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Title: CHANGING ATTITUDES: A RESEARCH ON ATTITUDES OF RELIGIOUS GROUPS
TOWARDS FORMER PRISONERS REENTRY
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ABSTRACT

As a consequence of the boom in incarceration that began on the 70s, more people than ever are being released from prison. This, added to high recidivism rates, has meant that since the beginning of the XX century interest in the reentry of former prisoners in the USA as well as in UK has widely increased within political circles, in academic circles and in the general public. Research on both desistance and recidivism has demonstrated the importance of social reaction as a the way out of crime. Nevertheless, little is known about attitudes towards former prisoners and even less about how to change those attitudes. By combining quantitative and qualitative data, this research tries to understand if watching a highly emotive documentary and participation in a focus group changes attitudes, and if so, why and how those attitudes have changed. In order to do so, two sessions were conducted in two different churches in two different neighbourhoods. The results suggest that the session as a whole was effective in changing those attitudes and that the predictor that is most related to that change was an increase in empathy towards former prisoners as a consequence of the documentary.

Contents

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ABBREVIATIONS/ KEY TERMS

Negative Attitudes Towards Former Prisoner scale= NATFP- scale

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Since the beginning of the 70s, as a consequence of the US government's decision of using imprisonment as a response to crime (Visher & Travis 2003), incarceration rates in the US have risen dramatically (Travis 2000), causing the prison population to grow by 500% (Clear et al. 2003). For every 100 citizens, one is imprisoned (Cullen et al. 2011). If the trend continues, 9% of males will be imprisoned at least once in their life (Holzer et al. 2006). The situation in UK is not exactly the same as in the USA, but it is still alarming: in England and Wales the prison population has doubled since 1992 (Bottoms 2008), and Scotland is one of the Northern and Western European countries with the highest incarceration rates (Armstrong & McNeill 2012), with 147 prisoners per 100.000 inhabitants (World Prison Population List 2013).

Nearly everyone that goes to prison returns to society (Petersilia 2003), so more and more men and women than ever before are released from prison after serving their sentence (Travis & Petersilia 2001). Last year 700,000 prisoners were released in the USA (Maruna & Barber 2013), nearly five times more than in 1975 (Visher & Travis 2003). According to the estimates of Uggen and colleagues (2006), there are four million former prisoners in US society and 11.7 million felons.

As a result, since the beginning of the XXI century interest in the reentry of former prisoners in the USA as well as in the UK has widely increased within political circles (Maruna et al. 2004b; Visher & Courtney 2007), academic circles (Maruna 2001; Petersilia 2003; LeBel & Maruna 2012) and among the general public (Ewald & Uggen 2012). A proof of this is the 100 million dollars invested by the US government in improving reentry programs (Visher & Travis 2003).

One matter that preoccupies those concerned about re entry is recidivism rates. Recidivism rates are really high in the USA: 70% of released prisoners are rearrested (Visher & Travis 2011) and 50% of the total released prisoners return to prison within 3 years (Visher & Travis 2003; Visher & Courtney 2007; Maruna & Baber 2012). Recidivism rates in UK are also alarming:

approximately 40% to 50% of released prisoners will return to prison within 6 years of being releasd (Baumer 1997).

It is widely argued in criminology that imprisonment may be criminogenic (eg. Cullen et al. 2011), that it has limited deterrent effects (e.g. Burnett & Maruna 2004) and that it has adverse psychological effects on offenders (Haney 2012), but nowadays the idea of a Criminal Justice System without prisons is a utopia. Therefore this research aims to contribute to that part of criminology that tries to decrease recidivism taking into account the reality which weare faced with: that prisons exist.

This dissertation is firstly going to explore the concept of 'social rehabilitation' as understood in Fergus McNeill (2012; 2013) and explain its importance. Then I will address to some factors that can be related to attitudes toward former prisoners. After doing this, I am going to ask myself if and how can we change those attitudes towards prisoners. In chapters 5 and 6, I will describe the research process and analyze the results of it. I will conclude by explaining the implications of these results. The aim of this dissertation is to present my research whose purpose is to answer one question: Does a documentary that – in theory -- presents all the components required to change attitudes towards prisoners, reduce the stigma felt by religious people toward former prisoners, and if so, how and why do those attitudes change?

CHAPTER 2: SOCIAL REHABILITATION AND ITS IMPORTANCE

In 2012, Fergus McNeill advocated for an 'interdisciplinary perspective' on rehabilitation (p. 2), in order to be able to simultaneously address the moral, legal, social and psychological barriers that offenders have to face during their rehabilitation and for their rehabilitation. The barriers are normal up to a certain point because as McNeill says crime is a legal, 'moral and social offence' (2012, p.14); what is not normal is that the state and/or the community fail to give offenders the possibility of overcoming these barriers.

The word 'rehabilitation' is used to refer to the means and to the end in the processes of punishment; rehabilitation is the process but it is also the goal (McNeill 2013), it refers to the act of rehabilitation and to the state of being rehabilitated (Rotman (1994). Due to this fact, I argue that 'the four forms of rehabilitation' described by Fergus McNeill (personal, legal, moral and social) can also be named as: 'the four forms to rehabilitation': they are four meanings of rehabilitation as a process, the fulfillment of which entails rehabilitation as an end. This dissertation is going to focus particularly on the last barrier offenders face before they complete rehabilitation, and the one that has been paid the least attention: the social barriers that offenders have to face in order to achieve social rehabilitation.

When speaking about social rehabilitation McNeill (2012; 2013), refers to the 'informal social recognition and acceptance of the reformed ex-offender', to the part in which the former offender when going out from prison is allowed by his significant others to 'take his place in society' (Robinson & Crow 2009). With this last form of/to rehabilitation McNeill highlights the importance of social context; because rehabilitation is also about the 'interaction between an individual and significant others' (Maruna & LeBel 2010), as Kazemian and Maruna (2009) state: 'human lives are not lived in a social vacuum'. Offenders and ex-offenders have lives outside prison, outside the Criminal Justice System (Benson et al. 2011), and in order to achieve rehabilitation it is also necessary that those actors that interact in that life outside the CJS accept that the ex-offender has changed (Maruna & LeBel 2010). Bauman (2000) gives an example that sheds light to the importance of social rehabilitation: you can be trained to work, but that is useless if there is no job waiting outside. The importance of social context, is also illuminated by

the fact that 'similar criminal sanctions have opposite or different effects in different social settings' (Sherman 1993, p.449). This form of rehabilitation is beyond and outside the Criminal Justice System (Uggen et al. 2005; Armstrong & McNeill 2012) so it needs to be addressed outside it.

Before continuing, some issues need to be clarified:

1. As it has already been said, the four forms of rehabilitation are interconnected. This, added to the fact that McNeill who is the author of this framework so far has only spoken about social rehabilitation as far as I am aware in three articles as far (2012, & Armstrong 2012, 2013), makes it difficult firstly to draw the borders of this type of rehabilitation and secondly requires extra effort to define and decide what content that must be within social rehabilitation.

2. By focussing mainly on social rehabilitation I am aware that I am going to overlook some important parts of the other three forms of/to rehabilitation, but they are less central to the purpose of this dissertation.

THE IMPORTANCE OF SOCIETAL REACTION IN RECIDIVISM/DESISTANCE

In this section I am going to explain how important societal reaction in recidivism and desistance is. I am going to focus on the most common societal reaction towards offenders and former prisoners: stigmatization. Communities are not prepared to receive ex-offenders (Travis & Petersilia 2001; Uggen et al. 2004). LeBel's (2012b) results after interviewing 204 formerly incarcerated ex-offenders are conclusive: 66,3% of men and 60,6% of women have felt stigmatized after their release due to their status. If someone is imprisoned once, that is enough for society to consider him as an 'outcast' (Braithwaite 1989); and as Petersilia (2003) states: that 'scars for life'. Therefore the status of the offender is the only one that exists; the status of the ex-offender is never considered (Garland 2001; Travis 2002), as Burnett and Maruna (2006) state: 'once a con always a con' (p. 101).

This societal reaction has an effect on the process of desistance. Former prisoners themselves have reported in research that they see stigma as an enormous hurdle in the process of desistance from crime (LeBel 2012a; Maruna 2014). In 2007, Chiricos and colleagues, taking advantage of a particular law in Florida conducted a study about how the label of 'ex-con' affected recidivism on 95,919 former prisoners who were guilty of a felony. They found that those to whom the judge gives permission to hide their criminal past and the opportunity of not losing their civil rights were less likely to recidivate than those who were adjudicated as guilty. These informal sanctions that are caused by social reaction to former prisoners can be considered as a collateral (Visher and Travis 2003; Uggen et al 2004) 'invisible punishment' (Travis 2002) because it 'takes effect outside of the traditional sentencing framework' (Travis 2002, p. 16) and because the aim of prison is not to label that person.

Research has demonstrated the negative effect of stigma on desistance, but the question would be: how exactly does this societal reaction influences the process of recidivism/desistance? I would like to answer this question bt relying on the subjective-social model of desistance proposed and tested by LeBel and colleagues in 2008, arguing for an enhanced appreciation the effects of perceived stigma - which is already included in their subjective-social model - as well as suggesting the need to draw more relationships between different factors (see figure 1. for a diagram of my model), but due to word constraints I am not going to be able to explain this model in the way I would like, so I am just going to be able to describe those links in a very brief way:

1. What employment and family 'mean and signify to offenders themselves' (McNeill and Weaver 2010, p.13) has been found to be a key interrelated determinant in the desistance process (eg. Giordano et al. 2002; Uggen et al. 2004; Wright & Cullen 2004). Social stigma damages those social bonds (Clear et al. 2001; Western et al. 2001; Holzer et al. 2006). Housing, which is

also interrelated to social bonds (eg. Niven & Olagundoye 2001; Richie 2001) is also affected by that social stigma (Helfgott 1977; Lewis et al. 2003)

2. How individuals experience the process while they suffer internal changes also affects desistance/recidivism (Maruna 2001; Giordano et al. 2002). Perceived stigmatization both before (LeBel et al. 2008) and after (LeBel et al. 2012a) being released has demonstrated to have an independent impact on desistance/ recidivism (LeBel et al. 2008) and also to have an impact on hope/agency (LeBel et al. 2008) and an individual's identity (Clear 2007; Benson et al. 2007). Hope, agency and prosocial identities also demonstrate their importance in the process of desistance (Maruna 2001; LeBel et al. 2008; Bahr et al. 2010) but theirimpact seems to be indirect (LeBel et al. 2008).

3. There are still 3 more impacts that have yet not been addressed: 1. In order to feel stigmatized, social stigma should affect the individual's social bonds. 2. When someone feels stigmatized for example by his family, as he does not want to feel stigmatized, their social bond will get even weaker. 3. Social bonds and housing have an impact on hope/agency and identity (Hairston 1988; Burnett and Maruna 2004)

In this chapter I have shown the importance of social reaction in the desistance process, and that just a change of the individual is not enough in order to prevent recidivism from occuring (Giordano et al. 2002; Maruna & Farral 2004; LeBel et al. 2008). It is clear that this situation has to change: it makes no sense that society by its reactions and attitudes towards prisoners and former prisoners are being a handicap to their process of desistance, they are without knowing it, being a hurdle in crime reduction. 'Change' is one of the main words of this dissertation, things have to change, but before changing attitudes toward former prisoners we have to ask ourselves: What do we know about those attitudes?

CHAPTER 3. PUBLIC ATTITUDES TOWARDS FORMER PRISONERS

Over recent decades research into attitudes toward crime related issues has increased exponentially, but most of this research has been conducted in order to explore public attitudes towards aspects such as punitiveness (eg. Maruna & King 2004), fairness or effectiveness of the CJS (e.g Hough et al. 2013), capital punishment (Unnever et al. 2005a) or about attitudes toward prisoners (eg. Kjelsberg et al. 2007). Very little is known about some of the crime related issues that occur outside of the C.J.S. such as attitudes toward *former* prisoners (Hirschfield & Piquero 2010) or towards individuals on parole. What is meant by the use of the word 'know' is not simply an acknowledgment and description of what society thinks about former prisoners or about individuals on parole, but also a reference to acknowledging which factors underlie those attitudes (Maruna & King 2004). Concretely, the lack of knowledge about these attitudes is surprising when taking into account certain aspects that have already been discussed in this dissertation: 1. There are more people than ever returning from prison and entering into society. 2. The political and academic interest in the process of re-entry or reintegration is evident. 3. It is known that 'penal attitudes are nuanced and context-dependent' (p.29 Hirschfield & Piquero 2010; Maruna & King 2004). 4. What prisoners face when they return to society is really important for the process of recidivism/ desistance and for the process of rehabilitation.

As far as I am aware there has only been one multivariate analysis on this topic, and the results of this research conducted by Hirschfield & Piquero were released in an article in 2010. Due to the lack of studies surrounding public attitudes I am forced - as Hirschfield and Piquero (2010) were - to use predictors that have been used in research that studies a better known attitude that can be related to attitudes towards former prisoner: punitiveness. I will also use predictors introduced by Hirschfield and Piquero (2010) that have been found to be strongly related to attitudes towards former prisoners, and I will also introduce other ones that may also be related. (see figure 2 for a diagram about the relationship between predictors).

Now I am going to discuss what we know about those predictors. As my research and this dissertation is about the 'change' in these attitudes, I am going to focus on those factors that can be changed in the short term, some of them have proved themselves to be the best predictors of punitiveness (Maruna & King 2004). From now on, those factors are going to be referred to as 'malleable factors'. The context of the research is not going to be mentioned in this chapter, because, it was found by King and Maruna (2009), after comparing their results about punitiveness in the UK with those studies conducted in the USA, that 'the degree of correspondence in the UK sample is striking' (p. 162).

DEMOGRAPHIC, INSTRUMENTAL AND EXPRESSIVE PREDICTORS

On their own, demographic predictors have been demonstrated to have little impact on punitive attitudes (Maruna & King 2004) and even less impact on attitudes toward former-prisoners (Hirschfield & Piquero 2010). The demographic variable that better predicts attitudes towards former prisoners is political orientation (Demsky & McGlynn 1999; Hirschfield & Piquero 2010) but its overall impact is weak (Hirschfield & Piquero 2010). I argue that the explanation for this result about political orientation is that liberals generally believe that criminals are redeemable (Applegate 2000), and redeemability has been found to be the best predictor of punitiveness: redeemability (Maruna & King 2004). This predictor will be analyzed later. Schwartz and colleagues (1993) found that those who have children at home are less punitive, but Hirschfield and Piquero (2010) did not confirm this correlation.

