EVALUATING CANADIANS' ATTITUDES TOWARD JUVENILE SEXUAL OFFENDERS: TOWARD AN UNDERSTANDING OF COMMUNITY RESPONSES

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By

BRANDON SPARKS

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ABSTRACT

Since the mid-1800's, the Western world's response to juvenile offending has continued to evolve, reflecting our increasing understanding of adolescent development, the formative role of their environment, and their treatment amenability. Yet the 1980's fostered in a new response to juvenile crime, one of fear and retribution. Perhaps no group has fallen victim to this zeitgeist than juvenile sexual offenders, who are often subject to registration on public sexual offender databases. While an American practice, there is some evidence that a similar approach is supported in Canada, at least regarding adult sexual offenders (Kelly, 2013). Thus, the purpose of the current study was to gain a better understanding of Canadian attitudes and support for responses to both juvenile and adult sexual offending. In doing so, 376 individuals were recruited from the University of Saskatchewan and responded to a series of attitudinal, penal, and responsive measures which followed one of three vignette conditions. This was repeated for both juvenile and adult sexual offenders in a counterbalanced order. Vignettes were either provided or were articulated by the participant either prior to or following their responses.

Results indicated that juvenile sexual offenders are seen less negatively and were treated less harshly than their adult counterparts. While registration was largely endorsed for both groups, differences in support between public and non-public registration differentiated the groups. Effects of vignette condition were minimal, although there was some support that the provided vignettes elicited more positive attitudes. Participant estimates of sexual recidivism mediated the relationships between attitudes and punitive responses for juvenile sexual offenders, while playing a more limited role for adult sexual offenders. The implications of these results, as well as study limitations and future directions are discussed at length below.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

While juveniles have always committed crimes, the public's response to juvenile crime has fluctuated over time, reflecting philosophical changes in the understanding of human nature, scientific advancements in child and adolescent development, and visceral reactions to the increased availability of violent crime stories. For juvenile sexual offenders, the influence of public fear and outrage has created a damning environment, a fertile ground for punitive policy development. Most recently, this has been exhibited in the registration of juvenile sexual offenders in the United States. According to the Center for Sex Offender Management (CSOM, 2008), there are roughly 11,400 juveniles arrested for sexual offenses each year in the United States, accounting for 17-20% of all reported sexual crimes (Finkelhor, Ormrod, & Chaffin, 2009; Snyder & Sickmund, 2006). Among sexual crimes with victims under the age of 18, juvenile sexual offenders account for approximately one third (Snyder & Sickmund, 2006). In Canada, the rate of youth charged with sexual violations against children¹ has increased four-fold between 2011 and 2017, while the rate for adults has increased by a factor of 2.8 over the same time period (Statistics Canada, n.d.). Meanwhile, estimates on the proportion of juvenile sexual offenders on publicly-available registries in the United States have varied widely, from roughly three percent to upwards of twenty-five percent (Faunce, 2015; Letourneau, Bandyopadhyay, Sinha, & Armstrong, 2009a; Vandiver, 2006).

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¹ Sexual violations against children is a composite of sexual offenses involving a victim under the age of 18 used by Statistics Canada. These offenses include Sexual Interference, Invitation to Sexual Touching, Sexual Exploitation, Making Sexually Explicit Material Available to Children, Luring a Child Via a Computer, Parent or Guardian Procuring Sexual Activity, and Householder Permitting Prohibited Sexual Activity. Important to note is that this crime category does *not* include Sexual Assault or Child Pornography related charges, even if the victim is under the age of 18.

Due to their increased visibility, juvenile sexual offenders have become individuals of interest for researchers and concern for the public ever since alarm bells began ringing in the 1980's, alerting the masses about the torrent of dangerous, violent youth present in society. What's unfortunate is that this rhetoric—which is supported by a small number of extreme cases that receive the lion's share of media attention—overshadows the tremendous breakthroughs in treatment that have taken place over the past few decades. For instance, the increase in multisystemic therapy and risk-need-responsivity-based programs has dropped the sexual recidivism rate among juvenile sexual offenders to below 3%—and there is indication that this is continuing to improve (Caldwell, 2016). Further, Kim, Benekos, and Merlo (2016) concluded that treatments were more effective with juvenile than adult sexual offenders, based on their review of treatment meta-analyses. Yet juvenile sexual offenders are still largely feared, in some instances moreso than adult sexual offenders, indicating a disconnect between perception and reality (Kernsmith, Craun, & Foster, 2009).

Although violent and sexual crimes make up a small minority of youth offenses, how these resonate with the public is another matter (Statistics Canada, 2014b). To a large degree, the bulk of the research investigating attitudes toward juvenile sexual offenders or support for different punitive policies that could be applied to them has been conducted using American samples. While these results are often used by Canadian researchers, it should not be assumed that Canadian attitudes mirror those of their neighbours to the south. However, researchers have had to rely on the largely American effort, as the current literature review uncovered zero studies probing Canadian attitudes, despite the pressing need for such examination.

To better undertake such an investigation, a conceptualization of attitudes is necessary. How exactly they are defined has been an area of contentious debate (see Eagly & Chaiken,

2007, for a review) and will likely continue to be so for the foreseeable future. While proponents of one-, two-, and three-factor models have all made compelling arguments for their conceptualization of attitudes, Eagly and Chaiken (2007) call for an inclusive, flexible definition of attitudes. Thus, the three-factor or (neo-)tripartite model of attitudes warrants further discussion. According to neo-tripartite proponent Breckler (1984), attitudes are comprised of three components: a) affect – the visceral reactions evoked by a stimulus; b) behaviours – the overt actions or endorsement of responses in reaction to an event, and; c) cognitions – the perceptual responses to an event or stimulus, which are heavily influenced by one's beliefs about the subject. What separates this neo-tripartite model from its traditional counterpart is that the latter viewed the three components as "omnipresent components of attitude" (Eagly & Chaiken, 2007, p. 589), rather than avenues for attitudinal formation and expression. This distinction is important for researchers, as attitudes are only able to be gauged so long as they can be measured. Thus, a definition with an emphasis on the development and articulation of attitudes is surely more practical than a largely philosophical indulgence into the metaphysical dimensions of attitudes.

The neo-tripartite model's acknowledgement that "the mental residue of experience with an attitude object can be *formed* or *expressed* through cognitive, affective, and behavioral processes" (emphasis in original; Eagly & Chaiken, 2007, p. 591) not only has implications for how attitudes are measured, as mentioned above, but also for how they are altered. For instance, if a child is afraid of dogs due to being bitten (a behaviour), explaining to the child that dogs are generally safe (a cognitive effort to change attitudes) may not resonate with the child or alleviate their fear. Thus, when approached by a dog in the future, the child may heed their instinct to run away. What may be more effective in changing the child's attitude toward dogs is having them

calmly pet a familiar dog and have no adverse consequences occur. Over time, this should alleviate the desire to run away or hide from dogs.

This is not to say that the three forms of attitudinal evolution and expression exist in vacuums or are completely unrelated to one or the other. In the example above, although the child's negative experience with the dog was behavioural (as was their response upon seeing dogs in the future), it is likely that a cognitive evaluation—"dogs are dangerous"—was also developed. This is referred to as "triadic consistency" (Breckler, 1984, p. 1193). This is often assumed by researchers, who use the terms interchangeably, often blending the definitions of constructs, blurring the lines between each distinct component (e.g., Peterson-Badali, Ruck, & Koegl, 2001; Rogers & Davies, 2007; Stevenson, 2009).

Nevertheless, such conflation can be useful and is often necessary due to methodological limitations, provided that the distinctions are noted. This is most obviously the case when retrospectively investigating changes in attitudes over long periods of time. While measuring attitudes toward juvenile sexual offenders is not necessarily a new phenomenon (e.g., Nelson, Thornton, & Pasewark, 1973), there is a dearth of such work, especially within the confines of Canada. As such, an examination of behaviours (in this case, criminal justice responses) serves as the best estimate in developing Canada's attitudinal narrative toward juvenile sexual offenders. Such an approach is not void of meaning, for behaviours *should* theoretically be influenced by affect and cognitions, although it is important to note that wholesale changes to government-mandated criminal justice responses are often delayed responses to attitudinal changes. That is, new or changed attitudes slowly shift societal norms, which exert pressure for legislative change.

This undertaking also provides considerable context for the recent emergence of more thorough attitudinal literature specific to juvenile sexual offenders, which is essential in identifying the societal responses juvenile sexual offenders will be exposed to upon release to the community (and even within their correctional setting). Given that popular, not scientific opinion, often informs legislation, it is imperative to accurately Canadians' attitudes towards juvenile sex offenders accurately to determine what, if any, misconceptions exist and how to clarify them so that a more accurate depiction of juvenile sex offenders, their characteristics, and their amenability to treatment may be acquired by the Canadian public.

CHAPTER 2: HISTORY OF JUVENILE JUSTICE IN CANADA

2.1 THE EARLY YEARS

Like many other colonial nations, Canada's initial approach to juvenile delinquents was rooted in the attitudes, customs, and laws of its parent countries, notably England and France, where, childhood was considered short. In eighteenth century England, children above the age of seven were considered to be adults and were thus tried and sentenced as such (Department of Justice Canada, 2004). As a result, many children (even some under the age of seven) were sentenced to hanging, often for trivial offenses (Pinchbeck & Hewitt, 1973). In New France (modern day Quebec), which was dually influenced by both its colonial mother in France and by the Roman Catholic Church, a teenage girl was hanged for theft, while a 14-year old girl was kept in detention for six years for an unspecified crime (Lachance, 1981). Since these juveniles were seen by both society and the law as adults, their sentences were served among adult offenders in jails which offered deplorable conditions. In 1686, Governor General of New France Jacques-René de Brisay de Denonville recorded having to amputate the feet of prisoners in the city of Quebec due to gangrene, a result of the frigid temperatures inside the jail (Department of Justice Canada, 2004). The indiscriminate punitive treatment of children has often been attributed to a lack of appreciation or understanding of childhood and adolescent development, Ariès (1962) posits that their treatment may be borne out of the high mortality rate among children (particularly in the Middle Ages), which resulted in a reluctance among parents to form strong emotional bonds with their children, buffering themselves from the anguish that accompanies the loss of a child.

While the law was punitive in nature towards juveniles, it was also common practice to forego severe punishments of juveniles under the age of 14 (specifically in the wake of what

Empey [1982] calls the "discovery of childhood" in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries), unless the crime was particularly heinous or other circumstances warranted a more severe punishment. As Pinero (2013) notes, it was still possible to draw "a distinction between the 'good young offender' and the 'bad young offender'" (p. 45). While they may not be imprisoned, the whipping of young offenders was a popular and contextually less punitive alternative (Oliver, 1998). In Halifax, a standard punishment for a variety of offenses for juveniles was 39 lashes while tied to the public whipping post. While "mercy" may have been shown to some offenders, justice was hardly applied uniformly; many juveniles were imprisoned indiscriminately alongside adults and mentally ill offenders for minor offenses, while others were still being sentenced to hanging.

While punishments such as whipping were considered alternatives to jail time, it was often a punishment of convenience, as many communities had no jails. Consequently, as more jails were built, more young offenders found themselves confined within their walls. When the first prison in Upper Canada (modern day Ontario), the Kingston Penitentiary, opened in 1835 it, too, housed young delinquent children (Department of Justice Canada, 2004). While they were segregated by gender, like the jails, young offenders were mixed indiscriminately with adult offenders and thus had the same strict rules apply to them: a ten-year-old boy (who was serving a seven-year sentence) was lashed 57 times in the span of eight and a half months for committing the offenses of staring and laughing.

As more children began serving sentences under harsh conditions with hardened adult criminals, it became apparent that this approach to juvenile crime was accomplishing little and instead releasing children who had been corrupted and coached by their adult counterparts back into the community (Pinero, 2013). This, paired with the reach of the philosophies ushered in by

the Age of Enlightenment gave birth to a new way of thinking about society, including crime and punishment. Out of this arose a reform movement which saw Charles Duncombe, a member of the Legislature for Upper Canada, release a report in 1836 on the treatment of juvenile delinquents (Oliver, 1998). In it, he acknowledged the malleability of youth and their particular vulnerability to the environments in which they were raised in. He continued, stating that children who receive poor upbringings are destined for a life of criminality and destitution and that the harsh punishments doled out by the law and within jails serve to "perfect the work of degradation, to sink them still deeper in corruption, to deprive them of their remaining sensibility to the shame of exposure, and establish them in all the hardihood of desperate villainy. Is it possible that a Christian community can lend its sanction to such a process, without any effort to rescue and save?" (Department of Justice Canada, 2004, p. 9). In stating this, he became one of the first prominent Canadians to highlight the role that the environment plays in juvenile delinquency, emphasizing it as a community rather than an individual problem.

In 1849, another report was commissioned, which was headed by *Toronto Globe* editor and founder George Brown, later one of the Fathers of Confederation. Appointed to investigate accusations of misconduct at the Kingston Penitentiary, the "Brown Report" included a section on juvenile justice. This built upon Duncombe's conviction that the reformation of young offenders is a significant cause – one that will not be successful under the current standards (Neufeld, 1998). In it, Brown petitioned for young offenders to be given their own "houses of refuge," which were to be split into two sections: one to house neglected children and the other to house those convicted of a crime.

This represented a radical shift forward in juvenile justice philosophy, marking the first time that separate accommodations for young offenders as well as preventative measures

(housing neglected youth) were officially recommended. Meanwhile, the Society for the Reformation of Juvenile Delinquents had been operating in New York under this philosophy since 1825 (Bernard, 1992). Charles Loring Brace, founder of the Children's Aid Society, had begun a similar initiative (also in New York) around the same time as Brown's report (Mennel, 1973). In Brown's visualization, these houses of refuge were not intended to be solely places of punishment, but institutions where children were given the opportunity to pursue education, receive vocational training, undergo an apprenticeship, and engage in philanthropic endeavours. While his recommendations were chastised by some prominent politicians, including future Prime Minister Sir John A. MacDonald, the first juvenile institutions were opened in 1858 (following the *Prison Inspection Act* of 1857) in Isle-aux-Noix and Penetanguishene, to serve the eastern and western parts of the Province of Canada, respectively.

While these institutions housed juvenile offenders, they did not follow Brown's suggestion to also include a section for neglected youth, a need echoed in an 1862 report by E. A. Meredith, a member of the board of inspectors of prisons and asylums. Two years later, the Halifax Protestant Industrial School opened, marking one of the first-ever institutions for neglected youth. In addition to the educational and technical components suggested by Brown, the school also emphasized moralistic values and character development, viewing these as protective factors against future criminality. While removing the children from their homes (if they indeed did have a permanent place of residence) was seen as a means to an end (e.g., a convenient way to deliver services), the detrimental effects that some parents had on their children's upbringing was a popular concern across the Western world, leading to the practice of "placing-out" (the transfer of children from their biological families to adopted families in rural areas), which was strongly endorsed by Brace, who believed that an agrarian lifestyle would

allow for the moral development of children, despite what characteristics they may have inherited from their parents (a belief that simultaneously endorsed the role that genetics can play in delinquency; Mennel, 1973; Platt, 1969). Although its intentions were good, the school suffered from a lack of funding and found itself housing incarcerated youth, further straining its meager resources.

Despite the court system placing further burdening the school, it represented promising philosophical shifts that were taking place. In the following decade, Nova Scotia continued its progressive approach to juvenile justice, passing legislation which limited the length of juvenile incarceration to 90 days. By 1874, Ontario passed the *Industrial Schools Act*, which called for the construction of institutions similar in nature to the Halifax school, amending the act a decade later to allow for youth convicted of petty crimes to be housed there, establishing one of the first official youth diversion programs. However, it was not until 1887 that the first industrial school opened in Ontario (in Mimico), while the province of Quebec had several such institutions by this time. Yet, Quebec was far from a haven for young offenders; the Juvenile Offenders in *Ouebec Act* (1869) allowed for the Governor to arbitrarily remove young offenders from these institutions, transferring them to penitentiaries if they felt that the youth was "incorrigible" and had committed a serious offense. New Brunswick was one of the next provinces to follow the industrial school approach, establishing its 1893, while the United States had established over 51 of these institutions, with every northern state having at least one (and oftentimes, a separate institution for young females) by 1890 (Mennel, 1973; Department of Justice Canada, 2014)

In the following years, Ontario was again to be a major player in the juvenile justice reformation. An 1891 inquiry into the prison and reformatory system outlined 16 recommendations for the treatment of juvenile offenders, notably that children under the age of

14 were not to be publicly arrested (a stark contrast to the public lashings of days earlier), should not be housed in an adult jail, and should be tried in a special court (a forerunner to today's youth courts). Additionally, every city and large town were to have at least one industrial school. A probation system was also recommended for introduction, as was the adoption of a parole system, which could coincide with apprenticeship programs.

The Ontario commission was important for two reasons: first, it had far-reaching implications in other provinces, and second, it highlighted the growing influence of the United States (which Platt [1969] argued was still heavily influenced by European theoretical models of criminal behaviour and highly motivated to apply them to penal practices) on Canada's criminal policy. As part of the inquiry, members of the commission visited a number of institutions in Massachusetts, Michigan, New York, and Ohio and ordered reports from several other states (in addition to reports from Great Britain and Ireland), examining their punitive policies, which were reflected in the 16 recommendations (Ontario, 1891). However, this does not mark the beginning of America's impression on Canada's juvenile justice philosophy; Charles Duncombe toured U.S. prisons in preparation for his 1836 report, while separate institutions for young offenders, which began as early as 1825 in the U.S., undoubtedly influenced Brown's 1849 report (Lawrence & Hemmens, 2008; Murray, 2003).

2.2 THE JUVENILE DELINQUENTS ACT

Juvenile justice continued to play a large role in Canada's overall criminal philosophy, earning its own section, *Trial of Juvenile Offenders for Indictable Offences*, in Parliament's passing of the *Criminal Code* in 1892 (which for the first time explicitly regulated the age of criminal responsibility – seven to thirteen years of age, depending on discretion of the magistrate). Two years later, the *Act Respecting Arrest, Trial and Imprisonment of Youthful*

Offenders, was passed, federally adopting many of recommendations made in Ontario's 1891 inquiry, while generously bumping the age limit for many of the protections to 16 from the inquiry's suggested 14. Sutherland (1976) argued that the shift from punitive measures to rehabilitative ones (including the debate over whether to try juveniles in open or closed court, the latter of which became compulsory in 1894 with the passing of the Arrest, Trial, and Imprisonment of Youthful Offenders Act) was the result of pressure from the child welfare movement. Additional influence is also credited to a series of meetings by American Societies on the advancement of women, corrections, education, and public health, which took place in Toronto from 1886-1900 (Sutherland, 1976).

This was to be the largest piece of federal legislation regarding juvenile offenders in Canada until 1908's *Juvenile Delinquents Act (JDA)*. Operating under the philosophical doctrine of *parens patriae* ("parent of the nation"), the state formally recognized its right and responsibility to assume a parental role for children whose biological or adopted parents could not meet their needs (instead of relying on, among others, religious authorities, as noted by Marks [1998] and Lethwaite [1994]). Stating that "every juvenile delinquent shall be treated, not as a criminal, but as a misguided child," (Juvenile Delinquents Act, 1908, c. 40) the *JDA* represented a monumental and perhaps revolutionary (at least in Canada) change in the guiding principles of the justice system, emphasizing the best interests of the child over archaic punitive measures; yet its roots actually stem from English *Poor Laws*, which began in 1536, while the Act itself was heavily influenced by juvenile court statutes that were already present in over twenty U.S. states (Griffiths & Verdun-Jones, 1994; Crowe, 2000).

Regardless of etiology, the *JDA* laid a foundation for youth justice in Canada which continues to this day. For instance, it stipulated that children be tried in separate courts (a

practice that Massachusetts, New York, Illinois, and Colorado began in the latter part of the 19th century; Platt, 1969), in front of a juvenile court judge (Thomas Mayne Daly, of Winnipeg, being the first) and that they be held in juvenile detention centers (in contrast to adult or mixed-age holding centers) while detained pending trial. Additionally, the proceedings of juvenile court, similar to today, were to be private, with publication bans in place preventing the disclosure of the identities of the children accused and their parents (in some cases, the *JDA* reiterated or formalized previously existing legislature or practices, as we see here).

While the *JDA* continued the standard of applying itself to children seven years and older, the maximum age fluctuated across amendments and reenactments: in the original 1908 *JDA*, 15 was the maximum, which was raised to 17 in the Juvenile Delinquent's Court in 1921, then subsequently lowered to 15 in the 1929 reincarnation of the *Juvenile Delinquents Act*, although there was room for provincial discretion in establishing a maximum age, so long as this maximum not include those 18 years of age or older (see Pinero, 2013, for a review). However, the Act did grant judges the authority to try children 14 years of age in ordinary courts (waiver of jurisdiction) if an indictable offense was committed and "the good of the child and interest of the community" warranted a more severe punishment (Pinero, 2013, p. 101).

The use of psychologists and psychiatrists in assessing youth, while not mandated, also emerged during this time, with Judge MacGill acknowledging that "delinquents who appear normal to the untrained eye of those without psychological training, may not be so in reality" (Hogeveen, 2001; MacGill, 1943, p. 14). Although the *JDA* was generally considered a step forward in terms of juvenile justice, continuing the federal governments adaptation of the Ontario commission's recommendation, it did face some criticism. First, in using the term "child" (instead of "child or youth") to refer to a young person, issues of semantics arose – is a

15-year-old a child? Second, it allowed for the Juvenile Delinquents' Court to sentence a child/youth for as long as it deemed necessary (no maximum limits were noted). This was likely an attempt to placate public opinion while simultaneously trying to prevent the young person from being transferred to an adult penitentiary. Additionally, there was often a lack of consistency in the sentences that were handed down for particular offenses (Reid-MacNevin, 2001).

Another critique of the *JDA* was that it did not allow for children to have lawyers or legal counsel present at their trial, forcing children to argue in their own defense (Tustin & Lutes, 2013). This, not surprisingly, was a fixture of the American system as well, which even advocates saw as more civil than criminal, and thus not warranting legal counsel (Lawrence & Hemmens, 2008). Another was the ability for juvenile court judges to sentence a youth for as long a period of incarceration as deemed necessary. While the latter can be seen through the lens of judges having the authority to tailor sentences to best serve the needs of the child, it often saw children being incarcerated for longer than adults who committed a similar crime and further emphasized the consequences of children not having legal counsel present during trial. In this regard, we deviated from our American counterparts, where juvenile delinquents, even when faced with the most severe sanctions, could only be sentenced to less than a year in a youth residential facility (Lawrence & Hemmens, 2008).

2.3 THE YOUNG OFFENDERS ACT

Despite these criticisms, the Act remained and continued to shape juvenile justice in Canada for nearly 75 years, until the enactment of the *Young Offenders Act* (*YOA*) in 1984. This is not to say that parliamentarians and officials alike did not see the shortcomings of the *Juvenile Delinquents Act*, rather, replacing it proved to be a considerable political millstone. Back in

1965, the Department of Justice released *Juvenile Delinquency in Canada*, a report commissioned as part of a larger overhaul of federal corrections (Department of Justice Canada, 1965). In it, it highlighted the inconsistent application of the *Juvenile Delinquents Act* across Canada, the lack of standardization across provinces regarding the size and type of juvenile institutions, the programs that are offered, and the training its staff receives, as well as the need to inform juveniles of their right to legal counsel, among other items as areas for improvement.

From these recommendations came Bill C-192, the *Young Offenders Act*. Of note, this was in 1970, 14 years before Canada would see an act of the same name passed. Unfortunately for then-Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau, the *YOA* faced considerable resistance from provinces (who would likely have had to invest more resources into juvenile offenders) and opposition parties, despite his overture to limit the jurisdiction of the *YOA* to federal criminal offenses only. A decade later, with the momentum of another report (*Young Persons in Conflict with the Law*) and the adoption of the *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms*, the *YOA* surfaced again (as Bill C-61), receiving parliamentary approval in 1982 and coming into effect in April of 1984.

In line with the recently signed *Charter*, the *YOA* placed a strong emphasis on the rights of young offenders, offering them the same freedoms that their adult counterparts have (such as the right to appeal a conviction and to have legal counsel). It also included the provision of financial restitution or compensatory work (for the victim of the crime) as potential punishments that a judge could impose on a young offender in lieu of being sentenced to a facility.

Additionally, the *YOA* stipulated the maximum sentencing for youth detention to be 2 years (or 3, if the criminal offense would mandate a life sentence for an adult). Several amendments to the *YOA* were made in the following years, most notably pertaining to the maximum sentences for youth charged with first- and second-degree murder. However, the *YOA*'s raising of the

minimum age of criminal responsibility or prosecution to from 7 years to 12 years and establishing 17 years as the maximum for youth sentencing is a statute that has continued to the present day (although Ontario continued to treat 16- and 17-year-olds as adults until 1985; Tustin & Lutes, 2013). While a tremendous improvement, an adherence in later Acts to the minimum age of criminal responsibility ranks Canada well behind many European countries, whose minimum ages can reach 14- and even 16-years old (Child Rights International Network, 2018).

Again, the influence of the American system on Canadian law is apparent. In establishing a 2-year maximum on youth sentences (or 3 years, otherwise), the *YOA* strongly reflects the American practice mentioned above of not having youth serve more than a year (when tried in a youth court) in a youth correctional facility. The request for the presence of legal counsel, while in line with the *Charter*, has its roots both in Canada and the United States. While Canadian advocates had been arguing for youth council, a landmark 1966 U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Kent v. United States* (1966), in which a 16-year old was sentenced (in a criminal court) to 30-90 years in prison for rape and robbery in which due process (regarding the transfer to criminal court) was not followed, established for the first time the importance for juveniles to have legal counsel. This was to be the first in a long line of U.S. Supreme Court rulings in favor of accused juveniles having the same or similar rights to accused adults (Lawrence & Hemmens, 2008). While difficult to measure, the high-profile cases seen in the U.S. Supreme Court no doubt had an effect on the *zeitgeist* among Canadian politicians, opposition and provincial alike, who supported the 1984 *YOA* after putting up considerable resistance in the previous decade.

Despite the advancements made in the *YOA*, the House of Commons Standing Committee on Justice and Legal Affairs began work on a review of the *Act*, publishing their report (*Renewing Youth Justice*) in 1997 with 14 key recommendations. Among these recommendations

were to grant youth courts the ability to handle 10- and 11-year-olds in specific circumstances as well as the ability to publicize the names of some youth offenders, the latter of which 47 U.S. states between 1992 and 1997 changed laws to allow (Snyder & Sickmund, 2006). While not all recommendations were more punitive in nature, it is important to consider the influence of the juvenile "super-predator" fear mongering that took place in the 1990's, perpetuated by the likes of John DiIulio Jr. (1995a). This also coincided with a shift in more punitive policies towards juvenile sex offenders in the United Kingdom, a stark change in trajectory from the recommendations of the National Children's Home (NCH, 1992) report a few years prior (Smith, Allardyce, Hackett, Bradbury-Jones, Lazenbatt, & Taylor, 2014).

Back in Canada, news headlines highlighting the seemingly common brutal acts committed by young offenders "punctuated the need for 'new' approaches to deal with young criminals... exposing the perceived inadequacies of the *YOA*" (Hogeveen & Smandych, 2001, p. 148). (Then-Liberal) Member of Parliament John Nunziata went so far in a House of Commons address to claim that "young hoods... are using the law in order to further their own criminality" (Canada, 1994a, 3735). Such sentiments were common among MPs across multiple parties (Canada, 1994b). At the provincial level, recommendations from the previous year's provincial Task Force on Strict Discipline for Young Offenders were released by the Ontario government in 1996, which called for the establishment of strict discipline facilities (often referred to as "boot camps") for young offenders, under the impression that these would instill the self-discipline and responsibility of the self required to desist from crime (Ontario, 1996). Modeled after programs in the United States, similar initiatives began in Manitoba and Alberta, among other provinces (Hogevaan & Smandych, 2001). However, Wormith, Wright, Sauve, and Fleury (1999) stressed at the time that Ontario's strict discipline facilities were not merely extensions of the American

"boot camps" north of the border, rather, they were an extension of juvenile justice best practices injected into the context of a military milieu.

2.4 THE YOUTH CRIMINAL JUSTICE ACT (AND BEYOND)

In the year following the *Renewing Youth Justice* report, the Canadian federal government issued its response to each recommendation in A Strategy for the Renewal of Youth Justice, which emphasized development in the areas of youth crime prevention, meaningful punishment, and rehabilitation and reintegration of young offenders (Department of Justice Canada, 1998). It was in this context that the Youth Criminal Justice Act (YCJA; 2002) was born. One of the most resounding pieces of legislation of the Jean Chrétien era, the YCJA introduced over 160 amendments to the YOA, receiving parliamentary approval in 2002 and coming into effect the following year. One of the key components of the YCJA is the emphasis on enhanced use of police discretion in handling youth charged with minor offenses, promoting the use of measures outside of the formal court system (Carrington & Schulenberg, 2005). While this existed under the YOA, the YCJA formalized and provided specific guidance in using extrajudicial measures, which was necessary given that the YOA inadvertently resulted in a sharp increase in the number of youths in custody (80% of which were for non-violent offenses; Statistics Canada, 1998/1999), which eventually rose to be the highest in the Western world before dropping considerably in the years following the YCJA (Tustin & Lutes, 2013). Similarly, more exhaustive guidance is provided regarding the purposes and principles of sentencing, while community supervision was introduced as a mandatory procedure to follow all custodial sentences. The Act also eliminated the practice of youths having a transfer hearing to be tried in an adult court (for an adult sentence), instead allowing the same youth court to impose the adult sentence. Lastly, the Act highlighted the three goals of the youth criminal justice system,

specifically, the prevention of crime by addressing youth's underlying issues, the rehabilitation of young offenders, and the imposition of meaningful consequences on the young offender.

While Canada's most progressive young offender legislation was in its infancy, the United States continued its recent deviation from restorative justice. Most notably, the passing of the 2006 Adam Walsh Child Protection and Safety Act (AWA), which included the Sex Offender Registration Act Notification (SORNA) stipulating that juvenile sex offenders be added to the newly created national sex offender registry (AWA, 2006). What's particularly interesting about this law is that it makes clear that DiIulio Jr's (1995a) super-predator sentiment still resonates a decade later (despite a well published interview with the New York Times in 2001 where he expressed remorse for the sentiment he had inspired; New York Times, 2001); the child that this act is named after was murdered by a man in his mid-30's, who had no record of criminal sexual acts, yet the public zealously endorsed the Act, which has seen youth added to the registry for relatively minor crimes (such as 'mooning' a classmate; Trivits & Reppucci, 2002). What's equally concerning is that many states do not require convicted juvenile sex offenders to attend or receive any form of treatment during their incarceration (Prisco, 2015), in spite of numerous studies indicating the potency and cost-effectiveness of treatments such as Multisystemic Therapy (MST; Allard, Rayment-McHugh, Adams, Smallbone, & McKillop, 2016; Borduin, Schaeffer, & Heiblum, 2009; Henggeler, Letourneau, Chapman, Borduin, Schewe, & McCart, 2009; Henggeler, Melton, Brondino, Scherer, & Hanley, 1997; Letourneau, Henggeler, Borduin, Schewe, McCart, Chapman, & Saldana, 2009; Letourneau, Henggeler, McCart, Borduin, Schewe, & Armstrong, 2013; Porter & Nuntavisit, 2016; Schaeffer & Borduin, 2005; Sheidow, McCart, & Davis, 2016). Meanwhile, Australia, another former British colony, has begun

implementing "reintegrative shaming" practices on juvenile offenders, with mixed results (e.g., Kim & Gerber, 2012)

While the *YCJA* is seen as a largely progressive act, particularly in the winds of a more punitive *zeitgeist* that had taken hold in our traditional influencers in the United Kingdom and the United States, it would be premature to conclude that Canadians simply do not support more punitive measures. In a 2007 survey, just over 10% of Canadians had high confidence in the youth criminal justice system, slightly lower than the confidence they expressed in the criminal justice system as a whole (Department of Justice Canada, 2007). While a larger number had moderate confidence in both systems, incorporating both high and moderate confidence in the systems expanded the gap between confidence in the criminal justice system and the youth criminal justice system. In the same survey, Canadian respondents ranked TV News as the most important source of information in shaping their views of the criminal justice system, indicating how influential media coverage of violent acts committed by youth can be, regardless of how isolated the crimes actually are. Potentially due to this bias, 63% of respondents felt that violent crime was increasing, despite police report data that indicates that crime has been decreasing since the late 1960's (Statistics Canada, 2014a).

This lack of trust and crime trend fallacy undoubtedly fuelled support for former Prime Minister Stephen Harper's "tough on crime" agenda, which through the *Safe Streets and Communities Act (SSCA*; 2012) made amendments to the *YCJA*, most notably expanding use of 'extrajudicial sanctions,' requesting that youth aged 14 and older charged with aggravated sexual assault be tried as adults, and making "protection of the public... a key goal of the youth justice system" (Department of Justice Canada, 2015, p. 1). The act also removed case law (and thus judicial discretion) as the determinant of what constitutes a "serious violent offense," instead

providing a concrete definition, which may allow for an increase in the use of more punitive measures toward a select group of young offenders.

