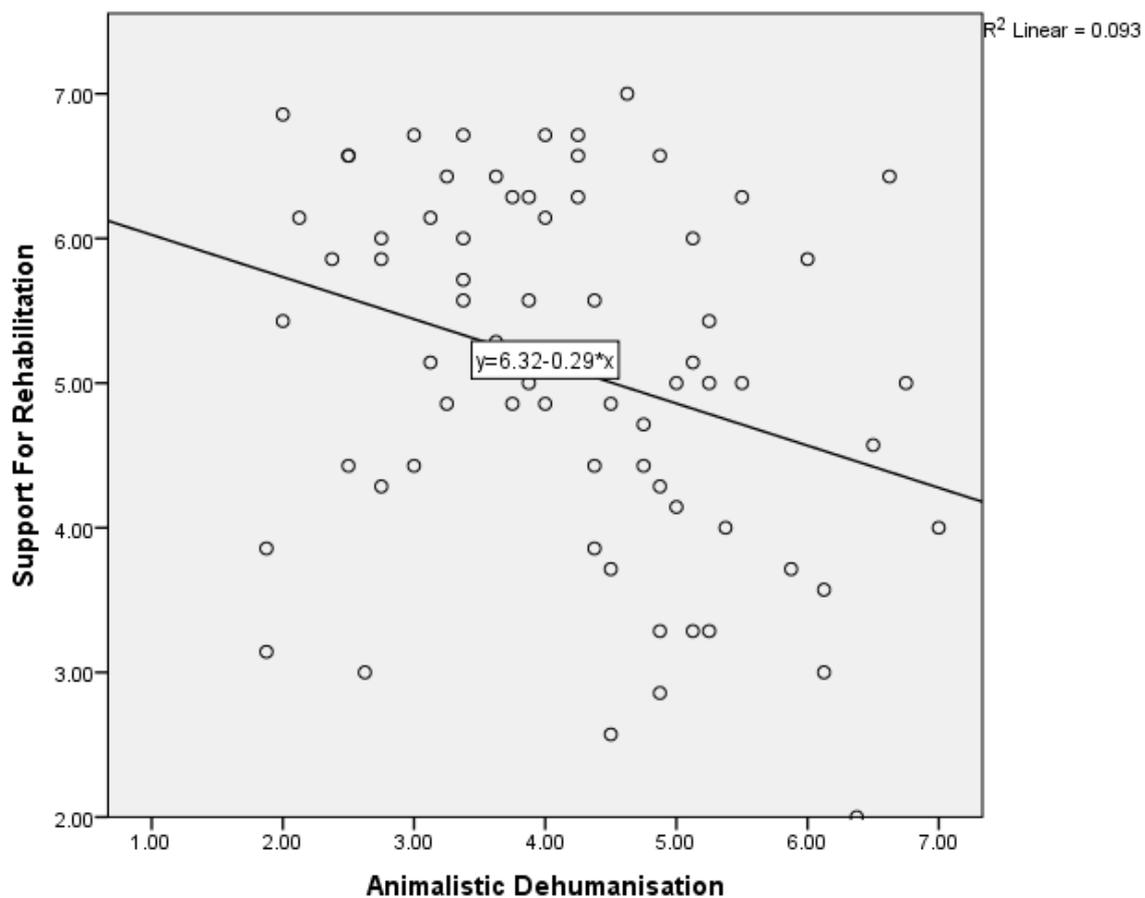
		Animalistic Dehumanisation	Rehabilitation Violent Offenders	Sentencing Violent Offenders
Animalistic Dehumanisation	Pearson Correlation	1	-.305*	.421**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.011	.000
	N	71	69	71
Rehabilitation Violent Offenders	Pearson Correlation	-.305*	1	-.506**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.011		.000
	N	69	69	69
Sentencing Violent Offenders	Pearson Correlation	.421**	-.506**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	
	N	71	69	72

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

The correlation between dehumanising violent offenders and support for rehabilitation was significant at the P-Value of less than 0.05, meaning that the correlation is significant. However, the correlation between dehumanising violent offenders and higher sentences was significant at the P-Value of less than 0.01, meaning the correlation is not only significant, but more significant than the correlation between dehumanisation and support for rehabilitation. The correlation is illustrated in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1: Correlation Between Animalistic Dehumanisation and Support for Rehabilitation



Although the Pearson test in Table 1 indicates a significant negative correlation between dehumanisation and support for rehabilitation, and the linear line in Figure 1 also confirms this, the graph does indicate a weak correlation. Although the graph suggests that a negative correlation is apparent between dehumanisation and support for rehabilitation, people are still generally supportive of rehabilitation. Since plots on the graph are quite high for support of rehabilitation, and the mean score is past the halfway point (Rehabilitation $M = 5.0952$), this suggests that people are generally still more supportive of rehabilitation than opposing it. However, there is still a significant negative correlation between the two variables as shown in Table 1. Therefore, these findings suggest that animalistic dehumanisation does play a role in people's attitudes towards violent offender rehabilitation; however, people are not necessarily completely opposed to the approach. This could perhaps mean that while people are more supportive of rehabilitation than opposing it, their confidence in the effectiveness of the approach decreases, as their dehumanisation increases.

The results of this study also suggest that animalistic dehumanisation also plays a role in sentences given to violent offenders, as there is a positive correlation between dehumanisation and recommended sentencing. This corroborates with previous research findings, which found that animalistic descriptions of offenders tend to receive higher sentences than non-animalistic descriptions (Vasquez, et al., 2014). These findings also corroborate with other previous findings which suggest that dehumanisation plays a role in punishment decision making and punishment severity (Bastian et al., 2013). Furthermore, the present study's findings also suggests that there is a negative correlation between support for rehabilitation and sentencing given. Thus, the more people dehumanise violent offenders, the higher the sentence given. Additionally, the less likely people are to support the

rehabilitation of violent offenders, the higher they recommended sentencing. The significance of these correlations can be seen in Table 1, at the significance level of less than 0.01. These correlations are also illustrated in Figure 2 below.

Figure 2: Correlations Between Animalistic Dehumanisation, Support for Rehabilitation, and Sentencing

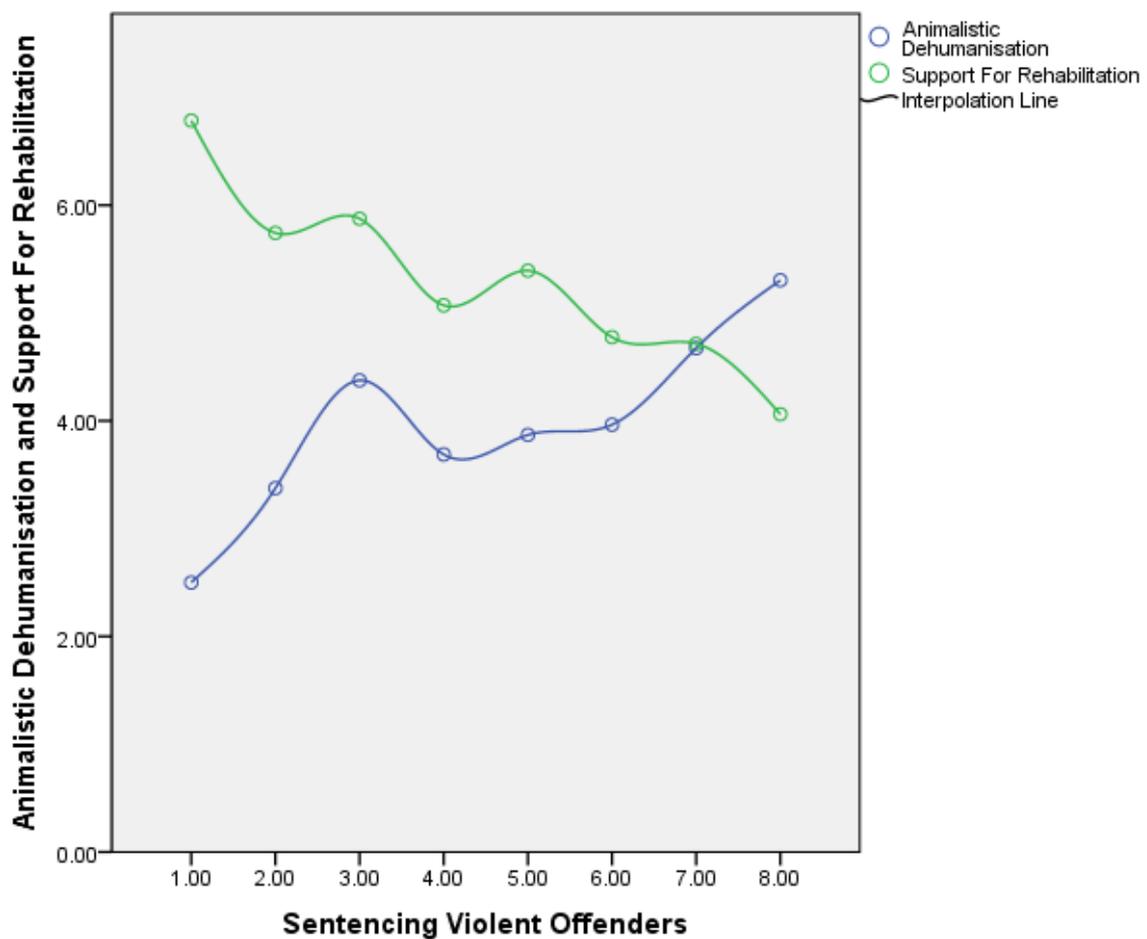


Figure 2 suggests that sentencing and support for rehabilitation are in opposition with each other, which further suggests that the less likely people are to support rehabilitative treatment, the more likely they are to support harsher punishment; which, in this case, is in the form of higher sentencing. Previous findings have suggested that people who support harsher punishments for sex offenders also believe that rehabilitative programs should be offered (McCorkle, 1993). These findings suggest, however, that as sentencing goes up, support for rehabilitation goes down. Despite this trend however, as mentioned earlier, rehabilitation as an ideal is generally still supported, with mean scores being past the halfway point (Rehabilitation $M = 5.0952$).

The Role of Mechanistic Dehumanisation and Attitudes Towards the Rehabilitation and Sentencing of White-Collar Offenders

As with the hypotheses pertaining to animalistic dehumanisation and violent offenders, the same hypotheses were made pertaining to mechanistic dehumanisation and white-collar offenders. It was hypothesised that the more people exhibit mechanistic dehumanisation towards white-collar offenders, the less likely they are to support their rehabilitation. Secondly, the more people exhibit mechanistic dehumanisation, the higher the sentences given. Using a Pearson's r test, the findings of this research found significance in all correlations between mechanistic dehumanisation, support for rehabilitation, and sentencing variables. Therefore, the findings indicate that the hypotheses are correct; thus, the null

hypotheses can be rejected. These findings suggest that there is a negative correlation between mechanistic dehumanisation and support for rehabilitating white-collar offenders. Therefore, the more people dehumanise white collar offenders in a mechanistic form, the less likely they are to support their rehabilitation. Furthermore, the more people dehumanise white-collar offenders, the higher the sentences they give. Descriptive statistics, means, and correlations can be found in Table 2.