Instrumental and expressive predictors are two other types of predictors that have also been used in order to study public attitudes. Instrumental predictors focus on the instrumental function of attitudes, while expressive predictors make an emphasis on its expressive and symbolic functions.

Instrumental theorists (eg. Zimring et al. 2001) argue that the population is punitive due to their own self interest (Taylor et al. 1989). Instrumental predictors have been demonstrated to be weak

predictors of punitive attitudes (Cullen et al. 1985; Baron & Hartnagel 1996; Tyler & Boeckman 1996; Maruna & King 2004) as well as of attitudes towards former prisoners (Hirschfield & Piquero 2010) . The only one that appears to have some impact is fear of crime (Maruna & King 2009a; Hartnagel & Templeton 2012) and half of its impact disappears when expressive predictors are taken into account (Maruna & King 2009a).

Expressive theories argue that 'punitive attitudes serve as an expressive or symbolic function and punitiveness is a 'socio-emotional response' (Maruna & King 2004).But: what do they express? (Garland 2001). The most studied answer to that question is the one of 'ontological insecurity' (Maruna et al. 2004a): in the last era there have been lots of social changes that are seen as debilitating informal social control (Bottoms 1995), thus provoking social anxiety (Roberts et al. 2003). People are feeling insecure because traditional social structure as it has been known until now is changing, and that change makes us feel uncertain (Bottoms 1997). It has been found that expressive variables have a strong effect on punitiveness (Maruna & King 2004).

CORE BELIEFS AND VALUES

There is strong empirical support 'for the roles of values in shaping attitudes towards punishment' (Baron & Hartnagel 1996, p. 197). In 1958, Heider stated: 'of great importance for our picture of the social environment is the attribution of events to causal resources' (p. 16). Following this thought authors like Cullen and his colleages (1985) or Maruna & King (2004) have studied the effect of internal/dispositional/classical and external/ situational/ positivist attributions of crime on punitive attitudes. Results indicate that these attributions have one of the strongest impacts on public punitiveness (Maruna & King 2004): those who hold positivist attributions, that is to say those who think individuals commit crime due to social factors are much less punitive than those who hold a classical attribution: individuals commit crimes because they want to (Cullen et al. 1985; Maruna & King 2004). Hirschfield and Piquero (2010) did not include these variables in their study, but Demski & McGlynn (1999) found that those who sustained dispositional attributions had more negative attitudes towards parolees. Although it has not yet been used in a research neither about punitiveness nor about attitudes towards former prisoners, I advocate for the introduction of a mixed-attributional model, taking into

account Unnever and colleagues (2010) results: people 'tend' to hold situational and dispositional attributions at the same time.

Punitiveness is another variable that can be related to attitudes towards former prisoners. Punitive attitudes are those that support harsh punishment, those that want punishments to be more intense and longer (Hogan et al. 2005). Not being punitive is neither the same as being supportive of rehabilitative practices (Maruna & King 2009a) nor the same as having positive attitudes towards former prisoners (Hirschfield and Piquero 2010). Hirschfield and Piquero (2010) do not even include this variable in their research, although they recognise that its relationship with attitudes towards prisoners is unknown. Kjelsberg et al. (2007, p.8) found that there is a 'close relationship' between holding punitive attitudes and attitudes towards prisoners. I agree with Hirschfield and Piquero (2010) when they argue that supporting harsh punishment does not necessarily entail holding negative attitudes towards former prisoners; but that does not mean that there is no relationship between them, so at least, it is necessary to study that relationship.

A belief that has been shown to be one of the strongest predictors of attitudes towards former prisoners is legitimation (Hirschfield & Piquero 2010) or belief in the fairness of the Criminal Justice System. What people normally want is justice, and when they feel that the C.J.S is being unfair, the C.J.S loses its authority (Garfinkel 1956; Tyler 2006) to label.

Another belief that can be related to attitudes toward former prisoners is the effectiveness of the criminal justice system. Hirschfield and Piquero (2010) argued that the 'effectiveness of punishment' is 'linked ambiguously to how people typify ex-offenders and feel about interacting with them', and as a consequence they decided not to include it in their research. I recognise that ambiguity, but afterwards I will argue for an idea that I believe will clear up that ambiguity. A belief that complements the matter of the effectiveness of the C.J.S is the answer to the question: what is the purpose of punishing? Tonry (2006) 'provides a neat framework for analyzing punishment' (McNeill 2013, p.7), distinguishing between different functions and purposes. In my question I refer to what Torny (2006, p.6) denominates as 'normative purposes' which are:

rehabilitation, deterrence, retribution, incapacitation and reparation (Roberts et al. 2007; Templeton & Hartnagel 2012). I argue that the purpose of punishment can relate to other variables and can gain importance in predicting attitudes toward former prisoners, but that it by itself it does not relate a lot to how you see former prisoners. For example, believing in the rehabilitation purpose does not mean that you have positive attitudes toward former prisoners (Hirschfield & Piquero 2010) because you may think that prison is not effective in rehabilitating, and even if you think it is, you may think that there are other purposes that are also relevant that have not been met in prison.

Hirschfield and Piquero found that exposure to ex-offenders was the strongest predictor to attitudes towards ex offenders. This is due to the 'mere exposure effect' (Bowers 2002, p.9): you normally hold more positive attitudes towards those aspects that are familiar. Researchers have found that contact with a member of a stigmatized collective makes people feel less stigma towards that collective (eg. Angermeyer et al. 2004; Corrigan et al. 2011). This is also supported by criminological studies that have found that a high amount of those former prisoners who found employment, find it thanks to former employers (Niven & Olagundaye 2002; Visher et al. 2011). Holding less punitive attitudes also appears to be related to knowing someone that has had contact with the C.J.S (Gaubatz 1995). These results support the normalization hypothesis but how is it possible that having contact with a former prisoner lessens your attitudes against ex-prisoners? What happens in that relationship? I argue that what is important is not the mere fact of talking or knowing, I argue that the important thing is what is transmitted during that relationship: the person who acknowledges a former prisoner may realize that all offenders, prisoners and former prisoners are not the same, and he may also empathize with the former offender. Stotland, one of the precursors of the research about empathy, wrote; 'the form of the social relationship influences the manner in which one perceives the other and thinking about him' having impact as a consequence in the 'amount of empathy' perceived (1969, p. 312). I will speak about empathy later but now I am going to look at the uniformity of the stigma and how it is related to the normalization phenomenon.

Research demonstrates that the 'public holds stereotypes of offenders' (Roberts 1992, p. 137; Stalans 2002). Offenders are usually seen as young, lower class, ugly and violent or even mentally-ill subjects (Roberts 1992). When asked about why they do not hire former prisoners, employers say it is because of their 'general untrustworthiness' (Petersilia 2003, p.116). Former prisoners are stereotyped against, and that means that all of them are considered the same. Because of that, people may not even give them a chance to demonstrate that their crime was an accident or that to prove that they have changed. In communities with a high-incarceration rate, where people know lots of offenders, prisoners and former prisoners, having been in prison is not enough to be rejected (Clear 2007). This shows how normalization influences uniformity, and how uniformity influences stigma.

THE 'DARK' SIDE OF THE MOON

As the public is believed to have become more punitive, research that takes into account those negative attitudes is also increasing, but very few studies pay attention to the 'compassionate' side of human beings (Applegate et al. 2000, p.719; Unnever et al. 2004; Maruna & King 2004; King 2008). It is true that negative emotions such as anger or revenge are powerful, but so are 'humanistic oriented beliefs' (Unnever et al 2005, p.2 ; Maruna & King 2008) such as forgiveness (Applegate et al. 2000), empathy (Unnever et al. 2005), redeemability (Maruna & King 2004) or humility.

Maruna and King (2004) continued with the introduction of the attribution theory on punitive attitudes begun by Cullen et al. (1985) with the inclusion of the internal and external attribution, by studying the dimension of stability or instability of the attribution (Maruna & King 2009b). They introduced the variable of redeemability or the belief that people can change, and this was the strongest predictor of punitiveness in their model (Maruna & King 2004) but as the own authors have recognised that does not mean that punitiveness and belief in redeemability 'are not two sides of the same coin' (Maruna & King 2009a, p.19). Hirschfield and Piquero (2010) did not include this variable in their study. Thus, the effect of a belief in redeemability in attitudes towards former prisoners is unknown. I would argue that redeemability is a good predictor of attitudes towards former prisoners, firstly because it is common sense that if you accept a former

prisoner it is normally because you believe he has changed and he is not going to repeat the behaviour that sent him to prison. Secondly, when Helfgott (1997) conducted a study in which he interviewed 156 employers, of those who revealed that they do not ask for candidate's criminal record, when they were asked the reason for not taking into account that information, 54.5% answered that 'the information is not significant and a person deserves the chance to change'. A third reason why belief in redeemability is a good predictor is because, as Maruna & King (2009) state, it has 'obvious parallels' in supporting prisoner reintegration (p. 21). In 2009 Maruna and King go one step further and combine internal/ external attribution with stability/ instability attributions, arguing that those who believe that people can change and that hold a positivist attribution about the causes of crime are the ones who are less punitive. I argue that we can adapt this idea to contemplate attitudes towards former prisoners by adding the variable of effectiveness of prison. If people hold an external attribution, if they believe in redeemability and if they think prison is effective, attitudes towards former prisoners will be more positive. The question 'effective for what?' is also important, but I believe that everyone would agree that one of the main purposes of prison is that people do not reoffend when they get out of prison. Again this would not be a two-sided coin, because some people believe in life sentences, but I argue that the combination of these three variables would be a good predictor.

The idea of Empathy was first introduced in a study about public attitudes by Gaubatz in 1995. He found that the empathy was related to attitudes towards harsh punishment. Later research has demonstrated that empathy is a good predictor of support for the death penalty (Unnever et al. 2005) and of punitiveness (Posick et al. 2014). Those individuals that are more empathic are less likely to be punitive (Posick et al. 2014) and support the death penalty (Unnever et al. 2005a). In criminological research, Hoffman's (1978) definition of empathy has been used: empathy is seen as an ability (Unnever et al. 2005a; Posick et al. 2014). Empathy as an ability has demonstrated that it can increase the perception of effectiveness and fairness of the CJS (Posick et al. 2014) and to 'contextualize the behaviour of offenders' (Unnever & Cullen 2009) a fact than enhances holding situational attributions.

But in psychology empathy is also conceptualized in another way: 'another oriented emotional response congruent with another's perceived welfare' (Batson et al.1997, p. 105). Here empathy is seen as a response. I am particularly interested in this concept of empathy, because an ability is difficult to develop in a short period of time, whereas a reaction can be provoked more easily. Batson et al (1997) have demonstrated that when empathy is induced toward a murderer, attitudes towards that offender are more positive, and that attitude is generalised to the stigmatized group. In their study they found that the short-term effect was not very strong, but 1 or 2 weeks after, when the participants were asked again, the effect was clear strong and clear (Batson et al. 1997). This means that the effect of inducing empathy 'outlives' and even increases at least until two weeks later (Batson et al. 1997, p. 116). Afterwards in 2002 Batson et al. found that that a change of attitudes also translates to a change of behaviour. This is specially relevant for our purpose.

Back in 1969, Stotland stated that 'empathy can also provide the basis of altruism' (p. 279). In 1991 Batson presented the empathy-altruism hypothesis which argues that empathy evokes altruism. Altruism is defined as 'a motivational state with the ultimate goal of increasing another's person welfare.' (Batson et al. 1995, p. 1042). When one feels empathy, altruism is evoked so your goal is to benefit the individual (Batson & Ahmad 2001). This hypothesis has been validated by subsequent research (Batson & Shaw 1991; Batshon & Ahmad 2001).

Forgiveness can also be an important predictor of attitudes towards former prisoners, because when someone commits a crime the victim is not the only 'direct victim', the whole society is also a victim because the offender has altered the social order (Bauman 2000). Applegate and colleagues (2000) demonstrated that forgiveness is linked to holding less punitive attitudes: forgivers are likely to be less punitive. Worthington (1998) states that forgiveness requires empathy towards the offender and humility of oneself, and its importance has been demonstrated by different studies (eg. McCullough et al. 1997; Field et al. 2013). Apart from feeling empathy, Worthington (1998) argues that humility also helps in the process of forgiveness. If you realize that all individuals make good and bad decisions, and that everyone makes mistakes, it is easier to forgive (Worthington 1998).

RELIGION

Throughout history, the way in which offenders have been judged and punished has been highly influenced by religious beliefs and values (Garland 1990), but it was not until 1993 that the concept of religion or religioisity was introduced to the empirical study of punitiveness by Grasmick and colleagues (1993). Since then, more researchers have studied the role that religion plays in shaping public punitive attitudes (eg. Grasmick & McGill 1994; Unnever et al. 2006), with inconsistent results (Unnever & Cullen 2007; Maruna & King 2009a). Until 2000, when Applegate and colleagues carried out research in which forgiveness was introduced, religion as a concept was oversimplified when categorized (Applegate et al. 2000; Unnever et al. 2005b), and when a more complex categorization was made by Grasmick and his colleagues (Grasmick et al. 1993; Grasmick & McGill 1994), the results could not be generalized due to the particularity of their sample (Applegate et al. 2000; Maruna & King 2009a). Moreover only the most punitive part of religion was measured by Grasmick and colleagues, by studying the effect of fundamentalist beliefs (Applegate et al. 2000) in a conservative background (Young 1992). Religion is 'complex and multidimensional' (Hood & Smith 2002, p.698) so it needs to be categorized in a way that covers all of its dimensions and complexities (Unnever et al. 2006). Religion, and more specifically Christianity, sends contradictory messages to its followers: on one hand it promotes compassion and forgiveness and on the other hand justice and punishment (Unnever et al. 2006).