While the SSCA kept publication bans in place, in response to criticisms from the Supreme Court of Canada and the Quebec Court of Appeals (which claimed it violated Section 7 of the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms), it did alter the way in which they can be lifted, which previously fell upon the youth to argue that despite the severity of the crime (generally the only time in which an exception to the publication ban would be sought), a publication ban was still warranted (Tustin & Lutes, 2013). Under the new procedures, it is the responsibility of the Crown prosecutor to convince the youth court that the publication ban should be lifted, as there is a substantial likelihood that the youth may commit another severe offense and that disclosure of the youth's identity is integral to the preservation of public safety. However, this requires both the Crown prosecutor and the youth court to have a strong grasp of the efficacy of young offender treatment, which may be biased due to a lack of programming or staff training available in that jurisdiction that may undermine the potency of well-resourced programs. Overall, as some legal scholars have described it, the SSCA "promotes the public fear of youthful offenders," (Tustin & Lutes, 2013, p. 10) by focusing so extensively on a small body of young offenders who do not represent the vast majority of young people who have stood before youth courts.

While the government's approach to juvenile justice was once largely shaped by broad social movements, such as the child welfare movement, and philosophical and scientific advancements, namely the recognition that meaningful differences exist between youth and adults, later changes reflected an attempt to appease the public's visceral reactions to specific crimes, leading to beliefs that young offenders (at least some) are both dangerous and criminally

culpable, coming somewhat full circle to Canada's pre-YOA approach to juvenile justice. At the same time, it would be a gross exaggeration to suggest that the current state of affairs favors the flogging of young offenders in town centers; rather, the "Modified Justice model" (Corrado, 1992), which incorporates both rehabilitative and punitive elements in youth justice, has shifted the emphasis towards the latter in recent years (even moreso in the United States). As such, a greater interest in public perceptions of juvenile offenders has emerged, because of the leverage that it holds over both legislative and judicial processes.

CHAPTER 3: ATTITUDES

3.1 ATTITUDES TOWARD AND RESPONSES TO OFFENDERS

When it comes to perceptions of offenders in general, there has largely been a trend for juvenile offenders to be treated more leniently in the court of public opinion than their adult counterparts, beneficiaries of society's increased understanding of the role that the environment may have had on their (still continuing) development and offending behaviours (Cauffman & Steinberg, 2012; Semple & Woody, 2011). Indeed, this has been the foundation of the youth court system, but the mechanisms underlying it have been replicated numerous times (Modecki, 2008; Steinberg & Cauffman, 1996; Steinberg & Scott, 2003). For instance, in a sample of 604 community members who watched a 38-second video of an actual armed robbery, participants who were lead to believe that the accused (named 'Michael') was a 12-year-old male attributed significantly less culpability and saw the accused as less psychosocially mature than those who were told that Michael was a 20-year-old male (Scott, Reppucci, Antonishak, & Degenarro, 2006). A sample of 306 undergraduate students in Colorado found no significant effect of defendant age (14- versus 24-years old) in rendering guilty (or not-guilty) verdicts in cases of second-degree burglary or of aggravated robbery; however, participants who read the older defendant vignettes rendered longer sentences than those in the younger defendant condition (Walker & Woody, 2011). This may be due to the participants' rating of the younger defendants as less mature, which was associated with lower criminal responsibility, although this latter variable did not differ significantly across the two offender age groups.

A similar study by Semple and Woody (2011) found different results. When a sample of 308 undergraduate students were presented with trial summaries involving a 13-, 15-, 17-, or 21-year-old defendant on trial for second-degree murder, age influenced conviction rates (13- and

15-year-olds being less likely to be found guilty than 17- and 21-year-olds), but not sentence length (although the 13-year-old defendant was sentenced to an average of about five years less than the other groups, this did not reach significance). However, in this sample, participants were told that the defendant was being tried in adult courts, which may have influenced their verdicts. When Bergeron and McKelvie (2004) presented murder vignettes to participants, which depicted either a 20-, 40-, or 60-year old offender, they found that both the 20- and 60-year old were treated more leniently (in terms of proposed sentence length) than the 40-year-old. While culpability was not measured, it is possible that this could explain the difference in sentence severity between the 20- and 40-year old conditions, which would assert that culpability is a construct that is seen to increase in gradations well into adulthood for general or even violent offenders, but not for sexual offenders.

In a similar study to Bergeron and McKelvie (2004) involving an alleged offender either in their mid-20's or in their mid-60's/early 70's, parallel results were found. On average, the mid-20's offender was given a longer sentence than the older adult offender, particularly when the crime was depicted as causing 'grievous' bodily harm (stabbing the victim's face resulting in blinding one eye) versus minor physical harm (throwing an object and bruising the victim's face; Mueller-Johnson & Dhami, 2009). Assault vignettes featuring either a 14- or 24-year-old suspect presented to a sample of Canadian undergraduates revealed no effects of age on the students' perceptions of the accused (Pica, Pettalia, & Pozzulo, 2017). Likewise, in a study conducted in Nevada, no age differences were found in the moral outrage expressed towards an 8-, 16-, or 24-year old accused of murder (Singer, 2008). Unlike Canada, state laws do not permit the youth court to preside over murder cases, which are waived to adult court provided that the accused

meets the minimum age of criminal responsibility, set at 8-years-old by the state of Nevada (OJJDP, 1998; 2011; Griffin, 2005).

Contrary to Singer's (2008) hypothesis that 8-year-old offenders would be seen as less culpable (and thus less likely to render a guilty verdict), age also had no impact on verdict outcome or most of the sentencing options, conflicting with Semple and Woody's (2001) findings. Of note, in Semple and Woody (2001), the defendant claimed to have killed in self-defence (and was on trial for second-degree murder), while intentionality (accidental, negligent, or intentional) was manipulated in Singer (2008). This influenced levels of anger, contempt, disgust, and responsibility, and was a strong predictor of verdict, sentencing, and probation recommendations in that participants reacted more harshly and punitively to the intentional murder versus the accidental and negligent murders.

However, offender age did have a significant effect in Scott et al.'s (2006) armed robbery vignette, where participants were less likely to endorse trying the 12-year-old Michael in an adult court compared to another vignette featuring a 15-year-old Michael. While the researchers described armed robbery as a serious crime, the vignettes emphasized that no physical harm was done to the convenience store clerk who was present during the armed robbery. By emphasizing the lack of injury, it is possible that the crime was deemed less serious (and perhaps more equated to a property crime such as burglary instead of a crime against a person), thus allowing for age effects to influence participants' criminal justice decisions. Indeed, mock jurors are less likely to convict a defendant accused of a property offense, view them as less responsible, and recommend shorter prison sentences compared to a defendant accused of a crime against a person (Walker & Woody, 2011).

Similar results for sentencing were found by Miller and Applegate (2015), who included only juvenile defendants, ranging from 12- to 17-years of age. Ivy (2017) found a significant difference in the level of culpability attributed to juvenile offenders who were charged with break-and-enter, where 13-year-old offenders were ascribed significantly more culpability than 9-year-old offenders. Property crime has also been associated with greater parental blame attributed to the parents of juvenile offenders (Brank, Greene, & Hochevar, 2011). Bradley et al. (2012) found that responsibility diminished as age decreased between 17-, 14-, and 11-year-old offenders who were charged with murder. Competency to stand trial and understand criminal proceedings had similar results, replicating previous findings, which noted significant increases in legal procedure competence as age increased from 11 to 14 to 17 (Ghetti & Redlich, 2001).

Complementary to the above findings, competence was a product of crime outcome severity; if the 11-year-old defendant shot and killed a peer, his competence was no longer significantly different from the 14-year old, which was the case if the peer victim was only injured (Ghetti & Redlich, 2001). Responsibility was also a product of intentionality, as juveniles who accidentally shot and killed a member of a hunting party were seen as less responsible than juveniles who deliberately shot a member of their own hunting party (Bradley et al., 2012). Similarly, juveniles who immediately shot and killed the victim after provocation were deemed less responsible than those who did so the following day. Thus, it appears that while age may play a role in one's culpability, the visceral reactions elicited by the crime, and subsequent criminal justice decisions, this influence may be moderated by the seriousness and intentionality of the crime, an assertion supported by Steffensmeier, Ulmer, and Kramer (1998).

While age has also been found to be negatively correlated with parental culpability, with parents of 9-year-old offenders being ascribed more blame for their child's offense than parents

of 13- and 17-year-olds, regardless of the offender's gender (Brank et al., 2011), these findings warrant further explanation. There is a difference between ascribing parental responsibility in addition to or in lieu of ascribing responsibility to the juvenile offender. For instance, a *Gallup* survey of 998 Americans found greater support for parental responsibility in their child's offences when it was phrased as being in addition to the child's responsibility compared to being solely the parents' responsibility (Brank & Weisz, 2004; also see Brank, Kuĉera, & Hays, 2005). Thus, endorsement of parental responsibility should not be interpreted as a suppression of the juvenile offender's responsibility.

Support for life in prison without parole (LWOP) among juvenile offenders (the mandatory use of which was recently abolished by the United States Supreme Court; Miller v. Alabama, 2012; Montgomery v. Louisiana, 2016) also appears to be a product of defendant age: a national sample of Americans found that 38.1% endorsed LWOP for 16-year-olds, while only 24% did for 12-year-olds (Gongola, Krauss, & Scurich, 2017). However, when given specific case information (in this instance, a murder), endorsement of LWOP increased, and although age was still a significant factor – LWOP was endorsed more often for the 16-year-old (64.6%) than the 12-year-old (45.2%) – it highlights the public's willingness to impose harsh, punitive conditions on young offenders, so long as the crime is seen as serious enough to warrant it.

3.2 ATTITUDES TOWARD AND RESPONSES TO ADULT SEXUAL OFFENDERS

While it was hypothesized above that juvenile offenders may only be the beneficiaries of sympathy and understanding when the offences they commit are perceived as less serious, causing little to no damage to a person, and are not the product of intense deliberation, there has been little research extending this to sexual offenders. In order to do so, it is important to get a

better understanding of what attitudes exist toward adult sexual offenders, since they may act as a comparison group for their juvenile counterparts.

3.2.1 ADULT SEXUAL OFFENDERS VERSUS NON-SEXUAL OFFENDERS. It is perhaps not surprising that numerous studies have demonstrated that the public holds negative attitudes toward offenders in general, which results in offenders experiencing social isolation, discrimination, and diminished social status (Hirschfield & Piquero, 2010; Leverentz, 2011; Manza, Brooks, & Uggen, 2004; Phelan, Link, & Dovidio, 2008). Yet not all offenders are treated equally. Sex offenders, in particular, often face some of the most severe stigmatization of any offender group (Tewksbury, 2012; Tewksbury & Lees, 2006; Viki, Fullerton, Raggett, Tait, & Wiltshire, 2012). Even within the correctional setting, sex offenders are notably at the bottom of the social ladder, being seen as "less than human," (Åkerström 1986, p. 4), and therefore acceptable targets for harassment, victimization, and robbery by other inmates (Blaauw, Winkel, & Kerkhof, 2001; Clemmer, 1958; Colvin, 1982; Irwin, 1980; Power, Dyson, & Wozniak, 1997; Toch, 1978).

Despite comprising approximately 80% of one U. S. prison, sexual offenders admitted to trying to pass themselves off as non-sexual offenders to gain status, often at the expense of other sexual offenders, whom they subjected to harassment and ridicule (Schwaebe, 2005; see Tan & Grace, 2008 for a review). Given that there also exists a longstanding hierarchy within the sexual offender population, where child molesters reside at the bottom, followed by incest offenders and rapists, it is likely that the latter are the ones using the former's lower status as leverage to increase their own, partially via the increase in one's hegemonic masculinity, according to Ricciardelli and Spencer (2014; Gebhard, Gagnon, Pomeroy, & Christenson, 1965; Toch, 1978; Vaughn & Sapp 1989; West 1983; Winfree, Newbold, & Tubb, 2002). This may explain why

sexual offenders are 1.71 times more likely to receive a disciplinary infraction while incarcerated than other groups of offenders (Tewksbury, Connor, & Denney, 2014).

Although correctional staff are aware of the social hierarchies that exist within the prison population (and that sexual offenders reside at the bottom; Vaughn & Sapp, 1989), a recent analysis of sex offender and prison staff correctional setting evaluations noted some considerable discrepancies. Namely, staff reported greater safety and a more positive climate than the sex offenders, indicating that there may be a disconnect between what correctional staff witness and what sex offenders experience (Blagden, Perrin, Smith, Gleeson, & Gillies, 2017). In interviews with both sexual and non-sexual offenders, Ricciardelli and Spencer (2014) note that both offenders and correctional staff often seek to expose sexual offenders within the prison system who are passing as non-sexual offenders, and the anxieties sexual offenders face as a result. Additionally, some non-sexual offenders reported that correctional staff threatened to tell other inmates that they were in for a sexual crime in order to gain compliance, which poses the risk of creating a toxic environment or diminishing the relationship between the prison population and staff. Concerningly, a hostile prison environment can have detrimental impacts on treatment and rehabilitation program outcomes, as can diminished relationships between offenders and correctional officers (Andrews, 2011; Harding, 2014).

Outside the prison walls, where it is argued that the practice of rejection, low social status, and victimization within correctional settings is imported from, attitudes toward sexual offenders are equally, if not more negative (Craig, 2005; Weekes, Pelletier, & Beaudette, 1995). Cognizant of the public's animosity, Spencer (2009) likens them to *homo sacers*, a term derived from Roman law referring to outcasts who exist "without form or value, stripped of political and legal rights accorded to the normal citizen" (p. 220). Indeed, a recent meta-analysis of 19 public

attitude studies conducted between 1990 and 2013 found that sex offenders elicited more negative attitudes than other types of offenders (Rade, Desmarais, & Mitchell, 2016). For instance, in an undergraduate sample, more punitive attitudes were held toward sexual offenders, complementing the fewer rehabilitative attitudes held toward them (Rogers & Ferguson, 2011). In another sample, the sexual offender hierarchy described above emerged, with contact child sexual offenders eliciting more negative attitudes than other adult sexual offenders (Corăbian, 2016).

3.2.2 PUNITIVE RESPONSES. To a large degree, many of the studies that have investigated attitudes toward sexual offenders have instead focused on support for more severe punishments (e.g., longer sentences, public sex offender registries) rather than traditional measures of attitudes. For instance, Olver and Barlow (2010) found strong agreeance among Canadian undergraduate students that sexual offenders' sentences are too lenient. Kelly (2013) reported strong support for public sex offender registries, noting no differences in endorsement between residents of Ontario and California. Finally, 82% of Floridians endorsed residency restrictions for released sexual offenders (Mancini, Shields, Mears, & Beaver, 2010). A randomized telephone survey of Michigan residents, however, indicated that residency and employment restrictions (such as a restriction on living near or working at a school) were more strongly endorsed than some forms of community notification, GPS tracking, or more severe forms of punishment that entail life imprisonment or castration (Comartin, Kernsmith, & Kernsmith, 2009).

Also among the most common sex offender management policies is community notification, a practice in which the public is informed about the release of a sexual offender into their community, including their name and address. While its justification lies in the belief that

this protects the community by raising members' awareness of potentially dangerous individuals moving into their neighbourhoods, it also can increase vigilantism and isolation. Concerningly, these latter concerns do not appear to be a detriment to the public's support for the practice. In a survey of Washington residents, while three-quarters of respondents noted that community notification would make it harder for a sexual offender to seek employment, make friends, and to find a place of residence, over 80% felt that the recent community notification laws (in this case, Megan's Law) were extremely important (Phillips, 1998). Further, half of respondents agreed that community notification could make released sexual offenders victims of vigilantism, a similar number rejected the belief that sexual offenders should be afforded a 'fresh start' to become law-abiding citizens upon release.

Levenson, Brannon, Fortney, and Baker (2007) quantified some of the above trends, reporting that the public was highly supportive of long prison sentences (m = 38.8 years) and probationary periods (m = 41.9 years). Further, over three-quarters endorsed community notification for all sexual offenders, regardless of risk level. Even more concerning, 73% admitted that they would support these policies even if they lacked empirical support. An obstinate adherence to an endorsement of public registries, admittedly even if this is in contradiction to scientific findings, appears to be tied to a belief that released sexual offenders pose a high risk to the public (Socia & Harris, 2016). This may explain why public registries still receive widespread support (e.g., Meloy, Curtis, & Boatwright, 2013), despite several studies that question the effectiveness of these policies (Ackerman, Sacks, & Greenberg, 2011; Sandler, Freeman, & Socia, 2008; Socia, 2012, 2015).

What makes support of public registries interesting is that they are often ignored by members of the public, with only a third of respondents indicating having ever accessed their

state's sex offender registry, females being twice as likely to do so than males (which may coincide with some studies finding greater support for registration among females; Anderson, Evans, & Sample, 2009; Redlich, 2001). Complementing this, in an Illinois state sample, 61% of respondents were unaware whether a released sexual offender resided in their neighbourhood, while less than half of UK respondents feel that sexual offender registries are an effective offender management tool (Brown, Deakin, & Spencer, 2008; Burchfield, 2012). While it may seem contradictory that the public endorses public registries yet doubt their efficacy, their support for registries may stem from the myth that sexual offenders are immune to the effects of treatment. This false belief, endorsed by the vast majority of the public, can create a heightened concern that all sexual offenders pose a high risk to society, driving support for any management policies that target sexual offender recidivism (Levenson, Brannon, et al., 2007; Payne, Tewksbury, & Mustaine, 2010).

To examine this further, Socia and Harris (2016) used Crime Control Theater (CCT; Griffin & Miller, 2008), which refers to the use of popular, simplistic approaches to solving serious, complex criminal issues, as a framework for understanding public attitudes towards sexual offenders. CCT laws rest on four components: their development in reaction to moral panic, their unquestioned acceptance and promotion, their appeal to mythic narratives (commonly held false beliefs), and that they continue to exist in spite of empirical evidence that they are not effective or appropriate (Hammond, Miller, & Griffin, 2010). Overall, this framework was supported, as participants reported that they believe released sexual offenders pose as a high risk to reoffend, endorsed beliefs that sexual offenders comprised a largely homogeneous group (e.g., that they are all sexual predators), and that the offenders' victims were strangers. CCT has also been used to understand support for sexual offenders' residency

restrictions (Budd & Mancini, 2016). Combined with Levenson, Brannon, et al's (2007) findings that the public is still willing to endorse these policies in spite of scholarly evidence supporting their efficacy, a troubling obstinance which Monahan (2015) replicated, the four components of CCT are upheld as a structure for understanding public opinion. Alternatively, results from a national U.S. survey found that support for sexual offender registration, residence restrictions, and other management policies was high, despite respondents' skepticism regarding the efficacy of these initiatives in reducing sexual recidivism, which may reflect the public's belief that nothing will deter sexual recidivism or that these policies, while flawed, are the best options available (Schiavone & Jeglic, 2009).

Similar to the hierarchy within prisons, and further support of Vaughn & Sapp's (1989) importation hypothesis, a public sample of 250 individuals demonstrated a significant negative relationship between victim age and endorsement of incapacitation, where the latter was strongest when a 35-year-old man fondled a 10-year-old (i.e., a child molester) versus a 20-year-old (i.e., a rapist; Rogers, Hirst, & Davies, 2011). Significant differences were also found in the same direction between a 10-year-old victim and a 15-year-old victim and a 15-year-old victim and a 20-year-old victim. Additionally, while support for the use of capital punishment for sexual offenders was not as popular as for murderers (79% endorsement) in 1991, a considerable gap was found among Americans in their support for the death penalty for sexual offenders who abused a child (51% endorsement) versus those who offended against adults (27% endorsement; Mancini & Mears, 2010). More recent studies have found similar levels of endorsement, ranging from 55-65% endorsement for child molesters, while data from 1997 indicate a rise in the level of endorsement for adult rapists, with 47% of respondents endorsing capital punishment as an appropriate consequence (Quinnipiac University, 2008; Time/Cable News Network, 1997).

In a sample of 2,635 people living in Victoria, Australia, respondents demonstrated significantly less comfort in working with or residing near a released sexual offender in comparison to other, non-sexual offenders (Hardcastle, Bartholomew, Graffam, 2011). Similarly, support for government policies aimed to aid offenders in seeking employment and housing was weakest when it was presented in the context of helping a sexual offender. Across all four categories (comfortability working with, comfortability residing near, support for employment policies, support for housing policies), another trend emerged, with comfortability and support for policies lowest for child-specific sexual offenders (sexual assault of a child, followed by child pornography offenses) compared to sexual offenders whose victims were adults. In a sample of 733 Michigan residents, all expressed at least some degree of fear at the thought of a released sexual offender living in their neighbourhood, but sexual offenders with child victims elicited significantly more fear than those with adult victims (Kernsmith et al., 2009). Furthermore, participants were most likely to endorse registration for sexual offenders with child victims (97% agreeance) versus other sexual offender groups, such as statutory rapists (65.1% agreeance).

One understudied consequence of having public sexual offender registries is that knowledge of a sexual offender in one's neighbourhood is associated with a greater fear of being sexually abused by a stranger (Craun & Theriot, 2009). In reality, sexual offenses perpetrated by a stranger comprise a very small minority of these cases, in some studies as few as 2%. This means that those who frequent the registry may be overestimating their or their children's odds of being victimized by a stranger and underestimating their odds of being abused by a family member or acquaintance (Buzi, Tortolero, Smith, Ross, & Roberts, 2002; Fuselier, Durham, & Wurtele, 2002; Snyder, 2000; Vanzile-Tamsen, Testa, & Livingston, 2005). Indeed, knowledge

of a sexual offender residing in one's community increased one's endorsement of being more concerned about a stranger by 20.5%, compared to those who knew there was no such individuals in their vicinity (Craun & Theriot, 2009). Knowledge of a sexual offender in one's neighbourhood was also found to increase the odds of sexual offender misperceptions by an odds ratio of 2.56. Interestingly, among victims of sexual offenses, just over two-thirds believe that sexual offender registries can lull the public into a false sense of security (Craun & Simmons, 2012). Despite this, requirements for all sexual offenders to be placed upon a public registry were strongly supported by over 80% of victims.

3.2.3 NEGATIVE IMPACTS OF PUNITIVENESS AND PUBLIC DISFAVOR.

Given that negative attitudes toward sexual offenders is axiomatic, both to the public and to the offenders themselves, the stigma associated with the label of sexual offender and the animosity that they face undeniably lead to negative consequences for the offender, lasting far longer than their period of incarceration. For instance, in interviews with 24 incarcerated sexual offenders, Tewksbury (2012) noted that the stigma associated with being a sexual offender led the interviewees to the internalization of negative feelings, diminishing their self esteem and self concept. Specifically, sexual offenders reported feelings of shame ("it kills my soul to be labeled as a sex offender," (p. 615)), fear ("I'm nervous what all I am going to be faced with... people and how they're going to react to me" (p. 617)), and hopelessness/depression ("I'm not a citizen... I'm a sex offender," (p. 612)). The latter quote is a reinforcement of Spencer's (2009) homo sacers comparison, which is also reflected in another sexual offender's response: "that's the way people think out there. Sex offender? Garbage! Shouldn't even come back out on the street, we're not allowed out there" (p. 612). Interviewees also demonstrated some externalized-

directed consequences of stigmatization, namely a belief that their being labelled/stigmatized is unfair, expressing resentment toward those who hold stigmatizing beliefs.

These findings have been replicated in quantitatively as well, with sexual offenders reiterating the need for thorough reintegration planning to help overcome the public's response to their release and various sexual offender management policies, which can undermine rehabilitative efforts (Hanson & Harris, 2001; Juanto, 2013; Levenson & Cotter, 2005; Levenson, D'Amora, & Hern, 2007; Russell, Seymour, & Lambie, 2013). This is especially important, as sexual offenders often face great difficulties in finding and maintaining a place of residence or employment, even moreso than non-sexual offenders, a gap that is likely to increase as more stringent sexual offender management policies are legislated (Clark, 2007; Craig, 2005; Lasher & McGrath, 2012; Levenson et al., 2007; Tewksbury, 2005). Sexual offender stigma also permeates into the dating world, where sexual offenders (especially those who offend against children) are seen as the least desirable cohabitation partners, even when compared to those with relational violence offenses (Beijers, van Prooijen, & Bijleveld, 2016; Tewksbury, 2005).

Combined, these hardships may actually increase the odds of recidivism (Rakis, 2005).

Unfortunately, the stigma that surrounds sexual offenders often permeates into their inner circle. For instance, children of sexual offenders are seen as destined to become criminals (Parker, 2016). Additionally, Farkas and Miller (2007) have noted several burdens that sexual offender stigma and policy can bring upon their families, notably having to move (to meet residency restrictions), relying on the sexual offender's partner for financial stability (due to difficulty in securing employment), and having the offender's stigma applied to the entire family, leading to feelings of anger and resentment. Indeed, the latter may not be completely unwarranted, as the romantic partners of sexual offenders often face negative stereotypes

themselves, chiefly that they are fearful, vulnerable, deviant, and mentally ill (Plogher, Stevenson, & McCracken, 2016).

3.3 ATTITUDES TOWARD AND RESPONSES TO JUVENILE SEXUAL OFFENDERS

Despite an almost involuntary inclination among the public to view juvenile sexual offenders as a homogeneous group, distinct from their non-sexual offending brethren, the two groups share considerable commonality. For instance, the two groups share similar criminal histories, use of psychological assistance, and are both often are enrolled in some form of special education (van Wijk, Vreugdenhill, van Horn, Vermeiren, & Doreleijers, 2007). In terms of criminal trajectories, Cale, Smallbone, Rayment-McHugh, and Dowling (2016) identified four distinct juvenile sexual offender offending trajectories – *rare offenders, late bloomers, low-rate chronics*, and *high-rate chronics* – categories that were replicated for juvenile non-sexual offenders as well (McCuish, Lussier, & Corrado, 2016). More specifically, in comparing the prevalence of juvenile sexual and non-sexual offenders in each group, no differences were found, supporting the notion that juvenile sexual offenders are not inherently a more deviant or dangerous group (McCuish et al., 2016).

Other studies have differed in their findings, with some noting that juvenile sexual offenders are the more criminally active group (e.g., Lussier & Blokland, 2014), while others find them to be less active (e.g., Seto & Lalumiere, 2010). Interestingly, Zimring (Zimring, Jennings, Piquero, & Hays, 2009; Zimring, Piquero, & Hays, 2007) has noted that juvenile sexual offenders aren't the most likely juvenile offender group to commit a sexual offense in adulthood, a distinction held by chronic juvenile non-sexual offenders. Regarding their victimization histories, results are mixed when assessing physical and sexual abuse, with some research supporting an increased prevalence among the juvenile sexual offender population (e.g.,

Burton, Miller, & Shill, 2002), while others find no significant differences (e.g., van Wijk et al., 2007). The studies cited above in this section highlight two important issues: first, that juvenile sexual offenders are a heterogeneous group, and second, that they are not entirely different as a whole that their non-sexual offending counterparts. Yet as will be discussed below, this has not necessarily transformed into the public's convergence of attitudes or responses to the two groups. Perhaps this should not be surprising, given the animosity directed toward their adult counterparts, even when considered relative to their peers.

3.3.1 STEREOTYPES. When thinking of juvenile sexual offenders, it is not uncommon to picture a "superpredator" similar to what DiIulio Jr. (1995b) described. In the midst of a public panic about the prevalence and seriousness of juvenile offending in general—which saw the use of the term *juvenile sex offender* increase sevenfold between 1989 and 1996 (Harris & Socia, 2016)—the following statement was made:

On the horizon, therefore, are tens of thousands of severely morally impoverished juvenile super-predators. They are perfectly capable of committing the most heinous acts of physical violence for the most trivial reasons (for example, a perception of slight disrespect or the accident of being in their path). They fear neither the stigma of arrest nor the pain of imprisonment. They live by the meanest code of the meanest streets, a code that reinforces rather than restrains their violent, hair-trigger mentality. In prison or out, the things that superpredators get by their criminal behavior--sex, drugs, money--are their own immediate rewards. Nothing else matters to them. So for as long as their youthful energies hold out, they will do what comes "naturally": murder, rape, rob, assault, burglarize, deal deadly drugs and get high. (DiIulio Jr., 1995b, p. 4)

This homogenous portrayal of juvenile offenders, combined with the stigma attached to sexual offending, explains, at least in part, the propensity to view juvenile sexual offenders as a uniform group. What makes this troublesome is that a preconceived endorsement of the superpredator label has been linked to an increased propensity among American samples to support a juvenile being waived to an adult court², to be found guilty, and to be sentenced to life without parole (LWOP), regardless of the juvenile's age (Greene, Duke, & Woody, 2017; Haegerich, Salerno, & Bottoms, 2013). In the United States, when juveniles are waived to adult court and sentenced to confinement in a prison (versus a jail), they often serve longer sentences than many adults, an effect that may be exacerbated among juvenile offender of low socioeconomic status (SES), who are simultaneously seen as less able to understand their actions, yet more guilty than their high SES counterparts (Farnum & Stevenson, 2013; Jordan, 2014; Jordan & McNeal, 2016).

Additionally, the perception of juvenile sexual offenders as superpredators is not a relic of the past (Salerno, Najdowski, et al., 2010). And while the illustration of the deviant, predatory, dangerous juvenile sexual offender is not always the first to come to mind (only 22% of the sample endorsed the superpredator subtype), it is a concerningly easy archetype to induce (Haegerich, et al., 2013). One study reported that participants endorsed stronger "superpredator" beliefs about generic juvenile sexual offenders than when provided with case-specific information (Campregher & Jeglic, 2016). In another, Haegerich and colleagues (2013) induced such beliefs by having participants listen to attorneys describe the societal problem of superpredators in a manner similar to what DiIulio (1995a; 1995b) did in editorials and

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² Juvenile waiver laws, also referred to as transfer laws, are statutes that allow adult criminal courts in the United States to hear and sentence youth arrested for specific crimes. Since 1979, all states have had some form of juvenile waiver laws, each state mandating the conditions under which juveniles can be waived to adult court.

interviews. Participation in the "superpredator" condition was associated with a significantly higher likelihood of rendering guilty verdicts versus those who listened to the societal problem of wayward youths.

Similar links between stereotype endorsement and desire for more punitive policies toward adult sexual offenders have been found among the public (Chui, Cheng, & Ong, 2015). For instance, 42-year-old hypothetical child rapists were more likely to be considered 'sexual predators,' required to register as sexual offenders, and to have their access to children restricted than when the rapist was presented as a 22-year-old by a large sample of Southwestern U.S. undergraduates (Sahl & Keene, 2012). While it is often recognized that young offenders are less competent and less mature than older offenders—which has been linked to diminished criminal responsibility—the impact of this is trumped by the degree to which the respondent believed the juvenile defendant was aware of the consequences of their actions. This, in turn, was linked to a desire to do harm, similar to the mechanisms underlying the superpredator subtype (Ghetti & Redlich, 2001; Hughes & McPhetres, 2016). Recently, Harper and Bartels (2017) reported that the affective responses to sexual offending and support for sexual offender management policies depends on the degree to which the sexual offender matches the stereotype the respondent has for sexual offenders. Extending this to juvenile sexual offenders, it appears that prosecutors (and the media) wield a powerful tool in their ability to portray them as superpredators, a classification that has serious repercussions.

Similarly, while exposure to scientific information about juvenile offenders has been linked to decreased support for the transfer of a youth defendant to adult court, this no longer becomes a significant factor when mitigating (wayward youth) or aggravating (serial offender) information is presented (Zottoli, Daftary-Kapur, & Zapf, 2015). In providing aggravating

endorsement for the juvenile defendant to be waived to adult court. Specific to juvenile sexual offenders, there's even evidence that the label *juvenile sex offender* has profound effects on support for punitive measures: 32.5% of American respondents strongly agreed with putting a *juvenile sex offender* on a public sex offender registry, while 53.6% expressed some extent of agreement (*strongly agree* or *agree*), compared to 19.7% and 42.4%, respectively, when replacing the *juvenile sex offender* label with a more neutral term ("minor youth who have committed crimes of a sexual nature"; Harris & Socia, 2016). Additionally, 42.5% of respondents strongly agreed that *juvenile sex offenders* pose a high risk to become sexual offenders in adulthood compared to 31.7% who were presented with the same question using the neutral term. In other words, the label *juvenile sex offender* appears to increase agreeance with more punitive practices by roughly ten per cent, a more robust effect than the term *sex offender* had on adult offenders.

3.3.2 NEGATIVE RESPONSES. Such strong endorsement should not be surprising. In a sample of 733 Michigan residents, juvenile sexual offenders elicited the third-most amount of fear among a list of perpetrators of seven different sexual crimes (Kernsmith et al., 2009).

Coming in behind adults convicted for child-sex (80.6%) and incest (78.4%) offenses, 70.2% of respondents endorsed some degree of fear toward juvenile sexual offenders, compared to only 45% fearing statutory rapists and 59.5% fearing spousal rapists. Similarly, juvenile sexual offenders were the third-most likely group of sexual offenders for the public to endorse registration of, with 86.4% of respondents indicating moderate-to-strong support for the practice (strongly agree or agree), compared to 65.1% for statutory rapists and 71.3% for spousal rapists. Not surprisingly, a strong endorsement towards the registration is not a reflection of empirical

risk; even within their own juvenile offender cohort, juvenile sexual offenders are not the most likely group to commit a sexual offense in the future (Zimring et al., 2007; 2009).