Table 2: Descriptive Statistics and Correlations

Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Mechanistic Dehumanisation	4.8576	1.02528	72
Rehabilitation White-Collar Offenders	4.7404	1.40539	71
Sentencing White-Collar Offenders	5.5694	1.80630	72

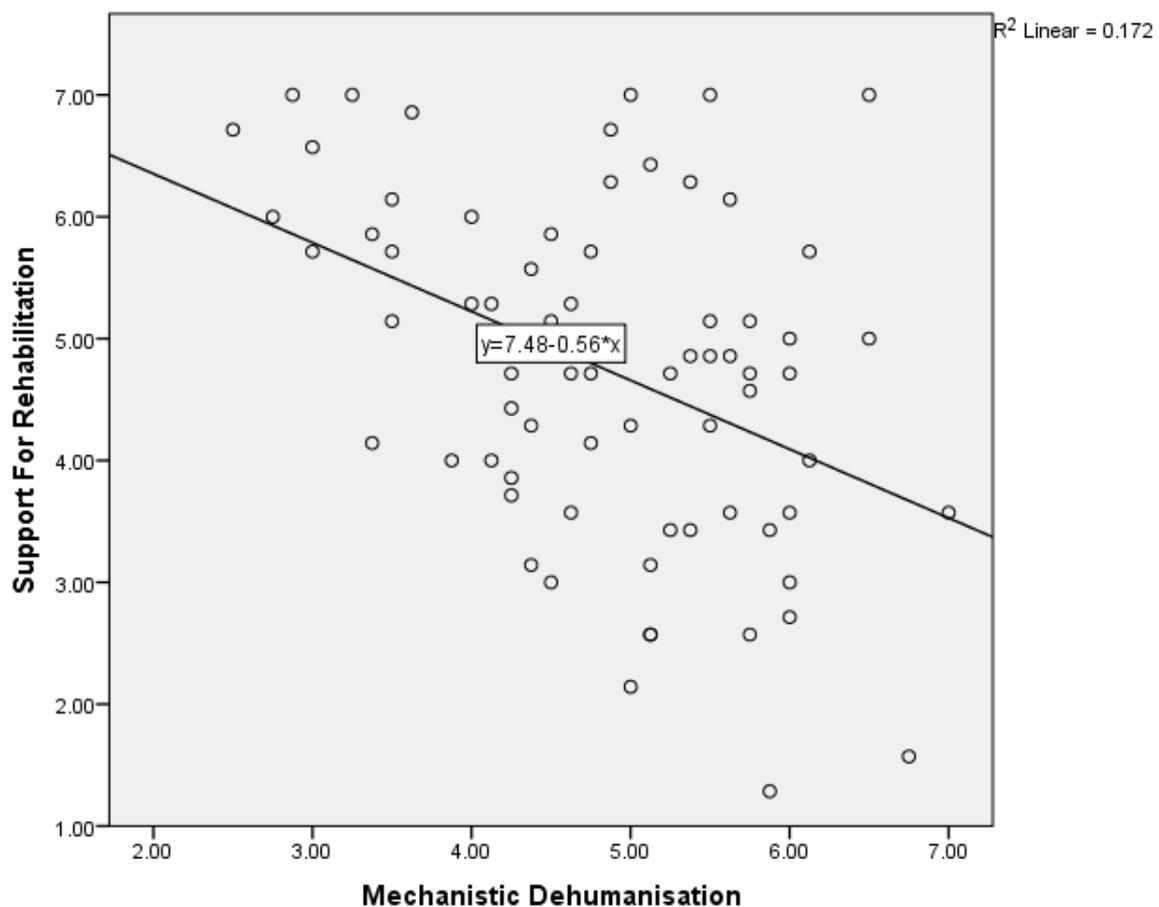
Correlations

		Mechanistic Dehumanisation	Rehabilitation White-Collar Offenders	Sentencing White-Collar Offenders
Mechanistic Dehumanisation	Pearson Correlation	1	-.415**	.342**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.003
	N	72	71	72
Rehabilitation White-Collar Offenders	Pearson Correlation	-.415**	1	-.564**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000
	N	71	71	71
Sentencing White-Collar Offenders	Pearson Correlation	.342**	-.564**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.003	.000	
	N	72	71	72

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

These findings corroborate with the findings as found with violent offenders. However, the statistical significance found with mechanistic dehumanisation and white-collar offenders was at a greater significance level than animalistic dehumanisation and violent offenders ($p = <0.01$). Despite this, both findings suggest that there is a correlation present within both groups of offenders. The negative correlation between mechanistic dehumanisation and support for rehabilitation is illustrated in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Correlation Between Support for Rehabilitation and Mechanistic Dehumanisation

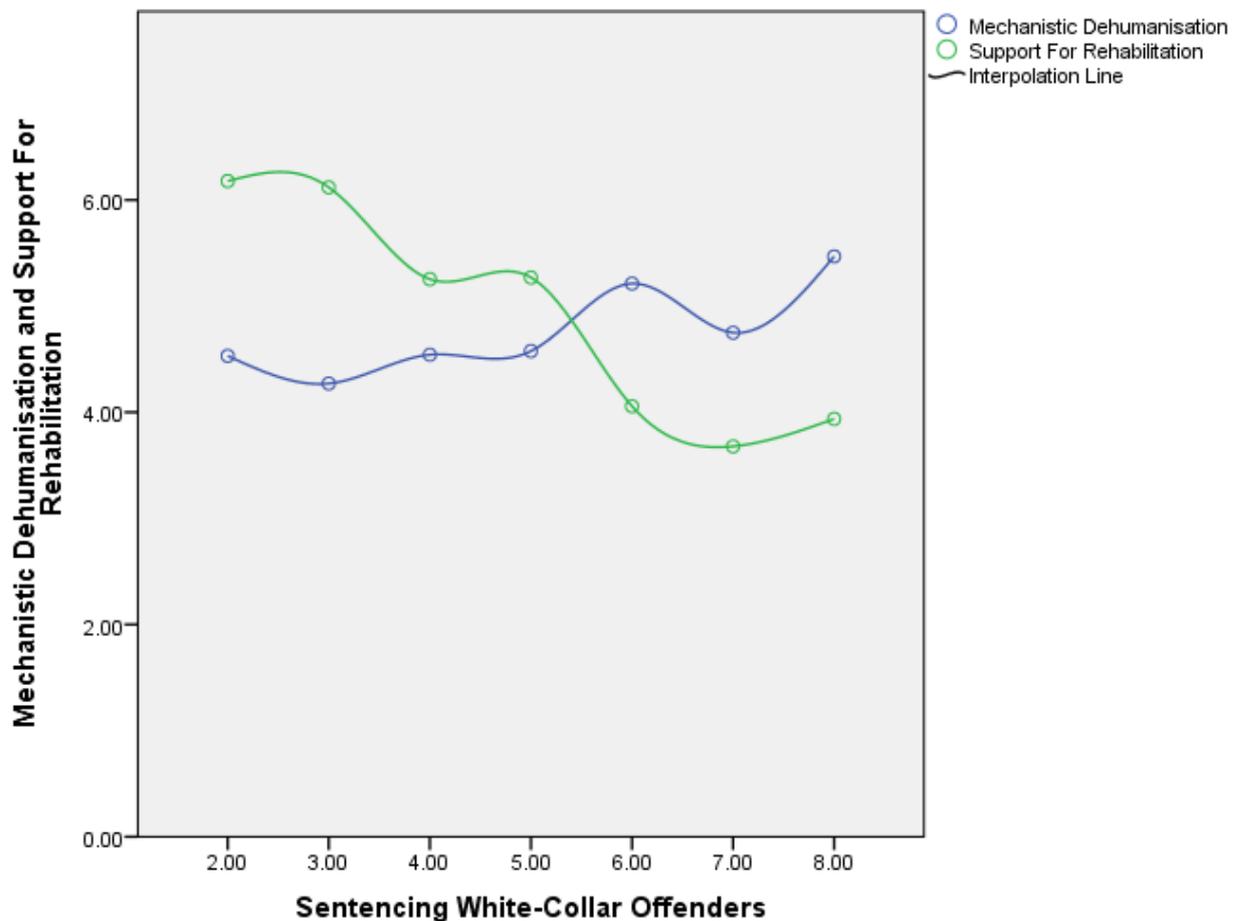


When comparing Figure 1 with Figure 3, it is evident that there is a stronger negative correlation between mechanistic dehumanisation and support for rehabilitation, than there is with animalistic dehumanisation. While the correlation for white-collar offenders is stronger, Figure 3 suggests that the correlation is to some extent a weak correlation, as the plots are still sparsely clustered. Despite this, Table 2 suggests that there is still a significant correlation ($p = <0.01$).

As with violent offenders, support for rehabilitation is still relatively high for white-collar offenders. This suggests that people do also generally support rehabilitation as an approach towards the treatment of white-collar offenders, with a mean score of over the half way point (Rehabilitation $M = 4.7404$). However, despite this, there is still a significant negative correlation between dehumanisation and support for rehabilitation. Therefore, although there is a correlation, this does not mean that the public are necessarily opposed to the approach of rehabilitative treatment. This could perhaps mean that while people are more supportive of rehabilitation than opposing it, their confidence in the effectiveness of the approach decreases as their dehumanisation increases.

As with violent offenders, the findings of this study also suggest that as dehumanisation of white-collar offenders increases, so does the recommended sentencing. In addition, the study's findings also suggest that there is a negative correlation between support for rehabilitation and recommended sentencing. Thus, as peoples' support for rehabilitation decreases, their recommended sentences increase. Both these correlations can be seen as illustrated in Figure 4.