The latter aspect of religion has been investigated thoroughly (Applegate et al. 2000), with findings that suggest that belief in a punitive God and biblical literalism are related to punitiveness (Applegate et al. 2000; Unnever et al. 2005b). But the more compassionate side of religion has been taken in consideration less in research (Applegate et al. 2000). In 2000, Applegate and his colleagues demonstrated that that compassionate religious beliefs can also shape more lenient attitudes. They found that the Christian concept of forgiveness predicted less punitive beliefs, and except in one of their models, that its effect was stronger than the effect of more punitive beliefs related to Christianity (Applegate et al. 2000). McCullough and

Worthington (1999) in their literature review about forgiveness, argue that according to research, religious people are more likely to forgive, but when they have to think about a particular situation that they have experienced, that likelihood evaporates. Tsang and colleagues (2005) call this the 'religious forgiveness discrepancy' (p. 786) and argue that this is because of bias in the way of measuring forgiveness but that it is also due to the use of religion as a rationalization factor: since religion provides examples of both punitive and compassionate acts, people choose the examples that justify their previous behaviour or attitude. It has to be taken into account that this discrepancy has been found in personal forgiveness of specific transgressions. At that time the only research that had taken into account the relationship between forgiveness and penal practices was that conducted by Applegate and colleagues in 2000 (Unnever et al. 2005b), and the findings of subsequent research conducted by Unnever and colleagues (2005b) support Applegate and colleagues' (2000) results.

This research, even though it acknowledges that the punitive side of religion exists, does not want to forget the more compassionate side of Christianity. There are numerous examples of forgiveness and its importance in the Bible (Gorringe 1996), but Christianity also holds other compassionate principles such as belief in redeemability (Applegate et al. 2000) or humility (Deacy 2011). In the New Testament there are many examples of people that change such as Mary Magdalene (Luke 7: 37-50) or Paul the Apostle (Acts 9:1-19; 22:5-16; 26:12-18). The Bible also teaches Christians to be humble such as in the verse in which Jesus says: 'let him who is without sin, cast the first stone' (John 8; 1-7); and Christian theology conventionally holds that Jesus permitted his crucifixion in order for God to forgive the sins committed by humanity. Research has also found that those who hold religious beliefs have more empathy and are more altruistic than those who are not religious (Smith 2003). Due to everything that has been said in this paragraph: that redeemability, humility, empathy or forgiveness can be related to religious beliefs, I have decided that a suitable sample for this research would be religious people.

Now that all predictors or possible predictors have been presented, the next question to be answered is: How can we change those negative attitudes towards former prisoners?

CHAPTER 4: CHANGING ATTITUDES

The word attitude has been defined in many different ways, but almost all of them share the idea that 'an attitude represents some sort of evaluative judgement about an attitude object' (Haddock & Maio 2012). An attitude object is something that is 'discriminated against or held in mind' (Eagly & Chaiken 1998; 2007) so in our case, the attitude objects are former prisoners. Individuals hold attitudes because they are useful for different purposes: to organize knowledge, to express attitudes, to help to defend one's ego and to adjust to the world (Katz 1960). Public attitudes in general, about crime related issues and towards former prisoners are very complex (McCorkle 1993; Warr 1995; Demski & McGlynn 1999), and the latter are especially difficult to change (Batson et al. 1997).

There is a gap in criminology in finding successful techniques to change attitudes, that is why I am going to rely on psychological studies that are related to this issue. Thus, to address the question about how to change attitudes toward former prisoners I am going to firstly highlight the emotional dimension of the criminal act itself , as well as the penal process. Then I will rely on evidence from psychological and criminological scholarships about how to change attitudes. I will finish by drawing some conclusions about how to change attitudes.

It is well know that crime is an 'emotive issue' (Roberts & Hough 2002, p. 3; Garland 2000; Freiberg 2001). Penal law is suffering an 'emotionalization' (Karstedt 2002, p. 299). Emotions are coming back to the C.J.S: there are victims, offenders and witnesses, all of them have emotions and raise emotions from those who see them or hear them (Karstedt 2002).

Psychological scholarship can contribute to our understanding of how attitudes change. When Batson and colleagues (1997) were able to change attitudes towards murderers, they did it by listening to an interview of a murderer that was designed to evoke empathy. Jacoby et al. (1992) state that unconscious processes are the ones that normally influence behaviour. Those attitudes that are a consequence of unconscious processes are called implicit attitudes while the ones that are a consequence of conscious processes are known as explicit attitudes (Eagly & Chaiken

2007). Gawronski & Bodenhausen (2006) proposed the APE model. One of their premises is that 'people usually use their automatic affective reactions towards an object to make evaluative judgements' (Gawronski & Bodenhausen 2006, p.694, 2007), This APE model states that explicit and implicit attitudes have two underlying processes of evaluation: associative in the case of implicit attitudes and propositional processes in the case of explicit attitudes (Gawronski & Bodenhausen 2006). Associative evaluations are 'automatic' and 'affective', and are a result of associations that are 'are independent of the assignment of truth values' (Gawronski & Bodenhausen 2006, p. 693). On the other side those evaluations in which propositional processes underlie, are not automatic and depend on those truth values (Gawronski & Bodenhausen 2006). Departing from this idea Grumm and colleagues (2009) found that the only way of changing both type of attitudes is when you change an affective reaction to a given object. When you change that affective reaction and the individual is aware of that change, explicit attitudes will also change (Grumm et al. 2009), on the contrary providing information did not affect both explicit and implicit attitudes (Grumm et al. 2009). Batson and colleagues findings as well as Grumm and colleagues findings give empirical evidence of the vital importance of emotions in changing attitudes

In 1994, Wilson and Brekke introduced the concept of 'mental contamination'. The process of mental contamination is a process in which a person processes information in an unconscious way and as a consequence reacts in an unwanted way. They state that they are some automatic processes that are adaptive, and they give the example of the process of categorization, situating prejudice and stereotyping as an unwanted consequence of categorization processes and as a consequence of mental contamination (Wilson & Brekke 1994). The Categorization process 'involves simplification and distortion' (Billig 1995) and it is well known that stereotypes are acquired when we are children, and as a consequence we cannot ask ourselves the validity of that stereotype (Devine 1989), that is why I argue that the most successful way to change attitudes towards former prisoners would be to educate the children about criminal issues, this would be an interesting line of research.

In order to control prejudice and stereotyping due to unconscious mental processes, Wilson & Brekke 1994) argue that firstly the individual must be aware of this unwanted processing, afterwards they need to have motivation for correcting that bias and then they need to know the direction and magnitude of their bias. A study conducted by Lerner et al. (1998) demonstrates that accountability - knowing that you will have to explain your decision to otjers- turns people into 'flexible balanced thinkers' (p.564) and as a consequence they become less punitive.

In criminology the results of research into strategies that try to change attitudes towards crime related issues by providing information indicate that those strategies do not always have an effect (eg. Vandiver & Giacopassi 1997; Giacopassi & Blanckership 1991), and when they have it, its effect disappears quickly (eg. Gayne & Payne 2003). Most of this has been made in Criminology courses have not demonstrated many effects (Maruna & King 2004) and are under the 'Hawthorne effect': people say what they are expected to say (Maruna & King 2004, 2008). Personal experience of some professors (Maruna and King 2004, 2008) support this lack of effect of knowledge in attitude change toward crime related issues. Maruna and King (2009) argue after demonstrating the effect of redeemability on public punitiveness that 'success stories' may help to change punitive attitudes, likewise I argue that this can also help to change public attitudes towards former prisoners, because as I have previouslyargued, belief in redeemability, although it does not necessarily imply holding positive attitudes towards former prisoners, can have a tight relationship with attitudes towards ex-prisoners.

Crime itself has an emotional component, as well as the CJS; politicians are using the emotions of individuals to gain votes and power (Bottoms 1995; Garland 2001; Roberts & Hough 2002; Roberts et al. 2003), psychological knowledge demonstrates the power of emotions and criminological knowledge questions the effectiveness of providing information in order to change attitudes. All that has been said in this section demonstrates that just providing information to the public is not enough (Hough 1996), that in order to change public attitudes and opinion we need to pay attention to people's emotions (Maruna & King 2004). Because of this how that information is packed and provided is very important; the message has to consider an emotional dimension as well as an informative one (Indermaur and Hough 2002). As

Indermaur and Hough (2002) state, 'The real battle is not over facts or details but over morals and emotions (p. 210).

CHAPTER 5. METHODOLOGY

For the purposes of this research a mixed method was chosen. Both quantitative and qualitative techniques were used in order to answer the two main questions that this research tries to answer: 1. Has the documentary changed religious people's attitudes towards former prisoners? 2. Why and how have those attitudes changed?

In order to answer these two questions two sessions were conducted, in two different churches in two different neighbourhoods. During the session in Church A there were 10 participants whereas in the session in Church B there were 11. Each session lasted for approximately two hours and a half. The session began with an introduction in which I explained what the purpose of my research was, and if participants accepted to participate they were asked to fill out an ethics consent form. Afterwards a questionnaire was given to them. A black pen was provided to them in order to answer the same questionnaire. When all the participants had finished answering the questionnaire, a documentary was projected. The documentary lasted 48 minutes.

After watching the documentary, a blue pen was given to each participant. They were asked to re-read all of the questions of the same questionnaire, and if they wanted to they could change their answer, this time using the blue pen. Afterwards a focus group was conducted. In Church A only half of the participants stayed until the end of the session, while in Church B all of the participants completed the session. When the focus group ended, another pen was given to the remaining participants, but this time it was a red pen. They were asked to read all the questions again and if they wanted to they could change their answers a third time. Throughout the whole session, each participant only had one questionnaire, but the colour of the pen they used to answer the questions or to change them was different: at moment A, that is to say at the beginning of the session, they used the black pen, at moment B, after watching the documentary, if they decided to change their answers, they did it with a blue pen, and at moment C, after the

focus group, they wrote with a red pen. This strategy was used, so that they would know their previous answers, and so if they decided that they wanted change their answers or not, they would be aware of their attitude change.

During the session, I insisted, that there were no right or wrong answers, but just personal attitudes and opinions, and that it was not compulsory to change their answers. During the two sessions, I clearly transmitted to them the message that I did not have any personal interest in whether or not they changed their answers, and that the purpose of my research was precisely, to see if their answers changed or not, not to demonstrate that a change of attitudes occurred. This was done in order to avoid the "Hawthorne Effect" that usually affects this type of research (Maruna & King 2004, 2008). That is, to avoid them changing their answers simply because they were supposed to do so and not because the documentary caused a shift in their attitudes.

THE MIXED-METHOD

As has already been explained, attitudes are complex. Due to this complexity it seemed to me that the most appropriate way to answer the research question was to combine both quantitative and qualitative instruments. Mixed methods, also called multi strategy design methods (Robson 2011), have received numerous criticisms both by qualitative and quantitative method advocates. Among other reasons, it has been argued that although the for technique theoretically has great potential, when it is put into practice, and its results are analysed, the unity of the research is lost because the information that is obtained is difficult to combine (to read more, see Maruna 2010). Although I am aware of this and other criticisms, it seems to me that using a mixed-method 'sequential transformative design' (Robson 2011, p. 165) is the best way to answer the two main questions of my research project. Neither a qualitative technique on its own nor a qualitative one would best serve for the aim of this research (Bryman 2006; Denscombe 2008). The questionnaire will mainly tell me if attitudes have changed, while the focus group will give depth to my research; it will highlight to me how and why have those attitudes changed; what exactly has caused this change. In this research results of both techniques are going to be integrated in

order to better fulfil the purpose of this research, by taking advantage of the complementarity of both types of techniques (Bryman 2006; Denscombe 2008; Maruna 2010).

Recently Morgan (2014), has argued that first using a core quantitative technique and then using a supplementary qualitative technique can be adopted for three different purposes: exploration, investigation and illustration. In this research, although both quantitative and qualitative analysis are going to be equally important, the focus group is used to explore how attitudes have changed, investigate why have some of them changed their views and why others of them did not and illustrate how specific participants have answered certain questions.

THE QUESTIONNAIRE

An instrument was constructed in order to measure attitudes towards former prisoners and changes in attitude - if any - after watching a documentary film and then again after a focus group discussion. All the predictors that were described in Chapter 3 were included in this instrument. Apart from these predictors they were three more issues that were included in the instrument:

> 1. The knowledge that participants have about different problems that former prisoners have to face.

> 2. If individuals perceived that the documentary had changed their attitudes towards former prisoners.

> 3. If individuals perceived that the focus group had changed their attitudes towards former prisoners.

This instrument has one main strength: through its utilization it provides an opportunity to investigate which attitudes are related to attitudes towards former prisoners while allowing, by its repeated completion, measurement of the changes of attitudes that the film has brought about, and how those changes in certain attitudes are related. Due to words constraints I am not going to be able to explain each of the questions of the instrument and the questionnaire, but both of them

are included in the annexe. Wherever possible, I replicated items used and validated in previous research.

THE STIMULI

'The Road From Crime' (2012) is a film that was funded by ESRC and George Mason University. Fergus McNeill, Shadd Maruna, Stephen Farrall led the production process, working alonsgide an independent film maker and an advisory group comprising practitioners and ex-offenders. The narrator of the documentary is Allan Weaver, a former prisoner that nowadays is working as a probation officer. In this documentary, Allan Weaver explains his experience in first person, as well as interviewing other former prisoners some of whom have succeeded and some of whom have failed in their process of reintegration. He also interviews members of associations that try to help former prisoners and criminologists such as John Laub and Steve Farrall.

As described and explored in Chapter 4, this documentary possesses the main quality that a stimulus should have in order to change attitudes towards former prisoners: it is very emotive. The experiences are narrated in first person, emotiveness is evoked by how prisoners and former prisoners express themselves, how they viewed themselves, how they explained their backgrounds, how they described the hurdles they have faced on being released from prison and how they found their experience in prison. This quality, added to their voice, their tone, their face and the soundtrack send the viewers a message charged with emotivity, giving a face to what people may or may not have known before watching the documentary, and evoking empathy towards them. They present successful stories of people that leave crime behind, but they do not hide away from the fact that they are also unsuccessful stories, of people who suffer and who are not able to change. Successful stories, as argued by Maruna and King (2009b) may help to change the view of people that do not believe in redeemability: they are perfect examples of people with no hope that have changed, some of them being very successful. But unsuccessful stories are also necessary, first of all because it has to be faithful to reality, and secondly because

it has been found attitudes can be changed moreaffectively if counter arguments are presented (Lumsdaine & Janis 1953), and the stories of unsuccessful individuals make people ask themselves, what was the problem there? But apart from an emotive message the documentary also transmits information, it transmits knowledge to the viewers. They are two criminologists who intervene during the documentary, speaking about the process of desistance and about prisons; this gives credibility to the information, a fact that is very important in persuading the audience (Bowers 2002). This documentary pays attention not only to what is said, but also to what Indermaur and Hough (2002) call the 'packaging' (p. 205), that is to say, it does not only provide viewers with information but it pays special attention to how things are said and who says them.

