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PERCEPTIONS OF, AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS, TERRORISTS AS  
A FUNCTION OF OFFENDER SUFFERING AND GENDER

by

IRKA C. KULESHNYK

A dissertation submitted to the Graduate Faculty in  
Criminal Justice in partial fulfillment of the  
requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, The  
City University of New York

1996

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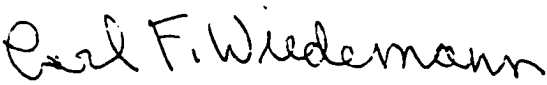
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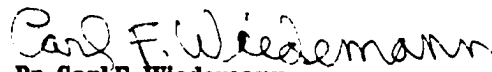
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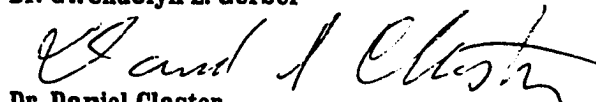
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## Abstract

PERCEPTIONS OF, AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS, TERRORISTS AS  
A FUNCTION OF OFFENDER SUFFERING AND GENDER

by

Irka C. Kuleshnyk

Advisor: Professor Carl F. Wiedemann

The present study investigated perceptions of, and attitudes towards terrorists as a function of the gender of the terrorist as well as the relevancy and temporality (also referred to as timing) of the terrorist's suffering. Subjects were 248 student volunteers at a liberal arts college who were asked to read a report of a hypothetical terrorist event and to complete a number of instruments. The gender of the terrorist and the circumstances of the terrorist's suffering were varied in the report. A 2 (male terrorist or female terrorist) x 2 (precrime suffering or during crime suffering) x 3 (relevant suffering or irrelevant suffering or no suffering) between subjects factorial experimental design was used.

The hypotheses regarding suffering were based on equity theory and predicted that the terrorist whose suffering is relevant and occurs close in time to the terrorist act will be perceived and treated more favorably than the terrorist whose suffering is irrelevant and occurs before the terrorist act (i.e. in childhood). The hypotheses regarding gender, based on the combined model (which in this case is also consistent with predictions made by the evil woman model), predicted that the female terrorist would be perceived in a more negative manner and thus treated more harshly than her male counterpart.

An ANOVA conducted on the main experimental variables revealed that in general, the hypotheses were not confirmed. However subsequent analyses, including an ANCOVA between the experimental analysis and demographic variables, revealed that various results were consistent with gender stereotypes, cognitive dissonance theory, the belief in a just world theory, and the "abuse excuse." In addition, the gender of the subjects proved to be influential determinants of the results.

Implications for society's treatment and punishment of terrorists are discussed, as are avenues for future research.

## Acknowledgments

I am indebted to a number of people who have supported me and my work on this dissertation. Their encouragement and contribution to this body of work meets with my sincerest appreciation and utmost gratitude.

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Finally I would like to dedicate this dissertation to my sister Lidia, who has always been, and continues to be, a source of strength and wisdom. May she continue to bless those around her with her inspiration for many, many years.

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## INTRODUCTION

It is widely accepted by psychologists that people respond to the world as they perceive it, which does not necessarily match the way the world is (Grzelak, 1991, p. 211). As such, in order to better understand, predict, and explain behavior, it is crucial to have accurate knowledge about people's perceptions. This is of particular importance for our criminal justice system which is generally acknowledged to have widespread discretion practiced by its police, prosecutors, judges, juries, legislators, and the public involved. Moreover, it has been established that sensationalized and biased stereotypical images regarding crime and criminals have been presented to the public by the media (Lichter & Lichter, 1983). Since images influence perceptions, which in turn drive behavior, including discretionary decision-making, it thus becomes clear that it is critical to understand what influences perceptions. This is particularly the case when perceptions concern crimes and criminals since actions in these realms have far-reaching and serious consequences.

The present study will thus focus on people's perceptions. More specifically, it will focus on people's perceptions of, and attitudes towards, terrorists. The perception of terrorists is crucial to understanding how our society reacts towards them. In recent years,

terrorism, as a form of low intensity conflict, has become recognized by some as the "new warfare." It has been a topic at several United Nations' Crime Congresses, including the most recent Congress held in Cairo, Egypt where terrorism was viewed as a threat to public safety and national security (Coldren, 1995, p. 1). In fact, events in the recent past confirm the concern over terrorism and underscore its increasing threat both domestically and internationally. The past few years have been marred by numerous terrorist events, which include but are not limited to, the following: (a) the bombing in Oklahoma City in April 1995; (b) the activities of the UNAbomber; (c) the World Trade Center Bombing; (d) the revelation of terrorist plots to attack key locations in the New York area; (e) the Sarin gas attack in Japan; (f) and the campaign of bombings in Israel (Schmemann, 1995), Paris (Simons, 1995), and Kashmir (Burns, 1995). Although the media has provided extensive coverage of some of these stories in an arguably sensationalized and inflammatory manner, there is really no answer to the question, what are people's actual perceptions of terrorists?

This is an area that is of paramount importance but has virtually been left unstudied. Although there are numerous articles and books written about both terrorists (see Schmidt & Jongman, 1988, for a review) and person perception (Schneider, Hastorf, & Ellsworth, 1979), there

is virtually no work which links these two areas in any systematic, empirical way. This work attempts to fill this gap.

In doing so, the present study investigates the effects of the gender of the terrorist and the suffering of the terrorist, on people's perceptions of, and attitudes towards terrorists. A review of the work on female terrorists indicates that female terrorists have been portrayed in stereotypical and biased ways (Kuleshnyk, 1992). This is also consistent with other work by Heidensohn (1985). As such, the present study investigates whether or not people actually do perceive female terrorists in the way the literature suggests they are portrayed. The question of whether or not female terrorists are in fact the way they are portrayed is tantamount to a separate dissertation. It will therefore not be included in the present study, but would be an avenue for future research.

More specifically, the present study asks: Are female terrorists perceived in a more negative manner (i.e. are they perceived as more evil, deadly, etc.) and deserve to be treated more severely than their male counterparts? There is anecdotal information to support that this may be the case (see Appendix A). From Appendix A it appears that women who are convicted of crimes of a political nature (i.e. women who are considered terrorists) receive relatively harsh

punishments. Although there has been work done on the perception of, and punitive attitudes towards, female defendants, none of this work has specifically addressed female terrorists. This study begins to develop this work in a scientific and methodologically sound manner.

Whether one's gender drives the perception and treatment of a person speaks to whether a basic sense of fairness has been breached. Determining whether there has been a violation of this fairness, especially if it is consistently to the detriment of one gender, which in this case is hypothesized to be the female, is of paramount concern to both feminist scholarship and that which is concerned with notions of justice generally. The present study thus makes crucial contributions in these areas.

In addition to looking at the physical variable of gender, another factor which is investigated is the influence of offender suffering. Kalven and Zeisel's (1966) classic work on juries pointed out in anecdotal fashion the "punished enough" phenomenon. This refers to their observation that when for one reason or another the jury feels that the defendant, at the time of the trial, has already been punished enough, for example, when the defendant is hurt, or suffers as a consequence of the crime, then they may treat the defendant more leniently (Kalven & Zeisel, 1966, pp. 301-305). Unfortunately, few studies have systematically tested this anecdotal data.

However, the "suffering in the act" phenomenon was supported in one study (Austin, 1979), which found that the more the defendant suffered in escaping the scene of the crime, the smaller the assigned prison sentence. The same study also concluded that "irrelevant suffering" was equally effective in reducing the magnitude of the sentences. Unfortunately, the research design of that study confounded relevance with time.

Since there has been no study which clearly investigates the effects of the relevancy of the suffering and the effects of the timing (also referred to as temporality) of the suffering, this study examines the influence of these variables. More specifically, this study tests whether suffering that occurs before the crime leads to more negative evaluations of the terrorist and more punishment of the terrorist than does suffering that occurs during the crime. In addition, it tests whether suffering which is offense-relevant "counts" more than suffering which is offense-irrelevant. In summary, the purpose of this study is to investigate people's perceptions of, and attitudes towards terrorists. This is examined as a function of the gender of the terrorist, the relevancy of the terrorist's suffering, and the temporality of the terrorist's suffering.

## CHAPTER 1: LITERATURE REVIEW

### Offender Suffering and Equity

#### Historical Background to Equity

The notion of justice and the perception of what is just has been a pervasive theme in the history of thought (Cohen & Greenberg, 1982, p. 1). Likewise, scholars and social reformers have had a long history of being interested in determining social justice (Austin & Hatfield, 1980, p. 25). Attempts to establish justice go back thousands of years, with one of the first records of such an effort being the Code Of Hammurabi, which dates to about 1700 B.C. This code embodied the notion that things should be "set right" via exact punishment--a notion that is referred to as *lex talionis* or "an eye for an eye" (Cohen & Greenberg, 1982, p. 37). A similar principle may be found in the Old Testament, which contains very specific references to the idea of proportionality (Levine, 1992, p. 93). This principle views the criminal act as an unfair violation of the rights of others, which demands a proportional punishment (Austin, 1979, p. 164). According to proponents of equity theory, this framework continues to mediate our perception of justice today. However, the specific details of how this framework operates are not well established.

Origins of the specific concept of distributive justice in legal scholarship can be traced back to Beccarria, Kant, and Aristotle who based this concept in general terms of fairness in social relationships (Austin, 1979, p. 164).<sup>1</sup> However, it is particularly Aristotle's theory of distributive justice which has been of interest to social scientists (Adams, 1965; Homans, 1974; Walster, Walster, & Berscheid, 1978).

#### Derivation of Equity Theory

A segment of Aristotle's theory regarding ethics was made more specific and quantitatively precise (Austin & Hatfield, 1980, p. 25). Elements of Festinger's cognitive dissonance theory (Ajzen, 1982, p. 161) and social exchange theory were then combined with Aristotle's work (Adams, 1965; Messick & Cook, 1983). The result was equity theory--a theory generally concerned with the justice of interpersonal relationships. Because social exchange theory is less familiar to most than is cognitive dissonance theory, and because it is the foundation for equity theory, the basic tenets of social exchange theory will be briefly mentioned.

Social exchange theory is premised on an economic model of human behavior (Brehm & Kasson, 1990, p. 248) that assumes that people are motivated to maximize benefits and minimize losses in their relationships with others (Blau, 1964; Homans, 1961; Thibault & Kelley,

1959). Thus, social exchange theory provides a general framework for analyzing a multitude of relationships ranging from the marketplace, to the workplace, to personal relationships (Brehm & Kassin, 1990, p. 248).

### Equity Theory

The elements of social exchange theory were first combined with Aristotle's theory, to state that parties in a social exchange relationship expect to receive fair outcomes, by Homans (1961, 1974). More specifically, Homans described distributive justice as a situation in which people in a social exchange relationship perceive that their ratio of profits to investments is equal to their exchange partner's ratio of profits to investments. Social psychologists continued to develop the work of Homans (1961, 1974) into what became equity theory (Adams, 1965; Walster, Berscheid, & Walster, 1973; Walster, et al., 1978).

Although there have been several attempts to reformulate equity theory (see Harris, 1983; Alessio, 1980; Deutsch, 1979, 1985; Walster, Berscheid, & Walster, 1976), the core of the theory is based on a ratio similar to the one used by Homans (Greenberg & Ruback, 1982, p. 25). However, equity theory replaces Homans' concepts of profits and investments with the concepts of outcomes and inputs (Greenberg & Ruback, 1982, p. 25). Inputs are simply defined as "the participants' contribution to the

exchange which are seen as entitling him to rewards or costs" (Walster et al., 1976, p. 3). Inputs can be either assets which entitle the person to rewards, or liabilities which entitle the person to costs. Therefore the general proposition of equity theory as stated by Adams (1965), is as follows:

$$\frac{\text{Outcomes A}}{\text{Inputs A}} = \frac{\text{Outcomes B}}{\text{Inputs B}}$$

Although there have been variations and more sophisticated elaborations of this theory, its central core is embodied in the above equation (Martin & Murray, 1983, p. 171). This equation also serves as the basis for equity theory's four basic propositions which can be summarized as follows: (#1) that people will try to maximize their outcomes (that is rewards minus costs) in interactions with others; (#2) that groups recognize the value of treating others equitably and therefore will reward those who treat others equitably and punish those who do not; (#3) when individuals find themselves in inequitable relationships, they become distressed--the more inequitable the relationship, the more distress individuals feel; (#4) the greater the amount of inequity, the greater will be the person's distress and the harder the person will try to restore equity (Greenberg & Ruback, 1982, pp. 25-26). For the purposes

of this study Propositions #2, #3, and #4 are particularly relevant. More specifically, assuming that subjects perceive the terrorists as treating their victims inequitably, subjects will punish the terrorists (#2) in an attempt to reduce the inequity. This punishment will be a function of the perceived inequity between the victim and the terrorist and the resulting distress subjects experience (#3 and #4).

Equity theory seems to be particularly suited to explaining perceptions of terrorist events, since by definition (for a review of definitions see Schmidt & Jongman, 1988) terrorists commit their acts against innocents (i.e. people who have made no inputs into their outcome status of victims). As such equity theory may be capable of explaining people's general outrage towards terrorists as well as people's sympathy toward victims of terrorist attacks.

In the 1970's equity theory was considered to be parsimonious, predictive and well-structured (Adams & Freedman, 1976, p. 44). With the excitement of a possible new general framework, social psychologists engaged in voluminous research, resulting in at least 167 studies relating to equity theory by 1976 (Adams & Freedman, 1976, p. 26). As a result, by the time equity theory had run its course by the mid-to-late 1980's, it had touched on a wide variety of topics ranging from notions of equity in fairy tales (Vermunt, cited in Vogelaar &

Vermunt, 1991, p. 102) to levels of happiness in couples (Berg & McQuinn, 1986). In fact much of the work that has been done in equity theory has concerned personal relationships and worker satisfaction/performance (see Brehm & Kassin, 1990, pp. 248-254, 603-607).

However, by the time equity theory had run dry, the studies linking it to crime were limited. This study thus revives this dormant branch of equity theory by demonstrating how it serves to explain perceptions of crime. Every time crime is dealt with, issues of equity and justice arise. From equity theory, it appears that whenever people do make moral judgments, their perceptions, attitudes, and decisions are not rule-based, but more closely follow principles of equity. That is juries "will move where the equities are" (Kalven & Zeisel, 1966, p. 495). One goal of the present study is to determine to what degree people in general do this. More specifically, it asks: If an offender suffers in the course of a crime, do people take this into account, and if so, to what degree?

It would also be interesting to look at other situations and crimes. For example, is a homemaker who inadvertently stumbles across a terrorist event more likely to evoke sympathy (and correspondingly hostility to the terrorist) than an anti-terrorist law enforcement officer? In addition, might terrorists be considered worse than muggers in terms of equity, since terrorists

are using their victims as pawns, thereby increasing inequity, whereas muggers simply want some material gain from their victim, thereby creating less of an inequitable relationship? These are relevant and worthwhile questions. However, to address them would require an additional independent variable, such as the type of victim or type of offender, thereby multiplying the subjects required for this study. Although such variables are not investigated in the present study, they indicate areas for future research.

#### Jury Equity

Limited research also exists linking equity theory specifically to jury decision-making. For example, one version of jury equity (in contrast to equity theory in general) has developed specific principles of jury equity (Mysliwec, 1974). The principle that is directly relevant to the present study is as follows: "The more the defendant incurs 'costs' in the commission of an offense, the less punishment he will be given" (Mysliwec, 1974, p. 1043). However what is considered a cost, and what factors or boundaries mediate that cost, have not been clarified.

Much of the research then under consideration here is concerned with this principle, which has its roots in what is probably the single most ambitious work on juries (Holstein, 1981, p. 39) and is arguably one of the most

important books in the field of social science and law (Hans & Vidmar, 1991, p. 323). That work is The American Jury by Kalven and Zeisel (1966). Surprisingly, relatively little research has linked this work to equity theory. Although Kalven and Zeisel looked at a number of factors regarding jury decision-making, the area that is of concern to the present study and which has been linked to equity theory, albeit in only a very limited way, is a section entitled Punished Enough (Kalven & Zeisel, 1966, pp. 301-305).

At this point it may be prudent to note that Kalven and Zeisel's methodology has been criticized. For a more thorough assessment of their method, the reader is referred to Hans and Vidmar (1991). However a few of the major criticisms are presented as follows: (a) the sample of judges which responded was unrepresentative, not only in demographic terms, but also because the total cases came from 15% of the judges who responded; (b) the judges simply reported how they would have voted, leaving uncertain if in fact they would have actually voted that way; (c) the method of reason assessment whereby the judges simply reported their own opinions as to why the judge and jury may have disagreed; (d) the lack of statistical tests; (e) and the small number of cases used in some analyses (Hans & Vidmar, 1991). In addition, the study did not discuss judge-jury agreements which occurred in 78% of the cases. Even in a study involving

anecdotal information one needs to address counterexamples and provide an argument against competing explanations, which were not done in that study. The above then represent threats to the validity, reliability, and scope of the study. As will be indicated more thoroughly in the Method chapter, the present study will not be plagued by some of the same problems. For example, responses from all subjects will be obtained, rather than from just a fraction of them. In addition, subjects will be asked how they actually feel in response to a situation, as opposed to being asked why they think other people's opinions differed from their own. Finally, inferential statistics will be used, as will a significant sample size and alternate explanations.

Moreover, it should be noted that the conclusion often attributed to Kalven and Zeisel's work that juries are more lenient than judges is inconsistent with subsequent work which indicates jury toughness (Levine, 1983). However, the question may not be whether judges are more lenient all of the time, but whether the victim's suffering counts less or more than the offender's suffering and thus leads to more lenient or harsher sentences. Alternatively, the increase in perceived jury toughness may be due to judges becoming more lenient, rather than juries becoming tougher. In addition, it may be that judges simply do what they think the public wants them to do, whereas juries more

accurately reflect the public's true sentiment.

Notwithstanding the criticisms and controversies, Kalven and Zeisel's work remains a landmark study.

Kalven and Zeisel (1966) observed that if the defendant had been injured or had suffered other costs in connection with his crime, the defendant reduced his or her outcomes from the relationship and thus less punishment would be required to restore equity. More specifically, they found that when a defendant credibly reported great remorse (Kalven & Zeisel, 1966, p. 205), endured lengthy pretrial detention (Kalven & Zeisel, 1966, p. 264, 304),<sup>2</sup> suffered in the commission of the crime (Kalven & Zeisel, 1966, p. 237), or even suffered misfortunes unconnected to the crime (Kalven & Zeisel, 1966, p. 305), jurors tended to be lenient. As a result, Kalven and Zeisel concluded that jurors' decisions are substantially influenced by whether or not the defendant has suffered--even if that suffering is unrelated to the crime. Such findings have also been confirmed from the victim's perspective. For example, Bramel, Taub, and Blum (1968) and Berscheid, Boye, and Walster (1968) concluded that fortuitous punishment of an offender reduced the victim's need to personally restore equity. However the type, context, or limits of the suffering, whether connected or unconnected to the crime, that will or will not count in influencing perceptions of equity, have not been clarified.

### Factors Mediating Cost or Offender Suffering

It has been suggested that fortuitous punishment (or suffering) may only reduce inequity when there is a causal relationship between the offense and the defendant's suffering (Walster, as cited in Mysliwiec, 1974, p. 1043) as would likely be the case where the defendant is injured in the commission of the offense. This is consistent with predictions of equity which state that how relevant to the harmdoer/victim relationship the harmdoer's suffering is, determines whether or not the harmdoer's suffering counts against the debt he owes the victim or society (Austin, Walster, & Utne, 1976, p. 173). This prediction is theoretically derived from an element of equity theory which states that "an equitable relationship exists when all participants are receiving relative outcomes from the relationship" (Austin et al., 1976, p. 173). That is, only suffering relevant to the victim/harmdoer relationship should count. On the other hand, as mentioned, Kalven and Zeisel's anecdotal data suggest that suffering unconnected to the crime may lead to leniency with respect to jurors. As such there is an inconsistency in terms of anecdotal information and predictions derived from equity theory regarding the limits of the suffering in terms of relevancy.

In an attempt to clarify whether the suffering of the harmdoer was required to be relevant in order to count, Austin (1979) conducted a study in which subjects

were given descriptions of incidents. In the irrelevant condition, an offender fell down some stairs while out on bail, while in the relevant condition the offender fell down some stairs during arrest. Although this study concluded that irrelevant offender suffering is equally effective in reducing the magnitude of assigned sentences for a crime of moderate severity, relevancy was not operationally defined purely in terms of a cause or an explanation of the suffering, but rather in terms of a time dimension (i.e. during arrest or later while out on bail). In simple terms, relevancy was partially confounded with temporality. Moreover, although the suffering did vary temporally, in both conditions the suffering occurred after the commission of the crime and never prior to the crime. Surprisingly, no study has yet attempted to investigate the conditions of offender suffering in terms of a clear separation of relevancy and temporality. Specifically, no one has yet tested the hypothesis that a harmdoer's suffering in the act will count more than will suffering prior to the act--whether that suffering is relevant or irrelevant. As a result, the present study investigates the effects of both the relevancy and the temporality of the harmdoer's suffering on perceptions of, and attitudes towards, the terrorist as predicted by equity theory. Such effects are measured by an evaluation of the terrorist, the moods, including distress, that subjects feel in response to the

terrorist, and the punitive attitudes subjects hold toward the terrorist.

With respect to the temporality of the terrorist's suffering, Austin (1979) concluded that offender suffering "unconnected" with a crime is equally effective as "connected" suffering. However, there is doubt that even if this effect did in fact exist, that it could be stretched to apply to suffering which occurred in the distant past. As a result, offender suffering which occurred in childhood, probably would be rejected by decision-makers and would not be counted as much as more recent suffering (Austin, 1979, p. 186). This would also be consistent with equity theory's proposition that, "An equitable relationship exists when all participants are receiving equal relative outcomes from the relationship" (Austin, et al., 1976, p. 173), as well as jury equity's proposition that the more the defendant incurs costs in the commission of the crime, the less punishment will be given. The above then, in conjunction with propositions #2, #3, and #4 of equity theory stated previously, give rise to Hypothesis 1 stated below concerning the temporality of terrorist suffering.

Hypothesis 1. This hypothesis states that suffering which occurred recently (i.e. during the act) will count more than suffering that occurred in the distant past (i.e. in the terrorist's childhood), which in turn will count more than no suffering at all.

This is derived from the following subhypotheses which suggest the following: (a) that the terrorist whose suffering is recent will cause less distress than the terrorist whose suffering is in the distant past and less distress than the terrorist for whom there is no indication of suffering; (b) that recent suffering will cause the terrorist to be evaluated more positively than the terrorist whose suffering occurred in the distant past and the terrorist for whom there is no indication of suffering; and (c) the terrorist whose suffering is recent will be punished less severely by subjects evaluating the report than the terrorist whose suffering occurred in the distant past and the terrorist for whom there is no indication of suffering.

As mentioned, the relevancy of the terrorist's suffering is varied and investigated as distinct from, as well as in conjunction with, the temporality of the terrorist's suffering. Relevancy is defined in terms of whether the suffering was directly or causally related to the terrorist event. Predictions regarding relevancy are embodied in Hypothesis 2.

Hypothesis 2. This hypothesis states that relevant suffering will count more than irrelevant suffering, which in turn will count more than no suffering. This is derived from the following sub-hypotheses which suggest that a terrorist whose suffering is relevant will create less distress, will be evaluated more positively, and

will be punished less severely, by subjects evaluating the report than a terrorist whose suffering is irrelevant and a terrorist who does not suffer. These hypotheses are also derived from, and are consistent with, the following: (a) equity theory's proposition that, "An equitable relationship exists when all participants are receiving equal relative outcomes from the relationship" (Austin, et al., 1976, p. 173); (b) the proposition regarding jury equity that was mentioned regarding Hypothesis 1; and (c) propositions #2, #3, and #4 of equity theory. As such, relevant suffering will serve as a greater cost to the terrorist and will thus serve to equalize the relationship between the victim and the terrorist, than will irrelevant suffering, which in turn will serve as a greater cost than will no suffering at all. However, this runs contrary to the claim made by Austin (1979) that irrelevant factors are equally effective in reducing sentences than are relevant factors. The weakness of this claim however, has already been discussed.

Hypothesis 1 and Hypothesis 2 combine to form Hypothesis 3.

Hypothesis 3. This hypothesis states that the terrorist's suffering which is relevant and which occurs during the crime will count more than will a terrorist's suffering which is irrelevant and which occurred in the distant past. As with the other hypotheses, Hypothesis 3

is derived from the subhypotheses which state that a terrorist whose suffering is relevant and which occurs during the act will (a) cause less distress, (b) will be evaluated more positively, and (c) will be punished less severely by subjects evaluating the terrorist in the report, than a terrorist whose suffering is both irrelevant and occurred in the distant past. It should also be noted that terrorists who experience any type of suffering at any time, should score more favorably on all measures than terrorists who do not suffer at all.

The present study then will clarify how relevancy and temporality mediate people's notions of (in)equity regarding terrorist events, which in turn influence perceptions of terrorists. The above hypotheses predict, within the theoretical framework of equity theory, that the punished enough phenomenon will occur when judging terrorists and will be mediated by the variables of the temporality of the terrorist's suffering and the relevancy of the terrorist's suffering. However, no predictions are made regarding any interaction effects for temporality and relevancy since there is no basis on which to make such predictions.

## Gender

Understanding what mediates perceptions of terrorism and terrorists is particularly crucial since people have well established and emotionally laden opinions on these topics.<sup>3</sup> Such perceptions may be reflected in, or fed to the public through our popular culture's portrayal of female terrorists as at times more evil and cruel than their male counterparts.<sup>4</sup> Another variable then which may mediate perceptions and attitudes (especially punitive ones) towards terrorists, is the gender of the terrorist. This is consistent with a substantial body of literature and theories.

### Theoretical Framework

The general theory which provides the framework for investigating and hypothesizing how gender mediates perceptions of criminals is provided by conflict theory. This theory combines with the relevant literature and more specific theories regarding the influence of gender on the treatment of criminals, to give rise to certain hypotheses in the present study.

Conflict theory, which focusses on issues of power and claims that definitions of crime and deviance (which in this case would be terrorism) are determined by those with economic and political power, has been expanded by some scholars to include women among those who are

powerless (Moyer, 1992, pp. 15-19). From this patriarchal perspective, conflict theory informs our understanding of the power relationships between the sexes and points out that, "most women are still being socialized into social roles as housewives and mothers, while men are socialized into occupations of authority and influence" (Moyer, 1992, p. 18). As such, when a society and its members are patriarchal, one would expect that the sanctioning of women would be a function of their traditional roles (Daly, 1989). More specifically, it would predict that perceived conformity to traditional sex roles would result in more lenient sentences for female offenders. Because the type of crime may be an indicator of conformity to traditional sex roles (Crew, 1991, p. 6), the nature and seriousness of the offense, which in this case is terrorism, is predicted to have an effect on the treatment of the terrorist according to the terrorist's gender.

#### Criminological Literature

Reviews of the criminological literature indicate that throughout the history of criminological thought, up until fairly recently, women, if dealt with at all, have been discussed in sexist, stereotypical, and biased ways (Heidensohn, 1985; Klein, 1973; Simpson, 1989; Smart, 1976). For example, females who deviated from expected roles and broke the law were viewed as morally corrupt,

hysterical, diseased, manipulative, and devious '(Glueck & Glueck cited in Simpson, 1989, p. 605; Rasche, 1974, p. 307). Lombroso in his study The Female Offender stated that biological factors led to unusually sinister forms of crime in women (Lombroso, 1895). More specifically, Lombroso (1895, pp. 151-152) stated that women having many traits in common with children, were revengeful and cruel, and referred to the female criminal as a monster. As recently as the 1950's, Pollak claimed that women were more deceitful than men and that they had learned to be so through being deceitful in the sexual realm (Pollak, 1961, p. 10). Relying on physiological explanations to account for female crime continued into the 1980's (Moyer, 1992, p. 4).

#### Female Terrorist Literature

Since reviews of the criminological literature as it concerns women have already been conducted, they need not be repeated here. However this literature is nonetheless important for the present study since it may have informed the extremely limited literature on female terrorists.<sup>5</sup> It should not be surprising then, that the female terrorist literature shares similarities to the general female criminological literature in that it is largely based on myths, misconceptions, gender stereotypes, and unsubstantiated assumptions about the inherent nature of women. Although a thorough review of

the research and literature regarding female terrorists can be found elsewhere (Kuleshnyk, 1992) a few examples of the portrayal of female terrorists will be used to illustrate this point.

First, some of the theoretical explanations regarding female terrorists, apparently borrowing from past theories of female criminality, have focussed on the sexual nature of female terrorists (Cooper, 1979), women's liberation (Corrado, 1980; Galvin, 1983), and the disturbed and insecure nature of women (Cooper, 1979, p. 154). Moreover, unsubstantiated claims have been made which are impressionistic and influenced by biases and stereotypes, as the following statement in a widely cited article (Cooper, 1979) on female terrorists indicates:

Through the actions of a few extremely vicious examples, the world has come to the shocking, and almost certainly correct realization that after all, the female of the species may well be deadlier than the male. (p. 151)

The first unsubstantiated claim in the above statement is that female terrorists are deadlier than their male counterparts. In fact, if one looks at Italian statistics which distinguish repentant terrorists (i.e. those who give information leading to the arrest of others), from disassociated terrorists (i.e. those who confess their personal responsibility but remain silent to the action of their fellow terrorists), one finds no indication that women are more committed to perpetuating terrorism than

are men (Jamieson, 1989). Moreover the "evidence" provided for the claim stated above is based on hearsay and one anecdotal piece of evidence.

The second myth in the above quotation is that the world has come to realize this (i.e. that women are deadlier than men). This unsubstantiated claim may be found elsewhere. For example, Galvin (1983) made a similar claim by stating that both male terrorists and counterterrorist experts report "never having seen anything like it before" (p. 5) and that they believe that the female terrorist is more ruthless, excessive, fanatical, and hysterical than her male counterpart. McDonald (1991), in her book Shoot The Women First also notes that anti-terrorist squads regard women as more lethal. Her claim that antiterrorist experts perceive female terrorists as more deadly, are based on some talks with anti-terrorist experts. These experts apparently claim that female terrorists do not play by the same rules as do men and therefore these experts feel they have to react more harshly towards female terrorists, by for example, shooting at them more quickly than they would at male terrorists (McDonald, 1991, introduction). In fact, there has been no methodologically sound, systematic study on whether female terrorists are perceived to be deadlier than their male counterparts, or on whether they actually are more dangerous.

Some have argued that these myths, perceptions, and attitudes are consistent with the portrayals of female murderers and terrorists in the media (Heidensohn, 1985; Kuleshnyk, 1992; Hart, 1994, p. 67). In films for example, Faith (1993) identifies the following four female criminal stereotypes: (a) the devil women; (b) the lesbian villain; (c) teenage predators; and (d) super bitch killer beauties. In addition, stereotyping seems prevalent in the news media's coverage of female victims. According to Benedict (1992) female victims tend to be categorized as either a lustful female provoking the perpetrator with her sexuality, or as a "real" pure victim attacked by a cruel and demented creature. Moreover, it appears that our culture expresses its disapproval of women who violate gender stereotypes by its use of moral messages in the media (Heidensohn, 1985; Faludi, 1991). Morris (1990), in a study of violent women in Victorian literature, found that these women were viewed as aggressive, unnatural, and unwomanly. In addition, according to Morris (1990), these women were considered twice guilty. They were guilty of their actual crimes and of violating stereotypical notions of Victorian womanhood.

It is therefore not surprising that claims exist that female terrorists/killers are currently perceived as more evil than their male counterparts. In fact, the portrayal of women who are involved in terrorism as

particularly ruthless, goes back to what some refer to as the dawn of modern terrorism--the French Revolution (Vetter & Perlstein, 1991, p. 29). Hufton (as cited in Gutwirth, 1992) claims that by 1793 women were, "more frenzied, more intense, doubly credulous, doubly vindictive" (p. 310). The claim that the violent female is more wicked than her male counterpart continues to persist. Although referring to violent women in general, Nash (1981) in his book Look for the Woman, in referring to the female, notes:

Seldom is there the quick, clean stroke of death as with the male. It is almost the exclusive province of the woman who commits homicide ... to display an obsession to witness the slow death of the victim .... From the beginning, to be sure, there were phalanxes of female monsters who slew without any love or compassion, committing mass murder for obscure reasons, usually for the vague and perverted sense of power they held over many of their victims. (p. vii)

In light of the above, the claim that female terrorists are more evil than their male counterparts, is not surprising. However, all such claims are based on anecdotes and hearsay. The present study however, will clarify if in general, such perceptions exists, and in so doing, will focus on whether female terrorists are indeed perceived in more negative terms than their male counterparts.

This research also contributes to ameliorating another problem in the literature on female terrorists, which is the lack of quantitative data. With the exception of a

few studies (Smith & Morgan, 1994; Russell & Miller, 1977; Weinberg & Eubanks, 1987), there are really no empirically sound quantitative studies of female terrorists. Moreover, even some of those studies that do exist have been criticized (see Merari, 1991). The present study then contributes to filling the gaps in the quantitative data concerning female terrorists by investigating, not the female terrorists themselves, but rather people's perceptions and attitudes towards female terrorists.

#### The Treatment Of Women In The Criminal Justice System

Although the actual treatment of women offenders in the criminal justice system may not equate to measures of people's perception of women offenders, the existing research as well as the present study, can be grounded in an already well established body of literature--that being the treatment of female criminals generally in the criminal justice system. That women receive differential treatment in the criminal justice system has already been established (Simpson, 1991; Edwards, 1989; Nagel & Hagan, 1983; Parisi, 1982). However there are disagreements regarding the nature of this disparity. Some research indicates that women are treated more leniently than men. One of the more popular reasons given for this, is that criminal justice officials try to protect women as the weaker sex from the harshness of the criminal justice

system (Moulds, 1980; Nagel & Hagan, 1983; Visher, 1983). This may be referred to as the chivalry model. Others claim that women receive more lenient or chivalrous treatment because female defendants are viewed as less dangerous and more amenable to treatment than are male defendants (Daly, 1987; Steffensmeier, 1980), while yet others claim that this bias has to do with the less serious crimes and fewer previous offenses for women offenders (Farrington & Morris, 1983). In analyzing the statistical literature on gender and sentencing, Daly and Bordt (1995) found that in approximately half of their cases, sex effects favoring women were found.

Other studies indicate that there are no gender differences in punishment or sentencing. In a comprehensive study of sentencing in New Haven, Connecticut during the 1980's, Daly (1994, p. 258) concluded that there existed no differential sentencing of men and women. Likewise, Steffensmeier, Kramer, and Streifel (1993) concluded that when men and women appear in court in similar circumstances and are charged with similar offenses, they receive similar treatment. However, they examined only one state during a two year period, thus limiting the generalizeability of their findings. Hagan's (1974) study indicated that differences found in sentencing may be artifacts of measurement and as such, gender and other extralegal variables have no effect on sentencing when legally relevant variables are

controlled. Moreover, a study of women incarcerated for felonies in a southern state between 1870 and 1940 found gender similarities in punishment (Myers, 1995).

Yet others claim that there may be preferential treatment, but that this preferential treatment is, and has been, selectively applied. Some studies comparing male and female offenders reveal that women do not receive preferential treatment simply because of gender (Chesney-Lind, 1978; Edwards, 1989; Kruttschnitt, 1982; Nagel, 1981). In fact, some argue that when women are charged with and convicted of some offenses, they will actually be treated more harshly than males (Bernstein, Nagel, Kick, Leung, & Schulz 1977; Bowker, 1978; Ekstrand & Eckert, 1978; Nagel & Weitzman, 1971; Rasche, 1974; Rottman & Simon 1975; Simon, 1975; Temin, 1973). This has become known as the evil woman model (Crew, 1991, p. 60). The evil woman model has also been upheld in a study of the decision-making process of parole officers. While male parolees were perceived as dangerous, female parolees were viewed as evil, with the females' needs determined by their deviation from gender stereotypes (Erez, 1992, p. 123).

Rather than viewing women as being treated consistently more leniently or more severely, what may appear to be more accurate is the combined model (Nagel & Hagan, 1983; Crew, 1991). This model claims that chivalry/paternalism may account for the more lenient

treatment of women whose offenses are extensions of the traditional, "normal" female role, such as stealing food for children, shoplifting, forging a check for a husband, etc. However, women who commit more masculine or "unladylike" crimes, such as robbery or assault, cannot expect the same lenient treatment and may receive more severe sanctions (Crew, 1991; Nagel & Hagan, 1983).

Some studies do indicate that women whose crimes violate gender roles or appear less traditional are likely to receive harsher outcomes when convicted (Zingraff & Thompson, 1984; Nagel, 1981). There is also evidence that this has also been the case to a certain extent, historically. For example, Boritch (1993), examining data on male and female offenders committed to a jail in Ontario, Canada between 1871 and 1920, found an overall pattern of more severe dispositions for female offenders. Karlsen (1987) reports that many women accused of witchcraft in Colonial New England were branded not because they were witches, but because they had shown signs of independence, were too smart, too attractive, or had too much money for their own good. Thus the preferential treatment, if it exists, may not be women over men, but traditional women (in terms of crime committed and lifestyle) over non-traditional women or men.