Figure 4: Correlations Between Mechanistic Dehumanisation, Support for Rehabilitation, and Sentencing



Present Findings Versus Previous Findings

As stated in the literature review chapter, only one piece of published researched has examined the role of dehumanisation and attitudes towards rehabilitation (Viki et al., 2012). This research focused on the dehumanisation of sex offenders. When comparing the present findings with these previous findings, similarities and differences are visible and interpretations of these can be made. Table 3 highlights

previous findings conducted by Viki et al. (2012), while Table 4 highlights the present research findings. Firstly, the correlation between dehumanisation and support for rehabilitation in the previous research was significant at the level of 0.01, whereas the present research was only significant at the level of 0.05. This suggests that there is a stronger correlation between dehumanisation and support for rehabilitation as with sex offenders, than it is with violent offenders. As noted in the literature review, it was expected that the correlation would be apparent in other offence types; however, not to the same extremity as sex offending, due to the particularly pernicious nature of sex offences (Vasiljevic & Viki, 2013). Therefore, while there is a negative correlation between animalistic dehumanisation and support for rehabilitation, this research implies that it is not to the same degree as with sex offences. With regards to the mean scores for rehabilitation and sentencing, the scores generally match with the previous findings (Rehabilitation M = 5.05 / 5.0952; Sentencing M = 5.63 / 5.1250). In light of this, however, the mean score rehabilitation was higher for violent offenders than sex offenders, and the mean score for sentencing was higher in sex offenders than violent offenders; which suggests that the public are more punitive towards sex offenders than violent offenders and are less supportive of their rehabilitation.

An interesting point for discussion, is the difference in mean score for dehumanisation (Dehumanisation M = 3.30 / 4.22). While the previous findings for dehumanisation of sex offenders were at a mean score of 3.30, the present findings for violent offenders are almost an entire point higher, at a mean score of 4.22; suggesting that violent offenders are dehumanised more. However, this difference in mean score could, perhaps, be explained by the choice of dehumanisation words presented to participants. In the present research, the word *monster* used in the

previous research (Viki et al., 2012) was substituted with the word *brute*, as it was deemed by the researcher that the word *monster* was too extreme for the vignette depicting a violent offender committing common assault, and would provide an appropriate representation of this violent offence. Since this research was not concerned with researching the differences in levels of dehumanisation between sex offenders and violent offenders, it was not necessary to maintain the same dehumanisation words used for the measure of dehumanisation variable. In light of this, it is necessary to provide an account for the differing levels in mean scores in previous research and the present research for future researchers. If future research investigated differing levels of animalistic dehumanisation between violent offenders and sex offenders, then the same words would be required for reliable results. Perhaps further research might wish to explore the dehumanisation of much more extreme types of violent offences; for example, murder, while maintaining the word *monster*. Such research might find similar mean scores to that of sex offenders.

Table 3: Descriptive Statistics and Correlations (Viki et al., 2012)

Variable	M	SD	1	2
1. Dehumanization	3.30	1.44	—	
2. Rehabilitation	5.05	1.25	-.57**	—
3. Sentence	5.63	1.56	.29**	.62**

** $p < .01$.

Table 4: Descriptive Statistics and Correlations (Present Research)

Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Animalistic Dehumanisation	4.2289	1.31645	71
Rehabilitation Violent Offenders	5.0952	1.24508	69
Sentencing Violent Offenders	5.1250	1.96403	72

Correlations

		Animalistic Dehumanisation	Rehabilitation Violent Offenders	Sentencing Violent Offenders
Animalistic Dehumanisation	Pearson Correlation	1	-.305*	.421**
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.011	.000
	N	71	69	71
Rehabilitation Violent Offenders	Pearson Correlation	-.305*	1	-.506**
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.011		.000
	N	69	69	69
Sentencing Violent Offenders	Pearson Correlation	.421**	-.506**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	
	N	71	69	72

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

** . Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

Animalistic Dehumanisation Versus Mechanistic Dehumanisation

An interesting element that was not hypothesised prior to conducting the research, was whether or not one group of offenders are significantly dehumanised more than the other. For example, people dehumanise violent offenders more than white-collar offenders. In order to assess whether participants significantly dehumanised one group more than the other, a Paired-Samples T-test was run between the two variables of animalistic dehumanisation and mechanistic dehumanisation. Findings are presented in Table 5.

In the Paired Samples Correlations element of the table, the correlation between the two variables was significant ($p = < 0.01$). This means that when participants produced a high mean score for animalistic dehumanisation ($M = 4.2289$), they also scored high for mechanistic dehumanisation ($M = 4.8662$). These findings indicate that there is a very significant correlation between mean scores of animalistic dehumanisation and mechanistic dehumanisation. Therefore, this suggests that when people dehumanise violent offenders, they also dehumanise white-collar offenders as well. Furthermore, these findings add to the initial evidence that offenders as a group in general are dehumanised (Viki et al., 2012), as both violent and white-collar offenders, as contrasting categories, are dehumanised. However, these findings also suggest that violent offenders and white-collar offenders are actually dehumanised differently. Thus, suggesting that both are dehumanised; however, violent offenders are dehumanised in the animalistic form, whereas white-collar offenders are dehumanised in the mechanistic form (i.e. lacking emotionality or warmth).

The second element of the table shows whether or not one group is significantly dehumanised more than the other. These findings show that participants significantly dehumanised white-collar offenders more than violent offenders ($p = < 0.01$). Thus, suggesting that white-collar offenders are considered as less human than violent offenders, in a mechanistic form. Despite this observation, it is worth noting that connotations of the animalistic form arguably possess stronger images of dehumanisation. Words such as savage or wild animal, in contrast to images of mechanistic dehumanisation such as cold or emotionless, are arguably less dehumanising in nature than typical animalistic images. Therefore, it is questionable whether or not one group is in fact dehumanised more than the other, since measures of dehumanisation in this study were designed using different wording. However, these present research findings provide a starting point for understanding how different types of offenders are dehumanised differently.

Table 5: Paired Samples T Test - Animalistic Dehumanisation and Mechanistic Dehumanisation

Paired Samples Statistics

	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Pair 1 Animalistic Dehumanisation	4.2289	71	1.31645	.15623
Mechanistic Dehumanisation	4.8662	71	1.02998	.12224

Paired Samples Correlations

	N	Correlation	Sig.
Pair 1 Animalistic Dehumanisation & Mechanistic Dehumanisation	71	.687	.000

Paired Samples Test

	Paired Differences					t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference				
				Lower	Upper			
Pair 1 Animalistic Dehumanisation – Mechanistic Dehumanisation	-.63732	.96505	.11453	-.86575	-.40890	-5.565	70	.000

Attitudes Towards Rehabilitating Violent Offenders Versus White-Collar Offenders

Some theorists have argued that the general public have sceptical views towards the effectiveness of rehabilitative treatment (Sundt et al., 1998; Sample & Bray, 2006). Although, others have contended that the public do generally support rehabilitation as an ideal and as a science (Ward & Maruna, 2007). The present research draws from these assertions to examine whether the public support rehabilitative treatment for one group more than the other; which, in this case, uses the examples of violent offenders and white-collar offenders. In order to test whether participants were more supportive of rehabilitation for one group more than the other, a Paired-Samples T Test was run. Results can be seen in Table 6.

In the correlations element of the Paired-Samples test, a significant correlation was found between support for rehabilitating violent offenders and support for rehabilitating white-collar offenders ($p = < 0.01$). This suggests that when people support rehabilitating violent offenders, they also tend to be supportive of rehabilitating white-collar offenders; with mean scores both past the halfway point (Rehabilitation of Violent Offenders: $M = 5.0945$; Rehabilitation of White-Collar Offenders: $M = 4.7080$) This suggests that overall, the public are generally supportive of rehabilitation, whether it is a violent offence or a white-collar offence.

With regards to whether there is significant difference between support for rehabilitating violent offenders and support for rehabilitating white-collar offenders, the test found very high significance ($p = < 0.001$). Therefore, while the findings suggest that the public are generally supportive of rehabilitation, findings also suggest that people are significantly more supportive of rehabilitating violent offenders than white-collar offenders. This, perhaps, relates to the aforementioned

notion that although the public are generally supportive of rehabilitation as an ideal (Ward & Maruna, 2007), the public are still sceptical about its effectiveness (Sundt et al., 1998; Sample & Bray, 2006). It could be interpreted that perhaps the public are sceptical about the rehabilitation of white-collar offenders, because of the element of financial greed.

Table 6: Paired Samples T Test - Support for Rehabilitation of Violent and White-Collar Offenders

Paired Samples Statistics

		Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Pair 1	Rehabilitation Violent Offenders	5.0945	68	1.25432	.15211
	Rehabilitation White-Collar Offenders	4.7080	68	1.40848	.17080

Paired Samples Correlations

		N	Correlation	Sig.
Pair 1	Rehabilitation Violent Offenders & Rehabilitation White-Collar Offenders	68	.772	.000

Paired Samples Test

		Paired Differences					t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)
		Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference				
					Lower	Upper			
Pair 1	Rehabilitation Violent Offenders - Rehabilitation White-Collar Offenders	.38655	.90991	.11034	.16631	.60680	3.503	67	.001

Sentencing of Violent Offenders Versus Sentencing of White-Collar Offenders

A particular interest within this research was to test whether there is a significant difference between public sentencing of violent offenders and white collar offenders. In order to test a difference in recommended sentencing between the two groups, a Paired-Samples T Test was performed. These findings are presented in Table 7.

The correlations component of the table illustrates that the test found a highly significant correlation between the sentencing of violent offenders and the sentencing of white collar offenders ($P = < 0.001$). This means that when participants scored a high sentence for violent offenders ($M = 5.125$), they also scored a high sentence for white-collar offenders ($M = 5.569$). This indicates that the public are generally inclined to give higher sentences regardless of whether the crime is a violent offence or a white-collar offence. Thus, with regards to punitiveness, this suggests that the public view both groups of offenders' treatment in the same regards.

In the Paired Samples Test element of the table, the test found significance in the difference between sentencing of violent offenders and white-collar offenders ($p = < 0.05$). Participants scored a significantly higher score in sentencing for white-collar offenders than violent offenders ($MD = 0.44$). This suggests that the public tend to view some white-collar offences as deserving more severe punishment than some violent offences. One of the points highlighted in the methodology chapter was that the maximum sentences for common assault is 5 years imprisonment (CPS, 2017a). Whereas, the maximum sentence for white-collar offences is 10 years imprisonment (CPS, 2017b). Participants scored a mean score of 5.13 years

sentence; therefore, recommending just over the maximum sentence possible for violent offenders. Whereas, for white-collar offenders, participants produced a mean score of 5.57 years sentence; which, is just over half the maximum sentence possible. Although this was statistically a significantly higher score than with violent offenders, in respect of the CPS sentencing guidelines, this is considerably less than violent offenders, as white-collar offenders scored half their maximum sentence; whereas, violent offenders on the other hand, scored slightly over. In light of this observation, these findings suggest that public sentencing for violent offenders are much more relatively punitive than with white-collar offenders. This suggest that participants give harsher sentences toward violent offenders relative to Crown Prosecution Service guidelines. This could perhaps be due to public awareness of the rehabilitative treatments available. Perhaps, the public are simply not as aware of rehabilitative programs available to white-collar offenders, as with violent offenders. For example, anger management programs, such as Aggression Replacement Training ("Offender Behaviour Programs (OBPs)", 2017), might be more well-known to the public.