FOCUS GROUP

Focus groups have been used as a technique in studying public opinions about crime related issues (eg. Doble & Klein 1989; Hough 1996; Stead et al. 2002). This is due to the fact that a focus group is a suitable technique to explore issues that have not yet been studied, providing depth and insight (Morgan 1998) about 'complex behaviours and motivations' (Morgan & Kreuger 1993), and is a technique that has been specially advisable for evaluating in-depth opinions and the malleability of attitudes (Roberts 1992). All of this makes a focus group a suitable technique to fulfil one of the purposes of this research: to begin to cover the gap of how attitudes towards former prisoners can change. But the purpose of the focus group in this research was not only to gain depth, but also to see if the focus group, if interaction between the individuals about former prisoner-related issues also changed their attitudes towards former prisoners. Opinions are not a result of individual processes, they are mostly the result of interaction with other individuals (Albrecht et al. 1993). I had the opportunity to see if the opinions changed during the group discussion as well as how those opinions and attitudes changed, in a discussion that touched issues that can come up naturally in day to day conversations, all in a familiar setting. The fact that that in 'natural settings' people feel they need to explain their opinions and attitudes makes them more 'flexible balanced thinkers'

(Lerner et al. 1998, p.564). This, as was explained in Chapter 4, facilitates a change in attitude of the people.

In both focus groups, a 'tunnel design was used' (Morgan 1998, p.53). The questions began by being broad, becoming more specific as the focus group went on, ending with some precise questions. The questions were made in order to firstly know more in depth about the attitudes towards former prisoners, and secondly to find what the impact of the documentary on the participants was. There was medium moderator involvement: I just tried to intervene when the participants were speaking about topics that were not relevant to this research, or when they had not answered all the sections of a question. The questions asked during the focus group are also included in the Annexe.

SAMPLE

A purposive, snowball self-selective sampling strategy was used. Church groups were selected because I wanted to assess the significance of some factors such as redeemability, humility, empathy or forgiveness that as it has already been argued, can be related to religious beliefs. Belief in forgiveness with religious connotations has been found to be a good predictor of opinions that support rehabilitation and less punitiveness (Applegate et al. 2000). My supervisor had contacts in several local church associations in Glasgow, and between them, two were chosen due to accessibility and demographic characteristics: Church A is situated in a working class neighbourhood that has certain stability of people living there, while Church B is situated in an middle-high class neighbourhood. My supervisor put me in touch with those contacts, to whom I explained the purpose of my research and who agreed to be used as gatekeepers. Those contacts explained to the members of those two churches what the session would consist of, and those who formed my sample were those who voluntarily decided to participate in the research.

LIMITATIONS

This research has several limitations that affect validity, reliability and generalizability.

1. The sample: The size of the sample is very small (21 participants), and the participants have not been selected randomly, so the results of this research cannot be generalized. When analyzing the quantitative data, the size of this sample does not let me make correlations between the changes in the different predictors of attitudes towards former prisoners. This fact, only allows me to try to analyse the reasons for the different changes in attitudes by combining quantitative and qualitative data.

2. The research techniques: In focus groups there is the risk of a polarization effect, and of tendencies to conform (Morgan 1997). Focus groups have to include 8 to 12 participants, so the data that I get from the two sessions cannot be generalized due to being small and unrepresentative (Roberts 1992; Morgan 1998). When reading the questionnaire three times, fatigue can affect the participants, making them not want to read the questionnaire again or not want to think about the subject. More will be said about this in the last chapter of this dissertation.

3. The researcher: a skillful moderator is fundamental in the use of focus group as a technique for collecting data because it has a great impact on the results (Morgan 1997). Although I tried to train myself by reading books that tell you how to moderate, these were the two first focus groups that I have ever conducted so I am not a high quality moderator.

4. Time constraints: In order to see if the change in attitudes endured over time, the participants should have answered the questionnaire two or three months after the session, but due to time constraints I was not able to test the lasting effect of the changes.

ETHICAL ISSUES

This research was conducted with the approval of the College of Social Sciences Research Committee of the University of Glasgow. At the beginning of each session the participants were given a plain language statement in which the reasons for my research were explained. Each of the participants signed the consent form, in which ethical issues were explained, before participating in the research. The names of the participants were changed guaranteeing them confidentiality. The only person, apart from me, that has had access to the original data has been my supervisor. Before beginning the focus group, I told them to be respectful, and explained to them that if the discussion was getting too stressful or too personal, we would take a break until things calmed down. My e-mail was also given to the participants in case they wanted more information or in case they encountered any problems caused by the research.

CHAPTER 6. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

In this chapter, the results of the sessions in Church A and in Church B will be presented and analyzed at the same time. Quantitative and qualitative data are going to be integrated throughout this process in order to be able to better explain the attitudes and their changes. The instrument was composed by different variables, that corresponded to the predictors discussed on Chapter 3. There were some variables that were formed by more than one item. Some items were also composed by various questions. Firstly I am going to analyze the attitudes towards former prisoners of the whole sample. The variable was divided into 6 different items, which include different aspects in which former prisoners can feel discriminated against: perceived dangerousness, perceived dishonesty, attitudinal social distance, attitudinal legal distance, fear and otherness (Figure 3).

Figure 3.

NEGATIVE ATTITUDE TOWARDS FORMER PRISONER SCALE (NATFP-scale)					
VARIABLE: ATTITUDES TOWARD FORMER PRISONERS					
ITEM 1	ITEM 2	ITEM 3	ITEM 4	ITEM 5	ITEM 6
Perceived Dangeroussness	Perceived Dishonesty	Attitudinal Social Distance	Attitudinal Legal Distance	FEAR	OTHERNESS

What was measured was a negative attitude towards former prisoners, it was measured in a 5-point Likert scales. Participants were asked to express their level of conformity to certain statements answering from 5 being strongly agree to 1 being strongly disagree, being 5 the most negative attitude a participant can hold and the 1 being the most positive attitude. For each respondent I calculated the average of the scores for each item. I do this in relative to responses in moment A, from a higher average, that is to say, from more negative attitudes, to a lower average, that is to say to more positive attitudes. Of the six items, the one whose average was

highest was perceived dishonesty: 4 participants out of a total 21 thought that former prisoners were dishonest, and what is more important, neither the documentary nor the focus group changed any of those 4 answers (see figure 4). Three out of twenty one participants thought after watching the documentary that former prisoners were more honest than they thought in moment A. The focus group did not make them change any of their answers for this item.

Figure 4. In this and all the tables of Chapter 5 the names that are used are pseudonyms. The green is used to highlight improvements in attitudes toward former prisoners, the red to highlight attitudes that have turn more negative, and the yellow is sometimes used to highlight other significant answers. The orange colour is used on averages, when in spite of changes, the average continues to be the same.

		CHURCH A				CHURCH B		
	NAME	MOMENT A	MOMENT B	MOMENT C	NAME	MOMENT A	MOMENT B	MOMENT C
	April	1	1	1	Anastasia	2	3	3
	Brenda	3	3	3	Brandon	3	3	3
	Caroline	3	3	3	Charles	4	4	4
PERCEIVED	Deborah	2	2	2	Daniela	4	4	4
DISHONESTY	Elliot	4	4	4	Elisabeth	3	3	3
	Fernanda	2	1		Fergus	3	3	3
	Gabriela	3	3		Garret	5	5	5
	Hector	3	2		Hailey	1	1	1
	Ines	2	2		Isabelle	3	2	2
	Joanne	3	3		Jane	1	1	1
					Kevin	3	3	3
	AVERAGE	2.6	2.4		Kevin	2.9090909	2.90909091	2.909090909

The next item in which participants expressed more negative attitude was 'otherness'. At moment A, three participants thought that former prisoners are different from the rest of the society (see figure 5). Watching the documentary only influenced one of those three participants to change his point of view. Although he held that idea less strongly, he continued thinking that former prisoners are different to other members of society. 4 other participants also changed their answers in Moment B: 3 of them were participants who expressed their neutrality on Moment A. The focus group did not influence any of the participants' answers.

Figure 5.

	NAME	MOMENT A	MOMENT B	MOMENT C	NAME	MOMENT A	MOMENT B	MOMENT C
	April	3	1	1	Anastasia	2	2	2
	Brenda	2	1	1	Brandon	2	2	2
	Caroline	3	2	2	Charles	4	4	4
	Deborah	2	2	2	Daniela	2	2	2
OTHERNESS	Elliot	2	2	2	Elisabeth	2	2	2
	Fernanda	2	2		Fergus	3	3	3
	Gabriela	2	2		Garret	5	5	5
	Hector	5	4		Hailey	3	4	4
	Ines	3	3		Isabelle	3	2	2
	Joanne	2	2		Jane	1	1	1
					Kevin	3	3	3
	AVERAGE	2.6	2.1		AVERAGE	2.7272727	2.72727273	2.727272727

Attitudinal social distance was the next item whose average was higher. It was composed of three different questions, which asked about how big a deal it would be to associate with someone who has been convicted of a crime, to have a neighbour who is a former prisoner and for their children to have a teacher who had been to prison (figure 6). The answer of this last question had the highest average of all the answers of my NATFP- scale. A total of 7 participants, thought that it would be a very big deal. The documentary improved this negative view of two of those seven participants towards former prisoners. 3 participants thought that it would be a big deal if their neighbour was a former prisoner, with one of them changing their opinion to a neutral answer after watching the documentary. Only one participant thought that it would be a big deal to associate with a former prisoner, his opinion did not change after watching the documentary. The three participants that expressed their neutrality towards this matter, at the end of the session changed to thinking that it would not be a big deal; two of them changed their answer at moment B while the other one changed his opinion after the focus group. Apart from the change of the latter participant, participating in the focus group did not affect their attitudinal social distance or any of their answers to the other items about NATFP.

Figure 6.

CHURCH A											
	QUESTION A				QUESTION B			NAME	QUESTION C		
NAME	MOMENT A	MOMENT B	MOMENT C	NAME	MOMENT A	MOMENT B	MOMENT C	April	MOMENT A	MOMENT B	MOMENT C
April	1	1	1	April	1	1	1	Brenda	4	4	4
Brenda	1	1	1	Brenda	1	1	1	Caroline	4	2	2
Caroline	2	2	2	Caroline	3	3	3	Deborah	2	2	2
Deborah	2	2	2	Deborah	1	1	1	Elliot	4	4	4
Elliot	3	3	2	Elliot	2	2	2	Fernanda	3	3	3
Fernanda	1	1		Fernanda	4	4		Gabriela	3	3	
Gabriela	3	3		Gabriela	2	2		Hector	2	2	
Hector	1	1		Hector	4	3		Ines	4	3	
Ines	3	2		Ines	2	4		Joanne	3	3	
Joanne	2	2		Joanne	2	2		Iona Craig	4	4	
Joanne	1.9	1.8		AVERAGE	2.2	2.3		AVERAGE	3.3	3	
TOTAL AV	2.46666667	2.3666667							3.15		

ATTITUDINAL SOCIAL DISTANCE

CHURCH B											
	QUESTION A				QUESTION B				QUESTION C		
NAME	MOMENT A	MOMENT B	MOMENT C	NAME	MOMENT A	MOMENT B	MOMENT C	NAME	MOMENT A	MOMENT B	MOMENT C
Anastasia	2	2	2	Anastasia	3	3	3	Anastasia	3	3	3
Brandon	1	1	1	Brandon	3	3	3	Brandon	3	3	3
Charles	2	2	2	Charles	1	1	1	Charles	3	3	3
Daniela	2	2	2	Daniela	3	3	3	Daniela	5	5	5
Elisabeth	1	1	1	Elisabeth	3	3	3	Elisabeth	2	2	2
Fergus	2	2	2	Fergus	2	2	2	Fergus	2	2	2
Garret	1	1	1	Garret	2	2	2	Garret	2	2	2
Hailey	3	2	2	Hailey	5	5	5	Hailey			
Isabelle	4	4	4	Isabelle	3	3	3	Isabelle	4	4	4
Jane	1	1	1	Jane	3	3	3	Jane	4	4	4
Kevin	2	2	2	Kevin	2	2	2	Kevin	2	2	2
Kevin	1.90909091	1.8181818	1.81818182	AVERAGE	2.7272727	2.72727273	2.727272727	AVERAGE	3	3	3
TOTAL AV	2.54545455	2.5151515									

Two participants of my sample were afraid of most former prisoners and neither the documentary nor the focus group changed that feeling (Figure 7). The documentary influenced two participants who gave a neutral answer at moment A, to no longer be afraid of former prisoners. The item 'attitudinal legal distance' was formed of two questions: one that tackled whether former prisoners should have the same rights as the participants and the other one asked them to give their opinion about whether former prisoners should be able to vote (figure 8.). Three respondents thought that former prisoners should not have the same rights as them and four of the participants believed that former prisoners should not be able to vote. Neither the documentary nor the focus group changed those opinions. But the documentary influenced a change in the answer to the second question of two participants whose opinion was neutral on this matter; at moment B they disagreed with the fact that former prisoners could not vote. The

disagreement with the fact that former prisoners could not vote, that was already demonstrated by another participant at moment A, became even stronger after watching the documentary.

Figure 7.

		CHURCH A				CHURCH B		
	NAME	MOMENT A	MOMENT B	MOMENT C	NAME	MOMENT A	MOMENT B	MOMENT C
	April	3	3	3	Anastasia	2	2	2
	Brenda	1	1	1	Brandon	1	1	1
	Caroline	3	2	2	Charles	1	1	1
	Deborah	3	3	3	Daniela	3	3	3
FEAR	Elliot	2	2	2	Elisabeth	3	3	3
	Fernanda	1	1		Fergus	3	3	3
	Gabriela	5	5		Garret	1	1	1
	Hector	2	2		Hailey	4	4	4
	Ines	3	3		Isabelle	3	1	1
	Joanne	2	2		Jane	1	1	1
					Kevin	2	2	2
	AVERAGE	2.5	2.4		AVERAGE	2.1818182	2	2

Figure 8.