Similar to their adult counterparts, juvenile sexual offenders are among the most stigmatized group of young offenders (Rogers & Ferguson, 2011). The public is also more likely to support a sentence of LWOP for a juvenile sexual offender (44% endorsement) than a juvenile convicted for murder of an abusive parent (25%), armed robbery (31%), assault (26%), drug trafficking (24%), or other property crimes (21-24%; Greene & Evelo, 2013). Only a juvenile who had murdered a stranger was more likely to have a sentence of LWOP supported among the American undergraduates sampled (53% endorsement). This complements results on juvenile blended sentencing (an allocation for juvenile courts to impose adult sentences or to extend its jurisdiction into early adulthood), which Missouri residents endorsed most strongly for juveniles who committed murder and rape, respectively (Garland, Melton, & Hass, 2012). Also of note, endorsement of LWOP roughly tripled for adults convicted of murdering an abusive parent, assault, drug trafficking, and other property crimes compared to their juvenile counterparts. Yet 56% of participants supported LWOP for adult sexual offenders, only 12% higher than the endorsement the endorsement for juveniles charged with the same offense (Greene & Evelo, 2013). While statistically significant, the degree of difference in comparison to other offense categories supports the notion that juvenile sexual offenders may not be granted the same level of leniency that other juvenile offenders are. When removing participants who felt that LWOP was never justified, a larger (although insignificant) percentage of participants endorsed LWOP for juvenile sexual offenders than their adult equivalents. After removing participants who only endorsed LWOP for adults, the above results obtained significance, with juvenile sexual offenders receiving more support for LWOP sentences (60%) than adults (40%).

3.3.3 TREATMENT EFFICACY MYTHS. This may not only be due to the negative attitudes generally held toward juvenile sexual offenders, but also their low belief in the efficacy of treatment, or more specifically, their belief in juvenile sexual offenders' low amenability to treatment (Sahlstom & Jeglic, 2008; Levenson et al., 2007). Similarly, a sample of 355 U.S. undergraduates reported lower levels of rehabilitation potential for both juvenile and adult sexual offenders than their non-sexual offender equivalents and no significant differences in treatment amenability between child, juvenile, and adult sexual offenders (Rogers & Ferguson, 2011). Among Nevada students, only 58.2% believed juvenile sexual offenders could be rehabilitated, a treatment/treatability skepticism that also applies to adult sexual offenders (Cochrane, 2010; Monahan, 2015). Similar to the propensity for some to tap into the juvenile superpredator prototype, when asked to describe a juvenile sexual offender, over three-quarters of undergraduates from the University of Illinois at Chicago depicted a youth who committed a serious sexual offense (Salerno, Najdowski, et al., 2010). Not surprisingly, envisioning a juvenile sexual offender as an individual who committed a more serious offense was related to significantly higher levels of perceived dangerousness. Many of these attitudes have been attributed to the "nothing works" mantra that dominated offender treatment generally, which spilled over to sexual offender treatment during the 80's and 90's. This was mostly due to the misrepresentation of Furby, Weinrott, and Blackshaw's (1989) findings, which questioned the research methodologies, not the treatment efficacies of sex offender treatment studies (Quinn, Forsyth, & Mullen-Quinn, 2004).

Fortunately, there is a growing amount of evidence that the juvenile sexual offender recidivism is not a foregone conclusion. Reitzel and Carbonnell's (2006) meta-analysis, which looked at nine studies published between 1990 and 2003 found a significant effect of treatment,

with an average sexual recidivism rate of 12.53%. McCann and Lussier (2018) followed this with a larger meta-analysis of their own, reporting that sexual recidivism among juvenile sexual offenders is in the 5-10% range (McCann & Lussier, 2008). Caldwell's (2016) meta-analysis indicates that these may be an overestimates, as more recent studies report an average sexual recidivism rate of 2.75%. This is notably smaller than the rates reported in the meta-analyses published by Reitzel and Carbonnell (2006) and McCann and Lussier (2008), which is largely attributed to the increased availability and quality of treatment programs (Caldwell, 2016).

3.3.4 A REGRESSION IN POLICY. Unfortunately, there is a disconnect between empirical findings and public support for these initiatives. The shift to a more punitive policy towards juvenile sexual offenders is described by Böllinger (2005) as "reverting to moralistic principles in disregard of scientific insight" (p. 89). This abandons the lengthy trend of increased enlightenment in juvenile justice policy, which began in a moral paradigm before shifting to a more utilitarian approach, nearing an empirical basis for risk containment at the end of the twentieth century. Presciently, Böllinger (2005) made these comments *before* SORNA laws took place in the U.S., of which over three-quarters of at least one sample endorsed the application (Cochrane, 2010). Yet evidence consistently finds little to no positive impacts for these policies to serve as deterrents or safeguards for offending behaviour. For instance, many young adults from the University of Evansville, Indiana, were unaware of what constitutes a juvenile sexual crime that can warrant registration (Stevenson, Najdowski, & Wiley, 2013). This is obviously necessary if registration is to act as a deterrent to would-be offenders, although knowledge did not influence sexual behaviour anyway.

While SORNA laws have justifiably been the subject of incredible scrutiny, at least within academic circles, it must be noted that prior to its enactment, 32 states already required

some form of registrations for juveniles adjudicated with a sexual crime, many simple expanding Megan's Law to include juveniles (Trivits & Reppucci, 2002). Yet even SORNA's predecessors, such as South Carolina's legislation, have had no deterrent effect on juvenile sexual crime (Letourneau, Bandyopadhyay, Armstrong, & Sinha, 2010). In fact, the establishment of these punitive policies have been associated with a 41% decrease in the likelihood of the prosecutor moving forward with charges and an increase in juvenile plea bargains for lesser, non-sexual charges, which can remove requirements for (necessary) sexual offender treatment (Letourneau, Armstrong, Bandyopadhyay, & Sinha, 2012; Letourneau, Bandyopadhyay, Sinha, & Armstrong, 2009b). Analysis of other states heeds similar results.

A time-series analysis of sexual offender registration in New York failed to provide support for the registry as a tool for reducing sexual crimes committed by first-time offenders or those with a sexual offense history. It is also noteworthy that 95% of all sexual offense arrests were of first-time sexual offenders. (Sandler, Freeman, & Socia, 2008). Using data from 4 states (Idaho, South Carolina, Utah, and Virginia), no evidence was found for the efficacy of their registration requirements in reducing juvenile sexual offending (Sandler, Letourneau, Vandiver, Shields, & Chaffin, 2017). Analysis of 399 registered and unregistered juvenile sexual offenders revealed no differences between the two groups in their recidivism levels, further questioning the efficacy of such policies in improving community safety (Burlingame, 2011). Similar results have been found with adult sexual offenders (Tewksbury, Jennings, & Zgoba, 2012), although this evidence is mixed (e.g., Letourneau, Levenson, Bandyopadhyay, Armstrong, & Sinha, 2010).

Other evaluations of SORNA have also found limited utility in its ability to reduce recidivism, while its (optional) tier system has failed to show even marginal ability to predict

recidivism at either 24- or 49-month follow-ups (Batastini, Hunt, Present-Koller, & DeMatteo (2011; Caldwell & Dickinson, 2009; Caldwell, Ziemke, & Vitacco (2008). In fact, some evaluations have actually indicated that SORNA policies *increase* recidivism among juvenile sexual offenders, which may be due to the barriers they produce to successful reintegration (Letourneau & Armstong, 2008; Levenson, Bandyopadhyay, Sinha, & Armstrong, 2009). Additionally, a survey of treatment providers found that they expressed considerable concerns about the effects of SORNA's registration requirements on juvenile sexual offenders' mental health, likelihood of being harassed or being treated unfairly, school attendance, residence instability (having to move or live in a group home; Harris, Walfield, Shields, & Letourneau, 2016). Notification requirements also elicited similar apprehensions, including social isolation, fear for safety, and difficulty concentrating in school. Lastly, nearly half of treatment providers believed that community notification will increase the rate of suicide attempts by the youth, a quarter endorsing the same for the effects of registration.

3.4 FACTORS THAT INFLUENCE ATTITUDES

3.4.1 OFFENDER AND OFFENSE CHARACTERISTICS. While support for punitive policies and negative attitudes toward juvenile sexual offenders appears to be well-established, there are a number of offender- or offense-specific factors as well as perceiver variables that influence the direction and magnitude of these endorsements. For instance, sexual offenders with younger victims were deemed less amenable to treatment or change than those with older victims (Rogers et al., 2011). In a series of vignettes varying offender and victim race, women were more likely to recommend registration when the victim was White than Black (Stevenson, Sorenson, Smith, Sekely, & Dzwairo, 2009).

As discussed above, the age of the perpetrator can also play a role, even within the sexual offender realm. Although participants demonstrated more punitive attitudes towards sexual offenders, in comparison to non-sexual offenders, regardless of age group, there were also differences in the severity of the punitiveness between the sexual offender age groups; specifically, as the age of the offender increased from child to adolescent to adult, so, too, did punitive attitudes (Rogers & Ferguson, 2011). In one study where the victim age was established as 15-years-old, support for registration for 15-, 18-, and 30-year old "sexting" offenders increased as a function of age, regardless of the offense (e.g., sending intimate images, receiving intimate images, or sharing the victim's intimate images with a third party; Comartin, Kernsmith, & Kernsmith, 2013). Others have found that offender blame and responsibility exhibits a positive relationship with age, with both increasing as the age of a hypothetical sexual offender increased from 15- to 25- to 35-years old (Sherrill, Renk, Sims, & Culp, 2011). Of note in Sherrill and colleagues' (2011) vignette is that the victim age (15) was held constant and was portrayed as 'ambiguous' toward the offender's sexual advances (versus being 'resistant' or 'encouraging').

Interestingly, a multi-state sample of parents reported that they would ascribe more blame to their child if they were sexually victimized by an adolescent versus an adult (Walsh, Cross, & Jones, 2012). Additionally, the amount of blame they placed on their own child increased as a function of victim age. Pozzulo, Dempsey, Maeder, and Allen (2010) assessed mock juror decision making in a sexual interference case involving a 12-year-old victim and either a 15- or 40-year old defendant on the latter's guilt, responsibility, and prospective sentence length.

Results found no age impact on any of the above measures; in fact, victim responsibility increased as the age of the offender increased, in contrast to Walsh and colleagues (2012). In another study, age (depicted as 8-, 9-, 11-, or 13-years-old) had no impact on perceived offense

seriousness (all were high), need for parental or police involvement, or on negative victim impact with the victim age held constant at 8-years-old (Sahlstrom & Jeglic, 2008).

The effects of perpetrator age, however, are not universally consistent. When Mueller-Johnson and Dhami (2009) presented a sexual offense vignette depicting the fondling of a 7year-old child, offenders in their mid-20's were given longer sentences than hypothetical sexual offenders in their mid-60's to early 70's. Moreira (2016) found that in sexual assault vignettes involving a 12-, 14-, or 19-year-old sexual offender, more positive attitudes were held by the American sample toward the oldest offender in comparison to the 14-year-old. Yet when reading about a hypothetical adult (35-years-old) or juvenile (16-years-old) named David who was charged with videotaping a 14-year-old performing oral sex on them, participants were more punitive toward the adult offender (Salerno, Murphy, & Bottoms, 2014). Interestingly, this occurred *only* when the offense was presented as male-on-female. When the vignette was described as a homosexual act (male-on-male), participants were equally punitive, regardless of age. In essence, the juvenile homosexual offender was seen as deserving equally punitive measures as their adult counterpart, a judgment that was absent when David was presented as a heterosexual. These results complement other research that has found that same-sex sexual abuse is often perceived as more abusive than similar opposite-sex offenses. This may be driven by the additional stigmas that gay male sexual offenders face, which can increase punitiveness, particularly toward those who have molested children (Broussard, Wagner, & Kazelkis, 1991; Maynard & Wiederman, 1997; Wiley & Bottoms, 2013).

The presence of additional stigmas could also help explain why same-sex offenders were more likely to be recommended for registration (39% endorsement) than opposite-sex offenders in sexting vignettes (Comartin et al., 2013). A sample of 982 prosecutors from all 50 states

indicated that this effect permeates the justice system as well. While it did not impact willingness to press charges against a juvenile, prosecutors did perceive male juvenile sexual offenders, who offended against another male, more negatively than those who offended against a female (Parra, 2017). It is possible that the effects of sexuality may be due, in part, to one's propensity to be disgusted, often referred to as *disgust sensitivity*, which has correlated positively with support for juvenile sexual offender registration and negative attitudes toward gay men (Inbar, Pizarro, & Bloom, 2009; Smith, 2012; Stevenson, Malik, Totton, & Reeves, 2015). Other researchers have found that invoking disgust, which may be done by reading a vignette of a male-on-male sexual offense, has led to more homonegative attitudes toward gay men (Inbar, Pizarro, & Bloom, 2012). To better understand how this process applies to juvenile sexual offenders specifically, Stevenson and colleagues (2015) conducted a path analysis, which indicated that an increase in disgust sensitivity was associated with dehumanizing the offender and seeing him or her as a superpredator, reducing empathy, increasing the belief that the offender is a threat to society, which then predicts greater support for registration.

The role that dehumanization plays in attitudes toward sexual offenders is well established. Camman (2012) reported that Canadian undergraduate students were more likely to dehumanize sexual offenders and respond more negatively to their release into the community than violent and property offenders. The elevated dehumanization of sexual offenders inflated participants' perceptions of their dangerousness, which was a strong predictor of the negative reactions to having the offender released in the community. Inclusion of dehumanization in a series of hierarchical multiple regression analyses reduced the sex offender category to a non-significant predictor of social distance, indicating that its prior significant association with the variable was due to the effects of dehumanization. Furthermore, dehumanization has also been

implicated in diminishing support for rehabilitation and increasing recommended sentence lengths (Viki, Fullerton, Raggett, Tait, & Wiltshire, 2012). Support for the social exclusion of sexual offenders and endorsement of violent, retributive acts towards sexual offenders are also linked to dehumanization. Lastly, dehumanization has been found to act as a sort of buffer towards guilt in that the more one dehumanized an out-group member (in our case, sexual offenders), the less guilt they felt when reading about wrongdoings that they suffered at the hands of their in-group (Zebel, Zimmermann, Viki, & Doosje, 2008). With this is mind, it is possible that dehumanization may be one of the central forces in the public's support for punitive policies, despite their acknowledgement that these practices may be harmful, and why sexual offenders can be accurately referred to as modern-day *homo sacers* (Phillips, 1998; Spencer, 2009).

In terms of other offender- or offense-specific variables that influence attitudes, child sexual abuse was viewed as more abusive and severe when perpetuated by a male versus female offender (Bornstein, Kaplan & Perry, 2007; Rogers & Davies, 2007). Additionally, victims of male offenders are perceived as more credible and believable, which may influence punitiveness. For instance, when corroborating medical evidence is present in a sexual abuse case, it significantly increases the likelihood of mock jurors finding the juvenile defendant guilty and requiring them to register as sexual offenders by factors of 5.36 and 2.09, respectively (Falligant, Fix, & Alexander, 2017). The increased severity attributed to abuse by male offenders may also be the product of assumptions that penetration is involved. For instance, when presented with a vignette involving a 25-year-old male sexually assaulting a 14-year-old female, the more severe the offense (noncontact vs. fondling vs. penetration), the more culpability was placed upon the offender and the less culpability was placed on the victim's family (Graham, Rogers, & Davies,

2007). Not surprisingly, this has been linked to recommendations for longer prison sentences and a greater endorsement for registration (King & Roberts, 2017). Lastly, and specific to juvenile sexual offenders, those charged with a contact offense were perceived as more dangerous than those with a non-contact offense, regardless of victim's age (Campregher & Jeglic, 2016).

The presence of an intellectual disability, which is common among the juvenile sexual offender population, has shown to be a mitigating factor for finding a juvenile defendant guilty of murder, often the only type of juvenile offender to be perceived more negatively than those adjudicated for sexual offenses (Najdowski & Bottoms, 2015; Stone & Thompson, 2001). The presence of an intellectual disability also appears to influence mock jurors' attitudes by increasing their sympathy towards them, perceiving them as less deviant, and believing they are less in control of their behaviour (Najdowski & Bottoms, 2012). However, the mitigating effects of this have only received marginal support. Najdowski, Bottoms, and Vargas (2009) found that the presence of an intellectual disability impacted guilty verdicts and degree of guilt attributed to the offender when the crime was a drug offense, but not an assault or murder. An empirical analysis of its effects on cases involving juvenile sexual offenders has yet to be conducted.

One of the more extensively studied offender characteristics is the presence of a history of sexual abuse. Overall, it appears that emphasizing a juvenile sexual offender's own sexual abuse history (if present) acts as a mitigating factor (Nunez, Dahl, Tang, & Jensen, 2007). Interestingly, a large percentage (65%) of individuals believe juvenile sexual offenders have been abused and an even greater number (84%) believe that this is a causal factor in their sexual offending (Stevenson, Najdowski, et al., 2015). This latter endorsement was predictive of less support for the registration of juvenile sexual offenders, even in a rape vignette featuring a 16-year-old offender. Yet for less severe offenses (child pornography, sexual harassment, and

statutory rape), belief that the juvenile's own sexual offense history contributes to their own sexual offending was associated with the endorsement of more punitive measures.

However, follow-up studies reported no mitigating effects for a juvenile's own sexual abuse victimization in forced (versus statutory) rape vignettes, instead finding that those who had a sexual victimization history were marginally more likely (p = .06) to be recommended for registration on a publicly available database, perceived as less able to control their behaviour (p = .06), and significantly more likely to have a mental illness and to sexually recidivate than those without a history of sexual abuse (Stevenson, Najdowski, et al., 2015). Similarly, juveniles accused of aggravated murder who had a history of abuse were actually seen as less amenable to treatment than those without a history of abuse (Najdowski, et al., 2009). Najdowski and colleagues (2009) also noted that the mitigating effects of a history of abuse dwindle as the severity of the crime increases. Lastly, Stevenson (2009) introduced audience effects to the mix, commenting that a history of child abuse often acts as an aggravating factor within judicial settings and a mitigating factor in mock juror studies (the above examples notwithstanding).

3.4.2 PARTICIPANT CHARACTERISTICS. Regarding participant characteristics that can influence attitudes toward both adult and juvenile sexual offenders, gender is one of the most hotly debated factors, with several studies finding no gender effects (e.g., Olver & Barlow, 2010; Rogers, et al, 2011; Sahlstrom & Jeglic, 2008), while others report that females view sexual offenders more negatively than males and are more likely to endorse punitive practices, such as registration and community notification (Beck & Travis, 2004; Brown et al., 2008; Kernsmith et al., 2009; Mancini et al., 2010; Willis, Malinen, & Johnston, 2013). Furthermore, males tend to view child sexual abuse, regardless of whether the offender is a child or adult as less severe than females, viewing the victim and their family more negatively in the process

(Davies & Rogers, 2009; Giglio, Wolfteich, Gabrenya, & Sohn, 2011; Graham et al., 2007). Sherrill and colleagues (2011) replicated these results, in addition finding that blame, responsibility, and abusiveness were all products of respondents' attitudes towards women in general.

Conservative political ideology, on the other hand, consistently emerges as a predictor of support for punitive policies across offender types (e.g., Baron & Hartnagel, 1996; Mancini et al., 2010; McKee & Feather, 2008; Payne, Gainey, Triplett, & Danner, 2004). It has also been associated with the belief that registration increases public safety, the enhanced utility of specific and general deterrence, and an endorsement for retribution, which may be related to making internal attributions for criminal activity (McKee & Feather, 2008; Payne et al., 2004; Stevenson et al., 2013; Templeton & Hartnagel, 2012). Lastly, conservative political orientation has been associated with increased disgust sensitivity, a robust factor in influencing attitudes as discussed above (Inbar et al., 2009).

Education level has emerged as another steady predictor of attitudes of both adult and juvenile offenders, with greater attainment being associated with less punitive attitudes and viewing sexual offenders less negatively (Shackley, Weiner, Day, & Willis, 2014; Willis, Malinen, & Johnston, 2013). This may be due to higher education's association with a lesser belief that registration protects the public, that juveniles understand their actions, and the greater willingness to alter one's beliefs when presented with evidence that current policies are ineffective (Stevenson, Smith, Sekely, & Farnum, 2013). An understanding of the adolescent brain, which may be a product of higher educational attainment, has also been implicated in altering attitudes. Specifically, after watching Brainstorm, a play about adolescent brain development, participants perceived the young offender (a 14-year-old who had committed three

assaults over a three-year period) as less likely to reoffend than an adult offender (a 44-year old with the same criminal history) and less morally responsible (Blakey, 2017).

One of the most common factors associated with attitudes toward offenders is the amount of contact or exposure one has to them, an endorsement of the mere exposure effect (see Zajonc, 1968). For instance, an experienced group consisting of probation officers, forensic clinical psychologists, rehabilitation staff, and prison officers endorsed significantly fewer stereotypes and held more positive attitudes toward child sexual abusers than an inexperienced group of schoolteachers (Sanghara & Wilson, 2006). While support for current sexual offender management policies were generally low, significant differences still emerged between forensic clinicians and other criminal justice professions, the latter being more likely to support current policies (Call & Gordon, 2016). Comparisons between probation officers and the general public yielded further evidence for the mere exposure effect, as did comparisons between forensic staff and college students (Brace, 2014; Ferguson & Ireland, 2006; Kjelsberg & Loos, 2008). Congruent results were also found by Fuselier et al. (2002), where university students held significantly different beliefs than professionals, believing that child sexual abusers were older, had lower interpersonal skills, were more likely to identify as a homosexual, to use force during the commission of their offense, and were less likely to have or to use cognitive distortions which contributed to the offense.

Indicating that this may not merely be an effect of vocational interest, psychology students were found to have more positive attitudes toward sexual offenders than criminal justice students, which also may have been a product of the psychology students' significantly higher sexual offender knowledge scores (Soares, 2010). In a sample of correctional staff, positive contact was associated with greater support for rehabilitation, an effect that was mediated by less

dehumanization (as a product of increased quality contact; Viki et al., 2012). However, a sample of 209 law enforcement officers reported particularly negative attitudes toward sexual offenders, although there was no comparison group (Tewksbury & Mustaine, 2013). Furthermore, both prosecutors and members of the public supported adult and juvenile registration equally (Salerno, Najdowski, et al., 2010). Other studies using university student samples have also found strong endorsement for tough sexual offender policies, such as registration, community notification, residency restrictions, and even the death penalty (Wiersma & Siedschlaw, 2016). Thus, and perhaps as Viki and colleagues (2012) have found, there may be underlying mechanisms that support the effect of exposure that are often unaccounted for, which could explain some of the contrasting results.

Other factors are less commonly assessed. Having children has been associated with decreased endorsement of treatment efforts, which result from beliefs which doubt the efficacy of treatment and the research that has been conducted on it (Kelly, 2013; Mancini & Budd, 2016). It has also been marginally (p = .06) associated with increased misperceptions of adult sexual offenders and significantly associated with support for residency restrictions (Budd & Mancini, 2016; Craun & Theriot, 2009; Kelly, 2013). One study reported that parents are 51% more likely to endorse the policy than non-parents, even after controlling for demographic variables such as gender and political orientation (Mancini et al., 2010). As the number of children one has increases, so too does endorsement of residency restrictions, with parents of three or more children being 70-80% more likely to do so (Mancini et al., 2010). However, other research has failed to find an effect for parental status (e.g., Shackley et al., 2014; Soares, 2010). Interestingly, one's own victimization history doesn't appear to influence perceptions (Sahlstrom

& Jeglic, 2008; Soares, 2010). Meanwhile, religious affiliation has mixed results (Budd & Mancini, 2016; Venable, 2013).

Misperceptions about offenders and crime in general have also emerged as predictors of punitive policies (Kelly, 2013; Kernsmith, Comartin, & Kernsmith, 2016; Sprott, 1999). What makes these concerning is that many of these misperceptions are perpetuated by the media, which has considerable influence on public attitudes. Many individuals report that the information that they get about sexual offenders comes from the media, which is often the most common means of one's sexual offender knowledge (Brown et al., 2008; Thakker, 2012). Concerningly, over 60% of respondents believed that the media is accurate or actually underreports the risk that sexual offenders pose to the community, a number that rises to 81% among pensioners and 75% among those who are unemployed. This is in stark contrast to content analysis of media portrayals, which has demonstrated a considerable overestimation of violent juvenile crimes in the media, comprising roughly 94% of stories about juvenile crime, despite violent crimes making up a minority (22%) of juvenile crimes at the time (Sprott, 1996). This, combined with the media's tendency to consider all sexual offenders as predators and its interchangeable use of the terms "sexual offender" and "sexual predator," result in them being labeled as psychopaths, ignoring the diversity of motives, behaviours, cognitions, and environmental factors that may have led to the offense (Quinn, Forsyth, & Mullen-Quinn, 2004). For instance, 58% of UK residents sampled either agreed or strongly agreed that the media has created a 'witch-hunt' mentality toward the persecution of pedophiles (McCartan, 2004).

This has likely led to public overestimations of recidivism risk, with one quarter of a public sample believing that between 51 and 75 percent of all (adult) sexual offenders will sexually recidivate within a year, with an additional 33% and 40% of males and females,

respectively, believing that the one-year sexual recidivism rate is between 26 and 50 per cent (Brown, Deakin, & Spencer, 2008). Furthermore, a belief in high rates of sexual recidivism has been linked to greater ambiguity towards treatment efforts (Mancini & Budd, 2016). Greer (2003) is direct in asserting the media's role in this, specifically in how it represents sexual offenders, giving members of the public the false illusion that they have a nuanced and representative understanding of sexual offending and are therefore knowledgeable in evaluating sexual offender management policies. Greer (2003) is not alone, joining a host of others who have noted the media's role in shaping public opinion and influencing legislation (Barak, 1994; Chadee & Chadee, 2016; Heath, Patel, & Mulla, 2016; Kappeler, Blumberg, & Potter, 2000; Goode & Ben-Yehuda, 1996).

A similar deduction was made by Sample (2001), who stated that "sex offender legislation did not arise simply because of the growing objective harm of sex offending. Rather, it was the product of a socially constructed panic stimulated by media depictions and used by policy makers to successfully promote sex offending as a menacing social problem worthy of costly and sweeping legislation" (p. ii). Indeed, public officials often interpret media coverage as an indicator of public interest or beliefs (Beckett & Sasson, 2000). Sample and Kadleck (2008) note in interviews with Illinois state legislators that there is a belief that sex offending is, in one participants' words, "out of control" (p. 46), with another legislator specifically mentioning the impact that television media has on perceptions of the pervasiveness of sexual offending. Many felt that little can be done to dissuade sexual offenders from sexually reoffending upon release.

While legislators mentioned that they got their information about trends in offending from the U.S. Department of Justice and Federal Bureau of Intelligence, further probing indicated that all legislators got their information after it had been put through the lens of a third-

party media agency (Sample & Kadleck, 2008). This makes media the "predominant source of information for public officials" (p. 57). Furthermore, Sample and Kadleck (2008) found a large degree of congruence between legislators' perceptions of sexual offending and the specifics of the sexual offender laws that were enacted. While these laws are undoubtedly popular, an evaluation of Canadian provincial sentencing practices and their residents' confidence in the criminal justice system found no significant relationship between harsher sentencing and increased confidence (Sprott, Webster, & Doob, 2013). While the study applied only to provincial sentencing, which is limited to two years less a day, it does raise an important question: will the public ever be satisfied?

CHAPTER 4: THE CURRENT STUDY

4.1 RATIONALE

To date, most studies on attitudes toward juvenile sexual offenders have been conducted on American samples (e.g., Campregher & Jeglic, 2016; Haegerich et al., 2013; Harris & Socia, 2016; Salerno et al., 2014) which may not reflect Canadian values or support for criminal justice responses (Baxter-Moore et al., 2016; Lipset, 1990). Overall, evidence is mixed as to whether Canadians are more, less, or equally punitive toward offenders as Americans. Others believe that when attitudinal differences are noted, they are the products of distinct cultural regions. These regions, such as Quebec and the American South, view crime and punishment differently than the rest of their respective compatriots (Adams, 2014; Baxter-Moore et al., 2016; Crawford & Curtis, 1979; Grabb & Curtis, 2005; Konrad & Nichol, 2008; Resnick, 2012). While Canada has refrained from implementing some of the more punitive policies that juvenile sexual offenders are subject to in the United States, this should not be taken as an indication that Canadian attitudes are more temperate, as present legislation does not necessarily reflect current attitudes. Nor should this be the sole measure when a more thorough analysis of attitudes is well within the realm of feasibility.

When measuring attitudes toward or evaluations of juvenile sexual offenders, a number of different methodologies have been used. Traditionally, they have either been assessed alone (e.g., Stevenson et al., 2013; 2015) or in comparison to other groups of juvenile offenders (Greene & Evelo, 2013; Najdowski et al., 2009). Results from the latter studies consistently report that juvenile sexual offenders elicit much more negative responses than their juvenile offending counterparts. Perhaps a better comparison group would be adult sexual offenders, who share the same notoriety relative to adult non-sexual offenders. While this has been the approach

of more recent studies, the comparisons may not be particularly equivalent. For instance, Bottoms and colleagues (2014) compared a 35-year-old offender to a 16-year-old offender, both of which were presented as having a 14-year-old victim. It is clear from the research mentioned earlier that these are not fair comparisons. For the young offender, the interest in a slightly younger victim may be seen as normative, whereas this would not likely be the case for the adult offender. Thus, comparisons using a more equitable offense—which would allow for greater control of extraneous influences—is necessary to more accurately assess the effects of offender age.

Another methodological variation that occurs across these studies is in the types of vignette conditions used. Some have strictly adhered to providing vignettes (e.g. Sahlstrom & Jeglic, 2008) while others prefer to provide no vignette or contextual information (e.g., Salerno, Najdowski, et al., 2010). A select few combine these two approaches, comparing these responses of participants who received vignettes to participants who received no vignette or were simply instructed to envision a "generic" sexual offender (e.g., Campregher & Jeglic, 2016). In some instances (Salerno, Najdowski, et al., 2010), participants are later prompted to articulate the offender that they had conceived. In Campregher and Jeglic's (2016) study, participants who envisioned a typical juvenile sexual offender responded more negatively than those who were provided with vignettes by the authors (when combining responses to the eight vignette conditions). Yet unlike their predecessors, they did not probe participants for an illustration of these depictions. Therefore, it is difficult to determine why the participants may have responded more negatively. Further, it remains to be seen whether asking for articulation prior to or after completion of the dependent measures influences participant responses or not. This may be particularly important in understanding the public response to news stories such as "Wanted sex

offender arrested in Upshur County" (East Texas Matters, 2018). Specifically, would a cursory glance of the headline elicit different responses than someone who actively envisaged such an offender or someone who actually read a description of the offense? Clearly, this has important implications in the way that information about sexual offences and sexual offenders is relayed to the public.

4.2 STUDY DESIGN

The purpose of this study was to address the gap in the attitude research that pertains to Canadians' attitudes toward juvenile sexual offenders. In addition to gauging the affective, behavioural, and cognitive responses to this group of juvenile offenders, the study aimed to develop a stronger understanding of what factors influence these three attitudinal components. To do so, it utilized a 3 (condition: vignette, vignette creation, no vignette) x (2) (offender age: juvenile, adult) mixed design.

At the beginning of the study, participants reported their disgust sensitivity and completed a measure assessing their sentencing goals and priorities. In keeping with the conventions of other attitudinal studies, sexual offender vignettes followed. These were used to contextualize the responses to subsequent attitudinal and other related measures. The study employed three such conditions to which participants were randomly assigned: a pre-written vignette depicting a sexual offense, a vignette creation condition in which participants described a "typical" sexual offender/offense, or a no vignette condition in which participants were asked to consider a typical sexual offender when answering the dependent measures. After participating in their respective vignette conditions, participants completed a series of measures relating to the dependent variables of interest. This began with attitudes toward sex offenders, which employed three subscales, *trust*, *intent*, and *social distance*, reflecting the affective, cognitive, and behavioural domains of attitudinal expression, respectively (Harper, Hogue, &

Bartels, 2017). Following this, support for registration, recommended sentence length, stereotype endorsement, dehumanization, moral outrage, and victim and offender culpability were measured. In the no vignette condition, participants were also asked at the conclusion of these attitudinal measures for a written description of the sexual offender they imagined, in a similar fashion to Salerno et al. (2010).

In all conditions, this procedural series was repeated, presenting both juvenile and adult sexual offenders in a randomized order. In other words, participants first responded to either a juvenile or adult sexual offender condition, followed by an identical set of instructions and measures for the other age group. This allowed for an analysis of attitudinal differences toward adult and juvenile sexual offenders within participants and between experimental conditions. By either providing or prompting for offender and offense details, the first two vignette conditions heeded the recommendations of Applegate, Cullen, Turner, and Sundt (1996) to use specific case information. This, the authors concluded, contextualizes attitudinal responses, which may be of more value than global responses. However, the study also assessed more global responses via the no vignette condition, which serves as a comparison to the more distinct responses elicited from the first two conditions.

4.3 HYPOTHESES

In light of the information that has been summarized above, the study poses the following questions and hypotheses:

- 1) Will attitudes and other measures, such as moral outrage, differ across the three vignette conditions?
 - a) Participant-depicted sexual offender vignettes will evoke more negative attitudes and responses on average than the vignette and no vignette

- conditions. This is expected due to the greater cognitive effort required to articulate their imagined offender/offense.
- b) Participants in the no vignette condition will express more negative attitudes and will endorse more punitive responses than those in the vignette condition. This is expected due to the likelihood of conjuring up an extreme example without consideration for nuance or mitigating factors. As their written responses follow their evaluations, the former should not influence the latter.
- 2) Will attitudes and other related measures differ across the two age groups?
 - a) There will be no significant differences in the attitudes held by participants toward the juvenile and adult sexual offenders. Both are expected to be equally negative.
 - b) Nor will there be any difference in the support for registration or the duration of recommended sentences. It is expected that registration will be highly endorsed for both groups while sentence lengths will be relatively punitive (i.e., long) in nature.
- 3) How severe will the depictions of crime severity be, and how will this be related to the study variables?
 - a) More severe crimes will form a large majority of depictions, similar to results found by Salerno, Najdowski, and colleagues (2010). This will apply to both juvenile and adult sexual offenders.
 - b) Depictions of more severe crimes will be significantly related to more negative attitudes, greater support for registration, longer sentence lengths,

greater dehumanization, and more moral outrage across both age target groups.