Table 7: Paired Samples T Test – Sentencing of Violent Offenders and White-Collar Offenders

Paired Samples Statistics

	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Pair 1 Sentencing Violent Offenders	5.1250	72	1.96403	.23146
Sentencing White-Collar Offenders	5.5694	72	1.80630	.21287

Paired Samples Correlations

	N	Correlation	Sig.
Pair 1 Sentencing Violent Offenders & Sentencing White-Collar Offenders	72	.547	.000

Paired Samples Test

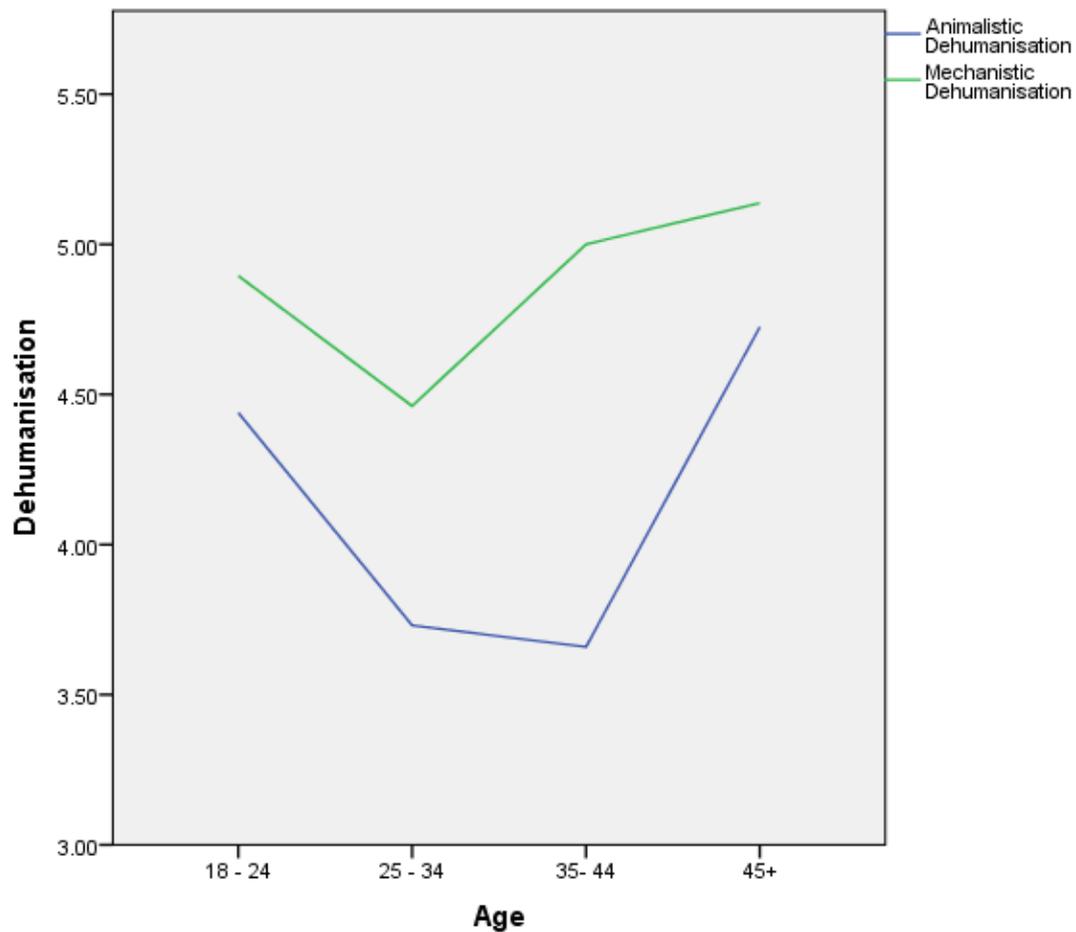
		Paired Differences				t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	
		Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference				
					Lower				Upper
Pair 1	Sentencing Violent Offenders - Sentencing White-Collar Offenders	-.44444	1.79897	.21201	-.86718	-.02171	-2.096	71	.040

Demographic Variables and Dehumanisation

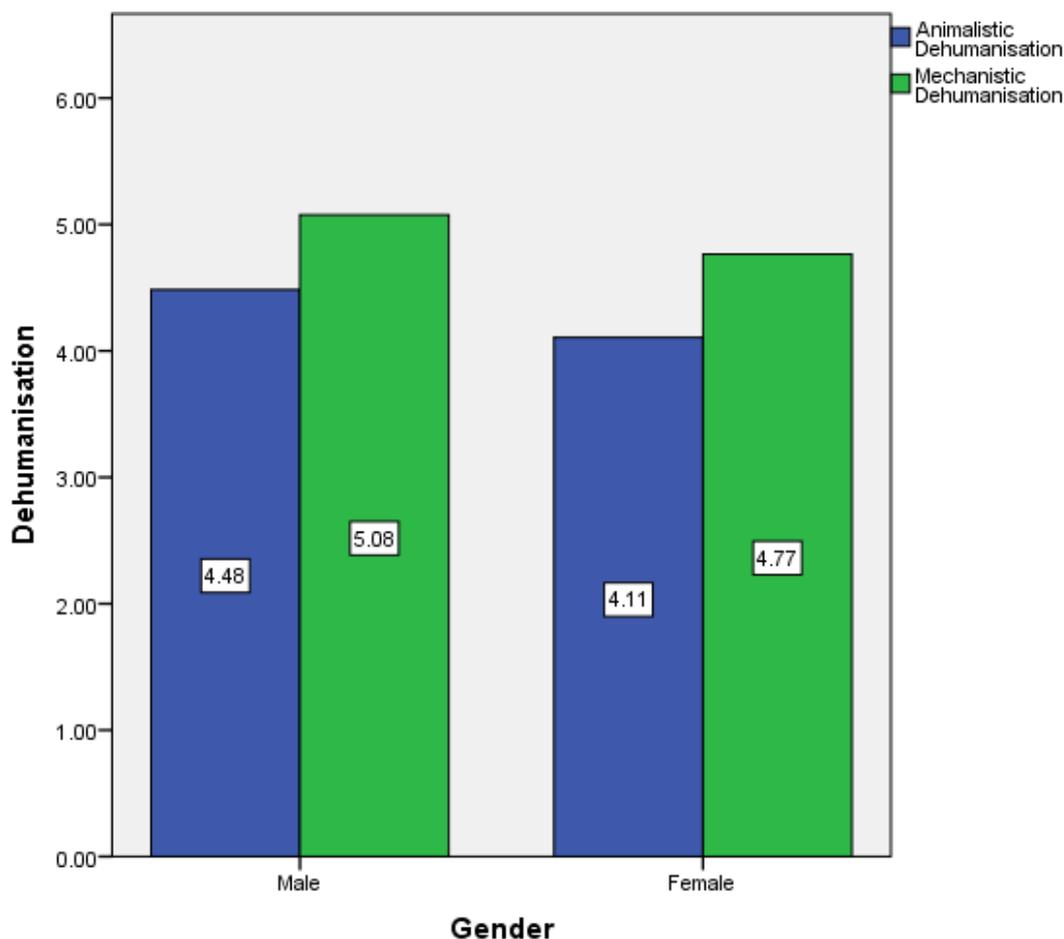
A research interest within this dissertation's study was to examine whether demographic data including age, gender, class, or level of education have an influence on the dehumanisation of offenders. In order to test whether there were any correlations between these variables and dehumanisation, demographic questions about the participants were asked in the first section of the survey. Independent-Samples T-Tests were run on all demographic variables.

Age.

With regards to age, there was no significant correlation found. Therefore, there was no correlation to suggest that the older one gets the more one dehumanises. Contrarily, there was no correlation suggesting that the younger people are the more they dehumanise. This failed trend is illustrated in Figure 5.

Figure 5: Age and Dehumanisation**Gender.**

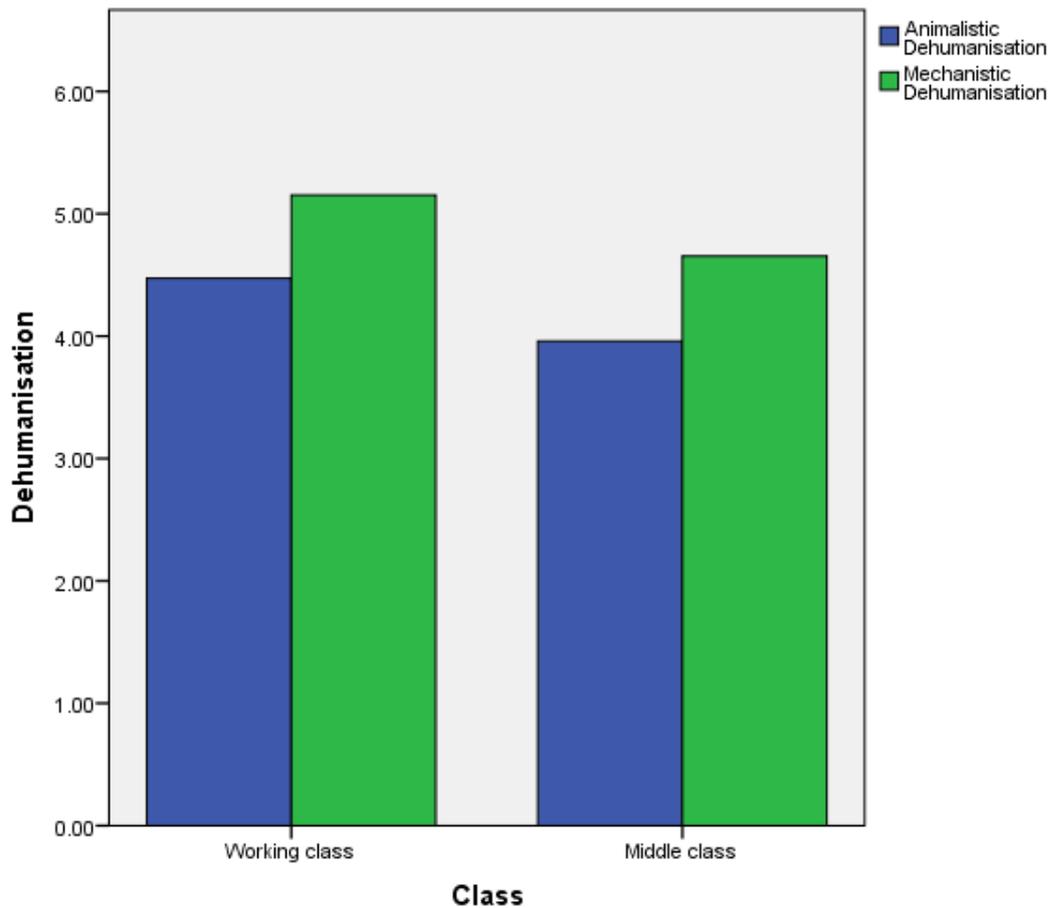
It was also tested whether there was a significant difference between genders and dehumanisation. Although Figure 6 suggests a slightly higher mean score for males and dehumanisation, the test failed to reach statistical significance. Therefore, it can be inferred from these findings that gender does not play a significant role in the dehumanisation of offenders, which is illustrated in Figure 6.