ATTITUDIONAL LEGAL DISTANCE

CHURCH A

	QUESTION A				QUESTION B		
NAME	MOMENT A	MOMENT B	MOMENT C	NAME	MOMENT A	MOMENT B	MOMENT C
April	1	1	1	April	1	1	1
Brenda	1	1	1	Brenda	3	1	1
Caroline	4	4	4	Caroline	2	2	2
Deborah	3	3	3	Deborah	5	5	5
Elliot	1	1	1	Elliot	1	1	1
Fernanda	1	1		Fernanda	1	1	
Gabriela	3	3		Gabriela	4	4	
Hector	1	1		Hector	1	1	
Ines	3	3		Ines	3	2	
Joanne	2	2		Joanne	1	1	
AVERAGE	2	2		AVERAGE	2.2	1.9	
TOTAL AV	2.1	1.95					

CHURCH B

	QUESTION A				QUESTION B		
NAME	MOMENT A	MOMENT B	MOMENT C	NAME	MOMENT A	MOMENT B	MOMENT C
Anastasia	1	1	1	Anastasia	1	1	1
Brandon	5	5	5	Brandon	1	1	1
Charles	1	1	1	Charles	1	1	1
Daniela	1	1	1	Daniela	1	1	1
Elisabeth	5	5	5	Elisabeth	5	5	5
Fergus	1	1	1	Fergus	1	1	1
Garret	1	1	1	Garret	1	1	1
Hailey	1	1	1	Hailey	1	1	1
Isabelle	2	2	2	Isabelle	2	1	2
Jane	1	1	1	Jane	5	5	5
Kevin	2	2	2	Kevin	1	1	1
AVERAGE	1.90909091	1.9090909	1.90909091	AVERAGE	1.8181818	1.72727273	1.818181818
TOTAL AV	1.86363636	1.8181818					

There were two participants that thought that former prisoners were dangerous, but that opinion changed at moment B, when they changed their answer expressing their new opinion that former prisoners were not dangerous (figure 9). One of the two participants that answered neutrally to this matter, changed his opinion, by answering that he no longer thought that former prisoners were dangerous.

Figure 9.

PERCEIVED DANGEROUSNESS	CHURCH A				CHURCH B			
	NAME	MOMENT A	MOMENT B	MOMENT C	NAME	MOMENT A	MOMENT B	MOMENT C
	April	1	1	1	Anastasia	1	1	1
	Brenda	1	1	1	Brandon	1	1	1
	Caroline	2	2	2	Charles	1	1	1
	Deborah	2	2	2	Daniela	2	2	2
	Elliot	1	1	1	Elisabeth	3	2	2
	Fernanda	1	1		Fergus	1	1	1
	Gabriela	5	2		Garret	1	1	1
	Hector	2	2		Hailey	3	3	3
	Ines	4	2		Isabelle	1	1	1
	Joanne	2	2		Jane	1	1	1
					Kevin	3	3	3
	AVERAGE	2.1	1.6		AVERAGE	1.6363636	1.54545455	1.545454545

The item that showed a bigger change after the participants watched the documentary was the one of 'perceived dangerousness'. The documentary, by showing and interviewing different types of former prisoners, seems to show that former prisoners should not be perceived as dangerous as they are normally seen. Meanwhile the item that was modified by more participants after watching the documentary – after dividing the changes between the number of questions of each item - was the one of 'otherness'. This result is important because it was the item with the second highest average at moment A. After watching the documentary, this item became the third one with the highest average, after 'perceived dishonesty' and 'attitudinal social distance'. It seems that one of the most important effects of the documentary, was to humanize former prisoners. That humanization made people realise even more, that former prisoners were not different from them. This fact can be illustrated by the comment of Brandon when asked about the information provided by the documentary: 'it was useful to see faces, individuals'. The item that experienced a smaller change at moment B was 'attitudinal social distance'. On this item,

the documentary affected only 3 participants positively, and one participant negatively in the item with a highest average: perceived dishonesty.

Although analyzed item by item, it does not seem that the session had a great impact on attitudes towards former prisoners, when data is analyzed in a global way we realize that 47% of the participants changed their attitudes towards former prisoners for the better. This 47% will be analyzed in a following section because, in order to analyze it better, it needs to be disintegrated into the results of the two churches separately. Of those 10 participants whose attitudes were changed for better, 9 of them changed their answers at moment B, after watching the documentary, while only one changed it after the focus group. But apart from the NATFP scale, there were two other questions on the questionnaire that measured if the participants thought the documentary and the focus groups have changed their attitudes towards prisoners in any way. 86% of the participants thought that the session changed their views toward former prisoners. Only 3 participants thought that neither the documentary nor the focus group was useful, and one of those participants did not participate in the focus group . 57% of the participants thought that the documentary changed their attitudes towards former prisoners, while 80% of the participants that were in the focus group and answered the questions thought it was useful (see figure 10). This discrepancy between this level of declared effectiveness of the focus group, and the one obtained by analyzing the NATFP scale will be discussed in the conclusion.

Figure 10.

		CHURCH A			CHURCH B	
	FOCUS GR	DOCUMMENTARY	FOCUS GROUP	FOCUS GR	DOCUMMENTARY	FOCUS GROUP
	April	3	4	Anastasia	3	4
	Brenda	4	3	Brandon	2	4
	Caroline	4	4	Charles	3	1
PERCEIVED	Deborah	4	4	Daniela	4	4
EFFICACY OF THE	Elliot	3	4	Elisabeth	4	4
SESSION	Fernanda			Fergus	3	4
	Gabriela	4		Garret	1	1
	Hector	3		Hailey	4	
	Ines	5		Isabelle	5	4
	Joanne	4		Jane	2	4
		4		Kevin	2	4

Now the next question would be, which changes in predictors - if any - affected the changes in the NATFP scale? As I have already explained, because of the size of my sample I am not able to draw correlations between either the predictors or the amount of change in the predictors, so I will just have to try to describe which predictors may have caused a change by relying on the quantitative and qualitative data,. To do so, I argue that it is useful to separate the sample into the two churches, because the impact of the documentary was different on each of them, so this can be an important fact in order to analyze the predictors. It has to be said, that as the purpose of this dissertation is to evaluate the change, I am going to concentrate mainly on that change, not giving so much importance to the scores at moment A: I will focus on the change between moments A and B. My main aim is not to search for the best predictor of attitudes towards former prisoners, my main aim is to search for the malleable predictor, whose change has a stronger effect on attitudes towards former prisoners.

According to my NATFP scale, of the participants in Church A, 80% changed their attitudes towards former prisoners for the better as a result of this session. Except in one case, those changes were due to the documentary. On the other side, in Church B only 18 % of the participants changed their attitudes for the better and both participants changed their opinion at Moment B, after watching the documentary. It is illustrative in this aspect that at moment A, Church A had more negative attitudes towards former prisoners than Church B, but as a result of the documentary, things changed: at moment B Church A had more positive attitudes towards former prisoners than Church B (figure 11). The global scores of the NATFP scale are derived from the average of the answers of all the questions that formed this scale.

Figure 11.

	NAME	CHURCH A			NAME	CHURCH B		
		MOMENT A	MOMENT B	MOMENT C		MOMENT A	MOMENT B	MOMENT C
	April	1.777777778	1.55555556	1.55555556	Anastasia	1.8888889	2	2
	Brenda	1.888888889	1.33333333	1.33333333	Brandon	2.2222222	2.22222222	2.22222222
NEGATIVE	Caroline	2.666666667	2.44444444	2.44444444	Charles	2	2	2
ATTITUDES	Deborah	2.666666667	2.66666667	2.66666667	Daniela	2.5555556	2.55555556	2.55555556
TOWARDS	Elliot	2.111111111	2.11111111	2	Elisabeth	3	2.88888889	2.88888889
FORMER	Fernanda	1.777777778	1.66666667		Fergus	2	2	2
PRISONERS	Gabriela	3.222222222	2.88888889		Garret	2.1111111	2.11111111	2.11111111
	Hector	2.555555556	2.11111111		Hailey	2.625	2.625	2.625
	Ines	2.888888889	2.66666667		Isabelle	2.7777778	2.22222222	2.22222222
	Joanne	2.222222222	2.22222222		Jane	2	2	2
					Kevin	2.2222222	2.22222222	2.22222222
	AVERAGE	2.377777778	2.16666667		AVERAGE	2.3093434	2.25883838	2.25883838

Analyzing their answers in the focus group, we can see some difference in attitudes between the two Churches: when they were asked questions that corresponded with the items of otherness and attitudinal social distance, the participants of Church A said that it would depend on the individual, on his personality, while most of the members of Church B said that although it would depend on the individual, it also depended on the type of crime he had committed. This opinion looked at again when talking about redeemability. The answers were collected during the focus group, after watching the documentary but we do not know if before watching the documentary both groups also thought differently about these items, or if it was an effect of the documentary caused church A to change their mind. What we do know is the different answers that both Churches gave when they were asked if the documentary had had any impact on their view towards prisoners: in Church B the participants when asked about this fact, or about the effect of the documentary on their perception of the problems former prisoners had and of the importance of social rehabilitation, all agreed that the documentary reinforced a view that they already had. Meanwhile in Church A, they recognised that they now felt more sympathy and had more altruistic thoughts towards former prisoners. So, what happened during the documentary

that affected Church A but not Church B, what caused that change? Which predictor changed and consequently which negative attitudes towards former prisoners also changed?

By relying on quantitative data and on the data obtained through the focus group, I argue that the predictor whose change may best explain a change in attitudes towards prisoners is empathy as an emotional response. By analyzing the answers of the questionnaire, I observe that 5 participants of Church A felt more empathy towards former prisoners after watching the documentary, and there was another participant, that was as empathetic as he could be at moment A. The 5 participants that felt more empathetic after watching the documentary, as well as the participant who could not increase his empathy any more after moment A, improved their attitudes towards former prisoners after watching the documentary. Apart from these 6 participants, there is only one more that improved his attitude after watching the documentary. In Church B, there was only one participant who improved her empathy towards former prisoners as a result of watching the film, and that same participant was one of the two participants that held a more positive attitude towards former prisoners after watching the documentary in Church B, and that participant in fact, changed her attitudes more than any other participant (figure 12).

Figure 12.

	CHURCH A				CHURCH B		
	NAME	MOMENT A	MOMENT B	MOMENT C	NAME	MOMENT A	MOMENT B	MOMENT C
	April	3.333333333	3.5	3.5	Anastasia	3	3	4
	Brenda	2.666666667	4.33333333	4.5	Brandon	4.4	4.4	4.4
	Caroline	3.333333333	3.5	3.5	Charles	2.8333333	2.83333333	2.83333333
EMPATHY	Deborah	4	4	4	Daniela	4	4	4
(EMOTIONAL	Elliot	3.333333333	3.33333333	3.33333333	Elisabeth	4	4	4
RESPONSE)	Fernanda	4	4.16666667		Fergus	4	4	4
	Gabriela	3.666666667	3.66666667		Garret	1	1	1
	Hector	5	5		Hailey	2.6	2.6	2.6
	Ines	2.5	3		Isabelle	4	4.66666667	4.66666667
	Joanne	2.5	2.5		Jane	4.5	4.5	4.5
					Kevin	3.3333333	3.33333333	3.33333333
	AVERAGE	3.433333333	3.7		AVERAGE	3.4242424	3.48484848	3.57575758

We have then, taking into account the two churches, 6 participants that became more empathetic after watching the film, and one participant that was as empathetic as he could be at moment A,

and all of them improved their attitudes towards former prisoners after watching the film. Apart from these 7 participants there were only 2 more who changed their attitudes towards former prisoners. That is to say: seven out of nine of the participants who changed their attitudes towards prisoners at moment B, or who felt more empathy towards former prisoners after watching the documentary than in moment A or had already scored the maximum in moment A.

This difference in the change in the level of empathy towards former prisoners in Church A and in Church B observed in quantitative data is supported when analyzing the qualitative data. In Church A, the five participants that stayed in the focus group, expressed in one way or another that they felt compassion towards former prisoners and felt sad for them. April, when asked how she felt while watching the documentary, said: 'quite compassionate towards people, quite sad'. Three other participants expressed agreement upon hearing this sentence and the only participant that had not assented, Deborah said when April had finished her reflexion: 'I think that expresses it all doesn't it'. Throughout the focus group they continued to give signs of that empathy that the film made them feel. Brenda for example, said that after watching the documentary she felt 'a lot more sympathy for them', and Deborah agreed with her. Elliot also answered this question in a way that denotes that it was his empathetic reaction towards former prisoners after watching the film that made him change his attitude.

Throughout the focus group, participants also expressed that when watching the film they had altruistic ideas for example when April said: 'I felt I wanted to do something to help them'. As was explained in the literature review, it was found that empathy as an emotional response can evoke altruistic behaviour. In Church B on the contrary, although at the end when participants were asked to give their conclusion about how the film has changed their attitudes towards former prisoners, one participant felt more sympathy towards them, another one more compassion and another one wanted to help, the weight of empathy during the discussion was very small, concentrating in other aspects, and when analyzing the quantitative data it can be seen that the change in the level of empathy towards former prisoners was small.

But the fact that the qualitative data supports the idea that the individuals of Church A have felt more empathy towards former prisoners does not mean that it is empathy that has changed their attitudes towards prisoners. That said,, indirectly the qualitative data also supports that notion. There are two main reasons to believe so:

1. The weight of compassionate feelings during the focus group; throughout the entire focus group, participants of Church A transmitted to me that they felt compassion when watching the documentary. In fact even when they were asked about another matter, they continued to stress this fact. An example of this was when I asked them about what aspects of the film had the biggest impact upon them, to which Deborah answered: 'I feel compassion very much' and one participant assented.

2. Their answers when I asked them what was the component of the film that had changed their attitudes towards former prisoners: For example, when Caroline was answering the question by saying that the film gave them a greater insight about former prisoners lives: 'What are you going to do except return to crime?' Although she did not mention it, according to the context of the conversation I suppose that she was referring particularly to an economical matter, that is to say she referred to the fact that if employers reject them, they need money to be able to eat and live.