- 4) What are the relationships among the other study variables?
 - a) It is expected that attitudes will be negatively and significantly associated with disgust sensitivity as well as sentence length, support for registration, stereotype endorsement, dehumanization, and moral outrage. The expectation that more negative attitudes will be significantly related to harsher responses will apply to both juvenile and adult sexual offender targets.
 - b) Sentencing goals will independently relate to attitudes, support for registration, sentence length, and stereotype endorsement. Specifically, greater endorsement of the rehabilitative goal will be associated with more positive attitudes, less support for registration, and shorter sentence lengths. The remaining sentencing goals will be associated with the opposite.
 - c) Perceptions of crime trends and estimates of sexual reoffense risk will be significantly correlated with sentence length and registration endorsement. Specifically, the beliefs that crime is increasing and that the offender poses a high risk of sexual recidivism will both be associated with longer sentence lengths and greater endorsement for registration.
- 5) What demographic variables or participant characteristics will influence responses to juvenile and adult sexual offenders?
 - a) Conservative political orientation will be significantly related to more negative attitudes, more punitive criminal justice responses, greater dehumanization, and more expressed moral outrage.

- b) Higher levels of contact with sexual offenders will be related to more positive attitudes, shorter sentence lengths, and less support for registration, stereotype endorsement, dehumanization, and moral outrage.
- 6) What will help explain some of the expected relationships above?
 - a) Dehumanization will act as a mediator between conservative political orientation and negative attitudes.
 - b) Dehumanization will act as a mediator between negative attitudes and longer sentence lengths.

CHAPTER 5: METHODOLOGY

5.1 PARTICIPANTS

Four hundred and three participants were recruited via the University of Saskatchewan Psychology 110 participant pool (i.e., SONA) and the Personalized Access to Web Services (PAWS) forum (n = 59, n = 344, respectively) which advertises research participation opportunities to all University of Saskatchewan students, staff, and faculty. Undergraduates recruited through the Psychology 110 participant pool received course credit for their participation. Those who signed up for the study through PAWS were given the opportunity to enter into a draw to receive a \$50 gift card. This was chosen as the use of an incentive such as a gift card has repeatedly demonstrated the ability to improve participant response rates (see Dillman, Smyth, & Christian, 2014 for a review).

Of the 403 participants, 27 were removed from analysis due to their failure to complete any of the post-vignette measures, resulting in a sample of 376. Further, an additional 24% (n = 90) of participants did not fill out the demographics section of the study but completed the other post-vignette measures. Thus, their totals will not be included in the description of the study sample, but their responses to other measures will be used. Overall, participants were predominantly female (66.4%) European (65.7%) undergraduate students (73.2%) in their midtwenties (M = 24.74, SD = 6.492), politically liberal (57.4%), and had no children (88.7%; see Table 5.1). Roughly two-thirds of the sample (66.3%) reported having never interacted with a sexual offender, while a similar percentage (66%) indicated that they themselves or a close family member had been the victim of a sexual offense. Over half (50.2%) indicated that their primary source of crime news was the internet, with social media (23.9%) being the second most common source.

Table 5.1

Participant Demographics

Variable	Frequency (n)	Percent (%)*	Mean (SD)
Sex (<i>n</i> = 286)			
Male	93	32.5	
Female	190	66.4	
Other	3	1	
Age $(n = 280)$			24.74
17-24	167	60.0	
25-34	94	33.6	
35+	19	6.8	
Ethnicity $(n = 275)$ **			
Aboriginal	21	6.9	
African	9	2.9	
Caribbean	1	0.3	
East Asian	8	2.6	
Central American	8	2.6	
European descent	201	65.7	
Middle Eastern	4	1.3	
South American	3	1.0	
South Asian	21	6.9	
Other	30	9.8	
Political orientation ($n = 284$)			4.68 (5.0)
Very conservative (1)	8	2.8	
Conservative (2)	20	7.0	
Slightly conservative (3)	42	14.8	
Neutral (4)	51	18.0	
Slightly liberal (5)	58	20.4	
Liberal (6)	75	26.4	

Very liberal (7)	30	10.6
Number of children $(n = 283)$		
0	251	88.7
1	15	5.3
2	14	4.9
3	2	.7
4+	1	.4
Household income ($n = 280$)		
\$0-30,000	119	42.5
\$30,001-60,000	68	24.3
\$60,000+	93	33.2
University of Saskatchewan affiliation ($n = 284$)		
Undergraduate student	208	55.3
Graduate student	22	7.7
Employee	22	7.7
Alumnus/alumni	27	9.5
Other	5	1.8
Source of crime news $(n = 285)$		
TV	30	10.5
Internet	143	50.2
Social media	68	23.9
Friends/family	4	1.4
Government/organization publications	7	2.5
Research/academic literature	13	4.6
Other	20	5.3
Sexual victimization (self, close other; $n = 285$)		
Yes	188	66.0
No	83	29.1
Prefer not to disclose	14	4.9

Interaction with sexual offenders (n = 279)

Never	185	66.3	
1-2 times per year – every few months	63	22.6	
1-2 times per month - daily	31	11.1	

Notes. *May exceed 100% due to rounding. ** Individual values exceed total values as participants could give multiple responses

5.2 MEASURES

5.2.1 DISGUST SENSITIVITY. To establish participants' baseline levels of disgust sensitivity, which has been found to influence attitudes toward sexual offenders and dehumanization, the 25-item Disgust Scale-Revised (DS-R; Olatunji et al., 2007) was used (Stevenson et al., 2015). Based on Haidt, McCauley, and Rozin's (1994) Disgust Scale, the DS-R measures the propensity for individuals to feel disgusted in three domains: contamination disgust, core disgust, and animal-reminder disgust. The first 13 items of the DS-R consist of behavioural responses to hypothetical situations, such as feeling nauseous when witnessing another person vomiting. For these items, level of agreeance is determined using dichotomous true-false response options. The latter 12 items ask respondents to rate the degree of disgust they would feel (not, slightly, very) in response to various experiences. An example item from this half is "you see maggots on a piece of meat in an outdoor garbage pail." Higher scores on the DS-R are indicative of greater disgust sensitivity.

5.2.2 GOALS OF SENTENCING. To determine whether pre-existing motives toward sentencing impact support for offender-specific punishments, participants completed a sentencing goals scale. A brief five-item measure of sentencing goals was provided by McKee (personal communication, January 19, 2018), based upon the five factors in McKee's (2005) 20-item Sentencing Goals Scale (SGS). Using a 7-point rating scale as above (1 = *not at all*

important, 7 = *very important*), participants were asked to rate the importance of the following sentencing goals: rehabilitation ("To rehabilitate the offender"), general deterrence ("To deter other potential offenders), specific deterrence ("To deter the offender from committing similar offences in the future"), retribution ("Because the offender should 'pay' in some way for what they have done"), and community safety ("To protect the community by placing the offender where they can do no harm"). Additionally, participants ranked these goals from 1 (most important) to 5 (least important).

5.2.3 VIGNETTES. As mentioned above, there is one case-specific sexual offender vignette. This described a male offender who has committed a sexual offense involving the sexual touching of a similar-aged female while she was asleep. A male was chosen as the perpetrator in the vignette, as males comprise over 90% of sexual offenders (Statistics Canada, 2017). To depict a juvenile sexual offender or an adult sexual offender, the age of the offender was manipulated to be 13- or 34-years old. These ages were determined to be representative of their respective age categories based upon the averages found among convicted samples (Jesperson, Lalumiere, & Seto, 2009; Lussier, van den Berg, Bijleveld, & Hendriks, 2012). The victim age was set to be similar to the perpetrator to avoid victim-age effects, as adults who sexually offend against children are particularly reviled, adding a potential confounding variable to the analysis (e.g., Hardcastle et al., 2011; Rogers et al., 2011). Similarly, the vignette depicted an opposite-sex offense, as same-sex offenses tend to evoke more negative responses and have already been compared across offender age groups (Salerno et al., 2014). While the vignette depicts a sexual offense, it does not provide any further or more graphic details than would be normally found in the media (e.g., The Daily Mail, 2017). The vignette presented was as follows: Adam [Jason] is a 13-[34-] year-old male who has been charged with sexual assault of a similar-aged female. Details from the Crown Prosecutor reveal that while at a party Adam approached a passed-out female and undid her clothes. The victim woke to find Adam touching her vagina. The victim immediately reported the incident to police.

The specific offense was chosen to represent an offense of medium severity. This was determined using Aebi, Vogt, Plattner, Steinhausen, and Bessler's (2012) modification of the Sexual Offense Severity (SOS) scale (Alywin et al., 2000). The SOS identifies six levels of increasing sexual crime severity from non-contact to attempted/performed anal intercourse. The offense depicted in the vignette falls roughly in the middle (level 3: off-clothed fondling, digital penetration, and masturbation). To further determine the offense's medium severity, Becker, Kaplan, and Kavoussi's (1988) crime aggressiveness ratings were used. A 6-item scale of increasing severity, the offense depicted in the vignette falls into the physically aggressive behaviour category, similarly ranked third on the list (i.e., the fourth-most severe).

5.2.4 CRIME SEVERITY. In the vignette creation condition, participants were asked to describe what they consider to be a typical or representative sexual offender. These instructions, adapted from Salerno, Najdowski, et al. (2010), asked them to depict either a juvenile or adult sexual offender. The question prompts are as follows: (a) "when thinking of a typical [adult/juvenile] sexual offender, what kind of person do you think of? Describe anything about the person you can think of. What sort of characteristics do they have?"; and (b) "what would you consider to be the typical [adult/juvenile] sexual offender crime? Please provide some details." Similar questions were used in the no vignette condition after the attitudinal measures had been completed for the respective offender. In following with Salerno, Najdowski and

colleagues (2010), these open-ended responses were coded as more severe (2) or less severe (1). If individuals gave examples of both more and less severe offences, their most severe response took precedent, and were coded as more severe. More severe offenses included those that made reference to force (e.g., rape, sexual assault), victimization of children (e.g., child molestation, child pornography), or the taking advantage of a knowingly vulnerable person. Responses were coded as less severe if they made reference to non-violent offenses (e.g., sexual harassment, indecent exposure) or if mitigating factors were referenced, such as the offender's immaturity, their inability to comprehend their actions, or their own past victimization. Based on these criteria, the provided vignette described in the previous section featuring Adam/Jason would qualify as a more severe offense.

5.2.5 ATTITUDES. While there are several measures that claim to measure attitudes toward sexual offenders, such as the Community Attitudes Toward Sex Offenders (CATSO) scale (Church, Wakeman, Miller, Clements, & Sun, 2008), and the Attitudes Toward Sex Offenders survey (Olver & Barlow, 2010), none have a factor structure that reflects the three distinct attitudinal components (Harper, et al., 2017). While the 36-item Attitudes to Sex Offenders scale (ATS; Hogue, 1993) has long been considered the gold standard for measuring attitudes toward sexual offenders, Hogue (2015) has recently revised the ATS into a 21-item measure (ATS-21) comprised of three seven-item factors reflecting the three attitudinal components. Overall, the ATS-21 correlates strongly with the original ATS (r = 0.98, p < 0.001). Sample items for the trust, intent, and social distance factors include "you have to be constantly on your guard with sex offenders," "sex offenders are just plain mean at heart," and "I think I would like a lot of sex offenders," respectively. Responses are provided using a 5-point Likert scale (1 = strongly disagree, 5 = strongly agree) with higher scores indicating more positive

attitudes. Because the ATS-21 was designed to assess attitudes toward adult sexual offenders generally, the current version was modified to reflect the vignette which preceded it.

5.2.6 SUPPORT FOR REGISTRATION. Because the ATS-21 is a streamlined version of the ATS, which is based on the Attitudes to Prisoners scale (ATP; Melvin, Gramling, & Gardner, 1985), endorsement for sexual offender-specific criminal justice responses, such as registration, is absent from its items. Therefore, a one-item measure derived by Salerno, Najdowski, and colleagues (2010) was used to measure participants' support for the registration of the sexual offender presented in the previous vignette. This was assessed via three increasingly-punitive response options: (a) the offender should never be required to register at all with law enforcement in their community; (b) the offender should be required to register, but their information should never be posted on the internet; and (c) the offender should be required to register, and their information should be publicly posted on the internet.

5.2.7 SENTENCE LENGTH. A one-item measure was used to determine optimal sentence length for the individual in the vignette by asking participants how many months or years of incarceration they believed would be an appropriate sentence for the crime committed.

5.2.8 STEREOTYPE ENDORSEMENT. To determine whether participants felt that the individual in the vignette conforms to the stereotype that sexual offenders are callous, dangerous individuals, a one-item measure was used. Using a 5-point Likert scale, participants rated their level of agreeance from 0 (*strongly disagree*) to 4 (*strongly agree*) with the statement "the [adult/juvenile] sex offender I'm thinking about is a cold and calculating 'superpredator.'" This item was modified from an item in the 61-item Juvenile Offender Stereotype Scale (JOSS; Haegerich et al., 2013).

5.2.9 DEHUMANIZATION. The extent to which participants dehumanize the sexual offender in the vignette will be based upon their responses to an eight-item association measure derived by Viki and colleagues (2012), adapted from their earlier work (Viki et al., 2006). Using a 7-point rating scale (1 = not at all, 7 = very much), participants will indicate the extent to which the following eight words (*creature*, *humanity*, *person*, *beast*, *animal*, *people*, *civilian*, and *mongrel*) describe or represent the sexual offender depicted in the vignette. Ratings for the human-related words will be reverse-scored and combined with ratings for the animal-related words and averaged, higher scores indicating greater dehumanization.

5.2.10 MORAL OUTRAGE. A measure of affective, behavioural, and cognitive responses to the violation of one's moral norms was included as another measure of participants' reactions to offender vignettes, which may aid in understanding responses to the other dependent variables. Using the four-item Moral Outrage Scale (Salerno, Najdowski, et al., 2010), participants responded to the following items using a 6-point Likert-type scale (1 = strongly disagree, 6 = strongly agree): (a) I feel a compelling need to punish [adult/juvenile] sex offenders; (b) I feel a desire to hurt [adult/juvenile] sex offenders; (c) I believe [adult/juvenile] sex offenders are evil to the core; and (d) I feel morally outraged by what [adult/juvenile] sex offenders did to their alleged victims. Similar to the ATS-21, responses to the Moral Outrage Scale were modified to reflect the preceding vignette.

5.2.11 CULPABILITY. To determine the level of culpability attributed to both the victim and the offender, a two-item measure was adapted from Landström, Strömwall, and Alfredsson (2016), assessing both blame and responsibility. The blame item read "To what extent do you think that the [victim/offender] can be blamed for this event?". The responsibility item was similar: "To what extent do you think that the [victim/offender] is responsible for this

event?". Responses were measured on a scale from 0-100, with higher numbers indicative of greater culpability. Composite scores were computed for both the victim and offender by averaging the blame and responsibility scores given to each.

5.2.12 PERCEPTIONS OF CRIME. As noted by McPhail, Olver, and Brooks (2017), perceptions of crime trends influence the endorsement of punitive criminal justice responses. To measure this, participants were asked whether they believe juvenile and adult crime is increasing, decreasing, or staying the same ("have [youth/adult] crime rates increased, remained the same, or decreased over the last three years?"). Participants were also be asked what percentage of adult and juvenile sexual offenders they believe will sexually reoffend within three years.

5.2.13 DEMOGRAPHICS. Lastly, participants filled out a questionnaire with items pertaining to their age, gender, ethnicity, political orientation, educational attainment, socioeconomic status, and number of children. Participants were also be asked whether they or their friends/family have ever been the victim of a sexual offense. Two additional items pertaining to the frequency of their contact with sexual offenders ("how often do you interact with sexual offenders?") and their primary source of information about crime ("what is your primary source of crime news?") concluded the demographics section. These participant characteristics were chosen based on their demonstrated effects on sexual offender attitudes, acknowledging that some are more consistent predictors than others (e.g., Mancini et al., 2010; McKee & Feather, 2008; Olver & Barlow, 2010; Sanghara & Wilson, 2006; Stevenson et al., 2013). However, it is prudent to consider all potential characteristics that may influence responses, regardless of their consistency.

5.3 PROCEDURE

Participants were recruited through SONA and PAWS. Selection of the study directed participants to a web page that provides a brief description of the study, how they would be compensated for their time (i.e., course credit or entry into a prize draw), and a link to the actual study. Once followed, participants were greeted with a consent form describing the study's purpose and procedure in greater detail, emphasizing the anonymity of their responses.

Participants were also be briefed on their rights as research participants, such as their right to withdraw from the study without penalty and the researcher's responsibility to avoid causing them undue harm. As such, participants were notified that the study depicts criminal offenses in a similar level of detail often presented by the media. Because these criminal offenses may be triggering or traumatic to some participants, a list of psychological resources was provided at the bottom of the consent form. Once participants gave their consent, the study began.

First, participants were presented with the 25-item DS-R (Olatunji et al., 2007) to determine baseline levels of disgust sensitivity. Following this, participants were asked to rank McKee's five sentencing goals (general deterrence, specific deterrence, rehabilitation, retribution, and community safety) in order of importance. Following this, participants independently rated the importance of each goal on a seven-point rating scale. Participants were then randomly assigned to one of three vignette conditions. In one condition, participants read a brief description of a sexual offense that took place at a party. In another condition, participants were prompted to describe what they consider to be the typical sexual offender. In the last condition, participants received no vignette, only receiving the prompt to consider a typical sexual offender when responding to the following questions. Within each condition, participants completed identical vignettes and dependent variable measures for both juvenile and adult sexual

offenders. The order in which they responded was randomized and counterbalanced to avoid order effects.

Following each vignette (or prompt), participants were then asked to complete the ATS-21 (Hogue, 2015), items measuring support for registration, recommended sentence length, stereotype endorsement, a measure of dehumanization, the Moral Outrage Scale (Salerno, Najdowski, et al., 2010), a measure of offender and victim culpability, and two perceptions of crime items. Succeeding completion of these measures, participants in the no vignette condition were prompted to disclose what they imagined when they pictured their typical sexual offender. Once the post-vignette dependent variables had been completed for both the adult and juvenile sexual offenders, participants were presented with the demographic questionnaire. On average, completion of the survey took 17 minutes.

Upon completion of the demographic items, participants were alerted that they have reached the conclusion of the study and thanked for their time. A debriefing form was provided, explaining any details of the study that could not have been disclosed earlier and reproducing the list of available psychological services included in the consent form. Space was provided for participants to provide written feedback on their experience completing the survey. For participants interested in having their name entered in the prize draw, a unique, single-use link was provided at the bottom of the page, which prevented participants from entering the draw multiple times. This directed them to another page to enter their personal information, which was explained as a means of keeping participant identities separate from their responses, ensuring anonymity. Participants then provided their name and contact information. Only the winner was contacted.

5.4 PLANNED ANALYSIS

Prior to statistical analysis, all data were screened for missing values and other potential problems based on Tabachnick and Fidell's (2007) recommendations. Reverse-coded items on the DS-R, ATS-21, and dehumanization measures were re-coded so that they could be scored in the same direction as the rest of the items in their respective scales. All data analysis was conducted using IBM SPSS version 24 with Andrew Hayes' PROCESS v3.1 extension used for the mediation analyses.

First, a series of descriptive analyses were conducted on all study measures to determine the means, standard deviations, ranges, distributions, and frequencies. Doing so allowed for comparisons between this sample's scores and scores obtained by other researchers with different samples and in different contexts. Additionally, statistical investigation of the psychometric properties of the scales used in the studies, such as Cronbach's alpha, were undertaken to determine their internal consistency for use in this study.

Second, correlational analyses were conducted to determine the relationships between all study variables across all conditions. This determined the strength and direction of any associations between variables and determined whether greater disgust sensitivity is associated with more negative attitudes toward both groups of sexual offenders (hypothesis 4a). Further, how sentencing goals relate to attitudes, support for registration, and sentence lengths (hypothesis 4b) as well as the associations between perceptions of crime and sexual reoffense risk with sentence length and support for registration (hypothesis 4c) were also evaluated. Correlational analyses were also used to determine whether the expected associations between conservative political orientation, moral outrage, greater dehumanization and more negative attitudes are indeed significant and in the expected directions (hypothesis 5a). The expected

association between level of contact with sexual offenders and more positive responses (hypothesis 5b) was also determined via correlational analysis.

Third, qualitative responses to the vignette depictions (for those in either the vignette creation or no vignette conditions) were coded in the same manner as Salerno, Najdowski, and colleagues (2010). Thus, they were dichotomously categories as either more severe or less severe. This allowed for an examination of the frequency of more and less severe vignettes (hypothesis 3a) while also providing its variable associations (hypothesis 3b) to be determined via the above-mentioned correlational analyses.

Fourth, a series of analysis of variances (ANOVAs) were conducted. These mixed-models were done on each of the dependent variables listed above. These were used to determine whether the responses across offender age groups differed from one another as depicted in hypotheses 2a and 2b. Hypotheses 1a and 1b pertaining to the effects of vignette condition on responses were also tested using this analysis. These analyses were also used to reveal the presence of any interactions between the vignette conditions and the age group of perpetrators (juveniles vs. adults). Relevant pairwise comparisons were also analyzed to determine where differences existed between vignette conditions. A MANOVA was also conducted to determine whether there were any significant differences in responses between male and female participants.

Lastly, mediation was tested by conducting a regression analysis in PROCESS v3.1. This was used to determine whether the expected relationships outlined in hypotheses 5a and 5b were mediated by dehumanization (hypotheses 6a and 6b). Additional mediation analyses were also conducted to determine whether perceptions of reoffense risk mediated the relationship between attitudes and sentence length (model I) and attitudes and support for registration (model II).

5.5 DATA CLEANING

Prior to analysis, Tabachnick and Fidell's (2007) protocol for data cleaning was heeded. Namely, of the 403 participants who participated in the study, 27 were excluded for failing to complete the post-vignette measures. Thus, analyses were conducted on the remaining 376 participants. This represents the maximum number of participants eligible for analysis; however, if participants failed to answer all items on a particular scale (such as the ATS-21), a total score was not calculated for them and they were not included in analyses involving that measure's total score. Further, as stated above, 90 participants (of the 376) did not fill out any demographic items at the conclusion of the survey. Their data were still used for analyses not requiring this information.

As the sentence length item allowed for participants to indicate the duration in months, years, or both, responses were converted to years. Thus, a response of one year and six months would be recoded as 1.5 years. A small number of participants misinterpreted the response options and gave their sentence length in years and the corresponding number of months (e.g., they gave a recommended sentence length of 10 years and 120 months). For these seven individuals, their month responses were erased to avoid inflating their intended sentence lengths.

In assessing the normality assumptions for conducting a mixed-models ANOVA, it was revealed that the equality of covariance matrices, the equality of variances, or both indicated a violation of normality for the ATS-21, sentence length, stereotype endorsement, and the blame and responsibility items for both offenders and victims. Log transformations were conducted, resulting in normality assumptions being met for all items except offender culpability. Further details on the log transformation of each variable can be found under their respective headings.

CHAPTER 6: RESULTS

6.1 DESCRIPTIVE STATISTICS OF MEASURES

The means, standard deviations, ranges, and measures of internal consistency can be found under each scale's respective heading. This information is summarized in Tables 6.1 and 6.2.³

6.1.1 DISGUST SENSITIVITY. Scores on the disgust sensitivity scale ranged from 0 to 24, just shy of the scale maximum of 25, indicating the highest level of disgust sensitivity. The mean score (12.13) hovered around the scale midpoint of 12.50 with a standard deviation of 4.63. Overall, the 25-item disgust sensitivity scale demonstrated good internal consistency (α = .84), while the core disgust (α = .70) and animal disgust (α = .76) subscales were acceptable. The contamination disgust subscale (α = .56), however, was of questionable consistency.

6.1.2 SENTENCING GOALS SCALE. Encompassed within this scale were five potential goals that one considers when sentencing. On a scale from 1-7, with higher scores indicating greater importance, the goal of specific deterrence was rated highest (M = 6.27, SD = 1.14) followed closely by the goal of community protection (M = 6.23, SD = 1.24). Goals of general deterrence (M = 5.71, SD = 1.46) and rehabilitation (M = 5.68, SD = 1.67) were third and fourth, respectively, with the retribution goal deemed the least important (M = 4.67, SD = 1.81). However, it should be noted that all scores averaged above the scale midpoint (4), indicating moderate to high levels of importance attributed to each goal.

When asked to rank the goals in order of importance, however, community protection emerged as the highest ranked goal (M = 2.10, SD = 1.33), followed by specific deterrence (M = 2.10)

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³ This section presents descriptive statistics only as group comparisons and significance testing will begin in the next section.

2.79, SD = 1.05), rehabilitation (M = 3.07, SD = 1.46), general deterrence (M = 3.42, SD = 1.17), and retribution (M = 3.61, SD = 1.49). Given that these mean rankings are relatively close, it is noteworthy to look at the distribution of rankings of each goal. Specifically, the most important goal (1) was largely given to community protection in almost half of responses (49.6%), followed by rehabilitation (19.4%), retribution (14.6%), specific deterrence (10.5%), and general deterrence (6.3%). Meanwhile, the least important goal (5) was given to retribution 42.0% of the time, followed by rehabilitation (24.7%), general deterrence (19.0%), community protection (7.3%), and specific deterrence (6.2%). Further ranking distribution information can be found in Figure 6.1.

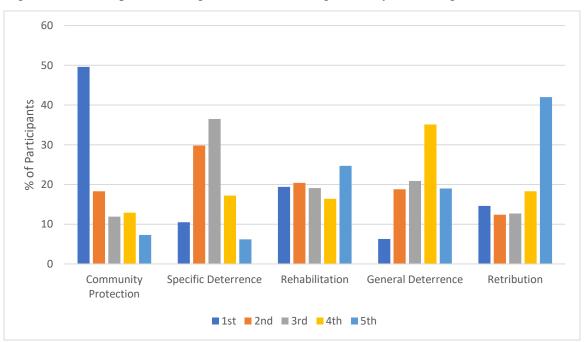


Figure 6.1. Participant Ranking of each Sentencing Goal, by Percentage

6.1.3 CRIME SEVERITY. Based on the amount of force, the vulnerability of the victim, and the mention of mitigating factors expressed in the vignettes, they were coded as either less severe (1) or more severe (2). A large majority of the depictions fell under the latter

category for both age groups. Two-thirds of participants (66.1%) described a juvenile sexual offender as more severe, compared to 86.9% of adults. A chi square analysis indicated that these differences approached significance ($X^2_{(1)} = 3.789$, p = .052). Means and standard deviations can be found in Table 6.2.

6.1.4 ATTITUDES. Scores on the ATS-21 ranged from 25 to 99 for juveniles and 21 to 99 for adults. On average, attitudes toward juvenile sexual offenders (M = 64.69, SD = 12.15) were more positive than to their adult counterparts (M = 57.30, SD = 13.17). Both the juvenile and adult versions of the scale had strong internal consistency ($\alpha = .91$ and $\alpha = .92$, respectively). The three subscales of trust, intent, and social distance also demonstrated good internal consistency for both juvenile targets ($\alpha = .79$, $\alpha = .85$, and $\alpha = .79$, respectively) and adults ($\alpha = .82$, $\alpha = .85$, and $\alpha = .80$, respectively).

6.1.5 SENTENCE LENGTH. Recommended sentence lengths ranged from zero to 100 years for both juvenile and adult sexual offenders, with twice as many participants recommending a sentence length of zero for adults (5.5%) than juveniles (2.5%). Nonetheless, on average, juvenile sexual offenders were given an average sentence length of 6.48 years (SD = 12.34), which although lengthy, was less than the recommended 10.56 years (SD = 15.22) for the adult sexual offenders.

6.1.6 SUPPORT FOR REGISTRATION. Three options for the registration of the sexual offender were presented in an increasingly punitive order; no registration (1), non-public registration (2), and public registration (3). The mean score for juvenile sexual offenders was 2.13 (SD = .53), just above the midpoint, indicating support for non-public registration. For adult

offenders, the mean was slightly higher (M = 2.52, SD = .56), falling between the endorsement for non-public and public registration.

6.1.7 STEREOTYPE ENDORSEMENT. The degree to which the sexual offender was considered a "cold and calculating superpredator" was assessed on a five-point scale. On average, scores for juvenile offenders (M = 2.36, SD = 1.06) fell just below the scale midpoint, while scores for their adult counterparts fell above (M = 2.98, SD = 1.14).

6.1.8 DEHUMANIZATION. Eight items were used to determine the extent to which participants dehumanized the offender in their condition. Assessment of the internal consistency of this scale yielded favourable results for both juvenile ($\alpha = .91$) and adult sexual offender ($\alpha = .90$) targets. For juveniles, scores ranged from 8 to 56, with an average of 20.68 (SD = 10.98). For adults, scores also ranged from 8 to 56, with an average of 23.99 (SD = 11.73).

6.1.9 MORAL OUTRAGE. Four items were summed to determine the amount of outrage the offender and their actions evoked in the participant. Cronbach's alphas were computed for both the juvenile and adult versions of the scale, resulting in similar, acceptable levels of internal consistency ($\alpha = .79$ and $\alpha = .78$, respectively). For both target groups, scores ranged from four to 24, the minimum and maximum allowed by the scale. Less moral outrage was evoked by the juvenile sexual offender (M = 13.39, SD = 4.18) than their adult counterpart (M = 15.79, SD = 4.39) on average.

6.1.10 CULPABILITY. Culpability attributed to the offender and the victim was assessed using one item assessing blame and another assessing responsibility. For juvenile offenders, these two items yielded an acceptable level of internal consistency (α = .74), with scores ranging from 23-100 and an average of 82.31 (SD = 17.19). For their victims, the scale

demonstrated strong internal consistency (α = .79). Scores ranged from 0-100, but the average level of culpability was considerably lower (M = 7.18, SD = 17.97). The two-item composite had weaker internal consistency for adult offenders (α = .64). Scores ranged from 46-100 with an average of 92.92 and standard deviation of 10.25. The adult victim composite had markedly better internal consistency (α = .93), while scores ranged from 0-100 with an average score of 7.03 (SD = 17.81).

6.1.11 PERCEPTIONS OF CRIME TRENDS. When asked whether juvenile crime rates have increased, remained the same, or decreased, roughly a quarter of participants (23.1%) indicated that crime rates had decreased to some degree, one-third (33.6%) believed they had remained the same, and 43.4% felt that they had increased. Regarding adult crime rates, only one-fifth (20.3%) believed crime rates were decreasing, while a similar proportion of individuals felt that crime was either remaining the same (38.2%) or increasing (40.5%). This is in contrast to many reports indicating that in Canada, crime rates have steadily declined since the late 1980's, with 2013 having the lowest crime rate since 1969 (Statistics Canada, 2015).

6.1.12 SEXUAL REOFFENSE RISK. Asked to determine what percentage of juvenile sexual offenders will sexually recidivate within three years of release, one-third (33.9%) of participants believed that over half would do so. The average estimate of three-year sexual recidivism was 47.28%, considerably higher than reported rates (Caldwell, 2016). When making the same estimates about adult sexual offenders, estimates were even higher—58.5% believed over half would sexually reoffend within three years, while the average three-year recidivism rate was pegged at 59.56%. Again, these estimates were highly exaggerated, with one recent meta-analysis reporting an average sexual recidivism rate of 9.1% over five years (Hanson,

Harris, Letourneau, Helmus, & Thornton, 2018). Even at 25 years, recidivism rates (18.5%) were only a third of participants' three-year estimates.

Table 6.1

Descriptive Statistics of Pre-vignette Measures

Measure	Alpha	M(SD)	Range
Disgust sensitivity	.84	12.13 (4.63)	0-24
Core disgust	.70	7.22 (2.36)	0-12
Animal disgust	.76	3.76 (2.16)	0-8
Contamination disgust	.56	1.18 (1.11)	0-5
Sentencing goals*			
General deterrence		5.71 (1.46)	1-7
Specific deterrence		6.27 (1.14)	1-7
Retribution		4.67 (1.81)	1-7
Rehabilitation		5.68 (1.67)	1-7
Community safety		6.23 (1.24)	1-7

Note. *Sentencing Goals properties reflect responses to the individual importance $(1 = not \ at \ all \ important, 7 = very \ important)$ measures.