Figure 6: Gender and Dehumanisation**Class.**

Next, it was tested whether there is a significant difference within class and dehumanisation. Firstly, a test on class and animalistic dehumanisation was run. Although participants who considered themselves as working class scored higher than those who considered themselves as middle class, this test also failed to reach significance. It is worth mentioning, however, that although the test failed to reach significance, the mean differences were close to half a point, as illustrated in Figure 7. This could suggest that class might perhaps play a small role in the

dehumanisation of offenders; however, no significance was found in the present research.

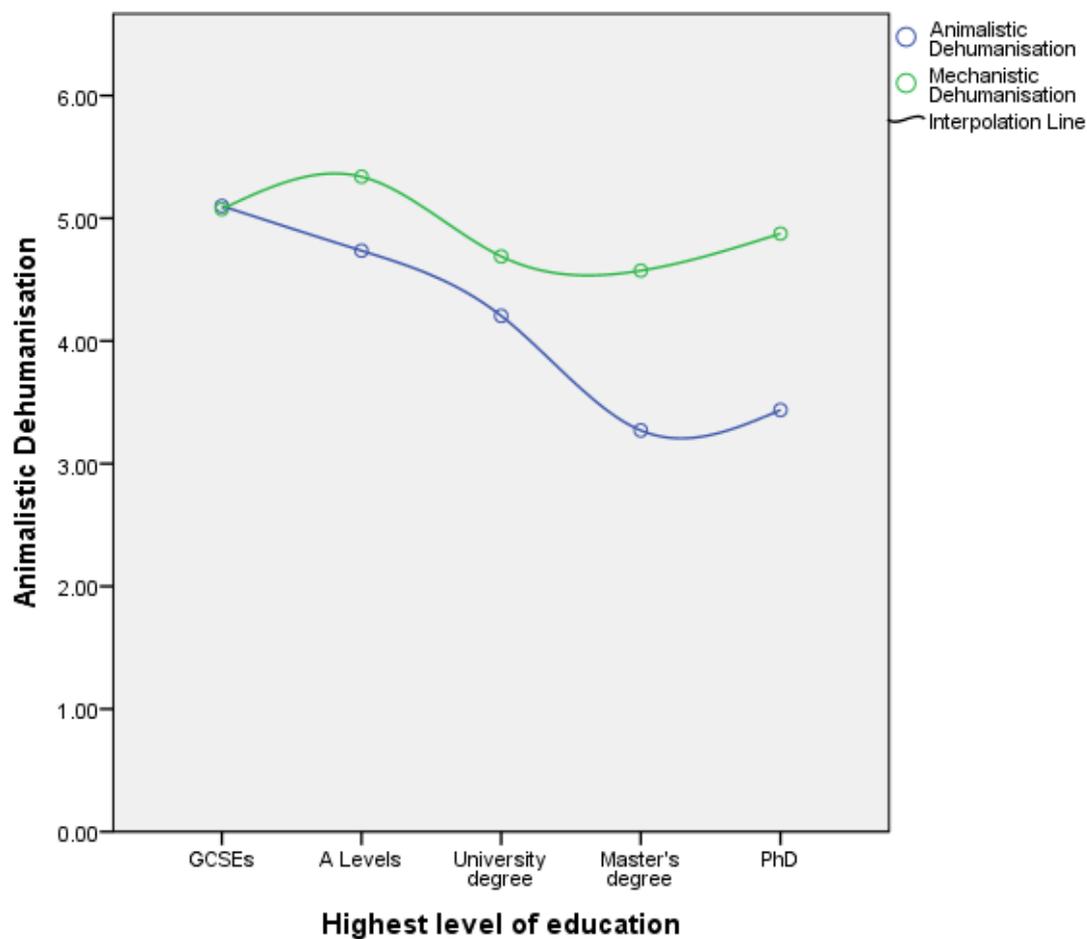
Figure 7: Class and Dehumanisation



Education.

It was also analysed whether participant's level of education plays a role in the dehumanisation of offenders; thus testing the hypothesis that the higher a person's education, the less likely they are to dehumanise an offender. Figure 8 suggests that this hypothesis is incorrect. Although the animalistic dehumanisation line consistently

drops from GCSEs through to Masters graduates, this does rise higher for PhD graduates. As with mechanistic dehumanisation, the interpolation line rises from GCSEs to A Levels, then drops for University students and Master's graduates, but then rises again for PhD graduates. However, in light of this trend, it is worth noting that only 2.82% of participants were PhD graduates, and only 7.04% with just GCSEs. Therefore, the sample is not sufficiently proportioned to confirm whether or not this hypothesis is correct. As this hypothesis was not a primary interest of the research, the variable of education was not rigorously stratified in the data collection stage. Future researchers wishing to test this as their main hypothesis may wish to collect a stratified sample in order to produce reliable and representative results; however, this does provides a starting point.

Figure 8: Education and Dehumanisation

Media Consumption and Dehumanisation

The final variable which the present research wished to test with dehumanisation was media consumption. Participants were asked three questions pertaining to media consumption. Firstly, they were asked what newspapers they read. Secondly, they were asked how regularly they watch the news. Finally, how much crime related television shows they watched. With regards to how regularly they watched the news, there were no statistically significant differences in levels of dehumanisation between those who watched the news regularly and those who did not watch the

news at all. Therefore, these findings suggest that the news does not play a role in levels of dehumanisation of offenders. With regards to how regularly participants watched crime based television shows, there was also no statistical significance found between those who watched crime based television shows regularly and those who watched them not at all. Therefore, these findings suggest that the amount that people watch crime based television shows does not have an influence on the public dehumanisation of offenders.

An interesting finding, however, was related to what type of newspaper that participants read. In the present research, participants were asked to choose, from a list of various newspapers, which newspapers they read. Sample newspapers included The Sun, The Guardian, The Daily Mail, and The Telegraph. Once these data were transferred into SPSS, a new variable column was made regarding what type of newspaper participants read. Based on the participants' choices of newspapers, each participant was categorised as either a tabloid reader, a broadsheet reader, or a mixed reader. In order to test whether there was a statistical difference between tabloid readers and broadsheet readers, in terms of animalistic dehumanisation, an Independent Samples T Test was performed. The results from this test found a significant difference in dehumanisation ($p < 0.05$) between broadsheet readers ($M = 4.00$) and tabloid readers ($M = 4.97$). Findings are presented in Figure 9 and Table 8. Firstly, these findings suggest that tabloid readers dehumanise violent offenders more than broadsheet readers. Secondly, these findings suggest that the more a person reads tabloid newspapers, the more likely they are to dehumanise violent offenders. In the literature review, it was asserted by Vasiljevic and Viki (2013) that animalistic depictions of offenders are constantly portrayed in the media, labelling them as being savages or primitive. However, when

conducting a literature search pertaining to differences in *type* of newspapers read by the British public and levels of offender dehumanisation, no research was found. As stated in the literature review, research by Harper and Hogue (2014) found in their content analysis that tabloid newspapers use more dehumanising words towards sex offenders than do broadsheets. The present research expands upon this literature and provides initial evidence to suggest that tabloid newspapers play a significant role in the influence of public attitudes towards offenders, to the extent that they are influenced to view violent offenders as animal-like. Further research might wish to use a mixed methodology, by conducting a content analysis of newspapers, as well as attempt to replicate the findings in the present research.

Figure 9: Differences in Types of Newspapers Read and Dehumanisation

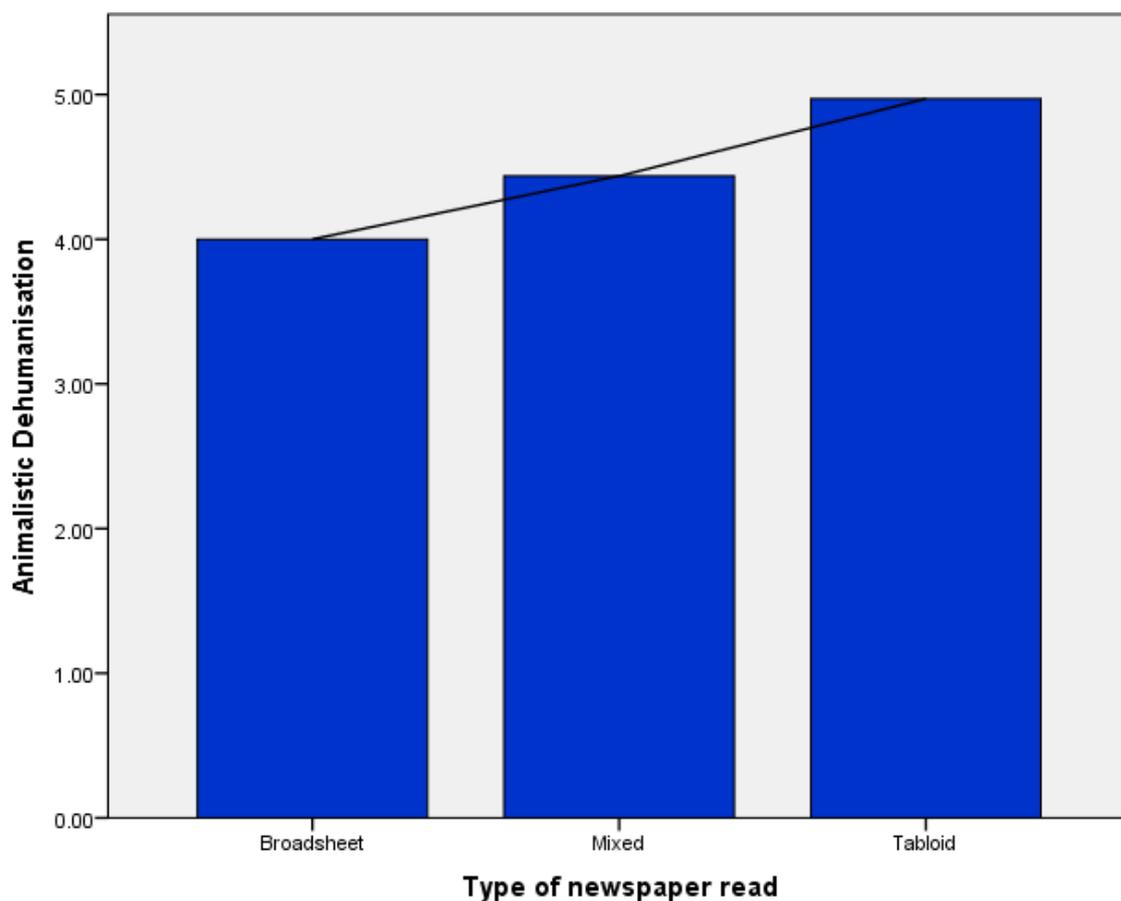


Table 8: Independent Samples T Test – Differences in Types of Newspapers Read and Dehumanisation