The next question would be: what exactly in the film made the participants of Church A feel more empathy towards prisoners? Elliot's reflection, which was supported by all the participants of Church A, when asked about the effect of the documentary enlightens this matter: 'It gave me another insight… just exactly hearing the personal stories. That touches you. When you actually, you realize there is a problem but until hear somebody's story, that story can touch you'. It is hearing former prisoners' stories that makes them feel empathy towards them, hearing them telling their own stories, what they have gone through and the hurdles that they have faced. What happened then in Church B? Why didn't they increase their empathy when watching the film? There may be two possible answers: one issue that was mentioned by many participants of Church B, and one that can be seen when analyzing the quantitative data.

1. During the focus group in Church B, during two different questions, three participants thought that the documentary did not look at all types of crimes. Anastasia for example stated when answering to what she felt while watching the documentary: 'It was a very stereotyped vision of crime' or said in another moment that 'the film slightly romanticized crime', while Charles thought that the documentary was 'incredibly selective'. Charles during the discussion stated that the film 'was not meant to be a picture of the whole criminal justice system' but to demonstrate that people can change. Two other participants agreed with that comment. This commentary can give us an important clue of how this documentary could have more impact on attitudes towards former prisoners: to not only present examples of change but also select a broader range of former prisoners who have committed very different types of crime, and what is more important, to transmit this fact to the audience. In Church A on the other hand, this fact was only mentioned by one participant, and that comment did not get further developed throughout the discussion.

It also seemed that instead of watching the documentary, instead of thinking about their feelings and their thoughts, the participants of Church B were trying to evaluate it. This fact may also explain why the documentary did not have as much impact on the participants of Church B as it did in Church A in nearly all the predictors that were measured. In fact when asked in the questionnaire about the efficacy of the documentary, only the 36 % of the participants thought that the documentary had changed their attitudes towards former prisoners, while the 80% of those who answered the question about the efficacy of the focus group, thought that the focus group had had an impact on their views towards former prisoners. Why were the members of Church B more critical and evaluative, and less influenced by the documentary in their attitudes towards former prisoners as well as in many of the other predictors? A possible answer will be that it was because they have achieved a higher level of education. In Church B all the participants had undergraduates studies

or more, in fact, more than the 50% had completed postgraduate studies, while in Church A only 50% of the participants had undergraduate studies. The rest of them had secondary school or less. It may be possible that those people that have achieved a higher level of education are more critical, so it is more difficult to change their minds. But this does not explain at all the difference of attitudes towards former prisoners between individuals with the same level of educational achievement

2. Another reason may be the level of empathy as an ability, that was obtained by two churches: the average of Church A was higher than Church B. But the difference between the average was too small: Church A only had a 3% better ability to be empathetic.

During the Church B focus group, compassion and other empathetic feelings were not given much importance at all. The word compassion was only spoken one time in the whole discussion. The only participant who according to the questionnaire felt more empathy after watching the documentary, when asked to say the word that came first to his mind when saying 'former prisoner', answered with the word 'anxiety', a word that refers to a feeling. This same participant did not answer when I asked all the participants what exactly had changed their views towards former prisoners, so I am not able to know what her thoughts were.

Another variable that showed great change was a belief in redeemability (figure 13). 12 of the 21 participants of my research, after watching the documentary believed more in the idea that people can change. Two of those 12 participants, believed even more in redeemability after watching the focus group. In this aspect the successful examples that are presented in the documentary perhaps have made people think more about redeemability. This interpretation is supported by the answer of Daniella in the focus group to my question about if people could change: 'The people in the film change'. This comment was supported by two more participants.

Figure 13.

	NAME	CHURCH A			NAME	CHURCH B		
		MOMENT A	MOMENT B	MOMENT C		MOMENT A	MOMENT B	MOMENT C
	April	3.25	4	4	NAME	2.75	3.25	3.5
	Brenda	4.5	5	4.5	Anastasia	3.75	3.75	3.75
	Caroline	3.75	3.75	3.75	Brandon	3.75	3.75	3.75
BELIEF	Deborah	4.5	4.5	4.5	Charles	4	3.25	3.25
IN	Elliot	3.25	3.25	3.25	Daniela	3.25	3.5	3.5
REDEEMABILITY	Fernanda	4	4.25		Elisabeth	3	3.25	3.25
	Gabriela	4.5	4		Fergus	1.25	1.25	1.25
	Hector	3.5	4.75		Garret	3.25	3.5	3.5
	Ines	3.5	4		Hailey	3.25	4	4
	Joanne	3.5	3.75		Isabelle	4.25	4.5	4.5
					Jane	3.5	3.5	3.5
	AVERAGE	3.825	4.125		Kevin	3.2727273	3.40909091	3.43181818

In Church A, 6 participants believed more that they changed after watching the documentary, all of those participants except one held more positive attitudes towards former prisoners at moment B than in moment A. It has to be said, that the participant that was an exception, at moment A believed less in the possibility of change, and that perception varied only a little bit after watching the documentary. There were two other participants who changed their attitudes towards prisoners, who believed the same in change as him at moment A, but after watching the documentary, changed their perceptions double or more than the participant who was the exception. This may suggest that in Church A, in order to improve attitudes towards former prisoners, a bigger amount of change concerning redeemability was needed. This is also supported by the fact that one participant whose attitudes toward prisoners was improved by the film had at moment A less belief in change, but after watching the documentary he believed in it a lot more. All the participants that changed their belief in redeemability to four or more at moment B - four in a 5-point Likert scale - also changed their attitude towards prisoners, that is to say, in Church B all the participants who changed their answers at moment B, believing at that moment in redeemability also changed their attitudes towards prisoners.

In Church B on the other hand, 6 other participants improved their belief in redeemability. The two participants who improved their attitudes towards former prisoners at moment B had also

changed their belief in redeemability after watching the documentary. The biggest change in belief in redeemability was obtained by the same participant who improved his attitudes towards former prisoners most. The other participant who after watching the documentary also improved his attitudes towards former prisoners, experienced a smaller amount of change in belief in redeemability, but other participants of Church B with the exact same answers in part A and part B, did not improve their attitudes toward former prisoners.

The average of believing in redeemability was higher before watching the documentary in Church A than in B, but even in Church A their average did not get up to 4, that is to say, the average still did not suggest very strong or unqualified belief in redeemability. After watching the documentary, Church A's average increased more than Church B, getting to a result that is over 4, church B still did not get there. Thus, before watching the documentary, taking into account the average of church B, participants of Church B were close to believing in redeemability, but it was not until they watched the documentary, when their average did not go over 4, that is to say, after moment B they believed in redeemability. If we speak about individuals, in Church A there were only four participants that scored or four or more -who believed in redeemability- at moment B, but after watching the documentary there were 3 more participants. Meanwhile in Church B there was only one participant that scored over 4 at moment A, while in moment B only one participant added. These results suggest that in order to improve negative attitudes towards prisoners, belief in redeemability has to change to a score that is over 4. All except one of the participants of the research who changed their belief in redeemability at moment B, obtaining as a result after the documentary an average that higher than four, also experienced an improvement in their attitudes towards former prisoners. According to these results, all except one of the participants who held more positive attitudes after watching the documentary: 1st. Believed more in redeemability after watching the film and 2nd at moment B they believed in redeemability because they scored or 4 or more.

When analyzing the qualitative data, there is also a difference between the two churches. When Church A participants were asked during the focus group whether or not people could change, all of them answered "yes of course" meanwhile in Church B, although participants initially

answered that people could change, one of the participants, Charles, broke the silence with this reflexion: 'I feel very ambivalent about the question, I know I should say yes of course because I believe in redemption, transformation, grace, but there is a bit of me that feels that deep down, people may not change'. The religious part of this sentence will be analyzed in a following paragraph. Another participant, Brandon, answered him by saying that he had changed, so 'if you realize that you have changed' you have to believe as well that other people can change. Even though if you only look at Church B's answer to this question it may appear that most of the participants believed in redeemability. But when answering another question about trustworthiness, most of the group began to contradict themselves: they said that they would trust a former prisoner depending on the reason why they had been imprisoned. By saying this, they did not take into consideration whether or not the person had changed. This fact was mentioned by Brandon by saying that he would also take into account if people had changed.

Another variable that changed thanks to the session was punitiveness (figure 14). Eight out of 21 participants became less punitive after the session, seven of those changes occurred at moment B, after watching the documentary, while only one of them was after the focus group. Another participant also became less punitive after watching the documentary. Church A was more punitive before watching the documentary than Church B, although its average underwent a greater change. In Church A the six participants that became more lenient when watching the documentary, also changed their negative attitudes towards former prisoners, But in Church B, there were only two participants who became more lenient and neither of them changed their attitudes towards former prisoners. Analyzing all that has been said until now, the relationship between negative attitudes towards former prisoners and punitiveness according to the quantitative data, remains unclear. When comparing the averages of belief in redeemability and punitiveness, we see what is needed is a more substantial change in redeemability in order to achieve a change in punitiveness.

Figure 14.

PUNITIVENESS	CHURCH A				CHURCH B			
	NAME	MOMENT A	MOMENT B	MOMENT C	NAME	MOMENT A	MOMENT B	MOMENT C
	April	2.625	2.625	2.375	NAME	2.125	2.25	2.125
	Brenda	1.5	1.375	1.375	Anastasia	1.75	1.75	1.75
	Caroline	2.625	2.375	2.375	Brandon	2.5	2.5	2.5
	Deborah	3	3	3	Charles	2.75	2.75	2.75
	Elliot	2.5	2.5	2.5	Daniela	2.25	2.25	2.25
	Fernanda	2	1.625		Elisabeth	1.75	1.625	1.625
	Gabriela	2.5	2.5		Fergus	2.125	2.125	2.125
	Hector	1.875	1.75		Garret	1.75	1.75	1.75
	Ines	2.875	2.625		Hailey	1.25	1.25	1.25
	Joanne	1.75	1.75		Isabelle	1.125	1.125	1.125
					Jane	2	1.875	1.875
	AVERAGE	2.325	2.2125		Kevin	1.9431818	1.93181818	1.92045455

In the focus group there was a question that tried to relate punitiveness to attitudes towards prisoners. Participants were asked that if the Criminal Justice System was tougher would they see former prisoners in a different way. In their answers they again demonstrated their sympathy and altruism, saying that they would feel even more sympathy and would try to help them even more. In Church B they did not respond to my question and I could not insist due to time constraints. This time constraints issue will be picked up on again in the next chapter.

One of the possible predictors that also changed was the inside/middle/outside attribution (figure 15). By analyzing the quantitative data, I came to the conclusion that in both churches, the mixed attribution was the one which obtained a higher average, that is to say, participants thought that crime is both a combination of social context and individual choice. This matches with the findings of Unnever and colleagues (2010). Of the three attributions the attribution that lost more strength was dispositional attribution: in total 6 participants considered either at moment B or C that crime depended less on personal choice. Both situational attribution and mixed attributions were considered more important by 3 participants throughout the session. This change was also supported by comments made during both of the focus groups. Neither by analyzing the quantitative data nor by analyzing what was said during the focus group can I see any pattern of how change in attributions has had any influence on attitudes towards prisoners, more data

would be needed to make these correlations, because just analyzing my small data sample makes it impossible to see any pattern. Neither a change in the effectiveness nor in the fairness of the criminal justice system appears to have any effect on attitudes towards former prisoners. The item of uniformity was only changed by two participants after watching the documentary, and those changes do not seem to be related to attitudes towards former prisoners.

Figure 15.

CHURCH A

	DISPOSITIONAL ATTRIBUTION			SITTUATIONAL ATTRIBUTION			NAME	MIXED ATTRIBUTION		
NAME	MOMENT A	MOMENT B	MOMENT C	NAME	MOMENT A	MOMENT B	MOMENT C	April	MOMENT A	MOMENT B	MOMENT C
April	2	2	1.5	April	4	4	4	Brenda	5	5	5
Brenda	3.5	3.5	3.5	Brenda	4	4	4	Caroline	3	4	4
Caroline	2	2	2	Caroline	4	4	4	Deborah	4	4	4
Deborah	2	2	2	Deborah	2	2	2	Elliot	5	5	5
Elliot	2	2	2	Elliot	4	4	4	Fernanda	5	5	5
Fernanda	2	2		Fernanda	4	5		Gabriela	4	4	
Gabriela	2.5	2.5		Gabriela	5	5		Hector	5	5	
Hector	3	3		Hector	5	5		Ines	5	5	
Ines	3.5	3		Ines	4	4		Joanne	4	4	
Joanne	2.5	1.5		Joanne	4	4		Iona Craig	5	5	
AVERAGE	2.5	2.35		AVERAGE	4	4.1		AVERAGE	4.5	4.6	

ATTRIBUTION

CHURCH B

	DISPOSITIONAL ATTRIBUTION				SITUATIONAL ATTRIBUTION				MIXED ATTRIBUTION		
NAME	MOMENT A	MOMENT B	MOMENT C	NAME	MOMENT A	MOMENT B	MOMENT C	NAME	MOMENT A	MOMENT B	MOMENT C
Anastasia	3.5	2.5	2	Anastasia	4	4	3	Anastasia	4	4	4
Brandon	2	2	3.5	Brandon	4	4	4	Brandon	4	4	4
Charles	1.5	1.5	2	Charles	4	4	4	Charles	4	4	4
Daniela	2.5	2.5	1.5	Daniela	3	3	3	Daniela	4	4	4
Elisabeth	2	2	2.5	Elisabeth	4	4	4	Elisabeth	4	4	4
Fergus	2.5	2.5	2	Fergus	2	4	4	Fergus	4	4	4
Garret	2	2	2.5	Garret	2	2	2	Garret	5	5	5
Hailey	1.5	1.5	2	Hailey	3	3	3	Hailey	5	5	5
Isabelle	2	1.5	1.5	Isabelle	5	5	5	Isabelle	4	5	5
Jane	1.5	3	1.5	Jane	3	3	3	Jane	3	3	3
Kevin	2.5	2.5	2.5	Kevin	4	4	4	Kevin	4	4	4
AVERAGE	2.13636364	2.13636364	2.13636364	AVERAGE	3.4545455	3.63636364	3.54545455	AVERAGE	4.09090909	4.18181818	4.18181818

However, as I have already said, the aim of this dissertation was to see if the documentary changed attitudes towards former prisoners, and which changes on variables appear associated with these changes. Given this, I feel obliged to comment a little bit about certain factors that are not malleable in the short term or not malleable at all, such as humility, forgiveness, normalization, or expressive variables. But before that, other changes need to be commented on:

1. After watching the documentary 66% of the participants realized that former prisoners had to face harder problems than they had expected.