Table 6.2

Descriptive Statistics of Post-vignette Measures

	Alp	ha	М (SD)	Range		
	Juvenile	Adult	Juvenile	Adult	Juvenile	Adult	
Crime severity			1.66 (.47)	1.87 (.34)	1-2	1-2	
Attitudes	.91	.92	64.69 (12.15)	57.30 (13.17)	25-99	21-99	
Trust	.79	.82	18.03 (4.78)	15.32 (5.00)	7-32	7-33	

Intent	.85	.85	24.58 (4.66)	22.81 (5.09)	7-35	7-35
Social distance	.79	.80	21.93 (4.66)	19.40 (4.84)	7-33	7-33
Sentence length			6.48 (12.34)	10.56 (15.22)	0-100	0-100
Registration			2.13 (.53)	2.52 (.56)	1-3	1-3
Stereotype endorsement			2.36 (1.06)	2.98 (1.14)	1-5	1-5
Dehumanization	.90	.91	20.68 (10.98)	23.99 (11.73)	8-56	8-56
Moral outrage	.79	.78	13.39 (4.18)	15.79 (4.39)	4-24	4-24
Culpability (offender)	.74	.64	82.31 (17.19)	92.92 (10.25)	23-100	46-100
Culpability (victim)	.79	.93	7.18 (17.97)	7.03 (17.81)	0-100	0-100
Perception of crime trends			3.27 (.91)	3.26 (.86)	1-5	1-5
Sexual reoffense risk			47.28 (24.18)	59.56 (23.35)	1-100	1-100

6.2 VARIABLE RELATIONS AND DEMOGRAPHIC INFLUENCES

As demonstrated in Table 6.3, ATS-21 scores for both juvenile and adult offenders were moderately to highly correlated with other dependent variables, such that lower (i.e., negative) ATS-21 scores were related to greater sentence length, and higher degrees of stereotype endorsement, dehumanization, and moral outrage as anticipated in hypothesis 4a. These correlations were all significant at the .01 level. Similarly, most of the dependent variables (except victim blame and responsibility, where scores had little variability) were significantly related to one another in the expected directions (e.g., sentence length increased the more

participants dehumanized the subject) for both juvenile and adult offender targets. Interestingly, while most correlations were similar in magnitude, the correlation between sentence length and moral outrage for juveniles (r = .503) was significantly stronger (z = 2.43, p < .05) than the correlation between those two variables for adults (r = .315).

Hypothesis 4c was also partially supported, with perceptions of crime trends being significantly associated with registration endorsement for both juvenile (r = .153) and adult (r = .183) sexual offenders, but not for sentence length. Sexual reoffense risk emerged as being one of the more robust variables in terms of its magnitude of association with other variables across both juvenile and adult offender categories. Interestingly, the association between sexual reoffense risk and sentence length was significantly stronger for the juvenile (r = .455) than the adult (r = .248) sexual offender group (z = 2.55, p < .05). While sexual reoffense risk's association with registration was greater for the juvenile (r = .432) sexual offender group compared to their adult (r = .343) counterparts, this difference was not significant.

Support for hypothesis 3b was generally only found within the juvenile condition, with greater crime severity being significantly associated with more negative attitudes (including all three subscales), sentence length, stereotype endorsement, dehumanization, moral outrage, and offender culpability. The only offender-based variable with which it did not reach a significant relationship was registration endorsement. For adults, while crime severity was significantly associated with two of the three attitudes subscales, including the overall measure, it only reached a significant correlation with one other variable—moral outrage. This may be due, in part, to the lack of variation in the crime severity measure, as roughly 87% of respondents envisioned a more severe case.

Table 6.3

Correlations Between Juvenile Offender (above diagonal) and Adult Offender (below diagonal)

Dependent Variables

Var.	Att.	Trust	Intent	Soc. Dist.	Sev.	SL	Reg.	SE	DH	МО	Culp. (off.)	Culp. (vic.)
Att.	-	.872**	.876**	.868**	338**	532**	404**	455**	638**	721**	320**	.032
Trust	.877**	-	.655**	.639**	245**	508**	364**	389**	538**	632**	241**	.055
Intent	.875**	.662**	-	.662**	320**	437**	350**	405**	605**	637**	227**	045
Soc. Dist.	.876**	.682**	.629**	-	335**	496**	365**	355**	553**	618**	354**	.080
Sev.	204**	155*	141	214**	-	.248**	.127	.290**	.229**	.344**	.204**	.144
SL	419**	336**	356**	417**	.098	-	.535**	.352**	.473**	.503**	.278**	091
Reg.	414**	405**	341**	-357**	.134	.270**	-	.313**	.302**	.336**	.252**	.008
SE	440**	395**	432**	319**	.113	.201**	.255**	-	.377**	.499**	.207**	.099
DH	620**	489**	579**	573**	.121	.282**	.301**	.396**	-	.604**	.302**	012
MO	714**	664**	612**	619**	.182*	.315**	.402**	.458**	.566**	-	.372**	059
Culp. (off.)	437**	409**	336**	.395**	.070	.197**	.214**	.210**	.354**	.445**	-	.095
Culp. (vic.)	.069	.073	041	.160*	.038	110	080	.047	058	105	256**	-

Notes: Att = Attitudes toward sexual offenders; Soc. Dist. = social distance; Sev. = crime severity; SL = sentence length; Reg = registration; SE = stereotype endorsement; DH = dehumanization; MO = moral outrage; Culp. (off.) = culpability (offender); Culp. (vic.) = culpability (victim)

^{*} *p* < .05. ** *p* < .01

Consistent with hypothesis 4a, disgust sensitivity was significantly related to attitudes toward both juvenile (r = -.180) and adult (r = -.284) sexual offenders, such that greater disgust sensitivity was associated with more negative attitudes (see Tables 6.4 and 6.5). While disgust sensitivity was also significantly positively correlated with sentence length (r = .170), stereotype endorsement (r = .177), and dehumanization (r = .172) for juveniles, for adult targets, its relation to sentence length lost statistical significance (r = .078). Paradoxically, disgust sensitivity was not significantly related to moral outrage toward juvenile (r = .098) targets but was toward their adult (r = .160) counterparts.

For both juvenile and adult sexual offenders, McKee's five sentencing goals were similarly related to various dependent variables, supporting hypothesis 4b. For instance, a strong endorsement of the rehabilitative goal of sentencing was significantly associated with more positive attitudes (juveniles: r = .393; adults: r = .415), shorter sentence lengths (juveniles: r = .315; adults: r = .270), less stereotype endorsement (juveniles: r = .213; adults: r = .219), less dehumanization (juveniles: r = .309; adults: r = .298), and less moral outrage (juveniles: r = .333; adults: r = .298). Meanwhile, greater endorsement of the retributive goal of sentencing was significantly associated with more negative attitudes (juveniles: r = .413; adults: r = .468), longer sentence lengths (juveniles: r = .239; adults: r = .206), greater stereotype endorsement (juveniles: r = .220; adults: r = .229), greater dehumanization (juveniles: r = .318; adults: r = .344), and more moral outrage (juveniles: r = .453; adults: r = .538).

Table 6.4

Correlations Between Juvenile Dependent and Independent/Demographic Variables

Var.	Att.	Trust	Intent	Soc. Dist.	Sev.	SL	Reg.	SE	DH	МО	Culp. (off.)	Culp. (vic.)
DS	180**	-235**	089	.095	.135	.170**	.081	.177**	.172**	.098	.049	.117
Rehab.	.393**	.318**	.375**	.432**	200**	315**	234**	213**	309**	333**	130*	133*
GD	207**	173**	149**	206**	010	.150*	.110	.090	.161**	.218**	.063	068
Retrib.	413**	370**	358**	381**	.063	.239**	.207**	.220**	.318**	.453**	.164**	.064
SD	171**	145*	118*	187**	006	.159*	.170**	.085	.128*	.218**	.135*	126
CS	277**	292**	169**	246**	.029	.209**	.112	.109	.133*	.220**	.124*	213**
CRP	157**	106	157**	124*	.075	.118	.153**	.288**	.147*	.157**	.037	.082
SRR	463**	409**	427**	422**	.206**	.455**	.432**	.337**	.321**	.417**	.341**	.019
Age	.199*	.157**	.129*	.209**	311**	142*	048	130*	189*	137*	176**	042
PO	.195**	.190**	.160**	.177**	198*	150*	114	193**	098	113	.011	323**
Income	.022	.022	.039	.013	131	043	103	004	022	003	053	091
Child u18	.084	.047	.113	.078	181*	.039	.033	012	068	111	009	044
Interact.	.213**	.186**	.168**	.202**	113	081	013	145*	163**	147*	.024	.067

Notes: DS = disgust sensitivity; Rehab. = goal of rehabilitation; GD = goal of general deterrence; Retrib. = goal of retribution; SD = goal of specific deterrence; CS = goal of community safety; Att. = Attitudes toward sexual offenders; Soc. Dist. = social distance; Sev. = crime severity; SL = sentence length; Reg. = registration; SE = stereotype endorsement; DH = dehumanization; MO = moral outrage; Culp. (off.) = culpability (offender); Culp. (vic.) = culpability (victim); CRP = crime rate perception; SRR = sexual reoffense risk; PO = political orientation; Child u18 = children under 18; Interact. = degree of interaction with sexual offenders

^{*} p < .05. ** p < .01

Table 6.5

Correlations Between Adult Dependent and Independent/Demographic Variables

Var.	Att.	Trust	Intent	Soc. Dist.	Sev.	SL	Reg.	SE	DH	МО	Culp. (off.)	Culp. (vic.)
DS	284**	293**	241**	203**	031	.078	.091	.170**	.138*	.160**	.044	.113
Rehab.	.415**	.265**	.393**	.424**	162*	270**	248**	219**	298**	298**	155**	103
GD	221*	248**	109	214**	.036	.132*	.230**	.133*	.148*	.240**	.161**	005
Retrib.	468**	449**	396**	424**	.137	.206**	.295**	.279**	.344**	.538**	.265**	.033
SD	222*	231**	099	234**	077	.074	.127*	.127*	.127*	.238**	.207**	026
CS	320**	367**	209**	316**	.026	.220**	.238**	.191**	.210**	.299**	.205**	142*
CRP	221**	172**	213**	161**	076	.049	.183**	.194**	.198**	.138*	.079	012
SRR	423**	386**	344**	389**	.082	.248**	.343**	.285**	.239**	.373**	.273**	073
Age	.113	.107	.044	.152*	014	150	100	139*	139*	065	168**	.017
PO	.085	.041	.141*	.055	113	.003	118*	227**	093	092	.033	294**
Income	.066	.121*	.036	013	.006	036	.043	074	.019	.010	001	059
Child u18	.097	.080	.056	.090	140	074	068	079	039	091	012	.037
Interact.	.241**	.279**	.189**	.203**	008	088	074	255**	156*	244**	141*	.100

Notes: DS = disgust sensitivity; Rehab. = goal of rehabilitation; GD = goal of general deterrence; Retrib. = goal of retribution; SD = goal of specific deterrence; CS = goal of community safety; Att. = Attitudes toward sexual offenders; Soc. Dist. = social distance; Sev. = crime severity; SL = sentence length; Reg. = registration; SE = stereotype endorsement; DH = dehumanization; MO = moral outrage; Culp. (off.) = culpability (offender); Culp. (vic.) = culpability (victim); CRP = crime rate perception; SRR = sexual reoffense risk; PO = political orientation; Child u18 = children under 18; Interact. = degree of interaction with sexual offenders

^{*} *p* < .05. ** *p* < .01

The hypothesis (5a) that conservative political orientation would be related to negative attitudes received partial support, having a low, albeit significant relationship in the expected direction for juvenile (r = .195) sexual offenders, but not adults (r = .085). This was repeated for sentence length, with political conservativism being significantly related to increased sentences for juveniles (r = -.150) but not adults (r = .003). However, conservative political orientation was significantly correlated to the endorsement of the offender being a "cold and calculating 'superpredator'' for both juvenile (r = -.193) and adult (r = -.227) targets. Neither household income nor having children were associated with any outcome variables. However, roughly 89% of respondents indicated that they had no children, so it is possible there was not sufficient variability to replicate previous findings (e.g., Mancini et al., 2010). While just under two-thirds of respondents indicated that they have never had any contact with a sexual offender, level of interaction was still significantly correlated with attitudes, stereotype endorsement, dehumanization, and moral outrage expressed towards both juvenile and adult sexual offenders. As expected, increased exposure to or interaction with sexual offenders lead to more positive attitudes, less stereotype endorsement, less dehumanization, and less moral outrage.

On average, participants felt that juvenile and adult crime trends have remained the same over the past three years; although as can be seen in Figure 6.2, a larger number of participants felt that trends have increased as opposed to decreased (32.8% vs. 17.4% and 30.5% vs. 14.9% for juveniles and adults, respectively). Contrary to McPhail and colleagues (2017), the perception that crime trends were increasing did not increase participants' punitiveness in terms of their recommended sentence length (see Tables 6.2.2 and 6.2.3). Yet this belief was significantly correlated for attitudes, stereotype endorsement, dehumanization, and moral outrage toward both juvenile and adult sexual offenders. Instead, the sexual reoffense risk that the

juvenile and adult sexual offenders posed, as estimated by participants, had moderate and significant correlations with attitudes, sentence length, stereotype endorsement, dehumanization, and moral outrage. In fact, its associations were significantly stronger for attitudes (z = 4.12, p < .001), sentence length (z = 4.00, p < .001), dehumanization (z = 2.23, p = .02), and moral outrage (z = 3.47, p < .001) for juvenile offenders and attitudes (z = 2.69, p < .01), sentence length (z = 2.19, z = 2.19, z = 2.19, and moral outrage (z = 3.04, z = 2.19) for adults. On average, participants estimated that 47.28% (z = 2.12) of juvenile and 59.56% (z = 2.12) of adult sexual offenders would sexually reoffend within three years, far higher than actual sexual recidivism rates over longer periods of time (e.g., Caldwell, 2016; Sample & Bray, 2003).

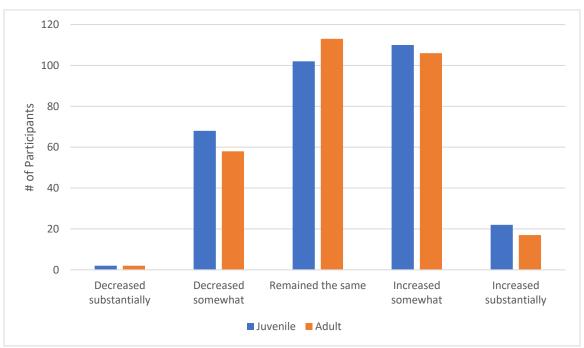


Figure 6.2. Participant Perceptions of 3-Year Crime Trends

The effect that gender has on attitudes and other variables of interest has been mixed across the research, with gender differences emerging in some studies, but not others. For the juvenile sexual offender variables, no gender differences emerged in attitudes, recommended sentence length, support for registration, dehumanization, moral outrage, or victim culpability,

although the overall MANOVA was significant ($F_{(8, 135)} = 2.782$, p = .007; Wilks' $\Lambda = .858$, $\eta_p^2 = .142$). Females (n = 88) did endorse the "superpredator" stereotype ($F_{(1,142)} = 5.116$, p = .025, $\eta_p^2 = .035$) and attributed more culpability to the offender ($F_{(1,142)} = 3.946$, p = .049, $\eta_p^2 = .027$) than did males (n = 56). Because crime severity was only measured in two of the three conditions, it was excluded from the above MANOVA and instead was the subject of its own individual ANOVA. Results found no significant differences between males and females in depictions of crime severity ($F_{(1,162)} = .184$, p = .669, $\eta_p^2 = .001$). See Table 6.6 for further details.

Table 6.6

Main Effects of Gender on Juvenile Dependent Variables

			-						
Dependent variable	Gender	М	SD	Type III SoS	df	Mean Square	F	p	η_p^2
	M	1.65	.48	0.11		0.11	101		004
Severity	F	1.68	.47	.041	1	.041	.184	.669	.001
Error				36.178	162	.223			
A 1	M	64.61	13.13	202 102	1	202 102	1 200	220	010
Attitudes	F	62.17	11.31	203.193	1	203.193	1.398	.239	.010
Error				20631.800	142	145.294			
Sentence	M	5.79	14.81				20.5	505	000
Sentence length	F	7.23	12.75	71.215	1	71.215	.386	.535	.003
Error				26207.378	142	184.559			
	M	2.09	.51				1.071	1.60	01.1
Registration	F	2.20	.46	.455	1	.455	1.964	.163	.014
Error				32.872	142	.231			
Stereotype	M	2.18	1.15	7.010	1	7 6 001	F 1164	025	025
endorsement	F	2.59	1.01	5.819	1	1 56.001	5.116*	.025	.035
Error				161.487	142	1.137			

Dehuman.	M	21.70	12.21	10.487	1	10.487	.089	.766	.001
	F	22.25	9.94						
Error				16798.339	142	118.298			
Moral	M	12.86	4.45	56.001	1	56.001	3.249	.074	.022
Outrage	F	14.14	3.95	36.001	1	30.001	3.249	.074	.022
Error				2447.221	142	17.234			
Culpability	M	81.29	17.72	066127	1	066 127	2.046*	0.40	027
(offender)	F	86.61	14.18	966.137	1	966.137	3.946*	.049	.027
Error				34763.613	142	244.814			
Culpability	M	9.04	15.87	261.070	1	261.970	0.4.4	222	007
(victim)	F	6.28	17.13	261.870	1	261.870	.944	.333	.007
Error				39389.067	142	277.388			

^{*} p < .05

Interestingly, more gender differences emerged in the MANOVA (F(8, 139) = 2.481, p = .015; Wilks' Λ = .875, η_p^2 = .125) when the target was the adult sexual offender. For instance, women (n = 91) held more negative attitudes, gave longer recommended sentences, supported more punitive registration, and expressed more moral outrage than men (n = 57; see Table 6.2.5). While females' greater attributions of culpability toward the offender approached significance (p = .051), it is interesting to note that the significant differences between males and females do not overlap (i.e., differences emerged across different variables) between juvenile and adult victims. An individual ANOVA was conducted on crime severity for the reason described above, which did not reveal any differences across gender in depictions of severity (F(1,166) = 833, p = .363, η_p^2 = .005).

Table 6.7

Main Effects of Gender on Adult Dependent Variables

Dependent variable	Gender	М	SD	Type III SoS	df	Mean Square	F	p	η_p^2
Severity	M	1.90	.31	.099	1	.099	.833	.363	.005
Seventy	F	1.85	.36	.077	1	.077	.033	.505	.003
Error				19.752	166	.119			
Attitudes	M	59.49	15.67	1078.056	1	1078.056	5.752*	.018	.038
Attitudes	F	53.95	12.30	1078.030	1	1078.030	3.732	.016	.036
Error				27364.971	146	187.431			
Sentence	M	8.12	7.53	1070.188	1	1070.188	4.152*	.043	.028
length	F	13.64	19.57	1070.100	1	1070.100	1.132	.015	.020
Error				37634.308	146	257.769			
Registration	M	2.51	.57	1.181	1	1.181	4.580*	.034	.030
Registration	F	2.69	.46	1.101	1	1.101	4.360	.034	.030
Error				37.630	146	.258			
Stereotype	M	2.82	1.24	4.599	1	4.599	3.166	.077	.021
endorsement	F	3.19	1.18	7.377	1	7.377	3.100	.077	.021
Error				212.070	146	1.453			
Dehuman.	M	26.21	12.39	25.196	1	25.196	.174	.677	.001
Denaman.	F	25.36	11.79	23.170	1	23.170	.1/4	.077	.001
Error				21116.507	146	144.634			
Moral	M	15.42	4.75	102.580	1	102.580	5.600*	.019	.037
Outrage	F	17.13	3.96	102.300	1	102.300	3.000	.017	.037
Error				2674.312	146	18.317			
Culpability	M	91.76	9.99	301.832	1	301.832	3.883	.051	.026
(offender)	F	94.70	8.00	301.032	1	301.032	5.005	.031	.020
Error				11348.992	146	77.733			

Culpability (victim)	M F		13.91 19.71	49.743	1	49.743	.159	.691	.001
Error	-	0.75	19.71	45812.222	146	313.782			

^{*} *p* < .05

6.3 CRIME SEVERITY

In both the vignette creation and the no vignette conditions, participants were asked to describe the typical sex offender and sexual offense (albeit at different points in the study). To determine whether the severity of the envisioned crime differed between juvenile and adult sexual offenders, a mixed-models ANOVA was conducted. For means and standard deviations, see Table 6.8. While there were no significant differences between the two vignette conditions, a main effect of age emerged such that the adult sex offender vignettes were depicted as significantly more severe ($F_{(1,154)} = 16.957$, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .099$; see Table 6.9). However, there was no significant interaction (see Figure 6.3).

Table 6.8

Crime Severity Descriptive Statistics

		M(SD)		
Condition	n	Juvenile	Adult	
Vignette creation	75	1.71 (.46)	1.83 (.38)	
No vignette	81	1.65 (.48)	1.89 (.32)	
Total	156	1.68 (.47)	1.86 (.35)	

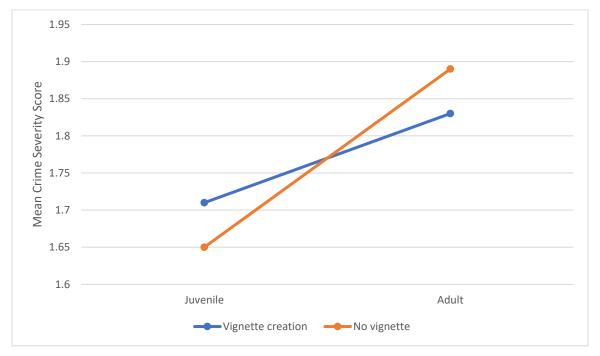
Table 6.9

Offender Age and Vignette Condition Effects on Crime Severity

Source	Type III SoS	df	Mean square	F	p	η_p^2
Vignette condition	.002	1	.002	.010	.922	.000
Error	30.383	154	.197			
Age	2.448	1	2.448	16.957***	.000	.099
Vignette condition x age	.256	1	.256	1.770	.185	.011
Error	22.232	154	.144			

^{***} p < .001

Figure 6.3. Offender Age and Vignette Condition Effects on Crime Severity



6.4 ATTITUDES

To test whether participants held differing attitudes toward juvenile and adult sexual offenders (hypothesis 2a), a mixed-models ANOVA was conducted on responses to the ATS-21. Participants scored higher on the ATS-21 for juveniles (M = 64.51, SD = 12.00) than adults (M = 64.51) and M = 64.51.

57.50, SD = 13.09) indicating more positive attitudes toward the juvenile sexual offender group. However, attitudes toward both target groups fell below (slightly for juveniles) the midpoint (65), indicating neutral to slightly negative attitudes toward the juvenile and adult sexual offenders, respectively. Upon inspection, this data violated normality (Box's M < .005). A log transformation was used, yielding a non-significant Box's M, indicating that the two covariance matrices are homogeneous. New means and standard deviations can be found in Table 6.10. Across the two age groups, the differences noted above were significant ($F_{(1,259)} = 143.282$, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .380$; see Table 6.11).

Table 6.10

Attitudes Descriptive Statistics

		M (SD)			
Condition	n	Juvenile	Adult		
Vignette	92	4.18 (.21)	4.05 (.24)		
Vignette creation	80	4.13 (.22)	4.00 (.26)		
No vignette	90	4.13 (.18)	4.02 (.22)		
Total	262	4.15 (.20)	4.03 (.24)		

Table 6.11

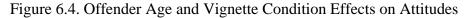
Offender Age and Vignette Condition Effects on Attitudes

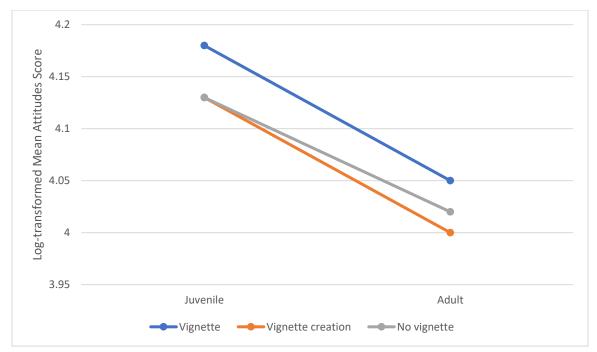
Source	Type III SoS	df	Mean square	F	p	η_p^2
Vignette condition	.263	2	.132	1.564	.211	.012
Error	21.812	259	.084			
Age	1.983	1	1.983	143.282***	.000	.356

Vignette condition x age	.009	2	.005	.325	.723	.003
Error	3.584	259	.014			

*** p < .001

Across the three vignette conditions, average scores fell below the ATS-21 midpoint and no statistically significant differences were found ($F_{(2,259)} = 1.564$, p = .211, $\eta_p^2 = .012$), in opposition to hypothesis 1b. Participants in the vignette condition scored closest to the scale midpoint (M = 62.81, 95% CI = 60.41, 65.21), followed closely by those in the no vignette (M = 60.19, 95% CI = 57.77, 62.62) and the vignette creation conditions (M = 59.86, 95% CI = 57.28, 62.43). Following the log transformation, the means and confidence intervals for the vignette, no vignette, and vignette creation conditions were as follows: M = 4.12, 95% CI = 4.07, 4.16; M = 4.08, 95% CI = 4.03, 4.12; and M = 4.06, 95% CI = 4.02, 4.11, respectively. These differences were not statistically significant and the null hypothesis was retained ($F_{(2,259)} = 1.564$, p = .211, $\eta_p^2 = .012$), in opposition to hypothesis 1b. Nor was there a significant interaction between the offender age groups and the vignette creation conditions ($F_{(2,259)} = .325$, P = .723, $\eta_p^2 = .003$) as depicted in Figure 6.11.





6.4.1 TRUST. To maintain consistency with the total attitudes scores, a log transformation was used on the trust subscale scores. New means and standard deviations can be found in Table 6.12. A repeated-measures ANOVA found that the differences in scores between the two age groups were significant ($F_{(1,274)} = 133.440$, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .328$), indicating that participants had greater trust in juvenile sexual offenders than their adult counterparts (see Table 6.13). Also apparent in Table 6.13 is the absence of a significant vignette condition effect on trust scores. Nor was there a significant interaction between age groups and vignette conditions, as depicted in Figure 6.5.

Table 6.12

Trust Descriptive Statistics

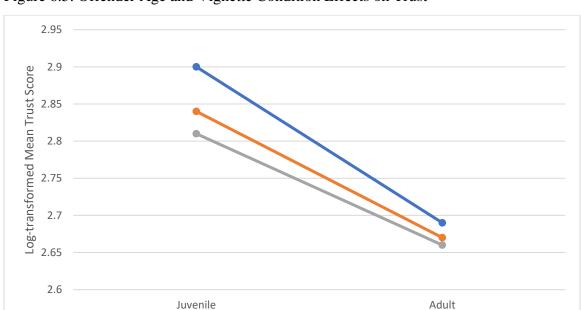
		M(SD)			
Condition	n	Juvenile	Adult		
Vignette	95	2.90 (.29)	2.69 (.34)		
Vignette creation	87	2.84 (.29)	2.67 (.34)		
No vignette	95	2.81 (.27)	2.66 (.32)		
Total	277	2.85 (.28)	2.67 (.33)		

Table 6.13

Offender Age and Vignette Condition Effects on Trust

Source	Type III SoS	df	Mean square	F	p	η_p^2
Vignette condition	.346	2	.173	1.102	.334	.008
Error	43.073	274	.157			
Age	4.462	1	4.462	133.440***	.000	.328
Vignette condition x age	.082	2	.041	1.226	.295	.009
Error	9.163	274	.033			

^{***} *p* < .001



Vignette creation

No vignette

Figure 6.5. Offender Age and Vignette Condition Effects on Trust

Vignette

6.4.2 INTENT. Similar to above, intent scores were log transformed and new means and standard deviations can be found in Table 6.14 below. Overall, participants had higher intent scores for the juvenile sexual offender group than the adult, which reached statistical significance $(F_{(1,271)} = 58.556, p < .001, \eta_p^2 = .178)$, as expressed in Table 6.15. While scores were slightly higher in the vignette condition, there was no significant effect of condition on scores, nor was there a significant interaction between age group and condition. The latter is also demonstrated in Figure 6.6.

Table 6.14

Intent Descriptive Statistics

		M(SD)		
Condition	n	Juvenile	Adult	
Vignette	94	3.21 (.24)	3.12 (.26)	
Vignette creation	85	3.16 (.22)	3.07 (.25)	

No vignette	95	3.16 (.21)	3.09 (.26)
Total	274	3.18 (.23)	3.10 (.26)

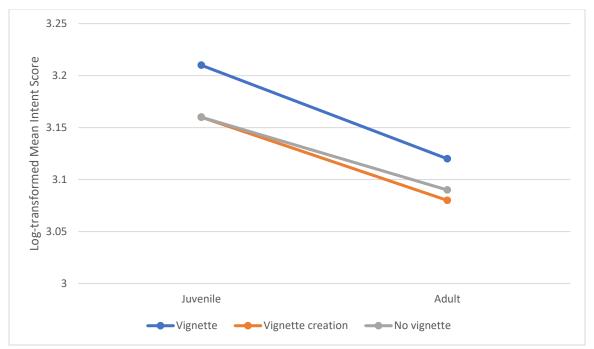
Table 6.15

Offender Age and Vignette Condition Effects on Intent

Source	Type III SoS	df	Mean square	F	p	η_p^2
Vignette condition	.273	2	.137	1.337	.264	.010
Error	27.713	271	.102			
Age	.914	1	.914	58.556***	.000	.178
Vignette condition x age	.006	2	.003	.200	.819	.001
Error	4.229	271	.016			

^{***} *p* < .001

Figure 6.6. Offender Age and Vignette Condition Effects on Intent



6.4.3 SOCIAL DISTANCE. Lastly, social distance scores were also log transformed, resulting in new means and standard deviations, found in Table 6.16 below. Despite the transformation, equality of covariance matrices did not occur, as expressed by a significant Box's M (< .001). Like the other attitudinal subscales, a mixed-models ANOVA indicated that significant differences existed between the two age groups ($F_{(1,268)} = 113.221$, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .297$), such that participants sought greater social distance from adult sexual offenders than their juvenile counterparts (see Table 6.17). Also noted is the absence of any significant main effect of vignette condition on social distance and the lack of significant interaction between vignette condition and age group. The latter is also depicted in Figure 6.7.

Table 6.16

Social Distance Descriptive Statistics

		M(SD)			
Condition	n	Juvenile	Adult		
Vignette	93	3.09 (.20)	2.97 (.24)		
Vignette creation	86	3.05 (.26)	2.92 (.30)		
No vignette	92	3.03 (.28)	2.91 (.29)		
Total	271	3.06 (.25)	2.93 (.28)		

Table 6.17

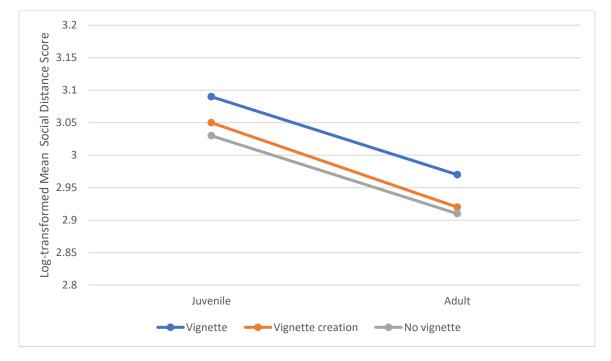
Offender Age and Vignette Condition Effects on Social Distance

Source	Type III SoS	df	Mean square	F	p	η_p^2
Vignette condition	.326	2	.163	1.331	.266	.010

Error	32.789	268	.112			
Age	2.002	1	2.002	113.221***	.000	.297
Vignette condition x age	.001	2	.000	.025	.975	.000
Error	4.739	268	.018			

^{***} *p* < .001

Figure 6.7. Offender Age and Vignette Condition Effects on Social Distance



Although the log transformations of the three subscale measures of trust, intent, and social distance give the impression that their mean ratings were quite similar, it should be noted that they were significantly different from each other for both juvenile sexual offender targets $(F_{(2,590)} = 444.901, p < .001)$ and adult sexual offender targets $(F_{(2,576)} = 509.030, p < .001)$. For juvenile targets, participants scored significantly higher on intent (M = 24.58, SD = 4.66), the cognitive measure, than on social distance $(M = 21.93, SD = 4.66; t_{(297)} = 11.635, p < .001)$ and trust $(M = 18.03, SD = 4.78; t_{(300)} = 30.245, p < .001)$. Significant differences also emerged between the social distance and trust scores $(t_{(297)} = 17.634, p < .001)$. Similar significant

differences emerged for adult sexual offender targets, with intent scores (M = 22.81, SD = 5.09) being significantly higher than social distance (M = 19.40, SD = 4.84; $t_{(289)} = 13.542$, p < .001) and trust scores (M = 15.32, SD = 5.00; $t_{(296)} = 32.216$, p < .001). Again, there was a significant difference between the adult social distance and trust scores ($t_{(292)} = 18.805$, p < .001). Thus, it appears that participants are cognitively less negative toward sexual offenders than they are affectively or behaviourally.

6.5 SENTENCE LENGTH

As described above, participants were asked to make sentence length recommendations for both offender age categories, presented in a counterbalanced order. On average, juvenile offenders were given roughly 4 years less than their adult counterparts (6.48 vs. 10.56 for juveniles and adults, respectively), although the recommended sentences varied widely (SD = 12.34, SD = 15.22, respectively). Further, while 43.5% of respondents recommended sentences of two years or less for juvenile sexual offenders, only 17.2% did so for adults. As can be seen in Figure 6.8, however, a similar number of people gave sentences of 2.50-4.99 and 5.00-7.49 years to both juvenile and adult offenders.

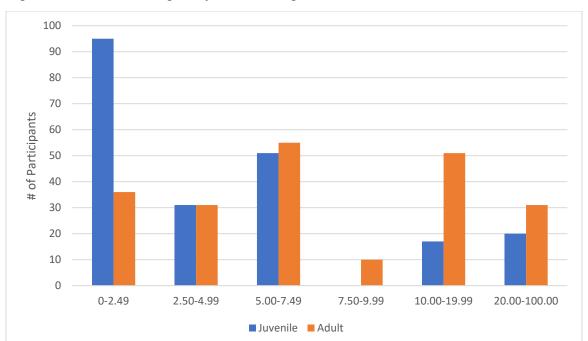


Figure 6.8. Sentence Lengths by Offender Age, in Bins

Note: n = 214, reflecting participants who responded to both juvenile and adult sentence length items.

In testing the normality required for a mixed-methods ANOVA, it was discovered that both the homogeneity of covariance matrices and equality of variances violated these assumptions (the latter for the adult group only). Thus, a log transformation was conducted, which required adding a constant (1), as some participants sentenced the offender to zero time. This resulted in a return to normality as indicated by Levene's test. While Box's M remained significant (p = .001), the mixed-methods ANOVA has demonstrated robustness to violations of these assumptions, particularly when sample sizes are equal (Howell, 2012; Milligan, Wong, & Thompson, 1987). Transformed means and standard deviations can be found in Table 6.18. Despite the relatively large standard deviations, differences in the sentences given to juvenile and adult sexual offenders were statistically significant ($F_{(1,211)} = 123.760$, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .370$; see Table 6.19), counter to hypothesis 2b.

Table 6.18
Sentence Length Descriptive Statistics

		M(SD)		
Condition	n	Juvenile	Adult	
Vignette	77	1.17 (.79)	1.82 (.89)	
Vignette creation	63	1.63 (.95)	2.01 (.85)	
No vignette	74	1.66 (.93)	2.20 (.90)	
Total	214	1.48 (.91)	2.01 (.89)	

Table 6.19

Offender Age and Vignette Condition Effects on Sentence Length

Source	Type III SoS	df	Mean square	F	p	η_p^2
Vignette condition	15.061	2	7.530	5.663**	.004	.051
Error	280.581	211	1.330			
Age	29.025	1	29.025	123.760***	.000	.370
Vignette condition x age	1.234	2	.617	2.631	.074	.024
Error	49.486	211	.235			

^{**} *p* < .01

Between the conditions, participants in the vignette condition recommended the shortest sentences (M = 6.58 years, 95% CI = 3.83, 9.33) while those in the vignette creation and no vignette conditions recommended longer sentences (M = 8.32 years, 95% CI = 5.28, 11.36; M = 10.71 years, 95% CI = 7.90, 13.51, respectively). After the log transformation, pairwise comparisons indicated that those in the vignette (M = 1.50, 95% CI = 1.32, 1.68) condition

^{***} *p* < .001

sentenced offenders to significantly less time than those in the vignette creation (M = 1.82, 95% CI = 1.62, 2.03) condition (p = .02, 95% CI = -.60, -.50) and those in the no vignette (M = 1.93, 95% CI = 1.74, 2.12) condition (p = .01, 95% CI = -.69, -.17; see Table 6.20). However, sentence lengths did not differ significantly between the vignette creation and no vignette conditions (p = .44, 95% CI = --.38, .17). Results from the mixed-models ANOVA indicated the presence of a significant effect of vignette condition on sentence length ($F_{(2,211)} = 5.663, p = .004, \eta_p^2 = .051$); however there was no interaction between the vignette and age conditions ($F_{(2,211)} = 2.631, p = .074, \eta_p^2 = .024$), as depicted in Figure 6.9.

Table 6.20

Pairwise Comparisons of Vignette Conditions on Sentence Lengths

Condition	Condition	Mean difference			95% confidence i	nterval difference
(A)	(B)	(A-B)	SE	p	Lower bound	Upper bound
V	VC	322*	.139	.021	596	049
v	NV	430*	.133	.001	692	168
VC	V	.322*	.139	.021	.049	.596
VC	NV	107	.140	.443	-383	.168
NV	V	.430*	.133	.001	.168	.692
14 4	VC	.107	.140	.443	168	.383

Note. V = vignette condition; VC = vignette creation condition; NV = no vignette condition *p < .05

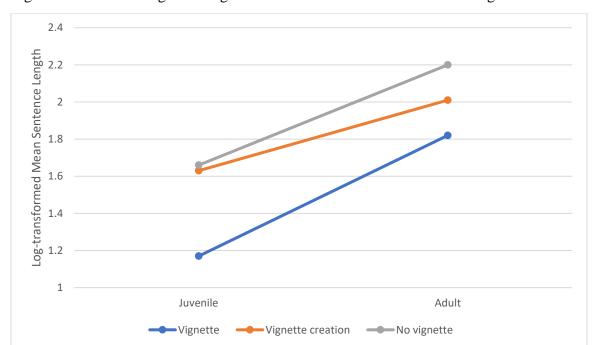


Figure 6.9. Offender Age and Vignette Condition Effects on Sentence Length

6.6 SUPPORT FOR REGISTRATION

For both juvenile and adult sexual offenders, participants were given three options for registration requirements: no registration, non-public registration (i.e., available only to law enforcement agencies), or public registration. As depicted in Figure 6.10, very few participants (< 10%) endorsed no registration for either offender group; however, non-public registration was the requirement of choice for juvenile offenders (70.2% vs. 41.5% for adults), while public registration was most commonly endorsed for adult offenders (55.5% vs. 21.6% for juveniles). While many surveys on registration endorsement do not inquire about both common forms of registration (e.g., Kernsmith et al., 2009), these results indicate that in failing to do so, important differences in public support for policies may be overshadowed. Specifically, this could falsely provide support for the notion that support for the public registration of adult sexual offenders can be extended to juvenile sexual offenders.



Figure 6.10. Support for Registration Across Offender Age Categories

Viewed as a continuous variable (i.e., increasing in punitiveness) and as can be derived from Figure 6.6.1 above, on average, participants opted for non-public registration for juveniles (M = 2.14, SD = .53) while endorsement for the registration of adults was split between non-public and public registration (M = 2.52, SD = .56; see Table 6.21). Results from a mixed-models ANOVA confirmed that this difference was significant ($F_{(1.276)} = 131.143$, p < .001, $\eta_P^2 = .322$; see Table 6.22), contrary to hypothesis 2b. A subsequent analysis was conducted between participants who endorsed either non-public or public registration for the two offender age groups. Because this was a mixed-models design, Cochrane's Q was used in lieu of the traditional chi square test, as the latter requires independence of observations. Results indicated that among those who supported some form of registration, 76.9% supported non-public registration for juveniles, while only 40.8% supported non-public registration for adults. These differences were significant, ($X^2_{(1)} = 84.640$, p < .001) indicating that there are significant differences in the endorsement of the two forms of registration for juvenile and adult sexual

offenders. However, results from the ANOVA indicated that there was no overall effect of vignette condition. Nor was there a significant interaction between the former and offender age category on registration, as depicted in Figure 6.11.

Table 6.21
Support for Registration Descriptive Statistics

		M(SD)			
Condition	n	Juvenile	Adult		
Vignette	95	2.11 (.49)	2.60 (.56)		
Vignette creation	89	2.10 (.58)	2.48 (.61)		
No vignette	95	2.20 (.50)	2.51 (.52)		
Total	279	2.14 (.53)	2.52 (.56)		

Table 6.22

Offender Age and Vignette Condition Effects on Support for Registration

Source	Type III SoS	df	Mean square	F	p	η_p^2
Vignette condition	.345	2	.172	.392	.676	.003
Error	121.293	276	.439			
Age	20.122	1	20.122	131.143***	.000	.322
Vignette condition x age	.516	2	.258	1.682	.188	.012
Error	42.348	276	.153			

^{***} *p* < .001

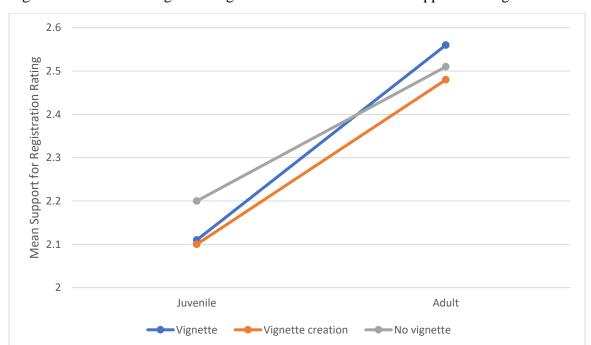


Figure 6.11. Offender Age and Vignette Condition Effects on Support for Registration

6.7 STEREOTYPE ENDORSEMENT

In asking whether the sex offender participants were thinking about was a "cold and calculating 'superpredator," participants more strongly endorsed the sexual offender stereotype for adults (M = 2.98, SD = 1.15) than juveniles (M = 2.33, SD = 1.08). These fell above and just below the scale midpoint of 2.5, indicating agreeance and uncertainty in applying the stereotype to the adult and juvenile sexual offenders, respectively. Inspection of the data indicated that among for the juvenile group, equality of error variances could not be assumed. Therefore, a log transformation was conducted for both juvenile and adult stereotype endorsement (see Table 6.23 for transformed descriptive statistics). A mixed-models ANOVA yielded significant differences between the two offender age groups ($F_{(1.272)} = 139.949$, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .340$; see Table 6.24).

Table 6.23
Stereotype Endorsement Descriptive Statistics

		M(SD)		
Condition	n	Juvenile	Adult	
Vignette	93	.70 (.45)	.92 (.46)	
Vignette creation	88	.78 (.51)	1.11 (.44)	
No vignette	94	.73 (.50)	.99 (.39)	
Total	275	.74 (.49)	1.00 (.44)	

Table 6.24

Offender Age and Vignette Condition Effects on Stereotype Endorsement

Source	Type III SoS	df	Mean square	F	p	η_p^2
Vignette condition	1.548	2	.774	2.179	.115	.016
Error	96.585	272	.355			
Age	9.987	1	9.987	139.949***	.000	.340
Vignette condition x age	.260	2	.130	1.819	.164	.013
Error	19.410	272	.071			

^{+**}p < .001

Across all three conditions, participants scored at or above the scale midpoint, on average. Those in the vignette condition (M = 2.50, 95% CI = 2.29, 2.71) scored the lowest, scoring similarly to those in the no vignette condition (M = 2.61, 95% CI = 2.40, 2.81) and moderately lower than those in the vignette creation condition (M = 2.88, 95% CI = 2.66, 3.09). Following the log transformation, pairwise comparisons indicated that stereotype endorsement

was significantly lower among participants in the vignette condition compared to those in the vignette creation condition (p = .040, 95% CI = -.253, -.006;), but no other significant differences were found (see Table 6.25). Overall, there was no significant effect of vignette condition on stereotype endorsement ($F_{(2,272)} = 2.179$, p = .115, $\eta_p^2 = .016$), nor was there a significant interaction between vignette condition and the age of the offender on "superpredator" stereotype endorsement ($F_{(2,272)} = 1.819$, p = .164, $\eta_p^2 = .013$), as can be seen in Figure 6.12.

Table 6.25

Pairwise Comparisons of Vignette Conditions on Stereotype Endorsement

Condition	Condition	Mean difference			95% confidence i	nterval difference
(A)	(B)	(A-B)	SE	p	Lower bound	Upper bound
V	VC	129*	.063	.040	253	006
V	NV	045	.062	.464	167	.076
VC	V	.129*	.063	.040	.006	.253
VC	NV	.084	.063	.180	039	.207
NV	V	.045	.062	.464	076	.167
1 N V	VC	084	.063	.180	207	.039

Note. V = vignette condition; VC = vignette creation condition; NV = no vignette condition p < .05

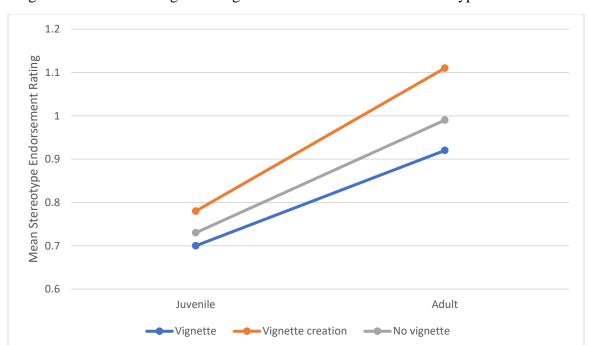


Figure 6.12. Offender Age and Vignette Condition Effects on Stereotype Endorsement

6.8 DEHUMANIZATION

In rating the extent to which the target (i.e., the sex offender) epitomized characterizations such as "mongrel," "beast," and "creature," among other labels, results from a mixed-models ANOVA indicated that significant differences emerged across the age categories for the target ($F_{(1,259)} = 87.507$, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .253$; see Table 6.27). Specifically, juvenile sexual offenders were seen as more human than adult sexual offenders (M = 20.78, SD = 11.10 and M = 23.97, SD = 11.87, respectively), although both groups fell below the scale midpoint of 28, indicating that they were seen as more human than less human (see Table 6.26 for means and standard deviations).

Table 6.26

Dehumanization Descriptive Statistics

		M (SD)			
Condition	n	Juvenile	Adult		
Vignette	84	19.19 (10.68)	22.58 (11.33)		
Vignette creation	86	21.28 (11.82)	24.70 (12.79)		
No vignette	92	21.77 (10.73)	24.54 (11.46)		
Total	262	20.78 (11.09)	23.97 (11.87)		

Table 6.27

Offender Age and Vignette Condition Effects on Dehumanization

Source	Type III SoS	df	Mean square	F	p	η_p^2
Vignette condition	549.430	2	274.715	1.105	.333	.008
Error	64405.257	259	248.669			
Age	1334.764	1	1334.764	87.507***	.000	.253
Vignette condition x age	12.017	2	6.008	.394	.675	.003
Error	3950.586	259	15.253			

^{***} *p* < .001

In assessing the average dehumanization scores across conditions, a similar pattern emerges to those that have been described above. Specifically, those in the vignette condition

scored the lowest (M = 20.89, 95% CI = 18.49, 23.28), indicating that they dehumanized the sexual offenders the least. Participants in the vignette creation (M = 22.99, 95% CI = 20.62, 25.36) and no vignette (M = 23.16, 95% CI = 20.87, 25.45) conditions scored closely to one another. However, there were no significant differences between the groups (all p's > .05), nor was the omnibus F test significant ($F_{(2,259)} = 1.105$, p = .333, $\eta_p^2 = .008$). Further, there was no significant interaction between the two age groups and the three vignette conditions on dehumanization ($F_{(2,259)} = .394$, p = .675, $\eta_p^2 = .003$), as depicted in Figure 6.13.

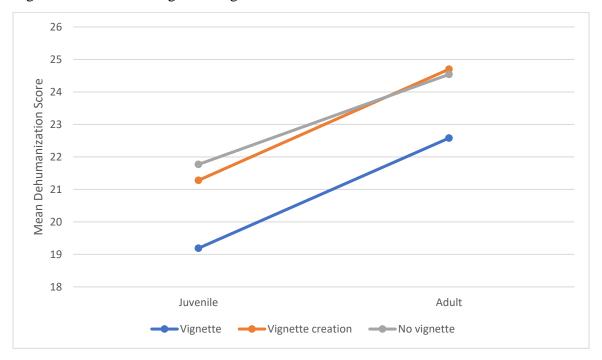


Figure 6.13. Offender Age and Vignette Condition Effects on Dehumanization

6.9 MORAL OUTRAGE

Across four items, participants rated the extent of indignation held toward the juvenile and adult sexual offenders, resulting in scores that ranged from 4-24. The juvenile group (M = 13.44, SD = 4.16) elicited significantly less moral outrage than the adult group (M = 15.85, SD = 4.44) in the mixed-model ANOVA ($F_{(1,269)} = 183.831$, p < .001, $\eta_p^2 = .406$; see Table 6.29) Scores insinuate that on average, participants were ambivalent toward juvenile sexual offenders

while they were somewhat angered by their adult counterparts. See Table 6.9.1 for means and standard deviations for both groups across conditions.

Table 6.28

Moral Outrage Descriptive Statistics

		M(SD)				
Condition	n	Juvenile	Adult			
Vignette	93	13.02 (3.91)	15.77 (4.35)			
Vignette creation	86	13.71 (4.50)	15.85 (4.68)			
No vignette	93	13.61 (4.08)	15.91 (4.36)			
Total	272	13.44 (4.16)	15.85 (4.44)			

Table 6.29
Offender Age and Vignette Condition Effects on Moral Outrage

Source	Type III	df	Mean	\overline{F}	p	η_p^2
	SoS		square			
Vignette condition	17.061	2	8.530	.259	.772	.002
Error	8859.755	269	32.936			
Age	780.839	1	780.839	183.831***	.000	.406
Vignette condition x age	9.154	2	4.577	1.078	.342	.008
Error	1142.604	269	4.248			

^{***} *p* < .001

Across the three conditions, scores hovered around the scale midpoint (14). Those in the vignette condition scored the lowest on average (M = 14.40, 95% CI = 13.57, 15.23), followed by those in the vignette creation (M = 14.76, 95% CI = 13.94, 15.59) and no vignette (M = 14.78,

95% CI = 13.92, 15.64) conditions. The differences across these conditions did not differ significantly from one another in the least significant difference test (all p's > .05). Further, there was no overall effect of condition (F(2,269) = .259, p = .772, η_p^2 = .002), nor was there a significant interaction between condition and offender age (F(2,269) = 1.078, p = .342, η_p^2 = .008) on moral outrage, as can be seen in Figure 6.14.

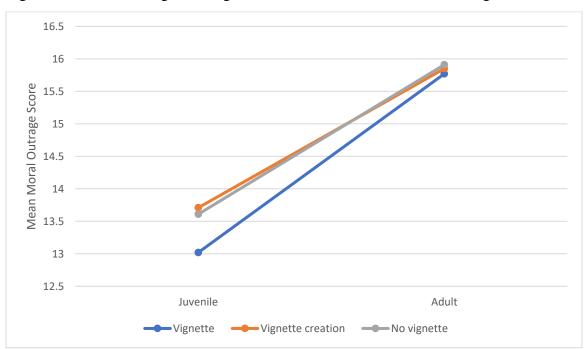


Figure 6.14. Offender Age and Vignette Condition Effects on Moral Outrage

6.10 CULPABILITY

Overall, participants attributed considerable yet differing blame/responsibility for the crime to both juvenile (M = 82.77, SD = 17.01) and adult (M = 92.82, SD = 10.31) sexual offenders. However, assumption testing indicated that this data violated the assumption of equal covariance matrices, while adult data further violated the assumption of equal error variances, even after a log transformation was used (see Table 6.29 for transformed descriptive statistics). These differences reached statistical significance ($F_{(1,278)} = 118.599$, p = .000, $\eta_p^2 = .299$; see Table 6.30).

Table 6.29 *Offender Culpability Descriptive Statistics*

		M(SD)				
Condition	n	Juvenile	Adult			
Vignette	95	4.40 (.23)	4.54 (.10)			
Vignette creation	90	4.35 (.30)	4.50 (.16)			
No vignette	96	4.40 (.26)	4.52 (.13)			
Total	281	4.39 (.26)	4.52 (.13)			

Table 6.30
Offender Age and Vignette Condition Effects on Offender Culpability

Source	Type III SoS	df	Mean square	\overline{F}	p	η_p^2
Vignette condition	.197	2	.098	1.541	.216	.011
Error	17.724	278	.064			
Age	2.604	1	2.604	118.599	.000	.299
Vignette condition x age	.031	2	.016	.712	.492	.005
Error	6.103	278	.022			

^{***} *p* < .001

Across the three conditions, offender blame and responsibility remained high.

Participants in the vignette condition attributed marginally more culpability to the offenders (M = 88.94, 95% CI = 86.45, 91.43) than those in the vignette creation (M = 86.01, 95% CI = 83.45, 88.57) and no vignette (M = 88.35, 95% CI = 85.87, 90.83) conditions. These did not differ significantly across groups (all p's > .05), nor was there an overall effect of condition on blame and responsibility attributions toward the offender ($F_{(2,278)} = 1.452$, p = .236, $\eta_p^2 = .010$). Tests of an interaction between the vignette conditions and offender age categories on offender blame and

responsibility failed to reject the null hypothesis ($F_{(2,278)} = .940$, p = .392, $\eta_p^2 = .007$), as can be seen in Figure 6.15.

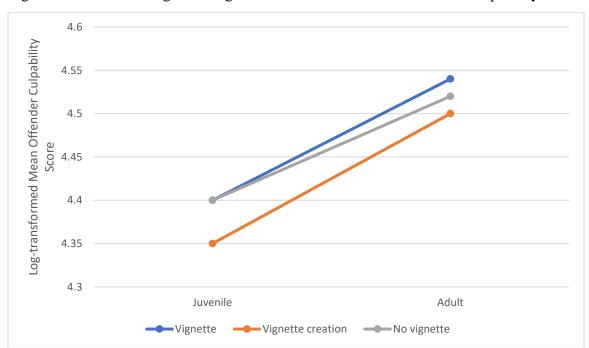


Figure 6.15. Offender Age and Vignette Condition Effects on Offender Culpability

Regarding culpability attributed to the victim, there were no significant differences across age groups after a log transformation resulted in normality assumptions being met ($F_{(1,189)} = .003$, p = .957, $\eta_p^2 = .000$; see Table 6.33). Victims of both juvenile and adult offenders shouldered little culpability according to participants (M = 6.57, SD = 16.72 and M = 7.07, SD = 18.37, respectively, before log transformation; see Table 6.32 for means and standard deviations after).

Table 6.32 *Victim Culpability Descriptive Statistics*

	•	M (SD)					
Condition	n	Juvenile	Adult				
Vignette	60	.89 (1.37)	.84 (1.39)				
Vignette creation	58	.73 (1.29)	.81 (1.30)				
No vignette	74	.86 (1.31)	.84 (1.32)				
Total	192	.83 (1.32)	.83 (1.33)				

Table 6.33

Offender Age and Vignette Condition Effects on Victim Culpability

Source	Type III SoS	df	Mean square	\overline{F}	p	η_p^2
Vignette condition	.559	2	.279	.085	.919	.001
Error	621.455	189	3.288			
Age	.001	1	.001	.003	.957	.000
Vignette condition x age	.288	2	.144	.552	.576	.006
Error	42.291	189	.261			

Attributions of culpability attributed to the victims of the offenses remained low across all three conditions. There was no significant overall effect of vignette condition on attributions of culpability toward the victim ($F_{(2,189)} = .085$, p = .919, $\eta_p^2 = .001$). On average, participants in all three conditions attributed the victim with less than 10% culpability: vignette provided (M = 7.28, 95% CI = 2.88, 11.67; M = .865, 95% CI = .539, 1.19 after log transformation); vignette creation (M = 6.56, 95% CI = 2.08, 11.03; M = .774, 95% CI = .442, 1.11 after log transformation), and; no vignette (M = 6.65, 95% CI = 2.69, 10.61; M = .849, 95% CI = .555,

1.14 after log transformation). Not surprisingly, there was no significant interaction between the vignette conditions and the age groups on these attributions ($F_{(2,189)} = .552$, p = .576, $\eta_p^2 = .006$), as can be seen in Figure 6.16.

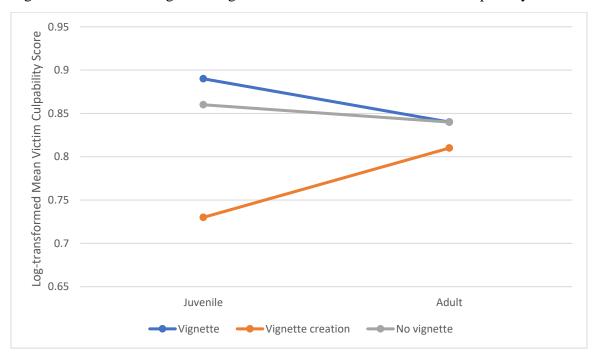


Figure 6.16. Offender Age and Vignette Condition Effects on Victim Culpability

6.11 MEDIATION ANALYSES

Mediation analyses were conducted to determine whether one of two variables mediates—partially or fully—the relationship between two variables of interest. The first potential mediator, dehumanization, was hypothesized to mediate the relationship between political orientation and attitudes (hypothesis 6a) in addition to the relationship between attitudes and crime severity (hypothesis 6b). Upon inspection of the correlation tables, sexual reoffense risk emerged as one of the strongest correlates across both age categories of attitudes, sentence length, registration, stereotype endorsement, dehumanization, and offender culpability (see Tables 6.4 and 6.5). This suggested that it may play a role in the relations between the above variables and as such, extra analyses were conducted on its potential as a mediator.

6.11.1 DEHUMANIZATION. The hypothesis (6a) that dehumanization would mediate the relationship between political orientation and attitudes rested largely on the assumption (hypothesis 5a) that all three variables would be strongly and significantly associated with one another. While political orientation was significantly correlated with negative attitudes (r = .195, p < .01) in the juvenile condition, its association was not robust, while it failed to reach significance altogether in the adult condition. Across both age conditions, political orientation also failed to reach a significant correlation with dehumanization. Nonetheless, it has been argued that mediation can exist, in some circumstances, without significant correlations between the variables (see Hayes, 2018 for a review). Thus, a mediation analysis was still conducted.

Using the SPSS extension PROCESS v3.1, dehumanization was entered into a regression model as a mediator between political orientation and attitudes, as measured via the ATS-21. 95% confidence intervals were obtained using a bootstrapping procedure, with 5,000 resamples. In the juvenile condition, there was both a significant direct effect of political orientation on attitudes (t(2,263) = 3.1363, p = .002) and a significant overall effect (t(1,264) = 3.3402, p = .001) as depicted in Figure 6.17. Model coefficients can be found in Table 6.34. While the indirect effect was significant, as was the pathway between dehumanization and attitudes, the association between political orientation and dehumanization was not. Further, the bootstrap confidence intervals encompassed zero ($\beta = .007$, CI = -.0027, .0193), indicating that the mediation or indirect effect is nonsignificant (Hayes, 2018). In the adult condition, only one path in the overall mediation model was significant (path b; see Table 6.35 for model coefficients), while the mediation analysis concluded that there is no significant direct effect of political orientation on attitudes (t(2,255) = 1.1769, p = .240). Nor was there a significant overall effect (t(2,256) = 1.6645, p = .240). Nor was there a significant overall effect (t(2,256) = 1.6645, t = 1.1769).

= .097). Similar to the juvenile target group, the indirect effect confidence interval included zero (β = .007, CI = -.0048, .0204), indicating that the mediation was not significant.

Figure 6.17: Model I: Mediation of the Relationship between Political Orientation and Attitudes via Dehumanization (juveniles)

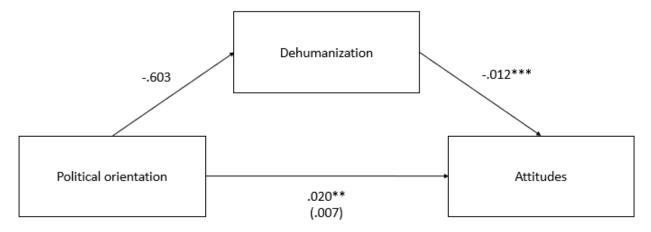


Figure 6.17. Regression coefficients for the relationship between political orientation and attitudes toward juvenile sexual offenders as mediated by dehumanization of that group. The regression coefficient for the indirect effect is in parentheses. ** p < .01. *** p < .001.

Table 6.34

Coefficients for Juvenile Dehumanization Mediation Model I

		Consequent									
	•	M (dehumanization)				Y (attitudes)					
Antecedent		Coeff.	SE	p		Coeff.	SE	p			
X (political orientation)	а	603	.426	.158	c'	.020	.006	.002			
M (dehumanization)					b	012	.001	< .001			
constant	$i_{ m M}$	23.376	2.111	< .001	iy	4.302	.037	< .001			
			$R^2 = .008$;	$R^2 = .422$						
		$F_{(1,264)}$	= 2.002, p	p = .158	$F_{(2,263)} = 96.037, p < .001$						

Figure 6.18: Model I: Mediation of the Relationship between Political Orientation and Attitudes via Dehumanization (adults)

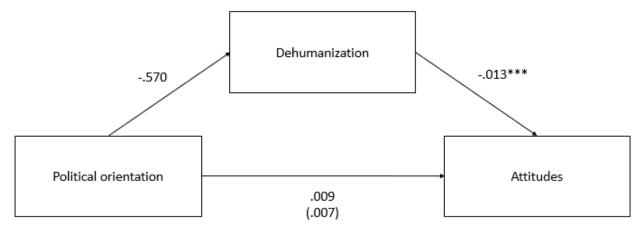


Figure 6.18. Regression coefficients for the relationship between political orientation and attitudes toward adult sexual offenders as mediated by dehumanization of that group. The regression coefficient for the indirect effect is in parentheses. *** p < .001.

Table 6.35

Coefficients for Adult Dehumanization Mediation Model I

		Consequent								
	•	M (de	humaniz	ation)		Y	Y (attitudes)			
Antecedent		Coeff.	SE	p		Coeff.	SE	p		
X (political orientation)	а	570	.479	.235	c'	.009	.008	.240		
M (dehumanization)					b	013	.001	< .001		
constant	$i_{ m M}$	26.815	2.345	< .001	$i_{ m Y}$	4.289	.048	< .001		
			$R^2 = .006$	į			$R^2 = .386$	5		
		$F_{(1,256)} = 1.417, p = .235$				$F_{(2,255)} = 79.984, p < .00$				

Regarding dehumanization's role as a potential mediator between attitudes and sentence length, this also largely rested on the fulfillment of hypothesis 4a. As noted in the above

correlation tables, significant associations were found between the three variables for both the juvenile and adult sexual offender. Similar to above, dehumanization was entered as a mediator, with attitudes as the predictor variable and sentence length as the outcome variable. For juveniles there was a significant total effect on sentence length ($t_{(1,220)} = -9.525$, p < .001; see Table 6.36 for model coefficients) in addition to a significant direct effect of attitudes on sentence length ($t_{(2,219)} = -5.756$, p < .001). Significance tests of path significance are depicted in Figure 6.19. Bootstrap confidence intervals for the indirect effect both fell below zero, supporting the role of dehumanization as a mediator ($\beta = -.479$, CI = -.9092, -.0593), accounting for 22.1% of the total effect. For adults, the total effect was significant ($t_{(1,215)} = -6.627$, p < .001) as was the direct effect ($t_{(2,214)} = -4.849$, p < .001), which is depicted in Figure 6.11.1.4 (see Table 6.37 for model coefficients). However, dehumanization's role as a mediator did not reach significance, as indicated by the indirect effect bootstrap confidence intervals encompassing zero ($\beta = -.084$, CI = -.4616, .3012).

Figure 6.19: Model II: Mediation of the Relationship between Attitudes and Sentence Length via Dehumanization (juveniles)

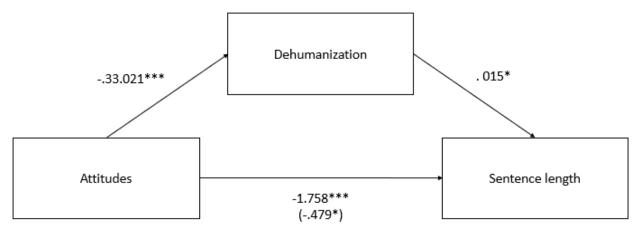


Figure 6.19. Regression coefficients for the relationship between attitudes toward juvenile sexual offenders and sentence length as mediated by dehumanization of that group. The regression coefficient for the indirect effect is in parentheses.

^{*} p < .05. *** p < .001.

Table 6.36

Coefficients for Juvenile Dehumanization Mediation Model II

		Consequent							
		M (de	humaniz	ation)		Y (sentence lengt			
Antecedent		Coeff.	SE	p		Coeff.	SE	p	
X (attitudes)	а	-33.021	2.608	< .001	c'	-1.758	.305	< .001	
M (dehumanization)					b	.015	.006	.017	
constant	$i_{ m M}$	157.856	10.821	< .001	$i_{ m Y}$	8.446	1.352	< .001	
			$R^2 = .422$				$R^2 = .310$		
		$F_{(1,220)} =$	160.348,	<i>p</i> < .001		$F_{(2,219)} =$	= 49.269,	<i>p</i> < .001	

Figure 6.20: Model II: Mediation of the Relationship between Attitudes and Sentence Length via Dehumanization (adults)

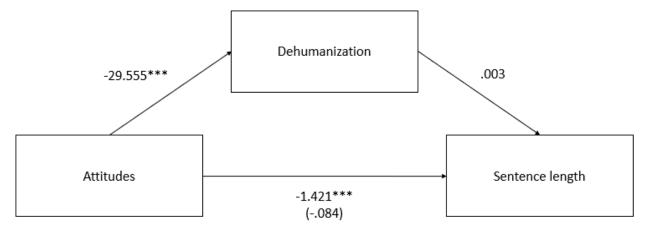


Figure 6.20. Regression coefficients for the relationship between attitudes toward juvenile sexual offenders and sentence length as mediated by dehumanization of that group. The regression coefficient for the indirect effect is in parentheses. *** p < .001.

Table 6.37

Coefficients for Adult Dehumanization Mediation Model II

		Consequent							
		M (de		Y (se	<i>Y</i> (sentence length)				
Antecedent		Coeff.	SE	p		Coeff.	SE	p	
X (attitudes)	а	-29.555	2.484	< .001	c'	-1.421	.293	< .001	
M (dehumanization)					b	.003	.006	.649	
constant	$i_{ m M}$	143.117	9.984	< .001	$i_{ m Y}$	7.643	1.279	< .001	
		-	$R^2 = .397$,			$R^2 = .170$)	
		$F_{(1,215)} = 141.604, p < .001$				$F_{(2,214)} =$	= 21.978,	<i>p</i> < .001	

6.11.2 SEXUAL REOFFENSE RISK. As noted above, sexual reoffense risk emerged as one of the strongest correlates of multiple dependent variables in both age categories. This makes conceptual sense, as a belief that an offender poses a high risk of reoffending may influence the public to support measures to protect themselves from individuals they deem to be dangerous. Further, support of the sentencing goal of community safety was significantly related to longer sentences for both juvenile and adult sexual offenders, and more punitive registration for the latter group. Community safety goals and support for juvenile registration approached significance (p = .051). Combined with the exaggerated rates of recidivism attributed to both juvenile and adult sexual offenders, this may lend support to Socia and Harris' (2016) view that punitive practices such as registration are largely a part of crime control theatre. However, to determine whether this may be a factor, sexual reoffense risk's role must be evaluated. This was done by testing its role as a mediator in relationships between a more generalized variable (i.e., attitudes) and sanction-style variables (i.e., recommended sentence lengths [model III], support for registration [model IV]).