Group Statistics					
	Type of newspaper read	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error Mean
Animalistic Dehumanisation	Broadsheet	21	4.0000	1.07747	.23512
	Tabloid	13	4.9712	1.44351	.40036

Independent Samples Test										
		Levene's Test for Equality of Variances		t-test for Equality of Means						
		F	Sig.	t	df	Sig. (2-tailed)	Mean Difference	Std. Error Difference	95% Confidence Interval of the Difference	
									Lower	Upper
Animalistic Dehumanisation	Equal variances assumed	.900	.350	-2.242	32	.032	-.97115	.43322	-1.85360	-.08870
	Equal variances not assumed			-2.092	20.259	.049	-.97115	.46430	-1.93886	-.00344

Chapter 5: Conclusions and Implications

Summary of key Findings

Prior to conducting the research, four key hypotheses were made. Firstly, it was hypothesised that as animalistic dehumanisation increases, support for rehabilitating violent offenders decreases. The results found a significant negative correlation between animalistic dehumanisation and support for the rehabilitation of violent offenders. Thus, suggesting that the more likely the public are to exhibit animalistic dehumanisation, the less likely they are to support rehabilitation. These findings, therefore, suggest that animalistic dehumanisation plays a significant role in public attitudes towards rehabilitation. Secondly, it was hypothesised that as animalistic dehumanisation of violent offenders increases, recommended sentences will also increase. The results found a significant positive correlation between animalistic dehumanisation and recommended sentencing. Thus, suggesting that the more likely the public are to exhibit animalistic dehumanisation, the more likely they are to give higher sentences. Consequently, these findings suggest that as animalistic dehumanisation increases, so does punitiveness towards violent offenders. Next, it was hypothesised that as mechanistic dehumanisation increases, support for rehabilitating white-collar offenders decreases. Correspondingly, with findings for animalistic dehumanisation, the results found a significant negative correlation between mechanistic dehumanisation and support for the rehabilitation of white-collar offenders. Thus, suggesting that the more likely the public are to exhibit mechanistic dehumanisation, the less likely they are to support rehabilitation. These

findings, therefore, suggest that mechanistic dehumanisation plays a significant role in public attitudes towards rehabilitation. This presents initial evidence to suggest that dehumanisation also manifests itself in public attitudes towards non-violent offenders, other than sexual offences, in the form of mechanistic dehumanisation. Finally, it was hypothesised that as mechanistic dehumanisation of white-collar offenders increases, recommended sentencing also increase. The results found a significant positive correlation between mechanistic dehumanisation and recommended sentencing. Thus, suggesting that the more likely the public are to exhibit mechanistic dehumanisation, the more likely they are to give higher sentences. Consequently, these findings suggest that as mechanistic dehumanisation increases amongst the public, so does punitiveness towards white-collar offenders. In conclusion, the four major hypotheses were found to be true. Therefore, suggesting that animalistic and mechanistic dehumanisation plays a role in attitudes towards rehabilitation and sentencing.

An additional key finding was that the present research findings corroborate with findings from previous research. The present research attempted to replicate a study conducted by Viki et al. (2012), which examined the role of animalistic dehumanisation in public attitudes towards sex offenders. Viki and colleagues predicted that future findings may produce similar results with other types of offences (Viki et al., 2012; Vasiljevic & Viki, 2013); although, not to the same extent, considering the especially pernicious nature of sex offences. The present findings corroborate with this assertion, as findings were significant at the P-value of less than 0.05; whereas findings from Viki et al (2012) were significant to the P-value of less than 0.01. Thus, confirming their assertion, suggesting that although there is a

correlation between animalistic dehumanisation and support for rehabilitation of other offence types, it is not to the same extremity as sex offenders.

The present research also compared differences between animalistic dehumanisation and mechanistic dehumanisation. The results found a positive correlation between animalistic dehumanisation and mechanistic dehumanisation; thus, suggesting that if the public dehumanise one group of offenders (violent offenders), they are also likely to dehumanise another group (white-collar offenders). Thus, suggesting that offenders as a group in general are a target of dehumanisation. Previous research has found initial evidence for this assertion (Viki et al., 2012), but was unsubstantiated as it only analysed dehumanisation of sex offences. The present research builds upon the current knowledge that offenders as a group in general are a target of dehumanisation, with the addition of violent and white-collar offenders. Since there are is a great disparity in the typical nature between sex offences, violent offences, and white-collar offences, it is therefore arguable that this assertion is true.

Additionally, it was found that white-collar offenders are dehumanised in a mechanistic form, more than violent offenders in an animalistic form. However, it is debateable whether or not one group is in fact dehumanised more than the other, due to the fact that different dehumanisation words were presented for violent offenders (e.g. beast or savage) and white-collar offenders (e.g. cold or emotionless). Furthermore, since animalistic dehumanisation words hold, arguably, more emotionally negative connotations (i.e. beast versus emotionless), it is, therefore, inconclusive whether or not one group is actually dehumanised more than the other. However, these findings are a starting point for understanding how offenders are dehumanised differently.

Another key finding related to differences in attitudes toward rehabilitating violent offenders and rehabilitating white-collar offenders. The results found that people are significantly less supportive of rehabilitating white-collar offenders than violent offenders. It was interpreted from the data that perhaps the public have less confidence in the effectiveness of changing a white-collar offender's criminal behaviour, as there are inevitable financial motives associated with the offence type. Violent offences, on the other hand, could perhaps be viewed by the public as more treatable, taking into consideration that there are more apparent programs available for violent offenders, which include anger management programs such as Aggression Replacement Training (ART; "Offender Behaviour Programs (OBPs)", 2017).

With regards to the differences in recommended sentencing between violent and white-collar offenders, mean scores for white-collar offenders were statistically significantly higher than violent offenders. Thus, suggesting that the public are more punitive towards white-collar offenders than violent offenders. It was noted, however, that the maximum sentence for white-collar offences is double the maximum sentence for violent offences (CPS, 2017a; CPS, 2017b); which suggests that the public's views towards violent offenders are actually more punitive. This is because, although participants gave slightly higher sentences for white-collar offenders, mean sentencing for violent offenders was just over the maximum possible sentence. Whereas, for white-collar offenders, mean sentencing was half that of the possible maximum sentence. Thus, suggesting that the public are more inclined to give harsher sentences towards violent offenders relative to Crown Prosecution Service guidelines.

Significance between demographic variables and dehumanisation were also tested. The results found no significance between age, gender, class, or level of education and dehumanisation. Therefore, the findings suggest that the older one gets has no impact on one's level of dehumanisation. Additionally, findings suggest that the more educated one becomes, also has no significant impact on levels of dehumanisation. Since these variables were not of key concern for the present research, these findings are not conclusive, as the sample's proportions between age, gender, class or educational achievement were not split evenly. Although findings highlighted that working class people slightly dehumanised offenders more than middle class people, significance was not found; therefore, suggesting that class also does not play role in levels of dehumanisation.

One of the key findings of this research was the influence of media consumption on levels of dehumanisation. Although the amount of crime based television watched, and amount of news watched, did not have a significant influence on levels of dehumanisation, the results did find a significant difference between animalistic dehumanisation and the type of newspaper read. Participants who read a tabloid newspaper significantly dehumanised violent offenders more than broadsheet readers. This corroborated with the notion that the media portrays offenders as savages or primitive in nature (Vasiljevic & Viki, 2013). Furthermore, the present findings corroborate with previous research, which found that tabloid newspapers tend to illustrate sex offenders with more dehumanising words than broadsheet newspapers (Harper & Hogue, 2014). The present findings advances on these previous findings, suggesting that tabloid newspapers also have an influence on the publics' dehumanising attitudes towards offenders. Further to this, those who read a mixture of both tabloid and broadsheet newspapers, dehumanised violent offenders

less than tabloid readers, but more so than broadsheet readers. Therefore, suggesting that the more one reads tabloid newspapers, the more likely they are to dehumanise offenders. These findings show initial evidence to suggest that media consumption, in the form of newspaper consumption, has a significant bearing on a person's likeliness to possess dehumanising attitudes towards offenders.

Implications of the Research

Two rehabilitative models were outlined in the literature review chapter. These were the GLM and the RNR model. It was noted that “a consequence of this positive turn [RNR] is that it encourages practitioners to view offenders as “people like us”” (Casey et al., 2012: 33). Indeed, research has shown that practitioners humanise offenders more than members of the general public, as they have higher levels of quality contact with the offender (Viki et al., 2012). Furthermore, the basic assumption of these models is that “offenders are *human beings* with aspirations similar to those of non-offenders” (Andrews, Bonta, & Wormith, 2011: 739). These models, therefore, agree with the basic assumption that offenders are “human beings” or “people like us”. The present research corroborates with previous findings (Viki et al., 2012), which has found that offenders are indeed dehumanised by members of the public; furthermore, dehumanisation plays a significant role in public attitudes towards offender rehabilitation. It was also noted in the literature review that in order for a criminal justice system to be successful, and rehabilitative programs to work, support is required from the general public (Vasiljevic & Viki, 2013). As Vasiljevic and Viki (2013) state, “such rehabilitative programs cannot succeed without the support of the public. As such, public attitudes towards crime, offenders,

and rehabilitation can have a bearing on the outcomes of offenders” (Vasiljevic & Viki, 2013: 130).

Although the present findings highlight that the public support the general ideal of rehabilitative treatment, the findings do indicate that the more people dehumanise offenders, the less likely they are to support their rehabilitative treatment. Therefore, it is questionable whether rehabilitative programs have the full potential to be successful, when members of the public still view offenders as either savages, beasts, or wild animals. The very basis of secondary desistance is for offenders to cease offending, become a “changed person”, and to become “normal” again (Maruna et al., 2013: 19). However, if members of the general public dehumanise offenders to that of an animal or a machine, then it is further questionable whether they have the full potential to become “normal” again, when they are viewed as subhuman abnormal beings. It is argued that if offenders experience dehumanisation, explicitly or implicitly, from the general public or the media, then this could have negative consequences for their potential to be rehabilitated. As research has shown, those experiencing dehumanisation can experience cognitive and emotional consequences, in which an individual can develop problems associated with sadness and anger (Bastian & Haslam, 2011). These experiences would be particularly counter-productive for individuals who have undergone rehabilitative treatment for problems of anger or aggression, whereby violent offenders would be particularly at risk for recidivism. Arguably, any positive developments made towards rehabilitating an individual for anger problems could potentially be reversed once experiencing dehumanisation when released back into the community.