2. After watching the documentary nearly a quarter of the participants realized that social rehabilitation was more important than it was before. In order to analyze this fact properly, it has to be taken into account that at moment A 42% of the participants already had given social rehabilitation the highest possible importance that it could have been given.

Both churches were humble, but the participants of Church A, scored a higher score that those of Church B. Speaking about forgiveness there were participants in both Church A and Church B who spoke about the conditional character of forgiveness: they forgive if that person stops doing what he was doing wrong. According to the information obtained through the questionnaire, the normalization factor and expressive variables do not appear to have any relationship with attitudes towards former prisoners, but again I feel under the obligation to note that my sample is too small to analyze this relationship properly. A fact that needs to be highlighted is that in Church B, there were three participants that scored the lowest result on generational anxiety and of those 3 participants, two of them changed their attitudes towards prisoners, but when analyzing results of Church A, this pattern does not continue.

A separate comment is needed on the role that Christianity plays in the results obtained in both churches. In order to analyze that effect I am going to rely on information obtained in both focus groups. In many matters the participants appeal to examples related to Christianity. That is clear in the case of Elliot when saying 'if we are supposed to be Christians we have to have compassion and give people second chances'. In this sentences he demonstrates on one side empathy and in other redeemability and both of them are related according to him to Christianity. April, refers to a passage of the Bible by saying 'yeah but, how many mistakes have you made in your life?' This time we can see an argument in which we are told that Christianity is related to humility. Another participant, Brenda made a comparison between the process of desistance and the process of becoming a Christian. When asked about forgiveness, in order to answer Elliot spoke about a case in the Church of Scotland, in which a man that had murdered his mother,

became a Minister, and finished his argument saying: 'I am so grateful that God forgave me… so I cannot condemn others'. Charles when being asked about whether or not he would trust a former prisoner answered by saying that he knows 'two particular individuals who became Ministers' and declared that he would trust them. But then in a subsequent answer about his belief in redeemability he said: 'I feel very ambivalent about that question, I know I should say yes, of course because I believe in redemption, transformation and grace, but there is a bit of me that feels that deep down people...may not change'. From these examples, we can see that when answering questions participants sometimes demonstrated thought processes linked to Christianity, and it also demonstrates, that the message received from Christian doctrine is one that is compassionate, empathetic and that believes in change and forgiveness. Even in this last quote from Charles, we can see that he is aware of what Christian doctrine says and that what he himself things is a separate matter. Instead of expressing it like that, he could have used an example from the Bible of someone who did not change, but he did not do that, he separated that 'gut' perception from religious doctrine.

CHAPTER 7. CONCLUSION

With this research I have tried to begin to fill the gap that exists in Criminology scholarship about how to change attitudes towards crime related matters. As I mentioned in Chapter 4, most of the attempts to shape attitudes have been fruitless. Most studies tried to explore changing attitudes by giving information to the participants, by increasing their knowledge about certain issues. Those attempts were not at all effective either because they did not cause any change or because that change in attitudes did not last (Maruna & King 2004). Some criminologists such as Hough (1996), Indermaur (& Hough 2002) or Maruna and King (2004, 2009), have argued that just the transmission of knowledge it is not enough to change attitudes; that an emotive message is also important in order to change those attitudes. But as far as I am aware, *how* to do this has not been studied by any criminological research. It is there where my research gains importance. Firstly because it has been the first attempt to try to either demonstrate or disprove the importance of an emotive message. Secondly because it is trying to change attitudes towards former prisoners, which have only been studied by one research project with multivariate analysis. Finally because it focuses on the type/form of rehabilitation that has been most neglected by criminology but which, as it has been argued during the essay, is a very important type of rehabilitation and has recently become one of the priorities of politicians due to the increasing amount of prisoners released from prison.

By an integrated analysis of quantitative and qualitative data, collected from two sessions that were conducted in two different churches, I have shown that this film has altered the attitudes of participants towards former prisoners, or at least it has reinforced more positive attitudes. Nonetheless the results from Church A have been much more positive than the ones of Church B. By analyzing that notable difference it appears that an increase of empathy towards former prisoners is the best predictor of a consequent change in attitudes towards former prisoners. As far as I am aware, it is the first time that empathy as an emotional response has been introduced into criminological research, because in the past empathy has been included in research instead as an ability. My results match with those obtained by Batson and colleagues (1997): that

inducing empathy towards a murderer, improves the attitude towards him and towards the group as a whole.

The reason for the differences in empathy as a response to watching the documentary between Church A and Church B remain unclear. During the focus group Church B showed itself to be much more critical of the documentary than Church A mainly because they thought that is did not include an wide enough variety of types of offenders. That may have made them concentrate less on their feelings and on the film's message, and more on the validity and quality of the documentary. But this does not shed light on the matter as to *why* Church B was more critical. A possible reason that has been mentioned in this dissertation is their level of educational achievement: the participants of Church B were better educated than those of Church A, and that may have made them less malleable and more critical. An increase in the belief in redeemability also seems to facilitate a change in attitudes towards prisoners. In 2009, Maruna and King argued that in order to decrease punitiveness, by increasing the belief in redeemability, examples of success might be necessary. The results of my research support this idea because both belief in redeemability and punitiveness have changed. By analyzing the quantitative data in seems that a greater amount of change in belief in redeemability is necessary to reduce punitiveness.

In the previous Chapter 1 have mentioned that there was a discrepancy between the effect of the focus group on the NATFP scale and a question in which they were asked if the focus group was successful in changing their attitudes. That discrepancy may be explained by the effect of fatigue and participants' time constraints. .

Apart from the limitations that have been mentioned in Chapter 5, there have been other issues that could have affected the results: 1. In Church A only five participants were able to stay until the end of the focus group, the other 5 stopped participating around 7 minutes after the focus group begun. 2. Both in Church A and in Church B the participants, when we were getting to the last questions of the focus group, expressed that I needed to hurry up because they needed to do other things. That may have affected the level of detail given in their answers to the last questions of the focus group. 3. After watching the documentary they were some strange changes made by some participants. One participant for example changed from believing in redeemability before watching the film, to not believing anything. Those types of changes were very few, and I

have not given them any importance because due to their characteristics I suspect they may have been mistakes made by participants.

More research is needed firstly about attitudes towards former prisoners and secondly about how to change those attitudes. This has been a very modest study that has counted with no founding and has been done in a very limited time space of time. A good way to improve this research would be to have access to a random and much bigger sample, at least to conduct the quantitative part of the research. I am aware that probably, the most effective way to change attitudes towards former prisoners is to direct efforts towards people at an age in which they are more malleable and in which the stereotypes have only just or not yet been learnt. Research that focuses on that stage, and tries to understand the durability of attitudes to prisoners over time seems very important..

Leaving aside the results of this research, throughout all the process of thinking, preparing, conducting the research and analyzing its results I have learned a lot, in order to improve my skills. I have had the opportunity to conduct a research project in the real world, advised by my helpful supervisor who has guided me throughout the whole process. I have been making people think and talk about crime-related issues. I have been faced with some hurdles that have been overcome. When the session had finished, participants from both churches expressed to me that it was a thought-provoking, interesting and challenging experience. During the focus group, one participant even suggested that it is necessary for more activities like this to be organized. As a whole this has been a fruitful experience.

APPENDIX

Figure 1.

Figure 1.

Figure 2.
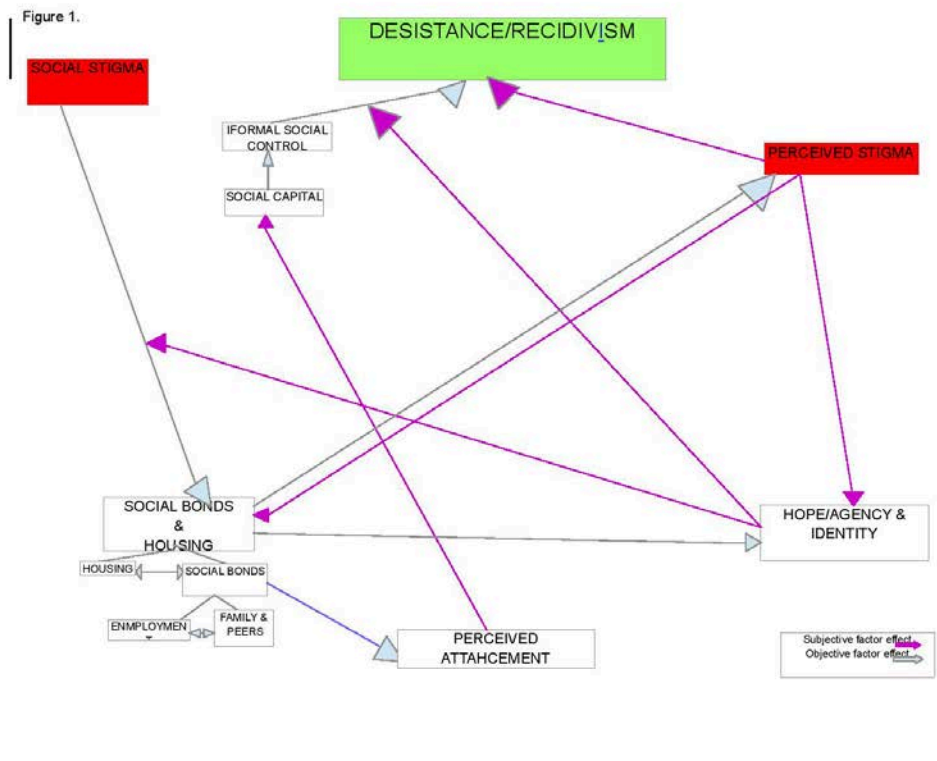
INSTRUMENT

DEPENDANT VARIABLE

1. PERSONAL ATTITUDE TOWARD FORMER PRISONERS

1.1. Perceived dangerousness. (Hirschfield and Piquero 2010).
Most people who have been imprisoned are dangerous.(Hirschfield and Piquero 2010).

1.2. Dishonesty. (Hirschfield and Piquero 2010).
Most people who have been imprisoned are dishonest. (Hirschfield and Piquero 2010).

1.3. Attitudinal Social Distance. (Hirschfield and Piquero 2010).
I would avoid associating with anyone who has been convicted. (Hirschfield and Piquero 2010).
It would be a big deal if one of my neighbours had been imprisoned. (Hirschfield and Piquero 2010, Steffensmeier & Kramer 1980).
I would be a big deal if my children's teacher was a former prisoner. (Mine)

1.4 Attitudinal Legal Distance.
Former prisoners should not have the same rights than me.
Former prisoners should not be able to vote.

1.5. Fear from former prisoners. (Adapted from LeBel 2012)
I am afraid of most people who have been imprisoned.

1.6. Otherness
Former prisoners are different from the rest of the society.

CONTROL VARIABLES

1. Sex
1. Male   2. Female

Age

1. Under 18   2. From 18 to 30   3. From 30 to 45   4. From 45 to 55   5. From 55 to 65   6. Over 65

 Education

1. Secondary school or less 2. Undergraduate studies   3. Postgraduate studies

Class origin

1. Working class   2. Lower-middle class   3. Middle class. 4. Middle-upper class.   5. Upper class.

5. Income

1. Under 10.000GBP   2. 10.0000-20.000GBP 3. 20.000-30.000GBP 4. 30.000- 40.000GBP 5. 40.000-50.000GBP 6. 50.000-60.000 GBP   7. 60.000GBP-70.000GBP 8. Over 70.000GBP

6. Minors at home. (Hirschfield and Piquero 2010). (measured in number of children but then codifying
 0: zero children   1: one children or more.

7. Political orientation.
   1. S.N.P   2. Green Party   3. Labour Party   4. Scottish Liberal Democrats   5. Conservative and Unionist Party   6. Others: _____

8. Religiosity (Applegate et al. 2000).

BIBLICAL LITERALNESS
a)I believe the Bible is God's word and all it says is true).
b)I believe the miracles described in the Bible actually happened just as the Bible says they did

PUNITIVE GOD

a)After I do something wrong, I fear God's punishment

b)People who are evil in this world will eventually suffer in Hell

c)God knows everything a person does wrong

RELIGIOUS SALIENCE

a)Religion is a very important part of my life

b)I would describe myself as very religious

c)Religion should influence how I live my life

d)When I have decisions to make in my everyday life, I usually try to find out what God wants me to do

9. Normalization (Hirschfield & Piquero 2010).

How many people have you known personally or professionally who, to your knowledge have been convicted of a criminal offence?

INSTRUMENTAL VARIABLES

1. Direct Victimisation. (Maruna & King 2004; Hirschfield and Piquero 2010),

1.1. Have you or someone close to you have ever been a victim of a violent crime?

0. No   1. Yes

1.2. Have you or someone close to you have ever been a victim of a non-violent crime?

No   1. Yes

2. Perceived local crime salience.(Maruna & King 2004; Hirschfield & Piquero 2010)

2.1Crime is a serious problem in my neighbourhood.

3. Fear of crime. (Maruna & King 2004; 2009).

3.1. From 1 to 6, being 1 low fear and 6 high fear, what is your fear of:

3.1.1. Being the victim of a crime against your property

3.1.2. Being the victim of a violent crime.

EXPRESSIVE VARIABLES

1. PERCEIVED GLOBAL CRIME SALIENCE

1.1 Crime is a serious problem around the world.

2.SOCIAL ANXIETY (King & Maruna 2009)

Trust (King & Maruna 2009)
(R) Generally speaking, I would say that most people can be trusted.

Colective efficay (Sampson et al. 1997; King & Maruna 2009)
(R) My neighbours would intervene if a fistfight broke out in front of my house.   (R) My neighbours would intervene if children were skipping school and hanging out on a street corner.

Personal financial satisfaction.   (King & Maruna 2009)
 (R) I am satisfied with my personal financial situation.