First, we begin with the potential mediating role of risk of sexual reoffense on the relationship between attitudes and sentence length among the juvenile sexual offender group. As one can see in Figure 6.21, all pathways are significant (see Table 6.38 for model coefficients), including the direct effect (t(2.222) = -6.559, p < .001). Further, the total overall effect is also significant (t(1.223) = -9.247, p < .001). The indirect effect bootstrap 95% confidence intervals ($\beta = -.448$, CI = -.7591, -.1698) both fell below zero, indicating the consistency of the direction of the indirect effect (i.e., it is negative). Further, this demonstrated the significance of the mediating effect that sexual reoffense risk has on the relationship between attitudes and sentence length, accounting for 20.3% of the total effect. For adults, while the total overall effect was significant (t(1.224) = -7.0958, p < .001), as was the direct effect (t(2.223) = -5.970, p < .001), the confidence intervals produced by the bootstrapping procedure include zero ($\beta = -.113$, CI = -.3723, .1213). This indicating an inconsistency in the direction of the indirect effect (see Figure 6.22) and a failure to differentiate the mediator's role from zero (i.e., no effect). See Table 6.39 for model coefficients.

Figure 6.21: Model III: Mediation of the Relationship between Attitudes and Sentence Length via Sexual Reoffense Risk (juveniles)

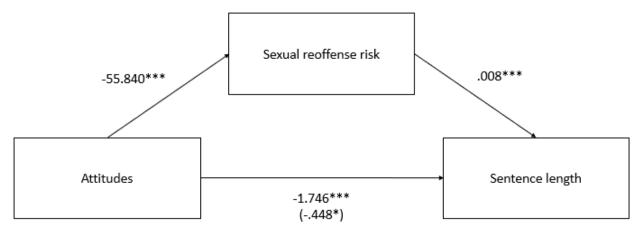


Figure 6.21. Regression coefficients for the relationship between attitudes toward juvenile sexual offenders and sentence length as mediated by the estimated sexual reoffense risk of that group.

The regression coefficient for the indirect effect is in parentheses. * p < .05. *** p < .001.

Table 6.38

Coefficients for Juvenile Sexual Reoffense Risk Mediation Model III

		Consequent							
		M (sexual reoffense risk)				Y (se	sentence length)		
Antecedent		Coeff.	SE	p		Coeff.	SE	p	
X (attitudes)	а	-55.840	6.616	< .001	c'	-1.746	.266	<.001	
M (sexual reoffense risk)					b	.008	.002	< .001	
constant	$i_{ m M}$	278.864	27.432	< .001	$i_{ m Y}$	8.310	1.163	< .001	
		$R^2 = .242$			$R^2 = .560$				
		$F_{(1,223)} = 71.228, p < .001$			$F_{(2,222)} = 50.643, p < .001$				

Figure 6.22: Model III: Mediation of the Relationship between Attitudes and Sentence Length via Sexual Reoffense Risk (adults)

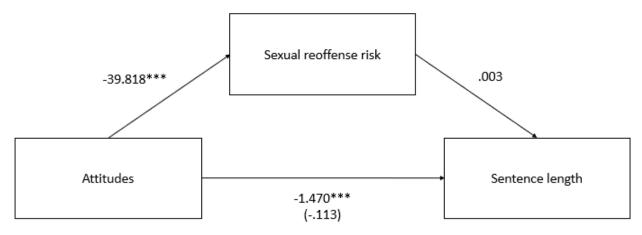


Figure 6.22. Regression coefficients for the relationship between attitudes toward adult sexual offenders and sentence length as mediated by the estimated sexual reoffense risk of that group. The regression coefficient for the indirect effect is in parentheses.

*** p < .001.

Table 6.39

Coefficients for Adult Sexual Reoffense Risk Mediation Model III

			t						
		M (sexual reoffense risk)				Y (sentence length)			
Antecedent		Coeff.	SE	p		Coeff.	SE	p	
X (attitudes)	а	-39.818	5.675	< .001	c'	-1.470	.246	< .001	
M (sexual reoffense risk)					b	.003	.003	.282	
constant	$i_{ m M}$	220.130	22.820	< .001	$i_{ m Y}$	7.721	1.067	< .001	
		Ì	$R^2 = .180$			$R^2 = .433$			
		$F_{(1,224)} =$	49.232, p	o < .001		$F_{(2,223)} = 25.775, p < .001$			

In the second mediation model (model IV), sexual reoffense risk was entered as a potential mediator in the relationship between attitudes and support for registration. In the juvenile condition, all pathways were significant, such as the direct effect ($t_{(2,285)} = -4.618$, p < .001), as can be seen in Figure 6.23. Further, the total effect was also significant ($t_{(1,286)} = -7.5619$, p < .001). See Table 6.40 for model coefficients. Bootstrap confidence intervals generated for the indirect effect both fell below zero ($\beta = -.348$, CI = -.5116, -.2032), indicating a consistent and significant mediating effect of sexual reoffense risk on the relationship between attitudes and support for registration. The mediation accounted for 36.8% of the total effect.

Figure 6.23: Model IV: Mediation of the Relationship between Attitudes and Support for Registration via Sexual Reoffense Risk (juveniles)

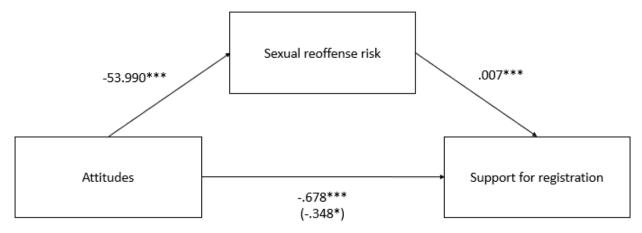


Figure 6.23. Regression coefficients for the relationship between attitudes toward juvenile sexual offenders and sentence length as mediated by the estimated sexual reoffense risk of that group. The regression coefficient for the indirect effect is in parentheses. p < .05. *** p < .001.

Table 6.40

Coefficients for Juvenile Sexual Reoffense Risk Mediation Model IV

		Consequent							
		M (sexual reoffense risk)				Y (registration)			
Antecedent		Coeff.	SE	p	•	Coeff.	SE	p	
X (attitudes)	а	-53.990	6.105	< .001	c'	678	.147	< .001	
M (sexual reoffense risk)					b	.007	.001	< .001	
constant	$i_{ m M}$	271.127	25.360	< .001	$i_{ m Y}$	4.638	.639	< .001	
		$R^2 = .215$				$R^2 = .237$			
		$F_{(1,286)} = 78.217, p < .001$				$F_{(2,285)} = 44.215, p < .001$			

For adults, entering sexual reoffense risk as a mediator in the relationship between attitudes and support for registration was equally fruitful (see Figure 6.41 and Table 6.24). Both paths stemming from attitudes were significant (direct effect: $t_{(2,282)} = -5.693$, p < .001), as was

the path between sexual reoffense risk and support for registration. Further, support for the significance of the total overall effect was found ($t_{(1,283)} = -7.7044$, p < .001). Lastly, confidence intervals generated via the bootstrapping procedure ($\beta = -.189$, CI = -.3137, -.0799) for the mediation analysis indicated that sexual reoffense risk significantly mediates the relationship between attitudes and support for the registration of adult sexual offenders. This accounts for 21.1% of the total effect.

Figure 6.24: Model IV: Mediation of the Relationship between Attitudes and Support for Registration via Sexual Reoffense Risk (adults)

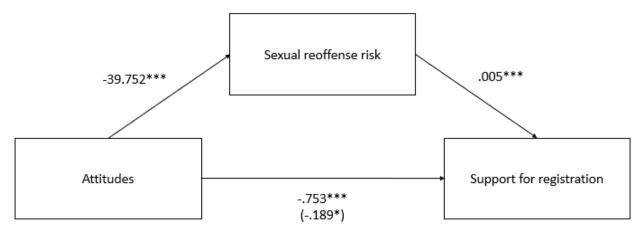


Figure 6.24. Regression coefficients for the relationship between attitudes toward juvenile sexual offenders and sentence length as mediated by the estimated sexual reoffense risk of that group. The regression coefficient for the indirect effect is in parentheses. *p < .05. ***p < .001.

Table 6.41

Coefficients for Adult Sexual Reoffense Risk Mediation Model IV

		Consequent								
		M (sexual reoffense risk)				Y (registration)				
Antecedent		Coeff.	SE	p		Coeff.	SE	p		
X (attitudes)	а	-39.752	5.100	< .001	<i>c'</i>	753	.573	< .001		
M (sexual reoffense risk)					b	.005	.001	< .001		

constant

$$i_{\rm M}$$
 219.747 20.540 < .001

< .001

$$R^2 = .177$$

$$R^2 = .206$$

$$F_{(1,283)} = 60.751, p < .001$$

$$F_{(2,282)} = 36.537, p < .001$$

CHAPTER 7: DISCUSSION

The purpose of the current study was threefold. First, it aimed to understand Canadian's attitudes toward juvenile and adult sexual offenders—the first study to do so with the former group. Second, sought to determine whether attitudes and other responses toward juvenile and adult sexual offenders differed. And third, it probed different vignette conditions to determine whether the means of information (i.e., either provided from elsewhere or derived from one's own approximations) influenced attitudes, sentence and registration recommendations, stereotype endorsement, dehumanization, moral outrage, and culpability. In addition to these three broad purposes, a number of hypotheses were made regarding associations between the above variables; namely, that negative attitudes would be associated with longer sentence lengths, support for more punitive registration, more stereotype endorsement, dehumanization, moral outrage, and offender culpability in addition to demographic variables such as conservative political orientation and less contact with sexual offenders. Dehumanization was also examined as a potential mediator in some of these relationships, namely between political orientation and attitudes and attitudes and sentence length. Inspection of the correlation tables also provided rationale for additional mediation analyses involving sexual reoffense risk, which will be discussed below.

7.1 VARIABLE ASSOCIATIONS

7.1.1 PRE- AND POST-VIGNETTE VARIABLES. It was expected that for participants in the vignette creation and no vignette conditions, depictions of more severe crimes would be related to more negative attitudes, longer sentence lengths, greater support for registration, greater dehumanization, and more moral outrage for both juvenile and adult sexual offender targets. When these variables pertained to the juvenile sexual offender this was largely

correct—significant small to moderate correlations were found in the expected directions between crime severity and all of the variables listed with the exception of support for registration. While the lack of significant association was not expected, it is also not surprising given the lack of variation in responses to the two variables: two-thirds of participants depicted a more severe offense while over 90% of participants supported either non-public or public registration. For adult sexual offenders, crime severity was only associated with attitudes and moral outrage at the .05 level. Both of these associations were small, perhaps limited by the lack of variation in crime severity: 86.9% of adult vignettes were coded as more severe.

For both juvenile and adults, more negative attitudes were associated with greater baseline disgust sensitivity in addition to longer sentence lengths, support for more punitive registration, greater stereotype endorsement, greater dehumanization, and more moral outrage toward the respective sexual offender age group. McKee's (2005) five sentencing goals were also largely related to attitudes, sentence length, and registration endorsement. For juveniles, this was especially so: stronger endorsement of the rehabilitative goal was associated with more positive attitudes, shorter sentence length, and less support for registration, while endorsement of retributive and specific deterrence goals was associated with negative attitudes, longer sentence lengths, and more support for registration. Both general deterrence and community safety endorsement were significantly associated with negative attitudes and longer sentence lengths, but not with support for registration. With reference to the adult sexual offender group, endorsement of rehabilitative goals was again significantly related to the attitude, sentence length, and registration endorsement variables in the expected direction. Further, general deterrence, retribution, and community safety were also associated with the three variables, albeit in the opposite direction. Thus, specific deterrence was the only goal not significantly

associated with all three variables, although small significant associations were found between it and attitudes and registration endorsement.

Overall, all five sentencing goals were seen as at least moderately important with the least important goal (retribution) still averaging above the midpoint. The remaining four sentencing goals all fell toward the higher levels of importance, indicating that Canadians see value in a variety of the sentencing goals and that they are not necessarily mutually exclusive. In other words, it is possible that one can strongly endorse both community safety and rehabilitation—in fact, support for the rehabilitation of the offender was in no way related to support for the community safety goal, nor for general or specific deterrence. Thus, sentencing goals are not zero-sum equations but are rather complex considerations that weigh the merit of each goal independently. Corăbian (2016) came to a similar conclusion in their nationwide sample of Canadians, suggesting that this pattern of results is not specific to this sample of (mostly) University of Saskatchewan students.

Also of note is that the current study measured sentencing goals in a general sense, without specifying what type of offender they would be applied to. Corăbian (2016) specified the type of offender, noting that less incarceration/control motives were endorsed for non-contact adult offenders than for offenders charged with contact offenses against either children or other adults. Again, these did not appear to come at the expense of support for rehabilitative/reintegration policies. This poses a question for future inquiry: would the importance of sentencing goals differ when the target is a juvenile versus an adult sexual offender? If so, which goals may differ and what may explain these distinctions? For instance, would rehabilitative goals be more strongly endorsed for juveniles if they are seen as more amenable to treatment? Would community safety take on increased importance with adult sexual

offenders given the high recidivism estimates noted in this study and others (such as Corăbian, 2016)? Perhaps most importantly, are sentencing goals able to be manipulated—not solely by the type of offender, but by the presence of factual information such as recidivism rates? If so, this could have monumental impact on the way that criminal justice policies are debated, enacted, and reformed.

Lastly, it was postulated that both a belief that crime is increasing and higher estimates of sexual recidivism risk would be associated with longer recommended sentence lengths and greater support for more punitive registration requirements. Again, these associations were expected to be present across both offender age groups. However, across both sexual offender age groups, the belief that crime rates are increasing was only associated with greater support for registration. Further, these associations were relatively small. Sexual reoffense risk emerged as a much stronger correlate of both variables across both groups. For sentence length, the association was significantly stronger for juveniles than adults, suggesting that estimates of recidivism risk may have greater influence over the sentences that participants recommend for juveniles.

Going beyond the hypothesized associations, the belief that juvenile or adult crime was increasing was significantly associated with more negative attitudes, greater support for registration, stronger stereotype endorsement, greater dehumanization, and more moral outrage expressed toward the respective group. Only sentence length was not associated with perception of crime trends. While these associations were small, participants' estimates of sexual offender 3-year sexual recidivism emerged as having significant moderate associations with all of the above variables in the expected directions for juveniles. In fact, sexual recidivism risk accounted for 21% of the variance in sentence length and 19% of the variance in registration endorsement. Smaller, significant associations were also found between sexual recidivism risk and the above

variables for the adult sexual offender group. Compared to crime trends, the associations between attitudes, sentence length, and moral outrage with sexual recidivism risk were significantly stronger across both age groups. Sexual recidivism risk's association with dehumanization was also significantly stronger with the juvenile sexual offender.

7.1.2 DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES AND PARTICIPANT

CHARACTERISTICS. Consistent with previous literature (e.g., Mancini et al., 2010; McKee & Feather, 2008; Payne et al., 2004), conservative political orientation was significantly associated with more negative attitudes (including all three subscales), longer sentence lengths, and greater stereotype endorsement for the juvenile measures. However, these associations were small in magnitude. For the adult measures, conservative political orientation was only associated with the trust subscale of the ATS-21, more support for registration, and stereotype endorsement. Again, these associations were small in magnitude. Political orientation was not associated with the dehumanization of or moral outrage expressed toward either age group, nor registration of juveniles or sentence lengths of adults.

Interaction with sexual offenders was more consistently associated with most of the dependent study variables across both groups. For instance, greater interaction with sexual offenders was associated with more positive attitudes (including all three subscales of the ATS-21), less stereotype endorsement, less dehumanization, and less expressed moral outrage toward both ages of sexual offender. More frequent interaction was not, however, associated with support for registration, sentence length, or depictions of crime severity. Magnitudes of association among the significant correlations were small across both groups. This may be due, in part, to the fact that interaction was sexual offenders was either non-existent or low—less than 10% (n = 16) of the sample indicated that they interact with sexual offenders at least once a

week—and that this was too few participants for an effect to be reflected. Further, the context of their interaction was not measured. In many of the studies that have implicated an association between contact with sexual offenders and more positive responses, they have done so by comparing responses between two groups who differ in their interactions due to their professions (Brace, 2014; Ferguson & Ireland, 2006; Kjelsberg & Loos, 2008). Within these studies, the effects of contact are able to be better established, as the higher-contact groups have considerably larger sample sizes than the current study (e.g., n = 90; Kjelsberg & Loos, 2008). It is also possible that their attitudes may have differed from the general public's prior to entering their profession, which may have facilitated or influenced their career choice.

While no hypotheses were made regarding the effect that participant gender may have on responses given the mixed evidence in previous research, the potential effects were still investigated. Regarding juvenile sexual offenders, few gender differences emerged. Females were more likely to endorse the "superpredator" stereotype than males while also attributing more culpability to the offender (although both males and females attributed considerable culpability on average). Gender differences regarding moral outrage approached significance (p = .074), with females expressing more. This gender difference was significant when the target of the moral outrage was adult sexual offenders. With regard to adult sexual offenders, Female participants also expressed significantly more negative attitudes, gave longer sentences (50% longer on average), and supported more punitive registration requirements for adult sexual offenders, as reported previously (Beck & Travis, 2004; Brown et al., 2008; Kernsmith et al., 2009; Mancini et al., 2010; Willis, Malinen, & Johnston, 2013). While Sherrill and colleagues (2011) reported that females attributed greater culpability to offenders than males, this effect fell just above the traditionally accepted alpha level (p = .051). Similar to juveniles, however, both

groups attributed a large amount of culpability—in this case, over 90%—toward the adult offender. It is also worth mentioning that in the provided vignette, the perpetrator was described as a male ("Adam/Jason") while participant-depicted sexual offenders were either construed as male or there was no insinuation of gender (i.e., no participant outwardly described a female sexual offender).

7.2 EFFECTS OF OFFENDER AGE

It was predicted that there would be no differences in participant responses between the two offender age groups. However, such a prediction was not supported. While attitudes toward juvenile sexual offenders were relatively neutral, the average falling just below the scale midpoint, they were significantly more positive than the attitudes held toward adult sexual offenders. This was also the case with the trust, intent, and social distance subscales of the ATS-21. While it was expected that attitudes toward adult sexual offenders would be negative, they were actually more negative than a similar sample collected by Olver and Barlow (2010) roughly a decade ago. However, the attitude scores were similar to the UK sample the ATS-21 was validated with (Hogue, 2015). Whether the differences between the current study and Olver and Barlow's (2010)—which recruited from the same university—are indicative of a gradual decline in attitudes toward sexual offenders or differences in the sample (the latter exclusively recruited undergraduate psychology students) remains to be seen. The fact that the current sample scored similar on the attitude measure to the recent UK sample also suggests, but by no means concludes, that attitudes between Canadian and UK toward adult sexual offenders are similar. At the very least, it supports some generalization of results from one region to the other.

In terms of sentence length, juvenile sexual offenders were also recommended shorter sentences in comparison to their adult counterparts. Interestingly, the average sentence length given to juvenile sexual offenders (6.48 years) was considerably longer than the traditional custodial sentence given to juvenile sexual offenders in Canada (a median of 180 days; Miladinovic, 2016). Meanwhile, recommended sentences for adult sexual offenders (10.56 years) were markedly less than the 38.8-year average recommended by Florida residents in Levenson and colleagues' (2007) survey. However, the average sentence length was almost identical to the 10.5-year average sentence length recommended by the participants in Olver and Barlow's (2010) study, who also estimated that the average sexual offender sentence was roughly five years long. Camman (2012) also reported that many believe sentences for sexual offenders are too short.

In fact, the median sentence in Canada for adult perpetrators of sexual assault is even less than this estimate at 255 days (Maxwell, 2017). For adults sentenced for other sexual offenses, such as sexual interference, the median sentence length is identical to the median juvenile sexual offender sentence of 180 days. Needless to say, samples across the board appear to be much more punitive in terms of their sentence length than is frequently practiced in the Canadian court system. This has the potential to undermine the confidence individuals have in the criminal justice system, particularly if individuals are strong adherents to the principles of deterrence. Proponents of community safety goals may also be dissatisfied with median sentence lengths, particularly if they view sexual offenders as high reoffense risks, which will be discussed below. Even if sentences were increased to match the average recommended lengths of roughly 6 and a half and 10 and a half years for juvenile and adult sexual offenders, respectively, in this study, the large standard deviations indicate that many individuals would still not be satisfied with the increased sentence length.

The current study also discovered the large degree of support for the registration of adult sexual offenders first reported in Kelly's (2013) sample of Ontario residents. However, Kelly's (2013) study failed to differentiate between public and non-public registration and assumed that participants from Ontario, Canada, were familiar with the United States' national sexual offender registry, which is public. As results from the current inquiry show, Canadians do not wholeheartedly endorse a registration system similar to the United States. Instead, they are somewhat divided on what form of registration they feel is necessary. For adult sexual offenders, an American style of public registration was supported by 55.5% of participants, while non-public registration was slightly less popular with endorsement from 41.5% of the sample.

Participants were less divided when it came to juvenile sexual offenders, preferring non-public registration (70.2%) to public registration (21.6%). While the current sample afforded more privacy to the juvenile sexual offenders in respect to their adult counterparts, it should still be noted that for both offender groups, some form of registration was supported by over 90% of participants.

While endorsement of the no registration option was equally unpopular in the current study as it was in Salerno, Najdowski, and colleagues' (2010) study, other differences emerged between the two studies. Firstly, roughly seven in 10 participants in the current sample endorsed non-public registration for juvenile sexual offenders, compared to just 14% of the University of Chicago at Illinois (UCI) undergraduates. In turn, the UCI undergraduates overwhelmingly (81%) supported online, public registration, a requirement only recommended by about one-fifth of the current sample. The current sample was also notably less severe toward adult sexual offenders than the Illinois undergraduates. Endorsed rates of non-public (41.5%) and public (55.5%) registration were considerably higher and lower, respectively, than the UCI sample, who

overwhelmingly favored public (77%) to non-public (21%) registration. Despite the less punitive nature of the current sample, significant differences did emerge in their support for registration between the two offender age groups, with adult sexual offenders receiving the harsher recommendations on average. With over three-quarters of participants against the public registration of juvenile sexual offenders, it seems that legislation aiming to implement a SORNA-like registry in Canada may not be supported—at least, if it is extended to juveniles as it was in the US under the *Adam Walsh Act*.

With respect to Canada's treatment of juvenile offenders outlined in Chapter 2, the above results paint an interesting picture. First, it appears that the current policies in place for juvenile sexual offenders, specifically in terms of the sentence lengths given, are seen as too lenient.

Results are similar for adult sexual offenders, who were recommended to receive far longer sentences than is common practice. In fact, approximately two-thirds (62.8%) of respondents from the same university in which this study was conducted responded that they feel prison sentences for sexual offenders are too lenient, with only 2.6% believing that they were too severe (Olver & Barlow, 2010).

Second, the support for the registration of juveniles who committed a sexual offense does clearly point toward a more punitive trajectory. Yet, this is a nuanced discussion. Support for the registration of juveniles was driven largely by support for the non-public option, which spares the youth the stigma and public ridicule that comes with being placed on a public registry, which received greater support for their adult counterparts. While the registration scale (flanked by no registration and public registration) was treated as a variable that fluctuated in punitiveness, there are important differences between non-public and public registration. Namely, a non-public registry is essentially a policing tool that could be used to identify released sexual offenders who

might be suspects in a future offense. Therefore, it is difficult to determine whether participants are supporting it to assist police efforts in solving crime or to punish young offenders.

Meanwhile the public registry is both a support system that can be used by police and a tool that infers to the community that the released offender is at a much higher risk of sexual recidivism and poses an overall danger to the community. As a result, sexual offenders are likely to pay substantial social costs, regardless of their post-release activities, while those on non-public registries will be spared this kind of barrier to their community reintegration.

In other words, the public's differing endorsements of registries between the two age groups indicates the following for youth who have committed a sexual offense. Although the public overestimates the risk of a youth sexual offender to commit a sexual crime upon release, it is willing to give these youth chance to reintegrate back into society (provided they do not reoffend again). This carrot and stick approach is reminiscent of the mantra that has largely driven Canada's juvenile judicial policies for the better part of a century, albeit with a larger stick and smaller carrot.

Yet all that is known is that the non-public registration of juvenile sexual offenders is supported. We do not know how long the public would expect the young offender to abstain from criminal activity before being removed from the registry, or whether registration would be a lifetime requirement. It is also unknown whether the public would support these registries being accessible to potential employers or made public if the juvenile commits another sexual offense (i.e., a two- or three-strike rule). Thus, while it appears that it is a harbinger of a turn away from our historical course with regard to the treatment of young offenders, like many good inquiries, it raises more questions than it answers.

Returning to the other variables, offender age effects also emerged for stereotype endorsement, dehumanization, moral outrage, and offender culpability. Specifically, participants were more apt to dub the adult sexual offender a "cold and calculating superpredator," than their juvenile counterparts. Consistent with Camman (2012), adult sexual offenders were dehumanized to a moderate degree, scoring comparably to multiple samples of UK respondents (Viki et al., 2012). These were significantly higher than the scores for juvenile sexual offenders, indicating that the latter are less likely to be subject to dehumanization than their adult counterparts. More moral outrage was also expressed toward this group, who elicited similar levels of moral outrage in the current sample as American samples (Salerno, Najdowski, et al., 2010). Adult sexual offenders were also deemed more culpable for the offense than their juvenile equivalents. Victim culpability did not appear to be influenced by offender age, with victims of both juvenile and adult sexual offenders being attributed very little responsibility for the offense. Among participants in the vignette creation and no vignette conditions, crime severity did differ between the two offender age groups, with roughly 87% of participants depicting a more severe offense vignette for adults versus two-thirds for juveniles. Curiously, these were higher than the rates for juvenile (45%) and adult (55%) sexual offenders depicted by the undergraduates in Salerno, Najdowski, et al. (2010).

Overall, Canadian attitudes and responses to adult sexual offenders mirror those reported in the UK and US in some respects. Yet at the same time, important differences do emerge, particularly with regard to criminal justice policies such as the length of sentence and the requirements associated with their release (i.e., registration). Although attitudes are significantly correlated across these samples with variables such as sentence length and registration, it appears that Canadians have a lower ceiling when it comes to their endorsement of the above practices in

comparison to their traditional influencers. Thus, it is imperative that similar levels of negativity toward adult sexual offenders across national borders are not taken as indications that members of these countries equally endorse judicial practices or management strategies.

7.3 EFFECTS OF VIGNETTE CONDITION

Across all three vignette conditions, attitudes fell below the scale midpoint. While attitudes were slightly less negative when provided with a vignette versus the other two conditions, no significant effect of vignette condition emerged. Nor did scores significantly differ between vignette conditions on any of the three ATS-21 subscales, although participants who were provided with a vignette did score highest (i.e., most positively) on each. Significant differences did emerge, however, with respect to sentence lengths: participants who were provided with a vignette recommended significantly shorter sentence lengths than those in the vignette creation or no vignette conditions. Prior to log transformations, these differences were notable: when provided with a vignette, the average sentence length was 8.32 years, three years less than the recommended length among those in the vignette creation condition and five years less than those in the no vignette condition.

While sentence length was the product of vignette condition, the other criminal justice response, registration, was not. For juveniles, the average endorsement across the three groups were considerably similar, scoring just above the point for non-public registration, while average scores for adults were also similarly clustered, although halfway between non-public and public registration. Upon first inspection, stereotype endorsement did not appear to be influenced by vignette condition, as the omnibus F test was nonsignificant. However, pairwise comparisons revealed that those in the vignette creation condition more strongly endorsed the stereotype than those who were provided with vignettes. No other significant differences emerged. For both

dehumanization and moral outrage, there were no significant differences across conditions. This did not emerge, nor did any significant differences between the groups, for either offender or victim culpability. Depictions of crime severity between the vignette creation and no vignette conditions did not significantly differ from one another. In both conditions, two-thirds of participants depicted a more severe offense for the juvenile sexual offender, while an equally large proportion (85-89%) depicted more severe offences committed by adult sexual offenders across the two conditions. While these two conditions yielded longer sentences than the provided vignette condition, none of the conditions yielded outrageously long sentences as reported in other studies using American samples (e.g., Salerno, Najdowski, et al., 2010).

Lastly, although many of the variables, such as attitudes, support for registration, dehumanization, and moral outrage were not influenced by the vignette conditions, there were some significant differences that did emerge. For instance, participants who were provided with a vignette recommended significantly shorter sentences than those in the other two conditions. Those provided with a vignette were also less likely to endorse the "superpredator" stereotype than those who created their own vignettes, but not those in the no vignette condition. At first glance, it appears as though this may be due to decreased dehumanization, which can be the product of greater familiarity, which participants may have gotten in the vignette, despite its brevity (Viki et al., 2012). However, as noted above, dehumanization did not significantly differ between the three conditions despite dehumanization scores being two points lower for both age categories in the vignette provided condition than in the other two vignette conditions. Whether these differences would reach significance if the vignettes were lengthened, providing more detail about the offender, is an important area for future inquiry.

Differences may also emerge due to the propensity of participants to imagine more severe offenses compared to the more "moderate" vignette provided in this study. Again, further research in this area is warranted, for it is important to better understand the immediate responses people have to headlines such as "juvenile sexual offender sentenced to 18 months in prison" and "juvenile sexual offender released into community," and how they may differ if they were provided with more information about the offender. Given the overrepresentation and exaggeration of violent crime in the news, which can not only reflect societal attitudes but influence them, this takes on a pressing need (Ditton & Duffy, 1983; Greer, 2003; Harper & Hogue, 2017; Marsh, 1991; O'Hara, 2012; Schwark, 2017). For instance, in assessing visual representations of sexual violence in German news articles, Schwark (2017) found that pictures often implied that physical violence was also used, despite not all sexual crimes fitting this narrative. Harper and Hogue (2017) also noted that the frequency of sexual crime coverage in the British press increased by 295% in the wake of a high-profile sexual scandal, resulting in a 22:1 overrepresentation of the prevalence of sexual crimes. In other words, news about sexual crimes can be explosive and rife with misinformation. While Greer (2003) summarizes the reasons why the media may choose to do so, it clearly does a disservice to the sexual offender community, particularly when they begin their reintegration process back into society. As Camman (2012) notes, this group is not particularly welcomed when returning to the community, with community members seeking more distance from them, being less supportive of their rights, and dehumanizing them to a greater degree than other violent or property offenders. Perhaps the next step in regards to research is to enhance the ecological validity by examining the effects that actual news or press releases have on attitudes and what features may drive them in certain directions.

7.3.1 OFFENDER AGE BY VIGNETTE CONDITION INTERACTIONS. Although age effects emerged for each of the variables discussed above and a select few variables were also influenced by vignette condition, no significant interactions emerged. The consistency of juvenile sexual offenders being seen as or treated less severely than their adult counterparts across the vignette conditions suggests that this effect is not an artifact of a specific, empirically-derived condition. Rather, it proposes that the age effect is robust and that one need not fret over the methodology used in depicting adult and juvenile sexual offenders for the purpose of comparison.

This is not to suggest that there are no circumstances under which these effects may be reversed, but such an occurrence would have to be the result of a deliberate manipulation. For instance, if one were to compare a juvenile sexual offender who committed a heinous, violent sexual offense to an adult who was charged with sexual harassment, it is possible that the juvenile would be evaluated more negatively (however one may choose measure this).

Kernsmith and colleagues (2009) certainly demonstrate this when they found juvenile sexual offenders to elicit more fear from participants than some adult sexual offenders, but not others.

In other words, the stability of the age effect relies upon an equivalency in the methodology used to depict the offender. What this study also demonstrated is that this is not confined to prescribed vignettes, but also to vignette creation and no vignette conditions, whether it is measured in terms of attitudes, sentence length, support for registration, stereotype endorsement, dehumanization, moral outrage, offender culpability, or in depictions of crime severity. Thus, it is not a false equivalency to compare results from attitudinal studies that have employed different methodologies to elicit responses, so long as they remain relatively similar in severity.

7.4 MEDIATIONS

Building on the hypothesis that conservative political orientation would be significantly associated with negative attitudes—which was only supported in the juvenile sexual offender vignettes—the current study hoped to better explain this relationship. Dehumanization was chosen as a potential explanation given its previous association with negative attitudes toward sexual offenders (e.g., Camman, 2012; Viki et al., 2012) and a increased propensity for politically conservative individuals to dehumanize others (DeLuca-McLean & Castano, 2009). Further, it made conceptual sense, as the more human one sees a target, the less likely they may be to endorse items such as "sex offenders need affection and praise just like anybody else." To test this, dehumanization was entered as a mediator in a mediation model (model I) that featured political orientation as the independent variable and attitudes as the dependent. In the context of juvenile sexual offenders, while there was a significant direct effect of political orientation on attitudes, the pathway between political orientation and dehumanization was not significant. Nor was the indirect effect, suggesting that no mediation occurs through dehumanization. Regarding adult sexual offenders, only the pathway between dehumanization and attitudes was significant. Thus, dehumanization did not emerge as a significant mediator in the political orientationattitudes relationship.

A second hypothesis was also generated regarding the mediating role of dehumanization, this time in the relationship between attitudes and sentence length (model II). This appeared to be a more promising model, as the inter-variable associations were all significant across both age categories. Indeed, dehumanization did emerge as a mediator between the two variables while all pathways were significant. Thus, the association between more negative attitudes and longer sentence length is due, in part, to the increase in dehumanization that comes with holding more negative attitudes. In other words, as attitudes increase in their negativity, so to does one's

propensity to dehumanize. This subsequent increase in dehumanization is associated with an increase in the length of sentence a participant will recommend, which explains a significant proportion of the relationship between negative attitudes and longer sentence length recommendations. Thus, dehumanization is a mechanism by which attitudes influence sentence lengths. This insinuates that attempts to humanize juvenile sexual offenders may be effective in reducing demand for longer prison sentences. However, this was exclusive to juvenile sexual offenders, as dehumanization did not emerge as a mediator in the adult model, nor was the pathway between it and sentence length significant.

Two more mediational analyses were conducted upon investigation of correlation matrices. In both juvenile and adult sexual offender categories, participants' estimates of recidivism risk emerged as some of the strongest correlates of other study variables. While there were a number of potential models in which sexual recidivism risk could have been entered, it seemed most logical to test its role in mediating the relationship between attitudes and the two criminal justice responses: sentence length (model III) and registration endorsement (model IV). When sexual reoffense risk was entered as the mediator in model III for the juvenile sexual offender variables, all pathways were significant, as was the mediation, with both bootstrap confidence intervals falling below zero.

This suggests that participant-estimated sexual reoffense rates, which were grossly exaggerated, may be an easier route in reducing public support for longer sentences. It also implies that wanting relatively long sentences for juvenile sexual offenders may not (solely) be the product of retribution, but rather a utilitarian purpose. Adding credence to this argument is the significant relationship between sexual reoffense risk for juveniles and one's support for the sentencing goal of community safety (r = .245). Like model II, however, this mediation only

existed among the juvenile sexual offender variables, indicating that similar efforts may not be as effective in reducing demand for longer prison sentences for adult sexual offenders.

In essence, the relationship between negative attitudes and longer sentence lengths is partly due to the increased recidivism risk that is associated with more negative attitudes. This could be thought of as negative attitudes influencing recidivism risk, such that negative evaluations, or seeing sexual offenders as "bad," can lead to overestimating their risk of reoffending. To a large degree, the ATS-21 is a measure of casting sexual offenders as members of an ingroup comprised of most humans (or at least law-abiding citizens) or a distinct subgroup that lacks many of the features that makes one a member of the former group (such as "having feelings"). As has been demonstrated numerous times, humans have a propensity to exaggerate the risk that members of outgroups pose to their safety (e.g., Cottrell & Neuberg, 2005; Jones & Fazio, 2010; Lundberg, Neel, Lassetter, & Todd, 2018; Todd, Thiem, & Neel, 2016). This can especially be the case when the outgroup is seen as less moral (Parker & Janoff-Bulman, 2013). Further, a lack of morality, which may be ascribed to sexual offender groups, could also help explain recidivism overestimates: if sexual offenders lack fundamental moral reasoning, what's to stop them from committing highly intimate crimes? To individuals with which this resonates, it makes sense that they may endorse longer prison sentences, as incarceration can act as a buffer for a supposed lack of morality in establishing or maintaining community safety.

Model IV, which examined the mediating role of estimated sexual reoffense risk in the relationship between attitudes and support for registration, was the final such analysis. Entering sexual reoffense risk into the juvenile model produced a significant total effect, while all pathways were also significant. Most importantly, bootstrap confidence intervals indicated the presence of a significant mediation. Results were similar for the adult sexual offender variables.

The relationship between negative attitudes and greater support for registration can be partly explained by the former's association with higher sexual reoffense risk, which then increases support for registration, regardless of offender age group. Interpretation of this model will largely be a reiteration of the explanation provided for model III. The difference between the two analyses is that the negative attitudes, via increased estimates of recidivism risk, supports the need for an additional community safety protective measure beyond incarceration. Indeed, higher estimates of adult sexual reoffense risk was associated with greater endorsement of the community safety goal. Interestingly, the goal of specific deterrence—which is often used as a rationale supporting sexual offender registries—was significantly associated with juvenile, but not adult, sexual recidivism risk. The opposite was true with general deterrence, endorsement of which was significantly associated with higher estimates of adult, but not juvenile, sexual recidivism. Thus, while sexual recidivism risk plays a role in influencing support for potential criminal justice responses (e.g., sentence lengths, registration requirements), there may also be different sentencing goals motivating these attitudes depending on the age of offender. This warrants further investigation, particularly in the sexual offender realm.

In a further vein, the associations between the sentencing goal of community safety, support for registration, and estimates of higher recidivism risk makes sense. In having sexual offenders on registries, particularly public ones, it formalizes their membership as members of an outgroup. Certainly, they help the public in easily identifying who these outcasts are and offers a sense of control in terms of protecting oneself from an individual who they believe is likely to reoffend. Perhaps this can help explain why individuals are likely to support registries in spite of evidence supporting their utility, as noted by Levenson, Brannon, and colleagues (2007). It also poses the question of how individuals interpret a lack of empirical support for registration. If

those individuals also view sexual offenders as highly likely to reoffend, are they predisposed to believe that registries are ineffective in reducing recidivism because sexual offenders are simply bound to reoffend? If sexual recidivism is viewed as an inevitability, it would make sense for individuals to support measures that would offer them at least some form of protection, even if they do not provide this at an aggregate level.

The importance that the mediation analyses place upon participants' estimated recidivism likelihoods in being drivers of more punitive responses raises an important educational component. Specifically, it suggests that if participants are made aware of the low sexual recidivism rates of juvenile sexual offenders—which are far cries from the 50/50 likelihoods that participants estimated—they may not be so punitive and their attitudes toward that group may change for the better. This is promising, as bestowing knowledge in an attempt to bolster attitudes toward a group via cognitions is a much easier task (both theoretically and practically) than trying to influence attitudes through the affective and behavioural routes. It also insinuates that some measure of informing the public, such as an education campaign, may be effective in reducing demand for longer sentences and more punitive registration for juvenile sexual offenders. On the other hand, it is important to note that sexual reoffense risk only accounted for between one-fifth and one-third of the total effect of attitudes on sentence length and registration for juvenile sexual offenders, respectively. In other words, education may be a key, but it is not a silver bullet in promoting a less punitive criminal justice system.

7.5 LIMITATIONS

While the current study has a number of strengths and contributes valuable knowledge to the research area, it is not without its limitations. First and foremost is that the sample consisted of a small, specific subset of the Canadian population, encompassing only students, faculty, and other members of a single Canadian university. Thus, the findings may not be generalizable to all regions of Canada. Rather, it is best compared to other studies done in the United States (and elsewhere), which have largely relied on university recruitment, yet are still interpreted as proxies to understanding the nation's attitudes. In essence, this limitation (using university student participants) facilitates comparisons to other studies in other jurisdictions as they also used university students.

With respect to representativeness, the sample was considerably younger than the Canadian population, whose median age is roughly 40-years-old (Statistics Canada, 2016). Results from the correlational analysis indicated that age was positively associated with less severe reactions, particularly toward juvenile sexual offenders, suggesting that the current sample may hold more negative views than the general public. The current sample also had an overrepresentation (66.4%) of females compared to the national average, which is relatively equal for those below age 65. Given that females tended to hold more negative attitudes, it is also possible that responses may be slightly more favourable among a more representative sample of the Canadian public. Lastly, with regard to the sample, participant self-selection was the means of recruitment and thus there is no way to determine whether these participants differed in any meaningful way from non-participants.

Second, the current study only compared the effect of one predetermined vignette to the other two vignette conditions. Therefore, it cannot be deduced whether the differences that did emerge due to condition were the direct result of reading and processing the vignette or whether these were due to potential differences in severity. Campregher and Jeglic (2016) did conduct a similar study, comparing several vignettes across severity (possessing intimate photos or sexual assault), victim age (11- or 15-years old) and victim gender (male or female) to what in essence

was this study's no vignette condition. Their results found that participants in the no vignette condition reported the perpetrator as more dangerous, more strongly adhering to the "superpredator" stereotype, and suggested harsher punishments than those in provided vignette conditions. However, this study compared the no vignette condition to the average scores from eight different vignette conditions. Therefore, it is inconclusive how participants in no vignette conditions respond in respect to others with vignettes of varying severity.

Third, the vignette used, while similar in length to those used in other studies (e.g., Campregher & Jeglic, 2016), was considerably shorter than most news articles that would cover such an offense. Therefore, it is possible that longer news articles may have a stronger effect on readers' attitudes and responses to such events. This may also vary on the way the perpetrator, victim, and offense are depicted. These effects were not the focus of the current investigation, although future research would benefit considerably from such an endeavour. Further research could also compare the effects that different mediums may play on attitudes toward juvenile sexual offenders.

Lastly, the provided vignettes both depicted an individual sexually offending against a similar-aged peer. While this was done to avoid the effects of victim age, unlike Pozzulo and colleagues (2010), it also limits the generalizability of the study results. While Pozzulo et al. (2010) compared responses to a fictitious juvenile or adult who sexually offended against a 12-year-old victim, that study failed to account for the fact that the juvenile sexual offender was relatively close in age to the victim, while the adult was considerably older. Thus, to some participants, the juvenile's behaviour may be seen as more normative. Given that youth aged 12-15 comprise 25% of sexual offenders against children aged 0-3 years and 39.8% of sexual

offenders against children aged 4-6 years, it would be beneficial to compare attitudes toward juveniles and adults who sexually offend against younger children (Statistics Canada, 2014).

7.6 CONCLUSION

The current study appears to be the first in Canada to examine attitudes toward juvenile sexual offenders and only one of a small number of studies to explore attitudes in comparison to adult sexual offenders. As such, despite the limitations noted above, it adds to the growing interest and research in juvenile sexual offenders. First, it appears that juvenile sexual offenders are treated with more leniency and are seen more neutrally than their adult counterparts. These age effects also held across the three vignette conditions, demonstrating their stability and generalizability across methodologies. Yet these effects are relative, as recommended sentences were still considerably longer than the sentences handed down by Canadian judiciaries while registration of some form for juveniles was largely endorsed, despite no such practice existing in Canada.

Second, it identified the roles that dehumanization and sexual recidivism risk play in understanding the link between attitudes and punitive responses, particularly in regards to juvenile sexual offenders. Understanding that estimates of sexual recidivism were highly inflated and the role this plays in sentencing decisions for both juvenile and adult offenders has a number of implications. Not only does it note that the public is largely misinformed regarding sexual recidivism rates, it also implicates the failure of researchers to provide the public with this knowledge. Further, it suggests that punitiveness toward sexual offenders is not solely reactionary or personal but is seen as a pragmatic approach to protecting the community from a seemingly dangerous individual.

Last, the current study replicated American findings in that the majority of individuals depicted more severe offenses when prompted to illustrate a "typical" sexual crime. This held for both juvenile and adult sexual offenders, although more severe offenses were depicted more frequently for the latter group. Further, it identified the role that different vignette conditions can have on some evaluative responses to sexual offenders, although the significant effects here were limited to a few variables. When there was an effect, the trend of leniency being shown toward the juvenile sexual offender in respect to their adult counterpart continued to hold, emphasizing the previous point about its stability. Despite the effect of vignette condition not being as robust as the effect of offender age, it does pave the way for further inquiry. Specifically, it would be worthwhile to investigate the effects that longer, news-style stories may have and how the emphases of these may influence responses, as this would add greater ecological validity to this line of research.

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APPENDIX A: CONSENT FORM

Researcher(s):

Graduate Student: Brandon Sparks

Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan

Email: brandon.sparks@usask.ca

Faculty Supervisor: Dr. J. Stephen Wormith

Department of Psychology, University of Saskatchewan

Phone: (306) 966-6818 Email: s.wormith@usask.ca

Attitudes Toward Sexual Crime and Offenders: You are invited to participate in a research study entitled "Attitudes Toward Sexual Crime and Offenders." This study (BEH 18-59) has been approved by the University of Saskatchewan Behavioural Research Ethics Board on [insert date]. Please read this form carefully and feel free to contact the researchers above if you have any questions prior to, during, or after completing the study. Further information regarding your rights as a participant can be obtained by contacting the Behavioural Research Ethics Board mentioned above through the ethics office at (306) 966-2084 or via email inquiry (ethics.office@usask.ca).

Purpose and Procedure: The study of people's attitudes toward crime and offenders has long been an area of inquiry in psychological research. As this has progressed, more specific questions can be asked about more distinct criminal acts and groups of offenders. This allows for a better recognition of the mechanisms that underlie people's attitudes toward the above subjects. These attitudes are highly important in understanding support for criminal laws, the treatment of offenders, and what barriers offenders may face when released into the community.

As a participant, you will respond to a series of questionnaires relevant to your attitudes toward sexual offenders and punishment. Following this, you will consider a fictional sexual offender and respond to a further series of brief questionnaires regarding your attitudes toward this specific offender. Completion of this study should take no more than 45 minutes to 60 minutes. If you are participating through the Psychology 110 Participant Pool, you will be compensated in the form of course credit. Otherwise, at the end of the study you will be provided with the opportunity to enter into a draw for a \$50 gift card.

Potential Benefits: Upon completion of the survey, you will receive a debriefing form which will provide an overview of current research regarding how people respond to offenders in the community. This will include several references for further reading on the subject if you desire. As stated above, members of the Psychology 110 Participant Pool will receive course credit, while other participants will have the opportunity to be entered into a draw for a \$50 gift card. Furthermore, your participation in this research will aid in further scientific understanding of Canadians' attitudes toward sexual offenders.

Potential Risks: This study contains a brief description of a sexual offense and may contain other content of a sexual nature. While you are being asked questions about a fictional sexual offender, you may find some of the information related to their criminal offense distressing. To minimize this risk, the information provided is similar to what you would see in a news report or press release. However, if participation becomes too distressing, please remember that you have the right to withdraw your consent at any time without penalty. If you wish, you may contact the graduate student researcher, Brandon Sparks, at the contact information above to discuss the study. If you require further support, please consider the following services:

Student Counselling Services: (306) 966-4920

Saskatoon Crisis Intervention Services (24 hours): (306) 933-6200 University of Saskatchewan Student Wellness Centre: (306) 966-5768

Storage of Data: The research data will be encrypted and stored on the secure servers of SurveyMonkey, whose premises have 24/7 security. Once data collection is complete, data will be stored on password protected computers accessible to only the above researchers. Anonymized data will be held by the research supervisor, Dr. Stephen Wormith, for a minimum of five years. However, it may be stored up to 15 years after collection. Once it has been collected from the SurveyMonkey, it will be permanently deleted from their servers upon request from the graduate student researcher, Brandon Sparks, or the research supervisor, Dr. Stephen Wormith. The information will then reside on a password protected computer in a secure setting for the duration of the storage term described above. When the data will be deleted, it will be done so through a file shredding software, erasing the possibility that the data can be recovered (i.e., it will be permanently deleted).

Anonymity and Confidentiality: Your participation is anonymous and confidential. While the data from this research project may be published and presented at conferences, it will be reported in aggregate form. This ensures that the identification of individuals will not be possible. To ensure the anonymity of your responses, please do not include any identifying information in your responses, such as your name or NSID in the questionnaire fields. At the conclusion of the study, you will be directed to another page to enter the draw, which will prompt you for your name and contact information. This information will be stored separately from your responses in order to prevent your anonymity from being compromised. While the names provided for the prize draw and requests for copies of the research results will indicate individuals who participated in the study, these names will remain confidential and will not be released. Nor will this personal information be attached to your survey responses.

Right to Withdraw: Your participation in this study is voluntary and you are not required to answer any questions that you are uncomfortable with. If you do not wish to continue with the study, you are free to withdraw your consent at any time, for any reason, without penalty. There will also be a text box at the completion of the survey if you wish to have your responses withdrawn from the data pool. If you feel comfortable, feel free to share your concerns here, as this will help the researchers in ensuring that the study minimized risk to the greatest extent possible. Please note that once the survey session has been closed, you will no longer be able to request your data be withdrawn, as data collection is anonymous.

Questions: If any questions or concerns arise prior to, during, or after completing the study, feel free to express these by contacting Brandon Sparks or Dr. Stephen Wormith at the contact information above. Further, if you have any questions about your rights as a research participant, please contact the ethics office at (306) 966-2084.

Follow-Up or Debriefing: After completion or withdrawal from the survey, you will be directed to a debriefing form providing more information on the study's background and purpose. If you wish to receive a summary of the research results, please submit your request to Brandon Sparks at the contact information above.

Consent to Participate: By completing and submitting the questionnaire, **YOUR FREE AND INFORMED CONSENT IS IMPLIED** and indicates that you understand the above conditions of participation in this study. This will constitute permission for the researcher to use the data gathered in the manner described above. If you would like a copy of the consent form, please print a copy for your records before proceeding to the questionnaire. You may also contact the researcher, Brandon Sparks, for a copy of the consent form.

APPENDIX B: DISGUST SCALE-REVISED (DS-R)

Please answer the following statements by indicating whether each item is true or false about you.

	False	True
1. I might be willing to try eating monkey meat, under some circumstances. (R)	0	0
2. It would bother me to see a rat run across my path in a park.	0	0
3. Seeing a cockroach in someone else's house doesn't bother me. (R)	0	0
4. It bothers me to hear someone clear a throat full of mucus.	0	0
5. If I see someone vomit, it makes me sick to my stomach.	0	0
6. It would bother me to be in a science class, and see a human hand preserved in a jar.	0	0
7. It would not upset me at all to watch a person with a glass eye take the eye out of the socket. (R)	0	0
8. It would bother me tremendously to touch a dead body.	0	0
9. I would go out of my way to avoid walking through a graveyard.	0	0
10. I never let any part of my body touch the toilet seat in a public washroom.	0	0
11. I probably would not go to my favorite restaurant if I found out that the cook had a cold.	0	0
12. Even if I was hungry, I would not drink a bowl of my favorite soup it if had been stirred with a used but thoroughly washed flyswatter.	0	0
13. It would bother me to sleep in a nice hotel room if I knew that a man had died of a heart attack in that room the night before.	0	0

Please answer the following statements by indicating the degree of disgust you would find the following experiences.

	Not	Slightly	Very	
14. If you see someone put ketchup on vanilla ice cream and eat it.	0	0	0	
15. You are about to drink a glass of milk when you smell that it is spoiled.	0	0	0	
16. You see maggots on a piece of meat in an outdoor garbage pail.	0	0	0	
17. You are walking barefoot on concrete and step on an earthworm.	0	0	0	
18. While you are walking through a tunnel under a railroad track, you smell urine.	0	0	0	
19. You see a man with his intestines exposed after an accident.	0	0	0	

20. Your friend's pet cat dies and you have to pick up the dead body	0	0	0
with your bare hands.			
21. You accidentally touch the ashes of a person who has been cremated.	0	0	0
22. You take a sip of soda and realize that you drank from the glass that an acquaintance of yours had been drinking from.	0	0	0
23. You discover that a friend of yours changes underwear only once a week.	0	0	0
24. A friend offers you a piece of chocolate shaped like dog-doo.	0	0	0
25. As part of a sex education class, you are required to inflate a new	0	0	0
lubricated condom, using your mouth.			

APPENDIX C: SENTENCING GOALS SCALE

There are many possible objectives or goals in the sentencing of offenders. Below I have listed the five most commonly given goals. Could you:

- 1. First please *rank* these five in order of importance to you, from 1 (most important) to 5 (least important). For example, if you think that the most important reason is "to deter other potential offenders", put a 1 on the line next to that statement; if you think the next most important reason is "to protect the community...", put a 2 next to that statement, and so on.
- 2. After you have done that, could you please then *rate* how important you think each goal is on the 1 (*not at all important*) to 7 (*very important*) scales provided.

	RANK ↓		Not at all important			Very important		
To rehabilitate the offender		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
To deter other potential offenders		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Because the offender should "pay" in some way for what they have done		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
To deter the offender from committing similar offences in the future		1	2	3	4	5	6	7
To protect the community by placing the offender where they can do no harm		1	2	3	4	5	6	7

APPENDIX D: VIGNETTE CONDITIONS

Condition 1

In the following section, you will be given information about someone who has committed a sexual offense. Please read the information carefully and keep this person in mind when answering later questions.

The sexual offense depicted is non-graphic in nature and was designed to provide no further details than would be included in a typical news report or press release. However, if you feel uncomfortable at any point, you are free to withdraw your consent without penalty.

"Adam [Jason] is a 13-[34-]year-old male who has been charged with sexual assault of a similar-aged female. Details from the Crown Prosecutor reveal that while at a party Adam approached a passed-out female and undid her clothes. The victim woke to find Adam touching her vagina. The victim immediately reported the incident to police."

Condition 2

In the following section, you will be asked to describe a fictional person who has committed a sexual offense. Please keep this person in mind when answering later questions. Remember, if you feel uncomfortable at any point, you are free to withdraw your consent without penalty.

1) When thinking of a typical [adult/juvenile] sexual offender, what kind of person do you think of? Describe anything about the person you can think of. What sort of characteristics do they
have?
2) What would you consider to be the typical [adult/juvenile] sexual offender crime? Please provide some details.

Condition 3

Please keep what you consider to be a generic [juvenile/adult] sexual offender/offense in mind when answering the following questions. Remember, if you feel uncomfortable at any point, you are free to withdraw your consent without penalty.

describe the offender they had in mind.]
In the previous section, you were asked to imagine a generic [juvenile/adult] sexual offender/offense when answering questions. Keeping this same person in mind, please answer the following questions.
1) When thinking of this typical [adult/juvenile] sexual offender, what kind of person do you think of? Describe anything about the person you were thinking of. What sort of characteristics did they have?
2) What did you consider to be the typical [adult/juvenile] sexual offender crime? Please provide some details.

[After the questionnaires in Appendices E-L have been completed, participants will be asked to

APPENDIX E: THE ATTITUDES TO SEX OFFENDERS SCALE (ATS-21)

Please answer the following statements by indicating the extent to which you agree with each item. To respond, tick the circle to the right of each item that describes the extent to which you agree with the statement.

There are no right or wrong answers.

	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Undecided	Agree	Strongly agree
1) [Adult/Juvenile] sex offenders are different from other people (R)	0	0	0	0	0
2) Most [adult/juvenile] sex offenders are victims of circumstances and deserve help	0	0	0	0	Ο
3) [Adult/Juvenile] Sex offenders have feelings like the rest of us	0	0	0	0	0
4) It is not wise to trust a[n] [adult/juvenile] sex offender too far (R)	Ο	0	0	0	0
5) I think I would like a lot of [adult/juvenile] sex offenders	0	0	0	0	0
6) Give a[n] [adult/juvenile] sex offender an inch and they take a mile (R)	Ο	Ο	0	0	0
7) [Adult/Juvenile] sex offenders need affection and praise just like anybody else	0	Ο	0	0	0
8) Trying to rehabilitate [adult/juvenile] sex offenders is a waste of time and money (R)	Ο	Ο	0	0	0
9) [Adult/Juvenile] sex offenders are no better or worse than other people	0	0	0	0	0
10) You have to be constantly on your guard with [adult/juvenile] sex offenders (R)	Ο	0	0	Ο	0
11) If you give a[n] [adult/juvenile] sex offender your respect, he'll give you the same	0	0	0	0	Ο
12) [Adult/Juvenile] sex offenders only think about themselves (R)	0	0	0	0	Ο
13) There are some [adult/juvenile] sex offenders I would trust with my life	0	0	0	0	0
14) Most [adult/juvenile] sex offenders are too lazy to earn an honest living (R)	0	0	0	Ο	Ο
15) I wouldn't mind living next door to a treated [adult/juvenile] sex offender	0	0	0	0	0
16) [Adult/Juvenile] sex offenders are just plain mean at heart (R)	0	0	0	0	Ο

17) [Adult/Juvenile] sex offenders are always trying to get something out of somebody (R)	0	0	0	0	0
18) [Adult/Juvenile] sex offenders are immoral (R)	0	0	0	0	0
19) I would like associating with some [adult/juvenile] sex offenders	0	0	0	0	0
20) [Adult/Juvenile] sex offenders only respect brute force (R)	0	0	0	0	0
21) If [Adult/juvenile] sex offenders do well in prison/hospital, they should be let out on parole	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX F: SUPPORT FOR REGISTRATION

In some jurisdictions, sexual offenders are required to have their personal information placed on a registry. This can include their picture, name, address, contact information, place of employment, and other personal information. Depending on the jurisdiction, this information is only available to the police or through a special request, while in others, this information is posted on a public registry, available to anyone.

In your opinion, what is generally the most appropriate outcome for [adult/juvenile] sexual offenders (please select one)?

- (a) the offender should never be required to register at all with law enforcement in their community
- (b) the offender should be required to register, but their information should never be posted on the internet
- (c) the offender should be required to register, and their information should be publicly posted on the internet.

APPENDIX G: RECOMMENDED SENTENCE LENGTH

	now long of a sentence (in years and/or months) you feel would be appropriate venile] sexual offender.	te.
years	months	

APPENDIX H: STEREOTYPE ENDORSEMENT

Please use the following scale to answer the next question.

	Strongly		Neither agree nor disagree		Strongly agree
1. The [adult/juvenile] sex offender I'm					
thinking about is a cold and calculating	0	0	0	0	0
"superpredator"					

APPENDIX I: DEHUMANIZATION SCALE

Please use the following scale to indicate the extent to which the following words describe or represent [adult/juvenile] sexual offenders.

	1 Not at all	2	3	4	5	6	7 Very much
Creature	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Humanity (R)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Person (R)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Beast	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Animal	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
People (R)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Civilian (R)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Mongrel	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX J: MORAL OUTRAGE SCALE

Please answer the following statements by indicating the extent to which you agree with each item using the scale below.

1	I feel	a comp	elling r	need to	nunish	[adult/i	iuvenilel	sex	offenders
т.	1 1001	a comp	chingi	iccu io	pumsn	auuii/	i u v Ciiii C i	SUA	Officiacis

Strongly disagree					Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6
0	0	0	0	0	0

2. I feel a desire to hurt [adult/juvenile] sex offenders

Strongly disagree					Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6
0	0	0	0	0	0

3. I believe [adult/juvenile] sex offenders are evil to the core

Strongly disagree					Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6
0	Ο	0	0	0	0

4. I feel morally outraged by what [adult/juvenile] sex offenders did to their alleged victims

Strongly disagree					Strongly agree
1	2	3	4	5	6
0	0	0	0	0	0

APPENDIX K: CULPABILITY

Please use the slider provided to answer the following questions.

To what extent do you think that	0 —	100	
[adult/juvenile] sex offenders can be	Not	Completely	%
blamed for their offense?	at all		
To what extent do you think that	0 —	100	
[adult/juvenile] sex offenders are	Not	Completely	%
responsible for their offense?	at all		
To what extent do you think that the	0 —	100	
victims of a[n] [adult/juvenile] sex	Not	Completely	%
offenders can be blamed for the offense?	at all		
To what extent do you think that the	0 —	100	
victims of a[n] [adult/juvenile] sex	Not	Completely	%
offenders are responsible for the offense?	at all		

[The blank values on the right will correspond with the place on the slider to quantify responses.]

APPENDIX L: PECEPTIONS OF CRIME

Please use the following scale to represent your beliefs regarding the following question.

1. Have [youth/adult] crime rates increased, remained the same, or decreased over the last three years?

Decreased substantially	Decreased somewhat	Remained the same	Increased somewhat	Increased substantially
1	2	3	4	5
0	Ο	0	0	0

2. What percentage of [youth/adult] sexually offenders do you believe will ______% sexually reoffend within three years?

APPENDIX M: DEMOGRAPHICS

This final section contains questions about your basic demographic information. No personally identifying information is required and all of your responses will be kept strictly anonymous.

1. V	What is your sex (select one)?
	Male
	Female
	Other
	What is your age? years
	With which ethnic group(s) of descent do you identify? (select as many as apply)
	Aboriginal (Inuit, Métis, First Nations) African East Asian Caribbean Central American European Middle Eastern South American South Asian Other (please specify)
4. V	Which of the following best reflects your current status with the University of Saskatchewan? Undergraduate student Graduate student Employee Alumnus/alumnae Other

5. How would you describe your political beliefs?

COI	iiseivalive	Cons	ervauve		liberal		liberal
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
6. V	Vhat is your curr	ent household ir	ncome?				
	Under \$10,000 \$10,000-20,000 \$20,001-30,000 \$30,001-40,000 \$40,001-50,000 \$50,001-60,000 \$70,001-80,000 \$80,001-90,000 \$90,001-100,000 Over \$100,000))))))))					
7. H	Iow many childre	en under the age	e of 18 do you	have?			
	0 1 2 3 4+						
8. V	Vhat is your prim	nary source of co	rime news?				
	Research/acade	ganizational pub mic literature pecify):					

2

Conservative

1

Very

conservative

a sexual offense?

3

Slightly

conservative

5

Slightly

4

Neutral

6

Liberal

7

Very

9. Have you or someone close to you, such as family members or friends, ever been the victim of

	Yes
	No
	Prefer not to disclose
10.	How often do you interact with sexual offenders?
	,
_	**
Ш	Never
	Never Once or twice a year
	110101
	Once or twice a year
	Once or twice a year Once every few months
	Once or twice a year Once every few months Once or twice a month

APPENDIX N: DEBRIEFING FORM

Thank you for your participation in the study. As you were told at the beginning of the study, the purpose of this research project is to measure people's attitudes toward both adult and juvenile sexual offenders and what factors may influence these.

Study Objectives: While attitudes towards both groups of sexual offenders is generally negative throughout the psychological literature, a number of personal factors, such as gender, political orientation, and contact with offenders have been identified as factors that influence the magnitude of these attitudes. Of equal importance is understanding why these factors influence attitudes and through what underlying psychological mechanisms do these take place.

Another important factor to consider is how information presentation influences attitudes. To determine this, some participants read a vignette depicting a sexual offense, while others created their own sexual offense vignette or received no vignette at all. In utilizing the latter two conditions, we are also able to determine what people consider to be the "typical" sexual offender/offense, which has extreme importance in understanding support for various criminal legislation.

Again, we thank you for your help with our research. This study contributes to a greater understanding of the mechanisms underlying people's attitudes toward both adult and juvenile sexual offenders. Furthermore, this information can help in predicting barriers that these individuals may face upon reintegration into society – a key factor in reducing their likelihood of reoffending. Your participation in this scientific endeavor was greatly appreciated!

Participant Rights: Please be assured that the responses you provided will remain anonymous and no identifiable information will be released when the results are published. If you wish to receive a copy of the results, please contact the graduate student researcher, Brandon Sparks, at brandon.sparks@usask.ca. If you have any further questions, comments, or concerns about the study, please feel free to contact the graduate student at the address above or the faculty supervisor, Dr. Stephen Wormith, at s.wormith@usask.ca. You are also welcome to contact the Ethics office at (306) 966-2084 or ethics.office@usask.ca if you require further clarification of your rights as a research participant.

[If you wish to enter the prize draw for the \$50 gift card, please click next and provide your contact information. This will <u>not</u> be stored with your responses.]

Further Reading: If you are interested in reading some articles on this topic, below are three relevant references:

Letourneau, E. J., Bandyopadhyay, D., Sinha, D., & Armstrong, K. S. (2009). The effects of sex offender registration policies on juvenile justice decision making. *Sexual Abuse: A Journal of Research and Treatment, 21*, 149-165.

- Levenson, J. S., Brannon, Y. N., Fortney, T., & Baker, J. (2007). Public perceptions about sex offenders and community protection policies. *Analyses of Social Issues and Public Policy*, 7(1), 137-161.
- Salerno, J.M., Najdowski, C.J., Stevenson, M.C., Wiley, T.A., Bottoms, B.L., Vaca, R.R., & Pimentel, P.S. (2010). Psychological mechanisms underlying support for juvenile sex offender registry laws: Prototypes, moral outrage, and perceived threat. *Behavioral Sciences & the Law*, 28(1), 58–83.

APPENDIX O: RECRUITMENT ADVERTISEMENT

You are invited to participate in a research study called "Attitudes Toward Sexual Crime and Offenders." As the title suggests, we are interested in better understanding Canadians' attitudes toward sexual offenders and offenses, and your participation will greatly aid us in doing so. Please note that as a part of this research, a brief description of a sexual offense will be presented, as may other content of a sexual nature. Even if you consent to participate in the study, you have the right to withdraw your consent at any time without penalty. The study will take approximately 45-60 minutes and is completely anonymous. As compensation for your time, you will be provided with the option to enter in a draw for a \$50 gift card.

If you would like more information about the study or require assistance, please contact the graduate student researcher, Brandon Sparks, at brandon.sparks@usask.ca or the faculty supervisor, Dr. Stephen Wormith, at s.wormith@usask.ca.

This research (BEH 18-59) received approval from the Behavioural Research Ethics Board on [date].

Click the link below to begin the study:

[Link]

APPENDIX P: PRIZE DRAW PAGE

If you wish to enter the prize draw for	the \$50 gift card, please fill out the spaces below:
1. Your first and last name:	
2. Your NSID:	
3. Your U of S email address:	