These dehumanising views also have arguably wider implications for future criminal justice policy making. As Garland (2001) has contended, society is experiencing what he refers to as a “punitive turn”, whereby experts and practitioners are no longer looked to for guidance; but, instead, it is the public’s opinion that guides contemporary penal politics (Garland, 2001). Vasiljevic and Viki (2013) argue that since the majority of offenders are inevitably going to be released back into the community, then rehabilitation should, therefore, be number one priority. However, since the research suggests that some members of the public hold dehumanising views towards offenders, which also has an effect on attitudes towards rehabilitation and sentencing, then this has the potential to negatively influence future policy making surrounding rehabilitation and sentencing guidelines.

The present research also suggests that the media plays a significant role in influencing views towards offenders of some members of the public. Previous research has found that tabloid newspapers use significantly more dehumanising words towards sex offenders than broadsheet newspapers (Harper and Hogue, 2014). The present research advances on these findings, which suggests that those who read tabloid newspapers significantly dehumanise offenders more than broadsheet readers. Therefore, while tabloid newspapers have been shown to dehumanise offenders more than broadsheets, the present research also finds initial evidence to suggest that type of newspaper read has a negative influence on peoples’ dehumanising views towards offenders. As Dowler (2003) has argued, the majority of the general public receive their knowledge about crime through the media. Thus, newspaper consumption has the potential for a negative influence towards public attitudes of offenders; and, as a corollary, a negative influence on the outcomes of successful offender rehabilitation. If offenders are released back into

the community, then such negative dehumanising views arguably have the potential to inhibit an offenders internal and external potential for positive change. As Goff et al. put it, “dehumanization is a uniquely dangerous intergroup attitude” (2014: 526). In order for offenders to have the full potential for rehabilitation, then, arguably, there requires a cultural shift in public attitudes towards offenders. For such rehabilitative programs to work to their full potential, the public must adopt a more humanising view of offenders. As Bandura (2002: 110) has noted, humanisation can be a powerful tool, whereby “...the affirmation of humanity can bring out the best in others”. It is unlikely that any restrictions will ever be made regarding inaccurate and extreme dehumanising depictions of offenders in the press; however, since the public obtain the majority of their information about crime and offenders from the media (Dowler, 2003), more accurate and humanistic portrayals of offenders are arguably required from the press, for the public to adopt a more humanising approach to offenders. In order for the public to become more aware of the humanistic principles that underlie the RNR and GLM, future government press releases regarding offender rehabilitation should emphasise the necessity of viewing offenders as human beings or “people like us” (Casey et al., 2012: 33) in order for them to change. Furthermore, the importance of rehabilitation being the main priority.

Recommendations for Future Research

As aforementioned, the present research provides initial evidence to suggest that the media, in the form of newspaper consumption, plays a significant role in influencing public attitudes towards the dehumanisation of offenders. Since the present research was conducted as part of a year-long master’s degree, there were time limitations for the research; therefore the role of the media could not be explored into greater

depth. However, future researchers may wish to explore this avenue further, by conducting a mixed methods approach; perhaps by incorporating the use of content analysis of tabloid and broadsheet articles, combined with surveys or interviews with the public. The current literature surrounding content analysis of dehumanisation within newspapers is limited to sex offenders; therefore, other research may wish to explore other less pernicious offences. A further point worth mentioning, is that due to the methodological nature of the present research, it could not explore mechanistic dehumanisation within violent offences or other offences types, such as sexual offences. Disregarding the present research, previous literature has only explored animalistic dehumanisation. Therefore, mechanistic dehumanisation should be explored further within attitudes towards other offenders; since offences other than white-collar crimes may also be considered as cold, emotionless, or calculating. For example, robbery might hold particularly mechanistic connotations. Moreover, research is yet to explore whether dehumanisation exists within attitudes towards offenders amongst the police. Since offenders are taken into custody, and are in the care of detention officers, it is important to establish whether these views are humanising in nature. As aforementioned, research has investigated humanising attitudes towards offenders amongst rehabilitation practitioners, and the importance of quality contact in these attitudes (Viki et al., 2012). However, this avenue is yet to be explored in attitudes towards offenders amongst the police. If findings were to suggest that dehumanising views exist amongst some police officers, then this could present wider social implications concerning human rights, ethical police conduct, and protocol for inspections conducted by HM Inspectorate of Constabulary. A further point that is important to note, is that a great deal of research tends to focus towards the negative impacts of dehumanisation and less towards the positive

impacts of humanisation. Future research should endeavour to carry out research surrounding the positive nature of humanising offenders, perhaps by conducting research alongside probation officers and probationers. Further to this, research may wish to explore whether humanisation plays a role in the desistance from crime, through the use of longitudinal studies with ex-offenders. Or, perhaps, through comparative research with other nations to examine humanisation in public attitudes toward rehabilitation, such as Norway, where “inmates are treated like people” (. A limitation of the present research, and previous studies, is the particularly quantitative nature of the research. Future research should endeavour to adopt qualitative approaches, perhaps by interviewing offenders within the realm of the effects of dehumanisation; or, by conducting focus groups with members of the British public, in order to obtain detailed accounts surrounding the dehumanisation and humanisation of offenders.

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Appendices

Appendix A – Sample Survey 1



Dehumanisation and Attitudes Towards Rehabilitation: A Study of Violent and White-Collar Offenders

Response ID	Completion date	
281511-281503-24077597	20 Jun 2017, 14:45 (BST)	
1	I confirm that I agree with the above statements and agree to take part in the above study.	Yes
2	Gender	Female
3	Age	18 - 24
4	What is your current employment status?	Part-time employment
5	What class would you consider yourself to be?	Unsure
6	Which type of area best describes where you live?	Rural
7	What is your highest level of educational achievement?	University degree
8	If you are currently a student, what level are you studying? (If you are not currently a student but you are a graduate, then please select graduate)	Graduate
9	Do you read a newspaper? If so, which one(s) do you read?	None
9.a	If you selected Other, please specify:	
10	How regularly do you watch the news?	Sometimes
11	How frequently do you watch crime based television shows? (for example crime dramas or crime documentaries)	Regularly
12	Using each of the words below, please rate the extent to which you would associate these words with this offender:	

12.1	Brute	3
12.2	Humanity	3
12.3	Person	3
12.4	Wild animal	6
12.5	Savage	6
12.6	Human	2
12.7	Civilian	4
12.8	Beast	6

13 Please briefly explain why you have selected some of your answers

14 What prison sentence would you recommend for the above offender?

14.1 - 8 (10 years +)

15 Rehabilitating violent offenders does not work

15.1 - 4

16 Rehabilitating violent offenders is a waste of taxpayers money

16.1 - 4

17 Violent offenders do not deserve the chance to be rehabilitated

17.1 - 6

18 Violent offenders getting their just deserts is more important than rehabilitating them

18.1 - 4

19 Keeping violent offenders in prison and protecting the public from harm is more important than rehabilitating them

19.1 - 7 (strongly agree)

20 Rehabilitating violent offenders is too soft of a punishment

20.1 - 3

21 Violent offenders are likely to re-offend, regardless of whether they receive rehabilitative treatment or not

21.1 - 5

21.a Please briefly explain why you have selected your answer for this question?

22 Using each of the words below, please rate the extent to which you would associate these words with this offender:

22.1	Calculating	4
22.2	Humanity	4
22.3	Person	4
22.4	Emotionless	7 (very much)
22.5	Cold	7 (very much)
22.6	Human	4
22.7	Civilian	4
22.8	Unfeeling	7 (very much)

23 Please briefly explain why you have selected some of your answers

24 What prison sentence would you recommend for the above offender?

24.1	-	7
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25 Rehabilitating white-collar offenders does not work

25.1	-	4
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26 Rehabilitating white-collar offenders is a waste of taxpayers money

26.1	-	4
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27 White-collar offenders do not deserve the chance to be rehabilitated

27.1	-	5
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28 White-collar offenders getting their just deserts is more important than rehabilitating them

28.1	-	4
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29 Keeping white-collar offenders in prison and protecting the public from harm is more important than rehabilitating them

29.1	-	5
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30 Rehabilitating white-collar offenders is too soft of a punishment

30.1	-	6
31	White-collar offenders are likely to re-offend, regardless of whether they receive rehabilitative treatment or not	
31.1	-	6
31.a	Please briefly explain why you have selected your answer for this question?	

Appendix B – Sample Survey 2



Dehumanisation and Attitudes Towards Rehabilitation: A Study of Violent and White-Collar Offenders

Response ID	Completion date
281511-281503-24188172	22 Jun 2017, 12:32 (BST)

1	I confirm that I agree with the above statements and agree to take part in the above study.	Yes
2	Gender	Male
3	Age	45 - 54
4	What is your current employment status?	Retired
5	What class would you consider yourself to be?	Working class
6	Which type of area best describes where you live?	Rural
7	What is your highest level of educational achievement?	GCSEs
8	If you are currently a student, what level are you studying? (If you are not currently a student but you are a graduate, then please select graduate)	Undergraduate (BSc, BA, etc.)
9	Do you read a newspaper? If so, which one(s) do you read?	The Sun
9.a	If you selected Other, please specify:	
10	How regularly do you watch the news?	Very regularly
11	How frequently do you watch crime based television shows? (for example crime dramas or crime documentaries)	Regularly
12	Using each of the words below, please rate the extent to which you would associate these words with this offender:	

12.1	Brute	6
12.2	Humanity	1 (not at all)
12.3	Person	4
12.4	Wild animal	5
12.5	Savage	6
12.6	Human	2
12.7	Civilian	1 (not at all)
12.8	Beast	6

13 Please briefly explain why you have selected some of your answers Actions of an animal. I would use the word bully as well.

14 What prison sentence would you recommend for the above offender?
 14.1 - 8 (10 years +)

15 Rehabilitating violent offenders does not work
 15.1 - 5

16 Rehabilitating violent offenders is a waste of taxpayers money
 16.1 - 5

17 Violent offenders do not deserve the chance to be rehabilitated
 17.1 - 2

18 Violent offenders getting their just deserts is more important than rehabilitating them
 18.1 - 5

19 Keeping violent offenders in prison and protecting the public from harm is more important than rehabilitating them
 19.1 - 5

20 Rehabilitating violent offenders is too soft of a punishment
 20.1 - 3

21 Violent offenders are likely to re-offend, regardless of whether they receive rehabilitative treatment or not

21.1	-	5
21.a	Please briefly explain why you have selected your answer for this question?	Violent offenders do reoffend and it is debatable whether rehabilitation works with this type of offender.