Wider economic anxieties (King & Maruna 2009)
I feel the economy in Britain is in serious trouble.

Generational anxiety (King & Maruna 2009)
The behaviour of adolescents today is worse than it was in the past.
     Young people don't seem to have any respect for anything any more.

CORE BELIEFS AND VALUES

1.ATTRIBUTIONS
1.1 Dispositional attribution (Cullen et al. 1985; Maruna & King 2004)

1.1.1 Crime is a choice- a person's social circumstances aren't to blame. (Maruna & King 2009).
1.1.2 People commit crime because they want to. (Maruna & King 2009).

1.2. Situational attribution (Cullen et al. 1985; Maruna & King 2004)
1.2.1 Crime is mostly the product of a person's circumstances and social context.

1.3. Mixed model (mine. I believe that the answer to this question can be neither black nor white but gray.
So it is easier to distinguish that grey I have created this item)
1.3.1 Crime is both a combination of social context and personal choice.

2. BELIEF IN REDEEMABILITY (Maruna & King 2004).

2.1Most offenders can go on to lead productive lives with help and hard work. (Maruna & King 2008b)
2.2. Even the worst young offenders can grow out of criminal behaviour. (Maruna & King 2008b)
2.3. (R) There is a little hope of most offenders changing for the better
2.4(R) Some offenders are so damaged that they can never lead productive lives. (Maruna & King 2008b)

3. PUNITIVENESS (Maruna & King 2004; 2009). (5 likert scale from strongly disagree to strongly
agree).

3.1. I'd consider volunteering my time or donating money to an organisation that supported
toughening the sentencing laws in the UK.
3.2. We should bring back the death penalty for serious crimes.
3.3. With most offenders, we need to "condemn more and understand less".
3.4. My general view towards offenders is that they should be treated harshly.
3.5. (R) Prisoners should have access to televisions or gym facilities.
3.6. (R) If prison has to be used, it should be used sparingly and only as a last option.
3.7. (R) I'd consider volunteering my time or donating money to an organisation that
supported alternatives to prison.
3.8. (R) Community services (rather than prison) is appropriate for a person
found guilty of burglary for the second time. (changed it because in Scotland there is not a Probation
Service).

4. PURPOSES OF PUNISHMENT

There are many possible purposes in the sentencing of offenders.
4.1. Rehabilitate the offender (rehabilitation.
4.2 Deter him from committing more crimes when they get out from prison. (Individual deterrence)

4.3. Deter the whole population. (General Deterrence)

4.4 Because it is 'just' (Retribution).

4.5. Deter him from committing more crimes while he is in prison.

4.6 Compensate the victim (Individual reparation)

4.7. Compensate the society (Collective reparation).

5. EMPATHY

5.1 Empathy as an ability (Hoffman 1978; Smith 2003 empathy scale)

a. I often have tender, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me.

b. (R) Sometimes I don't feel very sorry for other people when they are having problems.

c. When I see someone being taken advantage of, I feel kind of protective toward them.

d. (R) Other people's misfortunes do not usually disturb me a great deal.

e. (R) When I see someone treated unfairly, I sometimes don't feel very much pity
for them.

f. I am often quite touched by things that I see happen.

g. I would describe myself as a pretty soft-hearted person.

h. I feel a self -less caring for others

i. I accept others even when they do things I think are wrong.

5.2. Empathy as emotional response. (Batson et al. 1995)

Sympathetic

Warm

Compassionate

Softheartened

Tender

Moved

6. ALTRUISM (Smith 2003)

a. People should be willing to help others who are less fortunate.

b. (R) Those in need have to learn to take care of themselves and not depend on others.

c. Personally assisting people in trouble is very important to me.

d. (R) These days people need to look after themselves and not overly worry about
others.

7. HUMILITY

1. Everyone can make mistakes.

2. At some time in my life I have thought of doing something terrible to another person

8. FORGIVENESS (Applegate 2000)

a) In order to receive God's forgiveness, it is important that we forgive those who sin against us
b)God teaches that even if someone has lived a life of crime, they should be forgiven for their offenses if they are truly sorry
c)It is important to hate the sin but to love the sinner.

9. UNIFORMITY

I consider that prisoners share lots of common characteristics.

10. EFFECTIVENESS OF THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM (Hough et al. 2013).

10.1 POLICE
Police are effective at catching criminals

10.2CPS
CPS is effective at prosecuting

10.3COURTS
Courts are effective at dealing with cases promptly
Courts are effective at giving punishments which fit the crime

10.4 PRISONS
Prisons are effective at punishing offenders
Prisons are effective at rehabilitating offenders

10.5. Community sentence (changed because in Scotland there are not Probation Services).
Community sentence is effective at preventing re-offending

10.6 . CJS
The CJS as a whole is effective

11. FAIRNESS OF THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE SYSTEM (Hough et al. 2013

11.1 Gives victims and witnesses the support they need

11.2 Treats those accused of crime as innocent until proven guilty

11.3 Takes into account the views of victims and witnesses

11.4 Takes into account the circumstances of the crime

11.5 Achieves the correct balance between the rights of the offender and victim

11.6 (R) Discriminates against particular groups or individual

KNOWLEDGE ABOUT OFFENDERS AND THEIR REINTEGRATION

1. 4 FORMS OF REHABILITATION

a. The development of new skills and habilities
b. No longer be considered by the law as an offender.
c. Reconciliation and reparation to the victim.
d. Being accepted by the society

2. PROBLEMS

a. employment   b) housing   c) being accepted by the community   d) Loans, licenses or permits   e) volunteering & social activities d) Being accepted by significant others.

SESSION EFFICACY

1. The documentary/ discussion has changed my view of former prisoners.

QUESTIONNAIRE

Name:

PART 1
1. Please circle your sex
 1. Male   2. Female

2. Please circle the age band to which you pertain
1. Under 18   2. From 18 to 30   3. From 30 to 45   4. From 45 to 55   5. From 55 to 65   6. Over 65

3. Please circle your highest level of educational achievement.
 1. Secondary school or less 2. Undergraduate studies   3. Postgraduate studies

4. Please circle your class origin
1. Working class   2. Lower-middle class   3. Middle class.   4. Middle-upper class.   5. Upper class.

5. Please circle your income
1. Under 10.000GBP   2. Between 10.0000 and 20.000GBP   3. Between 20.000 and 30.000GBP
 4. Between 30.000 and 40.000GBP   5. Between 40.000- and 50.000GBP
 6. Between 50.000 and 60.000 GBP   7. 60.000GBP-70.000GBP 8. Over 70.000GBP

6. Please circle the amount of children you have at home
0: Zero children   1: One children or more.

7. In the last general elections, which political party did you vote?
1. S.N.P   2. Green Party   3. Labour Party   4. Scottish Liberal Democrats
5. Conservative and Unionist Party   6. Others: _____

8.Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.
(1= Strongly disagree; 2= Somewhat Disagree; 3= Neither Agree or Disagree; 4= Somewhat Agree; 5= Strongly Agree)

	1	2	3	4	5
I believe the Bible is God's word and all it says is true.					
I believe the miracles described in the Bible actually happened just as the Bible says they did.					
After I do something wrong, I fear God's punishment.					
People who are evil in this world will eventually suffer in Hell.					
God knows everything a person does wrong.					
Religion is a very important part of my life.					
I would describe myself as very religious.					
Religion should influence how I live my life.					
When I have decisions to make in my everyday life, I usually try to find out what God wants me to do.					
In order to receive God's forgiveness, it is important that we forgive those who sin against us.					
God teaches that even if someone has lived a life of crime, they should be forgiven for their offenses if they are truly sorry.					
It is important to hate the sin but to love the sinner					

9. Please answer the following question with numbers from one two four, being 1=none; 2=few; 3=several and 4=many.

	1	2	3	4
How many people have you known personally or professionally who, to your knowledge have been convicted of a criminal offence?				

PART 2

1. Have you or someone close to you have ever been a victim of a violent crime?
No   1. Yes

2. Have you or someone close to you have ever been a victim of a non-violent crime?
No   1. Yes

3. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with the following statements.
(1= Strongly disagree; 2= Somewhat Disagree; 3= Neither Agree or Disagree; 4= Somewhat Agree; 5= Strongly Agree).

	1	2	3	4	5
Crime is a serious problem in my neighbourhood.					
Crime is a serious problem around the world					
Generally speaking, I would say that most people can be trusted.					
My neighbours would intervene if a fistfight broke out in front of my house.					
My neighbours would intervene if children were skipping school and hanging out on a street corner					
I am satisfied with my personal financial situation.					
I feel the economy in Britain is in serious trouble.					
The behaviour of adolescents today is worse than it was in the past.					
Young people don't seem to have any respect for anything any more.					

4. Please indicate from 1 to 4, your level of fear of:
(1= No fear; 2= Low; 3=Moderate; 4=High; 5= Very high).

	1	2	3	4	5
Being the victim of a crime against your property					
Being the victim of a violent crime					

PART 3

1. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.
(1= Strongly disagree; 2= Somewhat Disagree; 3= Neither Agree or Disagree; 4= Somewhat Agree; 5= Strongly Agree).

	1	2	3	4	5
Police are effective at catching criminals.					
Crime is a choice- a person's social circumstances aren't to blame.					
I'd consider volunteering my time or donating money to an organisation that supported toughening the sentencing laws in the UK.					
I often have tender, concerned feelings for people less fortunate than me.					
People should be willing to help others who are less fortunate.					
At some time in my life I have thought of doing something terrible to another person.					
Former prisoners because they have been imprisoned, when returning to society they experience problems of employment.					
Most people who have been imprisoned are dishonest.					
Courts are effective at giving punishments which fit the crime.					
The Criminal Justice System gives victims and witnesses the support they need.					
I would avoid associating with anyone who has been convicted.					
Crime is mostly the product of a person's circumstances and social context.					
Former prisoners are different from the rest of the society.					
I am often quite touched by things that I see happen					
Prisoners should have access to televisions or gym facilities.					
These days people need to look after themselves and not overly worry about others					
	1	2	3	4	5
There is a little hope of most offenders changing for the better					
It would be a big deal if one of my neighbours had been imprisoned.					
Prisons are effective at punishing offenders.					
I'd consider volunteering my time or donating money to an organisation that supported alternative to prison.					
The Criminal Justice System takes into account the circumstances of the crime.					
When returning to society, former prisoners often experience problems of housing.					
Some offenders are so damaged that they can never lead productive lives.					
Community services (rather than prison) are appropriate for a person					

found guilty of burglary for the second time.					
Former prisoners because they have been imprisoned, experience problems of being accepted by significant others.					
Other people's misfortunes do not usually disturb me a great deal.					
Courts are effective at dealing with cases promptly.					
Former prisoners because they have been imprisoned, experience problems of loans, licenses or permits.					
Even the worst young offenders can grow out of criminal behaviour.					
Most people who have been imprisoned are dangerous.					
Personally assisting people in trouble is very important to me.					
The Criminal Justice System takes into account the views of victims and witnesses.					
Former prisoners should not be able to vote.					
When I see someone treated unfairly, I sometimes don't feel very much pity for them.					
The Criminal Justice System discriminates against particular groups or individuals.					
	1	2	3	4	5
Community sentence is effective at preventing re-offending.					
It would be a big deal if my children's teacher was a former prisoner.					
Prisons are effective at rehabilitating offenders.					
People commit crime because they want to					
My general view towards offenders is that they should be treated harshly.					
Most offenders can go on to lead productive lives with help and hard work					
When I see someone being taken advantage of, I feel kind of protective toward them.					
Former prisoners because they have been imprisoned, when returning to society they experience problems for being accepted by the community.					
Everyone can make mistakes.					
I am afraid of most people who have been imprisoned.					
The CJS as a whole is effective.					
Crime is both a combination of social context and personal choice.					
We should bring back the death penalty for serious crimes.					
Former prisoners should not have the same rights than me.					
CPS is effective at prosecuting.					
With most offenders, we need to "condemn more and understand less					
Sometimes I don't feel very sorry for other people when they are having problems.					
Those in need have to learn to take care of themselves and not depend on others.					

	1	2	3	4	5
The Criminal Justice System treats those accused of crime as innocent until proven guilty.					
If prison has to be used, it should be used sparingly and only as a last option.					
	1	2	3	4	5
I would describe myself as a pretty soft-hearted person.					
The Criminal Justice System achieves the correct balance between the rights of the offender and victim.					
Former prisoner because they have been imprisoned, when returning to society they experience problems of volunteering & social activities.					
I consider that prisoners share lots of common characteristics.					

2. There are many possible purposes in the sentencing of offenders. Indicate the level of importance (from 1= not at all important; to 4= Very important) you think each of the following purposes have:
(1= not at all important; 2= Not very important; 3= somewhat important; 4= very important).

	1	2	3	4
Rehabilitate the offender.				
Deter him from committing more crimes when they get out from prison.				
Deter the whole population.				
Because it is 'just'.				
Deter him from committing more crimes while he is in prison.				
Compensate the victim.				
Compensate the society.				

3. Please indicate from 1 to 5 how often do you:
(1= Never/almost never; 2= Once in a while; 3. Most days; 4; Every day; 5. Many times a day)

	1	2	3	4	5
I feel a self -less caring.					
I accept others even when they do things I think are wrong.					

4. Please indicate from 1 to 7, how important do you think the following aspects in the change of offenders:
(1= Not at all important; 2= Low importance; 3= Slightly important; 4=Neutral; 5= Moderately important; 6= Very important; 7=Extremely important).

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
The development of new skills and abilities.							
No longer be considered by the law as an offender.							
Reconciliation and reparation to the victim.							
Being accepted by the society.							

5. Indicate from 1 to 5 the degree to which you feel the following emotions adjectives towards former prisoner:
(1= Not at all; 2= Slightly; 3= Somewhat; 4= Moderately; 5= Extremely)

	1	2	3	4	5
Sympathetic					
Warm					
Compassionate					
Soft heartened					
Tender					
Moved					

PART 4

(This part only has to be answered after watching the film and after the focus group)

1. Please indicate how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statement.
(1= Strongly disagree; 2= Somewhat Disagree; 3= Neither Agree or Disagree; 4= Somewhat Agree; 5= Strongly Agree).

	1	2	3	4	5
a)The documentary has changed my view of former prisoners.					
b)The discussion has changed my view of former prisoners.					

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