Within the framework then of conflict theory which assumes a patriarchal society, hypotheses derived from

the combined model are expected to be upheld. One such hypothesis predicts that women whose crimes deviate from the traditional female crimes will be treated and punished more severely than men who commit similar crimes. More specifically, the prediction is that female terrorists will be treated more harshly than their male counterparts. This, because the assumption is that terrorism is perceived as a highly "macho" and unfeminine crime. As a result, female terrorists are expected to be seen as doubly deviant, in that they have violated not only the law, but cultural gender role expectations as well.

In this specific case, the prediction would also be consistent with a hypothesis derived from the evil woman model. In both models, nontraditional women must be unusually evil, unnatural, and unfeminine. Since female terrorists engage in an activity which is highly non-traditional for women and violate, in the extreme, the gender stereotypes of women as passive, docile, nurturers, it would be expected that individuals in a patriarchal system would punish these women by holding more negative perceptions of them and by meting out more severe punishment to them. This is consistent with the previous discussion regarding the literature on female criminals and terrorists. Moreover, it appears that our culture expresses its disapproval of women who violate gender stereotypes by its use of moral messages. Such

messages say to women that if you deviate from how "proper" women should behave, a bad fate will befall you.<sup>6</sup> Since our culture is reflected, perhaps in one of the strongest ways, through the criminal justice system, it is not surprising to find that women accused of politically related crimes receive harsh sentences as indicated by Appendix A. Such sentences may be meted out as examples and warnings to other women not to commit similar crimes (Rosenblum, 1990).

To summarize, the present study, among other things, examines the effects of gender on the perception and attitudes towards terrorists. In so doing, it serves to investigate some of the myths expressed in the literature on female terrorists. Specifically, it examines whether people actually perceive female terrorists more negatively than male terrorists (i.e. whether female terrorists are seen in biased, stereotypical ways) and whether people hold more punitive attitudes towards them. In addition, this study contributes to the quantitative, methodologically sound data so needed in this area. The theoretical framework used to accomplish this will be that of conflict theory, infused with a feminist perspective which assumes a patriarchal society. Within this broader framework the hypothesis derived from the combined model (which in this case is also consistent with the evil woman model), will be tested. The hypotheses to be tested are stated below.

Hypothesis 4. Female terrorists will be perceived more negatively and punished more severely than male terrorists. This is derived from the following: (a) female terrorists will create more distress and a more negative mood; (b) female terrorists will be perceived in a more negative manner; and (c) female terrorists will receive more severe punishment, than male terrorists.

Hypothesis 5. Hypothesis 5 is a combination of hypotheses 3 and 4 and suggests that the male terrorist whose suffering is relevant and occurs during the crime will be perceived more positively and will be punished less severely than the terrorist in any other condition. That is they will create the least negative mood, receive the most positive evaluations, and receive the least severe punishment. Other main research hypotheses are stated below.

Hypothesis 6. In all conditions, with the exception of conditions which contain no suffering, the female terrorist whose suffering is irrelevant and occurs before the crime, will receive the most negative evaluation and the most severe punishment.

Hypothesis 7. The female terrorist who experiences no suffering will be evaluated most negatively and be punished more severely than the terrorist in any other condition.

## CHAPTER 2: METHOD

Many ways exist to study terrorism and terrorists, including case studies, surveys, quasi-experiments, historical analysis, etc. All of these are legitimate means of researching this topic and some have already been employed. There has however, been a general lack of the experimental method in the study of terrorism. Thus the time is ripe for the use of this method in the field of terrorism. By invoking the experimental method, this study advances the research in this area and does so in a way that ensures a high degree of internal validity. This experiment consists of a between subjects factorial design in which subjects are asked to respond to a simulated and hypothetical report of a terrorist incident.

### Participants

Subjects in this study were 248 students at a Northeastern, urban, liberal arts college, who volunteered to participate. Fourteen subjects were eliminated for noncompliance with the instructions. A total of 234 subjects were used in the analysis, all of which were undergraduate students except for 16 subjects who were graduate students. Psychological studies have traditionally and successfully used a similar type of subject pool. Moreover, the student population of this college is very diverse in terms of race, age, ethnicity, class, and occupation. This diversity was

reflected in the subjects who participated. The following were represented in the subjects of this study: (a) 16 different types of majors; (b) 53 different occupations; (c) 57 different countries listed as either the place of birth of the subject or, the subjects' parents or grandparents; (d) seven types of religions; and (e) various races and socioeconomic backgrounds.

Of the total number of subjects who indicated their gender, 156 were male and 72 were female. The total average age of subjects was 25.3 years. The average age for male subjects was 26 years and the average of female subjects was 24 years.

The use of the experimental method controlled for possible confounding factors that may have been a result of the subjects' demographic characteristics or the subjects' attitudes. Nonetheless, a wide range of information regarding the subjects' demographic characteristics and attitudes was included in a demographic questionnaire. This information indicated that subjects were very diverse on these measures, as previously mentioned.

One of the problems with using students as subjects is the belief that they may represent only a very small segment of the population. However, the diversity of the subjects seems to indicate that this is not the case in the present study. Nonetheless, the study is not a statistically representative cross section of the population of the United States. This should be noted when one considers the

generalizeability of the results. Certainly further study is needed to expand upon the findings of this study. The present study was simply a first step towards understanding attitudes towards terrorists as they relate to gender and suffering. It is hoped that more research will build upon its findings. On the other hand, since there was such diversity amongst the subjects, and since the subjects were not drawn from an institution that caters to the needs of a certain group or type of person, the external validity of the results is enhanced.

Another concern with using students as subjects, is the issue of possible coercion. However, as will be discussed in the following sections, efforts were taken to ensure that in no way would there exist any indication that participation or non-participation in this study would effect the subject or potential subject in any manner.

#### Protection of Human Subjects

Permission by the Committee for the Protection of Human Subjects at the Graduate School and University Center of The City University of New York was granted to conduct the study. The experiment stringently followed the procedures which were delineated when approval was granted.

In the recruitment of subjects the voluntary nature of participation was stressed as was the confidentiality and anonymity of the subjects. Subjects were informed of the study through announcements made in classes. Since the

experimenter was a graduate student (not the author of this study), the possibility of any coercion, even implied, was eliminated. Absolutely no harm to the subjects could, or did, occur as a result of participating. No identifiers were recorded. In fact, the identity of the subject was unknown to even the experimenter since subjects' responses were coded by number. Moreover, no deception was involved since subjects were told that the purpose of the study was to study perceptions of different types of crimes and criminals, which is in fact the case, although the hypotheses are more specific. Responses were handed to the experimenter upon completion. The experimenter then handed them to the author of this study. The experimenter was blind to the condition of the subjects.

### Procedure

Subjects were run in a classroom during regular class time. After receiving prior approval from each individual professor, the professor introduced the experimenter to the class. The announcement made by the professor may be found in Appendix B. The experimenter then entered the class introducing herself and briefly explaining the purpose of the study. To ensure consistency and full awareness on the part of the subjects as to what the study involved, the experimenter read and distributed to subjects, an introduction regarding the survey (see Appendix C). The introduction stressed that participation was voluntary and

that students would experience no negative repercussions from either participating or not participating. Subjects were also informed that they could leave at any time. After the subjects heard the instructions, those who wished to leave did so, and those who wished to participate stayed and the study began.

The study was presented to subjects as a study of ordinary people's reactions and responses to newsworthy events and the people involved in them. This was similar to instructions used by Austin (1979). Ten different booklets (although there are 12 cells in the research design, two of the cells are collapsed due to the no suffering control groups only having the gender of the terrorist varied) containing the initial instructions for reading the report (Appendix D), the report of the terrorist event, and the dependent measures, were randomly distributed to the subjects. All of the booklets were identical except for the report of the terrorist event which varied according to the subjects' condition (see Appendix E for the 10 versions of the reports which correspond to the 10 experimental conditions).

The experimenter read the instructions to the subjects, asking if they had any questions. Subjects then read the hypothetical report of a terrorist event. After finishing the report, the experimenter read the instructions for the Mood Adjective Checklist (MACL), semantic differential, and

punishment/magnitude scales, waiting for subjects to complete each scale before moving onto the next.

Instructions for the Mood Adjective Checklist (MACL) are those used by Nowliss (1965), and are provided with the scale in Appendix F. Instructions for the semantic differential are based on those those found in Nunally (1961, pp. 267-268) and are provided with the scale in Appendix G. Instructions for the punishment/magnitude scale are based on those found in the National Survey of Crime Severity (U.S. Department of Justice, 1984) and are provided with the scale in Appendix H.

Subjects were finally asked to complete a demographic questionnaire and manipulation checks (see Appendix I). The categories used to code certain demographic characteristics, such as race and religion, were derived from those used in the, Statistical Abstract of the United States: 1993 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1993). The last page that subjects were required to fill out and which contained the manipulation checks, was distributed to subjects after they had completed all other instruments. This was done to ensure that the subjects would not go back and change their answers after reading, and thus possibly being biased by, the manipulation checks. After completing the study, the subjects were thanked and told that they could contact the experimenter in order to receive the results after the study was completed.

The experimenter was a female graduate assistant (not the author of this study) who was unfamiliar to the subjects. This eliminated any bias that may have occurred as a result of subjects possessing preconceived notions about the experimenter, while also eliminating any type of possible perceived coercion.

### Research Design

To test the hypotheses a 2 (male terrorist or female terrorist) x 2 (precrime suffering or during crime suffering) x 3 (relevant suffering or irrelevant suffering or no suffering) between subjects factorial design was employed. Such a design, with the corresponding conditions, was used in order that every level of one variable was crossed with every level of each of the other variables (Carlsmith, Ellsworth, & Aronson, 1976, p. 243). The design is illustrated in Table 1.

Table 1

### Experimental Design

Relevancy of suffering	Precrime suffering		During crime suffering	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Relevant	cell 1	cell 2	cell 7	cell 8
Irrelevant	cell 3	cell 4	cell 9	cell 10
No Suffering (control group)	cell 5	cell 6	cell 11	cell 12

### Independent Variables

The following three variables were manipulated: (a) the gender of the terrorist; (b) the timing of the

terrorist's suffering (also referred to as temporality); and (c) the relevancy of the terrorist's suffering.

The levels of the gender variable were male or female. The levels of the timing of the terrorist's suffering were whether the suffering occurred well before the crime, as in childhood (i.e. the precrime condition), or during the crime. A postcrime group was not included since the literature collapses suffering that occurs both during and after the crime, referring to it as suffering that occurred since the crime (Kalven & Zeisel, 1966; Austin, 1979). An additional study is needed to investigate if any separate effects would result from the inclusion of such a group. The relevancy of the terrorist's suffering consisted of three levels: (a) suffering which was relevant to the crime (i.e. it served as a possible explanation or cause of the terrorist act); (b) suffering which was irrelevant to the crime (i.e. it was totally unconnected to the terrorist act); and (c) no suffering (i.e. no mention of any suffering is made). The latter was a control group which would indicate whether the punished enough or any other suffering effect had been invoked. In addition, the inclusion of this group allows for a clean test of simple gender effects. For the reports used, see Appendix E.

### Extraneous Variables

Other precautions were taken to eliminate any possible confounding effects. In any condition in which there was terrorist suffering, the nature of the suffering remained constant. Specifically, the terrorist's suffering consisted of having had his or her only sibling, who is also the same sex as the terrorist, die. Of course, the timing and circumstances (i.e. relevancy) of the loss of the sibling varied. In the no suffering/precrime or during crime conditions, there was no mention of any type of suffering by the terrorist. The mode of death of the sibling was also held constant, so that the sibling would consistently die from a gunshot wound.

The outcome of the terrorist event also remained constant. In all conditions, a few victims suffered minor cuts and bruises which did not require hospitalization. This control was particularly important for two reasons. It controlled for the effect that differing levels of harm on the victims may have had on subjects' evaluations and attitude towards the terrorist. In addition, previous research (Austin, 1979) has indicated that for more serious offenses (a terrorist act is considered serious), the offender has to suffer far more than the victim in order for the punished enough effect to be invoked. As a result, a pilot study was conducted in order to compare the perceived suffering of being in an explosion and requiring some medical attention but not hospitalization,

to having your only sibling, who is also of the same sex), die. Subjects in this pilot study received a brief questionnaire and were asked to indicate their impression of the amount of suffering experienced by people in different circumstances as described in the questionnaire (see Appendix J). Two versions of the questionnaire were used in order to control for response bias in the subjects answers. The results of the pilot study found that only 10% thought that suffering cuts and bruises in an explosion was worse than having your sibling die. The remainder felt that losing your sibling was worse (70%) or that the suffering was equal (20%).

Subjects used were 54 undergraduate and graduate students enrolled in a criminal justice course at an urban Northeastern liberal arts college. The subjects were not students in the experimenter's class. Three subjects had to be eliminated due to failure to follow the instructions. As a result of the pilot study, the type of suffering experienced by those in the pilot study were used as the type of suffering experienced by the terrorist and the victim in the present study.

One may note that the terrorist's suffering (i.e. death of sibling) is nonphysical, whereas the victim's suffering is physical. However, the predictions from the hypotheses are nonetheless valid since previous research indicates that suffering which counts in perceptions of equity may be nonphysical (Austin, 1979). Keeping the

severity of the damage done limited to cuts and bruises will also serve to eliminate any ceiling effects which may ensue from using a particularly heinous crime in which people are killed. Previous research does indicate that a terrorist attack in which 20 people are killed is ranked as first out of 204 crimes and is perceived as more than two times as serious than is a similar act in which only injury results (U.S. Department of Justice, 1984).

#### Dependent Variables

Mood Adjective Checklist (MACL). Subjects were asked to indicate how the terrorist in the report made them feel, by completing the Mood Adjective Checklist (MACL). A short form of the MACL obtained directly from Vincent Nowliss the developer of the MACL was used (Appendix F). This was done for two reasons. One, it served as the dependent measure for the subjects' perception of the terrorist. That is, if subjects report that the terrorist made them feel highly distressed then that serves as a negative perception of the terrorist. The MACL may also serve as an indication (or dependent measure) of (in)equity. More specifically, the third and fourth propositions of equity theory state that the more inequitable the relationship, the more distress individuals feel and the greater the person will try to restore equity. For almost thirty years, the MACL has

been evaluated and its reliability established (see Nowliss, 1965). In addition, since its purpose is to measure anxiety levels and since it has been successfully used by other studies of equity (Austin & Walster, 1974), its use in the present study is most appropriate. The MACL consists of adjectives, that when combined, represent various moods. Nonetheless, in order to have a measure of the degree to which the items of each mood factor correlate with each other, Cronbach's alpha was calculated for each factor.

General Attitude Towards The Terrorist. The semantic differential technique was used in order to measure subjects' attitudes towards the terrorist. This instrument has been widely used since it was developed by Osgood, Suci, and Tannenbaum (1957) as a means of assessing the connotative meaning of a given subject. Since the primary usefulness of the semantic differential is to assess the subjects' perception of people (or objects) according to several dimensions, and may thus lead to suggesting reasons for associated behaviors (Champion, 1993, p. 229), it is ideally suited to the present study. It is also used because it is useful in studies where people are likely to have strong emotional reactions to a topic, but not necessarily well thought out opinions (Henerson, Morris, & Fitzgibbon, 1987, p. 89) such as in the case here. In addition, the semantic differential is also considered a better measure of

general affective states than is a questionnaire (Carlsmith, et al., 1976, p. 188) while also having, "a greater rigor and structure than other question formats" (Babbie, 1983, p. 381).

In addition to the dimensions that emerged in the earlier work with the semantic differential (Osgood et al., 1957), for over 30 years it has become an article of faith that Osgood's semantic differential scale is word independent. Moreover, one can add particular dimensions to the scale, allowing the researcher to create a tailor made instrument by employing the correct mix of user defined factors. In fact, factors to be included must be altered in order to be appropriate for the evaluation of a specific item under study (Hagan, 1993, p. 281; Carlsmith et al., 1976, p. 189).

Since this study is also interested in factors that were not included in the traditional semantic differential, factors other than the traditional factors were included. For instance, since the study attempted to determine if the terrorists' suffering was in some way relevant to the terrorist act (i.e. if the terrorist's suffering is in some way understandable), an understandability/rationality factor as measured by, for example, the adjective pair "fanatical/moderate," was included (see Nunnally, 1961, p. 33; Nunnally, 1970, p. 441, for items reflecting these factors). Additional items were included because they have emerged as part of

the stereotypes in the literature on female terrorists (see Kuleshnyk, 1992) and female criminals. Examples of factors reflecting such stereotypes include the following: (a) dangerousness; (b) insanity; (c) commitment; (d) vengefulness; (e) attractiveness; (f) sexual (im)purity; (g) commitment; (h) masculinity/femininity; and (i) (im)morality. Some of the items chosen to compose some of these factors were also drawn from items and factors used by Nunnally (1961, 1970). Other items and factors that were used, such as evaluation, sympathy, contentment, intelligence, and heterosexuality were derived from the work of Osgood et al. (1957). By selecting the items and factors in this way, the the scale's content validity was enhanced. Also, as is apparent from the scale itself, "random polarity" of the adjectives was conducted in order to eliminate response bias (Henerson, et al, 1987, p. 90).

To analyze the semantic differential, a factor analysis, using these a priori factors was conducted. One of the criticisms of using a semantic differential scale which contains factors not previously established, is that the instrument is actually measuring something it was not intended to measure--that is, the construct validity is threatened (Champion, 1993, pp. 247-248). However conducting the factor analysis minimized this problem.

The general reliability and validity of the semantic differential as a measure of attitude has already been established (Osgood et al, 1957; Fishbein & Raven, 1962).

Punitive Attitude Towards Terrorist. The level of punishment that people believe the terrorist deserves (i.e. their punitive attitude towards the terrorist) was measured in terms of the severity, swiftness, and certainty of the punishment. This was done using a magnitude scale (see Appendix H), in which subjects assigned numbers (magnitudes) to the attribute in question, without any particular restriction except that the numbers be assigned proportionately to the judged magnitude of the attribute (Elmes, Kantowitz, & Roediger III, 1981, p. 31). For the weaknesses of category scaling which magnitude scaling can overcome see Lodge (1981, pp. 5-6).

Although procedurally more elaborate, it is believed that the advantages derived from magnitude scaling more than compensate for the extra effort required to employ it. Advantages of magnitude scaling include that it is more sensitive, direct, and flexible than a rating procedure (Elmes, et al., 1981, p. 32). Moreover it allows us the researcher to "get a pretty good measure of people's opinions" (Elmes, et al., 1981, p. 32). In fact, a 12% to 15% increase in explained variance for magnitude measures over categorical measures (which is largely due to large amounts of measurement

error in categorical measures) has been found (Lodge, 1981, p. 77). For a complete comparison between category and magnitude scaling, see Lodge (1981, pp. 69-74.) In addition, according to Lodge (1981) "Conventional category scaling rarely if ever provides quantitative measurement of opinion strength" (p. 69).

Nonetheless, a problem with magnitude scaling is that the relative freedom of this scale could lead subjects astray (Elmes, et al., 1981, p. 32). However, the average experimental subject, when given proper instruction, can make proportional judgments about many social, and other, stimuli (Lodge, 1981, p. 220). Moreover, having subjects correctly follow instructions, is a problem traditional rating scales suffer from as well (Elmes et al., p.32). It should also be noted that magnitude scaling has been successfully used on a wide range of stimuli and social psychological dimensions (Lodge, 1981, p. 23).

Since a specific magnitude scale measuring people's attitudes about punishment was not available, one had to be developed (see Appendix H). Clear instructions were provided to minimize the possible inaccuracies of measurement. The instructions for the magnitude scale in this study followed the format found in the National Survey of Crime Severity, which involved the use of a prototype (U.S. Department of Justice, 1984). In that study subjects were given a description of a crime (i.e.

a person steals a bicycle parked on the street) and are told that the seriousness of this crime is a 10. The subjects were then given a list of other crimes and told to compare them in seriousness to the bicycle theft. If the crime was perceived as twice as serious, for example, they were to rate it a 20.

In order to know the internal reliability of the measurement, Cronbach's alpha was calculated on each of the items comprising the factors. In order to increase the (face) validity of the instrument, items concerning the severity, swiftness, and certainty (all elements of punishment) were included. Since predictive validity could not be measured by observing how subjects actually would punish terrorists, the scale asked subjects how they would act towards the terrorist.

#### Manipulation Check

Manipulation checks were carried out by asking the subjects the gender of the terrorist, whether or not the terrorist suffered, and if so, the relevancy and timing of the suffering.

#### Data Analysis

A 2 x 2 x 3 (multifactor) weighted means analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted on each of the dependent measures. The hypotheses, which follow, were tested using a two-tailed test. In the course of the analysis, mean

scores for each of the factors in the semantic differential were calculated. Since a sample was being used which was assumed to be drawn from a normal population distribution, the use of inferential parametric statistics was appropriate (Hagan, 1993, p. 345). Where appropriate, a  $t$  test was conducted.

Next, a regression analysis was conducted between each of the demographic variables and each of the dependent measures. This permitted an investigation of the strength of the relationship between any of the demographic characteristics and any of the dependent measures (Thurstone, 1965). The demographic variables which were most powerful were then used as independent variables in an ANOVA with all of the experimental dependent variables.

A separate ANOVA was also conducted separately on all dependent measures for male and female subjects, to determine any gender differences in responding to terrorists.

Since the hypotheses were not confirmed, further unplanned subsequent analyses were conducted. The first such analysis involved the removal of the no suffering control group from the original experimental design and the addition of sex of subject as another variable. This resulted in the following 16 cell design: 2 (male terrorist or female terrorist) x 2 (precrime suffering or during crime suffering) x 2 (relevant suffering or

irrelevant suffering) x 2 (male subject or female subject). An ANOVA was conducted on all dependent measures for this design.

In addition, in order to examine only gender effects in their purest form, a design structured according to gender variables only, was employed. As a result an ANOVA was conducted on the two variables of gender of terrorist and gender of subject. To conduct such as analysis the following design was employed: 2 (male terrorist or female terrorist) x 2 (male subject or female subject).

Finally, the success rates of the manipulation checks were also calculated. In addition, an ANOVA was also conducted using the success rate of the manipulation checks as independent variables to investigate if any of the experimental conditions were more or less conducive to the success of the manipulation checks.

### Expected Results

The only data analysis for which there were hypotheses and for which there existed any expected significant results, involved the first original main experimental design--that is, the 2 (gender of terrorist) x 2 (timing of suffering) x 3 (relevancy of suffering). For the analysis involving demographic variables, there were no predicted significant differences. In addition, all other analyses were conducted after the results of these two analyses (i.e. the ANOVA involving the original

design and the regression involving demographic variables) yielded unexpected results. As such, there were no expected results for any of the analyses conducted subsequent to the original ANOVA and regression involving demographic characteristics. As a result, only expected results for the original experimental design for which there existed hypotheses, will be discussed in this section.

The mood that the terrorist created in the subjects was measured by the MACL and was assumed to influence the subjects' perception of the terrorist, which was measured by the semantic differential scale. The subjects' punitive attitude towards the terrorist was measured by the punishment/magnitude scale. The level of punitiveness directed at the terrorist was assumed to follow from, or at least be related to, the perception of the terrorist, which may be mediated by the mood the terrorist created in the subjects.

For each of the hypotheses stated previously, it was expected that the null hypothesis would be rejected and the research (or alternate) hypotheses would be confirmed. Rather than repeating all of the hypotheses, which are stated in the Literature Review chapter, only the main hypotheses will be stated. In order to clarify the expected results, refer to the chart and the corresponding cell numbers in the Research Design subsection.

The first main research hypothesis is that the male terrorist who suffers, and whose suffering is relevant and occurs during the crime (cell 7), will be perceived most positively and will be punished least severely (i.e. will receive the highest favorability score), than the terrorist in any other condition. That is:

$$H_0: u_7 = u_1, u_2, u_3, u_4, u_5, u_6, u_8, u_9, u_{10}, u_{11}, u_{12}.$$

$$H_1: u_7 > u_1, u_2, u_3, u_4, u_5, u_6, u_8, u_9, u_{10}, u_{11}, u_{12}$$

The second main research hypothesis states that the female terrorist who suffers, and whose suffering is irrelevant and occurs before the crime (cell 4), will receive a less favorable score than the terrorist in all conditions except those in which no suffering occurs. That is:

$$H_0: u_4 = u_1, u_2, u_3, u_7, u_8, u_9, u_{10}.$$

$$H_1: u_4 < u_1, u_2, u_3, u_7, u_8, u_9, u_{10}.$$

The third main research hypothesis is that the female terrorist who does not suffer at all, will receive the least favorable ratings. That is:

$H_0: u_6, u_{12} = u_1, u_2, u_3, u_4, u_5, u_7, u_8, u_9, u_{10},$   
 $u_{11}$

$H_1: u_6, u_{12} < u_1, u_2, u_3, u_4, u_5, u_7, u_8, u_9, u_{10},$   
 $u_{11}$

All other hypotheses which refer to the main effects of the variables will not be reiterated. There were no expected results and hypotheses for interaction effects, since there was no basis on which to predict them.

### CHAPTER 3: MANIPULATION CHECKS - RESULTS

Manipulation checks were carried out on two levels. First, the success rate of the manipulation check was calculated. That is, the percentage of subjects who successfully answered the manipulation check question was calculated. In addition, the manipulation checks were analyzed as dependent variables. That is, a 2 (gender) x 2 (timing) x 3 (relevance) ANOVA was calculated to investigate whether certain conditions influenced the success of the manipulation check. The results of the manipulation checks were mixed.

The Type III SS was used, which is a more rigorous standard than the Type I SS. Unless otherwise stated, any effect which is discussed as statistically significant, is so at  $p < .10$ , or less. An exception to this was a trend for gender, for the gender of terrorist variable manipulation check. A summary of overall and significant main and interaction effects is provided in Table 2.

#### Gender

Approximately 90% of the subjects correctly identified the terrorist's gender.

Gender. One slight trend emerged for the success rate of the gender manipulation check and appeared as a main effect for gender of the terrorist. Specifically, subjects were slightly more likely to correctly identify

the gender of the terrorist if the terrorist were male (93% success rate), than if the terrorist were female (87% success rate). That is, a subject will more likely mistakenly identify a female terrorist as a male, than will a subject mistakenly identify a male terrorist as female.

Table 2

Analysis of Variance for Manipulation Checks: Overall and Significant Main and Interaction Effects

Manipulation check	Effect	N	df	F	p > F
Gender of terrorist	overall	228	11	0.69	0.75
	gender	228	1	2.03	0.16
Existence of suffering	overall	228	11	2.49	0.006
	gender	228	1	7.00	0.009
	timing	228	1	4.18	0.042
	relevan.	228	2	2.53	0.082
Relevancy of suffering	overall	228	11	2.32	0.01
	gender	228	1	4.77	0.03
	relevan.	228	1	4.29	0.015
Timing of suffering	overall	228	11	7.64	0.0001
	gender	228	1	3.53	0.06
	timing	228	1	48.92	0.0001
	t x r	228	2	13.14	0.0001

### Existence of Suffering

Approximately 70% of subjects correctly indicated whether the terrorist experienced any type of suffering at all. In addition, there were main effects when analyzing the manipulation check as a dependent variable.

Gender. A main effect for gender indicated that when the terrorist was male, 61% of subjects correctly identified whether the terrorist suffered at all, either physically or mentally, whereas 77% of subjects correctly identified whether or not a female terrorist had suffered.

Timing. A main effect for timing indicated that when the terrorist's suffering occurred in the precrime condition then 75% of the subjects correctly identified whether or not the terrorist suffered, as compared to 63% in the during crime condition.

Relevancy. A trend for a relevancy main effect indicated that 77% of subjects in the relevant condition successfully identified whether or not the terrorist suffered, whereas 70% of those in the irrelevant condition, and 61% of those in the control group, did so. A test between proportions indicated that the relevant subjects had a greater success rate than did subjects in the control group.

### Relevancy of Suffering

When asked about the relevancy of the terrorist's suffering, 54% of subjects correctly identified the relevancy of the suffering.

Gender. A main effect for the gender of the terrorist indicated that 47% of subjects in the male terrorist condition successfully identified relevancy of the terrorist suffering, whereas 61% of the subjects in the female terrorist condition correctly identified this variable.

Relevancy. A main effect for relevancy revealed that 59% of subjects in the relevant condition correctly identified the relevancy of the terrorists' suffering, whereas 41% of subjects in the irrelevant condition, and 63% of those in the control group, did so. A test between proportions revealed that although relevant suffering was not necessarily better remembered than if no suffering occurred (i.e. control condition), irrelevant suffering was less easily remembered than if no suffering occurred.

### Temporality of Terrorists' Suffering

Approximately 53% of the subjects correctly indicated the timing of the terrorist's suffering.

Gender. A trend for gender indicated that 47% of subjects successfully indicated the temporality of the terrorist's suffering when the terrorist was male,

whereas 57% of subjects correctly identified this variable when the terrorist was female.

Timing. A main effect for timing indicated that in the precrime suffering condition 70% of subjects correctly identified the temporality of terrorist suffering, whereas 34% of subjects in the during crime condition correctly indicated this variable.

Timing x Relevancy. An interaction effect was found between temporality and relevancy.

Table 3

Success Rate of Timing of Suffering Manipulation: Timing x Relevancy Interaction

Relevancy of suffering		Precrime suffering	During crime suffering
Relevant	<u>M</u>	82.0%	37.0%
	<u>n</u>	39	38
Irrelevant	<u>M</u>	72.0%	34.6%
	<u>n</u>	39	39
Control	<u>M</u>	57.9%	59.0%
	<u>n</u>	38	39

As can be seen from Table 3, in the precrime condition when the suffering is relevant or irrelevant, correct identification of the timing of the suffering is

much higher than in the during conditions when the suffering is relevant or irrelevant. The success rates in the control groups are almost identical to each other. In fact this should be the case since the reports that the subjects read in each of these groups were identical to each other--neither contained any reference to suffering.

In sum, conditions involving precrime/relevant suffering by a female terrorist were generally better remembered than were other conditions.

#### Dependent Measures

Cronbach's alpha scores were calculated on the items composing each factor for each dependent measure, in order to measure the the internal reliability of the factors. The Cronbach's alpha scores for each dependent variable are listed in Table 4. One may want to keep the scores in Table 4 in mind when interpreting the data, especially in those cases where Cronbach's alpha is less than 0.6.

Table 4

Cronbach's alpha for Dependent Variables

Factor	Items composing factor	Cronbach's alpha (for raw variables)
<u>Mood Adjective Checklist</u>		
Aggression	(items 1+12+23)	0.6
Anxiety	(items 2+13+24)	0.6
Surgency	(items 3+14+25)	0.7
Elation	(items 4+15+26)	0.7
Concentration	(items 5+16+27)	0.3
Fatigue	(items 6+17+28)	0.3
Social Affection	(items 7+18+29)	0.8
Sadness	(items 8+19+30)	0.4
Skepticism	(items 9+20+31)	0.4
Egotism	(items 10+21+32)	0.6
Vigor	(items 11+22+33)	0.7
Distress	(items 1+2+5+9+13+17 19+20+31)	0.6
Good Mood	(Vigor+Elation+Surg.)	0.8
Bad Mood	(Aggression+Anxiety+ Sadness)	0.6

(table continues)

Table 4 (continued)

Factor	Items composing factor	Cronbach's alpha (for raw variables)
<u>Punishment</u>		
Severity	(items 1+6+8+9+10+11)	0.8
Swiftness	(items 3+7+12)	0.4
Certainty	(items 2+4+5+9+10)	0.6
<u>Semantic Differential</u>		
Dangerousness	(items 2+4+5+6+8+11+12+ 29+58+70)	0.9
Attractiveness	(items 7+15+61+74)	0.6
Sexual Purity	(items 27+46+59+66)	0.6
Commitment	(items 39+43+71)	0.7
Rational	(items 16+17+30+37+38+ 45+48+54+56+64)	0.8
Contentment	(items 1+32+44+50+53+)	0.7
Compassion	(items 35+69+73)	0.7
Evaluation	(items 1+4+14+20+42+ 49+60+63)	0.8
Masculinity	(items 19+24)	0.6
Morality	(items 3+9+13+26+27+28+ 33+36+42+47+55)	0.9
Sanity	(items 25+40+65+72)	0.7

Note. Cronbach's alpha for the variables of intelligence and heterosexuality were not calculated since they were composed of only one item.

#### CHAPTER 4: MANIPULATION CHECKS - DISCUSSION

There were no hypotheses regarding the manipulation checks. It was assumed that they would be successful based on the nature of the reports and the pilot study conducted regarding suffering in general. As a result, all of the explanations for the results of the manipulation checks are made on a *post hoc* basis.

##### Gender

Although the overwhelming majority of subjects correctly identified the gender of the terrorist, the unsuccessful responses that were made indicated a slight trend toward gender stereotyping. Specifically, that female terrorists were more likely to be mistaken for male terrorists than were male terrorists likely to be mistaken for female terrorists, is consistent with the view of terrorism as a macho or masculine activity. A more thorough discussion of gender stereotyping will occur in the discussions involving the other main analyses.

##### General Suffering

The higher success rate for subjects exposed to the female terrorist as compared to those exposed to the male terrorist, for the manipulation check asking whether or not the terrorist experienced any suffering, may also be

explained by gender bias. That is, suffering may be seen as more consistent with being a female and is thus better remembered when relevant to a female. This may indicate that suffering with respect to female terrorists may be more salient because it is more consistent with subjects' perception of females than it is of males. This gender effect is also evident when both the temporality and the relevancy of the terrorists' suffering is analyzed. In general then, any manipulation involving suffering is better remembered for female terrorists than it is for male terrorists.

#### Timing of Suffering

The manipulation checks also indicate that suffering that occurs in the precrime condition is better remembered than suffering that occurs in the during crime condition. This may be a result of subjects looking for an event or reason that they can point to in order to explain the terrorists' behavior. Precrime suffering provides subjects with such an explanation. On the other hand, the during crime suffering does not provide such an explanation since the suffering occurs after the onset of the terrorist event and therefore cannot act as an existing explanation for the terrorist act. As such subjects, when reading the reports and trying to make sense of the terrorist act, note precrime suffering more than during crime suffering.

In fact research on the "story" model of jury decision-making has indicated that jurors attempt to to construct a valid story of the events that occurred relevant to the crime.

Although more complex, the story model (see Pennington & Hastie, 1993) is premised on the hypothesis that, "jurors impose a narrative story organization on trial information" (Pennington & Hastie, 1993, p. 194). In doing so, jurors compose the story from the following three sources of knowledge: (a) case specific information acquired during the trial; (b) knowledge about events similar to those under consideration; and (c) generic expectations about what makes a complete story (Pennington & Hastie, 1993). In sum, jurors construct a "causal sequential representation of the facts of the case" (Ellsworth, 1993, p. 46). In light of this model it may be that subjects in the present study are trying to make sense of the terrorist attack. When provided with information about the terrorist's suffering, they may use that information to impose a narrative story. Moreover, this information contributes to the overall interpretation of events and the resulting perceptions and attitudes towards the terrorist.

#### Relevancy of Suffering

That relevant suffering is more easily remembered than irrelevant suffering may also indicate an attempt on

the part of subjects to make sense of, or to explain, the event. As with temporality, relevant suffering may draw the subjects' attention to the suffering (as compared to irrelevant suffering) in that it may potentially contribute to explaining the terrorist event and contribute to the story, especially when it also occurs before the crime.

None of the results mentioned above were hypothesized. However they are consistent with gender stereotyping and the desire on the part of subjects to explain an otherwise inexplicable event--an act of terrorism. Often the general public struggles to understand such events and in so doing grapples with the information it does have to assist them in this endeavour.

### Overall

The overall success of the manipulation checks for temporality and relevancy were weak. However, analysis of the data proceeded for a number of reasons. It may be that although subjects could not correctly answer these particular manipulation checks, they nonetheless did take notice of these variables (consciously or unconsciously), which contributed to their overall impression of the terrorist. That is, as subjects read the report, they formed a *gestalt* or general impression of what was happening. This seems quite possible given the pattern of

the success rate of the manipulation checks. That precrime/relevant suffering is better remembered, may illustrate just that. This is consistent with other research which indicates that jurors try to make sense of an event (see Levine, 1992, p. 19; Pennington & Hastie, 1993).

In addition, there is no relationship between the success rate of the manipulation check and the confirmation of the hypotheses. For instance, although gender, an experimental variable, was a highly successful manipulation according to the manipulation check, the data indicate that the gender-based hypotheses were not confirmed. On the other hand, the timing and relevancy of the suffering variables resulted in some significant effects and some, albeit very limited, success with respect to the hypotheses, while also demonstrating a relatively low success rate on the manipulation checks.

Because there seems to be no relationship between the success rate of the manipulation check and the success of the hypotheses, and because the pattern of the success rate of the manipulation checks are consistent with the story model, it was decided to continue with the analysis of the data.

Moreover, the pattern of the success rate of the manipulation checks shed light on the cognitive processes of the subjects and are consistent with the results stated in the main experimental analysis regarding the

experimental variables. The success rates of the manipulation checks are not random but due to specific influences and thought processes on the part of the subjects. This will be more thoroughly discussed in the Main Experimental Analysis - Result chapter.

#### Memory and the Manipulation Checks

Although the subjects in this experiment were required to read a short report and were not instructed as jurors, the jury literature and social/cognitive psychology literature regarding memory is relevant to the results of the manipulation checks.

Although the legal system assumes that jurors can retain all important information, studies have shown this assumption to be false (see Wrightsman, Nietzel, & Fortune, 1994, p. 325-329). Research indicates a variety of factors that influence the memory of the jury--from notetaking, to asking questions, to the timing of the judges's instruction to the jury. Although the present study did not employ a mock trial format, the issue of memory effects is certainly relevant in a discussion of the manipulation checks. More specifically, there is evidence that jurors should be instructed before the presentation of the testimony because this gives them a context in which to consider the relevancy of testimony. In fact, there is evidence for a primacy effect, which indicates that people learn more effectively when they

know in advance what their specific task will be. This instruction provides a framework for understanding subsequent material and for recalling it later (Bartlett's and Neisser's studies, as cited in Wrightsman, Neitzel & Fortune, 1994, p. 328).

In fact Kassin and Wrightsman (1979) found that judge's instructions affected mock jurors verdicts when they were given before the testimony but not when they were given afterwards. When subjects were instructed after the evidence, they recalled significantly fewer relevant facts than when the instructions were given before the evidence or not at all.

The research mentioned above suggests that subjects do not automatically process everything presented to them. In fact, it appears that in order for subjects to remember, they do need instructions before material is presented to them. This was not the case in the present experiment where subjects were simply instructed to read the report (see Appendixes B, C, and D). It was not until after reading the report, and answering demographic questions about themselves, that the subjects were then asked to answer the manipulation checks. The manipulation checks would have likely had a much higher success rate had the subjects been instructed at the onset of the experiment to take special notice of the timing and relevancy of the terrorists' suffering. Doing so however, would have biased and invalidated the results. However,

knowledge of these memory effects does help explain the results of the manipulation checks.

In addition, it should be noted that although the success rate of some of the manipulation checks were relatively low, the results of this study concerning those manipulations are nonetheless valid. In fact, the studies just mentioned regarding jury memory, point out the importance of the results of the manipulation checks in terms of their support for those same studies. Moreover, although the manipulation checks are important, this study was concerned with overall perceptions, resulting punishment, and feelings brought on by the conditions in which the terrorist act took place. As such, memory of specific information was not essential for achieving the goals of this study. That is, the present study was concerned with general perceptions and not whether or not subjects "knew" or accurately remembered what caused their perceptions or attitudes.

This position is also supported by the distinction between perception and memory. In perception, sensory inputs are transformed and organized into something meaningful for the subject. In memory, these transformed inputs are then stored in the brain, for later recall (Bartol & Bartol, 1994, p. 218). This study was primarily concerned with perception. The memory aspect was only a concern in terms of the manipulation check. As such, the subjects, as previously stated, may have formed an

overall impression of the terrorist (i.e. perception), but when asked to recall specifics of the case (i.e. memory), were not able to do so accurately. However, this does not negate the possibility that an overall impression or "schema" was formed, nor does it negate the influence that the independent variables had on perceptions and attitudes.

Cue-utilization theory may also be relevant to mention at this point. This theory points out that when in a state of high arousal, people tend to focus their attention to the most relevant or threatening cues. (Bartol & Bartol, 1994, p. 221). Although the subjects in this study were asked to respond to a hypothetical report of a terrorist event, the subjects may nonetheless, have been made nervous or aroused by the report. As such, they may have been paying attention to elements of the story, other than the timing or relevancy of terrorist suffering. They may have been focusing on the victims, explosion, etc. Not knowing that they would be required to answer questions about timing and relevancy of terrorist suffering, they did not focus on these variables. However, these variables may have nonetheless influenced the *gestalt* or impression of the terrorist formed by the subjects.

### Future Research

The nature of the report may have been responsible for the weak manipulation check results. Research shows that the longer a subject is exposed to material, the more accurate the recall (Loftus & Loftus, as cited in Bartol & Bartol, 1994, p. 220). In the reports used in this study, the relevancy and temporality of subjects' suffering were mentioned only briefly. In addition, frequency of exposure to information has been proven to be related to the accuracy of memory recall (Bartol & Bartol, 1994, p. 221). In the reports, timing and relevancy were mentioned only once. Future research may want to increase the saliency of these variables by increasing the amount of time subjects spend reading about them, and by increasing the number of times these variables are mentioned.

## CHAPTER 5: MAIN EXPERIMENTAL ANALYSIS - RESULTS

A 2 (male terrorist or female terrorist) x 2 (precrime suffering or during crime suffering) x 3 (relevant suffering or irrelevant suffering or no suffering/control) ANOVA was conducted on all dependent variables. Although the hypotheses were based on sophisticated theoretical assumptions as previously discussed in the literature review, most of the hypotheses were not confirmed. Instead the results seem to indicate linear, commonsensical, and intuitive thought processes amongst the subjects, which will be more thoroughly analyzed in the following Discussion chapter. Consequently, the stated results will often indicate a departure from the hypotheses.

Unless otherwise stated the Type III SS was used.

### Mood Adjective Checklist (MACL): Variables

Each of the mood factors were analyzed separately. Some factors were combined to form the overall factors of good mood and bad mood, as previously discussed. The individual items comprising each factor can be found in Nowliss (1965), and are indicated next to each factor in Table 4. The distress factor was created on an ad hoc basis for the purposes of this study and consisted of

items included in the MACL. The results of the ANOVA for the MACL factors are indicated in Table 5.

Table 5

Analysis of Variance for MACL: Overall and Significant  
Main and Interaction Effects

Variable	Effect	<u>N</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p &gt; F</u>
Aggression	overall	224	11	0.51	0.89
Anxiety	overall	221	11	0.98	0.46
Surgency	overall	224	11	1.09	0.37
Elation	overall	220	11	1.00	0.47
	timing	220	1	3.80	0.05
Concentration	overall	221	11	1.49	0.13
	tim. x rel.	221	2	3.83	0.02
Fatigue	overall	221	11	0.79	0.64
Social Affection	overall	218	11	1.34	0.20
Sadness	overall	220	11	1.67	0.08
	gender	220	1	3.88	0.05
	tim. x rel.	220	2	4.75	0.01
Skepticism	overall	212	11	0.67	0.77
Egotism	overall	217	11	1.07	0.38
Vigor	overall	220	11	1.78	0.06
	timing	220	1	6.82	0.01
Distress	overall	207	11	1.18	0.30
	tim. x rel.	207	2	3.17	0.04
Good Mood	overall	214	11	1.24	0.27
	timing	214	1	5.7	0.02
Bad Mood	overall	215	11	0.85	0.59

As Table 5 indicates, the only mood factors which were marginally statistically significant ( $p < .10$  or  $p = .10$ ) overall were concentration, sadness and vigor. Since the .10 level is a relatively relaxed standard, one can only claim that there was a trend for these variables. In addition, there were some significant main and interaction effects, even though the overall effect was not significant. In Table 5, only main or interaction effects with  $p < .05$  or  $p = .05$ . were listed. The specific effects are stated below. The reader may find Table 5 useful when referring to the specific effects.

Unless otherwise stated, any differences between means for the relevancy of suffering variable (which is the only independent variable that has more than two levels) which are mentioned as differing from each other, or any interaction effects, are statistically significant as determined by having conducted appropriate  $t$  tests. Unless otherwise stated, all  $t$  tests were significant at  $p < .10$ , or less.

### Elation

Timing. Although an overall effect was not found, there was a significant main effect for timing. The terrorist in the report made subjects in the precrime condition feel less elated ( $M = 4.0$ ) than subjects in the during crime condition ( $M = 4.4$ ). This is consistent with hypotheses derived from equity theory that predict that

during crime suffering would count more in reducing negative feelings towards the terrorist and in the subjects.

### Concentration

Timing x Relevancy. There was an overall trend for concentration, with a significant Timing x Relevancy interaction as indicated in Table 6.

Table 6

#### Means for Concentration: Timing x Relevancy

Relevancy		Precrime	During crime
Relevant	<u>M</u>	5.1	6.5
	<u>n</u>	38	34
Irrelevant	<u>M</u>	5.5	5.5
	<u>n</u>	40	33
Control	<u>M</u>	6.0	5.8
	<u>n</u>	38	38

Note. A line between means indicates a statistically significant difference.

When the terrorist experienced relevant/precrime suffering the subjects concentrated far less than if the terrorist experienced relevant/during crime suffering or no suffering (i.e. control group). When the terrorist

experienced during crime/relevant suffering, the subjects concentrated far more than when the terrorist experienced precrime/relevant, precrime/irrelevant, or during crime/irrelevant, suffering. There were no hypotheses regarding interaction effects. It may be that it was more difficult for subjects in the during crime/relevant condition to make sense of the event (i.e. something in the past could not account for the terrorist act). Whereas in other conditions, subjects had to struggle less to try and make sense of the event, thus causing them to concentrate less.

### Sadness

Gender. The marginally significant overall ANOVA included a significant main effect for gender. Female terrorists made the subjects feel less sad ( $M = 6.4$ ) than did the male terrorists ( $M = 7.0$ ). It was predicted that the female terrorists would make subjects feel more sad (i.e. more negative). This result is thus opposite to that predicted by the hypothesis.

Timing x Relevancy. A significant Timing x Relevancy interaction effect indicated that the terrorist in the precrime/irrelevant group made subjects feel most sad, whereas subjects in the during crime/irrelevant condition made subjects feel least sad, as indicated in Table 7.

No interaction effects were directly predicted from the hypotheses. However, since sadness is related to

negative mood (Nowliss, 1965), it was predicted that subjects in the precrime suffering condition would report higher sadness scores than those in the during crime condition. Likewise, it was predicted that subjects in the control and irrelevant suffering conditions would report more sadness than those in the relevant suffering conditions. As a result, it was predicted that the control and precrime/irrelevant suffering conditions would have the highest sadness scores. This was partially confirmed as indicated by the mean in the irrelevant/precrime condition.

Likewise the hypotheses predicted that the during/relevant condition would have the lowest score on this variable. This was not confirmed. Subjects in the during/irrelevant condition reported the least sadness.

Overall, the hypotheses regarding this variable were only partially confirmed.

Table 7

Means for Sadness: Timing x Relevancy

Relevancy		Precrime	During crime
Relevant	<u>M</u>	6.6	6.9
	<u>n</u>	39	33
Irrelevant	<u>M</u>	7.5	5.6
	<u>n</u>	39	33
Control	<u>M</u>	6.6	6.8
	<u>n</u>	39	37

Note. A line between means indicates a statistically significant difference.

Vigor

The strongest overall mood effect was for vigor. In addition there was a significant main effect for timing.

Timing. Since vigor is related to positive mood (Nowliss, 1965), it was predicted that subjects in the during crime condition would report higher scores than those in the precrime condition. The results were in the predicted direction with subjects in the precrime condition reporting lower scores for vigor (M = 5.3) than subjects in the during crime crime condition (M = 6.1) . This effect may not simply be a result of the hypotheses but may also reflect the desire on the part of subjects to see the terrorist suffer and get his or her just deserts. When the subjects perceive that this is

occurring when the terrorist suffers, then they are pleased and excited--that is, they experience vigor.

### Distress

Timing x Relevance. A Timing x Relevancy interaction revealed that subjects in the precrime/relevant condition experienced less distress than subjects in the during crime/relevant condition, as reflected in Table 8. The hypotheses predicted that the most distress would be found in the precrime/irrelevant or no suffering/control groups, and that the least distress would be found in the during crime/relevant conditions. The latter effect was only partially confirmed. That is, subjects in the precrime/irrelevant and no suffering/control conditions, reported fairly high levels of distress, although these were not significantly higher than other cell means. However, subjects in the during crime/relevant condition reported the most distress, contrary to the hypotheses.

Table 8

Means for Distress: Timing x Relevancy

Relevancy		Precrime	During crime
Relevant	<u>M</u>	20.5	23.0
	<u>n</u>	36	31
Irrelevant	<u>M</u>	22.3	20.6
	<u>n</u>	40	28
Control	<u>M</u>	22.6	22.5
	<u>n</u>	38	34

Note. A line between means indicates a statistically significant difference.

Good Mood

Timing. There was a significant main effect for timing. Consistent with the hypothesis, subjects in the during crime conditions reported more of a good mood (M = 15.2) than did subjects in the precrime conditions (M = 13.4).

Summary for Mood Variables

Many of the predicted effects regarding mood and suffering were not confirmed. However, some of the results which were significant were in the direction predicted by the hypotheses. None of the hypothesized gender effects emerged with respect to mood. The only

gender effect that did emerge was consistent with stereotypical notions of gender.

### Punishment Variables

There were no significant overall effects for the punishment measures. See Table 9 for overall and significant main and interaction effects resulting from the ANOVA.

Table 9

#### Analysis of Variance for Punishment: Overall and Significant Main and Interaction Effects

Variable	Effect	<u>N</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p &gt; F</u>
Severity	overall	217	11	0.63	0.8
	gend. x tim.	217	1	4.26	0.04
Swiftiness	overall	206	11	0.93	0.51
	timing	206	1	2.45	0.12
Certainty	overall	222	11	0.49	0.91

#### Severity

Gender x Timing. There was a significant gender x timing interaction effect. For this interaction, the hypotheses would predict that male terrorists in the during crime conditions would receive the least severe

punishment and that female terrorists in the precrime condition would receive the most severe punishment. However, contrary to the hypotheses, and as Table 10 indicates, male terrorists who suffered during the crime received more severe punishment than males who suffered in their childhood (i.e. precrime condition) or than females who suffered during the crime.

Female terrorists, as hypothesized, received more severe punishment, but only if they were in the precrime condition. For subjects in the during crime conditions, female terrorists received more lenient treatment (contrary to the hypothesis). Likewise, it was predicted that terrorists in the precrime condition would receive more severe punishment than those in the during crime condition. This was confirmed only if the terrorist was female.

There were no gender main effects.

Table 10

Means for Severity: Gender x Timing

Gender		Precrime	During crime
Male	<u>M</u>	-0.6	0.6
	<u>n</u>	57	54
Female	<u>M</u>	0.5	-0.8
	<u>n</u>	57	49

Note. A line between means indicates a statistically significant difference.

Swiftiness

Timing. There was a trend for timing. The terrorist in the precrime condition received more swift punishment ( $\bar{M} = 0.2$ ) than did terrorist in the during crime condition ( $\bar{M} = -0.2$ ). The hypotheses predicted that terrorists in the precrime condition would be treated more harshly (i.e. punished more swiftly) than terrorists in the during crime condition. This was confirmed.

Summary for Punishment Variables

The only hypothesis confirmed for punishment was a timing main effect for swiftiness. However, even this is debatable since one may argue that swiftiness of punishment does not necessarily equate to harshness of punishment. The interaction effect for severity of punishment partially confirmed and partially disconfirmed, the hypotheses.

### Semantic Differential

The overall results and significant main and interaction effects of the ANOVA for variables in the semantic differential are provided in Table 11. The only variable which yielded an overall significant effect was femininity. There were some individual effects which were significant even though the overall effect was not significant. These effects were also included in the analysis. Since Table 11 reflects the results pertaining directly to the main hypotheses, main and interaction effects significant at  $p < 0.1$  or below, are included. As mentioned, Type III SS was used unless otherwise stated.

Table 11

Analysis of Variance for Semantic Differential Variables:  
Overall and Significant Main and Interaction Effects

Variable	Effect	<u>N</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p &gt; F</u>
Safe	overall	234	11	1.29	0.2
	timing	234	1	8.0	0.005
Attractiveness	overall	234	11	1.23	0.27
	gender	234	1	10.39	0.002
Sexual Inactivity	overall	234	11	0.81	0.6
Commitment	overall	234	11	1.26	0.25
	T x R	234	2	4.97	0.008
Contentment	overall	234	11	0.85	0.59
Intelligence	overall	234	11	1.34	0.2
	relevance	234	2	3.22	0.04
	G x T	234	1	2.85	0.09
Compassion	overall	234	11	1.20	0.29
	gender	234	1	3.18	0.08
	timing	234	1	3.47	0.07
	G x T x R	234	2	2.74	0.07
Evaluation	overall	234	11	0.58	0.84
Femininity	overall	234	11	2.76	0.002
	gender	234	1	14.10	0.0002
	timing	234	2	3.03	0.08
	G x R x T	234	2	3.18	0.04

(table continues)

Table 11 (continued)

Variable	Effect	<u>N</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p &gt; F</u>
Sanity	overall	234	11	0.59	0.83
Heterosexuality	overall	234	11	1.23	0.27
Morality	overall	234	11	0.93	0.51
	timing	234	1	4.28	0.04
Rationality	overall	234	11	0.78	0.66
	timing	234	1	3.82	0.05

### Safe

Timing. There was a powerful main effect for timing. The terrorists in the precrime conditions were perceived as more safe ( $\bar{M} = 24.8$ ) than those in the during crime conditions ( $\bar{M} = 20.7$ ).

Although equity theory does not directly predict the direction of this effect, equity theory may have predicted that the terrorist who suffers during the crime would be perceived more positively, and as such, more safe because during crime suffering would have counted more than precrime suffering in reducing inequity. However, this effect did not emerge. It may be that the terrorist who suffered in childhood (i.e. precrime condition) may be seen as more safe because subjects may attribute the terrorist's actions to the childhood suffering, thus in some way giving a reason to the terrorist's behavior. The terrorist act may therefore not seem as random and dangerous as it would have in the during crime condition where the suffering cannot account for the terrorist's behavior.

### Attractiveness

Gender. There was a main gender effect for this variable. Female terrorists were seen as more attractive ( $\bar{M} = 13.7$ ) than their male counterparts ( $\bar{M} = 12.1$ ). This finding was opposite to that predicted by the hypothesis regarding gender which stated that female terrorists will

be perceived more negatively, and likewise as less attractive, than their male counterparts. However, the finding that did emerge is consistent with stereotypical notions of females as more attractive or prettier than male.

### Commitment

Timing x Relevancy. A Timing x Relevancy interaction effect was found, although none was predicted. The predicted gender effect of female terrorists being perceived as more committed than males, did not emerge.

Table 12

### Means For Commitment: Timing x Relevancy

Relevancy		Precrime	During crime
Relevant	<u>M</u>	14.6	14.7
	<u>n</u>	40	38
Irrelevant	<u>M</u>	13.5	16.4
	<u>n</u>	41	35
Control	<u>M</u>	15.4	14.0
	<u>n</u>	40	40

Note. A line between means indicates a statistically significant difference.

As indicated by Table 12, the terrorist whose suffering is irrelevant, and occurs before the crime

(i.e. precrime condition), is seen as more committed than the terrorist whose suffering is irrelevant and occurs during the crime and the terrorist who experiences no suffering (i.e. control condition). The highest commitment score occurs in the during/irrelevant condition and the least commitment is found in the precrime/irrelevant condition. The result may be related to what explanatory factors exist. That is, in the irrelevant/during condition, there is no possible explanation provided by the report, because the suffering took place after the onset of the terrorist attack and moreover, that suffering is irrelevant.

#### Intelligence

There were no direct predictions regarding gender or equity for this variable. However, in viewing intelligence as a positive attribute, one may predict that terrorists whose suffering was relevant and during the crime would be seen as more intelligent than the terrorists whose suffering was irrelevant and occurred in the precrime condition. This may be because the terrorists in the former condition, would be perceived as more positive since their suffering counted more in reducing inequity.

Relevancy. There was a main effect for relevancy. Terrorists whose suffering was irrelevant were seen as more intelligent ( $M = 4.8$ ) than terrorists whose

suffering was relevant ( $M = 4.2$ ). This was opposite to the prediction of the hypothesis.

That the irrelevant condition received the highest intelligence score may have been a result of a lack of explanatory factors in that condition. It may be that when the suffering cannot explain the behavior (i.e. it is not relevant), then subjects infer that the terrorist is motivated by some ideological, psychopathic belief system. Subjects may believe that those driven by such motivations are more thoughtful and ideologically oriented, and thus in a sense more intelligent than those whose suffering may in some way explain the crime. A kind of cognitive dissonance may be occurring in that lacking any explanation, the subjects assume that the terrorist must have been motivated by external reasons which may be ideologically or intellectually based.

Gender x Timing. There was a weak Gender x Timing interaction as indicated in Table 13.

Table 13

Means for Intelligence: Gender x Timing

Gender		Precrime	During crime
Male	<u>M</u>	4.3	4.2
	<u>n</u>	62	57
Female	<u>M</u>	4.3	5.0
	<u>n</u>	59	56

Note. A line between means indicates a statistically significant difference.

No gender differences were found in the precrime condition. However, the female terrorist was seen as more intelligent in the during crime condition than was the terrorist in any other condition.

This may be a result of the subjects perceiving her as more of an ideologue. She had no previous suffering that may have been perceived as in some way causing her to commit acts of terrorism. As such, subjects may impute to her an ideological fanaticism that may be associated, in the minds of the subjects, with intelligence. In addition, a more positive stereotype of women and a resulting "halo" effect may account for the difference.

Compassion

Gender. A marginally significant main effect was found for gender, with female terrorists being perceived

as more compassionate ( $\underline{M} = 8.7$ ) than male terrorists ( $\underline{M} = 7.9$ ). This was directly opposite to the effect predicted by the hypotheses, and put forth by the media, but consistent with gender stereotypes.

Timing. There was a main effect for timing. The terrorist in the during condition was seen as less compassionate ( $\underline{M} = 7.9$ ) than the terrorist in the precrime condition ( $\underline{M} = 8.7$ ). This effect is in the opposite direction predicted by the hypotheses. This may be a result of subjects using the precrime suffering as an excuse or reason for the terrorist act. Being able to attribute the act to some past suffering may make the terrorist seem more compassionate than if the terrorist had never suffered.

Gender x Timing x Relevancy. A marginally significant Gender x Timing x Relevancy interaction was found.

Table 14

Means for Compassion: Gender x Timing x Relevancy

Relevancy		Precrime		During crime	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Relevant	<u>M</u>	8.6	8.4	6.8	8.8
	<u>n</u>	19	21	18	20
Irrelevant	<u>M</u>	7.5	10.3	8.0	7.9
	<u>n</u>	23	18	19	16
Control	<u>M</u>	8.9	8.7	7.6	8.2
	<u>n</u>	20	20	20	20

Note. A line between means indicates a statistically significant difference.

The hypotheses predicted that the male terrorist who suffered in the during crime/relevant condition would be seen as most compassionate and that the female terrorist who did not suffer or whose suffering was precrime/irrelevant would be seen as least compassionate. Results were almost opposite to those predicted. The male terrorist in the precrime/relevant condition was seen as least compassionate and the female terrorist in the irrelevant/precrime condition was seen as most compassionate.

Certain influences may be acting to at least in part, explain these results. First, the gender stereotype of perceiving females as nicer, gentler, and more

compassionate than males may be contributing to this result. In addition, the possibility of being able to use precrime suffering as reason for committing the act may, make the terrorist seem more compassionate and sympathetic. However, there is no explanation for the relevancy finding other than that discussed for the relevancy main effect for intelligence.

In addition, the female terrorist whose suffering was precrime/irrelevant was also found to be more compassionate than the terrorists in the following conditions: (a) male during/relevant; (b) male pre/irrelevant; (c) female during/irrelevant; (d) male during/irrelevant; and (e) male during/control.

### Femininity

A significant overall effect was found.

Gender. A significant main effect was found for gender with female terrorists being perceived as more feminine ( $M = 7.6$ ) than male terrorists ( $M = 6.2$ ).

Timing. A marginally significant main effect was found for timing. The terrorists in the precrime conditions were seen as more feminine ( $M = 7.2$ ) than their during crime counterparts ( $M = 6.6$ ). Suffering in the past seems to have had some type of feminizing effect. Perhaps being able to attribute the terrorist event to past suffering somehow makes the terrorist seem nicer, less threatening, and more feminine.

Gender x Timing x Relevancy. A significant interaction effect was found for Gender x Timing x Relevancy, as indicated in Table 15.

Table 15

Means for Femininity: Gender x Timing x Relevancy

Relevancy		Precrime		During crime	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Relevant	<u>M</u>	8.1	7.4	5.9	7.4
	<u>n</u>	19	21	18	20
Irrelevant	<u>M</u>	6.1	8.1	6.1	7.6
	<u>n</u>	23	18	19	16
Control	<u>M</u>	5.3	8.2	5.8	6.6
	<u>n</u>	20	20	20	20

Note. A line between means indicates a statistically significant difference.

Although not statistically significant, the female terrorist was seen as more feminine than her male counterparts in every condition except the precrime/relevant condition. Perhaps precrime suffering is exerting a masculinizing effect on female subjects. It may be that when women's suffering is precrime/relevant, and women are perceived to be committing acts of terrorism to gain revenge, then gaining revenge has a

masculinizing effect on women, whereas these same circumstances have a feminizing effect on males.

An interesting finding is that males whose suffering is precrime/relevant are seen as more feminine than males in all other conditions, and are perceived as more feminine than their female counterparts (although the latter is not statistically significant). Perhaps the precrime/relevant suffering provides some explanation of the event, since it was both before the act and relevant to it. Such conditions may make the terrorist appear less threatening and therefore more feminine.

Other differences between the cells seem to reflect the main effects or were too complex to discuss.

#### Morality

Timing. When the terrorist suffered before the crime (i.e. precrime suffering) than the terrorist was perceived as more moral ( $\underline{M} = 42.9$ ) than if the terrorist had suffered during the crime ( $\underline{M} = 38.9$ ).

#### Rationality

Timing. The terrorist in the precrime condition was perceived as more rational ( $\underline{M} = 32.3$ ) than the terrorist in the during crime condition ( $\underline{M} = 29.8$ ).

### Summary for Semantic Differential Variables

None of the hypothesis were confirmed and many results were in the opposite direction predicted by the hypotheses.

Gender. The results were consistent with stereotypical notions of women as more attractive, more compassionate and more feminine than men.

Timing. Main effects for timing were also in the opposite direction predicted by the hypotheses. The terrorists in the precrime conditions were seen as more safe, more compassionate, more feminine, more moral, and more rational than terrorists in the during crime conditions.

Relevance. The results were in the opposite direction predicted. The result that the terrorists whose suffering was irrelevant were perceived as more intelligent than the terrorists whose suffering was relevant, may be due to a belief that lacking an apparent reason for the terrorist act, the terrorists in the irrelevant condition must be educated and hold extreme ideological beliefs. Such a line of reasoning occurs after being primed to think of possible explanations.

Timing x Relevancy. No hypotheses were relevant to this interaction. However, the terrorists whose suffering was during/irrelevant, were seen as more committed than the terrorists whose suffering was precrime/irrelevant. It appears that being able to attribute the terrorist act

to irrelevant childhood suffering may lead subjects to infer that the terrorist was resultingly emotionally or psychologically scarred, and that this scarring explains the actions of the terrorist. When irrelevant/during crime suffering occurs, perhaps subjects cannot impute a reason to the act and therefore conclude that the terrorist must in some way be ideologically committed to the terrorist act.

Gender x Timing. That female terrorists who suffered during the crime are seen as more intelligent than their male counterparts, may be due to the assumption that women are nicer than men, and moreover, since there is no previous suffering, then the female terrorist must have an external reason for committing the act--a reason that may be a result of ideological convictions obtained through education, reading, etc. Subjects may then infer that female terrorists in the relevant condition are more intelligent than males in the same condition.

Gender x Timing x Relevancy. With respect to compassion, the results were opposite to those predicted. That female terrorists in the precrime/irrelevant condition were seen as most compassionate while males in the during crime condition were seen as least compassionate, may be explained by gender stereotypes and the value of precrime suffering in explaining the terrorist attack.

In addition, male terrorists whose suffering was precrime/relevant were seen as more feminine than males in all other conditions, but not as less feminine than their female counterparts. Precrime/relevant suffering appears to be exerting a masculinizing effect on females, but a feminizing effect on males, which may be explained by a combination of gender stereotyping and the effects of a possible explanatory factor.

In sum, none of the hypotheses regarding gender or suffering were confirmed. The significant effects were more consistent with gender stereotypes and the subjects' need to be able to, in some way, explain the terrorist event. A summary of effects is provided in Table 16.

Table 16

Summary of Significant Effects For Experimental Variables  
and Confirmation Status of Hypothesis

Variable	Significant effects								Conf. hypo.	
	Ovrl	G	T	R	GxT	GxR	RxT	GxTxR		
<u>Semantic Diff.</u>										
Safe			x							contra
Attractiveness		x								contra
Sex'l Inactiv.										
Commitment							x			
Rationality			x							
Contentment										
Intelligence				x	x					
Compassion		x						x		contra
Evaluation										
Femininity	x	x	x					x		
Sanity										
Heterosexuality										
Morality			x							
<u>Punishment</u>										
Severity					x					
Swiftness			x							cnfrm
Certainty										

(table continues)

Table 16 (continued)

Variable	Significant effects						Conf. hypo.
	Ovrl	G	T	R	GxT	RxT	
<u>MACL</u>							
Aggression							
Anxiety							
Surgency							
Elation			x				cnfrm
Concentration						x	
Fatigue							
Soc. affect.							
Sadness		x				x	
Skepticism							
Egotism							
Vigor	x		x				cnfrm
Distress						x	
Good Mood			x				cnfrm
Bad Mood							

Note. Criterion for inclusion is as follows: (a) overall effect,  $p < .01$ ; (b) main or interaction effect,  $p < .05$ .  
 x = significant effect; Cnfrm = confirmation of hypothesis; cntra = contrary/opposite to the hypothesis.

## CHAPTER 6: MAIN EXPERIMENTAL ANALYSIS - DISCUSSION

There were several overall patterns in the results for the main experimental analysis. In order to discuss them, the results will be summarized, the pattern stated, and the pattern then discussed. Main effects will be discussed first and separately from interaction effects since main effects, and not interaction effects, were hypothesized.

### Main Effects

#### Gender

None of the hypotheses-based predictions regarding gender were confirmed. The female terrorists did not make subjects feel more negatively, nor were they punished more harshly, nor were they perceived more negatively. There were however, some gender differences which seemed to reflect traditional gender stereotypes (see Brehm & Kassin, 1990, p. 156, for a list of universal gender stereotypes) which influenced mood and perception. Main effects indicated that female terrorists made subjects feel less sad, and were perceived as more attractive, more compassionate, and more feminine than male terrorists.

According to the results of the present study, female terrorists are not perceived in the ways the

literature on female terrorists claims they are perceived. Female terrorists are not generally perceived in more negative ways than male terrorists. They are not perceived as being more dangerous, less sexually pure, less moral, more ruthless, etc. That the female terrorists in this study were found to be more attractive than their male counterparts may be due to either a general notion that women in general are prettier than males, or to a halo effect resulting from females being perceived as nicer and kinder than men. In fact, one may be reminded of the saying "Sugar and spice and everything nice, that's what little girls are made of; frogs and snails and puppy dogs' tails, that's what little boys are made of" (Levine, 1992, pp. 143-144).

It requires further study to determine if female terrorists are perceived as less attractive than nonterrorists or noncriminal females. It may be that they are, but not to the degree necessary to make them less attractive than their male counterparts. However, further research is needed to investigate if indeed such a perception exists.

The lack of a gender main effect for punishment, particularly in the direction hypothesized, is consistent with Daly's (1994) recent work. Daly conducted a sentencing disparity study between men and women from records in New Haven in the 1980's. She found nothing to indicate a sentencing bias toward women based on either

paternalism or the evil woman hypothesis. In addition, there was no evidence to support some claims that nontraditional, nonfamilial women were treated more harshly.

A possible explanation for the results (i.e. the lack of gender main effects) in the present study, may lie in the objective and unbiased manner in which the terrorist was described in the report. It may simply be that when violent female criminals are not portrayed in biased and sensationalized ways, they will not be perceived in these biased and sensationalized ways.

The literature which discusses the biased ways in which female terrorists or violent female criminals are portrayed is not necessarily inconsistent with the present findings. It may be that when female terrorists or violent females are portrayed in biased and sensationalized ways, then they are perceived in those terms--that is, the way in which they were portrayed. But when they are not presented in such terms, such biases will not come into play. In fact, it appears from the results, that if any biases do come into play when reading noninflammatory reports of female terrorists, they are those of traditional gender stereotypes.

Although the hypotheses regarding gender were not confirmed, the results indicate the power of information and as such the media, to minimize bias. If reporting is not biased, subjects will not add further bias or gender

stereotyping. Thus there appears to be a mechanism by which to reduce or minimize myths and perhaps even stereotypes--objective, factual reporting.

As the research stands now however, female terrorists are not seen in the negative way that much of the literature concerning female terrorists suggests. This was the first study on perceptions of female terrorists to be conducted following established quantitative social science research methods. As a critique of the female terrorist literature (Kuleshnyk, 1992) indicates, previous research claiming that female terrorists are perceived as more deadly, ruthless, etc. (as opposed to the literature pointing out how violent female criminals are actually portrayed) has been marked by bias and is methodologically flawed. Much of that research is based on anecdotes, examples, biased assumptions, and sensationalized images of female terrorists. So it may in fact be, that the research which claims that female terrorists are perceived in more negative ways, is flawed (see Kuleshnyk, 1992, for a critique of this body of work), and that in reality, no such negative perceptions exists, as the present study indicates.

It therefore does appear that perceptions regarding female terrorists are based on what information people are provided with and their established gender stereotypes. This gives information providers a great

deal of power to shape perceptions and attitudes for the better or for the worse. As such, there are very real ramifications for the media in terms of questioning their methods of reporting and the potential for bias which may influence resulting decision-making.

In sum, although gender stereotypical bias still persists, additional bias, as suggested by the literature on female terrorists and the evil woman hypothesis or the combined model, has not occurred with respect to female terrorists. Whether or not this situation will persist in our society in the years to come, remains to be seen.

#### Timing

Main effects for timing indicate that suffering in childhood (i.e. precrime suffering) resulted in terrorists being perceived as more safe, more moral, more compassionate, and more feminine than terrorists who suffered during the crime.

These results are in opposition to equity theory's specific propositions regarding the temporality of suffering. They predicted that precrime suffering creates more inequity than during crime suffering, thus leading terrorists in the precrime condition to be perceived more negatively.

However, the results from the present study are consistent with the idea that when an explanation is

provided for a terrorist event, then subjects feel less threatened by the terrorist.

In the precrime condition, the childhood suffering may in the minds of subjects, explain the terrorist's actions. From this perspective, the during crime suffering could not serve an explanatory function since suffering in this condition occurred after the onset of the event. However, suffering that occurred before the onset of the terrorist event, may have somehow been construed as responsible for the actions of the terrorist. This may explain why terrorists in the precrime condition are perceived as more safe and more compassionate. They are more compassionate, according to the subjects, because they have suffered and are therefore more sensitive to the suffering of others. Furthermore, they are perceived as more safe because their actions were not random (as would be the case in the during crime condition)--they were in response to the trauma experienced in early childhood suffering.

In addition, the terrorist who experiences precrime suffering is perceived as more moral than the terrorist who suffers during the crime. Perhaps precrime suffering somehow lends more legitimacy in a sense, to the act than the terrorist who suffers during the crime. In the during crime condition there exists no "reason" or justification for the act and therefore the terrorist in that condition may be perceived as less moral. The result that the

terrorist in the precrime condition was also perceived as more rational may be explained in similar terms.

This is consistent with what Alan Dershowitz calls the "abuse excuse." In fact his book on this topic (Dershowitz, 1994) is entitled The Abuse Excuse And Other Cop-Outs, Sob Stories, and Evasions of Responsibility. For Dershowitz, "the 'Abuse Excuse' is a legal tactic by which criminal defendants claim a history of abuse as an excuse for violent retaliation" (p. 3). Dershowitz claims that it is increasingly being used by defendants and increasingly being accepted by jurors. Although the results of the current study are not concerned with questions of guilt, the findings that terrorists who suffered in childhood are perceived as less threatening seems to fit with the zeitgeist that Dershowitz is referring to--namely that people are willing to consider a variety of preexisting events and circumstances as mitigating factors or excuses. Dershowitz (1994) lists dozens of excuses ranging from the abuse excuse to the "everybody does it excuse" to the "political correctness excuse" (p. 7).

The results of this study seem to fit directly with the specific abuse excuse that Dershowitz mentions. He notes that the abuse could have occurred decades before (as in the present study's precrime condition) or be ongoing. The during crime suffering in the present study however, would not lend itself to the abuse excuse in the

latter circumstance since it occurred after the onset of the crime and as mentioned, could therefore in no way explain the actions of the terrorist.

In fact, the abuse excuse is not inconsistent with a broad interpretation of a specific aspect of equity theory. Remember that Kalven and Zeisel (1966) stated that the jury "will move where the equities are. And where the equities are at any given time will depend on both the state of the law and the climate of opinion" (p. 495). It may well be that at the current time, public opinion is very willing to accept an abuse excuse as influencing notions about (in)equity and thus considerations about offenders. Moreover, Levine (1992) notes that, "the jury's behavior is always a product of the times and a manifestation of ongoing political currents" (p. 123). As such, it may be that at the current time, previous suffering or the abuse excuse now drives the public's opinion of what is just, and is thus now counted by the public in calculating (in)equity.

The pervasiveness of the influence of the abuse excuse is apparent in numerous examples including terrorists. In cases of terrorism and Neo-Nazi violence, German judges have been soft on terrorists with psychological excuses (Dershowitz, 1994, p. 40). In addition, the abuse excuse is prevalent in international conflict. Palestinian terrorists blame their terrorism on the abuse and suffering they have received. Jewish

extremists justify Baruch Goldstein's killing by referring to the suffering Jews have endured at the hands of Palestinians (Dershowitz, 1994, p. 41). Goldstein's supporters claim that he was provoked to murder a dozen Palestinians in prayer at a mosque, by repeated terrorist attacks aimed at his fellow Jews by Palestinians (Dershowitz, 1994, p. 137). Rashad Baz who was arrested on 15 counts of attempted murder for shooting four Jewish Chasidim in a van was, according to some, provoked by Goldstein's violence in Hebron (Dershowitz, 1994, p. 138). Even, the Irish blame the British for their terrorism and the suffering the British inflicted on them.

The abuse excuse also extends beyond the realm of the political. The case of the Menendez brothers initially resulted in a hung jury largely because their defense of their murder of their parents was based on alleged, but unproven, abuse the brothers received at the hands of their parents. Likewise, both Lorena and John Bobbit received almost no punishment as a result of each party allegedly receiving abuse at the hands of the other. Such cases are indicative of the reach of the abuse excuse and of the trend to use it in recent jurisprudence (Dershowitz, 1994, p. 45).

This cycle, of abuse justifying further abuse and even terrorism, permeates many ethnic, regional, religious, and individual conflicts. Thus, the results of

the present study, with the abuse excuse, shed some light on the source and perceptions of real world political and personal conflicts, including terrorist events. Perhaps if the acceptance of the abuse excuse is lessened, there might be a lessening of what is considered to be acceptable violence, and perhaps, a lessening of violence itself. However, the current trend and zeitgeist of the times must be altered before such changes can occur.

At the present time, the results of this study seem to confirm the existence of a zeitgeist which will accept previous suffering or abuse as an excuse in mediating perceptions of terrorists. Suffering that occurred in childhood (whether it was relevant or irrelevant to the terrorist act) may have been construed as being responsible for the terrorist act. It should be noted however, that the timing effects involved perceptions of terrorist events and did not have corresponding punishment effects. This indicates that at least in the present study, the abuse excuse may be driving perceptions, but not necessarily the assignment of punishments. However, one should remember that this study did not involve actual juror decision-making or assignments of guilt or innocence. It may be that in an actual case involving actual jurors, as Dershowitz has noted, the abuse excuse may in fact be invoked in meting out verdicts or punishments. As such, the present study

provides further, but not complete, understanding of the reach and influence of the abuse excuse.

It should be noted that, although precrime suffering by the terrorists results in their being perceived as less threatening, this precrime suffering did not translate into a better mood for subjects. This lack of a general corresponding effect for perception and mood was also contrary to the hypotheses. In fact, during crime suffering by the terrorist made subjects feel more elated, more vigorous, and more in a good mood than did precrime suffering.

These results may reflect the subjects' satisfaction in the during crime conditions, with the terrorist finally being made to suffer. That is, the terrorist in the during crime condition suffers after the onset of the terrorist event and may thus be perceived as finally getting what is coming to him or her. This effect may be similar to what occurs in action movies, when at the end of the movie and after committing horrible acts, the villain is finally made to suffer and the audience cheers.

The results are consistent with Lerner's (1980) claim that, "People are not upset, in fact they may feel quite good, if the villain, someone who deserves to suffer, is punished" (p. 15). It therefore appears that a sense of justice (a villain being punished) creates a more positive and euphoric mood for subjects. This set of

results seems to lend some support to the "belief in a just world" theory which states that people must maintain the belief that they live in a just world where, people get what they deserve and deserve what they get (Lerner, 1980).

These timing main effects are however, also supportive of the hypotheses derived from equity theory's prediction that when a terrorist suffers during the crime this will produce less distress than when a terrorist suffers in childhood. As such terrorists who suffer during the crime were expected to create a better mood in subjects than would a terrorist who suffers in childhood. As such, the timing effects provide some support for equity theory, but only with respect to the mood of the subjects.

That terrorists who experience precrime suffering are punished more swiftly than terrorists who suffer during the crime, is consistent with the hypotheses derived from equity theory that precrime suffering would count less than during crime suffering. As such, the timing main effects with respect to swiftness of punishment and mood, are consistent with equity theory.

### Relevance

The only main effect for relevance was that a terrorist whose suffering was irrelevant to the terrorist

act was considered more intelligent than a terrorist whose suffering was relevant.

It may be that when suffering is not related to the terrorist act, subjects assume that the terrorist must have had some other reason for committing the act. Since the report does not supply one (i.e. the suffering is irrelevant) then the subjects feel the need to create one. The report does, however, supply some information about the terrorist. It states that the terrorist is committing this act for a certain cause, and that the terrorist belongs to a foreign terrorist group. Subjects may use this information in assuming that the terrorist is a radical who is well educated, erudite, and thus intelligent. Thus the subjects may be using this information when no other information is provided, in order to give some meaning to the event.

Cognitive dissonance may be a useful concept for explaining these results. As Festinger (1957) states, subjects feel uncomfortable when they hold two cognitions which are incompatible with one another. Whenever an expectation about an event is disconfirmed, people are motivated to remove the discomfort they experience. They do so by changing their cognition of some aspect of the event. Being able to rationalize the event in some way may serve to avoid the discomfort that cognitive dissonance brings. In the present study, it may be discomfoting for subjects to believe that someone can

commit an act of terrorism for no reason, as would be the case in the irrelevant suffering condition. As a result, subjects assume that the terrorist may have strong ideological motives for the attack. Such ideological motives may be a result of being highly educated, well read, and perhaps intelligent. Holding this belief may then serve to make the attack seem more rational which reduces dissonance in subjects.

This is also consistent with the story model advocated by Hastie, Penrod, and Pennington (1983). This model states that, "jurors try to reconstruct reality by creating a credible story that ties together all the evidence" (Levine, 1992, p. 19). However, what makes sense to each individual is not the same for everyone (Levine, 1992, p. 19). Nonetheless, the result in the present study concerning intelligence, does seem consistent with the story model which is also consistent with cognitive dissonance. That is, subjects, in creating an image of the terrorist as an intelligent intellectual, are creating a story that makes sense to them, which at the same time reduces their dissonance.

Although this is a *post hoc* explanation, this process of understanding how subjects rationalize events seems logical and important. As Levine (1992) notes, understanding this rationalization process, "is the key to understanding behavior" (p. 18).

The lack of main effects for relevance in general, is noteworthy and consistent with the idea that subjects are basing their perceptions and attitudes on possible excuses or preexisting reasons for the attack. That is, whether the suffering is relevant or irrelevant in the during crime condition (which would likely be required for a main effect) is of no consequence if the subjects are searching for an excuse or mitigating factor. In the during crime condition none of the suffering (relevant or irrelevant) can serve as an excuse, since the suffering occurs after the onset of the crime. As such, it is not surprising that there are no further main effects for relevance.

#### Summary of Main Effects

In sum, the main effects can be explained by the following: (a) traditional gender stereotypes; (b) the influence of preexisting excuses or explanatory factors; (c) the desire to create an explanation for the terrorist event; and (d) positive mood created by the terrorist receiving his or her just deserts.

#### Interaction Effects

No interaction effects were predicted. However, some interaction effects did emerge. These effects appear to

be consistent with the main effects and the *post hoc* theoretical explanations provided for those main effects.

### Gender x Timing

The Gender x Timing interactions can be best explained by a combination of the effect of gender stereotypes and the effect that an explanatory variable has.

Severity of punishment. The severity of punishment results are partially consistent with equity theory's predictions, but also partially opposite to them. They cannot be explained solely by equity theory or the combined model (which for the purposes of this study is consistent with the evil woman model). The results may be better explained by gender stereotypes and the degree to which the terrorist abides to what is considered gender appropriate behavior.

That female terrorists who suffered in their childhood are punished more severely than either female terrorists who suffered during the terrorist act or males who suffered in their childhood, may be a result of females being punished for taking revenge.

Even though there may otherwise have been sympathy in general for the suffering of these women, taking revenge may be considered unladylike for females, thus cancelling any chivalry effects based on traditional stereotypes. Women may be expected to "grin and bear"

their suffering far more than are men. As a result, the women who commit a terrorist attack in revenge are perhaps being punished for violating this stereotype.

The case of Ellie Nessler is relevant here. Ellie Nessler shot and killed the man accused of abusing her son several years earlier at a summer church camp. She was found guilty of involuntary manslaughter and sentenced to 10 years in prison--six years for the manslaughter charge and 4 years for the gun charge. (Dershowitz, 1994, p. 51). Shortly after beginning her sentences, Ms. Nessler was diagnosed with breast cancer and had a 50% chance of living until her first parole hearing (Dershowitz, 1994, p. 51). One may consider this a severe sentence. After all she killed her son's molester and there was considerable support for her actions by some members of the community. Perhaps she was being penalized for seeking revenge and violating that stereotype. On the other hand, perhaps it was a lenient sentence for murdering someone who posed no imminent danger or threat. Or if in fact women are penalized for acts of retaliation, perhaps a woman committing the act in response to an attack on her own children, would be considered an exception.

Women being penalized for acts involving revenge occurs in other areas as well. In the art world for example, a female artist who advocated that "revenge can be an art", was considered unladylike and has been,

according to some, penalized for advocating such an unladylike sentiment as revenge (Hart, 1994, p. 89). Clearly there is much open to speculation and conjecture regarding whether or not women receive harsher treatment if they act out of a sense of vengeance or retaliation. Whatever the case may be, the present study points out the need for research on this matter.

Such gender appropriate behavior would also explain why females who suffer during the crime receive less severe punishment. Women may be afforded chivalrous treatment as long as they act like proper ladies according to stereotypes. When women suffer, sympathy may be created for the female terrorist. However, this stereotypical sympathy or chivalry is cancelled out when the female terrorist takes revenge, as appears to be the case in the female/precrime condition. Another possible explanation of this finding is that equity theory's predictions may be being invoked for the women in the precrime suffering conditions.

Although Daly (1994) found no gender differences in sentencing, it is unclear whether one can conclude from her study that women who seek revenge are penalized for doing so. Since other studies (Steffensmeier, Kramer & Streifel, 1993) also indicate that sentencing outcomes seem more evenhanded with respect to gender, one may want to view the result from the present study stated above, with caution. There may be a reason other than women

being penalized for gaining revenge, for the results. The explanation provided here is simply a *post hoc* explanation and addresses a very specific and limited set of circumstances and dynamics. Clearly more work needs to be done to understand how revenge, gender, and suffering impact each other.

For men it may be more acceptable and perhaps even desirable to gain revenge for former wrongs, thus explaining the relatively lenient sentences given to men in the precrime condition. This theme of men seeking revenge for past wrongs is a common one in many action and western movies.

That males receive more severe sentences if their suffering occurred during the crime, may be a result of lack of sympathy for men in this condition. When suffering is during the crime there is no existing possible explanation or prior excuse for the act (i.e. no previous suffering). In addition, since according to stereotypes, men are suppose to be macho and tough, there is also no sympathy created for their suffering. In the during crime/male condition then, nothing exists which seems to mitigate the crime--neither stereotypes nor excuses. However, this same during crime suffering may create sympathy for women. Suffering then, may count more in reducing inequity, but only for women.

Intelligence. That female terrorists in the during crime condition are seen as more intelligent than are the

terrorists in all other conditions may be a result of a halo effect for women or the lack of a preexisting explanation. Perhaps since women are stereotypically perceived as nicer, and as this study indicates more compassionate than men, subjects may also impute a greater degree of intelligence to women.

On the other hand, as discussed in reference to the relevance main effect for intelligence, subjects may experience some kind of cognitive dissonance when there is no obvious explanation for the terrorist act, which is the case in the during crime condition. In an attempt to make sense of the story of the terrorist event, subjects make inferences that result in the story making sense to them. Since the report claims that the terrorist is a member of a terrorist group and is committing the terrorist act for a cause, subjects may infer that there is some ideological reason for this act. Ideologically motivated people who belong to radical groups may be assumed by subjects to be more educated and intelligent--whether in fact this assumption is or is not true.

This explanation is the same one that appears to be accounting for the intelligence finding regarding relevancy of suffering. In general, these findings support the tenets of cognitive dissonance which predict that when subjects are presented with information that makes them feel uncomfortable, they will attempt to remove that discomfort. In the results just mentioned,

the discomfort is a result of a lack of an explanation for the terrorist event. To reduce discomfort, subjects take whatever information they do have and create an explanation for the terrorist act.

#### Timing x Relevancy

Concentration. Subjects in the during/relevant condition concentrated more than subjects in any other condition except the control group. This may also be a result of subjects' needs to explain the behavior of the terrorist. In this condition there is no precrime suffering to which to attribute the terrorist act. In addition, the relevancy of the suffering may be confusing to subjects who do not know how, or if, to relate it to the terrorist act. As such the subjects need to concentrate more in an effort to make sense of the terrorist act.

This effect then, may also demonstrate the subjects' need for an explanation and a story that makes sense to them.

Distress. As for concentration, subjects in the during/relevant group report more distress than subjects in the precrime/relevant group. That there is no reason or excuse for the crime in the during/relevant group may be very distressing to the subjects. That is, subjects may be experiencing cognitive dissonance.

On the other hand, in the precrime/relevant group there are two factors which contribute to an excuse or explanation for the crime. First, there is suffering in childhood which may in some way be traumatic and lead to the act of terrorism. In addition, the childhood suffering was related (i.e. relevant) to the act. As such subjects feel relatively little distress because there is a story and even an excuse for the terrorist attack--relevant childhood suffering.

This finding is consistent with the interaction effect for concentration, in that if subjects are in distress and experiencing cognitive dissonance, they will concentrate more in an attempt to alleviate that distress and find an excuse or story that makes sense for them.

Thus, having an explanation or excuse seems to alleviate the cognitive dissonance and distress in subjects.

Sadness. That precrime/irrelevant suffering creates more sadness in subjects than during/irrelevant suffering may be a manifestation of the greater sympathy felt for the terrorist who suffered in childhood (even if the suffering was irrelevant) than the sympathy felt for the terrorist who suffered during the crime.

In the former, the trauma, which is unrelated to the attack, provides both an excuse for the attack, as well as sympathy. There is little cognitive dissonance created and there is an excuse. In the latter condition, subjects

may feel quite good that the terrorist who has no excuse for committing the terrorist act (i.e. no suffering occurs before the crime nor is any suffering relevant) is suffering. This same effect was discussed in reference to the main effect for sadness. When a villain is finally punished after committing horrible misdeeds, then subjects feel a sense of happiness and satisfaction that, in their view, justice was served. It reinforces their belief in a just world.

This finding is also consistent with the finding that when the terrorist suffers during the crime, subjects feel more elated, more vigorous, and in more of a good mood than if the terrorist suffers in childhood.

Commitment. Subjects perceive terrorists who suffer in the during/irrelevant condition as more committed than terrorists in the precrime/irrelevant condition. This may be a result of not providing an explanation for the subjects. That is, since during/irrelevant suffering cannot provide an explanation for the crime (i.e. the terrorist act commences after the onset of the terrorist event and the suffering is also irrelevant), subjects may assume that the terrorist must have some other reason for committing the attack. The terrorist, not having a reason for the attack, would create dissonance in the subjects. Since the report states that the terrorist belongs to a group and is doing this act for a cause, subjects may

assume that the terrorist is highly committed to this cause since there exists no other explanatory factor.

When there is no excuse in terms of precrime suffering, then subjects may infer that there are other reasons for the terrorist's actions. Not having an explanation seems discomforting to subjects and they therefore attempt to reduce this discomfort by in a sense "filling in the blanks" of the story.

Again this finding reflects the need for subjects to reduce dissonance and to create a story that makes sense for them.

#### Gender x Timing x Relevancy

No interaction effects were predicted for this effect. However, there were predictions involving the combination of main effects. Almost none of the hypothesized effects emerged. Only significant effects which were in some way related to the hypotheses will be discussed.

Compassion. In exact opposition to the hypothesis, the female terrorist whose suffering occurred in childhood and was irrelevant, was seen as most compassionate, whereas, the male terrorist whose suffering was during the crime and relevant was seen as least compassionate.

This result may be explained in part by gender stereotypes and in part by sympathy created because of

childhood suffering and the need to create an explanation or story. That is, as indicated, there was a main effect for gender with females being viewed as more compassionate than males. Secondly, if suffering was in childhood and irrelevant, then subjects viewed the female terrorist as suffering and as being traumatized by the event. Subjects may assume that undergoing this suffering adds to the already more compassionate nature of women. They assume therefore, that the female terrorist is more sensitive to the suffering of others.

In addition, the suffering is irrelevant to the crime. Thus the female terrorist is not necessarily committing the attack out of vengeance, which may have reduced sympathy for violation of gender appropriate behavior, as previously discussed. Instead, subjects may assume she is committing the attack because of the general traumatization she incurred in childhood. Thus, the possibility of being able to use precrime suffering as a reason for committing the act, while not removing sympathy from her, may make the terrorist seem a more sympathetic figure and as such, more compassionate.

Males however, are seen as stereotypically less compassionate. In addition, if the male terrorists' suffering is during the crime (and relevant), this male terrorist has no excuse for the terrorist act since the onset of the attack preceded the terrorists' suffering. Not having an excuse may make the terrorist seem less

sympathetic and less compassionate. In addition, not having suffered, may result in the terrorist being perceived as less sensitive and less compassionate.

This finding indicates a desire for subjects to find an excuse for the attack, as well as the subjects' consideration of gender appropriate behaviors.

Femininity. That male terrorists whose suffering is precrime and relevant, are perceived as more feminine than male terrorists in all other conditions, is an interesting finding. Perhaps the excuse inherent in the precrime/relevant condition can serve to, at least in part, explain this. In this condition (male/precrime/relevant) the suffering may serve as an excuse or rationale for the terrorist act--the suffering occurs both before the crime and is relevant to it. Since there is a type of reason or possible excuse for the act, the terrorists' actions are seen as less threatening, less aggressive, and as more understandable. This may translate into more feminine for subjects. Precrime/relevant suffering thus seems to have a feminizing effect on male terrorists.

Although not statistically significant, it is interesting to note that the female terrorist is seen as more feminine than the males in every condition except the precrime/relevant condition. Perhaps precrime suffering is exerting a masculinizing on female subjects. When women's suffering is in the precrime/relevant

condition, and the women commit an act of terrorism to gain revenge, then gaining revenge which is unladylike, therefore has a masculinizing effect on these women. However, since this effect is not statistically significant, it is noted only for its suggestion for future research.

### Summary

#### Mood of Subjects: MACL

It appears that terrorists influenced the mood of the subjects in a few ways. First, gender stereotypes seemed to influence subjects' moods, but only slightly.

Second, during crime suffering tends to make subjects feel more positive than does precrime suffering. This is consistent with equity theory's prediction as well as the idea that terrorists getting their just desserts is quite appealing to subjects. Subjects feel quite happy when justice is served and their belief in a just world is confirmed.

Third, when results are opposite to equity theory's predictions, the results seem consistent with the idea that when subjects can attribute the terrorist act to previous suffering and are able to find an excuse for the terrorist attack, then the terrorist is seen as more understandable, less threatening, and more sympathetic.

### Punishment

The severity of punishment meted out to terrorists is best explained by the sympathy the terrorist receives, which is driven by gender stereotypes and the degree to which the terrorist abides by them. In addition, the presence or absence of explanatory variables for the act also seem to play a role in punishment.

The swiftness of punishment seemed to be consistent with equity theory's propositions.

### Perception of Terrorist: Semantic Differential

It appears that the perceptions of terrorists are influenced by gender stereotypes and a need by subjects to, in a sense, have an excuse or reason for the event. When a possible explanation is presented to subjects, subjects perceive the terrorist more favorably and as less threatening (i.e. as more safe, more compassionate, and more feminine) than when there is no possible prior reason given for the terrorist act.

In addition, when no information is provided about some aspect of the terrorist, then subjects create one or infer one based on what information is given. Not having a reason for the attack creates dissonance in the subjects. Subjects then are motivated to remove the dissonance by creating a story about the attack and the terrorist that seems to make sense to them.

In sum, it appears that subjects' attitudes and perceptions of terrorists are motivated by the following: (a) gender stereotypes and the degree to which the terrorist abides by them (especially in the case of females who violate gender norms by seeking revenge); (b) the confirmation of subjects' belief in a just world; (c) the desire to reduce cognitive dissonance by creating an explanation or story where one is not presented.

#### Lack of Expected Findings

As discussed, with few exceptions such as in the case of equity theory and mood, and to a small degree gender and punishment, the hypotheses were not upheld. In addition to the *post hoc* explanations provided for the results, there are additional possible reasons for the lack of expected findings.

One may be the subject population. Students which were used in this study may not have well thought out opinions about terrorists, especially female terrorists. Perhaps if this study were to be replicated using counterterrorist experts, the results would be different, reflecting the literature more closely. One of the demographic variables collected was occupation. An analysis comparing those subjects in law enforcement occupations to those subjects in other occupations however could not be conducted due to the small sample of

subjects in law enforcement. Future research may want to investigate this more closely.

Another possible explanation for the lack of predicted results concerning the experimental variables would be the lack of a successful manipulation. The manipulation check with respect to gender was very successful (90%), but the results were nonetheless in almost complete opposition to the hypotheses. On the otherhand, the manipulation check for relevance and timing of suffering were much less successful, but the results were somewhat more consistent with the hypotheses and seemed to be consistent with the *post hoc* analysis. As such, the degree to which the hypotheses were confirmed, do not seem to be related to the degree to which the manipulation checks were successful.

## CHAPTER 7: DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES - RESULTS

An analysis of covariance (ANCOVA) was conducted by carrying out a weighted regression between each of the demographic variables and all of the experimental dependent variables.

The use of Type I SS, which provides a less rigorous standard than the Type III SS was considered a more appropriate standard in this analysis. This was because there were no a priori hypotheses regarding how the demographic variables would impact the results. In fact, it was initially believed that the demographic variables would yield no significant effects nor be influential in any significant way. As a result, the more relaxed Type I SS was used in this exploratory analysis.

This analysis indicated which demographic variables were most strongly related to the experimental variables. The subjects' demographic characteristics which had the most predictive power with respect to the experimental variables were as follows: (a) race; (b) ideology; (c) terrorism movie (also referred to as movie terrorism); and (d) sympathy.

The race variable is coded from question 14 c. on the demographic questionnaire (see Appendix I). Responses to this question were collapsed and coded as either white or nonwhite. The ideology variable is coded from responses from question 17 on the demographic

questionnaire and was coded as a Likert scale as it appears on the questionnaire. This item refers to the ideological orientation of the subjects. The terrorism movie variable is coded from question 20 (a) on the demographic questionnaire and is a dichotomous variable indicating whether or not the subject had seen any movie in the last two years which deals with terrorism. The sympathy variable is coded from question 20 (c) on the demographic questionnaire. It asks, if the subject saw a movie about terrorism in the last two years, to what degree did the movie influence your attitude to the terrorist? This item was coded as it appears on the questionnaire.

These four items were significantly related, ( $p < .10$ ) to nine dependent variables, making them the most powerful demographic variables in terms of their relatedness to the original experimental dependent variables. As a result, an ANOVA was conducted on three of these four variables, using them as independent variables. The sympathy variable was not included in the ANOVA since it was answered only if there was an affirmative response to the terrorism movie variable. It was however, analyzed separately using a Bonnferroni (Dunn)  $t$  test.

In order to conduct the ANOVA, the ideology item scores had to be collapsed. Since the item was scored on a seven point scale, there was no division point that was

exactly a half-way point on the scale. As a result, the scale was divided as close to the half-way point as possible while also taking into consideration the distribution of the scores. As such the ideology scale was dichotomized with left-wing subject being comprised of subjects who scored either 1, 2, 3, or 4, and right-wing subjects being comprised of subjects who scored 5, 6, or 7 on the scale. Such a division was as close to half as possible on the scale and also provided the most equal distribution of scores. Scoring left-wing subjects as consisting of those who scored 1, 2, or 3 and right-wing subjects those consisting of those who scored 4, 5, 6, or 7, would have provided a much more skewed distribution of scores.

A 2 (race) x 2 (ideology) x 2 (terrorism movie) was conducted for all experimental dependent variables. The levels of the variables were as follows: Race (white subject or nonwhite subject) x Ideology (left-wing subject or right-wing subject) x Terrorism Movie (yes or no). Although there were no hypotheses regarding these variables, there were many statistically significant effects.

Unless otherwise stated, any differences between means for the interaction effects, which are mentioned as differing from one another, are statistically significant as determined by having conducted appropriate

t tests between the means. Unless otherwise stated, all t tests were significant at  $p < .10$ , or less.

### Semantic Differential Variables

As Table 17 indicates, there were many statistically significant effects for the semantic differential variables. To be included in Table 17, an effect must have been significant at  $p < .10$  or  $p = .10$ .

Table 17

Analysis of Variance for Demographic and Semantic  
Differential Variables: Significant Effects

Variable	Effect	N	df	F	p > F
Safe	overall	228	7	5.71	0.0001
	ideology	228	1	5.33	0.002
	race	228	1	11.19	0.0001
Attractiveness	overall	228	7	4.65	0.0001
	ideology	228	1	4.11	0.04
	race	228	1	22.45	0.0001
	race x mvtr	228	1	3.21	0.0747
Sexual Inactivity	overall	228	7	5.63	0.0001
	ideology	228	1	8.63	0.004
	race	228	1	21.94	0.0001
	race x mvtr	228	1	5.03	0.03
Commitment	overall	228	7	1.91	0.07
	ideology	228	1	6.45	0.02
Rationality	overall	228	7	2.51	0.02
	race	228	1	11.86	0.0007
Contentment	overall	228	7	3.01	0.005
	ideology	228	1	2.77	0.10
	race	228	1	14.23	0.0002

(table continues)

Table 17 (continued)

Variable	Effect	<u>N</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p &gt; F</u>
Compassion	overall	228	7	4.68	0.0001
	ideology	228	1	6.96	0.009
	race	228	1	21.61	0.0001
Evaluation	overall	228	7	5.87	0.0001
	ideology	228	1	8.99	0.003
	race	228	1	28.35	0.0001
Morality	overall	228	7	5.70	0.0001
	ideology	228	1	12.07	0.0006
	race	228	1	24.14	0.0001
Sanity	race	228	1	4.18	0.042

Note. Cell sample sizes varied from 5 - 60.

There were no significant main, interaction or overall effects for the variables of intelligence, femininity, or heterosexuality.

### Safe

Ideology. The left-wing subjects perceived the terrorist as more safe ( $\underline{M} = 24.1$ ) than did right-wing subjects ( $\underline{M} = 19.1$ ).

Race. Nonwhite subjects perceived the terrorist as more safe ( $\underline{M} = 27.1$ ) than did white subjects ( $\underline{M} = 18.8$ ).

### Attractiveness

Ideology. The left-wing subjects saw the terrorist as more attractive ( $\underline{M} = 13.1$ ) than did right-wing subjects ( $\underline{M} = 12.1$ ).

Race. Nonwhite subjects saw the terrorist as more attractive ( $\underline{M} = 14.1$ ) than did white subjects ( $\underline{M} = 11.7$ ).

Race x Terrorism Movie. As is apparent from this marginally significant interaction effect, as indicated in Table 18, the main effect for race is particularly strong when subjects had seen a movie about terrorism in the past two years. Watching a terrorism movie may increase identification of nonwhite subjects with the terrorist.

Table 18

Means For Attractiveness: Race x Terrorism Movie

Terrorism movie		Nonwhite	White
Yes	<u>M</u>	14.3	11.5
	<u>n</u>	74	88
No	<u>M</u>	13.5	12.3
	<u>n</u>	31	35

Note. A line between means indicates a statistically significant difference.

Sexual Inactivity

Ideology. Left-wing subjects saw the terrorist as more sexually inactive (less sexually active) (M = 13.7) than did right-wing subjects (M = 12.2).

Race. Nonwhite subjects saw the terrorist as more sexually inactive (less sexually active) (M = 14.5) than did white subjects (M = 12.1).

Race x Terrorism Movie. As can be seen from Table 19, having seen a movie about terrorism in the last two years effected nonwhite subjects so that the nonwhite subjects who had seen the movie perceived the terrorist as more sexually inactive (less sexually active) than did white subjects who had, or had not, seen such a movie. Watching a terrorism movie results in nonwhite subjects perceiving the terrorist as less sexually active than do white subjects.

Table 19

Means For Sexual Inactivity: Race x Terrorism Movie

Terrorism movie		Nonwhite	White
Yes	<u>M</u>	15.0	11.9
	<u>n</u>	74	88
No	<u>M</u>	13.5	12.6
	<u>n</u>	31	35

Note. A line between means indicates a statistically significant difference.

Commitment

Ideology. The left-wing subjects perceived the terrorist as less committed (M = 14.2) than did right-wing subjects (M = 15.1).

Rationality

Race. Nonwhite subjects perceived the terrorist to be more rational (M = 33.5) than did right-wing subjects (M = 28.6).

Contentment

Ideology. Left-wing subjects perceived the terrorist to be more content (M = 14.1) than did right-wing subjects (M = 13.0).

Race. Nonwhite subjects perceived the terrorist to be more content ( $\underline{M} = 15.5$ ) than did white subjects ( $\underline{M} = 12.5$ ).

#### Compassion

Ideology. Left-wing subjects perceived the terrorist to be more compassionate ( $\underline{M} = 8.4$ ) than did right-wing subjects ( $\underline{M} = 7.5$ ).

Race. Nonwhite subjects perceived the terrorists to be more compassionate ( $\underline{M} = 9.4$ ) than did white subjects ( $\underline{M} = 7.2$ ).

#### Evaluation

Ideology. Left-wing subjects perceived the terrorist more positively ( $\underline{M} = 25.5$ ) than did right-wing subjects ( $\underline{M} = 22.3$ ).

Race. Nonwhite subjects perceived the terrorist more positively ( $\underline{M} = 28.1$ ) than did white subjects ( $\underline{M} = 21.9$ ).

#### Morality

Ideology. Left-wing subjects perceived the terrorist as more moral ( $\underline{M} = 42.4$ ) than did right-wing subjects ( $\underline{M} = 36.1$ ).

Race. Nonwhite subjects perceive the terrorist as more moral ( $\underline{M} = 46.4$ ) than did white subjects ( $\underline{M} = 35.8$ ).

### Sanity

Race. The nonwhite subjects perceived the terrorist as more sane ( $\bar{M} = 13.4$ ) than did the white subjects ( $\bar{M} = 12$ ).

### Summary

The above data indicate that many of the dependent variables had similar effects on both left-wing subjects and nonwhite subjects. Table 20 lists the dependent variables that had a significant effect on nonwhite subjects and left-wing subjects.

Table 20

Semantic Differential Variables which Significantly  
Effected Left-wing and Nonwhite Subjects

	Direction of effect	Nonwhite	Direction of effect
Safe	LW>RW	Safe	NW>W
Attractiveness	LW>RW	Attractiveness	NW>W*
Sexual Inact.	LW>RW	Sexual Inact.	NW>W*
Contentment	LW>RW	Contentment	NW>W
Compassion	LW>RW	Compassion	NW>W
Evaluation	LW>RW	Evaluation	NW>W
Morality	LW>RW	Morality	NW>W
Commitment	LW<RW		
		Rationality	NW>W
		Sanity	NW>W

Note. \* The effect is particularly pronounced if nonwhite subjects had seen a movie about terrorism in the past two years (i.e. there is a Race x Terrorism Movie interaction).

As is illustrated in Table 20, the variables and the direction of the main effects, are similar for both left-wing (LW) subjects and nonwhite (NW) subjects, with the exception of commitment, rationality, and sanity.

Both left-wing subjects and nonwhite subjects perceived the terrorist as more safe, more attractive,

less sexually active, more content, more compassionate, more positive (evaluative), and more moral. Commitment was also a significant variable with respect to ideology, but not with respect to race. Rationality and sanity were important with respect to race, but not with respect to ideology. Left-wing and nonwhite subjects therefore seem to have similar perceptions of terrorists. In general, those perceptions tend to be more favorable than their right-wing (RW) and white (W) counterparts, respectively. It may be that these left-wing and nonwhite subjects identify in some way with the terrorist and understand and sympathize with the terrorist. Even the interaction effects involved the same variables and were in the same direction for both left-wing and nonwhite subjects.

Due to the striking similarity in results for left-wing and non-white subjects, a Pearson product-moment correlation (i.e. Pearson's  $r$ ) was calculated between the two groups to ensure that they were not in some way the same variable. The correlation between the two was weak,  $r = 0.23$ , indicating that left-wing subjects and nonwhite subjects were two distinct groups.

Punishment Variables

The results with respect to punishment are consistent with the subjects' perceptions of the terrorist as reflected in the semantic differential results, and are indicated in Table 21.

Table 21

Analysis of Variance for Punishment Variables:

Significant Effects

Variable	Effect	<u>N</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p &gt; F</u>
Severity	overall	211	7	5.38	0.0001
	ideology	211	1	10.75	0.001
	race	211	1	21.70	0.0001
Swiftness	overall	200	7	2.98	0.005
	ideology	200	1	6.15	0.01
	race	200	1	8.15	0.005
Certainty	overall	216	7	2.63	0.01
	race	216	1	13.41	0.0003

Note. \* Type I SS used. Cell sample sizes ranged from 5 - 56.

Severity

Ideology. Left-wing subjects punished the terrorist less severely (M = -0.6) than did right-wing subjects (M = 1.5).

Race. Nonwhite subjects punished the terrorist less severely ( $\underline{M} = -1.6$ ) than did white subjects ( $\underline{M} = 1.4$ ).

#### Swiftness

Ideology. Left-wing subjects punished the terrorist more swiftly ( $\underline{M} = -0.2$ ) than did right-wing subjects ( $\underline{M} = -0.5$ ).

Race. Nonwhite subjects punished the terrorist less swiftly ( $\underline{M} = -0.7$ ) than did white subjects ( $\underline{M} = -0.4$ ).

#### Certainty

Race. Nonwhite subjects punished the terrorist with less certainty ( $\underline{M} = -0.8$ ) than did white subjects ( $\underline{M} = 0.7$ ).

#### Summary

As with the semantic differential variables there were similarities between left-wing and nonwhite subjects (see Table 22) for some of the punishment variables. However, there were also differences. Moreover, the punishment results were consistent with perceptions indicated by the semantic differential. That is, subjects (in this case primarily nonwhite or left-wing subjects) who perceived the terrorist in a more favorable manner also seemed to punish the terrorist less harshly.

Table 22

Punishment Variables which Significantly Effected Left-wing and Nonwhite Subjects

Left-wing	Effect	Nonwhite	Effect
severity	LW<RW	severity	NW<W
swiftness	LW>RW	swiftness	NW<W
		certainty	NW<W

Summary

Left-wing subjects believed that the terrorist should be punished less severely and more swiftly than did right-wing subjects. Likewise, nonwhite subjects believed that the terrorist should be punished with less severity, but with less swiftness, than did white subjects. In addition, nonwhite nonwhite subjects felt that the terrorist should be punished with less certainty than did white subjects.

Mood Adjective Checklist (MACL) Variables

The significant results for the factors on the MACL, although not as powerful nor as consistent as were the results for the semantic differential and punishment scales, were nonetheless numerous and interesting. They are summarized in Table 23.

Table 23

Mood Adjective Checklist (MACL): Significant Effects

Variable	Effect	<u>N</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p &gt; F</u>
Aggression	race	218	1	3.26	0.08
	ideo. x terrmv.	218	1	4.74	0.03
Anxiety	race	215	1	2.93	0.09
Surgency	ideology	218	1	3.98	0.05
Social					
Affection	race	212	1	2.95	0.09
	terrorism mov.	212	1	3.96	0.05
Skepticism	overall	207	7	1.86	0.08
	ideology	207	1	7.67	0.006
	ideo. x terrmv.	207	1	3.27	0.07
Egotism	ideology	212	1	3.32	0.07
	terrorism mov.	212	1	3.01	0.08
Vigor	terrorism mov.	214	1	3.20	0.08
	i x r x trrmv.	214	1	3.76	0.05
Good Mood	ideology	208	1	2.90	0.09
Bad Mood	race	209	1	3.15	0.08

Note. Any effect, whether it be an overall, main, or interaction effect with  $p < .10$  is included. Cell sample sizes ranged from 5 - 53.

Aggression

Race. The terrorist made nonwhite subjects feel less aggressive ( $\bar{M} = 7.1$ ) than white subjects ( $\bar{M} = 7.6$ ).

Ideology x Terrorism Movie. As Table 24 indicates, the terrorists made right-wing subjects feel more aggressive than left-wing subjects if subjects had seen a movie about terrorism; whereas the terrorist made left-wing subjects feel more aggressive than right-wing subjects if subjects had not seen a movie about terrorism.

Watching a terrorism movie makes right-wing subjects more aggressive, whereas not watching a terrorist movie decreases aggression of right-wing subjects and increases aggression of left-wing subjects.

Table 24

Means for Aggression: Ideology x Terrorism Movie

Terrorism movie		Left-wing	Right-wing
yes	<u>M</u>	7.0	7.7
	<u>n</u>	102	53
no	<u>M</u>	7.9	6.9
	<u>n</u>	49	14

Anxiety

Race. The terrorist in the report made nonwhite subjects feel less anxious (M = 6.2) than white subjects (M = 6.7).

### Surgency

Ideology. The terrorist made left-wing subjects feel more surgent ( $\underline{M} = 4.8$ ) than right-wing subjects ( $\underline{M} = 3.9$ ).

### Social Affection

Race. The terrorist made nonwhite subjects feel slightly more socially affectionate ( $\underline{M} = 4.9$ ) than white subjects ( $\underline{M} = 4.2$ ).

Terrorism Movie. Having seen a terrorist movie in the past two years made subjects feel more socially affectionate ( $\underline{M} = 4.7$ ) than not having seen such a movie ( $\underline{M} = 4.1$ ).

### Skepticism

Ideology. The terrorist makes left-wing subjects feel more skeptical ( $\underline{M} = 6.9$ ) than right-wing subjects ( $\underline{M} = 6.1$ ).

Ideology x Terrorism Movie. An Ideology x Terrorism Movie interaction effect indicates that the ideology main effect is particularly strong if subjects had not seen a movie about terrorism in the past two years (see Table 25). Watching a terrorism movie seemed to reduce any differences with respect to skepticism, among ideologically different subjects, while not watching a terrorism movie heightened the difference. Nonetheless, the terrorist in the report created more skepticism in

left-wing subjects who had or had not seen a terrorism movie in the past two years, than in right-wing subjects who had not seen a terrorist movie.

Table 25

Means for Skepticism: Ideology x Terrorism Movie

Terrorism movie		Left-wing	Right-wing
Yes	<u>M</u>	6.8	6.4
	<u>n</u>	96	52
No	<u>M</u>	7.3	5.6
	<u>n</u>	46	13

Note. A line between means indicates a statistically significant difference.

Egotism

Ideology. The terrorist leads left-wing subjects to feel slightly more egotistical (M = 4.8) than right-wing subjects (M = 4.1).

Terrorism Movie. Watching a terrorist movie leads subjects to feel more egotistical (M = 4.8) than not watching a terrorist movie (M = 4.4).

Vigor

Terrorism Movie. When subjects watched a movie about terrorism, then the terrorist in the report creates more

vigor in subjects ( $\bar{M} = 5.7$ ) than if subjects had not watched a terrorism movie ( $\bar{M} = 5.4$ ).

Terrorism Movie x Ideology x Race. A three way interaction also occurred which is difficult to interpret. For the means in this interaction, see Table 26).

Table 26

Means for Vigor: Race x Ideology x Terrorism Movie

		Left-wing		Right-wing	
		Nonwhite	White	Nonwhite	White
Yes	$\bar{M}$	5.4	6.0	6.4	5.5
	$n$	53	47	14	39
No	$\bar{M}$	5.8	5.4	3.8	5.2
	$n$	23	24	5	9

Note. A line between means indicates a statistically significant difference.

The most striking difference occurs amongst nonwhite, right-wing subjects. The terrorist in the report leads these subjects to feel more vigorous if they had seen a movie about terrorism than if they had not. Perhaps right-wing, nonwhite subjects overidentify, in a sense, with the hero in the movie and obtain a sense of satisfaction when the villain is caught.

### Good Mood

Ideology. The terrorist makes left-wing subjects feel more in a good mood ( $\underline{M} = 14.6$ ) than right-wing subjects ( $\underline{M} = 13.1$ ).

### Bad Mood

Race. The terrorist creates more of a bad mood in white subjects ( $\underline{M} = 20.9$ ) than in nonwhite subjects ( $\underline{M} = 20.0$ ).

The significant results and the direction of the effects obtained from the ANOVA conducted on the MACL variables are summarized in Table 27.

Table 27

Mood Adjective Checklist (MACL) Variables which Effected  
Demographic Variables: Nature of Effects

Race	Effect	Ideology	Effect	TerrMov.	Effect
Aggressive	NW<W	Aggress.	Inter	Aggress.	Inter
Anxiety	NW<W				
		Surgency	LW>RW		
Soc. Affect.	NW>W			Soc. Affect.	Y>N
		Skeptic.	LW>RW	Skeptic.	Inter
		Egotism	LW>RW	Egotism	Y>N
				Vigor'	Y>N
		Good Mood	LW>RW		
Bad Mood	NW<W				

Note. \* Three way interaction. Inter = interaction effect.

Summary

Race

The terrorist in the report made nonwhite subjects feel (a) less aggressive, (b) less anxious, (c) more socially affectionate, and (d) less in a bad mood, than white subjects.

These results appear to be consistent with nonwhite subjects perceiving the terrorist more favorably overall and resultingly worthy of less punishment, than do white

subjects. This in turn may be a result of nonwhite subjects perceiving the terrorist as more familiar and more understandable, and thus as less threatening, than do white subjects.

#### Ideology

The terrorist in the report led left-wing subjects to feel (a) more surgent, (b) more skeptical, (c) more egotistical, and (d) more in a good mood, than right-wing subjects. Although surgency, good mood, and egotism may be viewed as positive factors, whether skepticism is viewed as a positive or negative factor is unclear. However, it may be that the terrorist is reminding left-wing subjects of injustice and in this way is leading subjects to feel more skeptical.

#### Terrorism Movie

The terrorist in the report led subjects to feel more (a) socially affectionate, (b) skeptical, and (c) vigorous, if subjects had watched a movie about terrorism in the past two years than if subjects had not. Two out of the three mood effects were positive--social affection and vigor. Again skepticism may be a function of the topical nature of the report, which is terrorism.

### Ideology x Terrorism Movie

The terrorist in the report led right-wing subjects to feel more aggressive if those subjects had seen a movie about terrorism. On the otherhand, the terrorist in the report led left-wing subjects to feel more aggressive if they had not see a movie about terrorism. The right-wing subjects seemed to be energized or activated by the terrorism movie, whereas left-wing subjects seemed neutralized by it.

Skepticism was higher in left-wing subjects, regardless if they had, or had not, seen a terrorism movie, than it was for right-wing subjects who had not seen a terrorist movie. Watching a terrorism movie seems to equalize feelings of skepticism between ideologically different subjects since there is no statistically significant difference between left-wing and right-wing subjects when they had both watched a terrorism movie. Left-wing subjects seem to be generally more skeptical than right-wing subjects but this difference disappears if right-wing subjects watched a movie about terrorism.

In sum, the variables that are significant seem to have an activation effect. That is, watching a terrorism movie tends to activate right-wing subjects.

### Noneffects

No significant effects were found for the following MACL variables: (a) elation, (b) concentration, (c) fatigue, (d) sadness, and (e) distress. As such, these variables seem to have had a suppressive effect with no differences between groups with different demographic characteristics.

### Sympathy

Bonferroni (Dunn)  $t$  tests were calculated for the variable of sympathy. This variable was measured by subjects' responses to question 20 (c) on the demographic questionnaire. This question asked subjects the degree to which the terrorism movie made them feel sympathetic to the terrorist. This question was only answered by subjects who had answered "yes" to question 20 (a) on the demographic questionnaire which asked, "In the last 2 years have you seen any movies/films which seemed to deal with terrorism?" None of the results of the Bonferroni  $t$  test were significant and as such this variable is not discussed further.

## CHAPTER 8: DEMOGRAPHIC VARIABLES - DISCUSSION

As pointed out in the preceding Result chapter, the most powerful demographic variables were race, ideology, and terrorism movie. This discussion section will therefore focus on these three variables.

There were no hypotheses regarding the effects that any of these demographic variables of the subjects would have. Therefore, all explanations for the results are *post hoc* and require further study and replication. As in the discussion of the Main Experimental Analysis - Discussion chapter, the main effects for each of the demographic variables will be discussed individually, followed by a discussion of interaction effects.

### Main Effects

#### Ideology of Subjects

##### Perception of Terrorists: Semantic Differential

Left-wing subjects perceived the terrorist in the report as more safe, more attractive, more content, more compassionate, more moral, more positive, less sexually active, and less committed than did right-wing subjects. Most of these results indicate that left-wing subjects perceived the terrorist more favorably than did right-

wing subjects, although with respect to the items commitment and sexual activity, this may be debated.

It may be argued that perceiving the terrorist as less sexually active is consistent with viewing the terrorist in a more positive way and as specifically, more devoted. Subjects may view the terrorists who are devoted to the goals of a cause as engaging in self-sacrifice, which subjects may believe to include the sacrifice of social, familial, romantic, and sexual relationships. In fact, the report states that the terrorist had been associated with the group for some time and that the group was fighting for specific causes, namely the right to self-determination and the release of imprisoned group members. It may be then, that in the minds of left-wing subjects, the terrorist in the report is seen as a devoted and "good terrorist".

From this perspective the results regarding sexual activity are reflections of a more favorable attitude towards terrorists by left-wing subjects. Left-wing subjects see the terrorist more favorably in general. They then assume that the terrorist is a good terrorist and in turn assume that the terrorist must be less sexually active than do right-wing subjects, who do not have a generally favorable attitude to the terrorist and do not hold the same criterion of a good terrorist. As such, the result may in part be due to a halo effect

invoked by left-wing subjects concerning the terrorist and stereotypes about terrorists.

The result concerning commitment may be a reflection of left-wing subjects being in a sense more immune to such radical action as that exhibited by the terrorist in the report, than are right-wing subjects. Right-wing subjects may therefore believe that one need be much more committed in order to commit such an act, than do left-wing subjects who may believe that the terrorist attack requires less commitment.

The consistency of the ideology main effects regarding the perception of the terrorist may simply reflect the general assumption that people tend to be more favorable toward others who are similar to themselves (Hans & Vidmar, as cited in Shay, 1987, p. 5). Given the nature of the information about the terrorist in the report and people's assumptions about terrorists, left-wing subjects may perceive the terrorist more like themselves than do right-wing subjects.

The report mentions that the terrorist is "a member of a foreign terrorist group" and was conducting the attack to draw attention to his (her) group's cause which included recognizing the right of his (her) people to self-determination and releasing imprisoned group members. This is relevant since people, until very recently, have assumed that terrorists in America and Europe are left-wing anarchists (Wilkinson, as cited in

Smith & Morgan, 1994, p. 39). There may have been a very recent change in this, as a result of the the Oklahoma Bombing incident. However this study was conducted just prior to that incident and was therefore conducted in the context of all existing stereotypes about terrorists and foreigners at that time.

If subjects (both left-wing and right-wing) are assuming that the terrorist in the report is left-wing, which is not inconsistent with the information provided in the report, then it is not surprising that left-wing subjects rate the terrorist who they also believe to be left-wing, more positively. The left-wing subjects are likely identifying with the terrorist more than are the right-wing subjects.

In addition, people tend to rate things they are unfamiliar with more negatively than people or actions they are familiar with. Not understanding something seems to create fear, uncertainty, etc., whereas understanding something decreases one's fears or hesitations. Such an effect may also be contributing to these findings. Left-wing subjects identifying with the terrorist, may feel they understand the terrorist and are therefore less fearful and anxious about the terrorist, which would lead them to evaluate the terrorist more positively than right-wing subjects who feel different from the terrorist and view the terrorist as the "other".

In sum, the main ideology effects regarding perceptions of the terrorists seem to be a function of how similar the subjects feel to the terrorist and the resulting identification that occurs.

Subjects' Mood: MACL

The above conclusion regarding ideology and the perception of terrorists is further supported by the main effects for items on the MACL. The terrorist in the report made left-wing subjects feel more in a good mood, more surgent, and more egotistical than right-wing subjects. That the terrorist creates a more positive mood in left-wing than in right-wing subjects, is consistent with the idea that left-wing subjects perceive the terrorist more positively than do right-wing subjects.

The only unclear main effect for ideology with respect to mood, is the skepticism item. This however, may be a result of both the terrorist in the report, as well as the reported event, reminding left-wing subjects of what they perceive to be injustices and inequities that exist. The report and the terrorist may arouse left-wing subjects' sentiments about people they believe to be oppressed. If one follows this explanation, it is not that the left-wing subjects are viewing the terrorist more skeptically, nor is it that the terrorist in the report makes subjects feel more skeptical about themselves, but rather, as the question asks, it is how

the terrorist in the report made subjects feel generally. Thus the terrorist in the report may have simply made left-wing subjects feel more skeptical than right-wing subjects because left-wing subjects may be more sensitive and sympathetic to the claims of the terrorist.

In light of such an interpretation, the finding regarding skepticism is not inconsistent with the other results indicating that left-wing subjects view the terrorist more positively because they are in some way identifying with the terrorist and viewing themselves as more similar to the terrorist than are right-wing subjects.

In sum, the ideology main effects for mood provide further support for the interpretation that left-wing subjects react more positively toward the terrorist. In turn, left-wing subjects are perhaps more sympathetic towards the terrorists and identify with them more than do right-wing subjects.

### Punishment

If left-wing subjects identify with the terrorist and view the terrorist more positively than do right-wing subjects, it would follow that left-wing subjects would provide more lenient punishment for the terrorist than would right-wing subjects. This is exactly what happens with respect to severity of punishment. Left-wing

subjects punish the terrorist less severely than do right-wing subjects.

However, the results for swiftness of punishment are more complex. Left-wing subjects want more swift punishment for the terrorist than do right-wing subjects. There are two interpretations of this finding. First, it may be an anomaly, with left-wing subjects wanting more harsh and thus more swift punishment for the terrorist than the right-wing subjects. On the other hand, subjects may not be interpreting swiftness of punishment as an indication of guilt or a desire for severe punishment. It may be that left-wing subjects simply want justice served quickly. In this interpretation, swiftness would be viewed as positive for the terrorist and not as negative. Right-wing subjects, in wanting less swift punishment may believe that a longer trial or time before punishment is necessary or desirable to ensure severe punishment and conviction. Such an interpretation of the result would make the swiftness result consistent with the other results and explanations. More specifically, it would be consistent with the interpretation that left-wing subjects are more lenient towards the terrorist because they are more sympathetic towards the terrorist because of a possible greater identification with the terrorist. However, as mentioned, this is a *post hoc* explanation requiring caution and further research.

### Race of Subjects

#### Perception of Terrorist: Semantic Differential

Nonwhite subjects perceived the terrorist in the report as more safe, more attractive, more rational, more content, more compassionate, more positive, more sane, more moral, and less sexually active, than did white subjects. All of the above, with the exception of sexual activity, are undoubtedly positive traits. Again, whether sexual activity is a positive or negative characteristic is debatable. It may well be that for a terrorist to be sexually inactive is a positive factor and is indicative of the self-sacrifice essential for being a good terrorist. Such an explanation remains consistent with the overall positive evaluation and perception of the terrorist by the nonwhite subjects.

That nonwhite subjects perceive the terrorist more favorably than do white subjects could, as with ideology, be a result of nonwhite subjects identifying with the terrorist. Nonwhite subjects may perceive themselves as being oppressed and being done wrong by, and as such, identify with the terrorist who they may believe is fighting for the oppressed. For as the report mentions, the terrorist's cause includes the right of his or her people to self-determination and releasing imprisoned group members.

That some nonwhite Americans, particularly African-Americans, feel oppressed, wrongly convicted, and unjustly dealt with by the government, the criminal justice system, and other authorities, is clear. One need only note the sentiment in the African-American community regarding the Rodney King case and the resulting Los Angeles' riots. This is also apparent in the belief by many African-Americans that O.J. Simpson was framed by the defense, especially in light of the Fuhrman tapes indicating racially driven injustices on the part of police officers.

Given this sentiment in the African-American community, it would follow that nonwhite subjects would more strongly identify with a terrorist. Although the report does not mention the race of the terrorist, the report does mention that the terrorist perhaps belongs to a foreign terrorist group. This may have added a sense of perceived comradeship between the nonwhite subjects and the terrorist. The left-wing subjects may view the terrorist, not as a terrorist, but as a freedom fighter, who is fighting for self-determination and the release of comrades. In fact, the African-American community has had a history struggling for equal and civil rights, as the entire civil rights movement and the Black Panthers exemplify. This may predispose African-Americans to identify with people labelled as terrorists by mainstream segments of the society.

Assuming this self-perception among nonwhites who in this study were largely African-American, and assuming that the subjects are in a sense stereotyping the terrorist as a freedom fighter for the oppressed and downtrodden, the results, in this light, make intuitive and logical sense. That is, nonwhite subjects identify with, feel sympathy towards, and thus perceive the terrorist more positively, than do white subjects.

Subjects' Mood: MACL

If nonwhite subjects perceive the terrorist more positively, it would follow that the terrorist would instill a generally more positive mood in nonwhite subjects than in white subjects. This was confirmed. The terrorists in the report made nonwhite subjects feel less aggressive, less anxious, less in a bad mood, and more socially affectionate, than they did white subjects. As with ideology, perceived similarity between the subjects and the terrorist, and the resulting identification by subjects with the terrorist, would result in more understanding and less skepticism, about the terrorist. Likewise, little perceived similarity and little identification with the terrorist would lead subjects to feel more uncomfortable regarding the terrorist. This was confirmed by the results.

### Punishment

If nonwhite subjects perceive the terrorist more positively and the terrorist makes them feel better than white subjects, one would assume that the nonwhite subjects would mete out more lenient and less severe punishment for the terrorist than would white subjects. This was confirmed.

Nonwhite subjects assigned less severe punishment to the terrorist than did white subjects. In addition, nonwhite subjects assigned less certainty to the terrorists' punishment than did white subjects. Certainty for nonwhite subjects may translate into a certain judgment of guilt or certain severe punishment. If subjects identify with the terrorist and feel sympathetic for the terrorist, they may not want certain punishment for the terrorist. In light of this interpretation, nonwhite subjects meting out less certain punishment for the terrorist, is consistent with their overall more positive perception of the terrorist and the more positive mood the terrorist creates for these subjects.

The only possibly incongruous result is that nonwhite subjects meted out less swift punishment to the terrorist than did white subjects. Again, this result may be an anomaly or it may in fact be consistent with the preceding results. It may be the nonwhite subjects associate swiftness of punishment with an abrogation of due process and civil rights, and even vigilante justice

and lynchings. As such, nonwhite subjects, in a quest to ensure a proper trial with all the procedural safeguards and other rights of the defendant intact, may feel that this cannot be accomplished by swift justice. For nonwhite subjects, swift justice may preclude a proper defense and proper safeguards. As such, for a defendant that they identify with and feel similar to, they do not want swift justice.

#### Nonwhite v. Left-wing Subjects

As can be seen from Tables 20, 22 and 27 in the Demographic Variables - Result chapter, the perceptions of the terrorists are similar for left-wing and nonwhite subjects. As Table 20 indicates, left-wing subjects perceive the terrorist as similar to nonwhite subjects on all factors of the semantic differential except rationality, commitment, and sanity. However, the direction of the main effects for each of these items also indicates a positive perception of the terrorist by subjects, whether the subjects be nonwhite or left-wing. In addition, the terrorist creates a more positive mood for left-wing subjects and nonwhite subjects, although the mood factors are not identical for the two groups. Finally, both nonwhite and left-wing subjects want to punish the terrorist less than do white subjects.

Since the results are so similar between nonwhite and left-wing subjects, one may question whether they are actually the same variable. In fact, the Pearson  $r$  indicates that there is little relationship between nonwhite and left-wing subjects, as discussed in the Result chapter.

The similarity in their results are therefore independent from each other and may be due to each group independently perceiving themselves as relatively similar to the terrorist and thus identifying with the terrorist.

These results seem to confirm the intuitive and logical notion that people will perceive those like themselves more positively than those they perceive unlike themselves. In addition, identifying with a person results in a more positive mood for the subjects and more lenient treatment for the offender, who in this case is a terrorist.

These results have direct implications for trials regarding terrorists, which have become increasingly common in this country. If the terrorist on trial is similar to the terrorist in the report (the terrorist belongs to a foreign group, wants self-determination for his or her people, and the release of imprisoned group members), then defense attorneys may well be advised to attempt to obtain left-wing and nonwhite jurors, whereas the prosecution may attempt to avoid jurors with such characteristics.

Although the generalizeability of this conclusion is limited and perhaps unclear, the conclusions are borne of scientific research. Levine (1992, pp. 55-58) discusses the need for scientific research in jury research and how unscientific methods of jury selection such as the analysis of body language and the reliance upon lawyers' instincts, are often ineffective in predicting jury decision-making. The present study then, provides a contribution, albeit limited, to the scientific research on variables effecting decision-making regarding terrorists.

#### Terrorism Movie

##### Perception of Terrorist: Semantic Differential

There were no main effects for the terrorist movie variable regarding the perception of the terrorist.

##### Subjects' Mood: MACL

Watching a movie about terrorists in the past two years resulted in the terrorist in the report making subjects feel more socially affectionate, more vigorous, and more egotistical, than not watching a terrorist movie in the past two years. That the terrorist in the report causes subjects to feel more socially affectionate if they had seen a movie about terrorism than if they had not, may be indicative of a desensitizing effect from the

movie. Perhaps by watching a terrorist movie, the subjects no longer feel as threatened or upset by the terrorist in the report. In a sense they are more use to, or desensitized to, terrorism than if they had not seen the movie.

The result regarding vigor may be better understood when one examines the content and themes of movies involving terrorists. These movies often contain multiple chase scenes, explosions, etc., and in so doing contain a great deal of vigor or action. There is also a common theme of "good guys" (i.e. law enforcement or innocent civilians) versus the "bad guys" (terrorists/villains). In addition, these movies usually end with the terrorist getting what he or she deserves and the audience cheering. Finally, the suspense in the movie centers around actions which attempt to satisfy the audiences' thirst for vengeance to be brought upon the terrorist. In doing so, the audience cheers the hero and anticipates the demise of the terrorist, thus creating a sense of vigor amongst audience members. Subjects who watched such a movie may have, when reading the report which has a similar theme as the terrorism movie, transposed their vigorous feelings from the movie and onto the characters in the report.

Finally, that the terrorist in the report made subjects feel more egotistical if they had seen a terrorist movie than if they had not, may be a result of

identifying with the hero in the terrorist movies and the resulting satisfaction that the hero, and vicariously the subjects, feel when the terrorist is getting his or her "just deserts" and the good guys are doing a good job.

### Punishment

There were no main effects for punishment for the terrorism movie variable.

In sum, watching a terrorist movie may desensitize subjects to other terrorists or terrorist attacks, making the the terrorists seem not as bad than if subjects had not seen a terrorist movie.

What the implications are of these findings is unclear. However, watching a terrorist movie may be creating a false sense of security amongst subjects with respect to terrorists. Movies almost always end with the villain/terrorist getting what he or she deserves, and the good guys with whom subjects identify, are almost always rewarded by getting the terrorist through a series of chases, killings, explosions, or whatever is necessary. This may lead subjects to feel that these tactics will always be successful and will have a desirable outcome. That is, the ends justifies the means. These means often include violence and the

annihilation of the the villain/terrorist. Such actions are in turn, always rewarded in the movies.

This point which is fairly specific, speaks to a much larger, controversial issue which is violence in the media. Whether violence in the media leads to further violence and a "copycat" effect has been a topic of vigorous debate. However, a body of work suggests that it does. Barry (1992, p. 127) refers to studies which link the increase in the murder rate to increases in TV watching. He points out that certain researchers conclude that TV violence is directly related to criminally violent behavior. This is the same conclusion reached by the National Institute of Mental Health, the American Psychological Association, and the Center for Disease Control (Barry, 1994, p. 126).

On the other hand, others disagree with this perspective. They argue that media violence is unrelated to societal violence, and that media violence is only a reflection of real life aggression caused by poverty, neglect, etc. (Males, 1994, p. 129). For a review of studies concerning the relationship between television violence and aggression, see Friedrich-Cofer and Huston (1986).

Although this debate will not be resolved here, the results from the present study do lend support to the body of work which argues that media violence has a

densensitizing effect on the public and on subsequent exposure to violence.

### Interaction Effects

The interaction effects are consistent with the main effects.

### Race x Terrorism Movie

#### Attractiveness

The Race x Terrorism Movie interaction for attractiveness, indicates that the main effect indicating that nonwhite subjects find the terrorist more attractive than do white subjects, is much stronger when subjects have seen a movie about terrorism in the past two years, than when they had not. This may serve to emphasize the point that nonwhites more than whites, identify with the terrorist. That nonwhite subjects perceive the terrorist as more attractive than do white subjects, if subjects had seen a terrorist movie, may be a result of identifying with the villain in the movie. That is, there is an identification on two levels. The identification occurs first with the terrorist in the movie, and secondly with the terrorist in the report. White subjects identify far less, if at all, with the terrorist in the report. This lack of identification is even more

pronounced when they had seen a terrorist movie, which indicates that they also had not identified with the terrorist in the movie.

#### Sexual (In)Activity

The main effect for sexual activity indicating that white subjects perceive the terrorist as more sexually active than do nonwhite subjects, is primarily due to nonwhite subjects who have seen a terrorist movie. That is, watching a terrorist movie seems to increase nonwhite subjects' perception of the terrorist as less sexually active, so that their perception of this factor is significantly different from that of white subjects who had or had not seen a terrorist movie in the past two years. As such, it appears that for nonwhite subjects, watching a terrorist movie leads to a perception that the terrorist is less sexually active.

As previously mentioned, this may be the result of a lack of sexually activity being considered part of the self-sacrifice that good terrorists engage in. That it appears that nonwhite subjects identify with the terrorist in the report indicates that they may also identify with, and thus think highly of, the terrorist in the movie.

The interactions seem to indicate that watching a terrorist movie increases the positive evaluation of the terrorist in the report, but for nonwhite subjects only.

Again the literature on violence and the media is relevant here. If watching a terrorist movie increases identification with, and a positive perception of, the terrorist, then what does this mean for the relationship between media violence and real life violence, particularly for groups who identify with terrorists? What does this mean for the relationship between race, media violence, and actual violence? Does media violence differentially impact certain races? Such questions must be cautiously, properly, and thoughtfully researched.

The issues of race and media violence are independently, controversial topics. Thus, claims regarding how these variables combine with each other, are potentially volatile. Because results are open to interpretation, and as such misinterpretation, one needs to proceed with particular caution and scientifically sound methodology in conducting research in this area. The results from the present study seem to simply suggest relationships between race and terrorism movies, and terrorism movies and mood. More research is thus needed before any claims regarding how these variables specifically interact and impact on behavior, can be stated.

## Ideology x Terrorism Movie

### Aggression

It appears that watching a terrorism movie in the past two years led right-wing subjects to feel more aggressive than left-wing subjects. Perhaps right-wing subjects, in not identifying with the terrorist but identifying with law enforcement, feel even more angry at the terrorist and have a greater desire to "get" the terrorist than do left-wing subjects who may, to some degree, identify with the terrorist and feel more sympathy towards him or her.

This finding would then be consistent with previous findings in this study which indicate that when subjects identify with the terrorist, they react more positively towards him or her.

This is also consistent with the other portion of this interaction effect which indicates that left-wing subjects who have seen a terrorist movie report less aggression in response to the terrorist in the report than do left-wing subjects who have not seen a terrorist movie. This may be a result of left-wing subjects reacting more sympathetically towards, and identifying with, the terrorist in the movie, and then transferring that feeling to the terrorist in the report. When left-wing subjects have not seen a terrorist movie, they have not had a similar figure to respond to previously with

whom they have identified. As such, they do not transfer a sympathetic response to the terrorist in the report.

It appears then, that watching a terrorist movie activates aggressive feelings in right-wing subjects and deactivates it in left-wing subjects. The implication for the media, terrorism, and subsequent violence may be that violence in the media does not equally impact everyone. Perhaps such movies as those asked about in this study (terrorism movies) increase aggression among right-wing subjects, while having the opposite impact on left-wing subjects.

This may also speak to the issue of why the effects of violence in the media is such a controversial subject, and why studies pertaining to this topic yield different and often contradictory results. From the present study it appears that movies containing terrorism have a negative impact (create more aggressive feelings) on one group of people, and a positive impact (create less aggressive feelings) effect on another group. If taken as a whole these effects would have cancelled each other out and the study would have found no effect. However, by adding ideology of subjects as a variable, the effects of the terrorism movies is clear.

Also, in the past few years, villains in terrorist movies have been characterized as foreign and often as members affiliated with left-wing groups. Prior to the end of the cold war, villains were often portrayed as

Russian, and as such left-wing and communist. With the end of the cold war, Soviets have been replaced by Arabs (eg. True Lies [Cameron, 1995]) or the IRA (eg. Patriot Games [Maguire, 1992], Crying Game [Woolley, 1992], A Prayer For The Dying [Hodges & Snell, 1987], In the Name of the Father [Sheridan, 1994]) as America's favored enemies in films. These groups are also foreign and may be associated with a left-wing ideology. As such, it is not surprising that right-wing subjects would identify less with these characters than would left-wing subjects.

Future studies may want to further investigate the effects of ideology and media violence on aggression by providing a more clear-cut experimental design for this variable and by keeping the results from this study in mind.

### Skepticism

That right-wing subjects who have not seen a terrorism movie in the past two years report that the terrorist in the report makes them feel less skeptical than left-wing subjects who have or have not seen a terrorism movie, is also consistent with the previous findings of this study. When right-wing subjects do not watch a movie about terrorism they are not aroused in a negative way. It may be more useful, in making this point, to note that when right-wing subjects watch a movie about terrorism, they are no longer less skeptical

than are left-wing subjects. It appears then that not watching a terrorist movie impacts the mood of right-wing subjects in a positive way by making them feel less skeptical than do left-wing subjects. However, this positive mood effect for right-wing subjects as compared to left-wing subjects disappears when right-wing subjects watch a movie about terrorism. Left-wing subjects may generally be more skeptical than right-wing subjects, as indicated by just such a main effect. However, this difference is particularly striking when no terrorist movie has been watched. Right-wing subjects may simply be more content with the status quo.

In sum, this interaction effect is consistent with the interaction effect for aggression indicating that when right-wing subjects view a terrorist movie they feel more aggression than when left-wing subjects view a terrorist movie. In general, the implication of these interaction effects is that terrorist movies may differentially impact left-wing and right-wing subjects.

#### Race x Ideology

There were no significant effects for this interaction.

Race x Ideology x Terrorism MovieVigor

The only triple interaction for mood concerned vigor. The only significant difference between cells occurred between nonwhite/right-wing subjects who had seen a movie about terrorism, versus their counterparts who had not seen a movie about terrorism. It appears that the nonwhite/right-wing subjects who had watched a terrorism movie felt more vigorous than those who had not. Nonwhite/right-wing subjects may be even more vehemently against the terrorist than other subjects in this study. They may be in a sense, overidentify with the good guy in the movie, thus perceiving the bad guy as even more villainous than do left-wing subjects. Right-wing subjects may be the ones cheering the most when the terrorist does get his or her comeuppance in the movies. This feeling, created when watching a terrorist movie, is then transferred to the terrorist in the report.

However, when the nonwhite/right-wing subjects did not watch a terrorism movie, the terrorist in the report made them feel least vigorous. Perhaps not watching a movie had not alerted these subjects to the terrorist/villain or good guy/bad guy issue. Terrorism to them is really not a concern and they have not given it much thought. They therefore feel little emotion, such as vigor, upon hearing of such an event. However, when this

group does watch a terrorism movie, then they may overidentify with the law enforcement characters, which leads to a feeling of vigor, in an attempt to catch the terrorist.

This interaction again speaks to the differential effects that media violence may have on those with different demographic characteristics. Understanding how demographic characteristics interact with media violence may be key to finally understanding the effects of media violence.

In sum, it appears that left-wing and nonwhite subjects seem to identify with the terrorist in the report, and thereby react more positively to him or her. In prosecuting terrorists, one may want to keep these effects in mind. Watching a terrorist movie may lead subjects to react more favorably to the terrorist by creating more confidence in subjects and perhaps desensitizing subjects to terrorism. All of the interaction effects involved the terrorism movie variable, indicating that groups of people differing on such characteristics as ideology and race, may be differentially affected by movie violence. Such a finding indicates that a fruitful avenue for future research may involve the study of the relationship between demographic characteristics and the influence of media violence.

**CHAPTER 9: ANALYSIS BY SEX OF SUBJECT - RESULTS**

Because gender was a central variable being studied and the hypothesized gender effects were not confirmed, it was decided that the data would be analyzed according to the sex of the subject. Consequently, there was a separate analysis conducted for male subjects and a separate analysis conducted for female subjects. Table 28 summarizes the significant main and interaction effects according to sex of the subject. The criterion for an effect to be included in Table 28 was,  $p < .10$ , if the overall ANOVA was significant at  $p < .10$ , or,  $p < .05$  without a significant overall effect. The Type III SS was used unless stated otherwise.

A 2 (male terrorist or female terrorist) x 2 (precrime or during crime) x 3 (relevant suffering or irrelevant suffering or no suffering/control) ANOVA was conducted for each of the dependent experimental variables in the first main experimental analysis. The sex of subject variable will from now on be referred to as the variable of sex. This variable should not be confused with the variable of gender which refers to the gender of the terrorist in the report and which was an original experimental independent variable.

There were no hypotheses regarding the results since this was a *post hoc* analysis.

Unless otherwise stated, any differences between means, for the interaction effects, which are mentioned as differing from one another, are statistically significant as determined by having conducted appropriate t tests between the means. Unless otherwise stated, all t tests were significant at  $p < .10$ , or less.

Table 28

Significant Effects According to Sex of Subject

Dependent variable	Male subjects		Female subjects	
	Effect	Direction of effect	Effect	Direction of effect
<u>Semantic Diff.</u>				
Safe/Danger.	timing	pre>dur.		
Attractiveness	gender	fem>male		
Sexual Inact.				
Commitment			relev. r x t	ir>r
Rationality				
Contentment				
Intelligence			relev. g x t	ir>r ir>cntrl
Compassion			timing g x r x t	pre>dur.
Evaluation				
Femininity	gender g x r timing	fem>male	gender g x t x r	fem>male
Morality				
Sanity				

(table continues)

Table 28 (continued)

Dependent variable	Male subjects		Female subjects	
	Effect	Direction of effect	Effect	Direction of effect
Heterosex.			r x t t x g r x t x g	
<u>MACL</u>				
Aggression	g x r			
Anxiety				
Surgency			relev.	ctrl>r
Elation			relev.	ctrl>r ctrl>ir
			g x t	
Concentration	timing	pre<during	gender	fem>male
Fatigue			relev.	ctrl>r
			r x t x g	
Social Affect.			relev.	ctrl>r ir>r
Sadness				
Skepticism				
Egotism				
Vigor	timing	pre<dur.		
Distress				

(table continues)

Table 28 (continued)

Dependent variable	Male subjects		Female subjects	
	Effect	Direction of effect	Effect	Direction of effect
Good Mood			relev.	ctrl>r ctrl>ir
Bad Mood			g x t	
<u>Punishment</u>				
severity	t x g			
swiftness				
certainty				

Note. The cell sample sizes range from 10 - 17.

Since these effects were not hypothesized and since the interaction effects contain small sample sizes, it is worthwhile to look at general trends in the data and general differences between the male and female subjects, in addition to specific results.

## MALE SUBJECTS

Timing seemed to be a particularly important variable for men. There was a significant main timing effect for safety, femininity, concentration, and vigor.

## Semantic Differential: Perception of Terrorist

Main EffectsSafe/Dangerous

Timing. If the terrorist experienced childhood suffering than male subjects perceived the terrorist as more safe ( $M = 23.8$ ) than if the terrorist suffered during the crime ( $M = 19.9$ ).

Femininity

Timing. If the terrorist experienced childhood suffering, than male subjects perceived the terrorist as more feminine ( $M = 7.3$ ) than if the terrorist had suffered during the crime ( $M = 6.5$ ). This is consistent with the previous results in that suffering prior to the act may serve as a reason, in the minds of the subjects, for the terrorist event, which in turn has the effect of making the terrorist seem less threatening and more feminine.

Gender. Male subjects perceived the female terrorist as more feminine ( $\underline{M} = 7.6$ ) than they did the male terrorist ( $\underline{M} = 6.3$ ).

### Attractiveness

Gender. The male subjects perceived the female terrorist as more attractive ( $\underline{M} = 13.3$ ) than the male terrorist ( $\underline{M} = 11.7$ ).

### Interaction Effects

#### Femininity

Timing x Relevancy. The Gender x Relevancy interaction for femininity is interesting. As the main effect indicates, in general, the female terrorist is seen as more feminine than the male terrorist. However, when there is relevant suffering, the male terrorist and the female terrorists are seen as equally feminine. Relevant suffering seems to make male terrorists seem more feminine and female terrorists as more masculine for male subjects.

When there is no suffering, female terrorists are seen as more feminine than male terrorists.

Table 29

Means for Femininity: Gender x Relevancy

Relevancy		Gender of terrorist	
		Male	Female
Relevant	<u>M</u>	7.1	7.1
	<u>n</u>	23	29
Irrelevant	<u>M</u>	6.2	7.7
	<u>n</u>	33	27
Control	<u>M</u>	5.6	8.0
	<u>n</u>	23	22

Note. A line between means indicates a statistically significant difference.

MACL: Mood Created in Male Subjects by Terrorist

Main EffectsConcentration and Vigor

Timing. The terrorist makes subjects in the precrime conditions feel less concentrated (M = 5.4) and less vigorous (M = 5.5), than subjects in the during crime conditions (concentration, M = 6.2; vigor, M = 6.2)

This is consistent with the perception of the terrorist as less threatening if there was childhood suffering. If there is some explanation for the terrorists' actions, then the subjects do not have to

concentrate and try to come up with their own explanations as to why the terrorist committed the act.

With respect to vigor, subjects in the during condition may feel more vigorous in that they feel the suffering of the terrorist is more deserved and that the terrorist is getting his or her just deserts.

Precrime suffering then, seems to have a neutralizing effect on the subjects' perception of the terrorist as a threat.

### Interaction Effects

#### Aggression

Gender x Relevancy. Overall, relevancy had the effect of neutralizing any gender differences. As can be seen in Table 30, when the terrorist experiences relevant suffering, male terrorists and female terrorists make male subjects feel equally aggressive. However, when there is no suffering, a female terrorist makes male subjects feel more aggressive than do male terrorists. When suffering is irrelevant, there is no statistically significant difference between the male terrorist and the female terrorist, but the difference between those means is larger than it is between the relevant conditions.

Table 30

Aggression for Male Subjects : Gender x Relevancy

Relevancy		Gender of terrorist	
		Male	Female
Relevant	<u>M</u>	7.6	7.7
	<u>n</u>	22	28
Irrelevant	<u>M</u>	8.0	7.2
	<u>n</u>	32	27
Control	<u>M</u>	6.6	8.4
	<u>n</u>	22	27

Note. A line between means indicates a statistically significant difference.

## Punishment Variables

Main Effects

There were no main effects for any of the punishment variables.

Interaction EffectsSeverity

Gender x Timing. Male subjects punish female terrorists more than they do male terrorists if the

terrorists suffered in childhood, as is indicated in Table 31.

Table 31

Severity of Punishment for Male Subjects: Gender x Timing

Timing of suffering		Gender of terrorist	
		Male	Female
Precrime	<u>M</u>	-0.6	1.6
	<u>n</u>	37	41
During crime	<u>M</u>	1.4	-0.4
	<u>n</u>	36	35

Note. A line between means indicates a statistically significant difference.

Table 31 indicates that if a male terrorist suffers in the past, then his act of terrorism is perceived as deserving of less severe punishment than if a female terrorist suffered in the past. It may be that male subjects believe it is more acceptable for men to seek revenge, but that it is "unladylike" for women to do so.

Summary

The significant main and interaction effects for male subjects are listed in Table 32.

Table 32

Summary for Male Subjects: Significant Main and  
Interaction Effects

Variable	Effect	N	df	F	p > F
<u>Semantic Differ.</u>					
safe	timing	162	1	4.97	0.03
attractiveness	gender	162	1	8.06	0.005
femininity	timing	162	1	3.39	0.07
	gender	162	1	8.63	0.004
	G x R	162	2	2.41	0.09
<u>MACL</u>					
aggression	G x R	158	2	3.16	0.05
concentration	timing	155	1	8.09	0.005
vigor	timing	154	1	3.53	0.06
<u>Punishment</u>					
severity	T x G	149	1	7.82	0.006

## FEMALE SUBJECTS

The important variable for female subjects was relevance whereas the important variable for male subjects was timing. Seven out of ten main effects for female subjects were for relevance. The cell sample sizes ranged from 2 to 10.

### Semantic Differential: Perception of Terrorist

#### Main Effects

##### Commitment

Relevance. If the the terrorists' suffering was irrelevant, the terrorist was viewed, by female subjects as more committed ( $\bar{M} = 13.7$ ) than if the terrorist had experienced relevant suffering ( $\bar{M} = 12.6$ ).

##### Intelligence

Relevance. If the terrorists' suffering was irrelevant than the terrorist was perceived as more intelligent ( $\bar{M} = 5.1$ ) than if the terrorist had not suffered at all ( $\bar{M} = 3.7$ ).

Perhaps when the terrorist experiences any type of suffering this leads female subjects to increase their sympathy towards the terrorist. In addition, when the suffering was irrelevant then perhaps female subjects

felt that the terrorist had to be more intelligent and more committed to some external cause since the irrelevant suffering was not a sufficient cause to engage in terrorism. In the relevant suffering condition, however, the relevant suffering would be more of a reason for the terrorist act in the precrime suffering condition only. In both of these cases (i.e. for commitment and intelligence) the scores for the relevant suffering conditions were very similar to those in the control condition, even though they were not statistically significantly different from the irrelevant condition.

#### Femininity

Gender. Female terrorists were seen as more feminine ( $M = 7.5$ ) than male terrorists ( $M = 6.7$ ), by female subjects.

#### Interaction Effects

##### Commitment

Timing x Relevancy. When suffering was irrelevant and during the crime, terrorists were seen as more committed than the terrorists in any other condition as Table 33 indicates.

Table 33

Commitment for Female Subjects: Timing x Relevancy

Relevancy	Timing of suffering	
	Precrime	During crime
Relevant	<u>M</u> 13.6	11.3
	<u>n</u> 15	12
Irrelevant	<u>M</u> 12.5	18.1
	<u>n</u> 13	5
Control	<u>M</u> 12.6	13.0
	<u>n</u> 14	19

Note. A line between means indicates a statistically significant difference.

Intelligence

Gender x Timing. Female terrorists who suffer in the during condition are seen as more intelligent than male terrorists who suffer during the crime, as indicated in Table 34.

Table 34

Intelligence For Female Subjects: Gender x Timing

Timing of suffering		Gender of terrorist	
		Male	Female
Precrime	<u>M</u>	4.4	4.4
	<u>n</u>	23	19
During crime	<u>M</u>	4.1	5.1
	<u>n</u>	19	17

Note. A line between means indicates a statistically significant difference.

Heterosexuality

Gender x Timing. Female terrorists who suffered in childhood are seen as less heterosexual than male terrorist who suffered in childhood (i.e. precrime condition), as Table 35 indicates.

Table 35

Heterosexuality for Female Subjects: Gender x Timing

Timing of suffering		Gender of terrorist	
		Male	Female
Pre-crime	<u>M</u>	4.9	3.7
	<u>n</u>	23	19
During crime	<u>M</u>	4.1	4.6
	<u>n</u>	19	17

Note. A line between means indicates a statistically significant difference.

Relevancy x Timing. Irrelevant suffering that occurs during the crime, leads to the terrorist being perceived as more heterosexual than the terrorist in all other conditions except the precrime/control condition, as Table 36 indicates.

Table 36

Heterosexuality for Female Subjects: Timing x Relevancy

Relevancy		Timing of suffering	
		Pre-crime	During crime
Relevant	<u>M</u>	4.2	4.1
	<u>n</u>	15	12
Irrelevant	<u>M</u>	4.2	5.3
	<u>n</u>	13	5
Control	<u>M</u>	4.6	4.3
	<u>n</u>	14	19

Note. A line between means indicates a statistically significant difference.

Gender x Relevancy x Timing. As indicated in Table 37, the female terrorist in the during crime/irrelevant condition was perceived as more heterosexual than the terrorist in other conditions except the male/pre-crime/control.

That a female terrorist (regardless of type of suffering) is seen as more heterosexual than her male counterparts is contrary to the hypotheses, which would have predicted that the female terrorist would be seen as less feminine and more homosexual than her male counterparts.

Table 37

Heterosexuality for Female Subjects: Gender x Timing x Relevancy

Relevancy		Timing of suffering			
		Precrime		During crime	
		Male	Female	Male	Female
Relevant	<u>M</u>	4.7	3.6	4.5	3.7
	<u>n</u>	8	7	6	6
Irrelevant	<u>M</u>	4.7	3.7	4.1	7.0
	<u>n</u>	7	6	3	2
Control	<u>M</u>	5.3	3.8	3.9	4.7
	<u>n</u>	8	6	10	9

Note. A line between means indicates a statistically significant difference.

### Punishment

There were no effects for female subjects regarding severity, certainty, or swiftness of punishment, on the experimental variables.

MACL: Mood created in female subjects by terrorist

### Main Effects

#### Relevance

Surgency. The terrorist who experienced no suffering (i.e. control condition) made female subjects feel more surgent ( $\underline{M} = 5.0$ ) than did the terrorist who experienced relevant suffering ( $\underline{M} = 3.6$ ).

Elation. The terrorist who experienced no suffering (i.e. control condition) made female subjects feel more elated ( $\underline{M} = 4.8$ ) than did the terrorists who experienced relevant suffering ( $\underline{M} = 3.8$ ) or the terrorist who experienced irrelevant suffering ( $\underline{M} = 3.6$ ).

Fatigue. The terrorist who experienced no suffering (i.e. control condition) made female subjects feel more fatigued ( $\underline{M} = 6.2$ ) than did the terrorist who experienced relevant suffering ( $\underline{M} = 4.9$ ).

Social Affection. The terrorist who experienced no suffering made subjects feel more socially affectionate ( $\underline{M} = 5.2$ ) than did subjects who experienced relevant suffering ( $\underline{M} = 3.5$ ). In addition, the terrorist who experienced irrelevant suffering made subjects feel more socially affectionate ( $\underline{M} = 4.4$ ) than did the terrorist who experienced relevant suffering ( $\underline{M} = 3.5$ ).

Good Mood. The terrorist who experienced no suffering made subjects feel more in a good mood ( $\underline{M} = 16.0$ ) than did terrorists who experienced irrelevant

suffering ( $M = 12.6$ ) or than the terrorist who experienced relevant suffering ( $M = 12.3$ ).

In sum, when the terrorists' suffering was relevant, the terrorist in the report made female subjects feel less surgent, less elated, less fatigued, and less socially affectionate, than if there was no suffering or if the terrorists' suffering was irrelevant. It thus appears that relevant suffering seemed to have a deadening or suppressive effect on the mood of the female subjects.

When the terrorist experienced no suffering female subjects felt in more of a good mood, than if the terrorist suffered--whether the suffering was relevant or irrelevant.

#### Interaction Effects

The Timing x Gender interaction was the only significant interaction for the MACL factors for female subjects.

#### Timing x Gender

Elation. Female terrorists in the during crime condition created more elation in female subjects than did the terrorists in any other condition, as indicated in Table 38.

Table 38

Elation for Female Subjects: Timing x Gender

Timing of suffering		Gender of terrorist	
		Male	Female
Precrime	<u>M</u>	4.3	3.5
	<u>n</u>	23	18
During crime	<u>M</u>	3.9	5.4
	<u>n</u>	18	14

Note. A line between means indicates a statistically significant difference.

Timing x Gender

Good Mood. As Table 39 indicates, the female terrorist who suffered during the crime made female subjects feel in a better mood than did the female terrorist who suffered before the crime (i.e. precrime suffering).

Table 39

Good Mood for Female Subjects: Timing x Gender

Timing of suffering		Gender of terrorist	
		Male	Female
Precrime	<u>M</u>	14.1	11.5
	<u>n</u>	21	18
During crime	<u>M</u>	13.7	17.2
	<u>n</u>	18	14

Note. A line between means indicates a statistically significant difference.

A summary of the significant main and interaction effects for female subjects is provided in Table 40.

Table 40

Summary For Female Subjects: Significant Main and Interaction Effects

Variable	Effect	<u>N</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p &gt; F</u>
<u>Semantic Differential</u>					
Commitment	relevance	78	2	2.99	0.06
	rel x tim	78	2	5.49	0.006
intelligence	relevance	78	2	4.96	0.01
	gen x tim	78	1	2.94	0.09
compassion	timing	78	1	7.36	0.01
femininity	gender	78	1	6.21	0.01
heterosexual.	rel x tim	78	2	2.70	0.07
	gen x tim	78	1	15.44	0.0002
	g x t x r	78	2	3.01	0.06
<u>MACL</u>					
surgency	relevance	72	2	3.05	0.06
elation	relevance	73	2	3.86	0.03
	gen x tim	73	1	7.59	0.008
concentration	gender	72	1	4.48	0.04
fatigue	relevance	72	2	2.98	0.06
social affec.	relevance	69	2	3.25	0.05
good mood	relevance	71	2	4.07	0.02
	gen x tim	71	1	5.92	0.02

**CHAPTER 10: ANALYSIS BY SEX OF SUBJECT - DISCUSSION**

Past research has indicated not only the importance of sex differences (Gilligan, 1993, p. 14) but more specifically, has indicated that the two genders hold different perspectives which contribute to determining facts and applying the law (Marder, 1987, p. 604). In addition, since the hypotheses in the present study were generally not confirmed, and because this study was specifically concerned with gender issues, a separate analysis of the data according to the sex of the subject was conducted.

As such, the data in this analysis is divided into two subsamples according to gender. One subset involves male subjects only and the other subset involves female subjects only. An analysis similar to that conducted in the main experimental analysis was conducted on each of these subsamples. That is, an ANOVA for the experimental variables was conducted only for male subjects and an ANOVA for the experimental variables was separately conducted only for female subjects.

No hypotheses were formulated for this analysis, and therefore, all discussions regarding this analysis are offered on a *post hoc* basis. Main effects will be discussed first, followed by a discussion of interaction effects.

## Main Effects

### Timing

#### Male Subjects

Timing seemed to be a more important variable for males than for females. There were four main timing effects for males, but only one for females. The main timing effects for males indicated that males perceived the terrorist as more safe and more feminine when the terrorist suffered in childhood (precrime condition), than when the terrorist suffered after the onset of the terrorist attack (during crime condition). This is consistent with the findings in the main experimental analysis which indicated that the terrorists who suffered in the precrime conditions were perceived as more safe and feminine than those in the during crime conditions. In fact, this finding in the main experimental analysis may have been contributed to by these main effects for male subjects. These effects thus reinforce the contention that when a terrorist suffers before the incident, thereby creating a possible excuse, then that suffering may serve as an explanatory function, making the terrorist appear less threatening.

In addition, precrime suffering led the terrorist in the report to make subjects feel less vigorous and less concentrated than if the terrorist suffered in the during

crime condition. This is consistent with the timing main effects. That is, if male subjects perceive the terrorist as less threatening (i.e. more safe, more feminine), then they need to concentrate less because they already have an explanation for the attack (precrime suffering) and are therefore, less concerned about it. Moreover, feeling less threatened may result in a less vigorous feeling (which may be interpreted as less arousal) because the terrorist's behavior is more understandable and more rational than if there was no previous suffering.

In addition, as discussed in the Main Analysis section, subjects, and in this case it is only male subjects, may feel more vigor in the during crime condition because the terrorist is finally getting his just desserts. As such, this supports the belief in a just world theory and to a certain degree equity theory, as discussed in the Main Experimental Analysis - Discussion chapter. So just as in real life when the audience at the movies sits in anticipation of the terrorist getting his or her just deserts, so do the subjects in the during crime condition. This same effect does not occur in the precrime condition because precrime suffering diminishes the pleasure in seeing the terrorist suffer and receive his or her just deserts.

### Female Subjects

In a similar vein, for female subjects, precrime suffering led to a more compassionate perception of the terrorist than did during crime suffering. For female subjects, it appears that precrime suffering led to a more sympathetic feeling towards the terrorist and perhaps to the assumption on the part of female subjects, that the terrorist would be more sensitive and compassionate as a result of his or her suffering. This also speaks to the issue of stereotypes. Women are stereotypically perceived as being more sensitive (Williams & Best, 1982).

It appears then that these female subjects may be projecting stereotypical female concerns onto the terrorist by assuming and thus perceiving, the terrorist as more compassionate, if the terrorist had suffered before the crime. In fact, the presence of "Miss Sympathy" as a source of potential bias in jury decision-making has often been noted (Levine, 1992, p. 134).

Not only are these effects interesting per se, but what is also of interest is that timing of suffering seemed to have a greater importance for male subjects than it did for female subjects. In addition, the timing effects that did occur were different for male and female subjects. The timing main effects suggest that male's perception and mood are influenced by engaging in a calculus that men use in determining risk or rational

behavior, whereas female subjects' perception and mood are driven by gender stereotypes. Perhaps males are looking for a chronology of events to explain an event whereas, a previous excuse or chronology of events is not that important to women.

It is also interesting that even though timing led to effects in the perception of the terrorist and the mood of the subjects, these main effects did not manifest themselves in similar and corresponding effects for punishment. Perhaps subjects are less swayed by perceptions and emotion than we think. It may be that subjects are quite able to put their feelings aside and be objective. In fact this lack of a difference is consistent with recent work suggesting that sentencing outcomes appear more evenhanded at least with respect to gender (Steffensmeier, Kramer, & Streifel, 1993). This will continue to be examined throughout this discussion section.

### Relevancy

Whereas timing was important for men, relevance of suffering was unimportant, resulting in no main significant effects for male subjects. However, this variable proved to be very important for female subjects, resulting in seven main effects. In terms of the perception of the terrorist, irrelevant suffering by the

terrorist leads to female subjects perceiving the terrorist as more committed and more intelligent than does relevant or no suffering.

It may be that if the terrorist suffers in any way, the suffering awakens female subjects' realization to the possibility of explanations. Perhaps for female subjects, irrelevant suffering is not a sufficient explanation. As a result, they infer that there must be another explanation. The report read by the subjects alludes to a possible explanation by stating that the terrorist belonged to a foreign terrorist group. Since such terrorist groups are often associated with radical left-wing movements and universities, subjects may assume that the terrorists in the report are more educated and thus more intelligent. As such, rather than being motivated by relevant suffering, the terrorist in the irrelevant condition may be perceived as being motivated by commitment to a cause, thus explaining the main effects for commitment and intelligence.

The explanation for this is also found in the Main Experimental Analysis - Discussion chapter. Specifically, this intelligence effect indicates that subjects, in this case female subjects, have a need to rationalize behavior such as the terrorist attack in the report. In doing so, their perceptions, as further confirmed by this finding, are driven by cognitive dissonance and the dynamics

stated in the story model of decision-making. Female subjects want the event to be understandable to them.

Since this type of effect is only found amongst female subjects, perhaps females are driven more by cognitive dissonance and the need to create a story than are males. The lack of main effects for males regarding relevance may be the result of relevance simply being unimportant for males. That there were very few main effects for relevance in the main experimental analysis may have been due to the lack of main relevance effects on the part of male subjects. As a result, the relevance main effects in the main experimental analysis reflect only the strongest main relevance effects for female subjects.

In sum, when female subjects are primed to consider explanatory factors (i.e. when there is a reference to suffering), they try to reduce dissonance and create a story that makes sense to them (.i.e. they fill in the blanks), whereas men seemed to be concerned about whether there was previous suffering which may serve to mitigate their negative perceptions of the terrorist.

Mood in the female subjects was also influenced by the relevancy variable. Female subjects in the no suffering control group reported that the terrorist made them feel more surgent, more elated, more fatigued, more socially affectionate, and more in a good mood, than if

the terrorist experienced relevant suffering, and with respect to elation and good mood, irrelevant suffering.

Although the relevancy variable is important for female subjects' mood, it is not so much whether the suffering is relevant or irrelevant, but upon closer examination of the results, it is whether suffering exists or does not exist. This effect would not have revealed itself with respect to timing, even though the timing variable involved suffering, since there is no level of the timing variable which involved no suffering. The research design of this study placed the no suffering control group into the relevancy variable instead. As such, any effect resulting from the no suffering condition would have emerged as a relevancy effect simply because of the design of the study.

It therefore appears that when the terrorist does not suffer at all, then generally, the terrorist puts female subjects in a better mood than if the terrorist's suffering was relevant or irrelevant. In sum, no suffering by the terrorist (i.e. the control group) created a more positive mood in female subjects than when the terrorist in some way suffered, especially when the suffering was relevant.

The only item that may be an exception to this generalization is fatigue. Although it is not directly related to good mood, it may be a side effect of the surgency and elation felt by subjects. These effects may

later result in fatigue. Whatever the case may be however, fatigue is not contradictory to a good mood and is thus consistent with the above generalization concerning mood.

That the terrorist who does not suffer makes female subjects feel more positive than the terrorist who had suffered, may be a result of general sympathetic feelings on the part of female subjects, towards people who suffer. Perhaps when the terrorist had experienced some suffering, simply more sympathy and more sadness was felt for the terrorist than when they had not suffered. This is consistent with gender stereotypes of women as more sensitive, as previously noted.

It is important to note however, that whatever the mood of the subjects, or whatever the perception of the terrorist, those effects did not translate into effects regarding the terrorists' punishment. Again, punishment was not driven by perception or mood. What does drive perception and mood does seem to be different for males and females. Men seemed to be concerned with a chronology of events indicating that some justice or equity has been achieved, whereas women strive to reduce cognitive dissonance and create a rational story.

### Gender

For both males and females there were two main gender effects. Male subjects perceived the female terrorist as more feminine and more attractive than they did the male terrorist. These results were consistent with universal stereotypes of women as more feminine and attractive than males (Williams & Best, 1982). Female subjects also perceived the female terrorist as more feminine, but in addition, female subjects concentrated more when the terrorist was female than when the terrorist was male. This may be a result of some identification or fascination with the female terrorist by female subjects since females are not typically associated with terrorist behavior. The unusual aspect of a female terrorist may have been of particular interest to the female subjects. Again however, these gender effects did not translate into punishment effects for the terrorist.

In sum, the main gender effects reveal that male subjects perceived the terrorist in gender stereotypical ways. In addition, female subjects also displayed a fascination or interest with the female terrorist and perceived female terrorists in stereotypical ways. Overall, the main effects in this separate analysis for male subjects and female subjects, indicate that

perceptions of terrorists by male subjects are driven by timing of suffering. However, the existence of, and to a certain degree the relevancy of, suffering drives perceptions of terrorists by female subjects.

For males, precrime suffering led to the terrorist being perceived as less threatening and in stereotypical terms (i.e. more feminine), which in turn led to less concentration and less vigor felt by the male subjects. Males may therefore be focusing on the threat and the need to calculate in linear, chronological terms, the probability of such a threat. Precrime suffering produces an explanatory variable and may indicate that the threat of a reoccurrence is low because there is no other reason indicated for another attack--that is, there is no further suffering. In addition, during crime suffering may result in greater vigor and more of a good mood because the during crime suffering does not explain the terrorist event and does not act as a mitigating factor to the degree that precrime suffering does.

Females' perceptions tended to be motivated by a need to reduce dissonance and create a story. In addition, their mood was determined by the existence of suffering. What drives mood and perception for females and males regarding terrorists is therefore different. Those involved in the judicial system may want to keep this in mind. However, they may also want to note that

neither of these variables alone effected punishment of the terrorist.

### Interaction Effects

#### Timing x Relevancy

##### Female Subjects

This interaction indicated that female subjects perceived the terrorist who experienced during crime/irrelevant suffering as more committed than the terrorists in all other conditions. This is consistent with the main effects stated for female subjects regarding their perception of the terrorist, which also indicated that female subjects were influenced by cognitive dissonance. In the during/irrelevant condition, suffering cannot be used as an explanatory factor for the attack, since the attack occurred before the suffering and moreover, the suffering that did occur was irrelevant, eliminating any mitigating effect that any suffering might have had. Since there is no previous suffering that can be used as an excuse, female subjects infer that the terrorist must be very committed to a cause. That is, there must be some other motivating factor. Not having an explanation is an unpleasant state for these subjects and they therefore undergo cognitive changes to reduce dissonance.

That female subjects perceive the terrorist as more heterosexual in the during/irrelevant condition than in all other conditions except the precrime/control condition, is more difficult to explain. Perhaps in this condition (i.e. during crime/irrelevant), where perceived commitment is also high, being committed to a cause allows female subjects to assume that the terrorist is heterosexual. In other words, in conditions where suffering serves as an explanation, perhaps subjects infer that the suffering has traumatized the terrorist in some way, which has resulted in less heterosexuality or more homosexuality. Also, in the cases where there is no suffering, perhaps subjects assume that to engage in such an act one must be deviant, and perhaps this perception in some way translates into an assumption of less heterosexuality. For female subjects the similar trends for commitment and heterosexuality in the during/irrelevant condition indicate that this condition has the same effect for both of these variables.

#### Male Subjects

There were no Timing x Relevancy effects for male subjects.

## Relevancy x Gender

### Male Subjects

For male subjects, the female/control condition displays an interesting pattern for the variables femininity and aggression. For male subjects, female terrorists in the control condition (i.e. no suffering) were perceived as more feminine than their male counterparts. In the irrelevant condition, this same effect still held, but the gap between the male terrorist and the female terrorist conditions narrowed. Finally, when the suffering was relevant, there was no difference between male terrorists and female terrorists, regarding male subjects' perception of the femininity of the terrorist.

In this case, it is not so much the significant differences which are interesting, but the lack of a difference in the relevant conditions and the narrowing gap between male and female terrorists on scores of femininity, as one moves from the control conditions, to the irrelevant conditions, and then to the relevant condition. It may be that the gap between perceptions of male and female terrorists on femininity and aggression narrow as a result of more information being provided, and as equity homogenizing gender differences.

In the control group there is no suffering and as such inequity, with terrorists doing great harm but being

themselves unharmed. It may be that when there is little information, gender stereotypes operate freely. In the irrelevant condition, more equity is achieved through the terrorist experiencing some suffering (i.e. irrelevant suffering) and as such gender stereotypes may play less, although still somewhat, of a role. But the gap between male and female terrorists narrows when yet more information is provided (relevant suffering), which may further diminish inequity and subsequently, reliance on gender stereotypes.

A similar pattern held for aggression. For male subjects, the female terrorist in the no suffering (control), group created more feelings of aggression than did male terrorists in the control group. However, this difference disappears in the irrelevant and relevant conditions with the gap between the mean scores for aggression for the male and female terrorist narrowing even more in the relevant condition.

Perhaps when there is no suffering, a terrorist attack is more acceptable for male subjects, if carried out by a male than when carried out by a female. Males engaging in terrorism may be perceived as a case of "boys will be boys" and as more typical of male aggression. Whereas for female terrorists, when there is no suffering, male subjects cannot understand her behavior since it is not consistent with stereotypically feminine

behavior. As such, her behavior may be perceived as more threatening.

This difference between male and female terrorists dissipates when information is provided which may serve to reduce inequity. This is consistent with the previous explanation for the interaction effect for femininity, that as more information indicating that the terrorist has received his or her just deserts (i.e. there is suffering) is provided, then gender stereotypes have less influence.

Again, none of these effects influenced decisions regarding punishment. This pattern of results hints at the possibility that relevant suffering by the terrorist counts in reducing inequity more than irrelevant suffering does. If this is the case, then it does so only for male subjects and only when gender and relevancy are varied. Moreover, the results suggest that suffering may serve to minimize gender stereotypes.

The pattern in these effects is also partially consistent with work done indicating that it is not gender that drives gender stereotyping but rather power and the roles carried out by individuals (Gerber, 1993). In Gerber's work, when traditional sex roles were reversed, for example when the wife was described as violent towards her husband, the woman was perceived as possessing traits of a typical male, and the abused man

was perceived as having the characteristics of a typical female (Gerber, 1993, 1991).

If Gerber's thesis was to be proven in its pure form in this study, the female and male terrorists in this study would have been perceived as identical on measures of femininity and masculinity since they engaged in identical behavior. That is, there would have been no main gender effects for factors of this sort. However, main effects based on gender did occur to a certain degree. Nonetheless, although Gerber's thesis was not confirmed in its pure form, there was some equalization, albeit only for male subjects, as demonstrated in the Relevancy x Gender interaction for femininity and aggression. Specifically, when information suggests that the terrorist is getting his or her just deserts--that is, when a type of equity is achieved--then the gender stereotypes become less important and are neutralized.

These results are consistent with Gerber's position that gender alone does not drive perception. However, whereas Gerber claims it is power that drives stereotypes, the results of the present study suggest that gender stereotypes do influence perception until information is provided indicating that a more equitable state has been achieved. When this equity occurs, then stereotypes based on gender disappear.

### Female Subjects

There were no similar relevancy x gender interactions for female subjects.

There are both specific and broad implications of these findings. If violent females are before males in court, they may want to demonstrate that their suffering was related or relevant to the crime. According to the results of this study, this would result in males feeling less aggressively towards these women. Male defendants, however, may not want to provide this information if their target audience is male. In addition, depending on whether one wants to induce or reduce perceptions of gender stereotypes regarding femininity, one may want to provide more or less information regarding the suffering of the terrorist, but only in the case of male subjects.

The reader should be reminded that all of these explanations are *post hoc*. This study was not designed to test hypotheses based on the above explanations. Clearly more work is needed to confirm and clarify the precise nature of these effects.

These findings have implications for the players and actors in the judicial system. And although one may want to tailor the information provided according to the gender make-up of the target audience, none of the effects stated thus far indicate that any of these variables effect punishment of the terrorist.

### Gender x Timing

#### Male Subjects

Severity of punishment. For male subjects this interaction was significant only for severity of punishment. For this analysis based on sex of subject, this is the only effect which is significant for punishment.

If the terrorist suffers in childhood (precrime condition), male subjects punish female terrorists more than they do male terrorists. This indicates that if a male suffers in the past then his act of terrorism is perceived as deserving of less punishment than that of their female counterparts. It may be that for male subjects, the abuse excuse is an acceptable mitigating factor for the male terrorist, whereas for female terrorists, previous abuse or suffering does not have the same mitigating effect. Perhaps these male subjects believe it is acceptable for men to seek revenge when there is previous abuse. However, when a woman does the same, these men believe that the woman's behavior is unladylike, resulting in more severe punishment for the women. This result hints that in such a specific situation--when precrime suffering exists and male subjects are used--then women may be punished more severely for violating gender norms.

It may be interesting to note that although not significant statistically, the above effect is almost completely reversed in the during condition, with males receiving more severe punishment than their female counterparts. It thus appears that if suffering occurs after the onset of the crime (during crime conditions), then this mitigates the punishment for women and increases the punishment for males. Perhaps male subjects invoke equity theory for women and feel sympathetic towards the women for their recent suffering, which is consistent with the latter finding. If so, then this during crime suffering counts in reducing inequity for female and not male terrorists. Perhaps when suffering is recent (i.e. during crime condition), male subjects believe it is a violation of gender stereotypes for men to suffer, but allow themselves to be sympathetic towards womens' more current suffering.

It appears then that stereotypes are driving male subjects' assignment of punishment. When there is precrime suffering that may explain the attack, males may think it is unladylike for women to gain revenge or to be affected by it whereas, they find it more acceptable for men. When there is suffering, but it cannot explain the crime, perhaps males feel sympathy towards females but not towards men. That the female terrorist in this case (i.e. during crime suffering) has not violated stereotypes nor engaged in such unladylike behavior as

revenge (if in fact revenge in women is seen as unladylike), then male subjects are simply influenced by regular gender stereotypes. Perhaps then, equity theory applies only to men when they are dealing with women. However, much work needs to be done concerning the dynamics of these variables.

### Female Subjects

For female subjects, Gender x Timing interactions influenced their perception of the terrorists' intelligence, heterosexuality and the good mood and elation felt by the subjects regarding the terrorist.

Intelligence. Female subjects perceived the female terrorist who suffered during the crime as more intelligent than male terrorists who suffered during the crime. Perhaps certain gender stereotypes explain this. It may be that when there is no possible previous excuse provided for the attack (i.e. during crime conditions), female subjects perceive the female terrorist as being motivated by some other reason. It may be that female subjects assume that the female terrorist is motivated by ideology and assumes, rightly or wrongly, that the terrorist is therefore intelligent. When the male terrorist has no previous excuse, perhaps female subjects simply attribute their behavior more to typical male aggression and to a case of boys will be boys. As such,

they are driven less by ideology or intellect which are often associated with intelligence.

Heterosexuality. That female subjects perceive male terrorists who suffered in childhood as more heterosexual than their female counterparts may also be due to stereotyping. Again, perhaps it is macho for men to gain revenge, with machismo and masculinity in males generally being associated with heterosexuality. However, it may be unladylike for females to gain revenge. As such when they do seek revenge they are perceived as masculine and thus as less heterosexual and more homosexual. However, this did not translate into differential punishment.

Elation and Good Mood. In terms of the mood of female subjects, the female terrorist who suffered during the crime, created more elation than did the terrorist in all other conditions. In addition, the female terrorist in the during crime condition created more of a good mood than did the female terrorist who suffered in childhood. Apparently for female subjects, a female terrorist, who suffers during the crime, has a positive effect, with the terrorist in these conditions being perceived as more intelligent and creating more elation and a good mood.

Why this is the case is unclear. It may be that providing some information about terrorist suffering prompts female subjects to think about possible explanations for the attack. Although subjects conclude, in the female/during condition, that the during crime

suffering is an insufficient explanation, they search for another explanation to reduce dissonance. This search results, as explained, in female subjects perceiving the terrorist as more intelligent, which in turn, creates a positive mood in subjects. This would be consistent with the belief in a just world theory. Belief in a just world theory states that any explanation, even if it negatively reflects on the actor, is better than no explanation. The above result also indicates that an unclear explanation has a more positive effect than no explanation.

A second explanation for the result may involve female subjects invoking a type of equity for female terrorists only. That is, for female subjects, during crime suffering may count more in reducing feelings of inequity (i.e. negative mood) than does precrime suffering, but only for the female terrorist. As a result, when a female terrorist gets her just deserts in the during crime condition, this leads to more satisfaction in female subjects. Perhaps female subjects do not feel this way towards male terrorists because terrorist behavior is not as far removed from stereotypical male behavior as it is from stereotypical female behavior. In either case, female terrorists who suffer during the crime have a positive effect on female subjects. Again, however, this effect did not translate into differential punishment by female subjects.

For female subjects, the Gender x Timing interaction effect was not significant for punishment, indicating that female subjects equally punished the terrorist regardless of the suffering or gender of the terrorist, even though these variables may have effected their perception of the terrorist or their own mood. It thus appears that female subjects are immune from the influence of these variables when they mete out punishment.

It may be that stereotypes are driving male subjects' assignment of punishment. When there is suffering that may explain the attack, males may think it is unladylike for women to get revenge but acceptable for men to do so. When there is suffering, but it cannot account for the crime (i.e. during crime condition), perhaps males feel sympathy towards women but not towards men. That the female terrorist in this case (i.e. during crime condition) has neither violated stereotypes nor engaged in such unladylike behavior as revenge (if in fact revenge in women is seen as unladylike), then male subjects call upon the regular gender stereotypes. Perhaps then equity theory applies only to men with respect to women. However, much more work needs to be done concerning the dynamics of these variables.

If the above explanation, regarding male and female subjects' assignment of punishment, is correct, female

subjects equally punish defendants regardless of suffering and gender, whereas males mete out punishment according to their perception of deservedness which is mediated by gender stereotypes and to a certain degree equity.

If the target audience is male, and one is attempting to manipulate severity of punishment, one may try to note, for male terrorists only, the existence of precrime abuse which may be consistent with an abuse excuse claim. However, when the defendant is female, the defense may want to highlight suffering that has occurred since the onset of the crime. Of course a prosecutor would also be interested in this information and may want to use it, but towards a different end.

Thus, when the target audience is composed of men, and depending on the gender of the terrorist and on whether one seeks lenient or severe punishment, one may want to either point out previous suffering or avoid discussion of it. This effect is particularly important since it is the only one in this case, which would actually impact on punishment. All other effects dealt with mood and perception, but did not translate into any corresponding effects concerning punishment.

### General Analysis

Overall, there were no punishment effects for female subjects. For male subjects, the effects on punishment depended on the gender of the terrorist. When defending male terrorists, one may want to emphasize precrime suffering, since terrorist activity based on revenge may result in leniency for male terrorists. On the otherhand, one would want to de-emphasize during crime suffering, since that may make men appear as though they had violated the male stereotypes of not whining and "being a man", which in this study resulted in more severe punishment.

In the case of female terrorists, a defense case may want to emphasize during crime or recent suffering, since that results in more lenient punishment for women. It appears that it is acceptable for females to suffer, perhaps because it may be stereotypically, women's lot to suffer in this world. As a result, when they do suffer, they are engaging in stereotypical behavior for which they are rewarded, as demonstrated by the relatively lenient sentences these women receive.

On the otherhand, a defense case for female terrorists would want to de-emphasize childhood suffering that may be interpreted as leading to the female terrorist seeking revenge. Seeking revenge for females violates stereotypes. As such, women who do so are

penalized, as demonstrated in the relatively more severe punishment for female terrorists who may be perceived as committing acts of terrorism for revenge.

That punishment in recent times has been and continues to be, mediated by the abuse excuse, has been clearly documented (Dershowitz, 1994) and discussed in Main Experimental Analysis - Discussion chapter. Moreover, the abuse excuse may not only result in not convicting the offender, but rather may result in convicting another actor, often the victim. This is apparent, according to Fletcher (1994), in the following cases: (a) the first trial in Menendez brothers' case; (b) the acquittals of John and Lorena Bobbbit; (c) the acquittal of Lemrick Nelson in the killing of Yankel Rosenbaum in Brooklyn; and (d) the case in Simi Valley of the officers who beat Rodney King.

As Fletcher (1994) notes, in these cases, "the jurors ended up convicting somebody - but it was the wrong party" (p. A17). That is, the jurors, by not convicting the offenders, are implicitly convicting the victims. For example, by not convicting the Menendez brothers, the jury was convicting the parents who were actually the victims.

Moreover, the "wrong person" that is being convicted, may not necessarily be the victim but may be yet another actor in the case. For example in the O.J. Simpson case, sentiment is not against the victims,

Nicole Brown Simpson and Ron Goldman, but against a corrupt officer, Mark Fuhrman and the government he apparently represents. As a result, the question in the case became not, whether the guilty deserved punishment, but "Does the Government deserve a conviction?" (Fletcher, 1995, p. A19).

The results of the present study confirm the presence of the abuse excuse. Moreover, the results of this specific analysis more clearly define the parameters of this excuse and how it may differentially be applied according to gender and offender suffering.

#### Summary

It thus appears that in general, both male and female subjects can put aside their biases and mete out equal punishment. However, this tendency is a little weaker for men than it is for women. That is, female subjects can put aside their perceptions and moods, in all cases and for whatever reason. On the other hand, punishment meted out by males may, in very specific circumstances, be influenced by stereotypes which in turn may be influenced by gender and suffering.

This is consistent with some work done by Carol Gilligan (1993). Gilligan (1993) claims that females generally apply more equality when it comes to rewards and punishment. Women try to equally distribute rewards

and punishment so as to distribute the wealth and suffering. The degree to which individuals contribute to the wealth or the suffering, is of secondary concern for females. Men on the other hand, distribute rewards and punishment on the basis of individual inputs and perceived deservedness. Men thus appear to engage in more of a calculus in determining rewards and punishment (Gilligan, 1993, p. 37) than do women. This is consistent with men differentially assigning punishment under certain conditions, and with the lack of differential punishment on the part of women.

On the other hand, the results indicating that women mete out equal punishment, may be related to the female subjects' perception of themselves. Gilligan (1993) notes that women's feeling of vulnerability and their perceived inability to have an impact on their world interferes with their ability to take a stand. In reference to the female adolescent's identity and belief crisis, Gilligan (1993) states, "But these women's reluctance to judge stems rather from their uncertainty about their right to make moral statements, or perhaps from the price for them that such judgment seems to entail" (p. 66).

In addition, according to Gilligan (1993, p. 67), women believe they have no choice and therefore excuse themselves from the responsibility of making a decision. These results regarding the gender differences with respect to punishment, are consistent with the above

explanations, particularly since most female subjects in the present study were in their twenties.

It is clear by the many main and interaction effects, that female subjects' perception of the terrorist are effected by timing, relevancy, and the gender of the terrorist. However, when it comes time to meting out punishment, these effects are not manifest. Perhaps as Gilligan (1993) notes and as stated above, these young women do not want to take responsibility for a decision and the consequences arising from that decision, since they feel they have an inability to control the consequences of such a decision. In fact, studies indicate that women have a lower participation rate in jury deliberations than do men (Marder, 1987, p. 612). So if in fact women, particularly young adults, perceive themselves as ineffectual, then this may manifest itself in jury deliberations as well as in the meting out of punishment. As such, these sex of subject differences would simply be a result of the young female subjects perceiving themselves as powerless and ineffectual.

The results of this analysis also shed some insight into work done by Grady (as cited in O'Leary & Hanson, 1984, p. 134). This work points out that there are two types of sex differences--differences within the individual perceiver of the behavior (which in this study is the sex of subject) and differences resulting from the

sex of the perceived person (which in this study is the gender of the terrorist). Moreover, O'Leary and Donoghue (1978) suggest that the more important source of bias lies in the sex of the perceived subjects.

The results of this study support Grady's contention that both the sex of the individual perceiver (sex of subject) and sex of the perceived person (gender of the terrorist) are important and combine, in often very complex ways, to determine punishment meted out by males. Other results regarding mood of the subjects and perception of the terrorist, indicate that sex of subject seems to be more important than sex of the terrorist. Whether one is overall more important than the other cannot be concluded from the results of the present study. However, what can be stated is that both must be considered if one wants to truly understand decision-making regarding terrorists.

## CHAPTER 11: FOLLOW-UP ANALYSIS - RESULTS

Since none of the original hypotheses were confirmed, an alternative follow-up analysis was conducted to determine if the sex of the subject interacted with the three main experimental independent variables in any way.

The no suffering control groups in the original design included no information about the terrorists' suffering and were therefore meaningless for the variables relevancy and timing. As a result, these groups were removed from the original design. Thus a reanalysis was conducted using the eight remaining cells of the original design, and adding on the independent variable of sex of subject. This resulted in a 16 cell design. The reanalysis was therefore composed of a 2 (gender of terrorist) x 2 (timing of suffering) x 2 (relevancy of suffering) x 2 (sex of subject) design. The relevancy of suffering variable consisted of two levels only--relevant suffering and irrelevant suffering. The no suffering control group was removed.

In addition, in order to examine the gender effects of the terrorist and the effects of the sex of subject, in a pure form, the no suffering control groups removed from the original design were analyzed according to the sex of the subject. This resulted in a 2 (gender of terrorist) x 2 (sex of subject) design, which will be discussed in following chapters and which is referred to as the Gender x Sex analysis.

First however, the results of the 2 (gender of terrorist) x 2 (relevancy of suffering) x 2 (timing of suffering) x 2 (sex of subject) analysis, will be examined.

The Type I SS was used since there were no a priori hypotheses stated regarding the outcome of this analysis. As a result, the less stringent standard of a Type I SS was considered more appropriate than the more rigorous Type III SS. Only dependent variables which had overall ANOVA's of  $p < .10$  and main and interaction effects significant at  $p < .10$ , will be reported.

Table 41

Summary of Significant ANOVA Results For Follow-up Analysis

Variable	Effect	<u>N</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p &gt; F</u>
Sadness	overall	141	15	1.91	0.028
	gender	141	1	4.22	0.042
	timing	141	1	4.45	0.037
	tim x rel	141	1	8.08	0.005
	rel x sex	141	1	4.91	0.028
Vigor	overall	142	15	1.58	0.090
	timing	142	1	7.41	0.007
	sex	142	1	3.16	0.078
	g x t x r	142	1	3.24	0.074
Severity of punishment	overall	140	15	1.62	0.076
	sex	140	1	4.86	0.029
	gen x sex	140	1	3.11	0.08
	gen x tim	140	1	3.04	0.083
	g x r x s	140	1	3.91	0.05
Commitment	overall	151	15	2.2	0.009
	timing	151	1	4.39	0.04
	sex	151	1	8.84	0.004
	tim x rel	151	1	4.81	0.03
	t x r x s	151	1	5.28	0.023

Note. Cell sample sizes vary from 2 - 16.

There were no overall significant ANOVA's for the variables aggression, anxiety, surgency, elation, concentration, fatigue, social affection, skepticism, egotism, distress, good mood, bad mood, swiftness, certainty, dangerousness, attractiveness, sexual activity, rationality, contentment, intelligence, compassion, evaluation, femininity, morality, sanity, heterosexuality.

### Sadness

Gender. The male terrorist made subjects feel more sad ( $\bar{M} = 7.0$ ) than did the female terrorist ( $\bar{M} = 6.2$ ).

Timing. Precrime suffering by the terrorist made subjects feel more sad ( $\bar{M} = 7.0$ ) than did during crime suffering ( $\bar{M} = 6.2$ ).

Timing x Relevancy. When the terrorists' suffering occurs during the crime and is irrelevant, than this leads to less sadness, as Table 42 indicates.

Table 42

#### Means for Sadness: Timing x Relevancy

		Precrime suffering	During crime suffering
Relevant	$\bar{M}$	6.6	6.9
suffering	$n$	25	33
Irrelevant	$\bar{M}$	7.5	5.7
suffering	$n$	39	33

Sex of Subject x Relevancy. When the terrorist experiences relevant suffering then the female subjects feel most sad as Table 43 indicates. It appears that men are unaffected by any suffering experienced by the terrorist, whereas women are effected by relevant suffering.

Table 43

Means for Sadness: Sex of Subject x Relevancy

		Male subjects	Female subjects
Relevant suffering	<u>M</u>	6.5	7.3
	<u>n</u>	48	23
Irrelevant Suffering	<u>M</u>	6.8	6.1
	<u>n</u>	55	15

Vigor

Sex of Subject. The terrorist makes male subjects feel more vigorous (M = 5.8) than female subjects (M = 4.9).

Timing. When terrorists suffer during the crime this makes subjects feel more vigorous (M = 6.5) than when terrorists suffer before the crime as in the precrime condition (M = 5.0).

Gender x Timing x Relevancy. Female terrorists whose suffering is relevant and occurs during the crime made subjects feel more vigorous, as Table 44 indicates.

Table 44

Means for Vigor: Gender x Timing x Relevancy

Suffering		Male terrorist		Female terrorist	
		Precrime	During crime	Precrime	During crime
Relevant	<u>M</u>	5.0	4.1	5.9	6.6
	<u>n</u>	18	19	17	17
Irrelevant	<u>M</u>	5.5	5.4	5.1	5.6
	<u>n</u>	22	19	17	16

Severity of Punishment

Sex of Subject. Male subjects punish the terrorist more severely ( $\bar{M} = 0.05$ ) than do female subjects ( $\bar{M} = -0.8$ ).

Gender x Sex of Subject. Male subjects punish the female terrorist more harshly than female subjects punish the female terrorist, as Table 45 indicates.

Table 45

Means for Severity of Punishment: Gender x Sex of Subject

		Male terrorist	Female terrorist
Male subjects	<u>M</u>	+0.25	+0.6
	<u>n</u>	50	49
Female subjects	<u>M</u>	-0.15	-2.28
	<u>n</u>	23	18

Gender x Timing. Male terrorists receive the most severe punishment when they suffer during the crime. It may be that the during crime suffering cannot serve as an explanation for the terrorist act. In addition, there is no female mitigating factor as with the interaction stated above. As a result, since there is no mitigating factor due to gender of the terrorist or due to the existence of an abuse excuse, then punishment is harsh (see Table 46).

Table 46

Means for Severity of Punishment: Gender x Timing

		Precrime suffering	During crime suffering
Male terrorist	<u>M</u>	-0.6	+0.7
	<u>n</u>	37	36
Female terrorist	<u>M</u>	-0.4	-1.2
	<u>n</u>	36	31

Gender x Relevancy x Sex. Female subjects punish the female terrorist who experience relevant suffering the least severely; whereas male subjects punish the female terrorist who experiences relevant suffering the most severely, as Table 47 indicates.

Table 47

Means for Severity of Punishment: Gender x Relevancy x Sex of Subject

Sex of subject	Male terrorist		Female terrorist	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Relevant suffering	<u>M</u> -0.4	0.4	1.0	-3.3
	<u>n</u> 20	14	26	11
Irrelevant suffering	<u>M</u> +0.9	-0.7	0.26	-1.25
	<u>n</u> 30	9	22	7

Commitment

Sex of Subject. Male subjects perceive the terrorist as more committed (M = 15.4) than do female subjects (M = 13.8).

Timing. The terrorist is seen as less committed when the terrorist suffers during the crime (M = 15.4) than when the terrorist suffers before the crime, as in the precrime condition (M = 13.8).

Timing x Relevancy. As Table 48 indicates, the terrorist whose suffering is irrelevant and during the crime is perceived as the most committed.

Table 48

Means for Commitment: Timing x Relevancy

		Precrime suffering	During crime suffering
Relevant	<u>M</u>	14.3	13.8
suffering	<u>n</u>	39	38
Irrelevant	<u>M</u>	13.2	17.1
suffering	<u>n</u>	39	35

Timing x Relevancy x Sex of Subject. The female subjects perceived the terrorist in the during/relevant condition to be less committed than did the male subjects when the terrorist was in either the during/relevant or in the during/irrelevant condition as, Table 49 indicates. The unusually high mean for female subjects when the terrorist is in the during/irrelevant condition may be due to the small sample size of that cell. Nonetheless, the terrorist was perceived as most committed by female subjects when the terrorist was in the during/irrelevant condition.

Table 49

Means for Commitment: Timing x Relevancy x Sex of Subject

		Pre-crime		During crime	
		Relevant	Irrelevant	Relevant	Irrelevant
Male subjects	<u>M</u>	15.4	14.1	16.2	16.2
	<u>n</u>	25	28	26	30
Female subjects	<u>M</u>	13.8	12.2	11.3	17.5
	<u>n</u>	14	11	12	5

## CHAPTER 12: FOLLOW-UP ANALYSIS - DISCUSSION

### Main Effects

#### Gender

The only main effect for gender was that the male terrorist made subjects feel more sad than did the female terrorist. Perhaps there is more sympathy for the male terrorist than there is for the female terrorist. Perhaps the female terrorist is less of a sympathetic figure than is the male terrorist, because she violates traditional gender stereotypes.

#### Timing

That the terrorist in the precrime suffering condition causes subjects to feel more sad than does the terrorist in the during crime condition is consistent with the abuse excuse. That is, when one can point to some previous possible excuse for a behavior, then this engenders more sympathy for the actor than does previous suffering or than does any suffering that cannot explain the behavior, as is the case with during crime suffering.

That during crime suffering leads subjects to feel more vigorous than precrime suffering is consistent with the notion of just deserts. That is, when the terrorist suffers after the onset of the crime, observers feel invigorated that the terrorist is getting his or her just deserts.

That during crime suffering leads to a perception that the terrorist is less committed than the terrorist whose suffering occurs before the crime, is consistent with cognitive dissonance. Since during crime suffering does not explain behavior, then in the minds of subjects there must be another explanation for committing the terrorist act-- that other explanation is a commitment to a cause.

### Relevance

There were no main effects for relevancy.

### Sex of Subject

That the terrorist makes male subjects feel more vigorous than female subjects is consistent with the stereotype that men identify with violence and aggression more than do women. That male subjects punish the terrorist more severely than do female subjects is consistent with the gender stereotype that women are more lenient with respect to punishments in general, than are men.

### Interaction Effects

### Timing x Relevance

That the terrorist who suffers during the crime and whose suffering is irrelevant may create less sadness in subjects because in such a condition there are no mitigating factors which may lead to sadness or sympathy. That is,

there is no precrime suffering that could produce an abuse excuse defense, nor is their relevant suffering that could explain the terrorist act in some way. Since there exists no possible mitigating factor in the during/irrelevant condition and there is at least one mitigating condition in all other cells, then this lack of mitigating factors in the during/irrelevant condition results in the terrorist making subjects feel the least sad.

Similarly the Timing x Relevancy interaction for commitment indicates that the terrorist in the during/irrelevant condition is perceived as most committed. Again, in this condition there exists no possible explanation for the act. As a result, subjects may infer that there must be some other cause. This other cause may be a perception that the terrorist is more committed. Such a result is consistent with cognitive dissonance theory.

#### Sex x Relevancy

This interaction indicates that male subjects are unaffected by the suffering of the terrorist. However, female subjects are very much affected by it. More specifically, the terrorist whose suffering is relevant makes female subjects feel more sad than the terrorist whose suffering is irrelevant. The difference alone suggests that women are more sensitive to the suffering of others. More specifically, the nature of the difference indicates that relevant suffering counts more than irrelevant suffering in

influencing feelings of sadness in women. This is consistent with the gender stereotype that women are more sensitive to the plight of others and are perhaps more lenient, than are men.

#### Gender x Sex of Subject

This interaction indicates that the men are more punitive towards the female terrorist than are women. This may be indicative of two stereotypes. First, this may be consistent with the stereotype that men are harsher with respect to punishment than are women. Second, it may indicate that males punish female terrorists more harshly. This is consistent with, and may partially explain, the perception by some that the media portrays female terrorists as deserving of more severe punishment. That is, if the media is controlled by men, and it is men who are "punishing" the terrorist in the media, then this explains the belief that female terrorists are punished more severely as for example in certain movies, as previously discussed. As such, men do punish the female terrorist more severely than do women. Thus, this interaction is consistent with stereotypes that men are more harsh than women, and it is at least partially consistent with the perception that female terrorists are treated more punitively, even though the interaction suggests that the female terrorist is treated more punitively by men as compared to women.

### Gender x Timing

This interaction indicates that the most severe punishment is meted out to the male terrorist who suffers during the crime. This may be explained by the lack of mitigating factors. First, the terrorist is a male and therefore any possible chivalry effect is not invoked. In addition, there is no precrime suffering which could act as an abuse excuse to mitigate the act. Since there are no mitigating factors in the during/male condition, then the severity of punishment is relatively high. Thus, this result is explained by gender stereotypes consistent with the chivalry hypotheses and by the abuse excuse.

### Gender x Timing x Relevancy

The female terrorist whose suffering is relevant and occurs during the crime makes subjects feel most vigorous; whereas the male terrorist whose suffering is during the crime and irrelevant makes subjects feel the least vigorous. This interaction effect is not explained by any of the hypotheses or any of the *post hoc* explanations offered for the other effects.

### Gender x Relevancy x Sex

This interaction indicates that female subjects punish the female terrorist with relevant suffering the least severely, while male subjects punish the female terrorist with relevant suffering the most severely. This interaction

indicates sex of subject differences when meting out punishment to female terrorists, particularly those who have experienced relevant suffering. The finding is consistent with two stereotypes. One is that men mete out more harsh punishment than do women. In addition, it appears that this is especially true with respect to female terrorists, particularly those who experience relevant suffering. It may be that again, men are more harsh on female criminals and terrorists and women are more lenient on other women. This suggests that under certain conditions people may mete out more severe treatment to the opposite sex (i.e. men onto women) but mete out more lenient treatment to those of the same sex (i.e. women onto women). It may be that people are more lenient towards, and react more favorably towards, those who are similar to themselves--such as those who are of the same gender. Likewise, people may react more harshly towards those who are dissimilar to themselves--such as those who are of the opposite gender.

#### Timing x Relevancy x Sex

That the female subjects perceived the terrorist in the during/relevant condition as less committed than male subjects perceived the terrorist in the during/relevant or during/irrelevant conditions is consistent with the main effect for sex of subject, which indicates that male subjects perceive the terrorist as more committed than do the female subjects.

As this interaction indicates however, this effect is particularly pronounced in the during/relevant condition. Perhaps male subjects more than female subjects note that any suffering by the terrorist that occurred during the crime cannot explain the terrorists' actions. As a result, they attribute the terrorists' behavior to a commitment to a cause. This is consistent with cognitive dissonance theory which was used to explain other findings in this study. It is also consistent with the findings explained by the abuse excuse. That is, since there is no previous abuse which exists to explain the terrorist event, then male subjects may perceive the terrorist as being committed to a cause. That these explanations seem relevant only to the male subjects suggests that the behavior of male subjects may be more influenced by these effects (i.e. cognitive dissonance and the abuse excuse) than is the woman's behavior.

The result is also consistent with gender stereotypes. Perhaps male subjects, from their exposure to terrorists in the movies, books etc., perceive that the terrorist must be devoted, loyal, and committed to a cause. On the other hand, women simply may have not had as much exposure to the stereotypical terrorist and therefore do not have the same stereotypical perceptions of terrorists.

This interaction effect and its explanations are therefore consistent with many of the previous results.

### Summary

The 2 (gender of terrorist) x 2 (timing of suffering) x 2 (relevancy of suffering) x 2 (sex of subject) analysis resulted in effects that were consistent with the previous analyses. Specifically, the effects were consistent with traditional gender stereotypes. Some of the effects were also consistent with cognitive dissonance theory and the abuse excuse, the latter often serving as a mitigating factor.

**CHAPTER 13: GENDER X SEX OF SUBJECT ANALYSIS - RESULTS**

This follow-up analysis was conducted to examine the gender effects of the terrorist in conjunction with gender effects of the subjects (previously referred to as sex effects). As mentioned in the previous follow-up analysis, to conduct such an analysis, the no suffering control groups removed from the original design were analyzed according to sex of subject. The result was a 2 (gender of terrorist) x 2 (sex of subject) design.

Type I SS was used since there were no a priori hypotheses stated regarding the outcome of this analysis. As a result, the less stringent standard of Type I SS was considered more appropriate than the more rigorous Type III SS. Only dependent variables which had overall, main and interaction effects significant at  $p < .10$ , are reported. A summary of all significant effects are summarized in Table 50.

Table 50

Significant Analysis of Variance Results for Gender x Sex Analysis

Variable	Effect	<u>N</u>	<u>df</u>	<u>F</u>	<u>p &gt; F</u>
Aggression	overall	74	3	3.36	0.0236
	gen x sex	74	1	6.83	0.0110
Anxiety	gen x sex	73	1	4.12	0.046
Fatigue	gen x sex	73	1	4.87	0.0307
Skepticism	gen x sex	71	1	4.43	0.039
Distress	gen x sex	69	1	5.31	0.024
Commitment	overall	77	3	5.20	0.0026
	sex	77	1	13.87	0.0004
Contentment	gen x sex	77	1	4.72	0.0331
Intelligence	overall	77	3	2.20	0.095
	sex	77	1	5.66	0.02
Femininity	overall	77	3	3.58	0.018

Sex of Subject

Commitment. The male subjects perceived the terrorist as more committed ( $\bar{M} = 16.0$ ) than did the female subjects ( $\bar{M} = 12.7$ ).

Intelligent. The male subjects perceived the terrorist as more intelligent ( $\bar{M} = 4.7$ ) than did the female subjects ( $\bar{M} = 3.7$ ). Overall, these main effects

for sex of subject are consistent with the idea that men view the terrorist more favorably than do women.

#### Gender of Terrorist

Concentration. The female terrorist led subjects to concentrate more ( $\bar{M} = 6.2$ ) than did the male terrorist ( $\bar{M} = 6.5$ ). This may be a result of the female terrorist being a more unusual occurrence than is the male terrorist. Since the female terrorist is more unusual, subjects may be concentrating more on her.

Femininity. The female terrorist was perceived to be more feminine ( $\bar{M} = 7.1$ ) than was the male terrorist ( $\bar{M} = 5.5$ ).

#### Gender x Sex of Subject

There were a number of Gender x Sex interactions. These occurred for the following variables: aggression, anxiety, fatigue, skepticism, distress, bad mood, and contentment. There was no such interaction for the following variables: surgency, elation, concentration, social affection, sadness, egotism, vigor, good mood, severity of punishment, swiftness of punishment, certainty of punishment, dangerousness, attractiveness, sexual activity, commitment, rationality, intelligence, compassion, evaluation, femininity, morality, sanity, and heterosexuality.

For all of the variables for which there was such a Gender x Sex interaction effect, the effect was consistently of the same pattern. This pattern indicated that people perceived terrorists of their own gender more favorably than they perceived terrorists of the opposite gender. In addition, terrorists made subjects who were of the same gender as the terrorist feel more positive, than subjects who were of the opposite gender of the terrorist. As such the male terrorist made female subjects feel more aggressive ( $\underline{M} = 7.4$ ), more anxious ( $\underline{M} = 7.3$ ), more fatigued ( $\underline{M} = 6.7$ ), more skeptical ( $\underline{M} = 7.5$ ), more distressed ( $\underline{M} = 23.9$ ), more in a bad mood ( $\underline{M} = 21.7$ ) and less contented ( $\underline{M} = 12.4$ ) than they did the male subjects ( $\underline{M}s = 6.4; 5.8; 5.6; 6.1; 21.1; 18.6; 15.2$ , respectively).

Similarly, the female terrorist made male subjects feel more aggressive ( $\underline{M} = 8.5$ ), more anxious ( $\underline{M} = 6.5$ ), more fatigued ( $\underline{M} = 6.2$ ), more skeptical ( $\underline{M} = 7.0$ ), more distressed ( $\underline{M} = 23.5$ ), more in a bad mood ( $\underline{M} = 21.7$ ), and less contented ( $\underline{M} = 13.2$ ), than they did the female subjects ( $\underline{M}s = 6.3; 5.8; 5.5; 6.4; 20.6; 18.2; 16.0$ , respectively).

**CHAPTER 14: GENDER X SEX OF SUBJECT ANALYSIS - DISCUSSION****Sex of Subject**

That the male subjects perceive the terrorist as more intelligent than the female subjects perceive the terrorist, may be a result of the stereotype that men are more familiar with violent individuals than are women. If this stereotype is true, then men may be more accustomed to violence and those who commit it (i.e. terrorists) than are women. They may then feel more familiar with the types of individuals who engage in violence than do women, and they may then perceive those people to be more intelligent than do women.

However, another explanation may be that the male subjects may have had greater exposure to movies involving terrorists. Often in these movies, the terrorist is portrayed not only as deadly and wicked, but also as intelligent, scheming, and psychopathic. As a result, the male subjects may be transferring what they think they know of terrorists from the movies, onto the terrorist in the report. This explanation is of course *post hoc* and is thus offered only as a possible, but unproven, explanation.

That the male subjects perceive the terrorist as more committed than do female subjects, may also be a result of viewing terrorist movies. That is, terrorists in these films are also portrayed as being committed and

driven to commit their acts. If men have experienced greater exposure to these types of portrayals of terrorist in movies than have women, then it would follow that men would perceive the terrorist as more committed than women perceived the terrorist.

The above explanation would also be consistent with gender stereotypes of men being more familiar with violence and those who commit it, than are women. It is also consistent with the idea that the more familiar someone believes they are with another, than the more favorably they rate that person.

These results are also consistent with the idea that the more similar someone believes another to be to themselves, then the more favorably they rate that other person. It may be that men perceive the terrorist as more intelligent and more committed because they perceive themselves as more intelligent and more committed than do the female subjects.

#### Gender of Terrorist

The main effects for the gender of the terrorist were consistent with traditional gender stereotypes. For example, the female terrorist was perceived as more feminine. In addition, the female terrorist caused subjects to concentrate more than did the male terrorist. The latter effect may be a result of the uniqueness of female terrorists and their departure from the

traditional notion of a terrorist as a macho male. As such, traditional gender stereotypes may be able to explain these main gender effects.

#### Gender x Sex of Subject

All of the Gender x Sex of Subject interactions indicated the same pattern--that when the terrorist and the subject were of the same gender, a more positive mood was created than when the terrorist and the subject were of opposite genders. This finding addresses a number of issues. First this may be a result of people feeling more comfortable, and thus reacting more positively to those similar to themselves. Thus when the terrorist is of the same gender as the subject, then this creates a more positive mood in the subject than if the terrorist is of the opposite gender of the subject.

In addition, this may partly explain the more negative portrayal of female terrorists in the media as compared to their male counterparts. As discussed in the Literature Review chapter, there is at least anecdotal evidence to suggest that female terrorists are portrayed more negatively in the media than their male counterparts. This was also consistent with the combined model or evil woman hypothesis. These models state that women who engage in criminal behavior that is a violation of gender stereotypical norms (such as violent crimes, including terrorism), are treated more harshly than their

male counterparts. Although the previous analyses did not confirm this hypothesis, the Gender x Sex of Subject analysis may shed some light onto why female terrorists may be portrayed in a more negative manner. According to this analysis, the female terrorist creates a more negative mood in male subjects than they do in the female subjects. Given that most of the press is male dominated and that most of the coverage of terrorism is by males, then in light of the pattern of this interaction (i.e. male subjects evaluating female terrorists), it would not be surprising that female terrorists are portrayed more negatively than their male counterparts. If male writers have no other information about the terrorist than such objective criteria as was offered in the report, then the female terrorist, creating a more negative mood in the males, leads the male writers to portray the female terrorist in a more negative manner.

#### Summary

The results from this analysis are consistent with the following: (a) gender stereotypes; (b) the idea that people feel more comfortable with, and to a certain degree rate more favorably, those who are similar to themselves; (c) that female terrorists may be portrayed more negatively than their male counterparts when no other information is available to them, because female

terrorists create more of a negative mood in men, and it is primarily men who predominate in the media.

The reader is reminded that this analysis was conducted on a *post hoc* basis. As such there were no *a priori* hypotheses and all explanations used to explain the results were therefore also offered on a *post hoc* basis.

**CHAPTER 15: SUMMARY**

Virtually none of the main hypotheses, which were based on equity theory and the combined model (consistent with the evil woman hypothesis) were confirmed. However, there were patterns in the results which were consistent with other theoretical frameworks and bodies of research.

Overall, as regards the gender of the terrorist, female terrorists were perceived in traditional gender stereotypical ways. It appears that when female terrorists are portrayed in objective, unbiased, and nonsensationalized ways (as in the present study) then female terrorists are not perceived in the negative manner that some of the research on female terrorists and the combined model would suggest. Rather, they are perceived as either similar to men or in gender stereotypical ways. These findings indicate that the research on female terrorists which claims that female terrorists are perceived as more evil, brutal, deadly, etc., simply because they are female, is unfounded. Nonetheless, it may be that when female terrorists are portrayed more negatively, then and only then, will they be perceived in these more negative terms. However, this study was not designed to, nor did it, investigate this possible effect.

The findings regarding gender speak directly to two issues. First, they demonstrate the power and

pervasiveness of stereotypes in that they are called upon, and operate, even in a neutral, fact-based context (such as in the reports in the present study). In addition, they demonstrate the power of the media to shape perception in either a positive or negative way. In an ideal world, the results of this study would have yielded no gender effects, whether they be consistent or inconsistent with stereotypes. However, since traditional gender stereotypes persist and shape judgments, the media may want to take note and work towards eliminating any gender stereotypes, in an effort to treat both men and women with equal justice.

In addition to the gender effects for perception and mood, there were a few isolated gender effects for punishment. The lack of gender effects for punishment are inconsistent with the combined model, but does support recent work by Daly (1994) and Steffensmeier, Kramer, and Streifel (1993) which indicate a lack of a gender differential in punishment.

Nonetheless, the interaction effects for gender and timing, indicate a very specific stereotype effect for gender. The only gender effects for severity of punishment indicate that for male subjects, female terrorists received more severe punishment if they were perceived as taking revenge (precrime condition). On the other hand, male terrorists were punished by male subjects more severely if their suffering occurred more

recently, such as after the onset of the terrorist attack. It may be that the male terrorists were perceived as violating the gender stereotype that men should not appear to be weak or to be suffering (during crime conditions). It thus appears that male subjects only (a similar effect was not found for female subjects), mete out punishment according to stereotypically appropriate behavior, specifically that which is centered around themes of revenge for women and a lack of machismo for men. Both male and female terrorists are punished for violating such stereotypes.

Female terrorists are thus penalized for violating stereotypes, but not in the way predicted by the hypotheses. The hypotheses predicted that simply engaging in terrorist behavior would be considered a violation of of gender stereotypical behavior. The results however, indicate that this is not the case. What seems to be important is why the female engages in terrorist behavior. When women are perceived as engaging in terrorist activity for revenge, they are penalized. On the other hand, when they suffer recently or currently (as in the during crime conditions) and there exists no reason to assume that they are engaging in terrorism for revenge, then female terrorists appear to be able to garner sympathy. Perhaps this is because it is acceptable in our society for women to suffer, and thus by suffering, the female terrorist is adhering to gender

stereotypes and expectations, and is rewarded for doing so by receiving more lenient treatment.

Likewise, males who violate gender stereotypes are also punished and rewarded when they adhere to the stereotypes, as previously discussed.

The implications of this are twofold. First, one may be able to manipulate and influence the punishment of terrorists by varying information provided regarding the terrorists' suffering and gender. However, if the concept of justice is premised on fair and equal treatment, offense-irrelevant variables, such as adherence to gender stereotypes, should not be impacting the treatment of offenders, whether it be in a positive or in a negative way. This study then, serves to clarify the specific effects of suffering and gender on punishment, as well as on perceptions and mood. More importantly however, it is hoped that the understanding gained from this study regarding the influence of these extra-legal variables, will contribute to minimizing and even eliminating, their biasing influences.

Second, this study specifically contributes to the literature on gender differences in punishment. In this study, if either the gender or suffering variables were collapsed, the results would have yielded no effects since the opposite effects of certain variables would have cancelled each other out. However, through the inclusion of these different variables, clean and

distinct effects for each of these variables, as a function of the level of the other variables, emerged. Perhaps recent studies indicating no gender differences in sentencing may want to reevaluate their results in order to determine if adherence to stereotypes by both males and females, shaped their results, or their lack of results. Perhaps there were effects, but they were hidden in the data, because certain effects, which were in opposing directions, cancelled each other out. Future research may want to be designed specifically to address such a possibility.

The results regarding the timing of suffering, generally seem to confirm the existence of a zeitgeist in present society which draws upon the power of the abuse excuse. This effect sheds light on perceptions of acceptable violence on various levels ranging from conflict in the international political arena to personal, individual conflict. Understanding the cognitive processes in acceptance of violence in these conflicts, is the first step in eliminating that same violence. The present study supports Dershowitz's claim that the abuse excuse drives these cognitions. Knowledge of such a zeitgeist, contributed to by the present study, points the way for eliminating this violence. Understanding the dynamics of the abuse excuse, would indicate to society what to target and what cognitions to

change in order to reduce the acceptability of violence in specific circumstances.

The abuse excuse with its similarity to the concept of an eye for an eye speaks to deeply rooted notions of justice in our culture. The society must decide for itself if it wants to pay the price for holding such a notion of justice, which may in fact be the perpetuation of cycles of violence, or if it wants to alter such notions and perhaps reduce the acceptability of violence based on excuse. In choosing the latter, the consequence could, as long as society deems, result in a reduction, or in some cases, an elimination of violence. However, society (whether at international or local levels) must first have knowledge about what drives the perception of acceptable levels of violence. At least in the case of terrorism, this study accomplishes precisely that-- knowledge about what mediates acceptable violence. In addition, this study paves the way for further research to test the limits and the more specific dynamics of this phenomenon.

Findings regarding relevancy of suffering also speak to what drives perceptions of terrorists. In addition however, they also serve to increase our understanding as to how subjects go about filling in the blanks or lack of information provided to them. More specifically, there is a need (in this study it is specifically for those judging terrorists) to believe that the world is a just

place, to be able to reduce cognitive dissonance, and to create a story around the events leading up to the terrorist event. Cases in which the terrorists' suffering cannot explain the terrorist event, or in which subjects do not have sufficient information to make a judgment, indicate that subjects will, using what information they do have, make certain assumptions to explain an event.

Knowing that subjects do this is also important in jurisprudence. In a search for the truth, one may want to provide enough explanatory information about a terrorist event as possible (which the data indicates also leads to less gender stereotyping in some cases). In cases where this information is unavailable, actors in the legal arena may want to at least caution those whose perceptions and attitudes are influential, that they may be influenced by their need to believe in a just world, to reduce dissonance, and to create an explicable story. As such, within the parameters permitted, measures should be taken to reduce these tendencies on the part of the actors.

Although there were other isolated main effects or interaction effects, most of the results of the main analysis of the experimental variables (gender, timing of terrorist suffering, relevancy of terrorist suffering) are thus summarized and their implications stated, as discussed above.

In addition, however, the results concerning demographic variables also contribute a great deal to the significance of this study. The race and ideological orientation of the subjects independently, played a powerful role in shaping perceptions of terrorists. In addition, the impact of these variables had a differential impact according to whether or not subjects had seen a terrorist movie in the past two years.

Both left-wing and nonwhite subjects perceived the terrorist in a generally more favorable light than did right-wing or white subjects. Such findings make a scientific contribution to the research determining what shapes and influences perceptions and subsequent punishment of terrorists--a subject of increasing importance in light of recent terrorist events in the United States and abroad. The present study clearly delineates the influence of the variables of race and ideological orientation, towards terrorists. The results point to the general conclusion that subjects identify with, are more sympathetic towards, and subsequently mete out relatively lenient punishment, to those they perceive to be similar to themselves. However, the generalizeability of this finding must be viewed with caution, since the results of the present study were obtained under a very specified set of conditions.

Nonetheless, one may say with a reasonable degree of confidence that left-wing and nonwhite subjects react

relatively favorably to foreign terrorists fighting for self-determination (the case in the present study). But whether nonwhite and left-wing subjects would react similarly to other circumstances such as, domestic terrorism or religiously motivated terrorism, or whether their opinions persist now, after the Oklahoma city bombing and the apprehension of a suspect in the UNAbomber case, requires further research.

In addition, some of the variables in this study seem to be strongly influenced by the viewing of terrorist movies. As such, the terrorist movie variable interacts with the variables of race and ideology to produce various other effects. Overall, the results seem to suggest that watching a terrorist movie has a desensitizing effect on subjects. Perhaps more importantly however, the present study sheds light on the often contradictory results and literature concerning the effects of violence in the media. Results from the present study which clearly demonstrate that watching a terrorist movie differentially impacts those of different races and ideological orientations, points out that future research may want to investigate the effects of violence in the media on these groups separately. Doing so, this study indicates, may prove to be a much more fruitful approach to understanding the effects of violence in the media.

Finally, this study contributes significantly to the study of gender differences. For male subjects, what seems to drive their judgments is the timing of the terrorists' suffering, whereas whether or not the terrorist suffered at all (as reflected in the relevancy of suffering variable) seems to drive judgments made by female subjects. Moreover, these differences are best explained by different theoretical constructs. For male subjects, their judgments seem to be driven primarily by the abuse excuse and the belief in a just world, as previously discussed. Female subjects' judgments however, appear to be driven primarily by the need to reduce cognitive dissonance and to create a logical story surrounding the terrorist act. Although in some instances there may be some common forces which drive judgments which are common to both males and females, the results are consistent with the trends stated above.

The role of stereotypes seems to have equal significance for both males and females, although the specific influence of stereotypes may manifest themselves differently in males and females.

The only instance in any of the three main analyses (i.e. main experimental analysis, demographic analysis, or analysis by sex of subject) in which any of the effects involving mood and perception impacted punishment, involved male subjects, as previously mentioned. Although this has been explained in terms of stereotypes, another

possible explanation for this result is that the principles of equity theory are operating, but only when the terrorist is female and not when the terrorist is male. However, since the only other results in this study which were consistent with equity theory were individual main effects for mood, it is unlikely that equity theory's predictions are responsible for the results. This seems to be the case especially since equity theory is consistent with the results concerning the Gender x Timing interaction effect for punishment in women but not in men.

It thus appears that for male subjects, judgments concerning terrorists, are mediated by a calculus involving the abuse excuse, and to a certain degree a belief in a just world, whereas female subjects' judgments are mediated more by a desire to decrease dissonance and create a story.

Moreover, it appears that women do not allow their judgments regarding punishment to be influenced by extra-legal variables, since unlike the case with male subjects, no punishment effects emerged for female subjects. Whether this is a result of women being able, in general, to distribute more equally, or women's tendency not to take action because they perceive themselves as ineffectual, or due to some other reason, is unknown and requires further research. Nonetheless, it does appear that punishment by males is mediated by the

degree to which they perceive a terrorist is adhering to gender stereotypes, whereas women tend to distribute punishment more equally.

That there were relatively few punishment effects compared to the effects concerning perception and mood, is also noteworthy. It may be that, with the exceptions stated, subjects (especially female subjects) can put aside any personal perception or attitude, and mete out equal punishment in equal situations. This strikes a hopeful note regarding the the responsibility of the public and even juries, to make reasoned and objective judgments. By having knowledge about when the public does not engage in such behavior, such as when there is gender or offense-irrelevant bias, one takes the crucial first step in eliminating such bias. Further research however, is required to confirm and replicate the results of the present study.

Overall then, the hypotheses based on equity theory regarding the timing and relevancy of suffering, were not confirmed, except in some instances involving mood. Equity theory may then be an appropriate theoretical construct for the study of moods and feelings. However, even those results which were consistent with equity theory regarding mood, did not translate into corresponding effects for the perception or punishment of the terrorist. In sum, although equity theory may mediate mood, it does not mediate perception or punishment.

In addition, the results are not necessarily inconsistent with Kalven and Zeisel's (1966) general claim that jury's response "will move to where the equities are. And where the equities are at any given time will depend on both the state of the law and the climate of public opinion" (p. 495). It may very well be that the effects that did emerge, did so, because subjects truly believed that they were moving to where the equities were. For example, male subjects may believe, on a conscious or unconscious level, that it is truly just to reward or punish those according to the degree that they (i.e. the male subjects) feel that the terrorists are adhering to, or violating, gender stereotypes.

The results of the alternative follow-up analysis were also consistent with the previous, planned analyses. That is they indicated that perceptions were consistent with gender stereotypes, cognitive dissonance theory, and the abuse excuse.

Finally, the Gender x Sex analysis not only reiterated the importance of gender stereotypes in perceptions of terrorists, but also indicated that people perceive those similar to themselves more favorably than those who are dissimilar to themselves. In addition, the findings from this analysis suggest that female terrorists may be portrayed more negatively than their

male counterparts, but only by males, and only when no other information is available.

In sum, the following conclusions can be drawn from the results of this study: (a) equity theory does not mediate perceptions or punishment of terrorists; (b) equity theory may mediate mood; (c) the abuse excuse, along with a belief in a just world, seems to mediate judgments of terrorists, especially for male subjects; (d) cognitive dissonance and the story model appear to mediate judgments of terrorists, especially for female subjects; (e) female terrorists are not perceived more negatively than their male counterparts; (f) traditional gender stereotypes play a role for male and female subjects, but impact male subjects' more than female subjects', punishment of terrorists; (g) people tend to react more favorably to those they perceive to be similar to themselves; (h) left-wing and nonwhite subjects tend to react relatively more favorably to a foreign terrorist; (i) media violence differentially impacts demographic groups; (j) males rely on perceived adherence to gender stereotypes in meting out punishment; (k) female terrorists create a relatively negative mood in men which may explain why men may portray female terrorists in a relatively negative manner; (l) distribution of punishment by women is less effected by bias and other extra-legal variables, particularly

gender, and as such, women distribute punishment more equally than do men.

Since almost none of these effects were hypothesized and were thus explained on a *post hoc* basis, they require further study. Nonetheless, this study does both raise and answer, many questions regarding these effects. Moreover, it does so in a scientifically sound and quantitatively precise manner. The results speak directly to the terrorism problem at both the domestic and international level. Moreover, it appears that the theoretical tenets used to explain what drives our reactions to terrorists, may be useful in understanding, and thus perhaps minimizing, the cycles of violence that permeate all levels of society--from international terrorism and ethnic conflicts, to the personal and individual conflicts that impact daily life. Moreover, this study addresses issues of gender and how it impacts our judgments of others.

It is thus hoped that the results from this study will be heeded and taken to serve in the quest to enhance justice in our society.

## FOOTNOTES

- 1 For a summary of how other philosophers such as Marx, Rawls, and Nozick discuss notions of justice in social psychological terms, see Cohen and Greenberg (1982).
- 2 This finding has not emerged in experimental studies conducted by Legant (1973).
- 3 The label "terrorist" is emotionally loaded and likely to evoke strong emotional reactions and opinions. Those so labelled are correspondingly thought of in sinister and fearsome ways. This can be linked to discussions of stigmatization found in the sociology and social psychological literature. The literature on stigmatization, particularly that by Goffman (1974), would be of paramount importance if terrorists would be compared to political prisoners and/or non-violent political activists. However, in the present study, all comparisons are made within the framework of terrorism without reference to others. The literature regarding stigmatization therefore will not be further considered in this study. However, comparisons of the above mentioned groups, as they speak to issues of stigmatization, point to directions for future research.
- 4 Anecdotal examples of how popular culture may attempt to indicate that female terrorists/criminals may be more evil than their male counterparts can be seen in the particularly evil female characters in the films, The Crying Game (Wooley, 1992), Patriot Games (Maguire, 1992), The Final Option (Lloyd, 1982), Die Hard With a Vengeance (McTiernan, 1995).
- 5 That women have remained largely ignored in the terrorism literature is unfortunate given that they have been a significant force, albeit in varying degrees, in terrorist organizations. In some groups, such as The Red Army Faction in the former West Germany, women have even played leadership roles. For a review of groups with women leaders or sizeable numbers of women as cadre, see Georges-Abeyie (1983). Even this list however is somewhat limited and ignores other groups with a significant female contingent. For example, since its inception, The Shining Path, has attracted women in much larger numbers than men, and has teenage girls as some of its best known military commanders (Andreas, 1988).
- 6 Just a few of the anecdotal examples of how popular culture may attempt to send such moral messages regarding women who violate gender norms, may be found in the

following films: (a) Thelma and Louise (Scott, 1991), in that the women who have gained independence and in so doing have broken the law, in the end, die; (b) Fatal Attraction (Lansing, 1987), in that the independent, single, fornicating, career woman is portrayed as a desperate psychopath and in the end, dies, while the adulterer husband remains unscathed and the "good" wife suffers, although only somewhat; and (c) The Crying Game (Woolley, 1992), in that the female terrorist, in the end, dies, while the male terrorist remains physically unscathed. For a full discussion of how women who violate society's established gender norms are treated in popular culture, and thus what moral messages are sent to women, the reader is referred to Faludi (1990) and Heidensohn (1985, pp. 84-109).

<sup>7</sup> This may bring to mind the recent acquittals of Lorena Bobbitt, and the cases of the Menendez brothers. The defense in these cases primarily centered on the previous abuse the defendants suffered (Fletcher, 1994). It is noted by some that these juries tried the defendant and the victim together. In cases such as these, the jury may feel that it is, "Better that they [the jury] balance the wrongs than let the guilty victims reap a one-sided conviction" (Fletcher, 1994). A similar argument was raised in the case of Katherine Power in that it was felt that she had already been at least somewhat punished by having to live in hiding for over 20 years.

## APPENDIX A

Examples of Sentences for Acts of Domestic Terrorism

Name	Crime	Gender	Sentence
Susan Rosenberg	possession of weapons	F	58 yrs.
Alejandrina Torres	sedition conspiracy	F	35 yrs.
Sylvia Baraldini	indirectly aiding and abetting a jail break	F	43 yrs.
Donald Black	possession of weapons	M	3 yrs. (served 23 months)
Not indicated	bombed an abortion clinic	M	7 yrs.

Note. The women in the above table served approximately 2 years in a sensory deprivation unit in a prison in Lexington, Kentucky. The unit was declared inhumane by Amnesty International (Rosenblum, 1990).

## APPENDIX B

## Class Announcement

The graduate assistant for the Criminal Justice Department here at (insert name of College), (insert name of graduate assistant), is conducting a survey for which she needs volunteers.

She would appreciate a few minutes of your time to tell you about the survey.

**DO NOT ANNOUNCE:**

\*\*\*Note to the Professor making the announcement\*\*\*

Please leave the room after making the above announcement.

This precaution is taken to avoid any possible coercion, even implied, that the students may feel to participate as a result of their professor being in the room and observing who is and who is not participating.

## APPENDIX C

## Introduction to Survey

My name is (insert name of graduate assistant). I am the Graduate Assistant for the Criminal Justice Department, here at (insert name of college). I am conducting a study dealing with ordinary people's reactions and responses to newsworthy events and the people involved in them.

The study will consist of asking you to read a brief fictional report of an event that might be similar to an event you would come across in the news and then asking you to complete some forms indicating your perceptions of the event and the main characters in the event, as well as some demographic information about yourself.

The study is completely ANONYMOUS and strictly CONFIDENTIAL. DO NOT indicate your name or your social security number. We do NOT want to identify you. The data is for research purposes only.

Your participation is entirely VOLUNTARY and you may cease to participate at anytime without consequence. Your willingness to participate will in no way impact on your grade.

If you have any questions about the study do not hesitate to contact me in the Criminal Justice Department located in Room 220 of the Academic Building. My phone number there is (insert phone number).

If you have already participated in this study , please DO NOT participate again.

The study should take approximately 20-30 minutes.

I will go through the study with you step-by-step.

Participants will receive a description of a fictional event and some scales to complete.

This is NOT a test. There are no right or wrong answers. I am interested simply in YOUR perceptions and attitudes.

## APPENDIX D

## Initial Instructions

I would like you to begin by reading the report.

Please take only a couple of minutes to read it.

Do not continue to complete the survey until I indicate to you to turn the page.

## APPENDIX E

## Reports of Terrorist Event

E1: For cell 1 - Male/Precrime/Relevant condition

A bomb exploded at the Statue of Liberty early this morning resulting in several American tourists suffering minor cuts and bruises. The injured tourists received some medical attention and were sent home since none of the injuries were serious enough to require hospitalization. When asked, the tourists claimed that they were somewhat shaken by the experience, but that with the exception of the minor cuts and bruises, were otherwise fine.

Seconds before detonating the bomb, a member of a foreign terrorist group called police and claimed responsibility for the bomb. Unfortunately there was not enough time between the phone call and the explosion to warn the tourists.

The terrorist, who will be referred to as "John," identified himself to police, claiming that the motive for the explosion was to draw attention to his group's cause which included recognizing the right of his people to self-determination and releasing imprisoned group members.

Little is known about "John". However, law enforcement officials have received confirmation that during his childhood, his only sibling, a brother, died from a fatal gunshot wound when U.S. soldiers opened fire in the overseas refugee camp where "John" had lived.

Knowledge about the group is limited, but officials state that "John" has been associated with the group for some time. Officials continue to investigate the incident and any connections there may or may not be to other terrorist incidents.

## APPENDIX E

## Reports of Terrorist Event

E2: For cell 2 - Female/Precrime/Relevant condition

A bomb exploded at the Statue of Liberty early this morning resulting in several American tourists suffering minor cuts and bruises. The injured tourists received some medical attention and were sent home since none of the injuries were serious enough to require hospitalization. When asked, the tourists claimed that they were somewhat shaken by the experience, but that with the exception of the minor cuts and bruises, were otherwise fine.

Seconds before detonating the bomb, a member of a foreign terrorist group called police and claimed responsibility for the bomb. Unfortunately there was not enough time between the phone call and the explosion to warn the tourists.

The terrorist, who will be referred to as "Mary," identified herself to police, claiming that the motive for the explosion was to draw attention to her group's cause which included recognizing the right of her people to self-determination and releasing imprisoned group members.

Little is known about "Mary". However, law enforcement officials have received confirmation that during her childhood, her only sibling, a sister, died from a fatal gunshot wound when U.S. soldiers opened fire in the overseas refugee camp where "Mary" had lived.

Knowledge about the group is limited, but officials state that "Mary" has been associated with the group for some time. Officials continue to investigate the incident and any connections there may or may not be to other terrorist incidents.

## APPENDIX E

## Reports of Terrorist Event

E3: For cell 3 - Male/Precrime/Irrelevant condition

A bomb exploded at the Statue of Liberty early this morning resulting in several American tourists suffering minor cuts and bruises. The injured tourists received some medical attention and were sent home since none of the injuries were serious enough to require hospitalization. When asked, the tourists claimed that they were somewhat shaken by the experience, but that with the exception of the minor cuts and bruises, were otherwise fine.

Seconds before detonating the bomb, a member of a foreign terrorist group called police and claimed responsibility for the bomb. Unfortunately there was not enough time between the phone call and the explosion to warn the tourists.

The terrorist, who will be referred to as "John," identified himself to police, claiming that the motive for the explosion was to draw attention to his group's cause which included recognizing the right of his people to self-determination and releasing imprisoned group members.

Little is known about "John". However, law enforcement officials have received confirmation that during his childhood, his only sibling, a brother, died from a fatal, self-inflicted gunshot wound while playing with a neighbor's gun.

Knowledge about the group is limited, but officials state that "John" has been associated with the group for some time. Officials continue to investigate the incident and any connections there may or may not be to other terrorist incidents.

## APPENDIX E

## Reports of Terrorist Event

E4: For cell 4 - Female/Precrime/Irrelevant condition

A bomb exploded at the Statue of Liberty early this morning resulting in several American tourists suffering minor cuts and bruises. The injured tourists received some medical attention and were sent home since none of the injuries were serious enough to require hospitalization. When asked, the tourists claimed that they were somewhat shaken by the experience, but that with the exception of the minor cuts and bruises, were otherwise fine.

Seconds before detonating the bomb, a member of a foreign terrorist group called police and claimed responsibility for the bomb. Unfortunately there was not enough time between the phone call and the explosion to warn the tourists.

The terrorist, who will be referred to as "Mary," identified herself to police, claiming that the motive for the explosion was to draw attention to her group's cause which included recognizing the right of her people to self-determination and releasing imprisoned group members.

Little is known about "Mary". However, law enforcement officials have received confirmation that during her childhood, her only sibling, a sister, died from a fatal, self-inflicted gunshot wound while playing with a neighbor's gun.

Knowledge about the group is limited, but officials state that "Mary" has been associated with the group for some time. Officials continue to investigate the incident and any connections there may or may not be to other terrorist incidents.

## APPENDIX E

## Reports of Terrorist Event

E5: For cells 5 and 11 - Male/No suffering control condition

A bomb exploded at the Statue of Liberty early this morning resulting in several American tourists suffering minor cuts and bruises. The injured tourists received some medical attention and were sent home since none of the injuries were serious enough to require hospitalization. When asked, the tourists claimed that they were somewhat shaken by the experience, but that with the exception of the minor cuts and bruises, were otherwise fine.

Seconds before detonating the bomb, a member of a foreign terrorist group called police and claimed responsibility for the bomb. Unfortunately there was not enough time between the phone call and the explosion to warn the tourists.

The terrorist, who will be referred to as "John," identified himself to police, claiming that the motive for the explosion was to draw attention to his group's cause which included recognizing the right of his people to self-determination and releasing imprisoned group members.

Little is known about "John".

Knowledge about the group is limited, but officials state that "John" has been associated with the group for some time. Officials continue to investigate the incident and any connections there may or may not be to other terrorist incidents.

## APPENDIX E

## Reports of Terrorist Event

E6: For cells 6 and 12 - Female/No suffering control condition

A bomb exploded at the Statue of Liberty early this morning resulting in several American tourists suffering minor cuts and bruises. The injured tourists received some medical attention and were sent home since none of the injuries were serious enough to require hospitalization. When asked, the tourists claimed that they were somewhat shaken by the experience, but that with the exception of the minor cuts and bruises, were otherwise fine.

Seconds before detonating the bomb, a member of a foreign terrorist group called police and claimed responsibility for the bomb. Unfortunately there was not enough time between the phone call and the explosion to warn the tourists.

The terrorist, who will be referred to as "Mary," identified herself to police, claiming that the motive for the explosion was to draw attention to her group's cause which included recognizing the right of her people to self-determination and releasing imprisoned group members.

Little is known about "Mary".

Knowledge about the group is limited, but officials state that "Mary" has been associated with the group for some time. Officials continue to investigate the incident and any connections there may or may not be to other terrorist incidents.

## APPENDIX E

## Reports of Terrorist Event

E7: For cell 7 - Male/During/Relevant condition

A bomb exploded at the Statue of Liberty early this morning resulting in several American tourists suffering minor cuts and bruises. The injured tourists received some medical attention and were sent home since none of the injuries were serious enough to require hospitalization. When asked, the tourists claimed that they were somewhat shaken by the experience, but that with the exception of the minor cuts and bruises, were otherwise fine.

Seconds before detonating the bomb, a member of a foreign terrorist group called police and claimed responsibility for the bomb. Unfortunately there was not enough time between the phone call and the explosion to warn the tourists.

The terrorist, who will be referred to as "John," identified himself to police, claiming that the motive for the explosion was to draw attention to his group's cause which included recognizing the right of his people to self-determination and releasing imprisoned group members.

Little is known about "John". However, police have received confirmation that "John's" only sibling, his brother, died after detonating the the bomb and while trying to escape from the scene. The death was caused by a gunshot wound inflicted by a police officer who had rushed to the scene (too late however to stop the explosion) after receiving the phone call from "John".

Knowledge about the group is limited, but officials state that "John" has been associated with the group for some time. Officials continue to investigate the incident and any connections there may or may not be to other terrorist incidents.

## APPENDIX E

## Reports of Terrorist Event

E8: For cell 8 - Male/During/Relevant condition

A bomb exploded at the Statue of Liberty early this morning resulting in several American tourists suffering minor cuts and bruises. The injured tourists received some medical attention and were sent home since none of the injuries were serious enough to require hospitalization. When asked, the tourists claimed that they were somewhat shaken by the experience, but that with the exception of the minor cuts and bruises, were otherwise fine.

Seconds before detonating the bomb, a member of a foreign terrorist group called police and claimed responsibility for the bomb. Unfortunately there was not enough time between the phone call and the explosion to warn the tourists.

The terrorist, who will be referred to as "Mary," identified herself to police, claiming that the motive for the explosion was to draw attention to her group's cause which included recognizing the right of her people to self-determination and releasing imprisoned group members.

Little is known about "Mary". However, police have received confirmation that "Mary's" only sibling, her sister, died after detonating the the bomb and while trying to escape from the scene. The death was caused by a gunshot wound inflicted by a police officer who had rushed to the scene (too late however to stop the explosion) after receiving the phone call from "Mary".

Knowledge about the group is limited, but officials state that "Mary" has been associated with the group for some time. Officials continue to investigate the incident and any connections there may or may not be to other terrorist incidents.

## APPENDIX E

## Reports of Terrorist Event

E9: For cell 9 - Male/During/Irrelevant condition

A bomb exploded at the Statue of Liberty early this morning resulting in several American tourists suffering minor cuts and bruises. The injured tourists received some medical attention and were sent home since none of the injuries were serious enough to require hospitalization. When asked, the tourists claimed that they were somewhat shaken by the experience, but that with the exception of the minor cuts and bruises, were otherwise fine.

Seconds before detonating the bomb, a member of a foreign terrorist group called police and claimed responsibility for the bomb. Unfortunately there was not enough time between the phone call and the explosion to warn the tourists.

The terrorist, who will be referred to as "John," identified himself to police, claiming that the motive for the explosion was to draw attention to his group's cause which included recognizing the right of his people to self-determination and releasing imprisoned group members.

Little is known about "John". However, police have received confirmation that ironically, during the same time as the explosion, "John's" only sibling, his brother, died of a fatal gunshot wound while helping a neighbor clean a gun.

Knowledge about the group is limited, but officials state that "John" has been associated with the group for some time. Officials continue to investigate the incident and any connections there may or may not be to other terrorist incidents.

## APPENDIX E

## Reports of Terrorist Event

E10: For cell 10 - Female/During/Irrelevant condition

A bomb exploded at the Statue of Liberty early this morning resulting in several American tourists suffering minor cuts and bruises. The injured tourists received some medical attention and were sent home since none of the injuries were serious enough to require hospitalization. When asked, the tourists claimed that they were somewhat shaken by the experience, but that with the exception of the minor cuts and bruises, were otherwise fine.

Seconds before detonating the bomb, a member of a foreign terrorist group called police and claimed responsibility for the bomb. Unfortunately there was not enough time between the phone call and the explosion to warn the tourists.

The terrorist, who will be referred to as "Mary," identified herself to police, claiming that the motive for the explosion was to draw attention to her group's cause which included recognizing the right of her people to self-determination and releasing imprisoned group members.

Little is known about "Mary". However, police have received confirmation that ironically, during the same time as the explosion, "Mary's" only sibling, her sister, died of a fatal gunshot wound while helping a neighbor clean a gun.

Knowledge about the group is limited, but officials state that "Mary" has been associated with the group for some time. Officials continue to investigate the incident and any connections there may or may not be to other terrorist incidents.

## APPENDIX F

MACL: Mood Adjective Checklist

Each of the following words describes feelings or moods. Please use the list to describe how the main character in the report made YOU feel. If the word definitely describes how the main character in the report made you feel, circle the double check (vv) to the right of the word. For example, if the word is relaxed and the main character in the report definitely made you feel relaxed, circle the vv as follows:

relaxed (vv) v ? no. (This means that the main character in the report definitely made you feel relaxed)

If the word only slightly applies to the way the main character in the report made you feel, circle the check v as follows:

relaxed vv (v) ? no. (This means that the main character in the report made you feel slightly relaxed)

If the word is not clear to you or you cannot decide whether or not it applies to how the main character in the report made you feel, circle the question mark as follows:

relaxed vv v (?) no. (This means that you cannot decide whether the main character in the report made you feel relaxed or not)

If you definitely decide the word does not apply to how the main character in the report made you feel, circle the no as follows:

relaxed vv v ? (no) (This means that the main character in the report made you feel definitely not relaxed)

Work rapidly. Your first reaction is best. Work down the first column, then go to the next. Please mark all the words. This should take only a few minutes. Please begin.

angry	vv	v	?	no	kindly	vv	v	?	no
clutched up	vv	v	?	no	sad	vv	v	?	no
carefree	vv	v	?	no	skeptical	vv	v	?	no
elated	vv	v	?	no	egotistic	vv	v	?	no
concentrating	vv	v	?	no	energetic	vv	v	?	no
drowsy	vv	v	?	no	rebellious	vv	v	?	no
affectionate	vv	v	?	no	jittery	vv	v	?	no
regretful	vv	v	?	no	witty	vv	v	?	no
dubious	vv	v	?	no	pleased	vv	v	?	no
boastful	vv	v	?	no	intent	vv	v	?	no
active	vv	v	?	no	tired	vv	v	?	no
defiant	vv	v	?	no	warmhearted	vv	v	?	no
fearful	vv	v	?	no	sorry	vv	v	?	no
playful	vv	v	?	no	suspicious	vv	v	?	no
overjoyed	vv	v	?	no	self-centered	vv	v	?	no
sluggish	vv	v	?	no	vigorous	vv	v	?	no
engaged in thought	vv	v	?	no					



**IMPORTANT:**

1. Place an "X" in the middle of the line, and not between the line

Example: fair      this                  not this  
                   —   X   —      —   X   —      unfair

2. Be sure to indicate your impression for every scale. Do NOT OMIT any.

3. Never put more than one "X" on a single pair.

Sometimes you may feel as though you have had the same item before. This will not be the case, so DO NOT LOOK BACK AND FORTH through the items. Do NOT try to remember how you checked similar items earlier. MAKE EACH ITEM A SEPARATE AND INDEPENDENT JUDGMENT. Work at a fairly high speed. Do not worry or puzzle over individual items. It is your FIRST impressions, the IMMEDIATE FEELINGS about the items that we want. On the other hand, please do not be careless, because we do want your true impressions.

**"The Main Character in the Report"**

Please place an "X" on the appropriate line.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
sincere	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	deceptive
deadly	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	nurturing
wicked	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	virtuous
negative	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	positive
safe	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	dangerous
compassionate	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	ruthless
attractive	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	unattractive
kind	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	cruel
evil	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	noble
gentle	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	ferocious
vicious	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	considerate
vengeful	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	forgiving
angelic	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	devilish
admirable	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	detestable
monstrous	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	beautiful
reasonable	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	fanatical
harmful	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	beneficial
submissive	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	aggressive
masculine	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	feminine
unnatural	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	natural
efficient	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	inefficient
passive	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	active
intelligent	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	unintelligent
womanly	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	macho
mature	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	immature
immoral	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	moral
pure	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	tainted
corrupt	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	incorruptible
peaceful	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	violent
understandable	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	mysterious
sexually active	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	sexually inactive
troubled	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	tranquil
reputable	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	disreputable
irresponsible	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	dutiful
sympathetic	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	malicious
ethical	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	unethical
complicated	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	simple
analytical	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	senseless
uncommitted	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	committed
sane	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	insane
homosexual	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	heterosexual
honorable	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	dishonorable
unfaithful	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	faithful
enlightened	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	ignorant
logical	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	illogical

**"The Main Character in The Report" (continued)**

Please place an "X" on the appropriate line.

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	
immaculate	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	promiscuous
deceitful	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	truthful
rational	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	irrational
disgusting	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	enticing
calm	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	angry
objective	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	subjective
predictable	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	unpredictable
sad	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	happy
familiar	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	unfamiliar
trustworthy	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	untrustworthy
strange	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	explicable
righteous	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	diabolic
threatening	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	unthreatening
virginal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	whorish
rude	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	charming
good-looking	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	ugly
emotional	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	stable
straight-forward	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	devious
clear	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	confusing
crazy	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	normal
decent	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	indecent
domineering	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	shy
chaste	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	sleazy
sensitive	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	callous
brutal	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	sensitive
devoted	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	indifferent
sick	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	healthy
tender	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	bloodthirsty
seductive	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	repulsive

APPENDIX H  
Punishment Scale

The following items are designed to measure YOUR opinions regarding the level of punishment the terrorist in the report you just read, should receive. In each case, a standard is given which you should then use in calculating your own response. Please keep in mind that what is of real importance is the punishment you give the terrorist RELATIVE to the standard, rather than the absolute amount.

For example, the item may state:

If a person who steals a car should receive a 2 year sentence, then the criminal in the report should receive a sentence of \_\_\_\_\_ years.

To answer:

If YOU feel the criminal in the report deserved a sentence twice as long as the sentence given to someone for stealing a car, you would put 4 in the blank.

If YOU feel the criminal in the report deserved a sentence half as long as the sentence given someone for stealing a car you would put a 2 in the blank.

If YOU feel the criminal in the report deserved a sentence 5 times as long as the sentence given to someone for stealing a car, you would put a 10 in the blank.

If YOU feel the criminal in the report deserved a sentence 1/10th as long as the sentence given to someone for stealing a car, you would put 0.2 in the blank.

\*\*\*The above are simply examples. Please feel free to give any magnitude as your answer, as long as you use the example in each question as the standard.

If you have any questions please do not hesitate to ask the researcher --- PLEASE BEGIN:

---

1. If a person who steals a bicycle parked on the street should receive a 2 year prison sentence, then the main character in the report should receive a sentence of \_\_\_\_\_ years.

2. If a person who steals a bicycle parked on the street should have bail set at \$500, then the main character in the report should have bail set at \$ \_\_\_\_\_.  
Or, check here if you believe bail should be completely denied \_\_\_\_\_.
3. If a person who steals a bicycle parked on the street should be tried within 6 months, then the main character in the report should be tried within \_\_\_\_\_ months or years (circle one).
4. If precautions taken to ensure due process for a person who steals a bicycle parked on the street should be worth \$1000, then the precautions taken to ensure due process for the main character in the report should be worth \$\_\_\_\_\_.
5. If a person who steals a bicycle should have \$1000 spent to have their constitutional rights maintained, then the main character in the report should have \$\_\_\_\_\_ spent to maintain their constitutional rights.
6. If whipping was used as punishment, and if a person who steals a bicycle parked on the street should receive 10 lashings, the main character in the report should receive \_\_\_\_\_ lashings.
7. If a person who steals a bicycle should be given 5 minutes before someone tried to stop the thief, then the main character in the report should be given \_\_\_\_\_ minutes before someone tried to stop the main character.
8. If a person who steals a bicycle parked on the street should receive 2 years of community service, then the main character in the report should receive \_\_\_\_\_ years of community service.
9. If you were face-to-face with a bicycle thief and would use the amount of force equal to 10 points, then if you were face-to-face with the main character in the report you would use the amount of force equal to \_\_\_\_\_ points.
10. If the police were face-to-face with a bicycle thief and if they should use the equivalent of 10 degrees of force, then the police should use \_\_\_\_\_ degrees of force against the main character in the report.
11. If a person who steals a bicycle parked on the street should be made to pay \$500 to the owner of the stolen bicycle, then the main character in the report should be made to pay \$\_\_\_\_\_ to reimburse each of the victims.

12. If the police were face-to-face with a bicycle thief who was behind a barricade and the police had no chance of being hurt, they should wait 10 minutes before physically moving in on thief. Therefore, if the police were face-to-face with the main character in the report and the police had no chance of being hurt, the police should wait \_\_\_\_\_ minutes before physically moving in on the main character.

Or check here if you think the police should not physically move in at all \_\_\_\_\_.

13. Should the main character in the report receive the death penalty?

Circle one:    Yes            No            Undecided

## APPENDIX I

## Demographic Scale

Please complete the following items about YOURSELF.

1. Age: \_\_\_\_ years \_\_\_\_ months
2. Sex: Male or Female (circle one)
3. a. Occupation: \_\_\_\_\_  
 b. Do you work full-time \_\_\_\_ or part-time \_\_\_\_ ? (check one)  
 c. Years in occupation: \_\_\_\_\_
4. a. Are you a full-time \_\_\_\_ or part-time \_\_\_\_ student?(check one)  
 b. Please indicate your major \_\_\_\_\_  
 c. Years in college \_\_\_\_\_
5. If you were NOT born in the United States, in which country were you born? \_\_\_\_\_.
6. If your mother was NOT born in the U.S., in which country was she born? \_\_\_\_\_.
7. If your father was NOT born in the U.S., in which country was he born? \_\_\_\_\_.
8. If your maternal grandmother was NOT born in the U.S., in which country was she born? \_\_\_\_\_.
9. If your maternal grandfather was NOT born in the U.S., in which country was he born? \_\_\_\_\_.
10. If your paternal grandmother was NOT born in the U.S., in which country was she born? \_\_\_\_\_.
11. If your paternal grandfather was NOT born in the U.S., in which country was he born? \_\_\_\_\_.
12. If you consider yourself any of the following, please check:  
 \_\_\_\_ atheist(i.e. one who does NOT believe in God)  
 \_\_\_\_ agnostic(i.e. one who believes that there can be no proof of the existence of God, but does not deny the possibility that God exists)  
 If you checked either one, please skip to question #14  
 If you checked neither one, please check here \_\_\_\_ and proceed to question #13.



16. Which of the following best describes your political affiliation?

- Democratic
- Republican
- Independent
- Liberal
- Conservative
- Libertarian
- Other --- Please specify: \_\_\_\_\_.
- None

17. From what you understand of social issues confronting the United States today, where would you place yourself on the following spectrum?

extremely liberal/ left-wing		moderate		extremely conservative/ right-wing
1	2	3	4	5
				6
				7

18. Indicate if you have kept yourself informed of any of the following events:

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>
The World Trade Center Bombing	_____	_____
The recent attack in New York on the Hasidic Jewish students driving in a van	_____	_____
The recent attack in Israel against Palestinians praying in a Mosque	_____	_____
Attacks in Israel by Arabs against Israeli civilians	_____	_____
Attacks in Northern Ireland by the Irish against British civilians & British interests	_____	_____

19. From which of the following do you receive your information of events that would be considered similar to the event you read about in the report? Check all which apply.

Newspapers

- Widely circulating newspapers eg. The New York Times,  
The Star Ledger, etc.
- Locally focused newspapers eg. The New York Post, etc.
- Supermarket newspapers eg. The National Enquirer,  
The Star, etc.

Television

- Network news eg. ABC, CBS, NBC, etc.
- Primarily news networks eg. CNN, etc.
- Network newsmagazines eg. 60 Minutes, 20\20, 48 Hours, etc.
- Syndicated newsmagazines eg. Hard Copy, Inside Edition, etc.
- Talk shows eg. Oprah, Phil Donahue, Geraldo, etc.
- Other -- please specify:\_\_\_\_\_.

all news radio stations eg. 1010, etc.

other radio stations

Widely circulating magazines eg. Time, Newsweek, etc.

Crime magazines eg. True Detective, etc.

Fictional books

Non-fictional books

Movies\Films

Other --- Please specify:\_\_\_\_\_.

20. a. In the last 2 years have you seen any movies\films which seem to deal with terrorism? Yes \_\_\_ No \_\_\_

If you checked "No", please proceed to question #21.

If you checked "Yes", consider the movie you saw, or if you saw more than one, consider the movie you best remember, in answering the following questions:

b. What seemed to be the movie's position toward the terrorist?

<u>Definitely for the</u> terrorist		Neutral			<u>Definitely against</u> the terrorist	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

c. To what degree did this movie influence your attitude towards the terrorist in the movie?

Made me <u>unsympathetic</u> to the terrorist		Neutral			Made me <u>sympathetic</u> to the terrorist	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

d. If you remember, please list the name(s) of the movie(s) which you saw which dealt with terrorism.

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21. In your opinion, how traditional or non-traditional should women's roles in society be today? Please circle the number which best indicates your position on the following continuum:

<u>Extremely</u> <u>Traditional</u> (i.e. a homemaker, a women's place is in the home)	women should not be denied employment, but should be excluded from some roles, such as being pilots, fighting in war, or serving as clergy	<u>Extremely</u> <u>Non-traditional</u> (i.e. women should be equal with men in all aspects of society)				
1	2	3	4	5	6	7

22. a. Have you ever encountered or experienced an event which was considered terrorism? YES or NO (circle one)

b. If you answered "YES" to the above question, please describe the event AND your involvement in the event:

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23. Was the main character in the report you read **Male** or **Female**?  
(circle one)

24. Did the main character in the report experience any type of physical or mental suffering? **Yes** or **No**

25. If you answered "Yes" to #24, please answer the following questions:

a. Was the main character's suffering in any way related to the act the main character committed? **Yes** or **No**

b. When did whatever caused the main character to suffer, occur?

Check one: Before the terrorist event \_\_\_

During the terrorist event \_\_\_

After the terrorist event \_\_\_

26. Please describe any perceptions, beliefs, attitudes or thoughts you have regarding the main character in the report, that you feel were not covered in the questionnaires.

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27. Please indicate what you think may have lead the main character to commit such an act?

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THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION !!!

## APPENDIX J

## Impression of Suffering

## Version 1

Please consider each of the following:

#1. A person's only sibling, who happens to be the same sex as the person, dies.

i.e. a man loses his only sibling -- his brother  
or  
a woman loses her only sibling -- a sister

#2. A person is in an explosion and requires some medical attention for cuts and bruises. The injuries however are NOT serious enough to require hospitalization.

In comparing the above, please circle the option which you believe most accurately reflects the amount of suffering experienced by the people in the above scenarios.

- A. the person in #2 suffers much more than the person in number #1
- B. the person in #2 suffers somewhat more than the person in #1
- C. the person in #1 and the person in #2 suffer equal amounts
- D. the person in #1 suffers much more than the person in #2
- E. the person in #1 suffers somewhat more than the person in #2

Thank you!

## APPENDIX J

## Impression of Suffering

## Version 2

Please consider each of the following:

#1. A person's only sibling, who happens to be the same sex as the person, dies.

i.e. a man loses his only sibling -- his brother  
or  
a woman loses her only sibling -- a sister

#2. A person is in an explosion and requires some medical attention for cuts and bruises. The injuries however are NOT serious enough to require hospitalization.

In comparing the above, please circle the option which you believe most accurately reflects the amount of suffering experienced by the people in the above scenarios.

- A. the person in #1 suffers much more than the person in number #2
- B. the person in #1 suffers somewhat more than the person in #2
- C. the person in #2 suffers much more than the person in #1
- D. the person in #2 suffers somewhat more than the person in #1
- E. the person in #1 and the person in #2 suffer equal amounts

Thank you!

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