22	Using each of the words below, please rate the extent to which you would associate these words with this offender:	
22.1	Calculating	6
22.2	Humanity	1 (not at all)
22.3	Person	3
22.4	Emotionless	6
22.5	Cold	5
22.6	Human	2
22.7	Civilian	2
22.8	Unfeeling	5

23	Please briefly explain why you have selected some of your answers	He has little or no feelings towards his victims.
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24	What prison sentence would you recommend for the above offender?	
24.1	-	8 (10 years and above)

25	Rehabilitating white-collar offenders does not work	
25.1	-	2

26	Rehabilitating white-collar offenders is a waste of taxpayers money	
26.1	-	3

27	White-collar offenders do not deserve the chance to be rehabilitated	
27.1	-	5

28	White-collar offenders getting their just deserts is more important than rehabilitating them	
28.1	-	4

29	Keeping white-collar offenders in prison and protecting the public from harm is more important than rehabilitating them	
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29.1	-	6
30	Rehabilitating white-collar offenders is too soft of a punishment	
30.1	-	3
31	White-collar offenders are likely to re-offend, regardless of whether they receive rehabilitative treatment or not	
31.1	-	1 (strongly disagree)
31.a	Please briefly explain why you have selected your answer for this question?	As this is a crime with no physical harm, the punishment should be less than that of a violent crime.

Appendix C – Sample of SPSS Survey Results

Visible: 62 of 62 Variables																					
	Q2	Q3	Q4_1	Q5_2	Q6_1	Q7_3	Q8_4	Newspaper	Q9_2	Q9_3	Q9_4	Q9_5	Q9_6	Q9_7	Q9_8	Q9_9	Q9_10	Q9_a	Q10	Q11	Q12_1
1	Female	18 - 24	In full-time ...	Unsure	Urban	University ...	Undergrad...	Tabloid	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		Sometimes	Very regul...	7 (very mu...
2	Male	18 - 24	In full-time ...	Middle class	Rural	University ...	Undergrad...	Mixed	0	0	0	0	0	0	The Telegr...	0	0		Regularly	Regularly	7 (very mu...
3	Male	45+	In full-time ...	Working cl...	Rural	GCSEs	Undergrad...	Tabloid	0	0	Daily Mirror	0	0	0	0	0	0		Very regul...	Regularly	7 (very mu...
4	Female	45+	Retired	Working cl...	Urban	A Levels	Undergrad...	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	None	0		Very regul...	Very regul...	5
5	Male	45+	Full-time e...	Middle class	Urban	GCSEs	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	None	0		Regularly	Very regul...	7 (very mu...
6	Female	35- 44	Full-time e...	Working cl...	Rural	University ...	Graduate	Tabloid	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		Sometimes	Rarely	7 (very mu...
7	Male	18 - 24	Self-emplo...	Working cl...	Rural	A Levels	0	Tabloid	0	0	The Indepe...	0	0	The Telegr...	0	0	0		Regularly	Regularly	7 (very mu...
8	Male	25 - 34	0	Middle class	Urban	Master's d...	Graduate	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		Regularly	Rarely	7 (very mu...
9	Male	18 - 24	Part-time e...	Middle class	Urban	University ...	Graduate	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	None	0		Regularly	Sometimes	7 (very mu...
10	Male	45+	Retired	Working cl...	Rural	GCSEs	Undergrad...	Tabloid	0	The Sun	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		Very regul...	Regularly	6
11	Female	18 - 24	In full-time ...	Middle class	Rural	A Levels	Undergrad...	Broadsheet	0	0	0	0	0	0	The Telegr...	0	0		Regularly	Very regul...	7 (very mu...
12	Female	18 - 24	Full-time e...	Working cl...	Urban	University ...	Graduate	Broadsheet	The Guardian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		Not at all	Very regul...	6
13	Female	35- 44	Full-time e...	Working cl...	Rural	University ...	Graduate	Mixed	The Guardian	The Sun	0	The Indepe...	Metro	0	0	0	0		Very regul...	Very regul...	7 (very mu...
14	Male	18 - 24	Full-time e...	Working cl...	Urban	University ...	Graduate	Broadsheet	The Guardian	0	0	The Indepe...	0	0	0	0	0		Regularly	Regularly	6
15	Female	18 - 24	Part-time e...	Working cl...	Rural	A Levels	Undergrad...	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	None	0		Regularly	Regularly	3
16	Female	18 - 24	In full-time ...	Working cl...	Urban	A Levels	Undergrad...	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	None	0		Sometimes	Very regul...	4
17	Female	18 - 24	In full-time ...	Working cl...	Urban	A Levels	Undergrad...	Broadsheet	The Guardian	0	0	The Indepe...	0	0	The Telegr...	0	0		Sometimes	Very regul...	6
18	Female	18 - 24	Part-time e...	Unsure	Rural	University ...	Graduate	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	None	0		Sometimes	Regularly	3
19	Female	45+	Retired	Working cl...	Rural	Prefer not t...	0	Tabloid	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		Regularly	Regularly	7 (very mu...
20	Male	18 - 24	Full-time e...	Working cl...	Urban	University ...	Graduate	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	None	0		Rarely	Regularly	7 (very mu...
21	Female	18 - 24	In full-time ...	Working cl...	Rural	University ...	Undergrad...	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	None	0		Sometimes	Sometimes	3
22	Female	18 - 24	Full-time e...	Middle class	Urban	A Levels	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	None	0		Sometimes	Rarely	7 (very mu...
23	Male	18 - 24	Full-time e...	Middle class	Urban	University ...	Graduate	Tabloid	0	The Sun	0	0	Metro	0	0	0	0		Very regul...	Sometimes	7 (very mu...
24	Female	25 - 34	Full-time e...	Working cl...	Urban	Master's d...	Graduate	Broadsheet	The Guardian	0	0	The Indepe...	Metro	0	0	0	0		Very regul...	Regularly	3
25	Male	18 - 24	Part-time e...	Working cl...	Urban	University ...	Graduate	Broadsheet	The Guardian	0	0	The Indepe...	0	0	0	0	0		Rarely	Sometimes	4
26	Female	18 - 24	In full-time ...	Unsure	Rural	A Levels	Undergrad...	Broadsheet	0	0	The Indepe...	0	0	0	0	0	0		Regularly	Very regul...	4
27	Female	18 - 24	Part-time e...	Middle class	Urban	University ...	Graduate	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	None	0		Sometimes	Not at all	6
28	Female	45+	Retired	Middle class	Urban	A Levels	0	Tabloid	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		Very regul...	Very regul...	7 (very mu...
29	Male	18 - 24	Full-time e...	Working cl...	Rural	A Levels	0	Tabloid	0	The Sun	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		Regularly	Very regul...	7 (very mu...
30	Female	18 - 24	Full-time e...	Middle class	Urban	GCSEs	0	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	None	0		Very regul...	Regularly	5
31	Female	18 - 24	In full-time ...	Working cl...	Urban	A Levels	Undergrad...	Tabloid	0	0	0	0	Metro	0	0	0	0		Sometimes	Very regul...	7 (very mu...
32	Female	35- 44	Full-time e...	Middle class	Rural	PhD	0	Broadsheet	The Guardian	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0		Regularly	Regularly	3
33	Male	25 - 34	In full-time ...	None	Urban	A Levels	Undergrad...	Broadsheet	The Guardian	0	0	0	0	0	The Telegr...	0	0		Regularly	Sometimes	6
34	Female	25 - 34	Full-time e...	Middle class	Urban	University ...	Graduate	Mixed	0	0	The Indepe...	Metro	0	0	0	0	0		Sometimes	Regularly	7 (very mu...
35	Female	18 - 24	Full-time e...	Middle class	Urban	University ...	Graduate	Broadsheet	The Guardian	0	0	The Indepe...	0	0	0	0	0		Regularly	Rarely	7 (very mu...
36	Female	25 - 34	In full-time ...	Working cl...	Urban	0	PhD/MPhil	Broadsheet	The Guardian	0	0	The Indepe...	0	0	0	0	0		Regularly	Regularly	7 (very mu...
37	Female	18 - 24	Full-time e...	Middle class	Rural	University ...	Undergrad...	None	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	Other	Financial times	Very regul...	Sometimes	5

Appendix D – Sample of SPSS Output Data

Correlations

Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Animalistic_Dehumanisation	4,2289	1,31645	71
Rehabilitation Violent Offenders	5,0952	1,24508	69
Sentencing Violent Offenders	5,1250	1,96403	72

Correlations

		Animalistic_Dehumanisation	Rehabilitation Violent Offenders	Sentencing Violent Offenders
Animalistic_Dehumanisation	Pearson Correlation	1	-.305 [*]	.421 ^{**}
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.011	.000
	N	71	69	71
Rehabilitation Violent Offenders	Pearson Correlation	-.305 [*]	1	-.506 ^{**}
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.011		.000
	N	69	69	69
Sentencing Violent Offenders	Pearson Correlation	.421 ^{**}	-.506 ^{**}	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	
	N	71	69	72

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).
 **. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

```

CORRELATIONS
/VARIABLES=Mechanistic_Dehumanisation SupportForRehabilitation2 Sentencing2
/PRINT=TWOTAIL NOSIG
/STATISTICS DESCRIPTIVES
/MISSING=PAIRWISE.
    
```

Correlations

Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
Mechanistic_Dehumanisation	4,8576	1,02528	72
Rehabilitation White-Collar Offenders	4,7404	1,40539	71
Sentencing White-Collar Offenders	5,5694	1,80630	72

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Appendix E – Offender Vignettes

Violent Offender

A male offender aged in his late 40s, who has a long history of violence related offences. He has been arrested on numerous occasions and has served prison sentences for grievous bodily harm, actual bodily harm, and common assault. The offender has reoffended upon release of each sentence. He has recently been arrested again for actual bodily harm, which involved him violently attacking a male victim, in his mid-20s, in the street, causing serious bruising to the body and face. This was considered by the police and eyewitness statements to be an unprovoked attack and the offender had no relationship with the victim.

White-Collar Offender

A man aged in his early 30s, who has recently been arrested for identity fraud, in which he has been running a profit making scam. This scam involved targeting individuals, falsely pretending to be part of their bank's anti-fraud team, where he contacts the victim's via email and requests their personal bank details. The email which is sent to the individuals has been cleverly designed so individuals believe that it is their bank contacting them, where he is able to trick individuals into giving their personal information. It is believed that he has been operating the scam for more than two years, in which he has targeted thousands of victims, and stolen tens of thousands of pounds.

Appendix F – Survey Map

Survey map

The current sequence, routing and relationships between your survey pages:

